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CAMPAIGN FOR ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY: PART I THE NEW LEFT IN POLITICS

(Executive Summary)

The Campaign for Economic Democracy is a California-based apparatus with national ties, particularly to organizations that function as parts of the nationwide network created and maintained by the Institute for Policy Studies, "the far-left radical 'think tank' in Washington, D.C." CED evolved directly from the unsuccessful 1976 California campaign of Thomas E. Hayden, one of the preeminent radical leaders of the 1960s, for the United States Senate; and several of CED's principal activists are also veterans of the Hayden campaign and of Students for a Democratic Society, a militantly leftist organization in which Hayden played a pivotal role both as founder and as principal author of its basic manifesto, the "Port Huron Statement." With an estimated 8,000 members throughout the state of California and a claimed core of 400 activists, CED operates with a paid staff of 21 people, a steering committee of 40 members and 40 alternate members, and an executive committee of eight members; Hayden chairs both the steering and executive committees and has been chairman of CED since its inception. In March 1977, the Campaign claimed to have 15 chapters in California; the most recent estimate places the number at 30.

Hayden's ambitions are evident in his statement that "We're going to take over....The next big generation will be those who came to political life during Vietnam, my generation. The country will be under our influence for a long time to come." It is, in fact, widely felt that CED exists in large measure to serve as an instrumentality for the achievement of Hayden's political goals; it is certainly true that his involvement and thinking have been central to CED's operation, just as the efforts of his wife, radical actress Jane Fonda, have been central to the organization's fund-raising programs. These programs, which support a budget currently estimated at \$300,000 per annum, have included direct-mail appeals, "door-to-door soliciting, speaker's honorariums,

benefit concerts, and many, many personal contributions," according to a 1978 letter circulated by CED over Hayden's signature. An October 1979 tour by Hayden and Fonda to some 52 cities across the United States was reportedly financed largely by speaking fees of as much as \$5,000 per appearance. It is generally felt, however, that Fonda has accounted for the lion's share of the CED budget; an article in the leftist Mother Jones magazine reported that "Through direct contributions, film benefits, concerts and celebrity events arranged through her connections, Fonda finances the majority of CED's impressive budget." Fonda has also opened an exercise salon in Beverly Hills, California, according to one source, "to give CED...a new source of income."

Other sources of support for CED include organizations interlocked with the leftist movement in general and with the Institute for Policy Studies in particular. In 1978, for example, CED received funds from the Youth Project which "enabled the San Diego chapter [of CED] to hire its first staff members." The Youth Project has also made grants to various subsidiaries of IPS. Funds for a series of major conferences in which CED has played significant roles have been provided by the Foundation for National Progress, publisher of Mother Jones and self-described as "formed in 1975 to carry out on the West Coast the charitable and educational activities of the Institute for Policy Studies." Much of the basic research data for CED's solar energy campaign is contained in a lengthy study published by the California Public Policy Center, the leadership of which interlocks with both CED and IPS; CPPC also prepared and published a 150-page volume of Working Papers on Economic Democracy that was issued in conjunction with a CED-organized Second California Conference on Alternative Public Policy (also known as the Santa Barbara Conference on Economic Democracy) held in Santa Barbara, California, during February 1977.

CED has also reportedly benefited from funds provided through government grants to California groups employing CED-affiliated personnel. Specifically, Barron's has alleged that "Organizations with CED alliances...have found a place at the public trough via CETA or VISTA money." In Santa Monica, California, the Center for New Corporate Priorities, a group run by Ruth Yannatta Goldway, a member of the Santa Monica City Council elected with CED support, received \$126,000 in CETA money reportedly used to place some 57 CETA trainees with several community groups, most of them CED-oriented, the result being that the U.S. Department of Labor's Inspector General's office has determined there is "prosecutive merit" in allegations that CETA funds have been used to subsidize CED-connected political activity. Other cases of alleged impropriety, reported extensively in the pages of the radical Berkeley Barb, have involved allegations that "the Hayden political machine" has

* Channeled federal dollars from Western SUN (a federal solar energy project) into community action groups which are affiliated with Hayden's CED. At the

same time legitimate solar groups that are not affiliated with CED are unable to obtain funding from Westen [sic] SUN.

* Put CED members on the payroll of Western SUN. Positions in the federal program tend to be filled not on the basis of knowledge or ability in the field of solar power, but on the basis of classic political patronage.

* Obtained federal funding from the CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) program to pay wages to CED members for doing work for CED. The taxpayer-funded work involved little more than political organizing for the Hayden organization.

* Used a Santa Monica crime control program called Communitas, which has a quarter million dollars in federal grants, to promote rent control and other political projects dear to CED's heart, but completely unconnected to crime control.

CED's activities and programs flow from its fundamental tenet that what is needed is for the people "to name -- and publicly challenge the foul thing" known as "Corporate Capitalism" that is allegedly "the source of our ills." These "ills" are characterized as "its racism and sexism and joblessness and wars and inflation and its sugar-coated poisonings of our minds and bodies." CED's efforts to combat this "stagnant thing in our midst" have included electoral politics, community organizing around such issues as rent control and "tenants' rights," and vigorous lobbying campaigns around such issues as solar energy and "progressive tax reform." CED's solar energy proposal, SolarCal, was brought into being by California Governor Jerry Brown in 1978; Hayden was appointed by Brown to serve on the SolarCal council, in addition to being appointed by him to serve as a member of the Southwest Regional Border Commission. The relationship between Brown and Hayden and Fonda is known to be a close one, a fact which indicates a significant degree of acceptance of CED's leadership among elements of the political establishment in California. This is further indicated by the fact that CED numbers among its more prominent members and supporters such individuals as U.S. Representative Ronald V. Dellums, United Farm Workers leader Cesar Chavez, and former California Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally. That CED has enjoyed some practical political success is also indicated by its claim of at least 17 electoral victories in California; in addition, Governor Brown has appointed CED members to county supervisor positions in Santa Cruz and Orange County, according to one report.

CED has also been involved in anti-nuclear agitation, in boycotts of Coors beer and J.P. Stevens products, in promotion of "state bank" legislation, in opposition to "expensive downtown 'redevelopment' schemes" and "outrageous housing speculation,"

and in "the struggle to get the University of California to 'dis-invest' the public's money from South Africa." A January 1980 account indicated that, in the area of "tenants' rights," Cary Lowe, described as "a tenants' rights specialist for" CED, had been active in "attempting to form a national renters' lobby." And, in another program directly related to "community organizing," CED maintains the Laurel Springs Educational Center at the 120-acre Laurel Springs Ranch north of Santa Barbara, California. Purchased in 1977 for a reported \$500,000 (in Fonda's words, "a bank loan based on future film earnings"), this facility is used "to provide a site for the development of alternative sources of energy, such as solar and wind; waste removal and recycling systems; CED's Organizer Training Institute; and a children's summer camp." One source has quoted Hayden as saying that, in addition to training CED activists, "We might contract also with community or government agencies or unions...people who have staff to train." Programs at the Laurel Springs site purportedly help people increase their "skills in the fields of electoral campaigning and community organizing or learn more about the way our economic and political systems operate and what CED's alternatives are." Children attending the summer camp have reportedly been exposed to "such weighty issues as why farm workers should be unionized or why gas companies should not be allowed to construct a liquefied natural gas terminal on sacred Indian land along the California coast." Such subjects are doubtless part of what Fonda has called the "underlying content" of the camp's program, a fact which makes it of more than passing interest that "All contributions" to the Laurel Springs Educational Center "are tax-deductible."

One of the more arresting aspects of CED activity was a meeting between Tom Hayden and President Carter in the Oval Office early in 1978. An account of this meeting, based on Hayden's own notes and published in CED's newspaper in February 1978, revealed that the only other person present was President Carter's adviser Peter Bourne, an early Carter supporter who has been active in such groups as Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the Institute for Southern Studies, an affiliate of IPS. Hayden's account indicated that President Carter agreed with his assessment of the power wielded by "the heads of the giant multi-national corporations whom we do not elect and rarely see" and that the President told Hayden, "I'm proud to get to know you. I've followed your activities with interest, and I think you've made important contributions to our country." The President also reportedly told Hayden to "send our regards to Jane. We respect her very much." To put such effusions into proper perspective, it should be noted that this is the same Tom Hayden who has been quoted as saying that "Communism is one of the options that can improve people's lives" and that Jane Fonda's public utterances have included her statement that "we should strive toward a socialist society, -- all the way to communism."

CAMPAIGN FOR ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY: PART I

INTRODUCTION

The Campaign for Economic Democracy is a California-based apparatus with nationwide connections that operates as a direct outgrowth of the unsuccessful 1976 California campaign of Thomas E. Hayden for the United States Senate. An editorial by Hayden in the June-July 1977 issue of ced news, the Campaign's official publication, indicated that this effort actually began at some point during 1975; dated June 2, 1977, and captioned "June 1977: The Third Year Begins," this article opened by saying that "It's two years since the Hayden campaign officially began." After Hayden's defeat in the primary, an organizing committee worked for several months to transform the campaign apparatus into a permanent vehicle for radical economic and political activism throughout the state under Hayden's leadership.

CED has a paid staff, a statewide steering committee, and an executive committee. Hayden has served as chairman of both the steering and executive committees and has been chairman of CED since its inception. It is widely felt that CED exists to a significant degree, if not primarily, to serve as an instrumentality for the furtherance of Hayden's political ambitions, although it may be that this view is excessively simplistic; it is certainly true that many of those activists associated with Hayden and CED were also deeply involved in the 1976 campaign, but it is equally apparent, based on a review of the available evidence, that the organization's extensive network of interlocking relationships with other elements of the radical left across the country indicates a far larger and more long-term intent, an impression that is in no way vitiated by a statement recently attributed to Hayden by the press: "It's coming. We're going to take over.... The next big generation will be those who came to political life during Vietnam, my generation. The country will be under our influence for a long time to come."* In any event, it is obvious on its face that Hayden's involvement and thinking are central to CED's success and have been from the beginning, an aspect of the

*That this has already begun to come to pass is indicated in a previous Heritage Foundation study; see Institution Analysis No. 9, "The New Left in Government: From Protest to Policy-Making," November 1978. The Vietnam experience was, of course, basic to the development of the New Left in the United States and has created a mentality that has worked a profound alteration even in the nation's foreign policy establishment; this phenomenon is treated with great cogency in a remarkable article, "The Rise & Fall of the New Foreign-Policy Establishment," written by Carl Gershman and published in the July 1980 issue of Commentary. It is not too much to say that Gershman's article is essential to any realistic comprehension of the extent to which the left has managed to achieve institutionalized respectability in the United States in recent years.

organization that assumes added interest when it is realized that the person generally regarded as primarily responsible for CED's major fund-raising efforts is actress Jane Fonda, Hayden's wife of several years and an activist on the far left of American political life of no mean accomplishment in her own right.

BUILDING A RADICAL COALITION

According to an informative (and, it should be noted, highly critical) account provided by Justin Raimondo in "The CED Syndrome: The Politics of the New Class," published in the January 1980 issue of The Libertarian Review,

The Campaign for Economic Democracy was founded, by Hayden and Fonda, in 1977, after Hayden's defeat in his attempt to win John Tunney's Senate seat. The group is run by a steering committee elected from local chapters; no public convention has ever been held. Hayden claims that membership has doubled in two years, to a current total of 8000. Of these, approximately 500 to 1000 are activists who can be depended on to come to weekly meetings, integrate CED work into daily life, and travel for the organization if necessary. Founding members include leftwing Congressman Ron Dellums, and Cesar Chavez. It has a budget of about \$300,000 per year -- raised mostly by Fonda and her Hollywood connections -- and a paid staff of twenty-one. The superstructure of affiliated organizations are all tax exempt. The California Public Policy Center researches issues like rent control and solar energy. The Organizer Training Institute does exactly what it says it does. There is even a ranch in the hills overlooking Santa Barbara for staff retreats and a children's summer camp.

A host of CED associates have been appointed by Governor [Jerry] Brown to various positions with the growing solar power bureaucracy; Hayden himself was appointed by Brown to the State SolarCal Council, a CED idea that Brown championed as California's "soft technology" answer to the energy crisis. Presidential candidate Brown also made Hayden a "special counsel" to his administration, and appointed him to the Southwest Border Regional Commission. In recent months, Brown has appointed two CED members to county supervisor positions, one in Santa Cruz, and one in Orange County.

But the measure of CED's initial success is more than the measure of Brown's trendy opportunism. Within the last 18 months, CED members and CED-backed initiatives and candidates for public office have won elections around the state; rural Yolo and Butte counties, Chico, Berkeley, Bakersfield, Santa Monica and Los

Angeles are all scenes of CED victories. CED has been the backbone of the rent control movement in California, which Hayden initially saw as a losing issue, until the victory of Proposition 13 made landlords who did not pass along tax savings to renters an easy target.

CED claims 17 electoral victories in California, so far -- and the Democratic Party leadership is running scared. Hayden's recent tour is an indication that soon the panic will achieve national proportions. Already, a loose coalition is beginning to take shape around the country; Massachusetts Fair Share, ACORN, International Association of Machinists' president William Winpisinger with the Citizens/Labor Energy Coalition, the Progressive Alliance headed by UAW's Douglas Fraser, as well as Michael Harrington's DSOC [Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee] and groups like the New American Movement, all share a somewhat common political perspective. All are committed to working within the confines of the Democratic Party -- and, in the final analysis, the confines of State Capitalism -- in order to hold their own against the anti-bureaucratic tidal wave which is sweeping the country.

In his June-July 1977 ced news editorial, Hayden wrote that "We've laid the foundation for a coalition of progressive leaders, activists, and organizations" and added that "We've introduced a new concept and program -- economic democracy -- for progressive people to rally around. With SolarCal, we are on the way to our first legislative struggle with a chance of success." The final paragraphs of this article provide the reader with an indication of both the basic radicalism and the political ambition of Hayden's and CED's program [emphasis as in original]:

We've scored some strategic victories. The election of Ben Tom gave us a base in San Francisco politics where many progressive triumphs are possible in the future. Karl Ory's election in Chico means an early foothold in one of the fastest-growing areas of California. The victories of Lionel Wilson, John George and others in Oakland is a great step for coalition politics with the Black community.

We've become a real challenge to the establishment, from the Bank of America to the comfortable liberals in power. We are realigning California politics, giving a voice to at least one million voters. The [Mel] Levines and [John] Tunneys, liberals of yesterday, are fast becoming the conservative wing of the Democratic Party.

And we're attending to the internal problems of political education and organizational structure vital to any long-term movement. Our children's camp is a statement of faith in our future.

The challenge we represent to established power -- liberal or conservative -- was best described to me by a union leader recently. I asked him why so many of his union friends are bothered by us. "They don't know how to deal with you," he answered. "If you represented only power, they could make a deal with you. If you represented only ideology, they could take it or leave it. But you represent both power and ideology, and they can't control it."

What both the Libertarian Review assessment and Hayden's own 1977 editorial have in common is, of course, the emphasis on political power, what is often somewhat colloquially called "clout." In the 1960s and early 1970s, radicals of varying hues coalesced, largely under Communist influence,* in mass demonstrations which frequently had as rallying cries a variety of slogans about the need to bring down the "system." Now, as the nation moves into the 1980s, many of these Vietnam-era radicals have elected to become a part of the same system, their aim being to use the nation's political machinery to effect their goals from a base of political power on the inside of the very system they were challenging in the streets just a few short years ago. It is this development that gives CED a significance it might not otherwise enjoy.

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CARTER

This is illustrated dramatically by a "Dear Friend" letter circulated over Hayden's signature by CED in 1978. In this undated letter, Hayden called attention to "a startling revelation" during his meeting with President Jimmy Carter "several weeks ago" in the Oval Office:

Jimmy Carter's first question to me was whether I was "satisfied" at seeing so many once controversial ideas finally being carried out as national policy. The radicalism of the 60s, he seemed to imply, was becoming the common sense of the 70s.

His question reminded me of something which Norman Thomas once said when asked if his ideas had been carried out by the New Deal. "Yes", the old social crusader answered, "they were carried out--but in a coffin."

So I'm not satisfied, I told the President. The federal budget, I said, expands the Pentagon's war

*For a review of this influence as it developed in the anti-Vietnam war movement, see Heritage Foundation Institution Analysis No. 11, "The Anti-Defense Lobby: Part II, 'The Peace Movement, Continued,'" September 1979.

chest while doing nothing new for our ailing cities; increases a dangerous commitment to nuclear power plants over solar energy; seems to blandly accept massive unemployment, particularly among youth, combined with permanent inflation in the cost of the basic necessities of life.

The greatest issue, I continued, is a lack of power to do anything about these crises. Then followed this exchange.

"Even you, the elected President of the United States, really have less power than the heads of the giant multinational corporations whom we do not elect and rarely see."

"I believe that's true." He told me. "I've learned that these past twelve months [emphasis, capitalization, and punctuation as in original]."

Hayden's conclusion was hardly surprising:

That's a pretty blunt--and authoritative--admission about the state of our democracy. And it proves once again that we can't leave our future to any single elected leader no matter how "honest" or "decent" or "competent."

The only force strong enough to offset the power of Big Money is that of a determined, positive and effective citizen's movement.

The importance of such a meeting between the President of the United States and one of the most prominent radical leaders of the 1960s should not be underestimated. Such an audience must, by its very nature, work to confer a degree of legitimacy and acceptance that otherwise might never be attained. As Hayden boasted at the outset of his letter,

Ten years ago when I was demonstrating outside the White House gates against the Vietnam War, I would not have believed that this year I would be sitting in the Oval Office arguing national priorities with the President. And I doubt that Jimmy Carter's aides expected to be scurrying around Washington trying to find a copy of the Port Huron Statement, the manifesto of the 1960's student movement, for the President to study before our meeting.

Indeed. Such a meeting renders quite credible Hayden's earlier-quoted claims that "We're going to take over" and that "The country will be under our influence for a long time to come." It is noteworthy that Hayden's 1978 "Dear Friend" letter included four photographs on its first page, two of them of

Hayden with California Governor Jerry Brown and another of Hayden talking with President Carter. Both indicate plainly that Hayden has achieved a remarkable degree of acceptance since the period when he was "demonstrating outside the White House gates." And it is probably fair to speculate that this metamorphosis, especially when viewed in conjunction with the steady movement of other former movement types into responsible government positions at the national, state, and local levels, may well be the most important political development of the early 1980s.

A lengthy account of the Hayden-Carter meeting was published in the February 1978 issue of CED NEWS. Based on Hayden's notes of the session, this account begins by citing the fact that Hayden was in Washington pursuant to his appointment "by Governor Brown as a California delegate to the White House Conference on Balanced National Growth and Economic Development." After the ritual press photographs were taken, Hayden and Carter began their meeting: "We were alone, and sat down in two comfortable chairs by the fireplace. Peter Bourne joined us." As noted by Hayden, Bourne "is an activist with historic ties to veterans and anti-war groups. Along with his wife, former civil rights activist Mary King, he was one of the earliest Carter supporters." According to Hayden, it was Bourne who had "spent most of the week ordering White House staff to locate the 'Port Huron Statement', founding manifesto of the 1960's student movement, so that the President could better brief himself for our meeting." The significance of Bourne's being the only other person in the Oval Office with Hayden and President Carter may be seen from the fact that his background in "veterans and anti-war groups" includes active affiliation with both Vietnam Veterans Against the War, part of the Communist-dominated Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice, and the Institute for Southern Studies, a subsidiary of the Institute for Policy Studies, described in the 1971 annual report of the House Committee on Internal Security as "the far-left radical 'think tank' in Washington, D.C."*

THOMAS E. HAYDEN

According to Hayden's notes, President Carter began the meeting by saying to Hayden, "I'm proud to get to know you. I've followed your activities with interest, and I think you've made important contributions to our country." Such an encomium deserves to be put into proper perspective, which is easily accomplished by quoting the following biographical sketch contained in a study circulated by a government agency in 1969:

Hayden was born December 11, 1939, at Detroit, Michigan. He received an A.B. degree in English from

*Both Bourne and King are discussed in Heritage Foundation Institution Analysis No. 9, "The New Left in Government: From Protest to Policy-Making," November 1978.

the University of Michigan on June 17, 1961. He attended the University of Michigan's School of Graduate Studies from September, 1962, until May, 1964. While a student at the University, he was active in the civil rights movement in Georgia and Mississippi.

Hayden was one of the original organizers of the SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] in 1962 and one of its first National Presidents. He was the principal author of the "Port Huron Statement" that formed the ideological structure of the organization.

Hayden has traveled extensively in connection with his rebellion against U.S. policy at home and abroad. In late December, 1965, and January, 1966, he traveled to Prague, Moscow, Peking, and North Vietnam. He was one of 41 Americans who took part in a week-long conference in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, in September, 1967, with North Vietnamese and Viet Cong representatives. He was one of seven Americans who visited North Vietnam in the Fall of 1967 and returned with three American soldiers who had been prisoners of the North Vietnamese. He was in Cuba for the Cultural Congress of Havana in January, 1968, at which the United States was condemned for its "role of worldwide imperialist aggressor" and support was pledged to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the United States. In July, 1968, Hayden was in France, where he conferred with North Vietnamese leaders.

Hayden was arrested during the Columbia University riots in May, 1968. That same month, he quit his position as Associate Editor of "Liberation" magazine in New York and went to Chicago to work with the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam [successor to the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and immediate predecessor to the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, both officially cited as Communist-dominated]. Hayden was arrested in connection with disturbances at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in August, 1968. In early January, 1969, he began a series of lectures at the University of California at Berkeley on "The New American Revolution."

Hayden has spent his entire adult life vehemently denouncing the "sinking and decaying" structure of American society.

Hayden's close relationship to, and identification with, the cause of the North Vietnamese Communists against the United States may be seen in vivid form in the following letter addressed by him to a North Vietnamese official, Colonel Ha Van Lau (misspelled "Lao" in the salutation):

June 4, 1968

Dear Col. Lao:

This note is to introduce to you Mr. Robert Greenblatt, the coordinator of the National Mobilization [Committee] to End the War in Vietnam. He works closely with myself and Dave Dellinger, and has just returned from Hanoi.

If there are any pressing questions you wish to discuss, Mr. Greenblatt will be in Paris for a few days.

We hope that the current Paris discussions go well for you. The news from South Vietnam seems very good indeed.

We hope to see you this summer in Paris or at a later time.

Good fortune!
Victory!

/s/ Tom Hayden

Tom Hayden

This essentially pro-Hanoi and anti-United States point of view was mirrored again as the Vietnam war was ending. According to an article in the April 18, 1975, edition of the New York Times describing a meeting at the Hayden-Fonda home, "They have watched the television scenes of refugee flight and death with dismay, but not surprise. They place the blame not on advancing Vietnamese Communist forces, but on American policy." The article quoted Hayden as seeing "this as a result of something we've been working toward a long time. Indochina has not fallen -- it has risen. What has fallen is the whole cold war establishment." Hayden also reportedly said he hoped the United States would abandon its "knee jerk acceptance of right wing dictatorships" in favor of a recognition that "Communism is one of the options that can improve people's lives."

Another aspect of Hayden's background that is of some interest is his attitude at various times toward so-called ghetto violence. His volume Rebellion in Newark: Official Violence and Ghetto Response, published in 1967 after the violent riots in Newark, New Jersey, included the following discussion:

The role of organized violence is now being carefully considered. During a riot, for instance, a conscious guerrilla can participate in pulling police away from the path of people engaged in attacking stores. He can create disorder in new areas the police think are secure. He can carry the torch, if not all

the people, to white neighborhoods and downtown business districts. If necessary, he can successfully shoot to kill.

The guerrilla can employ violence effectively during times of apparent "peace," too. He can attack, in the suburbs or slums, with paint or bullets, symbols of racial oppression. He can get away with it. If he can force the oppressive power to be passive and defensive at the point where it is administered -- by the caseworker, landlord, storeowner, or policeman -- he can build people's confidence in their ability to demand change. Persistent, accurately-aimed attacks, which need not be on human life to be effective, might disrupt the administration of the ghetto to a crisis point where a new system would have to be considered.

These tactics of disorder will be defined by the authorities as criminal anarchy. But it may be that disruption will create possibilities of meaningful change. This depends on whether the leaders of ghetto struggles can be more successful in building strong organization than they have been so far. Violence can contribute to shattering the status quo, but only politics and organization can transform it....

When asked about this during an appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on December 3, 1968, Hayden responded:

Now I think that that is a clear statement. It is my own view, as much today as it was when I wrote the book. I think that what has happened in American ghettos since the book was written indicates that the book was accurate in predicting what would happen. If you look at any daily paper, you see that violence is breaking out in the urban areas, wherever people have no organized opportunities for democratic participation in resolving their problems, period.

And I think that under those conditions, violence is oftentimes defensible.

Another indication appeared in an article published in the December 17, 1967, edition of the New York Times with reference to a December 15, 1967, meeting in New York City at which Hayden reportedly "made an impassioned defense of rioters in the Newark racial outbursts last summer and of those who advocate revolutionary action in the peace movement." This account reflects that Hayden stated "a case can be made for violence in the peace movement" and that he elaborated on this by saying, "It's not as if violence in the slums and in Vietnam appeared in a vacuum [sic]. It came only after the failure of democratic methods. When I participate in violence it was [sic] out of that failure -- not as an expression of psychological self-hatred."

HAYDEN-CARTER MEETING, CONTINUED

Hayden's notes indicate an extraordinarily cordial atmosphere during the Oval Office meeting, with President Carter apparently sharing his view of how ideas regarded at one point as radical very often become standard doctrine with the passage of time: "It seems to be a pattern that a reform candidate proposes an idea in one year...and loses, but the idea, particularly if it's a sound one, is picked up by the opponent and in a few years becomes the nation's policy." Interestingly, during a discussion of what it is like to campaign "while being laughed at" as a relative unknown or newcomer to politics, President Carter provided indications of just how important a role Bourne and King had played in his behalf:

Well, we didn't mind the scorn that much. We had a strategy worked out. Peter [Bourne] here had written a long letter urging me to run years ago, and Hamilton Jordan had framed a plan for the primaries. In Iowa, I visited 110 towns and cities, and Rosalyn [sic] must have gone to 70 or so by herself. In those places, I was taken seriously. I was introduced as a former governor, after all, and the first presidential candidate they had seen. It didn't matter what the rest of the press was saying. When our plan worked, and we won that primary, then we had to be taken more seriously. And it just kept going that way. We were lucky, too. Then after the nomination and after all the primaries, they suddenly began asking me about the Middle East, Salt [sic] talks, health care. It changed. It was great. But anyway, it was true, we were considered crazy for trying. I used to stay with Peter and Mary [Mary King is now deputy director of Action] here in Washington after they had moved from Atlanta. They were about the only people who thought we could win.

Hayden had come to the White House armed with "several working papers on economic and energy issues" for the President's consideration, as well as a desire "to open a dialogue with you about the issues we are working on." President Carter replied "That would be fine" to Hayden's statement that "we would like our economic democracy alternative considered as a legitimate part of the national debate, and we would like a way to plug our ideas, suggestions and criticisms into this office." Hayden also expressed appreciation for "your stands on some controversial California issues - the B-1 Bomber, the land issue in the San Joaquin Valley, opposing the Auburn Dam, providing funds for the United Farm Workers" while, at the same time, voicing sharp criticism of the federal budget, which he saw as reflecting "all the wrong priorities. The cities are neglected while the military budget rises. It aims at getting the confidence of the businessmen who didn't vote for you but not the confidence of the poor, the minorities - those who suffer most." Eschewing any desire to criticize by "personalizing or letting politics enter" any possible

dispute, Hayden instead avowed an interest "in joining the debate on what the national priorities should be, on the need for a solar energy and conservation emphasis, on the larger question of corporate accountability." These, he argued, "are going to be the great problems of the future."

The meeting concluded with President Carter saying, "Let's remain in contact, and I'll appreciate ypur [sic] views. And send our regards to Jane [Fonda, Hayden's wife]. We respect her very much. And please come and see us here again." Carter also reemphasized his admiration for Hayden: "Again, I'm proud to have met you."

JANE FONDA

Like his effusion with respect to Hayden, President Carter's expression of "respect" for Jane Fonda merits an attempt to place it in proper perspective. This is because, as mentioned at the beginning of the present study, she has apparently provided the major financial support for CED and because she has emerged over the years as a formidable radical activist in her own right.

Fonda's support for such groups as the violence-oriented Black Panther Party is a well-known matter of public record, as is her equally vehement support for the cause of Hanoi during the war in Vietnam. In a biography of Jane Fonda published in 1973, Thomas Kiernan stated that Fonda had become involved with support for radical Indians and Black Panthers and that

While Jane was in the process of learning about the Indians and Black Panthers, she attended a party given in Hollywood for [Italian motion picture director Michelangelo] Antonioni [described by Kiernan as "an Italian Communist"]. There she met Fred Gardner, the attractive, persuasive, deadly serious Marxist who had started the GI movement, had written a book about the Presidio mutiny and was currently president of the United States Servicemen's Fund. Out of that meeting came the real beginning of a whole new life for Jane Fonda.

Another mentor was to be Mark Lane, well-known radical attorney who, in addition to his notoriety as a purveyor of conspiracy theories, has a background that includes active membership in the National Lawyers Guild, cited as the "legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents." That such association had its impact on her views is apparent from her April 1971 sponsorship of an organization known as the Wilfred Burchett Sixtieth Birthday Committee, Burchett being an Australian Communist reporter who has been identified in sworn testimony as an agent

of the KGB. There have also been allegations that Burchett participated in the "interrogation" of American soldiers held by the Communists during the Korean War.

Fonda's best-known activities, however, have undoubtedly been in conjunction with her extreme opposition to United States policy in Vietnam, an opposition that led her to express the most blatant support for the Communist side. On November 22, 1969, for example, in a speech at Michigan State University, she characterized the Viet Cong as "driven by the same spirit that drove Washington and Jefferson" and hailed them as "the conscience of the world." In a 1971 speech at the University of Texas, she exulted over the growing resistance to U.S. policy within the military, claiming that "No order is accepted unchallenged" and adding that "We should be very proud of our new breed of soldier. They are not even performing the basic functions of a soldier. It's not organized but it's mutiny, and they have every right." And in a speech broadcast by Radio Hanoi on July 26, 1972, the following paragraphs were especially revealing:

This is Jane Fonda in Hanoi. I am very honored to be a guest in your country, and I loudly condemn the crimes that have been committed by the U.S. Government in the name of the American people against your country.

A growing number of people in the United States not only demand an end to the war, an end to the bombing, a withdrawal of all -- all U.S. troops and an end to the support of the Thieu clique, but we indentify [sic] with the struggle of your people. We have understood that we have a common enemy -- U.S. imperialism. We have understood that we have a common struggle and that your victory will be the victory of the American people and all peace-loving people around the world. Your struggle and your courage in the face of the most unbelievable hardships has inspired all of us in the deepest part of our hearts. We follow very closely the crimes that are being committed against you by the Thieu regime; the people, the brave people who are speaking out for peace and independence, who are being put away into prisons, in the -- in the tiger cages.

Another statement by Fonda, published as part of an interview with her and her husband Tom Hayden in the April 1974 issue of Playboy magazine, was equally instructive:

I'm very weary of the thinking that says there are two sides to every question. There aren't....The question shouldn't be whether or not the North Vietnamese or the Provisional Revolutionary Government commits atrocities in the course of the war. The real question is: Who is ultimately responsible for the war? For those who don't already know the answer, I suggest they read the Pentagon Papers, which reveal that the United

States has always been the aggressor in Vietnam [emphasis in original]....

The motivation for such statements is indicated in a number of Fonda's public utterances over the years. Although her father, actor Henry Fonda, has been quoted as arguing that "she's never been a Communist or a Socialist," Jane Fonda's public speeches and interviews are replete with evidence that, philosophically at least, the opposite appears to be the case. In her November 1969 Michigan State University speech, for instance, she said, "I would think that if you understood what communism was, you would hope, you would pray on your knees that we would someday become communist." In the same speech, she avowed that socialism is "a good message, and the more people give it, the better." Similarly, in a December 11, 1970, speech at Duke University, Fonda reiterated her views by stating that "I would think that if you understood what communism was, you would hope and pray on your knees that we would someday be communist" and adding, "I am a socialist, I think that we should strive toward a socialist society, -- all the way to communism [punctuation as in original]."

Closely related to her acceptance of socialism and communism is Fonda's stated position on the need for revolution. The July 12, 1970, issue of the Cuban Communist newspaper Granma reportedly quoted her as saying that "Revolution is a natural and necessary part of life; it is an act of love." In like manner, the July 18, 1970, issue of the People's World, west coast newspaper of the Communist Party, U.S.A., carried extended passages from a telephone interview granted by Fonda to another Cuban Communist newspaper, Juventud Rebelde, during which she reportedly said that "To make the revolution in the United States is a slow day by day job that requires patience and discipline. It is the only way to make it." She was further quoted in this account as saying that, although she is "one of the people who benefit from a capitalist society, I find that any system which exploits other people cannot and should not exist." To Fonda, "the system is corrupt from the bottom up" and "is at fault and is the problem." To deal with the nation's difficulties, according to Fonda, one must attack this "corrupt" system: "While nothing is done against the imperialist system, all the rest will be artificial." The relative hardness of her views as of that time was indicated in a statement published in the December 11, 1971, edition of the Dallas Morning News:

We've got to establish a socialistic economic structure that will limit private, profit-oriented businesses....Whether the transition is peaceful depends on the way our present governmental leaders react. We must commit our lives to this transition. We can't bow to intimidation because we've come too far....

Despite Kiernan's statement indicating a conversion to active radicalism because of exposure to the likes of Fred Gardner, a statement generally supported by indications provided by Fonda

herself in her Juventud Rebelde interview as reported by the People's World, another source indicates a possibly somewhat earlier reason. The February 1971 issue of McCall's magazine carried an interview with Fonda conducted by Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci in which Fonda was quoted as follows:

Four years ago I went to Russia. In spite of my liberal background, I had been a victim of American propaganda. Somehow the idea of the Communists as enemies had been drilled into my mind. So I expected Russians to be strange people, and I saw such beautiful people instead! So much less aggressive than Americans! I was there for the First of May, and all through the military glorification of tanks and missiles, people were carrying peace banners and huge paper flowers and singing, "Peace, we want peace, no more war." And there was a smell of freedom and gaiety in their streets. There was not the tension that you see in Western cities....

Whether such a statement indicates a predisposition toward communism or merely a degree of naivete that is almost staggering in its dimensions is, of course, doubtless a matter for individual interpretation; it is certainly true, however, that relatively few objective visitors have ever detected the strong scent of freedom in the streets of the Soviet Union. It is perhaps hardly surprising that Jane Fonda evolved in her radical views to the point that, in a June 1971 speech in Los Angeles, California, at a meeting of Entertainment Industry for Peace & Justice, an allegedly anti-war group which she served as a member of its steering committee, she was moved to declare that "What is needed is victory for the Viet Cong."

The record of Jane Fonda's activities, like that of her husband Tom Hayden, has been dealt with at such length because, as indicated above, Hayden and Fonda, in a very real sense, appear to be the Campaign for Economic Democracy. They are certainly its most visible and well-known activists; and, while it is true that any organization depends for its growth and success on the participation of committed people at all levels, one is entitled to wonder how well CED would have done without either or both of these movement celebrities who seem to enjoy such a remarkable coincidence of views. In this connection, one final quote from Fonda is revealing, reflecting as it does the view attributed to Hayden with respect to the coming influence of the Vietnam generation on American politics; it is taken from a book by Barbara Zheutlin and David Talbot, Creative Differences: Profiles of Hollywood Dissidents, published in 1978 by the South End Press in Boston, Massachusetts:

It's now possible for people who represent the politics of the sixties movements to begin to take political power. We're not interested in being protestors [sic] for the rest of our lives. We're talking about sponsoring legislation. And we're talking about making progressive movies, because it's important to build a progressive

culture and to open people's minds. Ultimately we must concern ourselves with pulling out by its roots the decadence that controls our culture, the profit motive that controls our culture. But you can't do that unless you have power.

MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES AND PROGRAMS

From its inception in 1977, CED has projected an ambitious program of political activism built around a variety of issues. "Vol I number 1" of an early CED newspaper, The Campaigner for Economic Democracy, dated March 1977, characterized the organization as "an 'organization of organizers' consisting of local activists involved in electoral politics and community organizing." A "Campaigner's corner" column in the same source outlined the range of "top state-wide priorities for campaigners for Economic Democracy" as of that time:

SOS...Support Our Sheriff, Richard Hongisto, of San Francisco, sentenced to jail for refusing to evict elderly Asian tenants from the International Hotel. Hongisto is appealing the sentence, result of a lawsuit brought by the powerful real estate lobby and a judgement by unrepresentative, isolated judges. Laurie Bodendorfer, CED San Francisco activist, is coordinating the effort...

CHAIN...The California Housing Action and Information Network, a new statewide coalition to fight for housing rights for tenants as well as homeowners, recently kicked off with a well-attended, all-day conference in Los Angeles. CHAIN held 2 regional organizing meetings in San Diego and San Francisco in mid-March, and is now working against efforts to outlaw local rent control ordinances, and for bills to force landlords to pay interest to tenants of more low-cost housing. Cary Lowe, co-director of the California Public Policy Center, is also interim coordinator of CHAIN. CED forces are active in CHAIN and related efforts, like the attempt to pass the Berkeley Rent Control Initiative this June...

ISSUES TASK FORCES...Jim Gonzales, CED Steering Committee member, reports that the Education Task Force, formed at the Santa Barbara conference, has already blocked a bill to exempt Fresno from implementing the law on bi-lingual, bi-cultural education. Task Force members met with San Francisco Assembly member Art Agnos, who succeed[ed] in "pushing over" the bill and thus effectively killing it. Task Force members have also joined with other CED groups around the state fighting the Bakke decision, which reverses major affirmative action gains of the past decade...

ENERGY...CED forces have been a major voice in the need for greater tanker safety, with Organizing Committee member Tom Hayden testifying on a half-dozen occasions in Los Angeles. Hayden and CED mainstay Jan Jones spoke at a huge rally in San Pedro after the Sansinena tanker explosion organized primarily by the Jim Stanbery for City Council organization. CED forces have also been actively protesting the attempt to build a SOHIO oil terminus in Long Beach, DOW and ARCO petrochemical plant near the Suisan March, and Southern California Gas LNG plant in L.A. Harbor. Tom Hayden recently released a letter questioning Energy Commission member Alan Pasternack for his reported strategems in closed meetings to foist nuclear energy on the public.

TAXES...CED forces continue to push for basic tax reform, supporting the growing movement around the Petris Bill in the State Senate which would make basic structural reforms in the state tax system for the first time in recent memory. CED groups around the state are also active on the property tax issue, with CED San Fernando Valley forces particularly active in Los Angeles tax reform. Several CED chapters went to Sacramento to lobby for the Petris Bill in an action called by the Services Employees International Union (SEIU)...

J.P. STEVENS...CED has joined the nation-wide struggle to force J.P. Stevens, one of the most notorious anti-union companies in the nation, to comply with the National Labor Relations Act. Supporting the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CED forces are organizing in California to stop the state from purchasing Stevens products.

FARMWORKERS...CED forces support the UFW in attacking ALRB general counsel, Harry Delizonna, for ordering arrests of farmworkers in Calexico. The ALRB needs public pressure to move faster on union grievances and to certify elections...

COMMUNITY CONTROL...CED forces are preparing a major battle this June in San Francisco, as business and reactionary forces unite to try and recall Prop T. Progressive groups, including CED members, succeeded [sic] in passing Prop T last November, which mandated district elections of Supervisors, thus making them accountable to the neighborhoods for the first time...

CANDIDATES...Ruth Yannatta, consumer advocate running on an anti-corporate platform for a Santa Monica-West L.A. Assembly seat, has the strong backing of local CED forces. Yannatta's already healthy chances recently improved dramatically when an expected major

opponent dropped out. Her best-financed opponent now was [sic] a member of John Tunney's Executive Committee... Barbara Filner, CED mainstay in San Diego, is campaign manager for Yvonne Schultz a community activist who was narrowly defeated for City Council last time out... Burt Wilson, co-director of CAUSE, one of California's major consumer groups, is waging a strong fight to succeed Charles Warren, recently named as Council on Environmental Quality head, in the 46th A.D. in Los Angeles. Wilson, strongly supported by local CED forces, led the fight to defeat the ARCO "advance payments" scheme and various telephone rate increases, is an advocate of public control of utilities and a state bank...

Up north, CED forces have mobilized around the campaign of black Judge Lionel Wilson for Mayor of Oakland, and Jane Fonda has organized a fund-raiser for Wilson, with O.J. Simpson, Roosevelt Grier, Willie Brown, and Mervyn Dymally at Redd Foxx's house... CED forces in Berkeley are also working for a progressive slate in the upcoming Berkeley City Council elections, as well as on the rent-control initiative...

Congratulations to Karl Ory, recently elected to the Chico City Council, who was supported by local CED activists and Tom Hayden, who campaigned for him in Chico... Short-term regrets, high long-term expectations for Manuel Gomez, who was narrowly defeated for the Santa Ana School Board in early March. Gomez, who stands a good chance next time out, was strongly supported by Orange County CED members, who brought in CED activists from San Diego to campaign for Gomez the last weekend before election day [punctuation as in original]...

The June-July 1977 issue of ced news, headlined "SPECIAL ELECTION ISSUE," reflected a similarly varied program geared to a selection of issues with obvious appeal to radical activists. Included was material related to boycotts of Coors beer and J.P. Stevens products; an attack on California State Assembly member Mel Levine as a tool of "California's most influential corporate cliques"; a hostile assessment of CED purportedly prepared by "a Senior Public Affairs Analyst for the Bank of America" and "passed on to CED by a source within the Bank"; discussions of two unsuccessful CED-backed campaigns for seats in the California State Assembly, one by Burt Wilson of Los Angeles and another by Ruth Yannatta, also in Los Angeles, Yannatta's involving "over 150 CED activists from throughout the state" and expenditures of \$100,000; and CED support for so-called "nonviolent direct action" against a California nuclear facility:

Direct action in California will be coordinated by the Abalone Alliance. On June 12, CED's Steering Committee voted to endorse the nonviolent direct action program of the Abalone Alliance against the reactors at

Diablo Valley. Two members of the Steering Committee, Chuck Carlson of Ben Lomond and Jan Smutney Jones of Long Beach, will meet with the leaders of the Abalone Alliance to work out the details of CED's participation in the overall direct action program in California and particularly in the planned occupation at Diablo on Hiroshima Day in August.

Participation in such anti-nuclear energy activities has been pursuant to CED's policy of opposing nuclear facilities and promoting development of what it calls "a state-owned solar industry." The ced news article which revealed the organization's support for the Abalone Alliance also described CED's three-part "strategy in dealing with the Carter/Schlesinger energy program:"

- 1) support the groups that want to force an early confrontation between the nuclear industry and the "unwilling" residents of the state, 2) participate in regulatory and legislative activities to encourage a real policy of energy conservation, and 3) take the leadership in the state in the development of a state-owned solar industry.

The June-July 1977 ced news also carried a "CAPITAL REPORT" written by one Patti Lightstone, characterized as a "CED lobbyist." This account indicated particular CED concern with three legislative measures before the California State Assembly: legislation on farmworker housing, a bill restoring the death penalty, and a proposal "for tax reform and meaningful property tax relief." Lightstone's discussion of the tax relief measure is interesting largely for its criticism of California Governor Jerry Brown, who has enjoyed considerable support from Hayden, Fonda, and the CED apparatus in recent years. As of publication of Lightstone's article, there were three "property tax-relief bills" before the Assembly, one of which -- not the one being supported by CED -- was allegedly being promoted "by the Governor" with "strong help from the Republican Caucus." This measure was dismissed by Lightstone as "a counterfeit attempt at tax reform" that "contains insufficient relief for low and middle-income homeowners and effectively does nothing for renters." Another article, "the public eye," indicated further criticism of Governor Brown, partly because of Brown's appointment of "another banker to head the state's chief business agency" and partly because

Rather than attacking potential Republican opponents like [California Attorney General Evelle] Younger as tools of big business, however, Jerry Brown has chosen to fight propaganda with propaganda....Following its (made in New Jersey) "California Means Business" button extravaganza, the Governor's office has recently issued an "Economic Report of the Governor 1977" which reads more like a Chamber of Commerce brochure than a government study. Despite the continuing economic doldrums, the report continually refers to the "overall health"

and "dynamic quality" of the California economy..... Latest reports indicate that Brown is planning a late-August extravaganza to celebrate the space shuttle at Edwards Air Force Base in Lancaster, California, presumably both to push his proposal for space colonies and the line that the space program produces jobs [emphasis and punctuation as in original].....

The February 1978 CED NEWS continued to reflect CED's opposition to nuclear power facilities, this time bearing down on the Sundesert nuclear plant and criticizing Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley for his support of the facility and alleging that the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power had "emerged as the main force pushing for" the plant, "most recently prodding Mayor Tom Bradley into an open confrontation with Jerry Brown (who is opposed to Sundesert)." The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was also excoriated for "caving in to the energy corporations" by adopting a "pro-oil company line on such issues as deregulation of natural gas and nuclear power." In the CED view, "corporations apparently not only take over everything from the media to sports teams, but formerly liberal organizations as well..." This issue of the paper also contained a "Grassroots Action" calendar similar to the "Campaigner's corner" column in the March 1977 Campaigner for Economic Democracy:

SAN DIEGO: Recruiting membership through community education and lobbying for responsible redevelopment. A new letter-writing campaign for SolarCal has begun. New office is at 3000 E St., S.D. 92102. Phone (714) 234-0106.

WEST L.A.: Continuing to mobilize pressure for SolarCal on Assemblyman Mel Levine and to work on a poll on rent control and other local issues.

SAN FERNANDO VALLEY: Planning a day with Tom Hayden on March 8 with campus speeches and a community meeting, and participating in a Town Hall meeting Feb. 25 on housing issues.

ORANGE COUNTY: Involved in campaigns of two progressives, Manuel Gomez for Santa Ana School Board and Larry Agran for the Irvine City Council.

M.A.P.C. (EAST L.A.): Working with the Immigration Coalition on two fund-raisers to send people to testify at immigration hearings in Washington; working with the Solidarity Committee on a Solidarity Dinner March 11.

SANTA MARIA: Continues work on CED member Jim Woogerd's campaign for Mayor.

BERKELEY: Major projects include a women's conference (as a follow-up to the Houston conference) on March 5

and a four-day event around Sun Day. Precinct work to recruit members will begin soon. Gained the Berkeley Energy Commission endorsement of SolarCal.

RIO HONDO: Working on a fundraising dinner-dance with Tom Hayden and Jané Fonda in April to introduce the new chapter to the community, and doing research on local issues.

YOLO: Launched campaign for publicly owned city bank, and put a referendum on the city's investments in South Africa on the March ballot in Davis.

FUNDRAISING: Celebrity auction is coming up April 2. A research committee is looking at local issues.

BAKERSFIELD: Planning an economic development conference on Kern County issues and strategy. New food coop is in operation.

SAN FRANCISCO: A labor support task force is working on the Coors and J.P. Stevens boycotts; work continues in the S.F. Housing and Muni[cipal?] Coalitions.

OAKLAND: Continuing work on service center and building chapter.

SAN JOSE: Working in district elections coalition and researching local campaigns. SolarCal work continues.

SANTA CRUZ: Working against recall of Supervisor Phil Baldwin.

MONTEREY: Continuing local membership drive and coalition work with Monterey County Health Council.

SAN MATEO: Getting ready for a fundraiser with Tom Hayden in March and district elections initiative on the June ballot.

CHICO: Getting petitions signed for CED member Jane Dolan's campaign for County Supervisor.

HAYWARD: Voter registration continues for CED member Marianne Camp's race for City Council.

Hayden's 1978 "Dear Friend" appeal included a concise outline of CED's program to resolve "the 'crisis of the cities'" through "an economic development policy that creates productive jobs, maintains needed services, and at the same time relieves the gouged middle class of an insufferable tax burden." Hayden's apparent solicitude for the "gouged middle class" is interesting on a number of accounts, given his exceptionally radical background; he explained it by saying that "If the large interests get more

tax breaks, and the poor get welfare, the middle class might as well forget the American dream." The "crisis of the cities" program was described in the following language:

CED is pushing for progressive tax reform that protects both the individual homeowner and renter from skyrocketing taxes and speculation. We have been working with Senators Dunlap, Petris, Roberti, and Sieroty, as well as senior citizen, labor, and tax-payer groups all over the state for the best possible package in Sacramento.

We are working with the Governor's Office of Planning and Research on their proposed "urban strategy", with an emphasis on saving existing neighborhoods, bringing jobs back to the inner city, protecting precious farm land, and putting an end to "urban sprawl".

We support the "state bank" legislation proposed by Senators Dunlap and Petris, as an immediate way to re-invest money where it belongs--in California's cities instead of Swiss Banks.

Many local CED chapters are working against expensive downtown "redevelopment" schemes, outrageous housing speculation, and uncontrolled rent increases.

CED has also supported what Hayden called "legislative efforts to contain the spiraling cost of medical care" and such other causes as a United Farm Workers "demand for protection against the mechanization of farm labor that throws farm workers onto the welfare rolls." As indicated earlier, the Campaign is also actively opposed to U.S. investment in South Africa; Hayden's letter referred specifically to CED's being "involved in the struggle to get the University of California to 'dis-invest' the public's money from South Africa." And, of course, apparently central to everything else, "We actively support 10-20 local campaigns every year for county supervisor, city council, or state legislature" with organizers "knocking on doors today from East Los Angeles to Chico trying to form activist chapters."

NATIONAL FOCUS ON "TENANTS' RIGHTS"

An account published in the January 26, 1980, edition of the Washington Star indicated that CED's political activism is taking on a distinctly national emphasis in at least one area of concern to the Campaign over the years: so-called tenants' rights. Headlined "Tenant Associations Trying To Form a National Lobby," this article mentioned a meeting in Newark, New Jersey, "last month" attended by representatives "of 50 local tenant organizations" interested in "formation of a national tenants' rights coalition" with one of the actions agreed upon at the meeting being "a national convention next summer, possibly in Los Angeles." The first five paragraphs of the article are especially instructive:

LOS ANGELES -- Concerned about rising rents, the increasing conversion of apartment buildings to condominiums and other issues that affect their pocketbooks, tenants' organizations around the country are attempting to form a national renters' lobby.

On a local basis, organized renters have begun to assert themselves politically in a number of states over the last year or so, and in some instances have managed to win approval of laws limiting rent increases and barring conversion of rental apartments to condominiums.

Leaders of some of the groups that won these victories say they envisage establishing a "national tenants' rights" organization and met recently to set goals.

"We see it as high time that political pressure was brought on behalf of tenants," said Cary Lowe, a tenants' rights specialist for the Campaign for Economic Democracy. This group, founded by Tom Hayden, the antiwar activist, has been instrumental in winning rent control ordinances in several California cities.

If all goes well, Lowe said, tenants' groups will attempt to campaign in the 1980 elections in behalf of candidates and issues they favor. The group, he said, will not be part of Hayden's organization, but will be aimed at exercising the political power of a large minority that has largely been ignored by politicians.

SOLARCAL

As may readily be seen from several previously-cited examples, a major priority in CED organizing has been promotion of solar energy in California, what the June-July 1977 ced news called "a state-owned solar industry." The specific form this activity has taken is promotion of SolarCal, described in a CED brochure as "the recently created state solar energy council initiated by CED and established by Governor Brown to develop a plan for the maximum solarization of California in the 1980s." CED claims that SolarCal's potential includes "Over 400,000 jobs, renewable energy, and lowered utility bills." Hayden's 1978 "Dear Friend" letter outlined CED's program to meet "the need for solar energy and other renewable resources":

CED is proposing legislation which can make California the capital of a solar energy industry. The State Energy Commission has endorsed our view that solar is "ready for commercialization". Our own study shows that an incredible 400,000 jobs per year can be created if we make a maximum effort to use solar for space and water heating.

We have developed a specific "SolarCal" package of bills including loans to small businesses and consumers, a ten-year plan to solarize every feasible building in California, and a prohibition against monopoly takeover of the sun.

I will personally be in Sacramento meeting with legislators to finalize these urgently needed bills. Our two "SolarCal" statewide coordinators will be seeking endorsements from public officials, labor and community groups, as well as generating petitions and telegrams to the capitol.

An early reference to this project appeared in the April 16, 1977, edition of the San Diego Union in an article on an appearance by Hayden in Sacramento "to describe [in Hayden's words] the draft of a proposal for state legislation that would create SolarCal, a public solar energy corporation, as the key to meeting California's energy and economic crisis." It is noteworthy that the article drew attention to Hayden's companions on this occasion: "Alvin Duskin, director of Pacific Alliance and author of the Nuclear Safeguards Initiative of last year, and Fred Branfman of the California Public Policy Center." Both Duskin and Branfman have been actively associated with CED, but this is not the primary reason for their association with Hayden's being of particular significance; rather, its significance lies in the nature of the Pacific Alliance and the CPCC.

As will be demonstrated in Part II of this study, CED maintains a close relationship to several components of the nationwide apparatus created by the Institute for Policy Studies, principal "think tank" for the New Left in the United States. Both the Pacific Alliance and the California Public Policy Center are integral parts of this avowedly leftist apparatus; though CPCC was not created by IPS, it soon fell under the leadership of IPS-connected activists and has since received funds from IPS, while the Pacific Alliance was created as a project of the Foundation for National Progress, self-described as "formed in 1975 to carry out on the West Coast the charitable and educational activities of the Institute for Policy Studies."

Branfman, as director of CPCC, wrote an article published in the June 18, 1977, issue of The Nation, a leftist weekly, in which he described SolarCal as a project "originally launched by Tom Hayden of the Campaign for Economic Democracy" that would, among other things, "set up a solar development bank to lend money to consumers and small business people, thus reducing the 'front-end' costs of installing solar equipment." However, an article in the December 1, 1977, issue of the Daily Californian dealing with "a state hearing on the future of solar energy in California" at which Hayden "introduced a proposed legislative plan called 'SolarCal'" characterized the proposal as "a product of research by the California Campaign for Economic Democracy and the California Public Policy Center," a characterization that

appears far more accurate. Much of the basic justification for SolarCal is in fact contained in a CPPC study, JOBS FROM THE SUN, published in February 1978 and formally announced by Hayden at a press conference on February 8, 1978; both the study and the press conference were discussed at length in a lead article by Branfman in the February 1978 CED NEWS. Branfman served as project director for JOBS FROM THE SUN, with Steve LaMar cited as consultant. Grateful acknowledgement was also made to "the following persons for their valuable prepublication review of this study":

- o Charles F. Armin Director, District No. One, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union, AFL-CIO, Long Beach, CA
- o Mark Braly Energy Coordinator, Office of the Mayor of Los Angeles, CA
- o E. S. (Ab) Davis Solar Analyst, Jet Propulsion Laboratory, Pasadena, CA
- o Howard Kraye Solar Businessman, Chairman, Southern California Solar Energy Association, Glendale, CA

It is of particular interest that JOBS FROM THE SUN "was made possible in part by the generous help of the Stern Fund, Abelard Foundation, Liberty Hill Foundation, New York Community Trust, Pacific Alliance, Foundation for National Progress, DJB Foundation, Pat and Dan Ellsberg, Stewart Mott and Stanley Sheinbaum." Stern has been a major grantor of funds to IPS, as has DJB; and Mott's largesse in behalf of numerous components of the anti-defense lobby is well-known.*

A CED advertisement carried in the February 9, 1978, edition of the Sacramento Bee listed the following "SolarCal Endorsements (only the beginning)":

Robert Black, Mayor of Davis, California
 CAUSE
 Congressman Ron Dellums
 Phil Draper, Center for Independent Living
 Alvin Duskin, Pacific Alliance
 Mervyn Dymally, Lt. Governor
 Daniel Ellsberg
 Jane Fonda
 John George, Oakland Supervisor

*See, for example, Heritage Foundation Institution Analysis No. 10, "The Anti-Defense Lobby: Part I, Center for Defense Information," April 1979.

John Maher
 Jim Mellon, solar developer
 Assemblyman Henry Mello
 Mayor George Moscone of San Francisco
 Valerie Pope, San Bernardino
 Santa Clara County AFL-CIO and Sierra Club
 SEIU 535, 715
 Stanley Sheinbaum, UC Regent
 Otto Smith, UC Professor
 Alice Travis, Democratic Party Women's chair

The endorsement from the Santa Clara County Sierra Club is of some interest when contrasted with a complaint attributed to a lobbyist for another environmental activist organization, Friends of the Earth, in an article by Joel Kotkin in the July 5, 1979, edition of the Washington Post. Kotkin alleged that certain

liberal activists fear that Hayden and his wife, actress Jane Fonda, have been able to capture unmerited media attention to the exclusion of other groups working on such issues as rent control, nuclear power and solar energy. In the style of [Governor Jerry] Brown, they claim, Hayden's operation is largely a media hype, winning precious television time and newspaper headlines while others are doing the hard, day-to-day work.

"He's taking credit for things like the solar power movement in California, and that's just horse manure," said Mark Vandervelden, Sacramento lobbyist for the environmentalist Friends of the Earth. "He took what was already a moving thing and, by flapping his arms and talking louder than anyone else, he took all the credit."

Irrespective of whether such criticism was justified, Hayden was among those appointed to the SolarCal council after the agency was brought into being in 1978. An article in the July 22, 1978, edition of the San Diego Union specified that SolarCal "was created on Sun Day" and that Governor Brown "appointed a cross section of people involved in solar energy to serve" on the 27-member council. Hayden's goals in the solar energy field were neatly summed up in an interview published in the October 29, 1979, issue of Barron's:

Q. One of your pet projects is solar power. How would you like to see that develop?

A. In terms of alternative energy development, our position in California is a mirror image of what I would think appropriate nationally; that is, a partnership between competitive enterprise and government.

Q. State capitalism?

A. I wouldn't put a particular name on it. I'd just like to keep solar businesses afloat in California because they're more in the forefront, more inventive, more innovative than other companies have been. And I think it's generally the case that smaller businesses have played that role. We need antitrust laws, we need capital assistance, we need whatever will keep a competitive solar industry developing. The role that government can play is to simplify regulations that drive the small solar entrepreneurs crazy or out of business -- the cost of having your system tested, etc. The positive role that government can play is a procurement role. It's all right for the government to procure M-1 tanks from Chrysler. Why couldn't it procure fuel-efficient vehicles for the government fleet? Let there be competitive bidding on photovoltaic cells.

Q. Photovoltaic vs. other available energies?

A. No, I think we ought to stimulate the photovoltaic industry. You can't say it's uneconomical, because you've got nuclear and the oil industries with all sorts of subsidies that photovoltaics don't have. Either take the subsidies away from oil and nuclear, and make it a real free market, or give some equivalent break to photovoltaics.

LAUREL SPRINGS EDUCATIONAL CENTER

Another aspect of CED's activities is of special interest as an indication of the organization's long-term intentions. The June-July 1977 ced news carried the following item:

10 miles North of Santa Barbara, in the San Marcos Pass at an altitude of 2,800 feet, rests the 120 acre Laurel Springs Ranch. The land sits on the Southerly slope of the Santa Ynez mountains and will be used by the Campaign for Economic Democracy.

The land was purchased to provide a site for the development of alternative sources of energy, such as solar and wind; waste removal and recycling systems; CED's Organizer Training Institute; and a children's summer camp.

A CED appeal signed by Tom Hayden, Jane Fonda, Representative Ron Dellums, and United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, President Cesar Chavez mentioned the organization's "multi-racial and multi-class children's camp at the Laurel Springs Retreat" and cited as an advantage of membership the "opportunity to meet and get to know political activists from all over the state" in

periodic organizer training workshops -- some in the cities and others at the Laurel Springs Retreat in the mountains above Santa Barbara -- where you can increase your skills in the fields of electoral campaigning and community organizing or learn more about the way our economic and political systems operate and what CED's alternatives are.

An early reference to this enterprise appeared in the April 8, 1977, San Francisco Chronicle in an Associated Press item recounting that "Political activist Tom Hayden says he is close to completing the purchase of a 120-acre ranch north of Santa Barbara" and adding that, in a telephone interview, Hayden had said "he and his wife, actress Jane Fonda, are buying the ranch with Fonda's motion picture earnings." The article further quoted Hayden as saying that "the purchase price is 'in the neighborhood of half a million dollars, with about \$50,000 down.'" A somewhat later article published in the May 26, 1977, edition of the San Francisco Examiner reflected that Hayden and Fonda had "recently purchased" the ranch for \$500,000 and quoted Fonda as to the reason for such a move: "'We're building a political power base,' she said. 'To be able to do this, you have to be able to bring your people together. We needed a land base for that.'" With respect to financing, the Laurel Springs facility "was bought with 'a bank loan based on future film earnings,' she said. 'I think it's a responsible way to use my capacity to earn large sums of money making films.'"

The actual and potential functions of the Organizer Training Institute, which, as mentioned above, is conducted at the Laurel Springs site, were indicated succinctly in the Summer 1977 issue of Santa Barbara Tomorrow:

Although Hayden promised to hold no large political gatherings at the site, he did not attempt to disguise his plans for regular strategy meetings by organizers of the Campaign for Economic Democracy. Nor did he rule out creation of a "training institute" potentially to be financed in part by taxpayer's funds. The institute would be designed to impart organizational skills to CED activists, but also to publicly-supported groups. "We might contract also with community or government agencies or unions," Hayden announced in April, "--people who have staff to train."

On January 6, 1978, the San Francisco Chronicle carried an article revealing that Hayden and Fonda "have been given permission to open a children's camp" at the Laurel Springs location, adding that "The county planning commission voted Wednesday [January 4, 1978] to approve the application for the camp for low-income urban children." The article stated that Hayden "said the camp will be open to all children and its activities will include crafts, hiking, horseback riding, animal husbandry, gardening and group games" and reported that "The camp will be administered by

the Center for Public Policy, a nonprofit organization set up by Fonda and Hayden."

CED literature promoting the summer camp is issued by the Laurel Springs Educational Center, an entity incorporated in July 1977 by three people: Sam Hurst, Sr., of Pacific Palisades, California; Sam Hurst, Jr., of Venice; and Jane Fonda of Santa Monica. The organization's officers further reflect the tie to CED. Listed as president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer, respectively, were Sam Hurst, CED staff director; Jane Fonda; Cass Levison, a CED staff member; and Marin Marcus, a close friend of Hayden and Fonda who serves as the camp's director.

A "Laurel Springs Camp 1978" brochure issued by the Laurel Springs Educational Center and bearing the Los Angeles address and telephone number of the Campaign for Economic Democracy described the camp as "fun, educational, affordable and, most of all, a new way to create a better future." The brochure listed a variety of activities of the sort cited above but also specified that the camp teaches "not only traditional camping skills, but the deeper values of cooperation, democracy, and social justice." Continuing, "Twenty-five to thirty children age 7-14 of different backgrounds are chosen for each session" at a "cost per two week session" of "\$200 per child." Arrangements have been made, however, "to offer an alternative, affordable camp experience open to children on a sliding financial scale" with "Fundraising efforts...now underway to provide full and partial scholarships."

Despite Hayden's (and the brochure's) emphasis on such activities as horseback riding, gardening, and crafts, it would appear that the activities conducted by Laurel Springs Educational Center are heavily interlarded with political and economic controversy. A December 1979 study published by the Rockford College Institute reported that, according to the August 29, 1979, issue of Time magazine, the camp was serving some

150 youngsters from 7 to 14. Mostly the offspring of minorities and veteran left-wing activists, the children are schooled in such weighty issues as why farm workers should be unionized or why gas companies should not be allowed to construct a liquefied natural gas terminal on sacred Indian land along the California coast.

Another account published in the September 4, 1978, edition of the Kansas City Star buttresses this assessment. Characterizing the Laurel Springs facility as "originally Hayden's idea,"*

*It now appears that this camp is not the only CED program aimed specifically at young people. According to an article in the May 2, 1980, issue of National Review by former Washington Post reporter Ivan Goldman, "Tom Hayden is recruiting students again. He spoke at our campus [California State University, Dominguez Hills, where Goldman now teaches communications] recently," the "recruitment this time" being "for something called Students for Economic Democracy, the adolescent affiliate of" CED. In Goldman's view, "Both SED and CED are, at this point, aimed only at California, and designed as springboards for another Fonda-financed senatorial campaign for Hayden in 1982."

this article goes into considerable detail in describing the camp's personnel and the "nuts and bolts" of its operations. The following paragraphs are particularly illuminating:

Marin Marcus, camp director, says diversity is central to the camp's goals. "One of the things Laurel Springs is all about is learning to get on collectively with everyone else, even if it's someone you're not fond of," Marcus explained. "We selected the kids on the basis of race as well as age group and previous camping experience. We wanted a cross-cultural, multi-racial, bilingual group."

Many of the children come from inner-city homes or from farm-worker families across the state, and only one-fifth of the parents can afford the full \$200 tuition for the two-week session. The rest receive full or partial financial assistance through funds raised largely with the help of Hayden's political organization, Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED).

Indeed, one member of the camp staff suggests that Hayden uses camp scholarships as a form of patronage toward CED staff members who receive low salaries. In addition, virtually all the camp's equipment -- from cooking utensils to piano to the camp's 13 horses -- was donated by CED members and by Santa Barbara residents.

"The local community has been really supportive," Marcus said, adding, "There aren't many camps that are available to low-income kids, and that aren't sexist or racist or something."

Sexist or racist Laurel Springs is not.

In the off-season, for example, most of the staff members work in politically or socially active jobs. One counselor is an attorney with the Agricultural Labor Relations Board. Several of the women are heavily involved in the feminist movement. The cook played an active role in the anti-war movement in the late '60s, and helped run Hayden's 1976 senatorial campaign.

The appearance of the lodge, which serves as a central meeting place, suggests something about the camp's politics. A large red posterboard leans against the fireplace, displaying 12 Chinese characters, a recognizable ideograph, and a corresponding English word.

Across the room hangs a poster depicting two embracing monkeys in a tree, with a caption that reads, "Livin' in the jungle takes friends." And taped to the walls are long scrolls bearing Bills of Rights --

written by campers -- for everything from farm workers to wild animals. One scroll, the Bill of Rights for Children, is especially long. Its solemn particulars include:

- * Peace from parents.
- * Not to be criticized for what you are.
- * Respect from adults.
- * Not to be ignored by anybody.

"All the kids have something political to bring to the camp," Marcus said. "Everyone has something to say about Proposition 13, for example, and solar energy versus nuclear. Many of them have parents who are deeply involved politically. Politics affects all their lives."

Indeed, it seems the campers bring as much to the camp politically as do the counselors. One night in July, for example, everyone in camp attended a fiesta in Santa Barbara. A group of Laurel Springs kids whose parents were farm workers contributed by organizing a skit about the United Farm Workers, in which one of the campers played UFW leader Cesar Chavez.

"It's not that the camp was intended for some sort of political indoctrination," Miss Fonda explained. "But Tom and I know Marin [Marcus] really well, and we know that as long as Marin and two of the other central women are here, there is going to be de facto an underlying content to the program. It's not in words or dogma or anything like that. It's just there, because of who they are."

That underlying content takes a variety of forms in the day-to-day running of the camp, and clearly the tone of that content is social as well as political. Campers frequently take part in co-ed evening swims, for instance, in which bathing suits are optional and, as one staff member put it, "No big deal is made about anyone's body."

And every morning, after the campers complete their chores, like taking the breakfast garbage out to the pigs, the entire camp assembles to discuss the day's activities. This meeting is a forum for campers to bring up their grievances with the way the camp is run, and to ask for changes in rules they dislike.

With the foregoing indications of what Fonda has called the "underlying content" of Laurel Springs Camp's program in mind, it may strike the reader as being somewhat bizarre that, as one of the means by which it raises funds, Laurel Springs Educational Center solicits contributions and that, as stated in the "Laurel Springs Camp 1978" brochure, "All contributions are tax-deductible."

STAFF AND ORGANIZATION

To implement its programs, the Campaign for Economic Democracy relies on its paid staff and the "local activists involved in electoral politics and community organizing" in the network of chapters it maintains throughout California. Both the staff and the network have grown in the years since CED's creation. According to the March 1977 Campaigner for Economic Democracy, the Campaign at that time consisted "of 15 chapters around the state" and had "its own organizational structure including a 9-person Organizing Committee, a 40-person Steering Committee and programs such as Organizer Training." The June-July 1977 ced news claimed, in addition to the newspaper, an Organizer Training Institute, and a "CAMPAIGN TASK FORCE," a "SACRAMENTO LEGISLATIVE COORDINATOR" and "18 COMMUNITY ACTIVIST CHAPTERS." Hayden's 1978 "Dear Friend" letter mentioned a "staff of 15, operating out of our statewide offices in Los Angeles and Sacramento," while the January 1980 Libertarian Review article, as previously noted, spoke of "a paid staff of twenty-one." An April 1, 1978, study issued by the Foundation for Public Affairs reflected similar growth in the number of chapters: "25 local chapters in urban areas throughout the state of California," an increase of approximately two-thirds in little more than one year.

Probably to no one's surprise, leadership in CED has tended to be in the hands of activists from the 1976 Hayden Senate campaign, some of these people also sharing Hayden's former involvement in SDS. As observed in a May 1977 California Journal article, "The CED springs directly from the Hayden campaign of last year as do its principle [sic] organizers -- former SDS and Hayden campaign members Bill Zimmerman, Sam Hurst and Shari Lawson." All three have occupied responsible positions within the CED leadership. Zimmerman has been involved in fundraising, as he was in the Hayden campaign; Hurst has been cited in CED publications as "Southern California Organizer" and, more recently, as staff director; and Lawson, whose background includes an active role as an organizer for the Hayden-Fonda Indochina Peace Campaign, "a militantly pro-Hanoi operation,"* is director of CED's Organizer Training Institute.

The April 1978 Foundation for Public Affairs study listed five people as members of CED's executive committee, there being two vacancies at the time; the five were Hellen Dowden, Carol Hitchcock, Ken Msemaji, and Andy Spahn, with Hayden listed as chairman. The June-July 1977 ced news had listed two executive committee members as of that time: Chuck Carlson and Jan Smutney Jones; this was also the document that mentioned Sam Hurst as "Southern California Organizer." The February 1978 issue of CED

*For background data on IPC, see Heritage Foundation Institution Analysis No. 12, "The Anti-Defense Lobby: Part III, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy," December 1979.

NEWS, in addition to characterizing Hurst as staff director and Lawson as "Director of the Organizer Training Project," listed the following five people as comprising the CED staff: Hank Barnard, Bonnie Ladin, Cass Levison, Sarah Mack, and Stephen Rivers. In a reference that clearly indicates CED's being taken seriously within the political establishment in California, an interviewer in the same issue stated that CED intended to support Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally's reelection because of CED's "friendly relationship" with him, adding that "he has been very supportive of us. He is a member of CED. He has endorsed Solar-Cal, and he comes to our events regularly."

The last page of the February 1978 CED NEWS also carried a list of people to contact "For More Informaton." This list included one contact for fundraising purposes and 22 listed as contacts in various cities around the state, presumably CED chapters:

BAKERSFIELD: David Peck 831-9687
 BERKELEY: Andy Spahn 841-4258
 CHICO: Harry Yound 343-4831
 EAST LOS ANGELES: Dolores Sanchez 660-3698
 FUNDRAISING: Hazel Washburn 626-0311
 HAYWARD: Michael Sweeney 538-7827
 LONG BEACH: Jan Smutney Jones 434-8239
 MONTEREY: Corey Miller 372-4778
 OAKLAND: Paul Milne 835-0131
 ORANGE COUNTY: Jim Klein 774-5726
 PALO ALTO: Mignon McCarthy 323-9259
 RIO HONDO: Conrado Terrazas 626-0311
 SACRAMENTO: Peter Keats 443-8540
 SAN DIEGO: Barbara Filner 582-9418
 SAN FERNANDO VALLEY: Jim Rufer 344-0531
 SAN FRANCISCO: Hilary Lamar 587-0102
 SAN JOSE: Bob Brownstein 298-4575
 SAN JUAN BAUTISTA: Ricardo Vasquez 623-4007
 SAN MATEO: Phil Rafallow 952-0672
 SANTA CRUZ: Tom Starkey 476-6833
 SANTA MARIA: Jim Woogerd 922-4456
 WEST LOS ANGELES: Josh Sale 821-5183
 YOLO/DAVIS: Patti Lightstone 756-4321

STAFF AND ORGANIZATION (ADDENDUM)

Since completion of the present study, the Foundation for Public Affairs as issued a revised version of its April 1978 paper on CED. Made available with a covering letter dated July 1980, this document specifies that CED now has 8,000 members in some 30 chapters in the state of California, minimum chapter requirements being "10 dues-paying members willing to canvass, distribute leaflets and attend rallies; CED claims to have 400 of these activists throughout the state." Like the January 1980 Libertarian Review article, this study reflects that CED has a

staff of 21 people; it further specifies that these 21 employees are broken down as follows: "15 organizers, 1 lobbyist, 5 administrative staff." Mignon McCarthy is listed as staff director. The paper indicates that Hayden continues as chairman of both the Steering Committee and the Executive Committee of CED and reports that the "Steering Committee has 40 members and 40 alternates." The April 1978 study indicated that there were seven members of the Executive Committee; the revised version lists eight: "Tom Hayden, Chairman; Ken Msemaji, First Vice Chairman; Jane Dolan, Second Vice Chairman; and Domingo Rodriguez, Judith Goldstein, Don Villarejo, Barbara Buswell and Bonnie Ladin, At-Large Members."

BUDGET AND FINANCING

As mentioned at the beginning of the present study, CED's budget as of January 1980 was estimated at "about \$300,000 per year." According to Hayden's 1978 letter, "Our money comes from mailings like this one, door-to-door soliciting, speaker's honorariums, benefit concerts, and many, many personal contributions." An article published in the August 1979 issue of the California Journal reported that each of CED's 17 paid staff members as of that time, whether he (or she) be director or clerk-typist, received the same salary of \$800 per month. Assuming that each of the 21 paid staff employees as of January 1980 is receiving the same \$800 per month, staff salaries would have to represent a minimum outlay of \$201,600 per annum, slightly in excess of two-thirds of the organization's \$300,000 estimated annual budget. Further, CED literature reflects that the annual membership fee is \$15 per person; thus, if one were to assume Hayden's claim of 8,000 members to be generally accurate, one could also assume that the Campaign can expect to realize \$120,000 of its annual needs from this source alone. Of course, if the 500 to 1,000 activist members estimated in the January 1980 Libertarian Review article are the only ones paying the \$15 annual dues, the resultant income to be realized from this source is drastically reduced; this is even more the case if one accepts the estimate of "300 or so active members" carried in an extensive discussion by Jeffrey Klein in the February/March 1980 issue of Mother Jones, a radical monthly magazine published in California by the IPS-affiliated Foundation for National Progress.

By far the most important source of funds for CED appears to be Jane Fonda herself. This is indicated clearly by a number of disparate sources ranging from the October 29, 1979, issue of Barron's, which reported that "CED and related activist groups" benefit from "hefty contributions from Fonda's motion picture earnings", to Libertarian Review, which stated that CED's budget is "raised mostly by Fonda and her Hollywood connections", to the far more favorably disposed Mother Jones, which noted that "Hayden is built into the driver's seat, and Fonda buys most of the gas. Through direct contributions, film benefits, concerts and celebrity events arranged through her connections, Fonda finances the majority of CED's impressive budget." Fonda has her own Hollywood production company (IPC, for "Indochina Peace Campaign") and, as

reported in the December 16, 1979, Parade magazine, is likely to "earn anywhere between \$10 million and \$50 million by 1985." The Parade article also reported that "Students of the political scene in California predict that if Gov. Jerry Brown runs for the U.S. Senate in 1982...then Tom Hayden will run against Lt. Gov. Mike Curb for the governorship of California."

Fonda accompanied Hayden on an October 1979 tour of some 52 cities across the United States, a tour that reportedly cost CED about \$150,000. Designed to promote CED, the Hayden-Fonda tour encompassed appearances at some 34 colleges and universities and such other events as union conventions, anti-nuclear rallies, and television "talk shows." According to the Barron's account, "The tour was organized by the CED, and financed largely by campus speaking fees, which ran to \$5,000 a whack."

The importance of Jane Fonda to the financial end of Hayden's operations was indicated at least as early as January 1977 in accounts of what an article in the January 17, 1977, edition of the San Francisco Examiner characterized as "a Berkeley gathering of about 300 liberal politicians, precinct workers, labor leaders and community activists from across the state for a two-day conference on 'How to Get Progressives Elected.'" The Examiner account quoted Hayden as saying that "Our aim is to create a new political movement to build a backbone, not a wing, of a successful progressive movement" and added that the conference "was an outgrowth of the Hayden campaign and 'a continuing attempt to build a progressive movement,' Hayden said." Hayden reportedly defined "progressives" as candidates "who will 'not be bought by the corporate world' and will 'maintain accountability to the grass roots and not use their positions as stepping stones to the bureaucracy.'"* Also, "while emphasizing that the group seeks the support of the Democratic Party," he "said the issue of 'corporate interest' should be confronted by the party." The relationship between this effort and Hayden's unsuccessful 1976 campaign was further emphasized in the following:

*Hayden's concept of political progressivism is apparently eclectic, to say the least. The March 24, 1977, edition of the Daily World, official newspaper of the Communist Party, U.S.A., reported that Mark Allen, "the dynamic Black activist who is running for a City Council seat" in Berkeley, California, was being supported by an "ever-growing list" of endorsers. In addition to such organizations as the Berkeley Black Council, "basically a Democratic" Party group, locals of the United Electrical Workers and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, both of which have long been known as Communist-run, and locals of the "American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers" and the Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, groups supporting Allen, characterized in the article as "chairman of the city's Human Relations and Welfare Commission" and as a "People's World staff writer and Communist Party district board member", included "The Berkeley chapter of the Campaign for Economic Democracy, a formation that grew out of Tom Hayden's remarkable though unsuccessful fight for the Democratic Senatorial nomination last Fall."

"We are growing up, learning," he said. "You have here people who managed Ben Tom's successful campaign for the San Francisco School Board. People who also worked in my campaign. They went from mine to his, but had started as volunteers."

Workshop subjects during the conference ranged from advertising and speech writing, canvassing and polling to methods of attracting labor and minority voters and getting initiatives, propositions and referendums on ballots. Hayden's wife, actress Jane Fonda, conducted a session on political fundraising.

Another account published in the January 17, 1977, edition of the San Jose Mercury made it clear that the conference was specifically a CED function, perhaps the first such gathering called by CED as such. The report mentioned that "Fund-raising appeals have been mailed to 15,000 people who contributed to Hayden's campaign [sic] against John Tunney last spring", that "A small staff is being assembled", and that "A computerized list of volunteers and their skills is being put together." With regard to finances, the account noted that "Concerts are planned to raise more money." At least one "jarring" note was, however, struck by Democratic National Committee member Jess Delgado of San Jose, who "was on a panel to advise the CED on how to reach into the minority communities." Delgado reportedly "urged his listeners - 'in your nice patched jeans' - to stop making a cult of poverty, 'pretending to be poor because it's more fun than spending daddy's money.'" The article had noted "the predominately young, white" makeup of the assembly. Hayden's animus against what he sees as "unbridled corporate power" was even more apparent in this account:

"Our strategy is to make the issue of corporate power a legitimate and a real one, not just in movies like 'Network' or 'Marathon Man' but in the political arena," he said.

"Politicians tiptoe around the question. The tiptoeing [sic] has to end. The fact is that unemployment, inflation, corruption, pollution all trace back to unbridled corporate power."

"There is silence in government about this question. There is silence in the Carter administration. There is silence everywhere, with very few exceptions, largely because the people who are in office are creatures of the corporate world or have been bought by the corporate world or are dependent on the corporate world for re-election."

JANE FONDA AND CED FUND-RAISING

Fonda's activities in raising funds for CED have been varied and sustained. The San Francisco Examiner for May 26, 1977, for example, reported that her "recent hectic one-day visit to The City included not only the women's brunch but appearances at Delancy Street and Oilcan Harry's, and ended with a 10 p.m. plane to Colorado to begin her next film." The San Diego Union for April 4, 1977, noted an appearance by Hayden and Fonda "at a \$10-a-person fund-raising party for [San Francisco Sheriff Richard Hongisto and the Campaign for Economic Democracy] that was "held at the home of Hedy and Ortega St. John at 1865 Sefton Place, one of the biggest mansions on Point Loma." While Hayden described CED's aims as "'to lay the focus on unbridled corporate power' and to look 'for ways to bring the giant global corporations under the rule of law'", when asked about the possible irony of CED's holding such an event in a mansion, "Hayden quipped in reply: 'Those of our enemies who want us to be principled, really mean they want us to be poor.'"

On another occasion, as reported in the May 1980 issue of Mother Jones, "At a fundraiser for the Campaign for Economic Democracy in Los Angeles recently, one page of Jane Fonda's FBI file was auctioned off to the highest bidder." There is even an exercise salon, Workout, in Beverly Hills, California, opened by Fonda, according to an article in the September 16, 1979, edition of the Philadelphia Inquirer, "in a small, converted office building" where, for "fees ranging from \$4.50 to \$6 a class," customers may engage in such activities as "jazz dancing, ballet, disco, advanced disco (taught by one of the people who taught John Travolta) and spot reducing." The Inquirer account reported that some "of the profits from the salon will go to the Campaign for Economic Democracy" and added that "Indeed, one reason she set up the salon was to give CED, which is sending its cochairmen on a nationwide speaking tour in a few weeks, a new source of income." That this is one of the shrewder devices used by Fonda in behalf of CED's financial needs is indicated by a statement attributed to one of the salon's customers, a woman who "comes to the salon because her favorite instructor has joined the Workout staff." The customer was quoted as saying that her husband is "a conservative and he's having a fit. Myself, I have mixed emotions...I think a lot of the people are here because it's Jane Fonda, not because of the program. But the exercise is wonderful."

Such a sentiment is, of course, eloquent testimony to the pulling power of so-called stars, a pulling power of which Hayden is obviously fully aware. The Oakland Tribune, for example, reported on May 13, 1977, that Superior Court Judge Lionel Wilson was to be the beneficiary of a "\$25-a-person party in the Beverly Hills home of TV comedian Redd Foxx" and that "About 200 are expected." According to this account, "The invitations, which incidentally identified the judge as a Democratic candidate in a municipal election which by law is nonpartisan," carried the names of such celebrities as O.J. Simpson, Henry Fonda, Roosevelt

Grier, Denise Nicholas, Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally, Assemblyman Willie Brown, Helen Reddy, Jeff Wald, and Burt Pine, in addition to Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda. Similarly, the Tribune for June 3, 1979, reported:

"Of course, we depend on our friends," Hayden says. "The 'names' make up a substantial amount of our budget."

He cited a concert in Oakland by the Grateful Dead for the CED's occupational health program, and another CED spokesman described a recent fashion show in Los Angeles that grossed \$25,000 by using such names as Cher Bono, [Jon] Voight, [Jane] Fonda, Valerie Harper, Tina Louise, Susan St. James and Robin Williams.

The February 1978 CED NEWS carried an advertisement for a "CED CELEBRITY AUCTION" to be held in Hollywood on April 2, 1978. For an admission charge of \$10, one could bid on the "Fur hat worn by Jane Fonda in 'Julia'" or "A day on the set with" John Travolta and Lily Tomlin, Mike Farrell, Ed Asner, or Ralph Waite. Another item up for bid was to be an "Original oil painting by Henry Fonda." And the May 11, 1979, issue of California Apparel News published another CED advertisement, this time for a "CELEBRITY FASHION SHOW" scheduled for May 19, 1979, at the Beverly Wilshire Hotel at a charge of "\$50 per person - \$450 per table." The hosts were to be Jane Fonda and Jon Voight, and "Participating designers and stores" listed included Alandales, Alva, Carlos Arias, Apropos, Bis by Leon, Camp Beverly Hills, Dinallo, Norma Fink for Theodore, Fiorucci, Fragments, Rudi Gernreich, Holly's Harp, L.A.X. by Mary Kay Stolz, Bob Mackie, Madonna Man, Maxfield Bleu, James Reva Concepts, Mimi Fayazi, Right Bank Clothing Company, Cara Robin, Saint-Tropez West, Savage Space, Phyllis Sues, Sun Le Sun, Surya, and Timmy Woods. (It is possible that this function was the "recent fashion show" mentioned in the June 3, 1979, Oakland Tribune, cited in the preceding paragraph.)

Such events, of course, may occasionally have their pitfalls. The February/March 1980 issue of Mother Jones noted a "recent fashion show fundraiser in Los Angeles, for which Fonda called out everyone she ever knew," and reported that "Hayden ended the event and all good feelings with a brief speech, saying: 'The Establishment has always used fashion as a decadent diversion from the real issues.'"

A problem of another sort developed during a September 26, 1979, "evening with Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden" in Washington, D.C., in behalf of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy.* Invitations to this event bore the names of some sixteen

*See Heritage Foundation Institution Analysis No. 12, "The Anti-Defense Lobby: Part III, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy," December 1979.

individuals, among them Representative Ronald V. Dellums, Isabel Letelier, Representative Parren J. Mitchell, Stewart Mott, and President William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. The invitation quoted Hayden and Fonda as endorsing the CNFMP for "providing a critical link in making" needed "connections" between the "struggle for economic and social justice here at home" and "the basic assumptions of U.S. foreign policy." While the 200 or so attendees were enjoying the occasion inside, another group of an estimated 50 protesters demonstrated peacefully outside. The protesters included Vietnamese refugees and called themselves the Committee to Explain the Fonda Syndrome, an apparent allusion to the popular Jane Fonda film The China Syndrome. According to an account in the September 27, 1979, edition of the Washington Post, one protestor, "Kgiet Dang, who left Vietnam by boat in April, 1975, said, 'Our argument is that she didn't want to support the boat people. We are here to tell the truth.'" Hayden's rejoinder was quoted in the September 30, 1979, edition of the Antioch Ledger, which reported that "inside at the garden party, Tom Hayden railed against corporate fat cats and corrupt oil dictators. 'We have been supporting the yacht people...it's the yacht people who caused the boat people,' he said."

YOUTH PROJECT AND IPS

CED has also received funds from organizations tied to the leftist "movement" in general and to the Institute for Policy Studies in particular. The 1978 annual report of the Youth Project, an overtly leftist apparatus that has received funds from entities that also fund IPS, as well as from church groups and government agencies like the National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities and ACTION, reported that "Youth Project funds enabled the San Diego chapter [of CED] to hire its first staff members." The connection to IPS, which is explored in greater detail in Part II of the present study, was shown by a financial report for the Second California Conference on Alternative Public Policy, held in Santa Barbara, California, on February 18-20, 1977. The March 1977 Campaigner for Economic Democracy reported that "The major group organizing the Conference was the California Campaign for Economic Democracy," while basic position papers published in "a 150-page set of Working Papers on Economic Democracy" were prepared at CED request by the IPS-affiliated California Public Policy Center, which also "has agreed to serve as a clearing-house for information about the Issue Task-Forces." The financial report issued subsequent to this conference revealed that "Initial Continuations Support has come from the Foundation For National Progress in the form of a \$2,000.00 Grant."

CED AND GOVERNMENT FUNDS

One final source of funds is of particular importance, both because of its relation to the American taxpayer and because of

its having been the occasion for the most serious allegations of impropriety,* allegations made in some cases in publications clearly on the left and therefore, in the nature of things, presumably not altogether hostile to CED's aims. In any such movement, as observed by John P. Roche in a column on CED published in the November 7, 1979, edition of the Detroit News, "what has to be understood is the potential for invisible payroll swapping." If recently-published accounts are accurate, it would appear that such may be the case with the CED apparatus.

It has, for example, been reported that the Center for New Corporate Priorities, a Santa Monica, California, organization, was the recipient of a 1978 grant of \$126,000 in Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) funds, ostensibly for job training. The Center is run by Ruth Yannatta Goldway, a member of the Santa Monica City Council who was elected with CED support; her salary as head of the Center has been paid with money from the CETA grant. It appears that the Center was able to place some 57 CETA trainees with several community groups, most of them CED-oriented, with the result that the Inspector General's office within the U.S. Department of Labor has reportedly determined there is "prosecutive merit" in allegations that CETA funds have been used to subsidize CED-connected political activity.

Such allegations are far from new. The October 29, 1979, issue of Barron's reported that "Organizations with CED alliances (e.g., the Laurel Springs Educational Center, a training institute for community 'organizers') have found a place at the public trough via CETA or VISTA money." Similarly, Joel Kotkin's July 5, 1979, Washington Post article noted that "Reports have circulated widely that some funds from the federal Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) program are going to CED members and their allies working in political campaigns." Kotkin did also note that

*An early charge of possible impropriety surfaced in connection with a \$400,000 contribution made by Jane Fonda to Hayden's 1976 campaign. Supporters of Senator John Tunney filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission claiming that Fonda had violated a section of the federal election statute limiting contributions by individuals to a maximum of \$1,000 per candidate. As reported in the June 30, 1977, edition of the San Jose Mercury, the FEC, "reversing an earlier finding," determined that Fonda's contribution was legal, citing California's community property law, under which the combined assets of a married couple are regarded as held in common by both husband and wife. "Thus, the [FEC] counsel ruled, the \$400,000 could be considered to belong to Hayden as much as to his wife, and there is no legal limit on how much a candidate can spend on his own behalf." The size of Fonda's contribution is of some interest when one considers the previously-cited San Francisco Examiner article of January 17, 1977, which mentioned Hayden's condemnation of corporations for making large campaign contributions, a practice reportedly excoriated by Hayden as "a forbidden issue never discussed in campaigns."

When confronted with statements by former CETA workers that one local program was serving as a "tax-free political front" for CED-backed candidates and rent-control initiatives in Santa Monica, Hayden denied any direct CED involvement, but admitted that he has "a lot of nightmares about this kind of thing."

"A lot of people on the left have been in opposition to the law for so long, taking drugs, opposing the government, that they do tend to take [on] an outlaw-type mentality," he said.

The most detailed bill of particulars, however, has come from the political left in the form of an article by Bill Wallace in the October 4-17, 1979, issue of an aggressively radical "movement" tabloid known as the Berkeley Barb, which charged that "a six-month long Barb investigation has uncovered startling evidence that Hayden is systematically engaging in building a personal, political machine at the expense of the alternative energy movement." In spite of the well-publicized speaking tour by Hayden and Fonda "in opposition to nuclear power and in support of alternative energy," the Barb article charged, "Hayden's tactics -- which include an extensive, political patronage system, highly questionable use of state and federal funds, and an extremely opportunistic approach to energy problems -- have led to serious divisions within the alternative energy movement and have infuriated many long-time activists." Despite this article's length, its detail and the seriousness of its allegations are such that the balance of the piece merits quotation in full at this point:

Although Hayden and Fonda have drawn heavy fire from conservatives in California, his popularity among leftists is now in jeopardy. "Hayden is a sacred cow on the left," one full-time solar activist told us. "He's just exploiting solar as an issue. It's the same whether Hayden and CED (the Campaign for Economic Democracy which is Hayden's political organization) are in housing, tenants' rights, or their most recent crusade against 'the corporate causes of cancer.' They'll rip off all the action no matter what the issue is. They come in with the Jane Fonda dog and pony show, rip off all the money and you never see them again."

The cause of this hostility seems to be Hayden's own tactics. Our investigation has uncovered that the Hayden political machine has:

* Channeled federal dollars from Western SUN (a federal solar energy project) into community action groups which are affiliated with Hayden's CED. At the same time legitimate solar groups that are not affiliated with CED are unable to obtain funding from Westen [sic] SUN.

* Put CED members on the payroll of Western SUN. Positions in the federal program tend to be filled not on the basis of knowledge or ability in the field of solar power, but on the basis of classic political patronage.

* Obtained federal funding from the CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) program to pay wages to CED members for doing work for CED. The taxpayer-funded work involved little more than political organizing for the Hayden organization.

* Used a Santa Monica crime control program called Communitas, which has a quarter million dollars in federal grants, to promote rent control and other political projects dear to CED's heart, but completely unconnected with crime control.

Ironically, we found that the strongest critics of Hayden's use of state and federal tax money to build up his own personal political corps were his ostensible allies on the left. Consistently during our investigation, the sources we contacted who were most bitter about Hayden's tax-subsidies for the Campaign for Economic Democracy were environmentalists and solar power advocates who feared that his activities would harm the solar energy and anti-nuclear movements.

"It's just a big solar pork barrel," fumed Mark Vanderveldon, a lobbyist for the Friends of the Earth in Sacramento. Vanderveldon, who is himself a member of CED, added that, "Tom would be the first one to scream if some right-wing Republican put all of his cronies on the payroll of a federally-funded program, then used them to do precinct work for his own re-election campaign. He would say that it was a conflict of interest and he would be right."

One California government official who has worked with Hayden on a variety of projects noted, "You've got to ask yourself some questions about what Tom's doing, and I'm not talking about political questions either. It's a matter of whether state and federal tax-payers ought to be footing the bill for building up Hayden's personal political cadres."

Most of Hayden's tax-supported operations revolve around the solar power movement, a movement which he has all but expropriated for his own political ends. The lynchpin [sic] of the entire program is a little-known outfit called Western SUN, a project of the U.S. Department of Energy, whose purpose is to "further the awareness and commercialization of solar energy" in thirteen western states according to the official description.

The California branch of Western SUN is Hayden's baby, and by all indications, he's the most active state Western SUN director in all the 13 states covered by the program. Hayden's administrative budget for Western SUN in its first year of operation was \$82,000 -- and that was really nothing more than start-up money. Apparently, Tom felt that the best way he could spend the money was by putting as many CED political allies as possible on Western SUN's payroll.

The Barb investigation has revealed that Larry Levin, Western SUN's field representative, is a CED member and a former PR man for Hayden's unsuccessful 1976 U.S. Senate race.

Judy Corbett, another Western SUN paid consultant has allowed her showcase solar-powered home in Davis to be used for CED fundraiser house-parties. Kit Bricca, of Santa Clara County, and Keith Bray, in Sacramento, are both paid consultants to Western SUN and both are CED members.

"Many of the people who have been hired and much of the subcontracting through Western SUN that has gone on has been to CED members or people with a strong allegiance to Tom," complains Allen Mirviss, a lobbyist for SUNRAE, a solar energy group headquartered in Santa Barbara.

Another source says, "Some of them (Western SUN's staffers and consultants) don't necessarily have that much solar expertise, but they're basically people that Tom feels will not stab him in the back. Tom has always been pretty straightforward, privately, that he comes first and CED comes first -- that the issues are there to be used to organize around and it's not the issues themselves that are important."

Another environmentalist who declined to be quoted by name was more blunt: "Tom Hayden is the issue Piranha of the Left!"

Hayden's blatant opportunism [sic] has been underscored by his recent leap onto the anti-nuke bandwagon. One source intimately familiar with Hayden's operation told us, "Before Three Mile Island, Hayden had almost lost interest in the nuclear issue. He just jumped on the bandwagon again when he saw that it was getting hot. How long will he really be interested in solar or cancer or rent control, or any issue? Let's face it, the guy's an opportunist and always has been. The only difference is that now he has credibility and money -- and these state and federal offices he holds are giving him more of both."

Even more serious than this bandwagon mentality is the fact that after Hayden's organizations have sopped up all the available private and public funds available for an issue or problem, he moves his attention elsewhere, long before any real, concrete solutions are worked out. "Hayden never proposes a follow-through. He has no sense of a coherent approach to social problems. He's too busy looking for the next chic issue to capitalize on," one critic affirmed.

In addition to hiring CED cronies to work on Western SUN's staff, Hayden and his allies have also been careful to see that federal funds from the program have been channeled, almost exclusively, into "community action" programs and groups affiliated with CED.

For example, no sooner had Berkeley Citizen's Action (BCA) succeeded in winning de facto control of the Berkeley City Council, last April, than members of the heavily CED-dominated group touched bases with Western SUN field representative Larry Levin in an effort to win a federal "planning grant" for their own municipal solar program. In addition, Western SUN staffer Levin has met with CED-backed office-holders in Berkeley and Oakland to discuss implementating [sic] a solar power development program oriented toward creating solar industry jobs for minority group [sic] members, and has spoken to local CED activists as part of a series of lectures called "The Battle Against Corporate Power" in Berkeley's La Pena restaurant.

Perhaps the most telling argument that CED-related groups have a virtual lock on Western SUN money, however, is the fact that other solar-power groups have been largely frozen out as recipients of Western SUN's largesse. According to members of a variety of solar groups contacted by the Barb, their pleas for federal funds from Western SUN have been either ignored or turned down.

SUNRAE's Alan [sic] Mirviss, for example, informed us that Western SUN had simply shrugged off a request for money to be used in researching the powerful California swimming pool industry, one of the strongest opponents of legislation promoting solar energy in the entire state.

"We tried to tell them that unless we knew more about these people and their lobbying machinery, our success at passing solar power bills would be severely limited," Mirviss explained. "They just didn't seem to understand the significance."

"Look, it's very obvious that all you have to do to get money out of Western SUN is to be tied up with Hayden somehow," one solar energy source who requested anonymity told us. "If you're with CED, you can get what you want out of Western SUN in the way of support. If you're not, you can just go fish."

Western SUN isn't the only federally-funded program which Hayden and his cohorts have apparently used to build up CED. A little-known crime prevention and safe streets program in Santa Monica called Communitas has also been doing yeoman service for Hayden's political group -- courtesy of \$223,000 in federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration grants.

Communitas had its origin in a group called Ocean Park Projects, a subsidiary of a left-leaning religious group in the Ocean Park District of Santa Monica headed by the Rev. Jim Conn, a Hayden ally.

In April, 1978, Conn drafted an application to LEAA asking for \$223,274 to set up "a network of safe houses, block clubs, and neighborhood councils designed to provide comprehensive crime prevention services at the grass-roots level." According to Conn's proposal, the Communitas program was intended to consist of "target hardening" (the installation of deadbolt locks, window jams and security devices), setting up neighborhood alert systems, and a host of other efforts aimed at preventing crime and educating the public -- particularly women, the elderly and minority group members -- how to protect themselves from burglars, muggers, rapists and other street criminals.

Among the "crime prevention" projects which Santa Monica sources say Communitas has engaged in was block organizing and precinct work for last year's Santa Monica rent control initiative. Several sources contacted by the Barb noted that Communitas had co-hosted "information nights" on the CED-backed rent control measure with Santa Monicans [sic] for Renters Rights, a CED subsidiary in the area headed by Ruth Yannata [sic] and Bill Jennings. Both Jennings and Yannata are CED members serving on the Santa Monica City Council. Not coincidentally, the Treasurer of Santa Monicans for Renters' Rights is none other than Jim Conn, the founder and nominal head of Communitas. With Communitas' help, CED managed to pass its rent measure and elect a hand-picked slate of candidates to the rent control board.

Most recently, Hayden has come under fire for his involvement in the Southwest Regional Border Commission, a state-funded agency which is tasked with helping communities near the Mexican/U.S. border work out

common problems. Governor Jerry Brown nominated Hayden to head the Commission in California, and Hayden began packing the Commission's payroll with CED members, chief among them his political ally Richard Ybarra.

Critical sources contacted by the Barb admit that the size of Hayden's tax-subsidized political empire is small -- amounting to probably no more than a few hundred thousand tax dollars to date -- and they are generally charitable about his motives in hiring trusted friends and associates to work with him in these projects. As one of them grudgingly put it, "If I were in Tom's shoes, I suppose I'd probably be tempted to do the same thing myself. I sure wouldn't want to hire someone I knew nothing about."

Nevertheless, many harbor suspicions that Hayden is simply using his access to tax dollars to support his own personal political ambitions, and they note that many of the people that he has hired appear to be operating in areas for which they are ill-equipped [sic].

Hayden's response to these devastating charges? It's anybody's guess. Despite repeated calls to Hayden's Los Angeles CED headquarters and urgent messages to both Hayden and his public relations man, Sam Hearst [Hurst], neither have returned our calls -- and neither seem likely to.

Larry Levin, Hayden's right-hand man at Western SUN, unconditionally denied that his organization was being used to channel money into CED projects, but admitted that many of the people who have been hired under Western SUN contracts are CED members; and that several Western SUN grants had been given to community action coalitions in which CED plays a major role.

"We've bent over backward to be as scrupulous as we could in who we've hired and what groups we've supported," Levin said. "We've always known that if there was the slightest bit of question about the propriety of what we were doing, that there would be charges levelled at us just like the ones you've been asking about."

Nevertheless, the charges are there -- and they won't simply disappear. Indeed, the Barb has learned that various state and federal officials are already probing Hayden's use of tax money, and there may be a good deal of rough sledding ahead for the former student radical.

"This is really a no-win situation for the left," one source confided. "If there were irregularities and Tom winds up getting zapped, the fallout will go to discredit the movements he's been most closely identified with -- anti-nuke, solar power, the whole schmear. Tom's been out in front on all of these issues and he's practically managed to become identified as 'Mr. Solar Power,' and 'Mr. Anti-Nuclear.' If he takes a fall, all of us people who've been working in the background are going to go down with him. That's part of the reason why not many people are talking about it. It's a bad scene [emphasis and punctuation as in original]."

CONCLUSION

The foregoing data indicate that the Campaign for Economic Democracy is an apparatus centered largely around the ideological predilections and political aspirations of Thomas E. Hayden, one of the preeminent activists on the radical left in the United States. From its beginnings in Hayden's abortive 1976 primary campaign for a seat in the U.S. Senate, CED has grown fairly steadily into a well-financed statewide instrumentality with clearly defined radical goals tempered with a realistic understanding of the need for what Hayden's wife, Jane Fonda, has called "a political power base." CED's efforts, geared to effective exploitation of popular economic and other issues, have engendered considerable controversy, some of the most hostile assessments having come from the political left, possibly as a result of the sort of sectarianism and rivalry for power that historically has plagued the left in this country.

To the degree that CED has achieved acceptance in some quarters within the political establishment in California, it must be taken seriously; to underestimate the potential of a movement that numbers among its members and supporters a former Lieutenant Governor of California and a prominent member of the U.S. House of Representatives is to run the entirely needless risk of laying oneself open to an unpleasantly rude awakening a few years hence. This is even more the case when a movement enjoys, as CED does, close ties to a well-organized nationwide apparatus of obviously radical complexion, an aspect of the organization that, as mentioned previously, is explored in detail in the second part of this study. For the present, perhaps the best way to summarize what CED stands for is simply to cite one of the organization's own promotional brochures:

Okay.

We all know about the stagnant thing in our midst.

And we've all fallen in -- in one way or another.

We suffer its racism and sexism and joblessness and wars and inflation and its sugar-coated poisonings of our minds and bodies.

It has a name, this source of our ills.

An X-rated word -- rarely spoken in polite company. Or in schools. Or in the media. Or in the workplace, especially.

We think it's time to name -- and publicly challenge the foul thing.

Out loud.

The stink in our midst is called Corporate Capitalism -- and who says we have to live with it forever?

Enough's enough.

William T. Poole
Policy Analyst

The foregoing analysis is one in a series published by The Heritage Foundation. This publication is intended as a background analysis of an important organization which affects public policy. Any views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of The Heritage Foundation. Any comments should be addressed to the Director of Research at The Heritage Foundation, 513 C Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

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CAMPAIGN FOR ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY: PART I THE NEW LEFT IN POLITICS

(Executive Summary)

The Campaign for Economic Democracy is a California-based apparatus with national ties, particularly to organizations that function as parts of the nationwide network created and maintained by the Institute for Policy Studies, "the far-left radical 'think tank' in Washington, D.C." CED evolved directly from the unsuccessful 1976 California campaign of Thomas E. Hayden, one of the preeminent radical leaders of the 1960s, for the United States Senate; and several of CED's principal activists are also veterans of the Hayden campaign and of Students for a Democratic Society, a militantly leftist organization in which Hayden played a pivotal role both as founder and as principal author of its basic manifesto, the "Port Huron Statement." With an estimated 8,000 members throughout the state of California and a claimed core of 400 activists, CED operates with a paid staff of 21 people, a steering committee of 40 members and 40 alternate members, and an executive committee of eight members; Hayden chairs both the steering and executive committees and has been chairman of CED since its inception. In March 1977, the Campaign claimed to have 15 chapters in California; the most recent estimate places the number at 30.

Hayden's ambitions are evident in his statement that "We're going to take over....The next big generation will be those who came to political life during Vietnam, my generation. The country will be under our influence for a long time to come." It is, in fact, widely felt that CED exists in large measure to serve as an instrumentality for the achievement of Hayden's political goals; it is certainly true that his involvement and thinking have been central to CED's operation, just as the efforts of his wife, radical actress Jane Fonda, have been central to the organization's fund-raising programs. These programs, which support a budget currently estimated at \$300,000 per annum, have included direct-mail appeals, "door-to-door soliciting, speaker's honorariums,