

The Quarterly Journal Of The Fifth Estate

# ACOUNTED-SPY

Vol. 2 Issue 1

Fall 1974 \$1.50

## CIA TARGET: LABOR



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Undercover Agents Profiled

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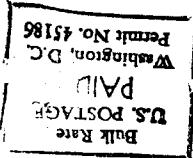
The Military At Wounded Knee

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The Ideology Of Internal Security

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Frederick, Md 21701  
Oct 8  
Harold Weisberg

# 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 apparent, 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 exposé 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 exposé 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 America — 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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**COUNTER-SPY**

FALL 1974

Volume 2

Issue 1

Published by Fifth Estate  
Security Education, Inc.

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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.*

Typesetting by Unicorn Graphics, Silver Spring, Maryland.

**COUNTER-SPY IS PUBLISHED QUARTERLY** by Fifth Estate Security Education, Inc. Address all correspondence to: Post Office Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, DC 20044. Telephone (202) 785-4891. Offices are in Suite 519 of the Dupont Circle Building, 9 to 5 pm daily. Please call us before stopping by, as we have frequent meetings.

**SUBSCRIPTIONS TO COUNTER-SPY:** \$6/yr. individuals, \$10/yr. libraries and non-government institutions, and \$75/yr. to government agencies. Write for Overseas and Bulk rates. Individual copies are \$1.50 each.

**COUNTERSPY WELCOMES MANUSCRIPTS** on any aspect of technofascism. Please include a stamped, self-return envelope with all non-solicited articles. Signed articles are a product of the authors only, and do not necessarily reflect the views of all sponsors, advisors, or associates of the Fifth Estate. Copyright (c) 1974.

**COUNTER-SPY ALSO WELCOMES CRITICISM.** Although we do not have a letter 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.

**RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS ISSUE:** Tim Butz, Winslow Peck, Doug Porter, and the Counter-Spies of the Fifth Estate. Special thanks to Lizbeth Anderson, Priscilla Holmes, and Fred Soloway.

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# Fifth Estate Update

## FALL TOUR

Representatives of the Fifth Estate will be traveling around the United States this fall and winter, speaking on college campuses, before community and labor groups. Included in the presentation, which attempts to define and trace the roots of technofascism, will be a multi-media presentation. The purpose of the tour, aside from its educational value, will be to initiate CounterSpy action/research groups in communities around the country. If your group would be interested in hosting a Fifth Estate speaker contact Tim Butz c/o the Fifth Estate, P.O. Box 647, Washington, D.C. 20044.

## Intelligence Report

INTELLIGENCE REPORT is a twice monthly column, reporting on the activities of the intelligence community. Currently INTELLIGENCE REPORT is distributed to 25 community and alternative newspapers, three news services, and two radio stations. Efforts are currently underway to expand INTELLIGENCE REPORT's distribution to include college newspapers and radio stations.

A sampling of INTELLIGENCE REPORTS includes:

- Detailed analysis of memos leaked by Senator Lowell Weicker showing how Nixon aides attempted to use the Internal Revenue Service for political purposes.
- A report on the activities of

the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). And what union activists are doing to stop labor's involvement in CIA clandestine operations.

● Memos obtained by INTELLIGENCE REPORT show how utility companies are spying on environmentalists who oppose the construction of nuclear power plants.

● A discussion of cooperation between those supposedly arch rival agencies, the CIA and the KGB.

● Revelations about the existence of a spy network run by the Thieu government that is spying on American anti-war activists and Vietnamese citizens living in the United States.

For more information about INTELLIGENCE REPORT, write to Doug Porter, c/o The Fifth Estate, Box 647, Washington, D.C. 20044.

## Wounded Knee

Fifth Estate staff person Tim Butz recently traveled to the Wounded Knee trials in Lincoln and St. Paul to assist defense workers in the preparation of the "military defense" aspect of the cases. The Fifth Estate and the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee felt that the heavy presence of military equipment and advice to civil authorities constituted a violation of the Posse Comitatus Act. Under Posse Comitatus, the Army may not be used to enforce the civil law without a declaration of civil disorder from the President. In both Lincoln and St. Paul, the judges granted judgements of acquittal

based on the concept that the U.S. Marshals were not "lawfully engaged in the lawful performance of official duties" because of the illegal military presence. Mike Sturdyvant and Gregorio Jarmillio were freed in Lincoln, and American Indian Movement leaders Russell Means and Dennis Banks were found innocent of two counts of obstruction of justice each. The precedent could result in a total of over 70 other charges being dropped against Wounded Knee defendants.

## Kent Fifth Estate

The Kent Committee for a Fifth Estate, at Kent State University in Ohio, recently uncovered the existence of a prototype "Master Plan" for political surveillance of campus groups and activists as well as private agreements on riot control assistance between 17 local police forces. The Committee plans to continue its investigations when school resumes this fall. They can be contacted through Ann Fry, c/o Student Union, Room 242 University Center, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, 44242.

## Staff Wanted

The Fifth Estate's Washington office is looking for additional staff people. If you have a background in investigative work, organizing experience, and/or general office work, contact us. Survival wages paid. Preferential treatment will be given to women applicants. Applicants should feel comfortable with our general political line.

# TRENDS

## COUNTER-TERRORISM

A special Anti-Terrorist Unit (ATU) of the Michigan State Police recently completed six weeks of high specialized training and is now operating in southeastern Michigan. The unit is composed of 25 volunteers, who will be retrained every four months to keep up-to-date with the latest in law enforcement techniques and weaponry.

The new ATU received an initial LEAA-grant of \$34,000 and was formed in the wake of hijackings and the SLA. Officials claim that the special detachment is needed to protect officials and the public against dangerous subversives. Its jobs range from handling chemical and radioactive spills, "which may be future techniques of terrorists," to counter-hijacking techniques. While a legitimate argument can be made for these functions, one job of the ATU bothers us and we believe is a dangerous trend. The ATU has also been authorized and trained for "special arrest activities during civil disorders, which would enable the police to make quick arrests of major agitators while the disturbances were going on."

## ASSASSINATIONS

The Panamanian ambassador to Costa Rica, David Pere, charged recently that the Standard Fruit Co. organized a plot to assassinate the President of Panama and, to overthrow the governments of Costa Rica and Honduras. The corporation, along with United Brands (the former United Fruit) and Del Monte, has been engaging in economic sabotage actions against these governments, who

have demanded an export tax on bananas to increase their revenues and banana plantation workers' wages.

Meanwhile, the John Birch Society has charged that the Central Intelligence Agency masterminded the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. The Birch Society, in the May edition of its *American Opinion* magazine, suggests that President Kennedy was murdered by the CIA because Kennedy was preparing to bring the Agency under extremely strict control.

*American Opinion's* associate editor Medford Evans writes that President Kennedy was on the verge of placing his brother, Robert, in charge of the CIA when JFK was shot. Evans quotes former Kennedy advisor Arthur Schlesinger as reporting that the President told him, "I made a mistake putting Bobby in the Justice Department. He is wasted there . . . Bobby should be in the CIA."

The Birch Society, voicing virtually the same logic as many leftist assassination researchers, states that the Agency perfected assassination as a political tool by using it to over-thrown governments abroad. The magazine suggests that the assassination technique was then brought home and used against the President because of his opposition to the Agency's policies in Cuba and Southeast Asia.

*American Opinion* charges that the Warren Commission, which investigated the J.F.K. assassination, engaged in a cover-up that was far more serious than the attempted cover-up of the Watergate scandal. The magazine charges that an alleged party to the "Warren Commission cover-up" — one of

the seven commissioners — is our new President—Gerald Ford.

## THOUGHT CONTROL

The Stanford Research Institute (SRI) in Menlo Park, California, has been conducting experiments to determine if computers can read a person's mind. The project's director, Dr. Lawrence Pinneo, reports that computers have been able to correctly analyze what a person is thinking by "reading" his or her brainwaves.

Pinneo explains that the experiments, funded by the U.S. Defense Dept., are still relatively simple. He states that computers have generally been about 30 to 40% accurate in "guessing" what a person is thinking. Pinneo's suggestion as to what the next step in the program will be has overtones of thought control. The research psychologist says the next logical step will be to reverse the direction of the communication so that the human receives a thought message from a machine. Pinneo states that his experiments indicate it is possible for machines to electronically insert ideas and messages into the brains of people.

## DRUG ENFORCEMENT

380 agents of the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) have been given the power to search people and residences without warrants. This search and seizure power was created by transferring 380 agents from the DEA to the US Customs Department, although they remain as DEA agents. Under an act passed by the first Congress in 1789, customs agents are permitted to open and search

## more...

packages without warrants — a procedure widely practiced at most points of entry into the United States.

The DEA, however, is planning to employ this warrantless practice on a much larger scale. DEA agents — using their semi-official customs status — will be restricted in their searches only by what is known as "first opportunity." "First opportunity" means that field agents throughout the US will be permitted to search packages, warehouses and even private homes if agents believe it is their first opportunity to intercept drugs.

The policy, as interpreted by DEA, means that agents, without warrants, could forcibly enter a person's home and search for marijuana without a search warrant — if the agents believed the pot had been smuggled in from some foreign country. The DEA originally intended to ask Congress for approval of this controversial power... However, because of Congressional reaction to Watergate, the agency changed its mind and assigned the 380 agents to Customs instead.

Meanwhile, the Commission of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Gen. Leonard F. Chapman, Jr., says that his agency is ready to take on the additional job of stopping drug smuggling across the Mexican border, even though his agency is overtaxed with the flow of aliens across this border. Under the new plan, proposed by the Office of Management and Budget, the Border Patrol would patrol between ports to stop drug smuggling while the Customs Service would fight air smuggling.

The plan has come under stiff attack on Capitol Hill, where both services are being investigated for corruption and inefficiency. With more than 5 million illegal aliens crossing into the US, Congress doubts the new agency can take on the added responsibilities.

### TECHNOLOGY

The conversion of military hardware into civilian use was illustrated at the Seventh Annual Carnahan International Crime Conference, held at the University of Kentucky in early June. Dozens of law enforcement officers, private security experts, international criminologists, and industrial consultants turned out for a peek at surveillance devices originally developed for the Defense Department.

Among the devices on display was a "Joint-Service Interior Intrusion Detection System." This device combines approximately one dozen types of sensors that will detect interruptions in air currents, floor or wall vibrations, noise levels, and any other indications of intrusion into a room. Another of the futuristic devices on display was a "Hybrid Multi-Sensor System" which analyzes a person's voice, fingerprints and handwriting simultaneously before admitting them into an area.

One of the most popular displays was called "The Courtroom of the Future." The display featured a movie, narrated by Raymond Burr, about a circular courtroom with 14 television monitors covering every inch to keep it secure.

KNOW THE ENEMY  
and know yourself;  
in 100 battles  
you will never  
be imperiled.

SUN TZU

recon

Monthly newsletter on military affairs: Pentagon Planning, Strategy & Tactics, GI Movement, 3rd World Struggles, CBW. \$3/year for movement and GIs, \$10/year for institutions and sustainers to RECON, P.O. Box 14602, Phila., PA 19134.

# AGENTS & INFORMERS

Undercover agents have traditionally been used by both public and private agencies to spy upon groups and individuals considered to be socially, politically, or economically disruptive. Earlier in this century—and even during the last one—labor was the prime target for undercover activity. Two World Wars, the Korean conflict, and prohibition have also spawned occasions where security agencies have engaged in infiltrating organized subversive and criminal groups.

In recent years, the use of undercover agents has been directed towards three areas: organized crime, unorganized crime, and dissenting political groups. There are indications that the recent and continuing wave of strikes and shutdowns has, once again, made labor a target for infiltration.

The use of undercover agents in fighting organized crime has been, at best, ineffective in severing the ties that bind "the syndicate" together. Agent penetration has been limited to the lowest rungs of these tightly organized groupings. In addition, many agencies have experienced difficulties in finding agents willing to infiltrate organized crime, because of poor internal security. As a result, most agencies have been forced to rely upon recruited informants, task forces, and electronic surveillance.

The use of undercover agents in fighting unorganized crime, on the other hand, has proved to be highly successful. A large part of the arrests for drug trafficking and handling stolen properties have resulted from the use of agents.

*This is the first in what the Fifth Estate staff hopes will be continuing dialogue about undercover infiltration of labor and political groups by security agencies. Readers are especially invited to send Counter-Spy their comments on this article, and we will be glad to consider other manuscripts on this subject.*

*Writing an article giving an overview of undercover police work was, at best, a difficult task. This particular article was written and re-written eight times over a four month period ending in July. It is based on literally dozens of written accounts of undercover law-enforcement officers, three years of researching the problems of infiltrators, and interviews with knowledgeable people from around the United States. From these sources, generalizations have been made that we hope give the reader a better understanding of the problem. Undoubtedly, some readers will find (or take) exceptions to the generalizations that have been made. We would be interested in hearing about these.*

*Finally, we'd like to express our appreciation to the many people who contributed data, ideas, and criticism to this article.*

While unorganized crime has proven to be the most fruitful area for the use of undercover law enforcement personnel—at least in terms of arrests—agent penetration of groupings of political dissidents has proved to be "popular" with many agencies.

Agencies have justified infiltration of dissident groups on the basis that these groups represent a danger to the social order of the community, and often harbor nefarious lawbreaking elements. In many cases, this justification has represented the public relations side of a "bogey man" approach to protest. The internal attitude of law enforcement and thus its justification has been shaped by opposition to the political stances taken by dissenting groups, and in some cases, as the result of stances critical of law enforcement taken by protesters.

Groups considered to be openly subversive by the criminal justice establishment, like the Communist Party USA, the Socialist Workers Party, and other openly Marxist/Leninist/Trotskyist groups have been routinely infiltrated since their emergence earlier in the century. During the 1930's, many metropolitan police departments set up special "red squads" to keep an eye on these groups.

Although undercover agents have been used in various capacities for centuries, the precedents for modern day infiltration of dissident groups were set by private companies during the struggles for unionization. Industrial concerns hired private firms, like the Pinkertons, to spy upon and disrupt union activities.

The industrialist's mandate of "to spy and disrupt"

The industrialist's mandate of "to spy and disrupt" remains the cornerstone of almost all undercover activity in the area of political dissent.

remains the cornerstone of almost all undercover activity in the area of political dissent. The FBI adapted and refined this mandate in various operations, using recruited informants, against the Communist Party during the 1950's. By 1961, one out of every 5.7 members of the CP-USA was an informant. J. Edgar Hoover developed the COINTELPRO program as a means of disrupting party activity. In later years COINTELPRO was used against a wide variety of groups.

In the early 1960's, the lines between "legitimate" dissent and open subversion became blurred as civil rights, and later, student groups began escalating their tactics and developing an analysis that was openly hostile to the status quo politik. Charges made by rightist politicians that civil rights and student groups were being manipulated by Communists led many agencies to direct their intelligence operations against these groups.

The rise of militance by blacks involved in the civil rights movement led to COINTELPRO operations by a variety of agencies, including the FBI. Although many groups within the Civil Rights movement did not participate in militant actions, virtually all these groups were subjected to intelligence gathering operations. Since the 'moderate' groups were not conspiring to create civil disorders, the information gathered on them ended up being used by government officials to influence their political rather than legal strategies. The late Martin Luther King, Jr. was successfully blackmailed by both the FBI and then-Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy on several occasions. This blackmail was possible because the government had acquired evidence potentially embarrassing to King through intelligence gathering operations.

The rise of the student/anti-war movement later in the sixties gave law enforcement agencies yet another opportunity to use undercover agents. As with the Civil Rights movement, scattered incidents of law-breaking and charges by rightist politicians that Communists were backing this dissent gave agencies the justification they needed. By the late 1960's cities like New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago had "red squads" numbering in the hundreds. Literally thousands of groups were infiltrated, ranging from professional associations to underground newspapers. Second hand stories abound about small demonstrations and meetings where undercover agents outnumbered sincere participants.

The number of actual arrests that has resulted from using undercover personnel inside politically dissident groups has traditionally been small, particularly when compared to the number of arrests made by undercover personnel in the area of unorganized crime, or when compared to the number of arrests made by uniformed (overt) agents. Most of the work of undercover personnel inside dissident groups appears to be directed at building dossiers on individuals and groups. In addition, these agents have, in the past, played an important role through disruptive tactics in weakening dissent.

Although a wide variety of agencies are involved in intelligence operations against dissident groups, the majority of undercover officers and informants in this area are placed by local law enforcement agencies. Most metropolitan police departments have divided their intelligence gathering operations into two major areas: organized crime and "general intelligence". General intelligence is usually further sub-divided along the basic lines that the FBI has used in COINTELPRO operations. Within the San Diego Police Department, for instance, general intelligence is divided between Black groups, Brown (Chicano) groups, and White groups. One officer is assigned to each sub-division to supervise agents in the field, and to specifically approve operations. In New York, general intelligence is divided along two lines: Minorities and Whites. Because of the size of New York's undercover operations, case officers are assigned to each major political grouping within those two sub-divisions.

## INFORMANTS

There is a serious and important difference between undercover agents and informers, both from the perspective of security agencies and groups that suspect they have been infiltrated.

Informers are usually recruited from inside, or on the fringes of, a group that is to be infiltrated. Indications are that the FBI is currently in the midst of an all out effort to recruit individuals either moving away from or just entering dissenting groups. While informers have been recruited for the two most obvious reasons—greed and/or blackmail—one other important factor has emerged in recent years as dissident groups have begun employing basic security and counter-intelligence methods.

Most of the informers that have been discovered have been shown to have serious personality defects and/or psychological disorders. Generally speaking, this has manifested itself as a "losers syndrome". Informers tend to view their intelligence gathering as a vindication from a historic lack of personal success in previous attempts at being socially constructive individuals. And since security agencies, particularly metropolitan police departments, are starved for information, anybody short of a raving maniac can achieve great personal success as an informant.

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... a growing number of informants have "turned over" in recent years, revealing themselves and valuable information about covert police activities to the media.

Law enforcement officers in charge of handling informers re-enforce their feelings of personal success through constant praise, regardless of the value of the informer's work. Often-times a subordinate or fellow officer will appear occasionally to play the role of "bad guy", just to make sure that the informer's insecurities still exist.

This "agent motivation", combined with the media myth of "spies" fitting into an adventuristic James Bond image is what motivates political informants.

Another telling, although not nearly as universal factor that has been discovered in informants is that they sometimes shy away from heavy personal involvement with the people that they are infiltrating. Experienced observers feel that this happens because many informers feel that their basic personality weaknesses, if discovered, will lead to suspicion about them.

From the standpoint of law enforcement agencies, informers are a mixed bag. While they vary widely in effectiveness and reliability, they are widely used because elaborate cover does not have to be established for them, and because they are a low-cost, expendable intelligence gathering tool.

In recent years agencies have had serious problems with informers. Juries in several important political trials have refused to believe the testimony of informants. Agencies have found it difficult to regulate the behavior of informants, a situation that can sometimes have embarrassing consequences.

In addition, a growing number of informers have "turned over" in recent years, revealing themselves and valuable information about covert police activities to the media. Some of these "turned over" informants have even testified against their former employers in court cases. On the other hand, some informants have performed their duties well enough to be accepted for regular police work, once their undercover role has ended.

#### AGENTS

Undercover agents are usually far more reliable, and controllable than informers. They make better witnesses in court proceedings, and are more disciplined.

Most cities are now recruiting their agents from the police academy prior to graduation, although in a tight situation, rookie officers have been recruited for undercover use. A group of promising police academy

students are usually recommended to officers in the intelligence division, and these officers approach the students, asking them to volunteer for undercover work. The students that volunteer, and are selected for "general intelligence" assignments, usually receive very little training before their assignment begins.

Undercover officers for the Washington DC police department receive no training at all. LAPD officers are briefed by former (or current) undercover officers. In San Diego, officers were given a half-hour briefing, books by Jerry Rubin, and copies of a *Ramparts* article.

An alternative identity and background are usually provided for the officer/agent. Many police departments are asking agents to take on the name of a childhood friend who lives in a far-away locality. Thus the agent is familiar with the background of his/her "cover" name. Authentic identity papers, fitting the description of the agent but using the name, birthplace, etc., of the cover-name are provided. A few police departments, however, merely supply the false identification, and ask the agents to make up their own background.

Usually agents do not come from, or are not familiar with, the types of settings that they are asked to infiltrate, particularly when it comes to counter culture political groups. Thus, they are most susceptible to exposure and/or suspicion during their initial contacts with the group or groups they are assigned to infiltrate. Agents are forced to rely upon impressions gleaned from the media in initially emulating the "norms" that are expected of him/her. This can lead to some unusual situations, like an Agent advocating violence at a demonstration led by pacifists. Normally an officer will have numerous brief contacts, prior to actually infiltrating a group, so that he/she can pick up on some of the "norms" expected.

Many agents suffer from the "losers syndrome" common to informers, but those that are thusly afflicted do a better job of covering it up, due to the greater discipline imposed upon them by superior officers. And they have the additional security of knowing that they'll still have a job, should their true identity be discovered.

Agents also suffer from psychological problems, on occasion, caused by the dual role that undercover work requires. Changing personalities to deal with supervisors and the people that an officer is assigned to infiltrate often leads to emotional crises. Furthermore, the dual role of undercover work is perhaps the weakest point in an agent's "cover", since he/she is required to report to his/her superior officers frequently.

Always present in the life of an agent is the fear of

Informers tend to view their intelligence gathering as a vindication from a historic lack of success in previous attempts at being socially constructive individuals.

discovery. While most "discovered" agents have had to suffer through little more than verbal abuse, the few agents who have met with violence serve to keep fear in the undercover officer's mind at all times. One agent, discovered by Indians at Wounded Knee, was left tied to a cross for three days. Another, discovered during a takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, DC, had his pubic hair shaved off—with a rusty hatchet. And there have been undercover agents who were killed when their true identity was discovered.

A great many undercover agents view their intelligence gathering activities as being "just another job." These individuals attempt to gather the information required of them with as little hassle as possible. These agents are reluctant to make waves, and are often, considering the fact that they are undercover, relatively principled individuals. An officer like this, for instance, would probably not use drugs while infiltrating a youthful group, just to prove he/she's cool.

Other officers, however, seize upon their rather unique status to live out the role of adventurer/spy to the fullest possible degree. This sort of agent has been known to smoke marijuana, shoot heroin, provide guns and drugs, and take an active role in whatever group that is being infiltrated.

In recent years, radical groups have, in some instances, become quite good at spotting this type of agent, since their desire for action far outstrips their ideological/historical perspective.

Even the agents that cast themselves into the role of adventurer are not usually flaming ideologues. Security agencies have discovered that sending overtly anti-communist individuals into left leaning groups is at best a tactical mistake. Ideologues tend to 'lose control' and blow their cover in stressful situations.

From the perspective of modern day radical groups that are subject to infiltration, one of the greatest weaknesses of undercover agents has been shown to be their lack of understanding of ideological questions. Observers in this area stand agreed that sexism is a factor common to virtually all undercover (male & female) agents. The longer an agent is "under", however, the better chance they have to see and evaluate this problem. Undoubtedly there are agents who appear to have a sincere anti-sexist stance.

One serious problem that security agencies have been known to have with undercover agents is motivation.

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One former agent took notes on the soles of his shoes during meetings...

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FBI Informant William Lemmer, prior to his exposure. Lemmer testified against Vietnam Veterans Against The War in Gainesville, Florida.

Agents going under are usually promised all sorts of things—departmental commendations, vacations, choice of beats, etc. Rarely does an agent actually get all of these things, and as rookies gradually get more seasoned it begins to occur to them that they're being taken. Because of this, and the constant one-way flow of information, agents are seldom allowed a glance at the "big picture." Many agents are dissatisfied with their role.

#### BUILDING DOSSIERS

Agents and informers are asked to gather a wide variety of information on the personalities around them, and on the general nature of the group or groups that they are infiltrating. Only in potential civil-disturbance situations are they specifically acting out the role of law-enforcers—and in some cases adventurer type agents have been known to provoke and/or promote law breaking.

Agents are expecting to provide information on any organizations that they make contact with including: various factions within, general policies, meeting times and places, identifying leadership, providing at least one copy of all printed materials, complete minutes of all meetings, and sources of funding. One former agent took notes on the soles of his shoes during meetings, and typed up written reports after changing shoes.

They are also expected to provide information on personalities within the organizations they have infiltrated. Personal habits, any cars owned, sources of income, potential blackmail information, home addresses, and other similar information are turned in regularly by both agents and informers.

Traditionally, agents and informers have turned in some sort of written reports, and have met with supervising officers regularly for "background sessions". In some cities, the written reports have been replaced with telephone/tape recording systems.

**The net effect of overly paranoid reactions has been to limit the effectiveness of the groups involved as effectively as the presence of infiltrators.**

In addition, agents are asked to carry out small "operations" designed to disrupt dissident activity. One informer, who was able to sign checks of the organization that he infiltrated, was asked to find ways of making that organization's money disappear. Another made duplicate keys and gave them to police officers, for a leftist printing shop. Yet another agent was asked to help plant a "snitch jacket" on an individual.

The process of planting "snitch jackets" on sincere individuals was perhaps best done by the FBI, which succeeded in getting an informant placed as security officer for the CP-USA in the early sixties. The informer/security officer began accusing sincere individuals of being informers and "passing" informants planted by the FBI. Because of the paranoia existing in many radical organizations, planting "snitch jackets" is a highly effective means of disrupting them.

Information gathered by informers and agents is treated in many differing ways, depending upon the agency and locality involved. The San Diego Police Department, for example, keeps two sets of files in its intelligence section. A card file is kept on all known individuals and associations. Only general information is kept in this file. Another file, consisting of folders is kept on individuals singled out for special attention. These folders include photos, and all available information. Both of these files are broken down into sub-sections, using the same divisions used in dividing caseloads.

#### **STANDARD REACTIONS TO INFILTRATION**

Two standard reactions have been observed in dissident groups they have discovered, often through indictments, that they were being infiltrated. The most common reaction, one often observed in "New Left" groups, is rampant paranoia. The National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) has developed this paranoia to an extreme degree, and currently, virtually anybody who disagrees with their national leadership is deemed to be in the pay of the Central Intelligence Agency. A more common manifestation of paranoia among New Left groups involves rumor mongering about individuals deemed to be either unpopular or unusual. The net effect of overly paranoid reactions has been to limit the effectiveness of the groups involved as effectively as the presence of infiltrators.

Another reaction to the suspected presence of infiltrators is benign acceptance. Generally speaking, this reaction is characteristic of groups with Liberal or Old Left ideologies, and seems to be based upon the premise

that "we have nothing to hide". One member of the Communist Party summed up his feelings on the subject by saying that he didn't mind infiltrators because they paid their dues regularly and were hard workers. Prior to the Watergate revelations, many liberals simply refused to believe that the government would want to spy on them.

Regardless of the feelings of these groups, agencies will continue to spy upon and disrupt the activities of any group deemed disruptive or threatening. And it is the security agencies that make these decisions, not liberals.

There are groups around the country that have taken a reasoned approach to dealing with the problem of agent penetration. San Diego, where numerous individuals have researched the problem, has "turned out" over a dozen agents in the last four years. Through careful research, and a reasoned approach, several former agents and informers have been persuaded to reveal information about the inner-workings of the San Diego Police Department's Investigative Support Unit (ISU).

As groups around the country have been tackling the problem of agent penetration, five elements have been discovered that, used together, have proved highly effective.

First, and probably most important, groups have begun dealing with rampant paranoia by establishing informal, but representative, groups to conduct ongoing investigations into undercover activity, and surveillance in general. Because they are tight-lipped about their investigations until they have assembled a large amount of evidence, these groups have proved effective in helping to put a stop to the rumor-mongering that amplifies the effectiveness of any real (or imagined) agents. Once positive identification has been made of an informer or agent, this information is disseminated in a manner that makes it available to all concerned individuals in the community. In addition, the fact that a group is involved in conducting investigations, has helped to put a stop to the police practice of planting "snitch jackets".

Essential to any investigation of an individual suspected of being an agent is a complete background check similar to that used by the military and security agencies in establishing clearance for individuals handling classified materials. A background check involves verifying all the published data available on an individual, such as birth records, arrest records, schooling records, family addresses, credit information, motor vehicle data, etc. Usually, in cities where security committees exist, the individual who is suspected is told of this fact by a neutral appearing group of two or three persons, and is asked to help them in clearing his/her name. Information is then gathered, and checked against official records.

This method was described in detail in a national

magazine (*Ramparts*) in 1970, and as a result, many agencies began supplying their agents with virtually foolproof "covers". Dissident groups have responded to this escalation by extending the scope of background checks. In addition to verifying published data on an individual, an attempt is made to reconstruct his/her life through persons who have knowledge of his/her past. For instance, instead of merely verifying an individual's past employment, attempts are made to contact former work supervisors, fellow employees, shop stewards, etc. The methodology used in this reconstruction is not unlike that used by a writer in the process of compiling a biography. Agents using a cover identity of a childhood friend, for instance, have been discovered through High School Yearbook photos. In addition, security groups have examined the current activities of an individual under question. Of particular importance in helping to spot informers is economic information.

In the process of examining the current activities of an individual, many groups have found it useful to do a collective political analysis of that person's role. Of particular concern are sexist attitudes, overall ideological perspective, and any disruptive activity.

Finally, the most important part of this security process involves continuing and active research on any agencies that may be inclined to infiltrate the group in question. Only through understanding the methods and goals of the various agencies have groups been able to do accurate and objective security work. Key to understanding these agencies is the realization that, despite their common methodology and general outlook, the law enforcement establishment in the United States is far from being monolithic. For instance, most metropolitan police departments have poor working relationships with the FBI. As a result, very little political intelligence is exchanged between the FBI and local police departments. Furthermore, there are often factions within agencies, and even within intelligence units. These divisions, however, are based upon policy rather than objectives. As long as security agencies remain in the political domain of rightists, and as long as rightists continue to complain that dissent is subversive, these agencies will continue their political intelligence gathering activities.

By Doug Porter

## Background Checks

*Excerpted from "Where Are The Clark Kents Of Yesteryear", December 1970, Ramparts.*

Until the nation's police archives are opened, and agents and informers can be dealt with collectively, we are forced to deal with them on an organizational level. Even "super-spies" can be uncovered if two conditions are met: knowing the people with whom we live and work, and mastering the basics of background investigation. Knowing your co-workers may sound like a pasty, unsatisfying solution. But background checks alone, even universal checks, are inadequate. Checking everyone's past takes too much time, and informers who have lied about neither their names nor their past can slip by easily. Besides, such a mechanistic approach soon leads to self-defeating paranoia. Everyone has mulled over uneasy feelings about someone. Yet gut intuition remains the only initial basis for distinguishing between paranoia and legitimate suspicion. Careful analysis of the reasons behind intuitions will reveal whether contradictions in a person's behavior should be held suspect.

The simplest way to sink an undercover agent is to swamp him with questions about his past — the more specific the better. Don't scare the suspect away. Say that everyone in the organization undergoes similar

questioning. If the suspect has been around long enough to know better, say that other people suspect him, but that you personally think they are being paranoid.

Here are some sample questions:

1. Suspect's full name, address, phone number and aliases.
2. Parents' and stepparents' names (including maiden names), addresses, phone numbers and occupations.
3. Names, locations and dates of attendance for the past four schools the suspect attended.
4. His last four employers with addresses, dates of employment, kind of work and reason for leaving.
5. A description of his last two cars, including physical description, names of legal and registered owners, and license plate numbers.
6. Past marriages, divorces or separations with dates and locations of such actions. The same information on the births of children, civil or criminal court actions and any traffic tickets in the past year.
7. His past four residences, with exact addresses, dates of residency, and the phone numbers while he lived there.

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8. All driver's license and draft card information. Look at the cards yourself.

9. Names of two of his long-time friends or acquaintances, how long he's known them and how to reach them.

10. A complete military history, including units, dates, jobs and superiors.

Don't let the suspect fill out a form. Ask the questions aloud and copy down the answers, along with his reactions. No one will be able to answer all the questions completely and accurately, but few agents can remain cool and resolute throughout the entire interrogation.

There are hundreds of sources of background investigation for checking his responses. The following are some of the most common to all parts of the country. Begin with names, addresses and phone numbers. All information must be verified and contradictions checked on. Check the telephone book — and call information, as changes may have been made since the book was published.

The R. L. Polk Company publishes a directory of households for most metropolitan areas. The cost of Polk's *City Directory* is prohibitive, but local libraries usually carry a current edition for their areas. The first section of the *City Directory* is an alphabetized list of heads of households, usually the husband, showing his spouse's name, his job, his employer and his address. The second section is indexed by street address. The resident's name and telephone number follow. The third section is indexed by telephone number. While the *City Directory* is fairly comprehensive, some libraries have current local directories, indexed by street address, providing residents' names and phone numbers. It is published by local phone companies and is usually not otherwise available to the general public. Many libraries keep the old editions of the *City Directory* (which is usually updated every two years), allowing you to verify past addresses and phone numbers.

The Haines Company publishes the *Addressakey*, a volume similar to the last two sections of the *City Directory* but usually more geographically comprehensive.

County assessors' offices have complete listings of all real estate owners in the county. They always list property description first, then the owner's name and address. Sometimes they have a separate index, listing property owners' names first, followed by the property description. Be polite and the clerks in the assessor's office will be of immeasurable help. If the suspect lives in a rented house or apartment, locate the owner, who may provide information about his tenant.

In California and probably most states, voter registration files are open to public inspection and contain a wealth of information that is usually indexed by last name and by street address. For a small fee most

State Departments of Motor Vehicles will release individual driving records and information on a vehicle's ownership. Try the county recorder's office, which lists all real property transfers and lien actions and often records births, deaths and marriages. In some parts of the country, bureaus of vital statistics perform the latter functions. The clerk's offices of the Superior, Municipal, Small Claims and Traffic Courts have last name indexes and files for all criminal, civil, divorce and traffic cases. The files are open to the public. Finally, Selective Service Regulation 1606.32(a)(1) states: "Information contained in records in a registrant's file may be examined by any person having written authority dated and signed by the registrant." Insist that the suspect fill out a permission slip, then look through his file.

In addition to checking public records it is almost always essential to develop new background sources — and that means finding political friends in local firms or public service agencies. A contact in the local utility company might provide gas, electric or water service billing files, which probably constitute the most comprehensive addresses-to-resident index available. A friend in the telephone company could supply unlisted phone numbers, while doctors have access to nearly all medical records in their area. A merchant who subscribes to a credit bureau can get information on anyone who's ever bought anything on credit.

Since these sources are scattered throughout the country, much of the information must be collected through long distance phone calls. Either learn to make them for free or plan on a huge phone bill. In any case, don't use your own phone, since it is probably tapped. Finally, an investigator needs a variety of ruses or ploys to extract information from civil servants and others who may be less than willing to cooperate with a movement detective. It's a simple matter of matching the kind of information needed with the right kind of cover story.

The same kind of ingenuity, applied to even limited background information resources, can multiply their usefulness many times and make any investigator the toast of the sleuthing set.

The very things that we are trying to overcome are the things that police use against us to turn us into informers — rivalry, jealousy, materialism and authoritarian attitudes. Yet how many undercover cops understand the complexity or the intensity of these struggles — let alone are capable of feigning the same struggles? If in no other way, we all can intuitively tell when and what our comrades are going through — if we are going through it with them. If we aren't going through it with them, we can never expect to know if a "friend" is finking on us or whether the person is really who he claims to be. A lack of trust is the basis of suspicion.

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## The Ideology of Internal Security

In his August 15, 1973 speech to the nation in answer to the Watergate charges, President Nixon noted that "... every President since World War II has believed that in internal security matters the President has the power to authorize wiretaps without first obtaining a search warrant.

"An act of Congress in 1968 [the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act] had seemed to recognize such power. Last year the Supreme Court held to the contrary. And my administration is of course now complying with that Supreme Court decision. But, until the Supreme Court spoke, I had been acting, as did my predecessors... in a reasonable belief that in certain circumstances the Constitution permitted and sometimes required such measures to protect the national security in the public interest."

The President further stated that "instances have now come to light in which a zeal for security did go too far and did interfere impermissibly with individual liberty," adding that while "it is essential that such mistakes not be repeated," still, "it is also essential that we do not over-react to particular mistakes by tying the President's hands in a way that would risk sacrificing our security, and with it all our liberties."

President Nixon went on to declare that the abuses of Watergate "resulted from the assumption by those involved that their cause placed them beyond the reach of those rules that apply to other persons and that hold a free society together." He traced the origin of this assumption to those dissent-

ing groups and individuals who "asserted the right to take the law into their own hands insisting that their purpose represented a higher morality."

Yet the arguments heard before the Supreme Court in the case to which Mr. Nixon referred suggest a slightly different assumption and a very different source that led to Watergate and the whole series of events and practices that have come to be known as 'dirty tricks' and 'horror stories.' The assumption was that the Executive has the right to act against any perceived enemies with a sweeping power that places the *Executive* "beyond the reach of those rules that apply to other persons and that hold" our free society together — the Constitution. The source was the philosophy, not of every President since World War II, but of the Nixon Department of Justice, as presented before the Supreme Court for the first time in February, 1972.

This philosophy, what one attorney present on that day called a "declaration of war," was articulated by Robert C. Mardian, then head of the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice. The case before the Court was the so-called "White Panther Wiretap Case." The indictment of four young activists was dismissed by the District Court judge because of a wiretap of fourteen months duration, involving over 900 telephone conversations. The Court of Appeals upheld the lower court's decision and further appeal by the Government brought the case before the Supreme Court. The District Court judge,

technically a defendant in the Supreme Court proceeding, took the unusual step of procuring counsel to represent him.

Thus, William T. Gossett, former General Counsel to the Ford Motor Company, took part in the arguments, representing the District Court judge. Arthur Kinoy, Professor of Law at Rutgers University, appeared on behalf of the four activists.

Subsequently, attorney Kinoy was to speak of the combination of rage and fear he felt that day in Washington. The Government, he would note, could have argued its position on much narrower grounds, substantially improving its chances of winning the specific case. But Robert Mardian, the same man who led the Nixon Administration's assault by grand jury on antiwar and other dissenting groups throughout the country, chose instead to argue on the broadest possible grounds, asserting *an unrestricted executive power to engage in electronic surveillance without regulation by the judiciary*. A host of other Assistant Attorneys General were on hand to watch their colleague issue the call to battle.

Since he was arguing for the petitioner — in this case, the United States Government — Mardian spoke first. (The page numbers cited here are from *United States vs. United States District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan, Southern Division, et al.*, No. 70-153, February 24, 1972):

[p. 8] "Stated negatively, the question is not whether electronic surveillance is a permissible governmental tool, for now we find that the question is whether in the limited area of

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counter-intelligence activities the President of the United States may authorize electronic surveillance in the absence of a warrant by a member of the Judiciary of this nation."

Citing the Constitutional guarantee of a Republican form of government for the various states, the Executive's responsibility to protect the states from domestic violence, the Executive's power to call forth the militia to suppress insurrections and repel invasions, etc., Mr. Mardian argued [p. 29] that Article IV, Section 4 of the Constitution "makes no distinction with respect to Presidential powers as they pertain to invasion or domestic violence."

He then turned to the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 and said [pp. 29-30] "In this act, in subsection 3 of 2511, there is this language: 'Nor shall anything contained in this chapter be deemed to limit the constitutional power of the President to take such measures as he deems necessary to protect the United States against the overthrow by force or other unlawful means, or against any other clear and present danger to the structure or existence of government.'

"If there be any doubt as to what 'any other means' means as the phrase is used in that statutory provision, it is dispelled by the next following sentence:

"The contents of any wire or oral communication intercepted by authority of the President in the exercise of the foregoing powers may be received in evidence in any trial, hearing, or other proceeding only where such interception was reasonable, and shall not be otherwise used or disclosed except as is necessary to implement that power.'

"We suggest, Your Honors,

that in the exercise of this function by the President of the United States there is, of course, a discretion vested, and whenever a discretion is vested, *there is of course the chance that the discretion will be abused*. [Our emphases throughout.]

*"But this is the very essence of our government."*

Mardian continued his argument [pp. 32-34] and ran into some questioning from members of the Court:

"We suggest in this regard that we are not asking for an exemption of the Fourth Amendment. We do not suggest the President is above the Fourth Amendment. We simply suggest that in the area in which he has limited and exclusive authority, the President of the United States may authorize an electronic surveillance, and in those cases it is reasonable.

"I would suggest in this regard that the Fourth Amendment does not prohibit all searches and seizures, but only those which are deemed—"

*Question:* "But is it possible, under your theory, that the President could make an unreasonable intrusion into the private life of a citizen of this country?"

*Mardian:* "I think that the abuse of discretion to which you allude is possible not only in the Executive function but in the Judicial as well as the legislative."

*Question:* "I'm not talking about the Judicial function, I'm talking about the Executive."

*Mardian:* "I think that—"

*Question:* "And I understand your position is that if the President decides it's necessary to bug John Doe's phone, that's it. There's nothing under the sun John Doe can do about it."

*Mardian:* "Within the limited procedures prescribed by the statute under which he acts.

*"Now, if he chooses to violate that statute, he might well choose to violate his oath."*

Mardian, reserving the remainder of his allotted time for rebuttal, was followed by William T. Gosset [pp. 35-36]:

"Indeed, [the government] seeks for all searches that the Attorney General may characterize or label as national security, an exemption from any meaningful judicial supervision, either before or after the search.

"Thus the government, in effect, presents a startling proposition. It is that all so-called national-security searches and seizures are nonjustifiable. They simply are beyond the reach, beyond the competence of the courts. They are for the Attorney General, the Executive alone.

"The wiretap here involved was ordered because, and only because, the Attorney General unilaterally determined that it was reasonable to gather domestic intelligence information being necessary, as he put it, and I want to be careful about the language, *'to protect the nation from attempts of domestic organizations to attack and subvert the existing structure of government...'*

Subsequently, Arthur Kinoy offered his argument [p. 54]:

"Now the considerations I suggest to the Court, awesome and foreboding, which permeate the opinions of the District Court and the Court of Appeals, arise out of an openly expressed and frank attempt by the Executive to use this case to obtain the imprimatur of this Court for a program of domestic — and I stress that word — domestic espionage and surveillance of politi-

cal opponents unprecedented in our history . . . [p. 55] Now as Mr. Gossett has pointed out, and in the words of Judge Edwards in the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit, this would, to place it bluntly, erase the Fourth Amendment from the domestic life of this country, the Amendment which this Court has taught is the embodiment of the fundamental principles of liberty.

"[pp. 57-58] Now the power which the Attorney General seeks here would legitimize a widespread dragnet of a secret surveillance of domestic political opposition, of which the present record . . . is but a tiny preview. Already the subjects of the Attorney General's suspicion — and I use that word advisedly — fall on leaders of the anti-war movement, black militants, Catholic activist pacifists, advocates of youth culture.

"But what is the deep danger to this country that this claim represents?

"As formulated here this morning and in the briefs submitted to this Court, that claim of power can include anyone who speaks out. Now I put it bluntly to the Court that this is not an exaggeration.

*"I put to the Court the example of the recent suggestion from high quarters in the Executive Department, that the critics of the proposals made by the President of the United States in respect to the Vietnam War — and I use their own words — are consciously aiding and abetting the enemy of the United States.*

*"That was the Chief of Staff of the White House [H.R. Haldeman] two weeks ago.*

*"Now I suggest to the Court, would these critics be included within the scope of this domestic surveillance? They're aiding and abetting the enemy of the United States. You mean their*

*phones can be tapped?*

"[p. 61] They loudly, from one end of the country to the other, the Attorney General gave speeches in which he talked about this case, in which he said they are testing the domestic — their right to have domestic surveillance of so-called domestic subversion."

Robert Mardian then spoke briefly in rebuttal:

"[p. 78] I would also point out that this whole question of electronic surveillance and what is disclosed, *this Court must, as a coordinate branch of government, rely almost entirely on the Integrity of the Executive Branch.*

"[p. 79] Now certainly, neither this President nor any prior President, to my knowledge, has authorized electronic surveillance to monitor the activities of an opposite political group.

"[p. 80] As the Court held in the *Kennedy* case, the Constitution isn't a suicide pact. The President can't wait until the moment of invasion or insurrection to start putting together a counter-intelligence function."

Though the issue before the Court was decided with a unanimous 8-0 decision against the Government's position in June 1973, the drama acted out before the Court that day was being played out across the country long before — though previous Presidents had wiretapped, never beforehand had it been maintained that the previously surreptitious nature of illegal wiretapping was "proper," "lawful," wholly within the power of the President — and long since. The perversion of the legitimacy of the grand jury system into an instrument of political harassment and unlimited intelligence gathering, led by Robert Mardian and the Internal Security Division (now a subdivision of the Criminal

Division) was implicitly being contended in that courtroom.

Too, as the prophetic words of Mr. Kinoy perhaps show, the philosophy that led to the electronic surveillance of the Democratic Party and the other 'dirty tricks' was being put forth, four months in advance of the Watergate break-in.

As attorney Kinoy remarked in September 1972, "The Department of Justice admitted, first in Chicago, then in every other political case which followed, that it *had* engaged in illegal wiretapping. Having made these admissions the Department then refused in each of these cases to disclose the logs of the warrantless wiretaps to the defendants, claiming that the disregard for Constitutional requirements was sanctioned by the 'inherent' powers of the Executive to protect the 'national interest.'

"The administration was aiming at the highest of stakes: it was seeking a stamp of legitimacy for the organ of government which embodied in the eyes of the people the intimate repository of 'legality' for the proposition that the Constitution and its written guarantees can be disregarded at will by the President whenever he decides, in his uncontrolled judgment, that the suspension of the Constitution is required in the 'national interest.' "

The drama is not over. For if the domestic enemies are guilty not only of posing a threat to the government, but of causing Watergate too, then the question remains: what further punishment by grand jury inquisitions and other means, and what further vehicles of intelligence gathering lie ahead?

by Fred J. Solowey

*Fred Solowey is executive director of the Coalition to End Grand Jury Abuse.*

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## BUILD THE FIFTH ESTATE

The resignation of Richard Nixon marks the end of a long era of war and repression for Americans and the people of the world. This event is a clear victory for all who arose in mass struggle against the experiments in technofascism — especially the continuation of the war in Indochina — perpetrated by his administration. But his legacy remains with us. War continues in Indochina and throughout the Third World. And our government is still clandestinely involved in these wars. The apparatus for domestic repression still operates, though restrained temporarily by public outrage. Watergate is not behind us.

History demonstrates the dismantling of one espionage *apparat* loyal to one group of politicians does not insure that this abuse of power will not be repeated by future politicians. Who knows what future Watergates will occur under future administrations? That they will occur is certain. We Americans, especially working Americans, have been warned by government economists that political freedom may be restricted in this age of continuing inflation.

Although many established efforts — such as those of the civil libertarian movement and the Fourth Estate (Media) — have focused on this real and present danger, our experience has shown us several inherent weaknesses to these approaches. We believe they are inadequate to prevent the forms of spying, covert war, and deception the future will bring. The world is in great turmoil and situations are changing at a much faster pace. And thus the weaknesses of these older efforts are magnified daily.

One great weakness of these older efforts is the inability to act upon what they cannot see. The blind spot of these approaches is the realm of clandestine government and corporate actions. In effect, these approaches can only act when the threats to civil liberty are open and obvious. However, the majority of the experiments by our own security forces — those which pose the greatest danger for peace and democracy — are secret.

Clearly what is needed to resist the forms of political repression and secret war the future will bring — what we call technofascism — is a new force capable of penetrating the excessive secrecy rampant in politics today. What the American people need is a new resource for the maintenance of peace and freedom. What the American people need to help focus their mass resistance to technofascism and the conditions which produce it is an *alternative intelligence community — a Fifth Estate*.

We need an *Intelligence* capacity capable of monitoring the government and corporate infrastructures of the military services, the intelligence community and the criminal justice system. While security forces certainly have a legitimate function to play in our society, the abuse of power by these forces is increasing. The security forces are the first segments of society to engage in Orwellian experiments and to openly turn fascist. It is they who will curtail our freedom and upset the peaceful movements of the world.

We need an *Intelligence* capacity capable of educating Americans to these problems and this threat. And we need an *alternative intelligence community* capable of educating the American people on the measures they can take for their own security. Today the simple knowledge of how our security forces operate — their strengths and weaknesses — is known only to a few. If democracy is to be maintained, all citizens should have access to this information.

We need an *Intelligence* capable of neutralizing any dangerous experiments by our security forces. Faced with the experience and ingenuity of these forces, we need an *Intelligence* force able to check their abuse of power with the flexibility of employing both revolutionary and reformist methods. What we need to neutralize these experiments is a totally pragmatic force with the single objective of monitoring and neutralizing. We need an *Intelligence* which does not prevent our security forces from performing their legitimate responsibilities, but which moves with the precision of a surgeon to operate on their illegitimate actions.

We need an *Intelligence* which is not separate from, but is an integral function of the mass effort of the American public to prevent tyranny and injustice in our society. We need an *Intelligence* capable of marshalling public opinion against these experiments and those who would perpetuate them.

It is axiomatic that the greater the oppression, the greater the resistance. But for the resistance to be sure and swift it must have *Intelligence*. The greatest weapon the American people have to fight tyranny is themselves — organized. *Intelligence* must now become part of that organization.

We need, therefore, a "New *Intelligence*" capable of accomplishing for the public what the government's intelligence community accomplishes for it. The best strategy for neutralizing these experiments is a united front led by the progressive struggles of those most oppressed against these experiments and the conditions which produce them. This *New Intelligence* must serve this united front.

Clearly this *New Intelligence*, to be effective and uncorrupted, must be based in the struggle of Americans for peace and justice. This *New Intelligence* must not only take criticism from the American public but must take leadership from the struggles of Americans against the experiments by our security forces which would rob us of our democratic rights.

This *New Intelligence* must avoid the pitfalls of radical research. Radical research has accomplished much good in support of the struggle for peace and freedom. But sometimes this research has degenerated into "academic elitism" and ivory-towerism." A *New Intelligence* must get down into the political conflict and turmoil. It must not produce any information that is not politically usable by its prime consumer — the American public. It must

avoid information that is contradictory, confusing or distracting. All of these problems are inherent to non-targeted radical research.

The *New Intelligence* is totally political. It begins with a political need and ends with a political solution. *Intelligence is targeted against a specific entity for specific political purposes.* The *New Intelligence* is the product resulting from the scientific collection, evaluation, analysis, integration, and interpretation of all information concerning experiments in technofascism and eventually the conditions which produce it, which is immediately or potentially significant to the development and execution of plans, policies and operations of the American people's struggle for peace and justice.

The *New Intelligence* can also be the swiftest means of executing those plans, policies and operations. The *New Intelligence* applies scientific methods to determine as clearly as possible the objective reality and proceeds from that reality. *Intelligence, unlike research, does not attempt to prove reality. Intelligence knows what reality is and attempts to change it to a more favorable condition.* The *New Intelligence* in the hands of the American people can be a very powerful weapon.

We, who produce this quarterly, are former government intelligence workers, veterans, investigative reporters and anti-war activists who have joined together to help formulate and organize this *New Intelligence*. We believe a new force can be created to provide the vital information an aware public needs to know about government and corporate operations and to act, if necessary, with the American people to neutralize their effectiveness.

We believe that an *alternative Intelligence community* implementing this *New Intelligence* must be built if our basic freedoms are to be preserved in this country. We call this alternative intelligence community the *Fifth Estate*.

Our vision of the *Fifth Estate* and this *New Intelligence* has been shaped not only by experiences of the past few years in formulating the *New Intelligence*, but also by our lives as government agents or investigative reporters and the rich experience of organizing against the Indochina War during our nation's deepest and most tragic involvement. This experience has shown us the ways and means to create this *New Intelligence* and its organization the *Fifth Estate*.

Already some local activists and researchers have established local teams under the *Fifth Estate* umbrella on their campuses and in their communities. They are taking our experience and adding it to theirs to fight local problems. Our vision of a community of autonomous organizations serving local and national constituencies, united by common methodology, goals, philosophy, policy and strategy, is beginning to be fulfilled.

We believe that a *Fifth Estate* must exercise the power of national unity through democratic struggle. We believe that within this national unity, local teams can operate with the greatest variety of style and operation. We believe that a nationwide united organization applying the *New Intelligence* can be far more successful than weak, ad hoc research/action groups.

We believe that in this formative state of the *New Intelligence* — a citizen's intelligence — that its organization must be non-partisan and non-sectarian. Membership must be open to all who can unite around basic principles.

We believe that the *Fifth Estate* must be a cadre organization. We believe that those who operate in the *Fifth Estate* should assume a cadre identification. This identification — we use the word Counter-Spy — will not only serve as a constant reminder of the responsibilities of the cadre of the *New Intelligence*, but will also serve as a base for personal struggle within the *Fifth Estate*.

Cadre of the *New Intelligence* must struggle to develop themselves as new human beings devoid of the fascist tendencies in our personalities. Cadre of the *New Intelligence* must struggle to integrate the researcher in themselves with the activist in themselves. Cadre of the *New Intelligence* must not be aloof from political struggle. Cadre of the *New Intelligence* must help each other gain the consciousness needed to truly serve the American people. Cadre of the *Fifth Estate* must help each other put the interests of the American people ahead of personal interests. Cadre of the *Fifth Estate* must apply scientific methods of changing themselves as well as society. This is what we mean by the *Fifth Estate*'s cadre being "Counter-Spies."

We realize that this sort of discipline is difficult, but we have experienced the results of scientific consciousness raising. If we all struggle in a principled manner, we can discipline ourselves for the long road ahead.

We invite all independent researchers, investigators, ad hoc research/action groups and concerned citizens to write for our organizing manual *Towards a Fifth Estate*, in which we begin a dialog on the *New Intelligence* and the creation of a *Fifth Estate*.

We invite all who can be united around a program of opposition to experiments in clandestine intervention, domestic repression, excessive secrecy and technological hegemony by our security forces and the power elites which control them, to join us in the *Fifth Estate*.

We realize that none of us are perfect. We will make mistakes. We do not have all the answers to combatting this problem. But our experience has given us enough understanding to begin uniting all who can be united in this effort. The only thing we are committed to — the only certainty in this world — is change. We know that by struggling together we will make fewer mistakes, will improve ourselves, will provide leadership to the American people, and solve the problems we all face tomorrow. Our struggle can win.

We ask you to join us.  
*Build the Fifth Estate.*

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# Counter-insurgency Comes Home

While the personality of Richard Nixon may now be "behind us," the country will still be affected by the precedents established during his Administration. Of all the repressive tactics and experiments conducted during the Nixon Presidency, none hold so much dynamic for repeated implementation as the militarization of the police community in general, and the formation of a private army within the Justice Department in particular. The most grim example of this particular abuse of power is the Siege of Wounded Knee, a 71 day standoff between the private army of the Justice Department and several hundred members of the Independent Oglala Sioux Nation and the American Indian Movement.

From the end of February until early May, the world press reported on the "occupation" of Wounded Knee by Indians who wanted serious changes in their lives and the institutions that affect them. While the press reported the event as an "occupation," they completely missed the fact that it was a classical military cordon operation, which the Director of the U.S. Marshals Service called "the world's largest outdoor jail."

The experiment with militarizing the police did not begin with Wounded Knee; Wounded Knee was simply a field test where the military was allowed to clandestinely control a rather large army composed of specially trained U.S. Marshals and FBI agents. The Justice Department army was given high powered equipment available only to the military: their tactics in the negotiations as well as their tactics on the Reservation were advised by the military in the same manner as the Military Assistance Advisory Groups operating in Vietnam during the early years of U.S. involvement; even their needs for maps and intelligence were provided by military reconnaissance flights conducted with jets that had once flown the same type missions against the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

Two agencies within the Justice and Defense Departments were intertwined during the siege of Wounded Knee to produce the military operation. The Special Operations of the U.S. Marshals Service and the Directorate of Military Support.

The Justice Department provided the men for the operation through the Special Operations Group of the U.S. Marshals Service and the Federal Bureau of Investigation agents sent to Wounded Knee. The Department of Defense Directorate of Military Support supplied the guns, ammunition, armored personnel

carriers, and other items of deadly hardware as well as the training and advice on how to use them.

The Special Operations Group (SOG) was a child of the Nixon Administration. According to Wayne Colburn, the Director of the Marshals Service, SOG was originally his idea, and he presented it to Attorney General John Mitchell. The idea was not necessarily a new one: specialized riot control teams were being formed at every level of the police structure as a result of continued unrest over the Vietnam War and poverty. The idea of creating such a force within the Marshals Service was not unique either: during both the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations, ad hoc armies of marshals numbering up to 600 men were dispatched to enforce court ordered integration in areas of the South. But the armies under previous administrations were very ad hoc, and limited to the legitimate function of the Marshal Service — enforcing the will of the courts.

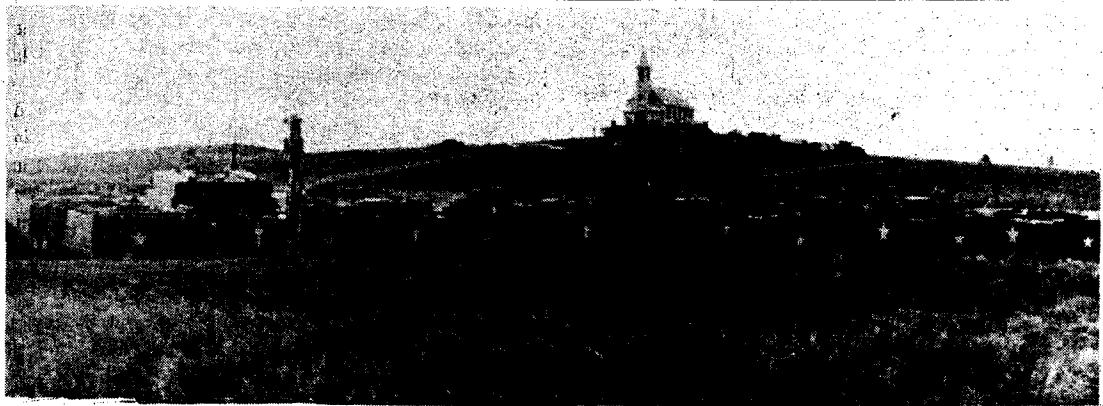
The Special Operations Group concept was reviewed by Mitchell, and Colburn was granted authorization to form SOG in January, 1971. Colburn began to recruit volunteers from within the ranks of the Marshals, hand-picking the recruits with a special eye for the "maturity" provided by military combat experience. With his first 114 men, the Special Operations Group began to prepare for the May Day demonstrations of 1971.

SOG was used to guard the Federal courts in Washington during May Day, but then they began a cross country journey to "protect" federal installations, even though the Federal Protection Service had been formed and chartered for that exact purpose. After May Day, SOG evicted Indians from the deserted Twin Cities Naval Air Station in Minneapolis; the next month they evicted other Indians from the deserted Alcatraz Island prison; the following October they went to the federal prison in Danbury, Conn., to "protect" it from people demonstrating their anger over the Attica murders. In 1972, SOG was sent to both the Republican and Democratic National Conventions in Miami Beach to protect the convention facility. From guarding the courts and protecting the judges, to guarding any building and protecting anybody, the Marshals Service began to drift away from their original purpose of serving the courts and more into the role of a private force answerable only to the Attorney General.

On February 12, 1973, Marshal Service Director



*A squad of Special Operations Group marshals, equipped with a grenade launcher, sniper rifles, and carbines, block a road leading to Wounded Knee.*



*The planned invasion of Wounded Knee was dependent on the 17 armored personnel carriers supplied by the Army. The primary target for the APC's was the Catholic Church inside the hamlet (background).*



*U.S. Marshal Jack Richardson of the Special Operations Group, dressed in camouflaged fatigues, inspects Wounded Knee after the seige was lifted.*

Wayne Colburn received a call from Attorney General Kleindienst telling him that the Special Operations Group was needed on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Six days prior, on February 6, angry reservation people had gathered outside the courthouse in Custer, S.D., and a riot had broken out that resulted in \$40,000 damage to the court building. The Indians had gathered to protest the sentencing of a white man to two months probation after he had knifed and killed a full-blooded Oglala Sioux named Wesley Bad Heart Bull.\*

Colburn dispatched 65 of his SOG members and his own assistant, Reise Kash, to the Pine Ridge Reservation. The Marshals set up a command post inside the Bureau of Indian Affairs building, the building considered to be the sight of any future trouble on the reservation. His men filled plastic garbage bags with sand and made gun emplacements on each of the corners of the BIA roof. A target range was established and the SOG began to train the BIA police force in the use of the shotgun and the carbine. As the pace of activity increased, so did the tension as the Indians saw the BIA building turned into a fortress and an armed camp.

The Marshals took several other steps towards escalation of the tension by beginning to patrol the reservation with the BIA police. The SOG Marshals were easily identifiable by their blue jumpsuits, bloused paratroop boots, and their baseball caps with cloth emblems. In addition, the marshals developed intelligence sources on the reservation, and made overt gestures of friendship towards the primary source of repression on the reservation — Tribal Council Chairman Dick Wilson.

Wilson, as the elected head of the Tribal Council, had managed to form a "goon squad" of Indians loyal to him to help enforce his word on the reservation. The goons conducted their business of beatings and harassment without any interference from the BIA police or reservation officials. Following the Custer courthouse incident, the Oglala Civil Rights Organization began to support a drive to impeach Wilson as Tribal Council chairman. The move brought more harassment and beatings: the friendship of the Marshals with Wilson and his goons showed the civil rights leaders that they would need help in carrying out their drive for impeachment. It was on Feb. 26, 1973 that the Oglala Civil Rights Organization voted to ask for assistance from the American Indian Movement.

AIM was not totally unknown to the Oglala people, and the Traditional People of the tribe (the elders and others who practice the traditional Indian lifestyle) were

\*Sarah Bad Heart Bull, the mother of the murdered Indian man, was recently sentenced to five years in prison for being present at a riot where arson was committed. She is currently in a South Dakota prison; the murderer of her son is still free.

Col. Warner was the first military officer to conduct a full scale counter-insurgency operation in modern America.

aware of the history of AIM. In fact, AIM leader Russell Means was from the Pine Ridge Reservation, and the feeling at the meeting was that the American Indian Movement was needed if living conditions on the reservation were to be improved.

The next day, AIM held a public meeting at the town hall in the village of Calico, on the reservation. When the crowd turnout began to get larger than the hall could hold, the meeting site was changed to the Catholic Church at Wounded Knee. As the caravan with AIM and Oglala people drove into Wounded Knee, they could see carloads of BIA police and Marshals sitting along the side of the road, waiting for them to drive into the town.

Once inside Wounded Knee, the Indians were in a bad tactical location. The hamlet of Wounded Knee sits in the bottom of a small valley, almost like being at the bottom of a soup bowl. In 1890, the 7th U.S. Cavalry had extracted its revenge for the Battle of the Little Big Horn by killing several hundred Oglala men, women, and children. Once the Indians were inside the historic hamlet, the stage was set for a repeat of the 1890 slaughter that came within 96 hours of occurring.

Shortly after the Indians entered Wounded Knee for their meeting, Agnes Gildersleeve called the Marshals command post to complain that Indians were robbing the trading post. Mrs. Gildersleeve and her husband were the owners of the trading post, and the matter of economic exploitation by the trading post was one of the grievances that had led to the calling of AIM by the

As soon as the command post received Mrs. Gildersleeve's call, the BIA and federal agents on the outside of town turned their cars into roadblocks. The Indians on the inside were now prisoners on their own land, and the siege of Wounded Knee was begun.

For the first two days, Wounded Knee was a standoff with small exchanges of small arms fire between the two groups. The FBI and Marshals immediately obtained two Armored Personnel Carriers from the South Dakota National Guard to use in the event they would be needed to help capture the town. In addition, the Guard turned over 100 M-16 rifles to the FBI and Marshals, with an abundance of ammunition. The high powered rifles were turned over even though none of the Marshals had been trained in their use.

Marshal Director Wayne Colburn had come to Pine Ridge a few days prior to the siege, and he personally



*Marshals move Army APC's into position after the breakdown of the first settlement in April.*

assumed control of the Marshal Service operation there. One of his first acts was to request that the U.S. Air Force fly a photo reconnaissance of the area and turn the photos over to them. Colburn made the request through the Directorate of Military Support (DOMS), a joint service structure designed to assist civil authorities in procuring military help or equipment. DOMS was first established in July, 1968, as the Directorate for Civil Disturbance Planning and Operations, but had changed its name "to more accurately reflect its mission."

As DOMS was receiving requests for military equipment from Wounded Knee, the Justice Department made another request for federal troops to be used to clear the town. This request made it necessary for the Army to send an experienced observer to Wounded Knee to evaluate the situation and make recommendations to the Pentagon. The observer would have to be skilled in both military and political affairs, and a person that the Pentagon could trust.

On March 2nd, the Commander of the 18th Airborne Corps, General Hay, called the Chief of Staff of the

82nd Airborne Division. Under the military's national emergency contingency plan, Operation Garden Plot, the 82nd Airborne would be the primary unit sent to Wounded Knee should Federal troops be sent. The Chief of Staff, Col. Volney Warner, was in the midst of preparing contingency plans for the deployment of the 82nd Airborne to the Sudan, where two U.S. diplomats had just been assassinated. Hay ordered Warner to prepare for a quick trip to analyze a situation. Warner initially assumed that the General was referring to Africa, and did not know otherwise until he met personally with General Hay that afternoon and was briefed on Wounded Knee.

Warner was told to go to Wounded Knee and maintain a low profile, not to wear uniforms, "engage in any confrontation or kill anyone." The Commander of the Directorate of Military Support was calling Colburn and the head FBI agent at Wounded Knee, Joseph Trimbach, and telling them to meet Warner when he arrived at Ellsworth Air Force Base near Rapid City, SD. Warner was placed on a special Air Force flight to Ellsworth on the evening of March 2nd.

Volney Warner was unusually well suited for the job of military observer at Wounded Knee. Warner was a West Point graduate (Class of 1950) and had served in the early days of the Vietnam War as a military advisor with the South Vietnamese Army. He was trained in psychological operations at the U.S. Army Special Warfare School, and had served a second tour in Vietnam working with the civil affairs and pacification programs. Additionally, as the Chief of Staff of the 82nd Airborne, he best understood the limits of using military troops to quell civil disorders.

The DOMS commander, Maj. General Rolland Gleszer, did call Agent Trimbach and Marshal Colburn, and they were on hand when Warner's plane landed at 2:30 a.m. on March 3rd. The three men talked until dawn, approximately 7 a.m., and Colburn and Trimbach emphasized the need for Federal troops. The FBI wanted 2,000 soldiers to do the job, and went so far as to ask Warner to approve the recommendation of troops without even going out to Wounded Knee.

Warner met the proposal for troops with a counter-proposal of his own. Rather than commit Federal troops for the job, why not increase the size of the U.S. Marshals and FBI, and give them the full military supplies necessary to do the job themselves. Warner then assured the men that if the Justice Department tried to capture Wounded Knee and failed, "elements of the 82nd Airborne Division would come to their rescue; and should the Federal forces decide to withdraw unilaterally, elements of the 82nd Airborne Division would maintain law and order on the Pine Ridge Reservation..."

Warner, Colburn and Trimbach finished their meeting and boarded a South Dakota National Guard helicopter for an air tour of Wounded Knee. After surveying the scene from above, the helicopter dropped the men off at the Reservation, and Warner prepared his initial report for DOMS.

Warner told DOMS that Trimbach wanted the Army to restore "peace" to Wounded Knee and allow the FBI to make the arrests. He then told of his own counter-plan, and advised DOMS that the consensus at the earlier meeting had been that Armored Personnel Carriers and helicopters were needed by the Justice Department.

Later that afternoon, Col. Jack Potter arrived in Wounded Knee to assist Col. Warner with the logistics of supporting the Justice Department Task Force. Although Col. Potter was superior in rank to Col. Warner by virtue of time in grade, the West Coast graduate was still considered by both the Justice and Defense Departments as the senior Defense Department official on the reservation.

Potter's assignment at Wounded Knee was to keep track of military supplies sent to the Justice Department. According to General Gleszer, Potter was

"the best damn logistian in the Army," and his job as the Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics at 6th Army headquarters gave him an excellent overview of what Army base and what "friends" controlled what supplies.

By late evening on March 3rd, General Alexander Haig approved the loan of 15 armored personnel carriers to the Justice Department. Warner was told this by phone, and the process of formulating a plan for their use was put into motion.

On March 4th, the DOMS staff prepared a report outlining their concept of military support for Wounded Knee, and sent it to General Gleszer. The report was quite frank in admitting that:

*The Indians do not appear intent upon inflicting bodily harm upon the legitimate residents of Wounded Knee nor upon the Federal law enforcement agents operating in this area, even though small arms fire has been exchanged between opposing forces.*

*Because of its isolated geographical location, the seizure and holding of Wounded Knee poses no threat to the Nation, the State of South Dakota, or the Pine Ridge Reservation itself. However, it is conceded that this act is a source of irritation if not embarrassment to the Administration in general and the Department of Justice in particular.*

The report concluded that the Department of Defense should force the Federal government to "exhaust their capability and maximize their efforts" before authorizing Federal troops. Short of the troops, the Defense Department stood ready to provide all the weapons and supplies that would be needed to carry out the task.

Supplies were not the only commodity that the military gave the Justice Department. Warner and Potter, according to Warner's "after-action report," soon began to function as military advisors to the Justice Department, much in the same fashion as Warner had done in Vietnam in the early 1960's. One of the first tasks facing Warner was the evaluation and formation of an assault plan for taking Wounded Knee by force. Colburn and Warner worked on this problem from March 3rd through March 5th, and devised a basic attack plan that would be modified as the siege continued.

The basic attack plan called for the Armored Personnel Carriers to come into Wounded Knee from the north, with flak-vested and helmeted Marshals ahead of them. Just outside rifle range, the Marshals would use bullhorns to announce an opportunity for the people to surrender. The church where the Indians made their headquarters would then be gassed with 35mm gas guns fired from the APCs. The APCs would then move into small arms range and scare the people into surrendering.

If small arms fire came from the church, the Marshals were prepared to fire into it.

This same basic plan was slightly modified through the period of March 5th, when Warner first presented DOMS with it during a telephone report, and March 12th, when a written version was presented to General Alexander Haig and General Creighton Abrams, the Army Chief of Staff. In the March 12 version of the assault plan, helicopters were added for the purposes of command and control. Colburn and Warner, according to the plan, would fly above Wounded Knee where Colburn would direct the operations and Warner would serve as his advisor.

As the plans were being developed and debated by the Justice and Defense Departments, the size of the Justice Department Task Force was growing daily. On March 5th, there were over 243 Federal officers in sight; by the 12th of March there were over 300. Army material loans by the middle of March were staggering — over 130 M-16 rifles with 100,000 rounds of ammunition; 75 high powered sniper rifles (M-14s, M-1s, and Springfields, all with scopes and ammunition); helmets, flak vests, signal flares, mine detectors, C-rations, jeeps, trucks, and maintenance technicians for the Armored Personnel Carriers were all in the possession of the Marshals and FBI. The equipment, coupled with the manpower of the Marshals and the advice of the military gave the government exactly what they needed at Wounded Knee, a clandestine army.

Col. Warner and Col. Potter did not limit their advice to military matters however, and they began to give advice to the Justice Department on the politically delicate negotiations that were taking place between AIM and the government. *Warner mixed his analysis of the situation at the negotiating table with suggestions for military action, much in the same way that the U.S. used the air war as a lever in the Vietnam Peace Talks.*

Warner made several trips back to Washington to meet with both Justice and Defense Department officials. The first of these trips took place March 20-23, and was followed by a second trip on March 29th. At the March 29th meetings in Washington, the idea of forcibly taking Wounded Knee was debated and rejected, but the need for a better contingency plan sent Col. Warner and an officer from DOMS to Fort Bragg for meetings with officials there.

In the first week of April, Kent Frizzell replaced Harlington Wood as the primary government negotiator. On April 5th, AIM and Frizzell came to an agreement for ending Wounded Knee based on the surrender of Russell Means and a meeting between Means and White House officials on the grievances advanced by the Oglala Sioux. When Means called Wounded Knee after the initial meeting, the other residents were to surrender their weapons and leave. Only those with arrest warrants pending were to be arrested. This peace plan fell apart

when the White House refused to meet with Means unless the occupation was first ended. When the negotiations in Washington failed to materialize, the Indians inside Wounded Knee refused to surrender their weapons to the Marshals.

The breakdown of the peace talks led to a classic military response: new "close hold contingency plans" were developed by the Defense Department, and the original Warner-Colburn plan was subjected to further scrutiny.

On April 12th, the Defense Department received a request from the Justice Department for a "pre-positioned" package of military equipment to be shipped to Ellsworth AFB in case Wounded Knee were to be taken by force. Among the articles that the Justice Department asked for were 200 baseball-type CS gas grenades, M-79 grenade launchers with 100 rounds of high explosives, 600 rounds of CS gas and 600 rounds of red smoke, 750 pounds of dry CS and air delivery canisters, helicopters, and military advisors. On April 17th, the Defense Department approved the pre-positioning for Fort Carson rather than for Ellsworth, partly on Col. Warner's recommendations.

In the meantime, the fire fights around Wounded Knee were continuing on a nightly basis. As a part of their siege strategy, the Federal forces would pour unlimited numbers of rounds into the village in hopes of exhausting the Indians' ammunition supply. By the time Wounded Knee was over, the Justice Department's army had expended almost 150,000 rounds of military ammunition in addition to the ammunition it procured from its own inventory.

In addition to the Justice Department's army surrounding Wounded Knee, Dick Wilson's goon squad had established its own roadblocks just behind the Justice Department roadblocks. Wilson's men, armed with hunting rifles and hand guns, refused access to Wounded Knee for Clergy and Attorneys sympathetic to AIM. On April 23rd, they made the mistake of preventing a Justice Department official from reaching a roadblock. The goon squad was finally arrested, and a compromise was reached with Wilson to allow his goons to be "unarmed observers" at all the roadblocks.

At some point in late April, apparently during Wayne Colburn's trip to Washington the last week of April, a tentative date of May 10th was set for the military assault of Wounded Knee. Negotiations would continue, but unless a settlement was reached by the 10th, the government was willing to use force to end a situation which the Army itself termed "no threat."

The Marshals began to train in the APCs for the assault on Wounded Knee, and the attack plans themselves were reviewed and finalized. The army sent a chemical weapons officer to instruct the Marshals on the use of the CS gas launchers that would be attached to the APCs. Helicopter pilots were brought into

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The (military) equipment, coupled with the manpower of the Marshals and the advice of the military gave the government exactly what they needed at Wounded Knee; a clandestine army.

familiarize themselves with the local terrain. Col. Warner continued to give both military and political advice to the Justice Department officials as the deadline drew nearer. The basic attack plan as outlined by Col. Warner and Marshal Colburn was prepared for implementation.

New elements were added to the original March 12 proposal sent to General Haig, such as dropping leaflets on Wounded Knee as soon as the APCs were in place around the village, and house to house searches to be conducted by FBI "search teams" under the protection of the Marshals Service SOG.

On May 4th, the White House sent a proposal for a settlement to the American Indian Movement. The letter provided the basis for the settlement at Wounded Knee that was reached on May 6th, four days before the assault on Wounded Knee was to have taken place.

For his role at Wounded Knee, Col. Volney Warner was promoted to Brigadier General and made the Assistant Division Commander of the 82nd Airborne. For their role in the Siege of Wounded Knee, over 200 members and supporters of the American Indian Movement have been indicted on a variety of charges.

The precedent set by the Federal government at Wounded Knee is all too obvious and all too painful for a country that is trying to forget the abuse of Presidential power that marked the Nixon Administration. But the question of what happened at Wounded Knee and how the army was able to circumvent the spirit and letter of the law goes beyond the scope of a single administration.

The Special Operations Group within the Marshals Service represents a standing army responsible only to the Attorney General, not the Congress and the people. They wear military style uniforms, use military weapons, and utilize military tactics under the advice and control of army officers. In addition, members of the Special Operations Group attend the Army's "SEADOC" (Senior Officers Civil Disturbance Orientation Course) at Fort Gordon. By all objective standards, they are an army rather than a police force, an army that has its entire history rooted in "civil disorder" suppression.

The role of the military at Wounded Knee obviously went beyond the limits described in the Posse Commitatus Act, the law which prohibits the military from enforcing civil law. The military itself, in the after-action report on Wounded Knee, describes its role as being equal to, not subservient to, the Justice

Department officials who were responsible for Wounded Knee.

A virtual endless display of military hardware, weapons, trucks, and every other aspect of material for a small army was given to the Marshals. And the only string attached to all of it was the military advisor, Col. Warner. Warner's power lay in the fact that the Pentagon would not issue any equipment to the Justice Department without first getting a recommendation from Warner. If Warner didn't recommend approval, the equipment would not be given.

Warner was the father of the attack plan for Wounded Knee, and had it been implemented he would have been above Wounded Knee in a helicopter, "advising" Marshal Colburn on the flow of tactics. He was able to exert his political power to get the Federal forces to change their policy on weapons fire and he advised them on strategy for the negotiations. He was not simply an observer nor a passive bystander: Col. Warner was the first military officer to conduct a full-scale counter-insurgency operation in modern America. He conducted it right before the collective television eye of the entire American public, and few if any people ever knew he was present.

The Special Operations Group of the U.S. Marshals Service is just one of the many para-military units available to the Attorney General and the Federal government. The Federal Protection Service and the U.S. Park Police all have similar units, and the BIA Police itself is developing a similar concept. Almost every major urban center in the country has local counterparts, be they "riot squads" or "civil disturbance squads."

The law enforcement community learned a lot from its exercise at Wounded Knee. The California Civil Disturbance Management School, for example, is now recommending that local police authorities look into the purchase of surplus APCs, and that in any case regular training on military equipment such as APCs be given at the CDMS. In addition, they are recommending that local police forces train their people in the use of the M-16 automatic rifle, since it is the standard military weapon that would be "loaned" to civil authorities.

While the police continue to gear up their training and technology as a result of what they learned at Wounded Knee, the basic social problems that sparked the Siege continue today. The racism and repression experienced on the Pine Ridge Reservation continues, as does the administration of Dick Wilson and the exploitation from the local ranchers and merchants.

As Sen. Sam Ervin recently emphasized in his hearings on Military Intelligence domestic operations, the Army cannot be trusted to check its own power. What the military did at Wounded Knee means that the next time they will be even more bold with their attempts to control the civil authorities, and such control is the first step towards open military rule.

by Tim Butz

# 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 Machiavelli*, 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.

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\* 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.

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... in the arena of foreign labor policy it is virtually impossible to distinguish between the conduct 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 operations 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 the multinational corporations' holdings. This infrastructure has also been used to dampen the aspirations of foreign labor by manipulating labor relations in favor of management.

#### 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 closest kind, with the Specialized Agencies providing reports for the Economic and Social Council which will permit the Council to discharge the responsibility given it 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.*

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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 . . .

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- *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 acquiesce 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

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

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*Example of CIA/AFL-CIO/Transnational Corporation Collusion. Attending AIFLD meeting are: D. Dubinsky (ILGWU), a Peruvian comprodeore, George Meany, Nelson Rockefeller, a Brazilian comprodeore, 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 Jagan 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 Teachers Union
AALC	African-American Labor Center	IFIOWGU	International Federation of Industrial Organizations 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, Agricultural, and Allied Workers
AFRO	African Regional Organization (ICFTU)	IGF	International Graphical Federation
AMG	American Military Government (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	International Shoe and Leather Worker's Federation
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 Workers 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 Technicians	ORIT	Inter-American Regional Organization (ICFTU)
FO	Force Ouvrière	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, Clerical, 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. Poulsan 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 émigrés 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

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

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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.

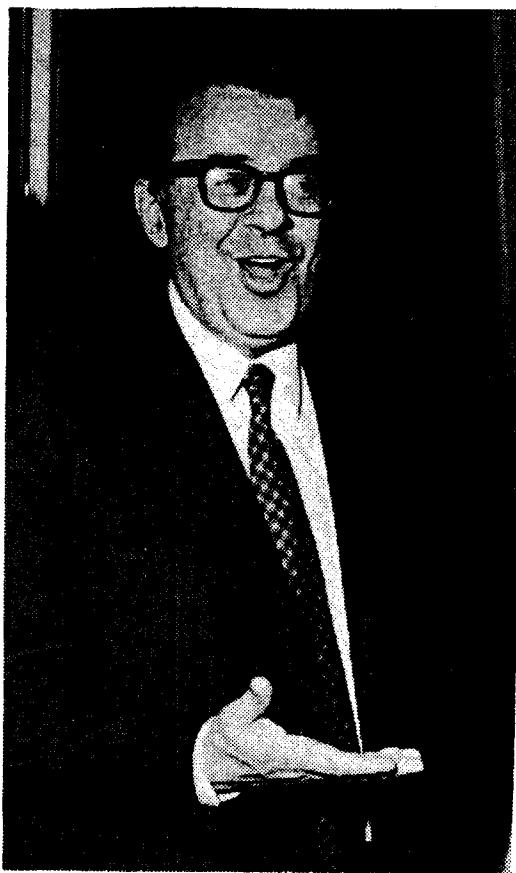
A further problem faced Brown. The majority of the non-communist CGT leaders had become collaborationist during the wartime pro-Nazi Vichy regime. Their wartime activity compromised them and the Communists were using this fact to full advantage.

The major group committed to anti-communism was gathered around a small newspaper, *Resistance Ouvrière*, published by the Force Ouvrière (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 piece-work 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 Ouvrière, 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 Ouvrière, 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 Pompereau, 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

1947,

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 forbade external publications.

At the same time he began a campaign to have the AMG return the property of the old Socialist unions which the Nazis 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

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

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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 Ruether 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.

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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.

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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

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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.

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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.

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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

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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 attachés in embassies overseas. This system of labor attachés developed during WWII and expanded during the Cold War. Selection of the labor attachés 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 attachés.

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 attachés are appointed to American embassies abroad without his (Lovestone's) okay. The labor attachés cooperate quite closely with the ICFTU in efforts to prevent achievement of Communist objectives. One critic of American international labor policy thought that labor attachés went too far in these efforts. Aside from their "legitimate labor information activities," he complained, attachés 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 attachés also inform foreign governments, management of the multinationals and labor officials about American developments. The attachés "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 attachés 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 attachés 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 attachés 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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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 multi-national 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 Roumaldi 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 Roumaldi. 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 proprieties 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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## IN LAST ISSUE

IN LAST ISSUE, our lead story, and the one that brought the most reaction, described the phenomenon of the Symbionese Liberation Army. Much of that reaction came in the form of criticism. While subsequent developments in the story have left our basic analysis unchanged, we are appreciative of those individuals and groups that took the time to express their concerns. We view criticism as being a necessary component of our continued political growth.

Besides thanking those people that took the time to express their criticisms, we'd like to recall and respond to each of the major criticisms that were made, so that readers who did not participate in this process can have a better understanding of our position.

One criticism, voiced by some of our friends towards the center of the political spectrum (and others), was that the tone of the SLA article implied that the Fifth Estate opposed countering terrorism. While we are not necessarily opposed to countering terrorism — a rational argument can be made for such methods in certain instances — we are alarmed at the possibilities of terrorism becoming the "bogey man" of the 1970's. At this point we feel that the threat posed by terrorism to most Americans is less than that posed by many of the agencies that concern themselves with our security. To be sure, the threat of being a victim of terrorism is an emotional subject for many Americans. We feel that these fears must be counter-balanced with a healthy respect for the rights of all peoples to live their lives with a minimum of interference.

Another criticism of our SLA analysis came from critics on the left of the political spectrum. It is from this area that the reaction was perhaps the strongest. These critics felt that the SLA deserved support because they were in armed opposition to the forces of repression and reaction in the United States. Because of their position, they found our questions about Donald DeFreeze's loyalties particularly distasteful.

We feel that our analysis of the actions of the Symbionese Liberation Army will withstand the test of time. The SLA, as any objective reading of their communiquees and documents will show, considered themselves to be fighting the forces of fascism in America. The Fifth Estate exists for a similar reason. We felt, and still feel, uniquely qualified to comment upon the courses of action chosen by the SLA. Our feelings that their actions could have very easily been promoted by agent provocateurs in their midst stand unchanged. And we still feel that they proceeded from a false analysis of what anti-fascist actions call for.

We believe that armed struggle is not, at this time, a valid tactic for opposing the forces of reaction. Such attempts are suicidal, unnecessary, and play into the hands of those committed to fascism.

Future issues of this journal will explore many of the questions now being raised in the wake of the SLA. For now, we feel that our critics on the left should take a long, hard look at existing political conditions. We feel that much of the criticism we received from those supportive of the SLA stems only from a romantic attachment for those who did what they only dream of doing.

Finally, our analysis of the SLA received some comment from critics on the right of the political spectrum. Phillip Abbott Luce's *Pink Sheet On The Left* expressed dismay that we would dare to think that police officials could dream up something as bizarre as the SLA. Given the history of actions by various security agencies in recent years, we feel that inclinations have a great deal of credibility. For example:

- In California, the Federal Bureau of Investigation literally financed a right-wing group's two year campaign of terror against activists.

- In Washington state, an FBI informant — with the apparent approval of his superiors — provided instructions and materials for a series of bombings.

- In Camden, New Jersey, a jury acquitted 28 defendants accused of plotting unlawful actions against a draft board on the basis that an informant had organized the plot.

- In Gainesville, Florida, eight members of the Vietnam Veterans Against The War were acquitted on charges of plotting violence for the 1972 GOP Convention when the defense showed that the alleged plot was actually instigated by informants.

- Evidence has recently come to light showing that Black Panther leader Fred Hampton was *murdered* in his sleep by Chicago police officers. And there are literally dozens of similar stories where violence or plans for violence were instigated by security agencies. It is in this context that we examined the SLA.

We feel compelled to raise two points implicitly raised by the criticisms we have received. The Fifth Estate is a non-partisan, non-sectarian organization. We are neither "revolutionary leftists," nor apologists for the status quo. Furthermore, we remain committed to a course of *action*, not merely radical research, in stopping and exposing every aspect of technofascism. In recent months this commitment to action has led us into contact with many differing kinds of people, from the Wounded Knee Trials in the midwest, to environmental groups around the country. In future months we intend to expand the scope of our activities to include still more people.

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Trade Union Aid Hope Impact. Available from AAFLI.

**AALC Reporter**, African-American Labor Center, 345 E. 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017.

AALC 1965-73. Available from AALC.

"Independent Countries of Africa Fact Sheet." Available from AALC.

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**AIFLD Report**, American Institute for Free Labor Development, 1925 K St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006.

*A Decade of Worker to Worker Cooperation 1962-72*. Available from AIFLD.

AIFLD Brochures are also available from AIFLD's offices.

*Annual Progress Report 1974*. Available from AIFLD.

**AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News**, Department of International Affairs, AFL-CIO, Room 409, 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006. \$3.50 per year.

**AFL-CIO News**. Available from AFL-CIO headquarters. \$2.00 per year.

**American Federationist**. Available from AFL-CIO headquarters. AFL-CIO also publishes numerous booklets and brochures on different aspects of trade unionism.

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

**ICFTU Twenty Years 1949-69**. Available from ICFTU.

Numerous other publications are produced by the regional internationals, the ITS, national and local trade union centers and other labor organizations. A list of these will be included in future analysis.

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