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COUNTER-SPY

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CIA TARGET: LABOR



Undercover Agents Profiled

The Military At Wounded Knee

The Ideology Of Internal Security

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EDITORIAL

IN THIS ISSUE, *Counter-Spy* begins a series of in-depth analyses of the role of Central Intelligence in the international labor movement. Besides obviously targeting labor for dirty tricks, this Clandestine Services program augments other clandestine programs against governments, nations, organizations, and other political movements. Control of the loyalties of labor has been and will probably continue to be a strategic consideration for all ambitious political forces. Although some day the objective political condition may mandate that labor and only labor control its destiny, the *realpolitik* of the 1970's is that labor is a major arena of global struggle.

And the CIA is deeply involved in this struggle. This is perhaps the most important consolidated program of that agency. Whereas other programs are shared with a host of other agencies from the intelligence community or the military services, this is one the CIA runs alone. An indicator of this importance can be found in the labor programs being directed by the Covert Action Staff of the Directorate of Operations (Clandestine Services) — the most dangerous section of the CIA. Its importance is manifest by *none* of the so-called "party-line" books — written by CIA executives — describing or even mentioning labor when they write of the Agency. The Agency spends at least \$100 million per year on these programs and we find not even a paragraph from the Agency's apologists.

And that is not secrecy — that is *paranoia*. The paranoia of a group of men involved in the slime of Covert Action for most of their adult lives, who now find their efforts have been a dismal failure. The CIA, for all its tricks, has not been able to gain hegemony over the Soviets in controlling world labor. And neither have the Soviets been successful in accomplishing the reverse. The fact is that the prestige and influence of both the Soviets and the CIA's labor allies have declined in most political arenas, including labor. Except for a few coups here and there, the vast CIA infrastructure, like its Soviet counterparts, has been unable to stop the growing nationalist movement in the Third World. The \$100 million a year has been wasted in an orgy of dirty tricks which, unfortunately, have taken many lives.

And although this failure is certain and irreversible, the CIA still maintains a healthy number of "assets" involved with labor and other sections of the Third World political economy. This infrastructure is far from neutralized. And as the inevitability of defeat becomes more apparant, we can expect this infrastructure to react like an old coyote boxed in by its pursuers against a canyon wall.

And this coyote has already turned to snarl. The CIA has recently been spreading smear stories about a man who is writing an expose of his life as a CIA agent involved with labor in Latin America. While it is true that Phillip F. Agee is writing the most penetrating expose of the Agency ever attempted and that he is thoroughly disillusioned with his former life, there is no evidence that he has given information to the KGB. This lie is being circulated by the Agency to create public hysteria against Mr. Agee. Thus when he returns to the US it will be easier for the Agency to charge him with espionage.

And the CIA's labor allies have recently tried to discredit a booklet written by Fred Hersh, a plumber in San Jose, California, which describes the actions of the CIA's labor proprietary in Latin American — AIFLD. This booklet, prompted by reports, of AIFLD's involvement in the coup in Chile, is helping a new movement on the part of Latin American labor to stop the further clawing and biting of this old coyote.

But what worries the CIA and its labor allies most is that rank-and-file labor here in America will become opposed to the CIA's labor program's. Today, facing ever-increasing inflation, labor in America is beginning to stir. If and when this stirring focuses on the CIA infrastructure in the midst of labor, then that coyote will not even have the canyon wall at its back to protect it.

As for the Fifth Estate, we are opposed to the very existence of Clandestine Services, and we urge all Americans to oppose their actions in every sphere, including labor.

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We regret that in our last issue we failed to identify Francis A. Kornegay, author of "Africa: Intervention by Proxy," as with the African Bibliographic Center.

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COUNTER-SPY ALSO WELCOMES CRITICISM. Although we do not have a letters to the editor section, COUNTER-SPY is open to all criticism. Through reader input, many important changes in the Quarterly have, and will continue to be made.

THIS ISSUE OF COUNTER-SPY COSTS ABOUT \$900 to produce. Although this is being written prior to seeing the bills, about \$450 was spent on typesetting, \$350 on printing, and \$100 for mailing. Authors were not paid for articles. The money for this issue was raised through subscriptions, and through a donation by the Fifth Estate.

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Clandestine Enforcement Of U.S. Foreign Labor Policy

Foreign policy comprises the aggregate of the activities of a government conducted for the purpose of achieving its international objectives. Of these policies, the most important, besides global military strategy, are those which support, maintain, and encourage the growth of the political economy. With the rapid internationalization of the U.S. political economy at the end of World War II, the dominant sector of the American political economy, and thus the main determinant of foreign economic policy, has been the transnational, or multinational, corporation.

Strategists for the multinational corporations foresee a time when world industry will be ruled by three hundred or less global giants competing across continents. Even today, these multinationals often have greater revenues than the countries in which they operate. The scale of international industrial development has far surpassed the scale of international political development, a discrepancy which ruthless companies can and often have exploited. Anthony Jay, in *Management and Machievelli*, states that "future students of the twentieth century will find the history of a firm like General Motors a great deal more important than the history of a nation like Switzerland." This view, that the corporation is more important than countries, is shared by many top executives of multinational corporations because their companies provide security, incentives and jobs for millions of people.

To maintain this view and achieve their foreign economic goals, the multinationals have and continue to use all ways and means available to them; their vast resources of capital, manpower, communications, etc., their independence of national trade and currency restrictions, and their ability to dominate and manipulate international labor relations.

One of the most strategic resources available to the multinational corporations is intelligence. Intelligence which can not only monitor trade and rival corporate interests, but which can collect information on anti-corporate forces including the objectives of Soviet communism, the nationalism of the states in which the multinationals operate, the national liberation move-

ments of the Third World and the aspirations of foreign labor itself. And an intelligence which can clandestinely enforce foreign policy and act in secret against these forces.

The multinational corporations each maintain their own vast intelligence networks, as well as being able to call upon various private and independent intelligence organizations, but the most important intelligence resource available to them is the Central Intelligence Agency.

The CIA, besides serving as the major evaluator of information for our government and as a participant, along with the rest of the intelligence community and the military services, in war and counter-insurgency operations, has from the beginning of its existence supplied strategic information to the multinationals, assisted in their internal security and acted as *their* agents enforcing *their* foreign policy objectives, especially those targeted against international labor. The CIA and the multinational corporations have also served each other as recruiting pools for executives and operatives. Although factions have developed within the CIA opposed to specific objectives of foreign policy as suggested by the multinationals or the conduct of those policies, in the arena of foreign labor policy, it is virtually impossible to distinguish between the conduct of the CIA* and the multinational corporations.

The CIA, acting as an agent of the multinational corporations, has infiltrated international labor organizations, established proprietary international labor fronts, and manipulated the AFL-CIO and the free trade union confederations of Europe, Latin America, Africa and Asia.

* The CIA we speak of here is Clandestine Services and not the other departments of the CIA. Decision making for the CIA labor practices has been a combination of Clandestine Services — Director of Operations (DDO), formerly DDP — the head of International Organizations Division then Covert Action Staff, his labor affairs staff and Jay Lovestone and George Meany and their aides, and officers of selected multinational corporations.

In the arena of foreign labor policy it is virtually impossible to distinguish between the product of the CIA and the multinational corporations.

Our political economy, dominated by the multinational corporations, has since the end of WWII been in competition with Soviet communism for world hegemony, the primary foreign policy objective of these corporations by the CIA being to maintain foreign labor within the camp of our political economy. The strategy for this goal of the multinationals has centered upon the CIA, and other departments and agencies of our government, fostering and promoting fanatical anti-communism in the ranks of foreign and domestic labor. In fostering this fanatical anti-communism, the CIA has been able to establish a pro-CIA infrastructure among foreign labor. This infrastructure has been used to gather information on foreign workers, governments and Third World national liberation movements. This infrastructure has been used, also, as one front in the attack on those movements, to undermine the foreign and domestic labor policies of other governments — especially Europe and Japan — whose political economies, although aligned with ours, are in competition with ours, and to thwart any nationalist tendencies on the part of Third World governments which threaten multinational corporations' holdings. This infrastructure has also been used to dampen the aspirations of foreign labor by manipulating labor relations in favor of government.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR STRUCTURE

The major international labor organization in existence today is the International Labor Organization (ILO). The ILO is an intergovernmental specialized agency of the United Nations and is similar to UNESCO, the World Health Organization, and the Food and Agriculture Organization. Each national delegation to the ILO is comprised of labor, government and industry officials. The UN charter provided that "co-ordination between the Specialized Agencies and the UN be of the best kind, with the Specialized Agencies providing reports for the Economic and Social Council which will permit the Council to discharge the responsibility given by the United Nations Charter, of co-ordinating international action in the area of economic and social policy."

Article 62-3 of the UN Charter gives the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) the power to "prepare draft conventions for submission to the General

Assembly." Article 63-1 gives ECOSOC the power "to make arrangements with members of the UN and its specialized agencies to obtain reports on the steps taken to give effect to its own recommendations . . ." Thus the recommendations of a specialized agency, such as the ILO, channeled through ECOSOC, and finally to the General Assembly become "conventions" and "treaties". Thus when approved by member nations, the recommendations of the ILO become law in those nations and govern labor relations.

The ILO has, since its inception, been an arena of major contention between the Soviet Union and the U.S. The multinational corporations have consistently used the ILO to further their objectives. Not only have CIA operatives assisted the fanatical anti-communist infrastructure in international labor in their attempts to control the ILO, the multinationals have used the ILO as a propaganda forum extolling the virtues of this infrastructure and its objectives. Of course, the same can be said of the Soviet Union and its allies. The effect has been that the ILO, rather than serving the needs of international labor, has been weakened by becoming an arena of competition between the Soviet and the multinationals.

The most effective means of CIA control of the ILO has been the funds provided for its operations by our government. The threat of suspending funds continues to be used by the CIA and its labor allies.

The Soviet Union dominates the world's largest international labor organization, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). As a global international, the WFTU purports to represent the working classes the world over. Although its membership figures are somewhat dubious, there is no denying it is the largest since a single one of its affiliates, the Soviet Union, has more members than all the unions of the other internationals combined. The other member nations of the WFTU are the remainder of the Soviet block, four Asian nations — North Korea, North Vietnam, Mongolia and China — and Cuba and the trade union federations in Italy, France, and India and a number of considerably smaller organizations in approximately twenty-five to thirty other countries in the Third World.

Established in 1945, the WFTU was the international labor organization at the end of WWII and included many American unions which belonged to the CIO before its merger with the AFL. As the Soviet Union began opposing the Marshall Plan for the recovery of Europe, the CIA instigated the withdrawal of the American unions and many European unions from the WFTU by 1949. Two years later the WFTU was ordered out of France, where it was originally established, but the WFTU found a new home in the Soviet sector of Vienna. However, a year after the signing of the treaty in 1955 recognizing Austria as a sovereign state, the WFTU was again asked to leave. Finally it settled in Prague.

Today, because of the Sino-Soviet split and disagreements between many of the Communist unions, the WFTU is a house divided.

The World Confederation of Labor (WCL) is the oldest international trade organization in existence today and was until recently the international embodiment of denominational labor organizations. Composed primarily of Christian trade unions, the WCL has in recent years expanded its focus to include those workers of all faiths. However, this universalization and the accompanying secularization has seriously weakened the WCL. Only in Latin America and here and there in Europe, does the WCL offer a viable alternative to the pro-Eastern WFTU or the pro-Western ICFTU.

THE ICFTU

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), of the three global union internationals is the most heterogeneous. Its members are predominantly oriented toward the West, although a few unions from unaligned nations are also members. Among those aligned with the West are representatives of democratic socialist unions of Western Europe, several socialist oriented unions of the Third World, especially Africa, several Christian socialist unions, disaffiliated with the WCL, and the uncompromising anti-communist unions of North America, including the AFL-CIO until its disaffiliation in May of 1969.

Although originally formed as an anti-communist trade union international, in recent years, many members of the ICFTU have increased their contacts with the WFTU, much to the consternation of the AFL-CIO, which remains uncompromising on this issue. Only in recent years has the AFL-CIO begun to favor detente and this with provisions.

The ICFTU was formed in London in 1949 in the atmosphere of deteriorating relations between the Soviet Union and the U.S. Its avowed purpose from the start was to provide an international framework for the operations of non-communist trade unions in the developed nations and to promote and organize free trade unions in the underdeveloped Third World. The ICFTU owes its existence in large part to early CIA labor operations designed to split the WFTU and its early history is replete with projects being influenced or directly controlled by the CIA. In recent years, however, there was some movement to eliminate the CIA's hold over the ICFTU.

The CIA through its infrastructure in the ICFTU was able to mobilize ICFTU support for the following clandestine operations and others:

- *The uprising in East Berlin and other East German towns in 1953.*
- *The uprising in Poznan Poland in 1956.*
- *The Hungarian Revolution in October 1956.*

As the Soviet Union began opposing the Marshall Plan for the recovery of Europe, the CIA instigated the withdrawal of the American unions and many European unions . . .

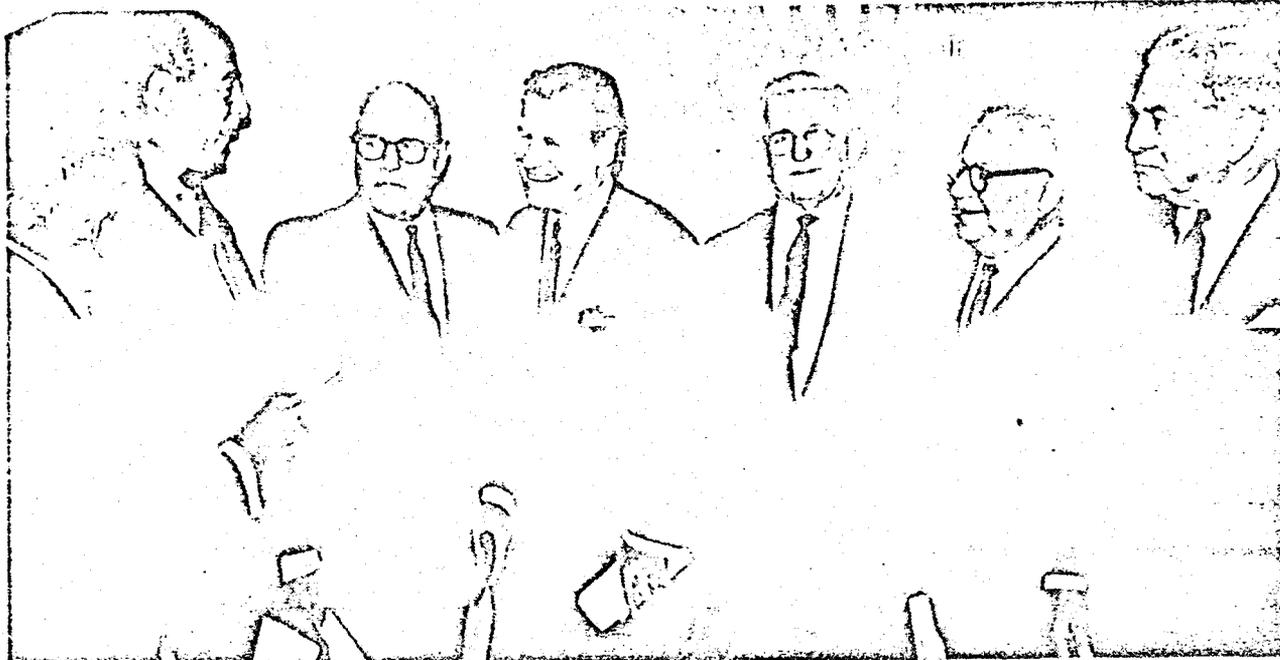
- *The revolution in Venezuela in January 1958.*
- *The CIA control of Thailand and Nepal.*
- *The overthrow of Sukarno in Indonesia in 1958.*
- *The overthrow of Nkrumah in Ghana in 1966.*

The CIA infrastructure in the ICFTU in the early years was especially successful in mobilizing the ICFTU against the colonial interests of our Western allies, Britain and France. The ICFTU, guided by the CIA, was instrumental in aiding the FLN against French colonialism in Algeria and North Africa in 1956. And again in Aden and Kenya the ICFTU, hand in hand with the CIA, was successful in helping to end British rule.

But the CIA's clandestine affiliation with the ICFTU has not always been one of total cooperation. For instance, the ICFTU's strong stance against fascism in Spain and Greece and against the apartheid governments in Southern Africa produced strains on this clandestine relationship. The ICFTU was and is strongly opposed to these governments and took many steps to isolate them internationally, while at the same time elements of the CIA were cooperating with these governments. The CIA was unable, or perhaps in light of the disreputable natures of these governments, unwilling to mobilize ICFTU support to acquiescence to these governments. However, the CIA did manage to use the information collected by the ICFTU on the workers movements in these countries. In this sense, even with the opposition of the ICFTU to the policies of these governments, the ICFTU served as unwitting cover for the CIA's operations.

Decision making within the ICFTU rests in its Congress, which meets at least every three years. This Congress then elects an Executive Committee which in turn elects a President and other officers. A General Secretary is also elected by the Congress. A sub-committee of the Executive Board serves to manage matters of urgency between meetings of the Executive Committee. In the early days during the Cold War, the CIA was successful in having its operatives sit on these

The CIA also worked with the ICFTU in undermining the labor legislation of many of our Western allies such as Japan and France.



Example of CIA/AFL-CIO/Transnational Corporation Collusion. Attending AIFLD meeting are: D. Dubinsky (ILGWU), a Peruvian comrodore, George Meany, Nelson Rockefeller, a Brazilian comrodore, CIA agent and past Executive Director of AIFLD Serafino Romualdi, and Samuel F. Pryor (Pan American World Airways).

councils, but in recent years CIA has been forced to operate at lower levels. In addition, the ICFTU has several standing committees established to deal with specific problems such as trade and women workers. The most important of these is the International Solidarity Fund Committee. In the early years this was one of the most important elements of CIA infiltration of the ICFTU.

The International Solidarity Fund was established as a response to the uprising in Poland. The Committee went on to raise nearly one million dollars to aid the workers involved in the Hungarian uprising, then to organize many of the refugees into right-wing, anti-Soviet, CIA controlled organizations.

The CIA was also instrumental in controlling the propaganda services of the ICFTU through the Press Service, the *Free Labour World* – official organ of the ICFTU – and the Organization Department. The latter, while organizing free trade unions throughout the Third World, provided a convenient cover for the CIA as well as funds for the publications of the regional and local unions. These publications were a major source of CIA generated propaganda during the Cold War and, in many cases, continue to be.

The CIA also worked with the ICFTU in undermining the labor legislation of many of our Western allies such as Japan and France. Whereas the trade union rights of many workers in these countries were restricted and needed the assistance of the ICFTU to pressure these governments to insure these rights, there is also no

denying that restoring these rights favored the U.S. based multinationals over these countries in international trade relations. It is the latter which probably motivated the CIA rather than concern for trade union rights.

The ICFTU's power, and thus the CIA's interest in this organization, does not just lie with its ability to stimulate and coordinate the activities of its affiliated organizations or to organize new unions in the Third World. The ICFTU also makes full use of its consultive status with the UN and the ILO and other specialized agencies. The ICFTU is also influential with many other international organizations mainly in the field of education.

REGIONAL INTERNATIONALS

Early in its history the ICFTU recognized that to carry out its task of establishing, maintaining and developing free trade unions in the Third World, the differences between the different regions of the world in the economic, political and cultural structure had to be taken into consideration. For this reason the ICFTU established regional organizations with wide autonomy. These regional organizations hold their own conferences, elect their own governing bodies and entertain their own secretariats.

The Asian Regional Organization (ARO) was founded in 1951 with headquarters in New Delhi, India. The Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT) was established in January 1951 with its

headquarters in Mexico. In 1951, also, the European Regional Organization (ERO) was set up in Brussels, Belgium. The African Regional Organization (AFRO) was established in 1959 in Lagos, Nigeria.

It is primarily through these regional organizations that the CIA has been able to manipulate international labor. For instance, ORIT, the most dominated of the three regionals, was for many years the most effective arm of the CIA in Latin America. A staff report of the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations (July 15, 1968) says ORIT:

was originally founded for the specific purpose of combatting Communist infiltration of the Latin American labor movement. ORIT has never quite solved the problem of emphasis as between fighting communism and strengthening democratic trade unions... Generally speaking, in ORIT North Americans have emphasized anti-communism; Latin Americans have emphasized democratic trade unionism.

This is one reason for what seems to be a decline in ORIT prestige in Latin America. More fundamental, perhaps, has been the tendency of ORIT to support US government policy in Latin America. ORIT endorsed the overthrow of the Arbenz regime in Guatemala and of the Goulart

regime in Brazil. It supported Burham over Cheddi Jagain in Guyana, and it approved the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic. To many Latin Americans, this looks like ORIT is an instrument of the U.S. State Department.

If the Senate staff had probed harder they would have discovered that many of the leaders of ORIT have been in the employ or control of the CIA. However, by the early sixties, ORIT was so thoroughly discredited in Latin America, and divided by internal disputes that it was no longer a totally effective tool for the CIA.

ERO likewise was in the early years during the Cold War, infiltrated and controlled by the CIA, but its effectiveness was sharply circumscribed when the national trade union federations in the Common Market countries entrusted the handling of their joint representation in the Common Market to a specialized international, the European Trade Union Secretariat, rather than to ERO.

AFRO has perhaps been the least effective tool for the CIA. After an initial willingness on the part of African unions to cooperate with the CIA — during the period of African independence in the 1950's — the African nations became increasingly suspicious of external interference in their affairs. By the sixties many African national trade federations had withdrawn from the ICFTU, thus limiting CIA clandestine activities in

GUIDE TO ACRONYMS USED

AAFLI	Asian-American Free Labor Institute	IFFTU	International Federation of Free Teacher s Union
AALC	African-American Labor Center	IFIOWU	International Federation of Industrial Organi- zations and General Workers Unions
AIFLD	American Institute for Free Labor Development	IFOCAW	International Federation of Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers
AFL	American Federation of Labor	IFPAAW	International Federation of Plantation, Agri- cultural, and Allied Workers
AFRO	African Regional Organization (ICFTU)	IGF	International Graphical Federation
AMG	American Military Agovernment (Post-war Germany)	ILGWU	International Ladies Garment Workers Union
ARO	Asian Regional Organization (ICFTU)	ILO	International Labor Organization (UN)
AVC	American Veterans Committee	IMF	International Metalworkers Federation
CIO	Congress of Industrial Organizations	IOD	International Organizations Division (CIA)
CGT	French Confederation of Labor	ISLWF	Internationl Shoe and Leather Worker's Fed- eration
CP	Communist Party	ITF	International Transport Workers Federation
EAM-ELAS	Greek National Liberation Front (WW II)	ITS	International Trade Secretariats
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council (UN)	IUF	International Union of Food and Allied Work- ers Association
ERGAS	Worker's Anti-Fascist Group (Greece)	MIF	Miner's International Federation
ERO	European Regional Organization (ICFTU)	OSS	Office of Strategic Services
EUFTT	European Union of Film and Television Tech- nicians	ORIT	Inter-American Regional Organization (ICFTU)
FO	Force Ouvriere	PSI	Public Services International
FTUC	Free Trade Union Committee	PTTI	Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone International
GSEE	Greek National Trade Union Confederation	UADW	Universal Alliance of Diamond Workers
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions	UAW	United Auto Workers
IFBWW	International Federation of Building and Wood Workers	WCL	World Confederation of Labor
IFCCTE	International Federation of Commercial, Cler- ical, and Technical Employees	WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions

their countries.

Except for the CIA's success in overthrowing the Sukarno regime in Indonesia with the help of ARO and some assistance by ARO in the CIA's activities in Indochina, ARO has been an ineffective tool for CIA manipulation. The vast cultural differences between various parts of Asia, enormous language barriers, and competing economic objectives have limited the amount of cooperation the CIA could expect from ARO.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE SECRETARIATS

Perhaps the most effective international labor tool for the CIA until recent years has been the International Trade Secretariats (ITS), which are organized along specific industrial trade union lines rather than by geographical regions. Rather than negotiating with governments, as do the ICFTU and the regionals, the ITS deal directly with the industries. Thus the ITS are the primary international representatives of the workers with the multinational corporations. This effort to parallel the structure of employers in a highly concentrated internationalized industry has provided the workers with their most effective tool for bargaining. At the same time several of the ITS provided the CIA with its most effective tools of infiltration into the political economies of the Third World. As one well known observer of CIA operations world wide has noted, governments come and go but the industrial unions tend to continue throughout. Thus through the ITS, the CIA was able to create its most effective infrastructures.

These ITS are:

- International Federation of Building and Woodworkers* with nearly 3 million members.
- International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees* with nearly 7 million members.
- International Federation of Chemical and General Workers' Unions* with over 3 million members.
- International Secretariat of Entertainment Trade Unions* with almost 500,000 members.
- International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations* with nearly 1.5 million members.
- International Graphical Federation* with almost 1 million members.
- International Federation of Journalists* with 60,000 members.
- International Metalworkers' Federation* with almost 11 million members.
- International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers* with over 1 million members.
- International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers* with over 4 million members.
- Postal Telegraph and Telephone International* with over 3 million members.
- Public Services International* with over 4 million members.

International Federation of Free Teachers' Unions with over 1 million members.

International Transport Workers' Federation with nearly 8 million members.

International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers Federation with over 4 million members.

In 1967, the International Federation of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers revealed in its own financial report that it received \$30,000 from the Andrew Hamilton Foundation, a well known CIA front. In January 1967, this ITS was expelled from Brazil for subversive activities.

Also in 1967, Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson revealed that this same ITS was spending a considerable amount of CIA funds in Indonesia. They also revealed that the PTTI and the IUF were likewise spending CIA funds.

The ITGWF, formerly the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, was active with the CIA in establishing the ICFTU.

Also in that year of revelations about the CIA's involvement with labor, Gerald J. Poulson of the IUF claimed that his organization had been used by the CIA and that he knew of eight agents in his organization.

Perhaps the most dominated of the ITS is the PTTI. Since this ITS is involved in the strategic area of communications, it has been essential to CIA strategists to control this union. PTTI members were active in controlling communications during several coup d'etats in Latin America and are now suspected of playing a substantial role in the recent coup in Chile. Joseph Bierne, President of the Communications Workers of America, member of the PTTI, has been of primary importance in securing CIA control of this ITS. Pearson disclosed that Bierne was instrumental in the channeling of CIA funds through his union and the ITS.

While most of these international labor organizations — the ICFTU, the regionals and the ITS's — are legitimate expressions of trade unionism in the West, there can be no doubt that CIA strategy in targeting labor has included the essential element of infiltration and control of these organizations. While this infiltration and control was strongest during the Cold War, many remnants of the CIA's infrastructure remain in these organizations. If more evidence comes to light revealing the role of these organizations in the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile, then the only conclusion we can reach is that this infrastructure is still effective and far from neutralized.

WWII TO THE FORMATION OF THE ICFTU

The roots of CIA targeting of labor can be found in the policies and practices of the CIA's WWII predecessor, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). The OSS was developed on the doctrine of political pragmatism with

agents of the political left, right and center joined in the struggle against fascism. Thus the OSS contained corporate officials, blue-blooded members of the establishment, conservative emigres from Europe and Asia, liberals, socialists of every persuasion, and Communists. However, the OSS did not fare so well in achieving ideological coexistence. Drew Pearson analyzed the OSS executives as being "all picked from the Red baiters". The OSS, he said, "had succeeded in collecting one of the fanciest groups of dilettante diplomats, Wall Street bankers, and amateur detectives ever seen in Washington." He further noted that the younger operational types, predominantly from the left of the political spectrum, "have done some of the most heroic work of the war."

One of the major concentrations of left politics in the OSS was the Labor Branch. The Labor Branch was created to work with Socialist trade union groups in the European theater. The Branch was the brain child of OSS Colonel Heber Blankenhorn, a veteran of Army Intelligence in WWI who is credited with developing aerial propaganda campaigns. In the 1930's Blankenhorn had been a staff aid of New York Senator Robert Wagner, who had been instrumental in championing pro-labor legislation. As an expert both on labor and intelligence, Blankenhorn later became director of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee investigation of corporate spying on the trade unions of the newly formed CIO and other independent unions. Upon joining OSS, Blankenhorn convinced General William "Wild Bill" Donovan, head of the OSS, that the European trade unions would constitute the center of anti-Nazi resistance and that the OSS should make a special effort to develop labor contacts of intelligence and resistance operations.

To organize the labor unit, Donovan chose George Bowden, a former Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) organizer who combined a successful tax practice with prominent membership in the National Lawyers Guild. Bowden, in turn, recruited a friend of his from the Chicago bar, a young Jewish attorney named Arthur Goldberg, to become the first chief of the new OSS Labor Branch. At Blankenhorn's suggestion, several liberal officials from the National Labor Relations Board were recruited to staff the Labor Branch. Throughout the war, the Labor Branch was an active and vocal voice of political liberalism in the conduct of OSS operations.

The Labor Branch became one of the most important sections of the OSS working with major resistance groups in occupied and neutral territory in Europe and North Africa. But towards the end of the war the more conservative elements of the OSS managed to co-opt the Labor Branch projects into other sections of the OSS, but not before the Labor Branch had succeeded in several important operations, including major strikes in

... the International Organizations Division (of the CIA) ... was supporting the non-Communist left, predominantly Social Democrat and Trotskyite around the world ...

occupied territory. The attempt to organize anti-Nazi strikes in neutral territory, though, led to the eventual demise of the Labor Branch by giving fuel to the more conservative elements of the OSS who were anti-labor. As Goldberg would later write, one of the "mistakes" of the OSS was "the selection by General Donovan of men for the higher echelons of the organization who by background and temperament were unsympathetic with Donovan's own conception of the necessity of unstinting cooperation with the resistance movements."

Throughout the war the OSS Labor Branch and other divisions recruited agents from the American Unions and from the ITS. These included Dr. Lazare Teper, a Russian born economist who directed the research department of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) headed by David Dubinsky, and members of the International Transport Workers Federation and the PTTI. The ILGWU also provided the OSS with the services of Serafino Romualdi. He was an Italian Socialist exile who emigrated to the U.S. when Mussolini took power in Italy, and joined the staff of the ILGWU. In 1942, Romualdi began work for the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, an intelligence and propaganda agency headed by Nelson Rockefeller, which competed with the OSS and the FBI for control of intelligence in the Latin American theater. In July of 1944, Romualdi was sent to Italy with the rank of OSS Major to work with Italian labor.

It is in this milieu, towards the end of the war, that we find the seeds of future CIA policy towards world labor. Not only do we have the more conservative officials of the OSS, all linked with the developing multinational corporations, opposed to OSS cooperation with the more radical elements of the trade unions, we also begin to find a militant anti-communism on the part of labor leaders and liberals connected to the OSS. Romualdi, for instance, began in Italy to politically manipulate the situation "to strengthen the Socialist forces at the expense of the Communists. We were preparing for the day — which many of us regarded as inevitable — when the Communists would have to be opposed." Also in 1944, Goldberg had already begun to oppose the Communists he had previously been working with closely. For instance, the Labor Branch had been sending funds and equipment to the French Confederation of Labor (CGT). This resistance group included a socialist majority and a Communist minority, which

began a campaign to gain control of the trade union confederation. Goldberg began financing the socialist faction. When Goldberg refused to equally fund the Communist faction, the Communists began a campaign exposing Goldberg's activities in France.

At the same time, anti-communist labor leaders in America began to intervene in international labor affairs. The ILGWU, which had supplied many officers for the OSS, had, throughout the late thirties and early forties, a militant pro-communist minority. David Dubinsky, head of the union had, during the war, attempted to isolate and combat this grouping and had fairly well succeeded. He and other anti-communist union leaders then turned their attention to Europe. Although anti-communist union leaders within the OSS were beginning their campaign to oppose the Communists, the leaders in America saw the need for a special agency to oppose the growing power of the Communists. This power was based on the fact that the Communists during the war had given the best leadership to the resistance and therefore were looked to for future leadership by the majority of the rank and file. The instrument Dubinsky and other anti-communist trade unionists, including George Meany, chose was the Free Trade Union Committee (FTUC). The FTUC from the beginning was designed to resist the growth of Communism as a world force which to American labor leaders was a new and alien element in the international labor movement.

THE FTUC IN FRANCE

The FTUC was the official foreign policy arm of the AFL, the most vehement anti-communist trade union grouping in the U.S., and towards the end of the war and immediately following worked closely with the OSS. In late 1945, the FTUC arrived in Paris, headed by Irving Brown. Brown had already been working in Europe in late 1945 with the Foreign Economic Administration as Director of the Labor and Manpower Division and thus was our government's direct liaison with the European labor groups. In this capacity he worked quite closely with the remainder of the OSS which still worked with the labor resistance.

The major problem facing Brown was the strength of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT). Brown found the French situation to be "not very encouraging" because, as he frankly admitted, the CP had a "terrific hold on the CGT. They control whatever is important to control. The opposition forces are weak, lack program and are divided in their strategy." The CP were strong among labor, Brown found, because of their record in resistance. They claimed seventy-five thousand martyrs, they had a large propaganda machine, and the dire economic circumstances of post-war France allowed the Party to appear "before the masses as their only savior." The masses of the CGT were non-communist, Brown

insisted, and only voted for the Party because its leaders appeared as "dynamic trade unionists" and very "dynamic fighters." The Communists were also strong because they received assistance from the WFTU, the international labor organization.

A further problem faced Brown. The majority of the non-communist CGT leaders had become collaborationist during the wartime pro-Nazi Vichy regime. Their wartime activity compromised them and the Communists were using this fact to full advantage.

The major group committed to anti-communism was gathered around a small newspaper, *Resistance Ouvriere*, published by the Force Ouvriere (FO). Brown immediately began urging the AFL to finance the activities of the FO against the CP faction of the CGT. The funds for the FO were to be deposited in the account of the Jewish Labor Committee, then headed by Arthur Goldberg, which would serve as a front for the secret transfer of the funds. Throughout 1946, the AFL continued to finance the FO, through this secret channel, in their opposition to the CP.

Brown's strategy in backing the FO was to split the CGT between non-communist and Communist forces. Because the CP at this time adopted a program which proved to be a strategic error, Brown was able to report by late 1947, that there would definitely be another national trade union movement in France soon. The error of the CP was that, although they came out of the war in the strongest position in French labor, they soon adopted a policy which other communists called revisionism. The French Communists supported piecework and speedups and developed the slogan of "produce, always produce". This called for great sacrifices on the part of the French workers, who soon opposed the policies of the CP leadership. "The Communists," Brown correctly observed, "are acting as a brake on the economic demands of the workers." This Brown thought would only serve "to strengthen the opposition forces" being organized by Brown and the FTUC. As historian Gabriel Kolko has noted, the French Communists ironically played "a critical role in disciplining the working class and ultimately making it possible for capitalism as an institution to survive and profit in France. Above all, the Communists were the advocates of production, for they above all others could make the workers toil."

Brown, in the meantime, was consolidating the anti-communist opposition around the FO. By January of 1948, Brown had convinced the AFL to openly and fully support the FO.

In the meantime the CP was mounting a campaign among the French workers to oppose the Truman Administration's Marshall Plan for the recovery of Europe under U.S. economic and military leadership. Their strategy centered upon an attempt to organize a



Irving Brown has played a key role in CIA manipulation of labor since the end of World War Two.

general strike in the late forties and early fifties and to oppose the importation of arms provided by the Marshall Plan. The CP organized a dock worker strike in 1949-50 which attempted to do just that. But by this time a new force was assisting Brown and the FTUC in its attempt to oppose the CGT.

Brown supported a right-wing group called the Mediterranean Committee. This committee was composed primarily of Corsican bandits active in heroin smuggling. That group hired Italian strike breakers to unload American arms at Marseilles and other French ports. The money for the strike breakers came from the newly formed Central Intelligence Agency. Thomas W. Braden, who directed the International Organizations Division of the CIA — responsible for funding various CIA programs through such fronts as the trade union internationals and the National Student Association — from 1950 to 1954, wrote, in an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1967, about the CIA's early subsidies of Brown's activities in the FTUC. Referring to a receipt

for \$15,000 in his possession, signed by Brown in 1947, Braden explained that Brown:

needed it to pay off strong arm squads in Mediterranean ports, so that American supplies could be unloaded against the opposition of communist dock workers. In 1947 the Communist CGT led a strike in Paris which came near to paralyzing the French economy. A take over of the government was feared. Into this crisis stepped Irving Brown. With funds from Dubinsky's union, they organized Force Ouvriere, a non-Communist union. When they ran out of money they appealed to the CIA. Thus began the secret subsidy of free trade unions... Without this subsidy post-war history might have gone very differently.

Although the funds received by Brown from Braden in 1947 were undoubtedly used to fund the Force Ouvriere, the strike breaking by the Mediterranean Committee did not occur until 1949-50. By then CIA subsidies had jumped from \$15,000 to \$2 million per year by Braden's account.

Brown's strategy in France matured during the early fifties, under CIA guidance, to not only include propaganda against the CGT and its CP leadership for their policies calling for sacrifices on the part of labor and for their opposition to the Marshall Plan but also to rehabilitate the Vichyite pro-Nazi labor leaders back into positions of power in French unions. At the same time he began a campaign to blacklist and outlaw the CP leadership in the CGT. Although this plan failed to be totally accomplished it served as a major point of the strategy of the CIA controlled FTUC in France during the early fifties.

IN GREECE

The CIA and the FTUC faced a different problem in other parts of Europe. In Greece, the Greek Communists had come to play a major part in the growth of organized labor. During the war the Communists had been the spearhead of the major resistance group, the EAM-ELAS, which received help from the OSS. At the same time another resistance group, the conservative republican EDES was being backed by the British. The conflict between these two groups escalated into civil war after Athens was liberated from the Germans in December 1944. When the British installed the exile government of Prime Minister George Pependrieu, the EAM-ELAS partisans broke into open rebellion. Although a cease fire was eventually achieved, the Greek civil war led to an important alteration in the operations of the OSS. More conservative OSS officers were sent to

replace those working with EAM-ELAS with new orders that "the main target for intelligence operations should now become discovering what the Soviets are doing in the Balkans rather than German operations... the German threat was receding. The Soviet danger was already looming."

Greek labor was united in the Greek Confederation of Labor — the GWEE — to which four separate groups belonged. One group was headed by a former Nazi collaborator. Another group was led by two men who had left the EAM-ELAS at the start of the civil war. The largest group, in which the Communists were very active, was known as the ERGAS or the Worker's Anti-Fascist Group. The other large group was the pro-Monarchist EREP which had been assisted with the pro-British EDES during the war. It was this group which received the support of the government.

EREP immediately began consolidating its position among the right-wing unions and political parties. By 1946, EREP and the Greek government had managed to dispose all the ERGAS leadership from GSEE. The result was that Greek labor was thrown into chaos. The crisis was temporarily resolved by an agreement between EREP and ERGAS forced by the British. But almost immediately EREP began to sabotage the agreement. Many of the ERGAS leadership had been arrested during the early stages of the civil war and EREP worked to keep them in jail.

In the early months of 1947, Brown travelled to Greece and began working to evolve a settlement between ERGAS and EREP but a settlement which would leave the ERGAS representation in GSEE at a minimum. Noting the deteriorating economic conditions in Greece produced favorable conditions for communist organizing, Brown did all he could to undermine the ERGAS. ERGAS, Brown stressed, was a total CP instrument, "acting in complete support of Russian goals in Greece." If its leaders won power, "this Communist group would destroy free trade unionism." Earlier Brown had stated that free trade unionism *did not exist* in postwar Greece.

Brown's method of operation was soon quite clear. Anything was justifiable when seeking to oppose Communists in the trade union movement, including cooperation with a government appointed group that did not have the support of the Greek workers. To achieve world support for this program, Brown emphasized his recommendation that the state end its intervention in the unions and act to raise standards, and also that Marshall Plan aid "be conditioned on greater guarantees of democratization of the government." Thus under the cover of reformism, the FTUC was able to continue the support of the EREP and to undermine the ERGAS.

The ERGAS were eventually eliminated from GSEE but fighting broke out between rival anti-communist

groups. A strike was called in 1947 by the heretofore leadership of the EREP which only weakened their position and that of their major opposition. In this milieu, pro-Fascist elements arose under the appearance of neutrality. Because the advent of a Fascist takeover of the trade unions would have been embarrassing to the U.S. which backed the government, Brown intervened to reach a compromise between the various factions. But as the government in Greece shifted further to the right, Brown accused those he had previously supported of putting their personal ambitions ahead of militant anti-communism. This dispute continued throughout the 1950's and early 1960's with those union leaders whom the CIA and Brown had originally supported declaring that Brown was trying to "establish conspiratorial anti-communist organizations under the guise of trade unionism."

IN GERMANY

In Germany the older social democratic trade union leaders had been persecuted by Hitler and a great void in union leadership and organization existed. Germany had been divided into four zones, each controlled by the various Allied occupation armies. In this context the CIA and the FTUC moved to organize the trade unions and to eliminate "pro-Communists from leadership positions of unions formed in the zone supervised by the American Military Government (AMG).

Efforts to rebuild the unions in the American, British, and French zones were begun by the Free German Trade Union League, which had worked with Goldberg's OSS Labor Branch during the war. These German unions wished to act as a central organizing committee that would rebuild unionism on a democratic basis. But Brown believed that the policies of the AMG were giving "an advantage to Communists in gaining control of the local plant organizations. Brown accused the Manpower Division of the AMG of being pro-Communist and "Party-liners."

The AMG policy was to go slow in rebuilding the trade unions in Germany and to have a policy allowing organizing in single plants only. This policy had the effect of limiting the growth of trade unionism but the AMG argued that this was necessary to insure democracy in the redevelopment of Germany. But to Brown this policy was pro-communist. He then began a campaign to eliminate from the AMG those who opposed his policies. In 1946 he met with several anti-communist union leaders and was convinced that he should back their propaganda efforts. He provided financing for their publications which were then clandestinely sent into Germany, since official Allied policy forbid external publications.

At the same time he began a campaign to have the AMG return the property of the old Socialist unions which the Nazi's had confiscated during the war. This

enabled these unions to rapidly build with an anti-communist perspective.

Towards the end of 1946, Brown vigorously opposed the affiliation of these unions with the WFTU. Brown for the first time began proposing the building of a new anti-communist international union organization. Such a group, he emphasized, would also provide him with "an excellent official function for my presence in Europe."

This caused a major dispute between the CIO, which belonged to the WFTU, and the AFL which backed Brown's proposal. The dispute was escalated when the CIA helped distribute an AFL propaganda paper in the Russian zone. This paper was smuggled into the Soviet Zone by an anti-communist underground organization associated with the newly formed free trade unions.

At the same time Brown, and the FTUC moved to block the establishment of CIO offices in Germany and to purge CIO officials from the AMG. To further the promotion of the unions in Germany, the FTUC tricked the commander of the AMG, General Lucius Clay, into providing further assistance to the unions by returning more confiscated property and hiring AFL personnel, many of whom were CIA agents, on the U.S. payroll of the AMG to work on propaganda and assistance to the newly formed unions. Clay was opposed somewhat to the growth of the unions, but upon hearing that the AFL favored socializing both the basic industries and public utilities — as an alternative to union development — he changed his mind. Clay said that, "as the military representative of a government devoted to the private enterprise system he could not be expected to order or promote socialization in Germany."

Clay then preferred that the unions rely on their own independent strength than on military law. After this the AMG supported the goals of the FTUC in building the unions.

The criterion from then on for the German unions receiving aid and assistance was their degree of anti-communism. In Germany, as throughout Europe, these anti-communist, although leftist, unions became the base of the CIA's infiltration into trade unionism, but this base would only remain regional in scope until Brown's suggestion for a new trade union international was implemented.

THE CIO AND McCARTHYISM

Back home in America, Arthur Goldberg, through the Jewish Labor Committee, had become General Counsel for the CIO. Throughout 1947 to 1949, he engineered the expulsion of the left of the CIO from that organization. Ten unions were accused of being "communist dominated" and their expulsion signalled the beginnings of a massive hysteria that reached into every institution in the land and almost backfired on the CIA targeting of labor. Anti-communism became a

Goldberg's first duties were to arrange the expulsion of eleven unions from the CIO, thus eliminating the left-wing of that body.

dominant politic in America during the late forties and early fifties. This trend peaked with McCarthyism.

McCarthyism began by purging the left of the State Department and other branches of government. It even threatened the liberal element of the military and the CIA. Ironically, those threatened in the CIA were predominantly the liberals of the International Organization Division, which was financing the activities of Brown and the FTUC.

McCarthy had learned that the International Organization Division had "granted large subsidies to pro-Communist organizations." Actually this division was supporting the non-communist left, predominantly Social Democrat and Trotskyite, around the world including the trade unions organized by the FTUC and its successor, the ICFTU. Much of this subsidy would probably have been supplied openly — as it now is — by the State Department had it not been for the dominant political atmosphere of the time: McCarthyism.

Braden, head of the IOD, recalled; "In the early 1950's, when the cold war was really hot, the idea that Congress would have approved many of our projects was about as likely as the John Birch Society's approving Medicare."

Braden's IOD was subjected to special scrutiny because of its obvious political liberalism. Braden's director of trade union operations, for instance, was fired because he had briefly belonged to the Young Communist League in the 1930's. Derogatory reports on IOD personnel were prepared for McCarthy by the FBI and several private corporate intelligence organizations. But in the end Allen Dulles, head of the CIA, and other prominent liberals in the government were able to stop the purge of liberalism in the CIA and to stop McCarthyism.

But the effects on trade unions were the same nonetheless. After the purge of the left of the CIO, Goldberg immediately began working on the mechanism to achieve a union between the AFL and the remainder of the CIO, and in 1955 they were merged. The CIA had in the meantime worked with the AFL in creating a new labor international — as per Brown's suggestion — the ICFTU, established in 1949. From 1955 to 1969, the AFL-CIO served as the primary proponent of anti-communism in that body and throughout that period the ICFTU foreign policy considerations were guided by two elements: the fanatical anti-communism of its North

American leaders and the objectives of the Central Intelligence Agency.

LOVESTONE

Although the roots of the CIA's targeting of labor lie in the espionage war of WWII, we must go back even further to understand the individuals who brought about this union of CIA anti-communist liberalism and labor fanatical anti-communism. In 1919, a few years after the successful Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the Socialist Party in America held their convention. At that convention the more radical members split from the Socialist Party and began organizing the Communist Party-USA. One of the founding members was Jay Lovestone.

Lovestone was born in Lithuania in the late 1890's and came to the U.S. with his parents at the age of ten. He grew up in the left-wing atmosphere of New York's large immigrant Jewish community where his father was a sexton in a local synagogue. After graduating from the City College of New York, he joined the Socialist Party. After helping to split that party in 1919, he went on to become a member of the executive committee of the newly formed CP-USA. As editor of *The Communist*, the Party's theoretical journal, Lovestone remained in the highest party echelons. In a short time he was elected General Secretary of the CP-USA, that organization's highest position.

Stalin turned to Lovestone and rasped: "There is plenty of room in the cemeteries of the Soviet Union for people like you."

Those who remember him recall him as an extremely domineering, mysterious and machismo figure. Benjamin Gitlow, a member of the CP who later became disillusioned, remembers, in his book, "I Confess", that Lovestone "was unmarried, as far as anyone knew, but beyond that not a man in the Party knew anything more about him."

"Lovestone," writes Gitlow, "was a veritable Tammany chieftain among us Communists. One of his most successful methods was to call a comrade into his office, tell him extremely confidential information, obtaining in return a solemn promise that the matter would not be disclosed to a soul. In that way he won the support of numerous Party members who believed they were particularly favored by him... Lovestone was a high-pressure super-salesman of communism."

For nine years Lovestone continued with these tactics to dominate the CP, but his downfall from that Party's ranks occurred in 1928. In May of that year, Lovestone

journeyed to Moscow for a meeting of the Presidium of the Communist International. At that Congress, Lovestone supported the position of Nicolai Bukharin in his struggle for power with Joseph Stalin. Bukharin, who was later executed, wanted to give Communist parties outside Russia a relatively large degree of independent freedom from the Soviet Communist Party and to pursue within Russia a gradual approach to communization of the political economy. This position was denounced by Stalin and his supporters as opportunistic, favoring an economic rather than political approach to their goal and, in Stalin's view, this would lead to the demise of world communism.

... Lovestone became the grey eminence behind the AFL and then the AFL-CIO's foreign policy. He, more than any other man, was responsible for shaping that policy, including its allegiance with the CIA.

Stalin's analysis of American capitalism was that it was in a state of disintegration. He believed the CP-USA should prepare for revolution. Lovestone, on the other hand, favored a long term approach to include electoral politics. The Lovestone faction within the CP-USA was then accused by their comrades in the Comintern of the heresies of "American exceptionalism" and "revisionism". Stalin himself accused Lovestone of promoting factionalism and when Lovestone replied with a vehement attack on the Soviet leader, Stalin pronounced his fate if he remained in the Communist International. Stalin turned to Lovestone and rasped: "There is plenty of room in the cemeteries of the Soviet Union for people like you."

Lovestone, shaking with suppressed anger, stormed back: "Such remarks show you are unfit to be the leader of the Russian working class, much less of the international working class." Lovestone was then arrested and detained in Moscow, but he managed to sneak out. The CP-USA immediately expelled him from the Party.

Refusing to give up his position, Lovestone rapidly formed an opposition group of American Communists called the Communist Party (Opposition). Later he changed the designation to the Independent Communist Labor League and, still later, decided it was best to drop the word "Communist" from the title of his independent movement.

Throughout the thirties, he and his followers were known as "Lovestonites". The Lovestonites continued to preach against the "errors and terrors of Stalin;"

gradually a conversion developed in Lovestone's politics from Communist to vehement anti-communist. Disbanding his organization in the late 1930's, Lovestone offered his services to labor leaders who were busy fighting the tightly organized Communist factions in their unions. He brought with him several of his lieutenants from the Lovestonites, including Irving Brown, who would later represent the FTUC and the CIA in Europe.

Lovestone first found a niche in the United Auto Workers (UAW). The UAW was split at the time into three major factions: the CP, a liberal faction led by Walter Reuther, and a conservative and anti-communist faction led by UAW President Home Martin. Martin immediately came under the influence of Lovestone. But Martin and Lovestone's tactics of labelling anyone who opposed them as "Communists" soon earned the ire of the union members. And after Martin tried to hold onto the union leadership with such tactics as threatening members of the Reuther faction at gun-point, he was deposed and purged along with Lovestone.

After the Lovestonites lost their position in the UAW, they travelled to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union headed by David Dubinsky. Dubinsky was faced with a militant pro-communist minority that threatened to disrupt his control of the union. Lovestone personally knew most of the Communists in the New York clothing industry, and was able to effectively aid Dubinsky in combatting and isolating his opposition. In 1940, Dubinsky appointed Lovestone to head the ILGWU's International Relations Department. The purpose of this office was to prevent the Communists from grabbing control of the world free trade union movement. Lovestone was instrumental in placing several Lovestonites and other anti-communists in the OSS Labor Branch and other departments to begin working with the trade union resistance in Europe and North Africa. When the AFL formed the FTUC, Lovestone was appointed Executive Secretary. In this position he dispatched his old friend and ally Irving Brown to Europe. At the same time Lovestone gained greater influence over the AFL's foreign policy. George Meany, head of the AFL and still President of the AFL-CIO, was a staunch anti-communist who appreciated Lovestone's intimate knowledge of Marxism and his ability to express his anti-communism in communist semantics. Because of this Lovestone became the grey eminence behind the AFL and then the AFL-CIO's foreign policy. He, more than any other man, was responsible for shaping that policy, including its allegiance with the CIA.

The *Washington Post* in 1967 said, "Those who know him maintain that he has a totalitarian personality that has simply been carried over from one world to the other. They see him as a man who disillusioned with the god he once worshiped, evokes its image everywhere so

that he might continue to curse and flog it in an endless psychological rite of expiation. He views the world, they argue, as being divided into Communists and anti-communist sectors that must inevitably clash in a great final battle."

Although that clash has not come — and is not likely to in this age of detente between the superpowers — and Lovestone is now retired — his legacy lives on in the vehement anti-communism of the AFL-CIO and its continued ties to the CIA. Ironically, a similar political conversion to anti-communism can be found in the man who for many years shaped the CIA's policies towards international labor and who continues to be a trouble-shooter for that agency, Cord Meyer, Jr.

MEYER

Meyer, the son of a wealthy State Department officer, led a sheltered life in his youth. He attended an exclusive prep school and went on to Yale, where he belonged to the best social clubs, played on the hockey team, and edited the literary magazine, showing a particular affinity for poetry. In September 1942 he graduated summa cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa and was honored as the Yale senior who had "contributed most intellectually to the university." Two weeks after leaving New Haven, Meyer enlisted in the Marine Corps; he served as a machine gun platoon leader in the Pacific until a Japanese grenade rolled into his foxhole and severely wounded the 23-year-old lieutenant. The explosion cost him the vision of his left eye.

Many liberals who came under attack during the McCarthy era later developed a persuasive and sometimes blind anti-Communism as a defense against future criticism of their ideological integrity. Meyer was no different.

Recovering in the hospital, Meyer underwent a spiritual rebirth dedicating his life to achieving world government under which there would be no wars. In a letter to his parents, while in the hospital, Meyer wrote, "If there be a God may He give us all the strength and vision we so badly need. . . I really think, if possible, I should like to make a life's work of doing what little I can in the problems of international cooperation. No matter how small a contribution I should happen to make it would be in the right direction. We cannot continue to make a shambles of this world, and already a blind man can see the shortsighted decisions that point inevitably to that ultimate Armageddon."

Returning to the U.S. to recover from his injuries, Meyer was chosen as one of two wounded veterans to attend the United Nations Conference at San Francisco

in April 1945. There he met Charles Bolte, another wounded veteran who had founded the American Veterans Committee. The AVC was founded as a liberal alternative to the conservative veterans groups founded after WWI. Dedicated to the New Deal and to international peace through the United Nations, the AVC attracted the active support of many influential young men and its membership grew geometrically after the end of the war.

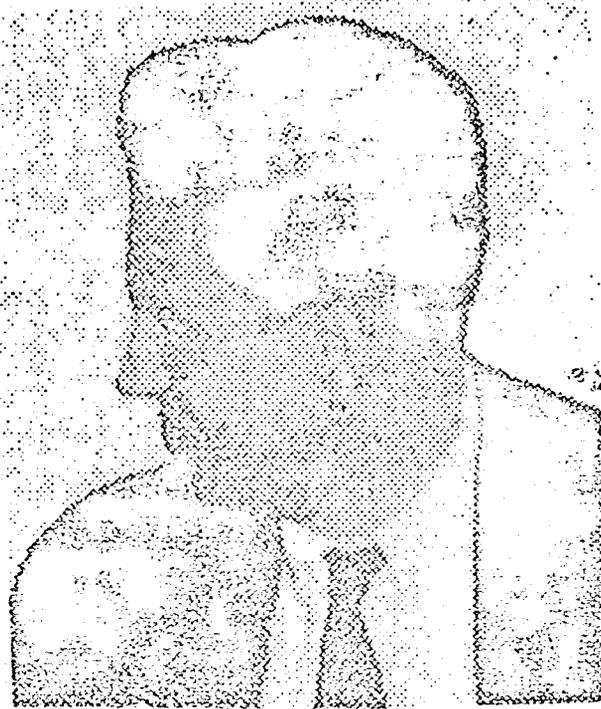
An early recruit to the Veterans Committee, Meyer devoted his energies to the growing movement for effective world government. In early 1947, Meyer formed a new group supporting the concept of a strengthened U.N. as the key to world peace, the United World Federalists.

By this time Meyer's view of world politics had already been shaped by his experience in the AVC. At the second national convention of the committee in 1947, a minority supported by the CP-USA attempted to gain control over the AVC. Meyer was a member of the liberal majority and helped lead this action to a resounding and decisive defeat of the pro-communist faction. This battle left him with a strong distaste for Communism. He was particularly disturbed by the Communist line which denounced all proponents of world government as "reactionary plotters" attempting to seek world hegemony for capitalism. At the convention the radical faction had sided with the right-wing southern aristocracy in opposing the veto power of the nations on the U.N. Security Council. Both sides viewed this as giving up national sovereignty to an organization which the other side would control.

Meyer was also disturbed by American cold war politics and the consequent U.S. support for "corrupt and oppressive" regimes in Greece, Turkey and China. Meyer concluded unhappily that America's anti-communist zeal was obliterating the democratic principles of American foreign policy. And, at first, he believed that the Soviets should be offered the opportunity to "cooperate in building the institutions of a durable peace." But Meyer's viewpoint would soon change.

Alarmed over the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia and the Russian blockade of Berlin, he began to doubt the peaceful intent of Moscow. He became especially alarmed over the Soviets' view of world government. In 1949, Meyer wrote, "I have to admit that the present leadership in the Kremlin is opposed to the idea of world government. As a matter of fact Moscow radio has spent some time attacking us (the United World Federalists) and it attacked me personally not so long ago as the fig leaf of American imperialism." The following year, a Kremlin newspaper described the movement for world government as an attempt to "beautify the boundless expansion of American imperialism."

By the time he testified before the Senate Foreign



Cord Meyer, Jr. Last Known Photograph (1948)

Relations Committee in February 1950 on a proposal to revise the U.N. charter, Meyer had become preoccupied with Soviet belligerence. He warned that "we have failed in many respects to meet the ideological challenge and no quantity of bombs can make up for that failure to appeal to the hearts and minds of men." It was, however, the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, which solidified his decision to take a more active part in fighting a Cold War he had once viewed with skepticism. Months later, he left the United World Federalists and went into the CIA as assistant to Tom Braden.

Meyer soon wished he had remained in the world government movement, for he became an early target of the McCarthyites and the FBI. The FBI produced a particularly inane derogatory report on this "tall intense young man with a preoccupied smile and wavy brown hair."

But unlike his CIA colleagues who dejectedly accepted their dismissal from the agency, *Esquire* magazine in 1966 stated that he "fought back doggedly against slurs on his loyalty... Meyer was suspended from the Agency while preparing in his own defense a brief that ran into hundreds of pages. Dulles, who had recruited Meyer to the Agency, stood by his embattled side." He "eventually won his battle against the impugners on Capitol Hill."

When Braden left the agency in 1954, Meyer succeeded him as chief of CIA's International Organizations Division, responsible for, among other things, the CIA's activities in international labor. Later in the 1960's when the activities of this division were disclosed,

the CIA was reorganized and many of the IOD's responsibilities were shifted to the newly formed Covert Action Staff including labor affairs which became and still is one of the five divisions of that office. Both the IOD and the Covert Action Staff came under the direction of Clandestine Services.

Meyer became notorious at the CIA's Langley complex for sexually assaulting his secretaries during office hours. At the first available excuse — the mine worker's strike in Britain — today's CIA leaders removed him from the decision making process and sent him to be station chief in London.

But how did this battle with the McCarthyites affect Meyer? The *New York Times* revealed in 1967, that a friend recalled, "he was one of the most promising guys. Very sensitive, very intelligent. His whole spirit was one of great humanity. But, after years in the CIA, "he got Cold Warized." Many liberals who came under attack during the McCarthy era later developed a pervasive and sometimes blind anti-communism as a defense against future criticism of their ideological integrity. Meyer was no different. Over the years it became increasingly difficult to remain both a liberal and a CIA officer. The agency's covert power was consistently exercised on behalf of political repression and dictatorship. And added to this is the belief by some of his friends that Meyer had a private, unsubstantiated belief that the unknown assailant of his ex-wife was a Communist agent and that Communist agents somehow engineered the death of a son in an auto accident. This is not likely to be the case, but after the death of his ex-wife, Meyer used the friendship *she* had with Jackie Kennedy to convince the CIA that *he* should be the CIA's liaison with the White House. His briefings to President Kennedy were so replete with the inconsistencies of fanatical anti-communism that President Kennedy was often heard to remark to his aides that he was extremely frustrated with Meyer's reports.

Meyer's machismo, like that of Lovestone, is also extreme. Meyer became notorious at the CIA's Langley complex for sexually assaulting his secretaries during office hours. At the first available excuse — the mine workers strike in Britain — today's CIA leaders removed him from the decision making process and sent him to be Station Chief in London.

GOLDBERG

One other man was also instrumental in the marriage of American labor to the CIA. Arthur J. Goldberg was born in 1908 in Chicago of Jewish parents who

emigrated to the U.S. in the 1890's and had settled in that city. He entered upon the study of law fairly early in his life, graduating from Northwestern University and then entering the law school there. In 1930 he graduated *summa cum laude* and was granted awards as the best student in his class. As a Doctor of Jurisprudence he went on to edit the Illinois Law Review and in 1937 he qualified for practice before the United States Supreme Court. In 1939 he began to lecture at the John Marshall Law School. After the U.S. entered WWII, Goldberg became head of the OSS Labor Division. Upon completing his military service he returned to his Chicago law practice. In March 1944, Goldberg wrote that the failure of the U.S. "through ignorance or fear," to give "the democratic forces of the resistance in Europe the help they deserved" limited "the scope and effectiveness of OSS activities in support of our allies in the underground." This statement was in contradiction of Goldberg's own limiting of the scope and effectiveness of OSS activities by not equally funding all factions of the resistance, especially the Communists, who were the majority of that resistance.

By 1948, the liberal faction of the CIO led by Walter Reuther was attempting to purge the Communist forces from that body. As Reuther said, "Exposure, not repression, must be our goal. We must get the Communists out of the political back alleys and walk them up Main Street in the full light of informed opinion." To achieve this, the Reuther forces engineered the dismissal of Lee Pressman as CIO General Counsel on charges that he was soft on Communism. To replace him, the Reuther forces hired Arthur Goldberg. Goldberg's first duties were to arrange the expulsion of eleven unions from the CIO, thus eliminating the left-wing of that body. With this accomplished the stage was set for the CIO's withdrawal from the WFTU which by that time was firmly against the Marshall Plan. It was Irving Brown's contention, as representative of the FTUC in Europe, that the Marshall Plan and the growth of anti-communist trade unions would never be accomplished as long as some American unions supported the WFTU.

After Goldberg had accomplished the purge of the left of the CIO, he devoted his energies to the liberal defense of trade unions during the McCarthy era and in 1955 developed the mechanism for the merger of the AFL with the CIO. In this step, Jay Lovestone as the Director of the International Affairs department of the AFL-CIO became the dominant strategist of American labor's foreign policy interest. And as Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson revealed in 1967: "Lovestone takes orders from Cord Meyer of the CIA. No money for labor (internationally) is spent without Lovestone's approval."

It is debatable whether Lovestone took orders from Meyer or Meyer took orders from Lovestone. Some

sources who have worked with the CIA's labor programs insist that it was Lovestone who determined policy and that the CIA official in charge merely coordinated the transfer of funds and administration of resources and the placement of personnel. In either case, Lovestone and Meany's faces are well known to the guards at the CIA's Langley complex, where they have visited frequently to coordinate operations.

After the merger Goldberg continued to work as General Counsel for the AFL-CIO and, along with Reuther, was instrumental in getting labor support for John F. Kennedy's election in 1960. As a reward, Goldberg was appointed Secretary of Labor. In this important position as a member of the Cabinet, Goldberg was able to continue facilitating the CIA's interface with labor.

The Labor Department maintains labor attaches in embassies overseas. This system of labor attaches developed during WWII and expanded during the Cold War. Selection of the labor attaches is officially done by the International Labor Affairs Bureau, which evolved in 1947. Most of the ILAB's work involves coordination with other departments of the government including the CIA. But its most important responsibilities are the selecting, training and promoting of labor attaches.

But the AFL-CIO also has a hand in this selection. As Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson stated in that same column in 1967: "... few labor attaches are appointed to American embassies abroad without his (Lovestone's) okay. The labor attaches cooperate quite closely with the ICFTU in efforts to prevent achievement of Communist objectives. One critic of American international labor policy thought that labor attaches went too far in these efforts. Aside from their "legitimate labor information activities," he complained, attaches spent U.S. government money to win supporters for anti-communist policies in foreign lands. Classic examples of such activities, he expounded, could be found in Japan, where "elements with the right-wing labor movement are given free trips to America . . . or in the Philippines, where the U.S. Embassy from the beginning supported labor leaders of questionable integrity simply because they favored British-American policies."

The attaches also inform foreign governments, management of the multinationals and labor officials about American developments. The attaches "show the flag" and endeavor to have people abroad think well of the United States. Since Goldberg's tenure as Secretary of Labor, many labor attaches have received some training in "agent handling", the same training clandestine officers of the CIA receive. In addition, many of the labor officers have been direct employees of the CIA operating under cover. Because of this, labor attaches have been the target of militant radicals

Estimations of the amount of clandestine CIA controlled funds spent on labor run as high as \$100 million a year.

overseas. Labor attaches have occasionally been kidnapped by foreign revolutionary groups because of their activities with the CIA.

Thus, due to the activities of three men, Arthur J. Goldberg, Jay Lovestone and Cord Meyer, Jr. and a host of their subordinates, the CIA has managed to implement perhaps its largest and most significant clandestine program. Estimations of the amount of clandestine CIA controlled funds spent on labor run as high as \$100 million a year. With these funds the CIA has been able to manipulate literally millions of workers throughout the world.

FAILURES AND SUCCESSES

The contradiction between what a political force attempts to achieve and what it has the capacity to achieve is a major one. This is axiomatic to every field of endeavor, but especially to government policy. Foreign policy objectives are incapacitated by a wide range of forces, including the opposition of enemy states, the competition for decision making power by allied states and subordinate internal forces, the struggle for freedom and independence by neutral states or national liberation forces in allied states or their colonies and neo-colonies, the insurgency of internal minority forces, the inadequacies of the state's foreign policy enforcement apparatus — especially public pressure against inhuman or illegal methods of enforcement — and the limited visions, ingenuity and will of the personalities who are manipulating the foreign policy. There may be no better illustration of this axiom than U.S. foreign labor policy which, after initial successes immediately following WWII, began a protracted disintegration.

Although the WFTU was harmed by the withdrawal of many unions at the instigation of the CIA, and more recently by the Sino-Soviet split, its strength and unity has fared far better than the ICFTU. The first failure for the CIA labor objectives was the inability to maintain AFL-CIO hegemony in this trade union international. First the national trade union federations in the Third World began to defect. In Africa, the more radical trade unions disaffiliated in the late 1950's. Although their nations' independence from colonial control was assisted by the CIA, they soon began to oppose the CIA's meddling in their affairs, labelling this "neo-colonial-

ism". They were followed by some trade unions in Asia and Latin America.

The European trade unions, the original base for CIA labor operations, began to oppose the CIA's operations first over the string of CIA's opposition to their nations' colonial interests and then because of the economic and political forces shaping European unity in competition with the U.S. Eventually some of these trade unions entrusted their international affairs to the European Trade Union Secretariat rather than to the ICFTU. Within the ICFTU, those European leaders who cooperated with the CIA were eventually deposed as the trade unions began to make renewed contact with the WFTU in the spirit of detente. Eventually this led to the disaffiliation of the AFL-CIO which retained a staunch opposition to detente until recent years.

Although failing with the ICFTU, the CIA has had greater success with the International Trade Secretariats. Especially dominating such ITS as the PTTI where Joseph Beirne, past head of the Communications Workers of America, managed to maintain CIA control, the CIA has been able to continue clandestine intervention in a wide range of affairs in the Third World. Of course, this dominance of the ITS has been ineffective in other conflicts, such as our struggle for power with the Soviets. But in the Third World the ITS have been an effective tool until recent years. Today, after many disclosures of CIA operating through the ITS, ITS delegations to the Third World countries come under close scrutiny by the national police and many of their policies are effectively opposed. But unlike the ICFTU which became a total failure for CIA policy, the CIA still enjoys some control over the ITS.

A further limitation of the CIA's effectiveness came in a split in union solidarity here at home. In the mid-1960's, the liberal faction of the AFL-CIO, centered around Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers — began to oppose George Meany on many issues. The crux of this opposition was his and Lovestone's involvement with the CIA. Reuther's brother Victor, in a speech in 1967 to the Labor Assembly for Peace, revealed the close association of the AFL-CIO with the CIA. The CIA began a campaign to balance the revelation with counter-revelations that Walter Reuther also had accepted and used CIA funds during the early fifties. But this tactic was ineffective and the split widened. Eventually the UAW withdrew from the AFL-CIO.

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In the midst of this battle came the revelations by Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson of the CIA's labor programs. And then the biggest flap came in the *Ramparts* magazine articles focusing on the IO Division's funding of the National Student Association and the trade unions. The effects on the CIA's operations after these revelations were unexpected. At first, instead of increased denunciations of the CIA by foreign powers or the neutralization of CIA programs, the foreign trade unions in the Third World, in an orgy of opportunism, demanded more funds from the CIA. But the seeds of discontent were sown and eventually the CIA lost more control over these unions.

LABOR PROPRIETORIES

By this time the CIA had developed a new mechanism for labor operations. These new organizations operating under the cover of "international affiliates" of the AFL-CIO are, in fact, totally controlled by the CIA and are similar to the CIA's proprietories such as the airlines Air America and Southern Air Transport. But to further increase the cover of the "labor proprietories", the CIA secured overt subsidy for many of their programs, from the Agency for International Development (AID), unlike the period during McCarthyism when all programs were covertly funded.

Lovestone, Brown and Meyer, meeting in the late 1950's, noted that their operations through the ICFTU and its regional affiliates were not fulfilling expectations, and began to look for new mechanisms from the labor programs. They found their answer in a project begun by Joseph Beirne.

In the summer of 1959, at Beirne's suggestion, the CWA brought 19 leaders of Latin American unions affiliated with the PTTI to the former CWA educational center at Front Royal, Virginia, for a three month study conference. After the training in United States trade union techniques and an indoctrination which firmly placed these leaders under CIA control, the union leaders were sent back to their own countries and continued for nine months in the pay of the CWA.

The results were so successful, in the CIA's view, that the AFL-CIO under Lovestone's and Meany's direction, authorized funds for the creation of a new institute to further this training of cadre; to increase the CIA infrastructure in Third World trade unions. In January 1962, President Kennedy appointed a Labor Advisory Committee on the Alliance for Progress to advise the government on Latin American labor matters. Chaired by George Meany, the Committee was under CIA control from the start. At an early meeting it endorsed a recommendation that the government should participate in the financing of the newly formed American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), the first of three CIA labor proprietories. To get the Institute launched as

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ICFTU What It Is, How It Works, What It Does. ICFTU, 37-47, rue Montagne aux Herbes Potageres, Brussels 1, Belgium.

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These new organizations, operating under the cover of "international affiliates" of the AFL-CIO are, in fact, totally controlled by the CIA.

As soon as possible, Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg obtained an advance of \$100,000 from the President's Emergency Fund. After that, the AID included the Institute in its annual appropriations and contracted AIFLD for the work it performs.

From the beginning, the AIFLD was funded and directed by; labor represented by the AFL-CIO, the government, represented by the AID, and the multinational corporations. All are connected and coordinated by the CIA. At the Executive Council meeting of the AFL-CIO in August 1962, Joseph Beirne, long-term CIA man, recommended that the AFL-CIO contribute \$100,000 per year to the Institute and that the affiliated international unions make financial contributions in \$5,000 units.

Funds from AID have constituted over 90 percent of AIFLD's funding; nearly two-thirds of AID funding for Latin American programs has gone to AIFLD. In addition loans have been provided to AIFLD from the Inter-American Development Bank, pension and welfare funds of the unions associated with the AFL-CIO, and various other government and private loan agencies. And clandestinely, the CIA has continued its subsidies, whenever official AID or AFL-CIO funding for projects would be embarrassing to the government. Additional funding for AIFLD projects has come from certain Latin American countries.

In addition, funding for AIFLD has come from multinational corporations which have, along with the AFL-CIO and the CIA, controlled AIFLD from the start. At a meeting at the Link Club in New York in October 1962, George Meany, Arthur Goldberg and Serafino Roumuldi enlisted the assistance of scores of businessmen to support AIFLD. Since that time approximately 95 business establishments, primarily multinational corporations, have contributed to AIFLD's programs.

These multinationals have included the Kennecott Copper Corporation, ITT, Pan American World Airways, Standard Oil of New Jersey, the Anaconda Company, International Paper Company, Standard Fruit Company, IBM World Trade Corporation, Coca-Cola Export Corporation, the Chase Manhattan Bank, Pfizer International, and others with extensive interests in Latin America. Leading these has been the W.R. Grace & Company, headed by J. Peter Grace, who was President of AIFLD until the Reuther-Meany dispute forced him to resign to the less public position of Chairman of the

Board.

Grace set the record straight on the purpose of AIFLD when he said, "We need to understand that today the choice in Latin America is between democracy and communism. We must bear in mind that we cannot allow communist propaganda to divide us as between liberals and conservatives, as between business and labor, or between the American people and their government. Above all, we have to act together as Americans defending our interests abroad... The American Institute for Free Labor Development is an outstanding example of a national consensus effectively at work for the national interests of the United States... In this organization we also have a successful joint venture that the communist forces cannot possibly hope to match."

Besides such CIA men as Joseph Beirne, Secretary Treasurer, running this "successful joint venture", the first Executive Director of AIFLD was Serafino Roumuldi. He was succeeded by William D. Doherty, Jr. who had previously directed AIFLD's Social Projects Department. Before that Doherty was the CIA's Inter-American Representative of the PTTI. Several other CIA people from the PTTI and the CWA also came over to AIFLD when it was formed. Today a CIA case officer is undercover in almost every AIFLD office abroad.

Through AIFLD's training program at Front Royal, Virginia, the CIA has managed to train almost 200,000 Latin American labor leaders. Although many of these have just engaged in legitimate trade union activities in their home countries, many have also been available as CIA agents or have cooperated with the CIA's objectives. Where the CIA's programs of operating through the ICFTU, and its regional organizations and the ITS's have been limited, the activities of AIFLD have supplied the agency with its greatest number of operatives and thus increased its effects on the entire labor movement and the political atmosphere in Latin America.

Significant clandestine operations of the CIA labor proprietary AIFLD have included:

- *Recruitment of AIFLD agents from among the supporters of Cuban dictator Batista after his overthrow by Castro*

- *Involvement in the overthrow of Cheddi Jagan in Guyana in 1967*

- *Involvement in the overthrow of Juan Bosch in the Dominican Republic and support for the Johnson troop intervention in 1965*

- *Involvement in the overthrow of the Goulart regime in Brazil in 1964*

- *Involvement in the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile in 1973.*

In 1965, the second CIA labor proprietary was established, the African American Labor Center (AALC). Irving Brown was appointed its first Executive

Today, a CIA case officer is undercover in almost every AIFLD office abroad.

Director. AALC is similar to AIFLD in structure and programs and has attempted to increase CIA influence in African labor affairs, after the serious defeats for the CIA in keeping African unions in the ICFTU. The major thrusts of the AALC have been in undermining WFTU (Soviet) and, recently, Chinese influence in African labor, co-opting the Pan-Africanism expressed by those unions which withdrew from the ICFTU and, more recently, attempting to change the labor relations of the government in Southern Africa away from apartheid to a system more compatible and therefore less embarrassing to U.S. foreign policy. The AALC has been involved in many clandestine activities in Africa, including involvement in the recent revolution in Ethiopia. AALC has also been instrumental in promoting population control in Africa.

In 1968, the third CIA labor proprietary was established, the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI). Executive Director of AAFLI is Morris Paladino, who was previously active with the CIA and AIFLD in undermining the Allende elections in Chile. Active all over Asia, AAFLI is primarily involved in increasing labor support for the dictatorships in the Phillipines, South Korea, Turkey and South Vietnam.

STATUS

Through the 1960's and early 1970's, these CIA labor proprietaries have been most successful in enforcing the foreign policy objectives of the multinational corporations in the Third World, especially in those countries ruled by dictatorships. But now a new effort is underway to neutralize this effectiveness. In Latin America, the role of AIFLD is well known to almost all forces of the national liberation movement. A recent booklet written by Fred Hersh, a member of the Plumbers and Steamfitters Local 393 of San Jose, California has been reprinted by the thousands in Latin America. This booklet passionately outlines the history and activities of AIFLD. Its message will no doubt have a dramatic effect, not only on the national liberation movement, but upon trade unionists in Latin America who are not totally under the control of the CIA. Likewise this booklet is having some effect on trade union members here in America whose distaste for AFL-CIO involvement with the CIA is increasing.

Further examination of the AIFLD and the CIA activities in Latin America is expected to come early in 1975 with the publication in Europe of a book by Philip F. Agree, a clandestine agent of the CIA who worked with AIFLD. Mr. Agree's disillusionment with the CIA is manifest and the rumors of his exposé have already caused the CIA to mount a campaign falsely accusing him of espionage.

Both the Hersh booklet and the Agree book will no doubt add fuel to the fire threatening to rage throughout the trade union movement against AIFLD. And if this growing movement by trade unionists is successful in neutralizing AIFLD we can expect similar movements to be mounted against AALC and AAFLI.

Active all over Asia, AAFLI is primarily involved in increasing labor support for the dictatorships in the Phillipines, South Korea, Turkey, and South Vietnam.

Today the shape of the CIA's labor programs is weak. George Meany is old and facing increased opposition from his wife for his involvement with the CIA. Lovestone has retired, Brown has been thoroughly discredited in most parts of the world, Meyer has been put out to pasture and the CIA's programs are being increasingly exposed. The CIA itself is weak from bureaucratic infighting, and Watergate and world opinion. But as weak as it is, we can expect the CIA to continue its dirty tricks in the labor movement as long as it has the power for clandestine operations.

George Meany and the AFL-CIO pose the theory that the one force capable of resisting the goals of the multinational corporation is the multinational union. But as most people of the world know, the AFL-CIO has, on the international level, been practically synonymous with the CIA and Meany's theories are hardly reputable. It is not for mere humor that throughout the world the organization he heads is not known as the AFL-CIO but the AFL-CIA.

by Winslow Peck

Next in this series: Latin America. An in-depth examination of CIA labor policies in our Southern neighbor.

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