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COUNTERSPY

A Special Issue Focusing On The
CIA



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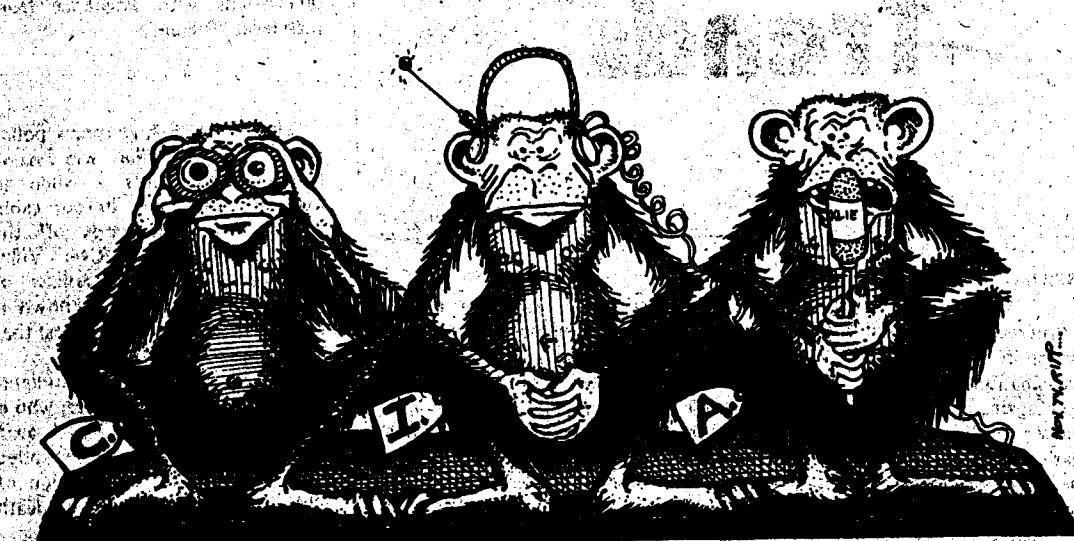
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COUNTERSPY ALSO WELCOMES CRITICISM. Although we do not have a letter to the editor section, we encourage you to make your feelings known to us. Through reader input many important changes in the quarterly have, and will continue to be made.

THIS ISSUE OF COUNTERSPY COST ABOUT \$1800 to produce. Although this is being written prior to seeing the bills, about \$800 was spent on printing, \$700 on typesetting, and about \$300 on mailing and miscellaneous expenses. About half this figure will be raised through subscription sales, with the rest being donated by the Fifth Estate. Authors are not paid for articles.

RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS ISSUE: Tim Butz, Winslow Peck, Doug Porter, Margaret Van Houten, and the Counterspies of the Fifth Estate.

Editorial



It is with some regret that we focus this issue of *Counter-Spy* on the Central Intelligence Agency. While the Agency is certainly deserving of our scrutiny, we are regretful that the revelations contained in this issue are coming out at a time when the mass media have focused their sights on the CIA.

Our experiences lead us to believe that almost every other security service in this country deserves a similar penetrating examination. To be sure, a few police departments, judicial, penal, military, political, and intelligence systems have been the subject of occasional headlines during the past year. But the abuses of power—like CIA domestic spying—are abundant throughout the public and private sectors of our society. Nothing less than a continuous and thorough examination by the public of every department, division, and branch of the security apparatus in this country is required, if the rights of citizens are going to be protected.

Thus, we regret the current myopic rage over the CIA. We believe that the whole system, not merely its most mystifying appendage, is worthy of examination.

The CIA does, however, deserve its day of judgement before the American people. The media, as we have pointed out, are focusing on the CIA as never before. Unfortunately, the examination thus far has been a superficial one, and intelligent analysis has been in short supply. None of the CIA exposés have told the citizenry exactly what the CIA does and how they do it.

With this issue of *Counter-Spy* we hope to begin to answer some of these important questions. Besides our continuing series on CIA labor operations, we are presenting a listing of overseas Chiefs of Stations. This is certainly information that the American public should have in order to understand how the CIA works.

Most importantly, we're presenting a major exposé of a CIA operation subverting the women's movement. While all of the recent revelations about the CIA have been about past events, the disclosures in this issue focus on an operation that is happening now. Although we do not know what the impact of the revelations will be, it is our sincere hope that those who have been unwittingly affected by these CIA operations will realize the seriousness of our charges, and act in good faith and with honest conviction.

By presenting information on a current CIA operation, we believe that we have taken a step beyond the current media orgy of exposing past CIA activities. While understanding the past is important, it is more important that we understand the present. With the continued assistance of the public, the Fifth Estate will continue to provide leadership in exposing contemporary abuses of power.

The Fifth Estate realizes that a massive purge is underway within the CIA—aided by recent disclosures—of those persons clinging to the strategies of the past. And we welcome the purge of those inflexible cold-warriors. But, just as the cold war era was harmful to the American public, so too can detente and the new road being paved by our national leaders.

For this reason, and others, the Fifth Estate will continue to serve as a citizen's watchdog force on the CIA and its kin throughout the world.

Trends

ASSASSINATIONS

Interest on the part of citizen's groups in the mysteries of political assassinations is on the upswing once again. A new citizen's group, known as the Assassination Information Bureau (AIB) has taken on the task of coordinating educational and research efforts. The AIB is located at 63 Inman Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.

Dr. Cyril Wecht, the Coroner of Pittsburgh, and one of the few independent researchers who has

Assassination researcher Harold Weisberg has released a new book on the JFK assassination, *Whitewash IV*, complete with never-before-released documents from the Warren Commission. Among other things, the documents indicate that the Warren Commission failed to fully explore reports that Lee Harvey Oswald was either an FBI or CIA informant.

Pressure has also been mounting for a re-opening of investigations into the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy. Among those calling for re-examination of the evidence are: Allard K. Lowenstein, former head



been permitted to examine the classified medical evidence gathered after the assassination of John F. Kennedy, has charged that the FBI covered up evidence in its investigation of that assassination. Writing in *Modern Medicine* magazine, Wecht says that he has uncovered letters written by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover indicating that two secret neutron tests conducted on bullets and fragments failed to back the Warren Commission's finding that Lee Harvey Oswald was a lone assassin.

of A.D.A.; Paul Schrade, a western director of the United Auto-workers; Los Angeles Supervisor Baxter Ward; members of the American Academy of Forensic Sciences; and Godfrey Issac, former attorney for Sirhan Sirhan. All of those calling for the new investigation are citing new ballistic evidence indicating that more than one gunman may have been involved.

A Japanese newspaper has charged that Ryuk Yong Su, wife of Korean Dictator Park Chung Hee

was assassinated by an agent of her husband's government. A report in *Asahi Shimbun* claims that the accused assassin could only have slipped through elaborate security precautions with assistance from high level officials.

The chief of Argentina's police forces, Alberto Villar, was assassinated on November 1 when an explosion lifted his 36-foot cabin cruiser some ten yards off the surface of the Plaza River. Villar was reportedly the organizer of right-wing death squads (known as the Anti-Communist Alliances) that have threatened the lives of a number of prominent Argentinians. Congressman Hector Sander, who is among those who have been threatened by the ACA, has called for a government investigation of CIA involvement in the death squad.

And speaking of death squads, the concept is now beginning to take hold in the United States. The Maine Attorney General is reported to be investigating a police "death squad" in Portland, Me. According to inside reports, the group involved ex-green berets, and was planning to assassinate ex-convicts. The alleged ringleader of the group has refused to testify in the state inquiry.

TECHNOLOGY

When President Ford first announced his "Whip Inflation Now" program, "WIN" buttons were in such short supply that Cabinet members were forced to share them—borrowing each others buttons before making speeches.

One Federal Agency, however, had all the WIN buttons it needed while the shortage was on. That agency, of course, was the Central Intelligence Agency.

An Atlanta based security firm, Security Operating Systems, has announced the marketing of a mace-like product that, in addition

to its incapacitating qualities, marks a suspect with a chemical finger-print. The spray, "X-Pose", causes temporary blindness and reportedly leaves a unique blend of chemicals which can later be identified through spectrographic and X-ray analysis.

* * *

Scotland Yard reports that, thanks to the Polaroid Corporation, letter bombs have become almost impossible to detect. The British detectives say that letter bombers are using power packs from Polaroid's SX-70 film cartridges to create thinner, and harder to detect, letter bombs.

* * *

A Swedish Government report on weapons of the future has warned that one of the next anti-personnel devices on the market will be something known as a MASER. According to the report, a MASER is similar to the Laser, except that it sends out microwave beams instead of light beams.

A MASER aimed at a target would work in much the same way as a microwave oven, literally boiling a person from the inside out.

* * *

Reports in the Long Island newspaper *Newsday*, indicate that the United States government is using a super-computer system known as Illiac IV to coordinate weather modification experiments. The experiments have been code-named "Project Climate Dynamics" by the Pentagon.

According to the newspaper account, the Pentagon has already experimented with weather modification to clear away clouds during bombing runs; to create acid rains designed to foul radar reception; to create rains to slow down troop movements; and to break up unfriendly demonstrations.

Tapping Ma Bell

The Bell Telephone System has been under increasing scrutiny in recent months, following allega-

tions made in a suicide note left by Southwestern Bell Executive T.O. Gravitt. Among the allegations made by Gravitt was that Southwestern Bell was engaging in a massive eavesdropping and recording campaign against phone users.

Another executive of Southwestern Bell, James Ashley, has confirmed the wiretapping charges and filed suit in an attempt to prevent the destruction of wiretapping records. As a result of these allegations at least four investigative agencies—the Texas State Attorney General; a special grand jury; a group of Texas Cities; and a special legislative committee—are all looking into what is being called "the Bell System's Watergate."

Houston Police Chief C.M. Lynn, upon investigating the charges, discovered that his personal phone and that of the Houston District Attorney were among those tapped. Additional allegations have been made tying the wiretapping activities into Pacific Bell of California, AT&T, other unnamed Bell Systems, and the Committee to Re-Elect President Nixon (CREEP).

Two executives of Southwestern Bell have refused to answer questions put before them about the allegations, and a company spokesperson has responded to the charges by saying that the illegal monitoring was "against company policy". The investigations into the charges made by the former telephone executives are threatening to drag on for months, and include far-reaching charges of corruption.

In a related development, Southwestern Bell has proclaimed that its private investigators have the right to enter any home containing a telephone—without a search warrant—to look for phones illegally hooked up. Persons who refuse entrance to investigators, according to the company, are subject to having their phone service discontinued.

Dopes/Dopers

After nearly five months of speculation and rumored reports on December 6, 1974 the U.S. Bureau of Prisons confirmed reports that Dr. Timothy Leary is "singing" to Federal Prosecutors. The Bureau's

official spokesperson, Mike Aun, says that Leary is refusing to communicate with his friends (quote) "because he's singing and he's afraid for his life."

According to *New Times Magazine*, Leary was arrested in Afghanistan after leaving the safety of Switzerland with Johanna Harcourt-Smith; his self-proclaimed wife—who is alleged by Attorney Marvin Cahn and others to be an agent provocateur working with federal authorities. In testimony Cahn revealed that tapes stolen from Johanna's possession verified that Leary was (quote) "trading things" with State of California officials in order to be released from prison. The tapes also indicated that Johanna used politi-



cal blackmail in attempts to win Leary's freedom and that she has been living with paid undercover Federal Drug Informer Dennis Martino while working on Leary's freedom.

In his role as drug informant, Martino has testified that he had been paid by the Federal Bureau of Narcotics Enforcement Agency to introduce undercover "narcs" to Johanna Leary's friends and acquaintances. It was also revealed that Martino worked as an informer (quote) "For the last two or three years" . . . the time that Martino was a companion of Johanna and Tim's.

In late December, the *Berkeley Barb* reported that Saxbe and Special U.S. Attorney Guy Goodwin both asked questions of Leary during interrogation sessions into Leary's knowledge of weather underground and drug activities. The *Barb* said that the source of its reports was Michael Horowitz (the

researcher who runs Leary's archives), who reportedly learned the details from a *Chicago Tribune* crime reporter. The sources are quoted as saying that despite Leary's reported willingness to cooperate, neither Saxbe or Goodwin could obtain corroboration of Leary's testimony to support Grand Jury indictments. The *Barb* said that Saxbe and Goodwin decided, perhaps on the basis of their interviews with Leary, not to bring him as a witness before a Federal Grand Jury in Chicago.

In the meantime, Leary is being held at a secret location by the U.S. Justice Department while corroborating with government prosecutors. Leary has not been seen by any of his family members, associates, or attorneys for at least five months. A suit, being filed by his daughter, Susan, and Poet Allen Ginsberg, demands that he be produced in court so that his physical and mental well-being can be checked.

DRUGS

This article was prepared by the DEA Office of Intelligence, International Intelligence Division, in cooperation with the U.S. Department of State.



The allegation has been made that the People's Republic of China (PRC) is actively engaged in the exportation of illicit narcotics. This allegation increased in frequency and intensity during the period of heavy U.S. involvement in military operations in South Vietnam and during the periods of improving U.S. and PRC relations. The following comments may be useful in putting this problem in perspective.

History

The history of China's involvement with opium dates back to the 13th century when opium is said to have been introduced into China by Arab traders for use as a medicine. The introduction of opium smoking is thought to have begun in the 17th century. The first edict prohibiting opium smoking was issued by Emperor Yung Cheng in 1729. Up to that year the amount imported did not exceed 15 tons and was usually brought from India by junks as a return cargo. In 1773, the East India Company took the opium trade with China under its charge. In 1776, it exported 75 tons to China; in 1780, 375 tons. Although importation of opium was forbidden by Chinese imperial authorities in 1796 and opium smoking was punished severely (ultimately extending to exile and death), illicit trade in opium continued to flourish.

Until 1839 no real effort was made by the Chinese to stop the trade, but in that year the Emperor Tao-kuang sent a commissioner, Lin Tse-hsu, to suppress the traffic. His efforts led to a war with Great Britain known as the Opium War. As a result of the settlements in 1842 and 1860, following the defeats of China in the Opium Wars, the importation of opium was legalized and grew substantially. For example, 5,853 tons were exported from India to China in 1880 as compared to 3,200 tons in 1850. While the Imperial Court at Peking endeavored to suppress the opium traffic, several of the provincial viceroys encouraged it. Home cultivation of the drug increased so rapidly that by the 20th century opium was produced in nearly every province of China.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Chinese population was about 400 million. Some 13.5 million Chinese were addicted to opium. The amount of opium used in China came to 22,588 tons, of which 19,950 tons were produced in China; the balance was imported from India and Persia (Iran).

The Chinese Government, viewing the use of opium as one of the most acute moral and economic questions which it had to face, decided in 1906 to put an end to its use within ten years and issued an edict on September 20, 1906, forbidding the consumption of opium and the cultivation of the

poppy. As an indication of its earnestness, the government allowed its officials six months to accomplish the task under heavy penalties if they failed to do so. In October of the same year, the U.S. Government, having to cope with the opium traffic in the Philippines, raised the question of taking joint measures for its suppression by interested powers. As a result, a conference was held at Shanghai on February 1, 1909, to which China, the United States, Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, and Russia sent delegates. At this meeting it was resolved that it was the duty of the respective governments to prevent the export of opium to any countries prohibiting its importation; that drastic measures should be taken against the use of morphine; that anti-opium remedies should be investigated; and that all countries having concessions in China should close the opium dens in their possession. The British Government offered to control opium production in India and to reduce the amount exported to China by ten percent each year so that shipments would cease after ten years. Separate arrangements for restrictions were to be made among China, Turkey, and Persia. These proposals were gratefully received by the Chinese Government and, in 1910, European travelers reported that opium production in Szechuan Province, accounting for about two-thirds of Chinese production, had disappeared except in a few remote districts on the frontier.

One result of Chinese suppression of opium production and use was that the price of foreign opium in China rose, thereby stimulating illicit production within China and smuggling from without. An attempt was made to treat opium addicts with morphine injections. The effects of the morphine were eventually discovered to be much more deleterious than those of opium smoking. One dollar's worth of morphine was found to be equal in effects to three dollar's worth of opium, and a large quantity of morphine manufactured in Europe found its way into China through Japan.

Despite the setbacks of the morphine experiments and intractable problems with cultivation,

China, with international help, stabilized its addict population somewhat and reduced it gradually, even in the face of rapid population growth. In 1949, when the Communists took control of mainland China, it was estimated that the Chinese addict population was in the millions. Illicit production of opium within China was estimated at 10,000 tons. Evidence existed that smuggling of opium into areas of China from the Mid-East and Southeast Asia was occurring, while the illicit Chinese product was being smuggled out of China to Asian consumers. Stringent controls over poppy production and narcotics use were adopted at the 21st session of the PRC State Administrative Council on February 24, 1950. Basically, the statute prohibited the private production, importation, processing, and sale of opium and other narcotics. The tight political control exercised by the government has probably made the enforcement of these laws effective in most areas.

Control over opium production and trade in the southern border areas, particularly Yunnan Province, has certainly been more difficult because of the rough terrain and the various tribal elements who inhabit part of the region. According to one report, the private cultivation of opium in southern Yunnan Province, formerly a major opium-producing area, was not prohibited until 1956. All opium growth in the province now is supposed to be under the control of the government and used for medical purposes only. There have been scattered reports from Yunnan Province, less frequent since 1967 after the "cultural revolution" washed across this area, indicating that small amounts of illicit opium are produced and traded in the tribal areas. One report in 1963 suggested that local Chinese authorities in Yunnan were aware of this activity but as of that time were unable to eliminate it.

Present Situation

Since 1949 there has been no official reporting from the PRC to the International Narcotics Control Board. One result of this is that there are no official data available on narcotics production, addiction

problems, or control programs and their effectiveness in the PRC. The PRC, however, stated at a session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs that narcotics addiction in China has been eliminated and that narcotic drugs are strictly controlled.

For many years, but particularly since the summer of 1971, there has been a spate of magazine and newspaper articles published in the international press alleging that the PRC is heavily involved in the international narcotics traffic. Most stories on this subject make exaggerated charges, relying for corroboration on known or suspected situations current in the 1940's and 1950's. Many can be traced to critics of current U.S. policy on China. Some stories put the blame on the Chinese Communists for the drug crisis in the United States and in Vietnam.

In the case of Vietnam, we know with considerable confidence that the heroin which was available to U.S. troops was produced in refineries in the tri-border area of Laos, Burma, and Thailand. The traffickers who controlled production, processing, and movement were predominantly overseas Chinese residing in Southeast Asia and operating for profit motives.

In the past two years, U.S. narcotics agents have stepped up their investigative work in Far East trafficking centers — mainly Bangkok, Saigon, and Hong Kong — and, in cooperation with local police, have successfully immobilized a number of major trafficking syndicates. In the process, we have learned a great deal about the structure of the opium trade in the Far East. Not one investigation into heroin traffic in the Far East in the past two years led to evidence of PRC involvement. In each case the traffickers were people engaged in criminal activity for the usual profit motives. Where the origin of the heroin could be traced, it was to refineries owned by non-Communist consortiums. The origin of the raw opium can also be traced to the producing area of Southeast Asia known as the Golden Triangle.

We have reliable reporting on production in the Golden Triangle and our surveys indicate that production of raw opium there is

more than enough to account for all the opium and heroin traded in the Far East.

Recently, the director-general of the Thai National Police, Police General Prachuap, reported that there is some evidence that Burmese opium is being illicitly imported into the PRC along the Burmese-Yunnan border. Prachuap reported that early in 1973 the PRC launched a massive drive against this traffic. The PRC set up narcotics suppression units at border points and imposed severe sentences on drug traffickers.

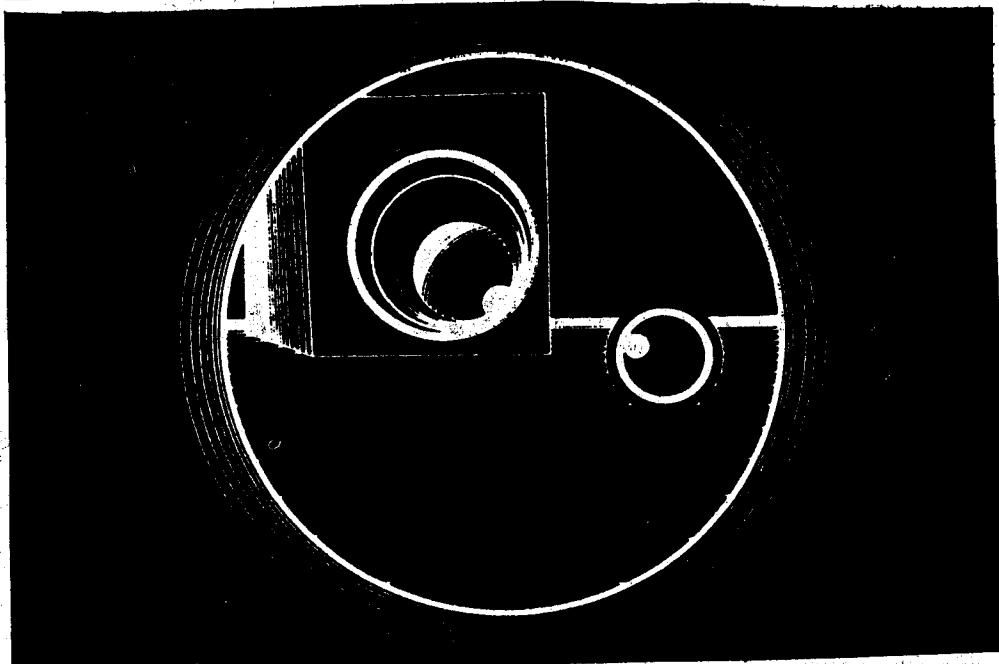
In recent years, federal authorities have reported an increase in the number of ethnic Chinese illegally entering the United States. Many of these are merchant seamen "ship jumpers." Investigations have proved that a small number of these seamen have carried narcotics for contacts in the United States. The typical Chinese seaman who smuggles heroin brings one to two kilograms. He can easily "body pack" or conceal this amount. The proceeds of the sale or payment for acting as a courier permit him to fade into the economy. There is no evidence that the PRC is involved in any way with the smuggling of heroin by the ship jumpers. DEA, as well as other federal agencies, are well aware of this illicit activity and have mounted aggressive programs at all the major entry points in the United States.

The PRC, as contacts with western nations have resumed, has shown an interest in efforts to control international trafficking and has participated as an observer in conferences on these matters. These are hopeful signs that the PRC may move to more active participation, including more regular reporting to U.S. agencies. Movement on its part in this direction can help diminish the credibility of unsubstantiated allegation.

In conclusion, on the basis of information available to the U.S. Government, there is no evidence that the People's Republic of China sanctions the illicit export of opium or opium products or is involved in the illicit trafficking of narcotic drugs.

Reprinted from *Drug Enforcement*

Fifth Estate Update



Speakers Bureau

Representatives of the Fifth Estate, and others expert on the fields of national and domestic security, are available to give presentations before college, community, and labor gatherings. A slide presentation giving a historical perspective, and a movie on domestic police intelligence operations, entitled *Red Squad*, are available on request, with a Fifth Estate speaker. Fees are negotiable, but should include traveling expenses. For more information, contact Tim Butz c/o the Fifth Estate.

Fall Tour

Over two dozen cities, coast to coast, hosted presentations and workshops by the Fifth Estate during Fall, 1974. The tour, which began in San Diego on October 22 and ended in Ann Arbor December 9, was designed to heighten interest in initiating research/action groups around the United States. Discussions about setting up groups took place in most of the cities visited by the Fifth Estate, and groups are now forming in many areas. The

tour also provided the Fifth Estate with valuable local media covered in each area visited.

Organizing Manual

Publication of an organizing manual, *Towards A Fifth Estate*, is now scheduled for early April, 1975. The manual is designed to assist in setting standards for organizing community/action/research groups, and will contain a detailed research methodology guide. Groups and individuals interested in receiving a copy of the manual should drop the Fifth Estate a postcard in order to receive notification of its publication and cost. Originally, scheduled for publication in January, *Towards A Fifth Estate* was postponed due to financial limitations.

CounterSpy Readers Information

Many subscriptions to *Counter-Spy* are expiring with this issue. Subscribers' copies marked in red ink indicate that your subscription is expiring. Those subscribers wishing to renew may give additional gift subscriptions at the reduced rate of \$4 each.

Unfortunately, back issues of

CounterSpy — with the exception of Volume 1, Issue 4, — are no longer available. Copies of the one available back issue are one dollar each.

The Fifth Estate would like to encourage readers of *CounterSpy* to become more actively involved with the quarterly. Manuscripts and criticisms are especially invited. In addition, readers can help *Counter-Spy* by sending us the names and addresses of bookstores interested in carrying the publication, urging their friends to subscribe, and encouraging libraries to subscribe. Since *CounterSpy* is not mass marketed, reader support is necessary to increase circulation.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

Publication of INTELLIGENCE REPORT has been suspended indefinitely. Internal analysis of the syndicated column by the Fifth Estate staff led us to conclude that it was not effective in disseminating information to the public and that it was overextending the Fifth Estate. Publication of a newsletter, available to the general public, will be announced in the near future.

CIA TARGET: WOMEN



The inside story of the Overseas Education Fund

January 11, 1975 will be the inaugural date of International Women's Year. In ensuing months, "equality, development and peace" will be goals for enterprising and imaginative women all over the world. Talk began in the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women and among various volunteer organizations. On December 18, 1972, Secretary General Waldheim proclaimed 1975 to be International Women's Year before the United Nations General Assembly. Former President Nixon soon after made the same proclamation for the United States, and other countries have also followed the lead. Up to now a lot of plans and dates have been set down — some vague and sketchy, and some more definite and potentially useful. Since the launch date is now drawing near, here's a progress report.

On September 16, 1974, when the League's national board visited the UN, the luncheon speaker was Mme Basile Basu of India, who is Officer in Charge, Promotion of Equality of Men and Women Branch, Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs. The subject of her talk was IWY — a focus of UN effort for the coming year that has at this writing some problematical ramifications. Madame Basu gave the board the proposed

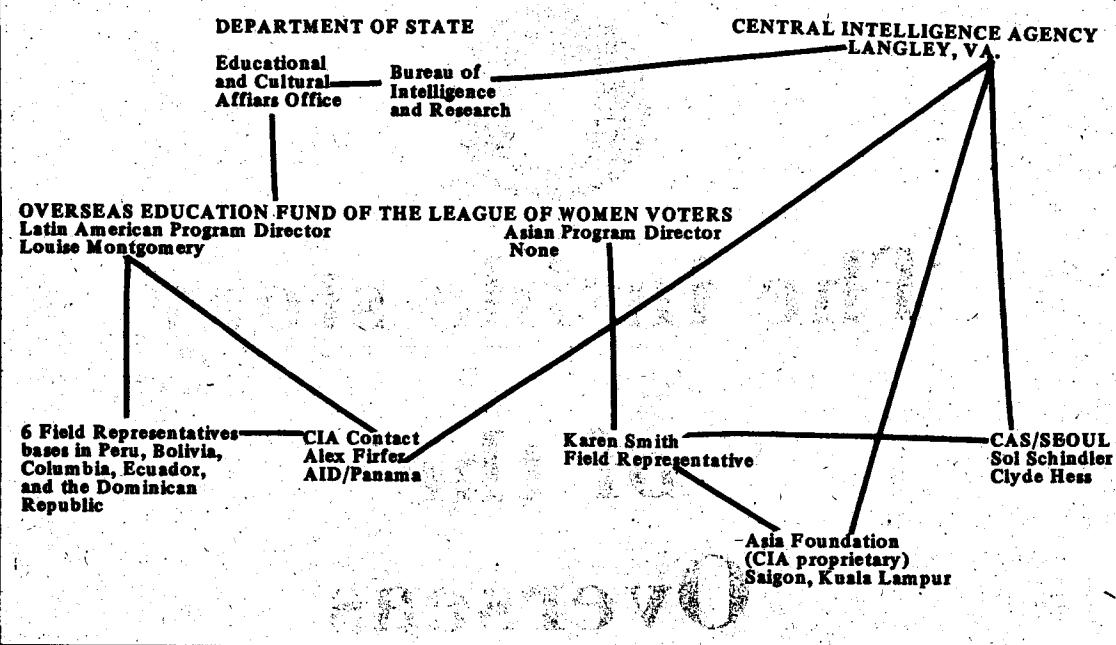
schedule of events and pinpointed the major dilemma of IWY — that the funding outlook is "grim" at present. She said that only through nongovernmental functions such as the LWVUS will IWY achieve fruition.

"We are hoping for a change of traditional attitudes as regards the position and status of women," Mme Basu remarked. "We want to draw a lot of attention to the need to promote new attitudes and heighten consciousness... Men die of ulcers while women are never utilized. Women should be allowed to interact with international, peace organizations, governmental and nongovernmental."

Exactly a month later, the Overseas Education Fund's Multinational Seminar met with three UN Human Rights Officers for a briefing on IWY. Sixteen volunteer leaders from women's organizations in Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala and Peru, plus two from the U.S. got the bigger scoop on the plans and goals for 1975.

* THE NATIONAL VOTER, Vol. XXIV, No. 3, League of Women Voters of the United States, Washington, D.C., Fall 1974.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY/OVERSEAS EDUCATION FUND OPERATION
"ALL ROADS LEAD TO LANGLEY"



In light of the fact that 1975 has been proclaimed International Women's Year, public attention must be focused on the fact that the Central Intelligence Agency has begun a process of targeting the women's movement for infiltration, manipulation, and possible sabotage of progressive forces. The method of operation for this venture is the standard, almost classic, pattern that has been utilized against the student movement and segments of the international labor movement.*

Through the use of an organization which is seemingly working in the public's interest, the CIA is carrying out a scientifically designed plan to covertly collect valuable information on emerging third world nations. The Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters of the United States (OEF) is being used to collect this intelligence data under the guise of international sisterhood.

While it is perhaps flattering to realize that this operation by the CIA clearly indicates that the women's movement is being taken seriously, it is nonetheless a totally immoral and illegal situation in which unsuspecting women are being used in much the way that they have been used throughout history. This is not the time for infighting and accusations among women's groups; but rather a time for strength and unity of women in the realization that international sisterhood is a totally viable concept that must not be contaminated or co-opted.

From its inception under the National Security Act of 1947, the Central Intelligence Agency has used

its power and resources to affect U.S. foreign policy through clandestine operations. Two classic operations in this genre were the manipulation of the international labor and student movements. In examining these past operations, it is possible to identify the parallels in strategy that are now being targeted against women.

In 1951, the International Organizations Division of the CIA began providing funds to the international desk of the U.S. National Student Association. The money was provided through a number of CIA conduit foundations, including the Kaplan Fund, the Independence Foundation, and the Asia Foundation. In addition, the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation, which had previously laundered CIA funds for the Harvard International Seminar,** began to give grants to the USNSA International desk in 1951.

For its investment, the CIA received reports from USNSA overseas travelers and representatives. USNSA personnel attended international student meetings, arranged for foreign student leaders to visit the U.S., and built a network of contacts with student leaders. Biological data and other intelligence information collected by these students was routinely turned over to the CIA.

Few members of the NSA knew that the CIA was

* See AIFLD article in this issue as well as ongoing Counter-Spy series on CIA involvement in the labor movement.

** KISSENGER, Marvin, and Bernard Kalb, Little, Brown and Company, 1974.

financing its overseas operations or that NSA staff was cooperating with the CIA until a former NSA officer revealed the operation in a *Ramparts* magazine article. This exposé sent shock waves throughout NSA and the entire student community.

The exposure of the CIA penetration and manipulation of the USNSA international section, along with several other revelations concerning DIA conduit foundations and labor operations forced the Agency to explain and defend its activities and policies. The forum for this explanation was the Council on Foreign Relations (considered by some officials to be the "constituency" of the CIA). At a meeting of the CFR's discussion group on Intelligence and Foreign Policy held in New York on January 8, 1968, CIA consultant Richard Bissell held an "off the record" session with CFR members Allen Dulles (former Director of Central Intelligence), Douglas Dillon (current member of President Ford's "blue ribbon" panel on CIA domestic activities), Joseph Kraft, Henry Howe Hansome, Theodore Sorenson, and 14 other CFR members.

Bissell, former head of the Clandestine Services branch of the CIA, had both the background experience with and the "unofficial blessing" of the



Karen Smith,
OEP's Asian
Field Repre-
sentative and
a consultant
to the CIA
proprietary
Asia Founda-
tion.

Agency. While his exact words were not recorded, notes were made and later distributed to members. One such member was William Pratt, of the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University. These notes were discovered and disclosed in 1970 when the Center was seized by students protesting the invasion of Cambodia and the murder of four students at Kent State.

According to the CFR minutes, Bissell outlined eight forms of covert action. These were aspects of CIA operations that he felt were most in need of change with regard to the use and abuse of cover. The eight points were:

1. In order to avoid disclosure of private institutional support, greater compartmenting of operations is necessary.
2. To be effective, the agency will need to use private institutions on an expanded scale.
3. It will be necessary to operate under deeper cover, with increased attention to the use of cut-outs.
4. Lack of awareness of funding sources on the part of various groups will prevent the damages of disclosure.

5. Interface with private groups, including business and student groups must be remedied.

6. It will always be desirable to have some CIA personnel housed in the embassy compound, if only for local command post and communications requirements.

7. Overseas apparatuses of unofficial cover are also desirable, such as the creation of private organizations employing non-U.S. nationals.

8. U.S. should make increasing use of non-nationals, who with indoctrination and training should be encouraged to develop a second loyalty.

Bissell went on to say that "... As we shift our attention to Latin America, Asia, and Africa, the conduct of U.S. nations is likely to be increasingly circumscribed. The primary change recommended would be to build up a system of unofficial cover; to see how far we can go with non-U.S. nationals, especially in the field. The CIA might be able to make increasing use of non-nationals as 'career agent' ... These suggestions about unofficial cover and career agents illustrate and emphasize the need for continuing efforts to develop covert action capabilities even where there is no immediate need to employ them."

Developing his argument further, Bissell contended: "there is no doubt that covertly funded programs could be undertaken overtly. Often activities are initiated thru CIA channels because they can be started more quickly and informally but do not inherently need to be secret. An example might be certain exchange of person programs designed to identify potential political leaders and give them exposure to the U.S. It should be noted however, that many such innocent programs are more effective if carried out by private auspices than if officially supported by the U.S. government. They do not need to be covert but if legitimate private entities such as foundations do not initiate them, there may be no way to get them done except by covert support to 'front' organizations."

Bissell's comments on CIA use of private organizations are clearly exemplified in its use of NSA and its projected use of OEP.

The international labor movement and the international student movement became CIA targets because of the potential power they wielded in post-World War II politics: both constituencies were viewed by the CIA as resources and/or battlegrounds for the fight against Moscow during the Cold War. As the politics of the Cold War changed to containment of national liberation struggles and "brushfire" wars, and of late to detente, the CIA has continued to penetrate and manipulate these areas because of their potential power, influence, and access to intelligence data.

Since the early 1960's, the women's liberation movement has increasingly come to the fore, and with it a new focus for CIA activity. Along with the emerging strength and capabilities of women in all areas of society has come the growth of international sisterhood. As the participation and influence of women in society increases, especially in the political sphere, it is part of a natural process that the CIA

begin to collect intelligence on the women's movement. Members of one women's organization with international contacts feel justifiably that their organization has become the focus of such CIA activity. We feel that this is an important revelation given the fact that 1975 is International Women's Year.

A CIA operation parallel in most respects to the CIA/USNSA operation appears to have been set into action within the Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters of the United States (OEF/LWVUS).

"The Overseas Education Fund is a non-profit, non-member, educational affiliate of the League of Women Voters. It was established in 1947 by the League to aid individuals and organizations around the world who sought help in developing responsible citizenship. OEF seeks to educate others in the democratic concept as well as to bring U.S. citizens to the realization of the problems of emerging nations."

"OEF volunteers, consultants, and staff develop the programs in response to reasonable requests. The directors of OEF are drawn from leaders of the League, business, government, and the academic community. The fund is supported by tax-deductible contributions from individuals, foundations, and U.S. based corporations, and by contracts with U.S. government agencies. Beginning in 1957, OEF's major emphasis has been leadership training for Latin American women."

"The OEF began to work in Indonesia and Malaysia during 1970 at the request of voluntary groups there. The OEF exchanged leaders during 1970-71 with the Korean League of Women Voters, also at that time a Korean League official toured the U.S. under OEF auspices in order to study volunteer programs. To Latin American women who have demonstrated a commitment to and a capacity for public service, the OEF offers a four month institute at Boston University."

*"A five week study/travel seminar is also available to Latin American women leaders brought to the U.S. on State Department International Visitors Grants. Finally, OEF publishes teaching materials in Spanish and English on organizational techniques.**

The first indications that the CIA strategy for manipulation of private groups, as outlined by Bissell, was in effect against the women's movement came from an OEF employee. Ann Roberts, who is also a member of the International Committee of the National Organization for Women, expressed concern that her employer might be assisting the CIA by collecting intelligence during a time of increasing political repression of women. Her suspicions were initially aroused when she read an internal memorandum regarding money received by OEF from the Asia Foundation.** Also, during the course of her work Ms. Roberts continually saw OEF reports which contained large amounts of biographical data on women leaders in South America and Asia. The final discovery that brought Ms. Roberts to the Fifth Estate was when she learned that the bulk of OEF's budget comes from the State Department and the Agency for International Development.

An outline of the CIA's operations against the international women's movement has been pieced together from conversations with Ann and other OEF employees, and from documents provided by them. We believe that this is a major operation for Asia and Latin America.

Government Funding of the OEF

Following the 1967 disclosures of CIA manipulation of the U.S. National Student Association by *Ramparts*, President Lyndon Johnson formed a committee to study the question of covert CIA financing of U.S. groups with international contacts. The three man committee was headed by Nicholas Katzenbach, then an Undersecretary of State and considered "friendly" to the CIA; assisting him were Deputy CIA Director Richard Helms and Health Education and Welfare Secretary John Gardner.

In March, 1968, the panel reported to President Johnson and recommended that "No federal agency shall provide covert assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or private voluntary organizations." Subsequently, President Johnson signed an executive order to that effect. While the CIA began to seek exemptions from the order for two of its major propaganda organs, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the restrictions actually meant little to the CIA since the Agency budget is not subject to any form of public, Congressional, or Executive audit, and the standard operating procedure is to place CIA funds in the budgets of other agencies such as the Departments of Defense, State, HEW, and the Agency for International Development.

During Fiscal Year 1973-74, over 70 percent of the total OEF budget, \$340,268.00, came from State Department and AID contracts and grants. The State Department's Office of Educational and Cultural Affairs and the Agency for International Development provided funding through overt contracts signed with OEF officials.

The grants and contracts awarded to OEF by these government agencies are for a variety of programs and support activities, such as the travel of OEF representatives and officials, the staging of workshops and seminars in Latin America and Asia, as well as for the travel of selected women to attend joint OEF-State Department seminars inside the United States.

While these funds and contracts can not be traced to an exact line number in the CIA budget, the funding of such projects must be considered in light of the Katzenbach recommendation and the secrecy of the CIA budget itself; the Katzenbach recommendation did not outlaw government financing of private institutions, only the laundering of funds through private organizations.

* "Some Facts About OEF", The Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters, Washington, D.C.

** The Asia Foundation is a known CIA conduit having been established by the Agency in 1956. See also *THE CIA AND THE CULT OF INTELLIGENCE*, Marchetti and Marks, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1974.



PRIVATE FUNDING OF OEF

The Overseas Education Fund was originally known as the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial in honor of the Wisconsin suffragette. Money from the Carrie Chapman Catt Fellowship, the Percy Maxim Lee Pioneer Fund, and the Georgianna Mitchell Memorial Fund is used to sustain a stock portfolio which provides OEF with a steady source of income. In fiscal year 73-74, \$34,000 was gleaned from this portfolio. The remainder of non-government funds come from donations from corporations and private foundations.

Three major oil companies (Caltex, Exxon, and Mobil) with holdings in Latin America and/or Asia gave money to OEF in 1973-74. However, the amount of these donations is not listed in the Annual Report. Donations from other corporations with holdings in these areas include United Brand Foundation and International Telephone and Telegraph (the transnational conglomerate that attempted to buy the services of the CIA).

Additional private sector funds are generated through foundation grants. As with the listings of corporate donations, the OEF report does not list the individual amounts of the grants. In this area, the Asia Foundation, the Rockefeller Brother's Foundation, the Lilly Endowment Fund, the W.R. Grace Foundation, and the Ivy Foundation all made donations. The Asia Foundation has been previously listed as a CIA conduit; the Rockefeller foundation has had a long term interest in Latin American affairs and as previously stated also gave money to the NSA during the time that the CIA was funding its operations; the Grace Foundation, whose President is Peter Grace also funds AIFLD.*

Foundations donating to OEF in 1973-74 with no apparent Agency ties are the Lasbury Foundation, the Compton Trust, and the Hinerfeld Trust. Aside from the corporate and foundation grants, private donations in the neighborhood of \$30,000, made as memorials, were given by 190 people in 1973-74.**

Chilean middle class women participated in CIA sponsored demonstrations against the Popular Unity government. This same class of women are the targets of the CIA-OEF operation in other areas of Latin America and Asia.

STRUCTURE AND PROGRAM

The Overseas Education Fund is composed of a Board of Trustees, a Board of Directors, two program directors, and six field representatives, along with an office staff of 15 in Washington, D.C.

Membership on the Board of Trustees overlaps with membership on the Board of Directors of the LWV in a number of cases. In general, the trustees have little to do with the daily operation of OEF, concerning themselves mostly with the oversight of fund expenditures and similar matters.

The Board of Directors is composed of twenty-three people, mostly women located on the east coast. A background check on members of the Board shows that five individuals have spouses who are engaged in international business, a position that would bring them into contact with the Domestic Contact Service of the CIA.

Other members of the Board have husbands who are members of the Council on Foreign Relations and are thus privy to briefings such as one conducted by former CIA Deputy Director Bissell for the Discussion Group on Intelligence and Foreign Policy in January of 1968. In total, three Board members have family ties to the Council on Foreign Relations.

Members of the Board oversee the daily functioning of the Fund including the work of the program directors. The program directors provide support for the field representatives, assist with the raising of funds for their programs, and conduct liaison work with government, business, and foundation personnel.

The current director of the Latin American Program is Louise Montgomery. At this time the Asia Program has no named director. The programs for Latin America and Asia are parallel in many ways. The field representatives act as advisors to women's groups working in the areas of family planning and education. While these areas might appear trivial in the overall scheme of intelligence collection, it is important to note that knowledge of growth rates and educational levels in third world countries are significant factors in the formation of intelligence area studies and future projections as to the basic strengths and weaknesses of individual countries.

The field workers see their goals as, improving the "efficiency" of volunteer women's organizations; broadening their constituencies; and elevating their organizational influence. In order to accomplish this, seminars are held by OEF personnel in both the United States and in the "host countries." In order to qualify for a seminar within the U.S., the women selected are carefully screened. It is also interesting and important to note that the women chosen are those who have potential as political leaders.

The five week "Multinational Seminar" held in the U.S. usually brings together 15 to 20 women to discuss such topics as "Coordination of Resources for Community Action". During the course of the

* AIFLD article this issue.

** OEF Annual Report, Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters of the United States, Washington, D.C., 1974.

seminar, the women discuss the conditions of their respective countries, attitudes prevalent with regard to family planning and education, the work structures of women's groups, and the bureaucracies that they deal with.

In the last fiscal year, women from over 20 countries, including Socialist leaders, were brought to the United States for the OEF seminars and briefings. In these ranks were women in both government service and in the private sector from such countries as Korea, Malaysia, Thailand, Bangladesh, the Philippines, and other potential "hotspots" in the Third World.

As a result of the workshops, personal meetings, and Multinational Seminars, OEF representatives and staff collect large amounts of biographical data and personal information on the women that they are in contact with. It was this extensive data collection that originally upset Ms. Roberts.

We were advised by Ms. Roberts that the biographical data is routinely sent from OEF over to the State Department. According to former State Department Intelligence Officer, John Marks, incoming information of this nature would be forwarded to the Intelligence and Research Bureau at State. Marks further stated that INR would then send the information to CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia as a matter of routine.

The compilation of data by OEF representatives is not, in and of itself, necessarily evil; all organizations and bureaucracies become involved in a certain amount of information gathering in order to carry out their jobs. What is questionable, however, is the sharing of that information, either through deliberate complicity or negligence, with intelligence agencies supporting dictatorial and repressive governments in the Third World.

Aside from the fact that the CIA would routinely receive any information passed onto the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, OEF field representatives have direct relations with CIA case officers in Korea and Panama, as well as relations with suspected CIA personnel in several Asian cities, including Saigon and Kuala Lumpur.

As with CIA labor oriented operations, the largest OEF/CIA operation is located in Latin America. OEF has a staff of six field representatives in Latin America; five Latino women and one North American woman. The six are supervised by Louise Montgomery, the OEF Latin American Program Director based in Washington, D.C. OEF works primarily with middle class women's organizations in Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and the Dominican Republic. OEF had a project in Chile until 1971, and is currently considering its re-establishment.

Mrs. Montgomery closely supervises the work of her field representatives, and frequently travels to OEF work sites to consult with her staff. She also maintains a close relationship, through visits and correspondence, with a CIA case officer stationed in Panama.

The CIA case officer, Alexander Firfer, is currently the U.S. AID director for Panama, and

appears to be Mrs. Montgomery's key contact with the CIA. Firfer's career can be traced to such controversies as the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic, where he and other CIA personnel were sent within days of the April 28, 1965 landing of U.S. Marines.

After his assignment in the Dominican Republic, Firfer was sent to Vietnam, where he was a Deputy to the current CIA Director, William Colby. Firfer's official title was Deputy Director of Civil Operations and Rural Development Support (CORDS). This was the pacification effort that served as the cover for the CIA sponsored Phoenix assassination program. In testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee on July 20, 1973, a former Marine Corps pacification officer, David Harrington, described a meeting held in DaNang in March, 1969, in which Colby, Firfer, several military pacification officers, and local CIA personnel discussed the Phoenix program. According to Harrington, Firfer described the Phoenix program as arbitrary and out of control.



FIRFER, ALEXANDER: Born 4/6/1. New York University, BA, economics, 1940. Location and occupation between graduation and 1942 unknown.
1942-47 Office of Price Administration. Initial contact with U.S. intelligence through participation in Strategic Bombing Survey of Germany, 1945.
1947-48 North Carolina State College: economics instructor and private consultant.
1948-51 Federal Communications Commission: economist.
1951-54 Small Defense Plants Administration.
1954-58 Puerto Rico: Economic Development Administration.
1958-62 Caracas: U.S. political officer assigned to United Nations.
1960 Taiwan: temporary duty, assignment unknown.
4/62-5/65 LaPaz, Bolivia: AID director.
5/65-1/66 Dominican Republic: AID director, sent within 1 week of U.S. invasion.
1/6 -10/70 Saigon and Danang: Special Assistant to William Colby, Civil Operations and Rural Development Support, cover for CIA Phoenix assassination program.
10/70 Panama: AID director, serves as contact between CIA and Overseas Education Fund field representatives and program director.

SCHINDLER, SOL: Born /21/24. University of Iowa, BA 1949, MA 1951.
 1943-46 U.S. Army, overseas duty, job unknown.
 1953-66 Rangoon: Director of Burma-American Institute.
 5/52-7/59 Surbaba: public affairs assistant.
 7/59-9/62 New Dehli: "book translations officer".
 9/62-6/66 Belgrade: book officer.
 6/66-12/67 Saigon: Director, Vietnamese-American Association, a CIA proprietary function.
 12/67- /70 Washington, D.C.
 6/72- Seoul: cultural affairs officer.

Internal documents obtained from sources inside the OEF show that both Louise Montgomery and her predecessor, Joyce Holt, provide Firfer with extensive information concerning OEF work and contacts in Latin America. From a sampling of the Firfer-Holt and Firfer-Montgomery correspondence on file at OEF headquarters, it can be shown that OEF officials provided Firfer with biographical information on OEF contacts and seminar participants, photographs of these women, background information on a woman highly placed in the government of Columbia, and similar material.

Firfer also received reports on internal Panamanian organizations involved in family planning and education efforts. After receiving a report on one such organization from an OEF field representative, Firfer and Louise Montgomery signed an AID "contract" for an in-depth study of that group. The study was done by Jean Updike, the only North American field representative working for OEF in Latin America.

When OEF officials travel to Latin America, Firfer is one of the key people they visit. Shortly after Louise Montgomery assumed the position of Program Director, in November 1972, she recalled all of her field representatives for several weeks of meetings in Washington, D.C. Montgomery wrote to Firfer and advised him that all of the OEF field representatives would stop and visit him enroute to their home basis in Peru, Columbia, and Ecuador. In this fashion, Firfer is briefed on the ongoing activities of the OEF representatives.

While it would be naive to assume that Firfer is the only CIA agent operating under U.S. AID cover in Latin America, his is the name that constantly appears in the OEF correspondence. Other U.S. AID officials named in OEF documents are either legitimate AID employees or have insufficient background information listed in their AID biographies to make a valid judgement.

OEF's outreach in Latin America is impressive. Since 1961, over 400 women leaders have participated in Multinational Seminars in the United States, and countless others have attended either the three day "cursillo" training sessions or the 20 day "curso" intensive training sessions. According to one OEF report, over 13,000 Latin American women leaders are reached through its policy of follow through with seminar and workshop alumnae.

Skeptics who might doubt the value of the CIA relating to middle class women's organizations should look to the precedent of the 1973 Chilean coup. After the CIA financed the trucker's strike against the Popular Unity government, thus creating a food shortage, middle class women were bussed to the poorest sections of Santiago to stage their famous "pots and pans" demonstrations. It has been charged that both the trucker's strike and the pots and pans demonstration were financed with part of the \$8 million used to destabilize the Popular Unity government.

An additional factor in working with middle class women is their leadership in the areas of family planning/birth control and education. Educational programs are directly related to the future production levels of Third World countries; family planning and birth control are linked to population; areas that are the subject of revolutionary demands in Latin America.

The mobilization of middle class women, be it in Latin America or in Asia, requires knowledge of friends as well as foes; it requires dossiers and personal contacts, updated information on attitudes and political beliefs, and a variety of similar information.

HESS, CLYDE: Born 2/22/23
 1943-46 U.S. Army, job unknown, overseas duty.
 1946-52 News and editorial writer for various papers and stations.
 1952-55 Whereabouts unknown.
 2/55-6/58 Baghdad, India: U.S. Information Agency.
 6/58-8/59 Khartoum: U.S. Information Agency.
 8/59-4/62 Intelligence research officer, later Chief of Arab Branch, Near East-South Asian-African Division.
 4/62-5/63 New Dehli: "press attache."
 5/63-8/65 Karachi: "information officer."
 8/65-6/66 Washington, D.C.
 6/66-10/68 Saigon: "information officer"
 10/68 Seoul: Chief of "news and current events" section, USIA.

Such information is routinely collected as part of the Multinational Seminars and training sessions. Each participant in the Multinational Seminar is required to complete a form that requires information concerning a variety of demographic concerns, including active political parties and "pressure groups", labor organizations, and other social and economic factors.

THE ASIAN CONNECTIONS

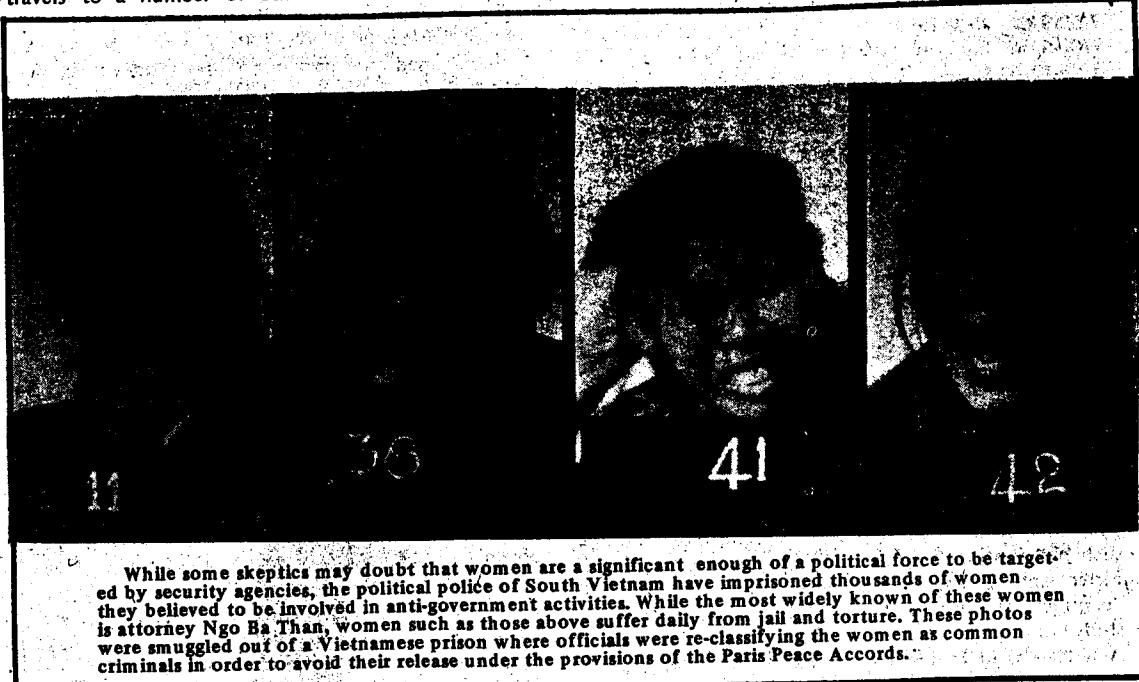
Karen Smith is the OEF's only representative in Asia, a position she has held since OEF established its Asian program in 1970. In addition to working for the OEF, Ms. Smith serves as a consultant to the Asia Foundation in Saigon.

Ms. Smith makes her home in Indonesia, but travels to a number of other countries including

"The KCIA was thoroughly aware and extremely upset about our meeting in Qwang-Ju; a couple of agents did come to the meeting and stood with their ears glued to the door for awhile to hear what was going on."

"I'm terribly glad this happened to be the moment I passed by. The moral support value of OEF's interest is incalculable in addition to which, our having gone through this period with the KLWV will, I'm sure, stand us in good stead in future times when the climate changes."

In addition to her meetings with the Korean women, Ms. Smith had a meeting with two CIA officers stationed at the U.S. Embassy in Seoul. She met with Clyde Hess and Sol Schindler; Hess is a known CIA case officer operating in the News and



While some skeptics may doubt that women are a significant enough of a political force to be targeted by security agencies, the political police of South Vietnam have imprisoned thousands of women they believed to be involved in anti-government activities. While the most widely known of these women is attorney Ngo Ba Than, women such as those above suffer daily from jail and torture. These photos were smuggled out of a Vietnamese prison where officials were re-classifying the women as common criminals in order to avoid their release under the provisions of the Paris Peace Accords.

Vietnam, Malaysia, Thailand, and Korea. One of her trips to Korea occurred during last fall's crisis and demonstrations against the dictatorial practices of Korean President Park Chung Hee. Her report back to OEF headquarters provided an interesting look at her work.

Ms. Smith wrote that:

"There were terrifically important events taking place three and four a day during the period I was there and because of the fact that I was many hours every day with Kim Chong Rye I heard all of them. The major dramatic event taking place during that period, and which was reported in the English newspapers was a nationwide journalists and reporters protest over news censorship. But that was only one of many — some known to the public and some known only to the whispering network..."

Current Affairs Section of the U.S. Information Agency, Schindler operates under the cover of a Cultural Affairs officer.

In her report to OEF headquarters, Smith reassured her superiors that "Clyde was extremely warm and interested in both our work in general, about handling details for our regular seminar next spring, and being able to help one way or another with the U.S. Study Tour."

Other correspondence shows that Ms. Smith was in contact with Irving Chessler, a CIA case officer who until recently was based in Kuala Lumpur. Chessler was recently transferred to Dacca, India, and Smith's new contact in Juala Lampur could not be ascertained.

The activities of Karen Smith, her contact with known CIA case officers and her close association

with a CIA property organization clearly indicate that wittingly or unwittingly, Karen Smith is working for the CIA.

CONCLUSIONS

Alumnae of OEF seminars and training sessions cover a wide spectrum of local organizational leaders including the mayors of several towns and cabinet level assistants. The screening procedures of applicants for OEF programs has brought the organization into contact with thousands of women in the developing nations, and therefore it is in no way coincidental that the OEF and their international contacts have been involved in the web of CIA covert operations.

Given the fact, it has been difficult to construct this article so as to minimize negative repercussions within the women's movement. However, once presented with the evidence the Fifth Estate had no choice but to act. We feel that we have analyzed the situation as objectively as possible.

The manipulation of the Overseas Education Fund and the League of Women Voters is but another chapter in the CIA's history of covert intelligence operations. This is a textbook example of the philosophy of CIA penetration of private organizations. In practice, the operation is a carbon copy of the CIA/NSA activity in the mid-60's.

The facts are:

1. CIA funds are buried in the budgets of other government organizations, including the State Department and Agency for International Development.
2. Both the State Department and AID have provided cover for CIA operations in the past.
3. Approximately 70% of the OEF budget comes from AID and State Department grants and contracts.
4. The balance of OEF funds comes from foundations and individual grants, including grants from foundations that have a history of funnelling CIA funds.
5. The OEF Asian representative, Karen Smith, serves as a consultant for the CIA's property, the Asia Foundation, in addition to filing reports with CIA case officers in Malaysia, Korea, and Kuala Lumpur.
6. The OEF Latin American Program Director, Louise Montgomery, and her predecessor, Joyce Holt, have provided intelligence information to Alex Firfer. Firfer is a known CIA officer formerly associated with the CIA Phoenix program.

On the basis of interviews with OEF staff members, it is evident that knowledge of this CIA operation is limited to a very small number of people within the organization. It is clear that the women involved believe in the stated goals of the projects and see the OEF as a vehicle for helping to integrate third world women into the political processes of their particular countries. It is not our office to sit in judgement of the merits or lack of same of the OEF strategy; but rather to expose the covert operations being carried on by the Agency within this women's

organization. It is unfortunate that exposure of this covert operation will cause divisions within the organization (perhaps a latent function of the operation), however, the extent of the operation as well as its ramifications for other women's organizations leave us with no alternative. It is now the responsibility of the women at OEF to root out the CIA cooperatives within their midst.

The inherent danger in releasing this story is that it will tend to generate paranoia within organizations throughout the women's movement. It is our contention that such paranoia can be diffused by scientific examination of facts. While it is safe to assume that the CIA has other operations targeted against the women's movement, to date we have no concrete evidence to support that assumption. Hopefully, those who suspect that a similar manipulation is taking place within their organization will approach the problem logically; determining the source of funds for their organization as well as the history and fund granting methods of those sources; and researching the backgrounds of individuals within their organizations that they may be unsure of.

At a time in history when women are stepping into the leadership in traditional and radical politics, worldwide political repression of certain groups of women is also increasing. As Karen Smith reports to the Asia Foundation representative in Saigon or the CIA case officers in Seoul, Asian women are being tortured by the Dictatorships of NGUYEN Van Thieu and Park Chung Hee. As Louise Montgomery weighs the possibility of re-establishing an OEF project in CHILE, the Pinochet junta continues to torture and murder the women and men who are considered to be dangerous because of their political beliefs.

It would be a tragedy and a grave error for women's organizations to forsake international contacts because they do not wish to deal with the possible manipulation of their organizations. The international solidarity of women is becoming a viable political force; there are oppressed women throughout the world who need the support of their sisters, and who should be aware that just as the CIA/OEF operation will soon be dismantled, other attempts to manipulate women will meet with a similar fate.

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Exposing The CIA

Commentary By
Philip Agee

During the 1960's when I worked as a CIA operations officer in Latin America, I often reflected on the exceptional number and variety of operations that I took over from other officers or initiated myself. At times, more experienced men observed that I was fortunate to be gaining experience in "across-the-board" operations: from political action operations with government ministers to communist party penetration operations, to surveillance teams, telephone tapping, and trade union operations.

One of the keys to my capacity to work on many operations at once, thereby to contribute in a proportionately greater way to CIA goals, was the lack of any opposition of significance. In most of Latin America, indeed in much of the Third World, the local security forces were penetrated and manipulated by CIA—in some cases they were the very creatures of the Agency—in such a manner that they practically never were allowed to interfere with or jeopardize the (CIA) station's "unilateral" (i.e., unknown to the local "service") operations. Similarly, while my name appeared from time-to-time in the local left-wing press as a CIA officer, no one ever demonstrated hostility to me, picketed my home, threatened me if I didn't leave the country, or made me feel uncomfortable in some other way. I was allowed to achieve all the mischief I could, always with impunity, and restrained (sic) only by internal CIA procedures and practices. Officers experienced in European countries, however, where greater security precautions and procedures were required, were able to handle only a fraction of the operations that we "Third World Officers" could take on.

I used to think that if left-wing Ecuadoreans, Uruguayans, or Mexicans ever found out what I was really up to, they would make it impossible for me to remain in their country. Even bourgeois nationalists



would have made life impossible for me. I wondered if my "friends" on the right and in the "center" would have been able to protect me. But no one ever bothered me because no one knew, really, the scope of my work, and of the overall station's operational programs wherever I was working.

But times are different now. As each new spate of revelations of CIA operations occurs, the pattern emerges more clearly. The 1967 revelations, the CIA's support to the Watergate coverup, the revelations of "destabilization" operations against the Allende government, *CIA And The Cult Of Intelligence* by John Marks and Victor Marchetti, my book, and others yet to appear—all these revelations help to reveal a pattern of CIA support to minority Third World regimes that inflict terrible repression on their own people in order to retain power and privilege. Countries that welcome exploitation of their natural resources and workers by transnational companies. These minority regimes, in fact, have no other role than to serve their own interests by serving the interests of foreign, particularly US, corporations.

No longer can ignorance of CIA's operations and of the purpose and effect of those operations be allowed to delay positive action to defeat them. Now more than ever, concerned Americans, together with the Third World peoples victimized by CIA and the economic and social injustices that CIA enforces, can discover what CIA is all about.

What can be done to defeat this sinister secret police force?

One effort could be directed towards elaborating a set of indicators which would be based on known types of CIA operations that have visible effects—the construction of a composite model in other words. Such a model might also include non-CIA factors such as impressions conveyed in US government statements, levels of military and economic aid, levels

of credits from international institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF (International Monetary Fund), regional development banks, as well as private financial institutions. Once the model is constructed, a search for appropriate indicators in the country of interest, e.g., Portugal, could proceed. What one might have at any given moment would be a greater or lesser certainty that destabilization programs against a country's left-wing and/or nationalist forces are increasing or decreasing. But in the absence of access to documents or to a participating CIA employee who wants to talk, such an effort must remain highly speculative.

Other efforts might well be directed towards lobbying against CIA and raising public consciousness in the US against this organization. But given the overwhelming defeat in October 1974 of Senator Abourezk's amendment to prohibit *illegal* CIA activity, one cannot be sanguine about effective congressional restraints on the Agency—the Congress, after all, created CIA and gave it autonomy to commit all kinds of crimes in the name of the American people. Someday, perhaps, the Congress may include enough fair-minded people to curtail CIA and other interventionist agencies, but action should be taken now by those who are concerned.

The most effective and important systematic efforts to combat CIA that can be undertaken right now are, I think, the identification, exposure, and neutralization of its people working abroad. Working through careful analysis of the US government employees country by country abroad, the CIA people can be identified and exposed through periodic bulletins disseminated to subscribers, particularly individuals and organizations in the foreign country in question. Photographs and home addresses in the foreign capitol or Consular cities should be included. Having this information, the peoples victimized by the CIA and the economic exploitation that CIA enforces can bring pressure on their so-often compromised governments to expell the CIA people. And, in the absence of such

expulsions, which will not be uncommon, the people themselves will have to decide what they must do to rid themselves of CIA.

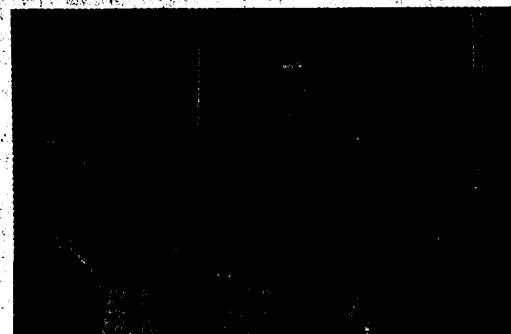
Some may object that, in the face of such a campaign, CIA will simply change its cover mechanisms and make identification more difficult. This will indeed occur, but so many CIA people can be identified from personal knowledge and past covers already a part of the public records, that more effective cover will be difficult and very slow to develop. Meanwhile, important steps can be taken to weaken the Agency and its support of injustice.

In October 1974 I announced the names and addresses in Mexico City of 35 official cover (Embassy) CIA people and two non-official cover people. Probably about ten more non-official cover people were working in Mexico City posing as students, businessmen, tourist, or retired people. Within a few days, both the Chief of Station, Richard Sampson, and the Deputy Chief of Station Jonathan Hauke, were withdrawn from Mexico. Perhaps others on the list will be withdrawn soon, or expelled, or neutralized by the Mexican people. As a former operations officer, I can assure you that such precipitate withdrawals are very disruptive and reduce the effectiveness of the whole station program. Those who remain will have to beware of action by the Mexican people and will have to install greater security devices in their operations—thus reducing their capacities.

Similar revelations (including those in this magazine) are going to follow, but I believe this campaign should be organized in a systematic way by concerned Americans in the U.S., perhaps in the way that certain of the earlier efforts against the Vietnam War were undertaken. Surely if one opposed intervention against the Vietnamese people, one would also have to oppose the lower level and usually quieter intervention by the CIA.

This campaign could remove the key to CIA effectiveness in destabilizing progressive and revolutionary forces seeking social justice and national dignity in the Third World. That key is secrecy, and when it is peeled away, there, standing naked and exposed for all to see, is the CIA secret policeman, who only hours before was lurking in the darkness to bribe a military officer, a student leader, a journalist, a politician, and a trade unionist. Take away secrecy and the CIA officer become impotent.

We know enough of what CIA does to resolve to oppose it. What we should do now is to identify and expose each of the people who instruments and execute CIA's programs. People failed to campaign effectively against the CIA in the past because the CIA programs and people were unknown. Now that impediment is being removed.



Philip Agee worked with the Central Intelligence Agency for twelve years as an "operations officer" in Ecuador, Uruguay, and Mexico. In 1969, he left the Agency, disgusted with what he'd done, and resolving to do something about it. His forthcoming book, Inside The Company: CIA Diary, is the result of that resolution. The book, which will be published in the United States in May, 1975 by Straight Arrow Press, is to the CIA what the Pentagon Papers were to the war in Vietnam; a compendium of truths that deserve to be studied by every American.

In recent months, the Fifth Estate has been corresponding with Mr. Agee about various problems involved in researching an organization like the Central Intelligence Agency. When he learned about our plans for this issue of CounterSpy, Mr. Agee graciously consented to contribute the following commentary, presenting his view of the problem. This article is the first to be published by Mr. Agee in the United States.

Chiefs of Station:

Who's Who and What They Do.

In the wake of revelations about covert operations abroad, and intelligence operations at home, the Central Intelligence Agency stands in the middle of a storm of controversy. Members of Congress and editorial writers are calling for the abolition of covert operations by the CIA. A handful of Congressional Committees and a Presidential Blue Ribbon Panel have promised to investigate the situation. And the Agency itself is purging the leftover cold-warriors in its midst. When the ardent breezes from Capitol Hill wane, knowledgeable insiders claim that government will have responded to public sentiment with stern promises that future CIA activities will be strictly controlled.

The President and the Director of Central Intelligence, William Colby, oppose those forces that would have covert operations abolished. Colby admits that abolition would not seriously impair the national security of the United States. But, they argue, covert operations give the President a foreign policy option somewhere between diplomatic posturing and open intervention.

In fact, covert operations are more than just an option. Since Congress left a tiny loophole in the National Security Act of 1947, covert operations and the clandestine network required to support them, have been used on a literally daily basis to enforce foreign policy. Covert operations and their support are big business, utilizing \$550 million of CIA's \$750 million annual budget, and 80 per cent of that agency's employees. And these figures do not include \$50 to \$100 million set aside for use by the CIA director in emergencies, and thousands of "contract employees."

Colby maintains that the current era of detente has brought a much lower level of covert operations than in past years. Other sources, primarily foreign newspapers and governments, however, indicate that covert operations are continuing on a level comparable to past eras. In recent months allegations have been made that operations have occurred or are occurring in: *Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Portugal, Spain, Greece, Cyprus, Dhofar, Rhodesia, South Africa, Italy, Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, Ethiopia and Great Britain*. For the present, of course, all indications of covert activity remain allegations that are not yet supported by documentation. As in the past, the Central Intelligence Agency will not comment on covert operations alleged to be in progress.

Covert operations do not occur in a void. The Central Intelligence Agency maintains a world wide



Dugald Stermer/Psychosources

clandestine apparatus of Agency employees posing under a variety of "covers": local informers, proprietary organizations, and technical facilities. As technological development has made it possible for almost all intelligence to be collected without using agents, it is clear that this clandestine infrastructure has only one purpose: covert activities.

Most of these covert activities have taken place within the emerging nations of the Third World. The initial rationale for targeting these countries arose out of belief that the Third World was to be the battleground of the Cold War. In recent years a new rationale has developed as Third World countries have exhibited an increasing tendency to exercise their sovereignty over raw materials and overseas investments integral to the present economy of the United States. The CIA presence within socialist countries is usually much more oriented towards intelligence collection and analysis.



Present CIA Director Colby and his predecessor Richard Helms. Both men in practice are firm believers in Covert Actions.

Bureaucratically speaking, this clandestine network and the covert operations it spawns, operates under the *Directorate of Operations* — better known as, Clandestine Services — section of the Central Intelligence Agency. Two of the Agency's other three Directorates, *Management and Services*, and *Science and Technology*, are largely used by Clandestine Services. Management of this clandestine infrastructure begins with ten CIA officers appointed by Colby to coordinate both intelligence gathering and operational functions. (This is one of the widely trumpeted reforms instituted by Colby.) Moving down the line, analytical and managerial functions are performed by various staffs that are divided along geopolitical lines. These divisions maintain liaison personnel within their particular area. Until the recent shift in the internal situation in Ethiopia, for example, CIA's Africa liaison officer was stationed at a secret National Security Agency/CIA base within that country.

The key figures, at least in an operational sense, within the CIA infrastructure are known as Chiefs of Station (COS). Usually located within the U.S. Embassy compound, Chiefs of Station are charged with maintaining, creating, and exploiting the infrastructure within a given country. CIA influence within political parties, civic associations, student groups, labor unions, media, the military and other governmental agencies can accurately be described as a web with the Chief of Station at its center.

The Department of State usually provides the COS and other CIA personnel with cover stories, hiding them among real Foreign Service Officers, and providing them with diplomatic immunity. In many countries, CIA personnel are found in the U.S. Embassy's "political" section.

In nations where U.S. presence is extensive, additional managerial personnel known as Chiefs of Base (COB) may be located within U.S. Consulates and/or military facilities. In India, for instance, the CIA maintains four known facilities at New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. All these facilities are under diplomatic guise. In Germany, on the other hand, CIA activity is mixed between military and diplomatic facilities. In many areas where the CIA uses military bases for cover, these bases house large

technical support facilities that cannot be housed in Embassies and Consulates.

Those CIA personnel living under diplomatic cover are relatively easy to spot. Other intelligence services, host governments, regular visitors, and even local nationals employed by the Embassy have little or no trouble spotting CIA personnel. Deadgiveaways for the casually interested person include exotic locks on office doors, a health insurance plan different from that of State Department employees (with readily available premium records), and cryptic references in the State Department's *Biographic Register* to periods of time assigned to one of the military services as an "analyst".

The fact that other intelligence services and host governments are usually aware of the CIA's presence has never really troubled the Agency. The United States and the Soviet Union, for instance, regularly swap names of intelligence personnel assigned to each other's countries for "area familiarization" purposes. And while the CIA isn't about to open overseas branch offices, ala Chase Manhattan Bank, there are certain advantages to letting your presence be known. Disgruntled individuals have little trouble locating the Agency, and Third World security forces often look to the CIA for technical assistance.

In some countries, particularly when a potentially explosive political situation may be brewing, a CIA officer may be installed as Ambassador. Richard Helms, former Director of Central Intelligence, was assigned to mercurial Iran after the Watergate crisis forced him to leave his post. And political parties in Venezuela have reacted to the nomination of Harry W. Shlauderman as U.S. Ambassador by charging that he is a CIA operative being sent in to subdue the increasingly nationalist policies of that country.

U.S. Foreign Policy, both overt and covert, is administered through what is known as the "country team" concept. This "country team", nominally headed by the ambassador, is composed of the highest ranking foreign service officers within a given country, including the COS. Its job is to concretize the often vague platitudes issued by Washington. The CIA's role in all this, of course, is the implementation of clandestine aspects of foreign policy, a role that has been unquestioned until lately.

An example of this clandestine policy and implementation can be seen with tensions that existed between the U.S. and Cuba during the early 1960's. The goal of U.S. foreign policy was to isolate Cuba from the rest of the non-communist world. In Latin America, governments were pressured to break diplomatic relations. Those governments that opposed U.S. policy towards Cuba soon began experiencing internal strife and economic chaos, directed, of course, by the CIA. Governments in Ecuador and Argentina, among others, were overthrown as the result of CIA activities.

The range of covert actions available to the CIA is limitless where a strong infrastructure exists, and can even include such "simple" exercises as spray painting right-wing slogans on walls. Most actions are approved by staff within the Directorate of Operations, with only the larger and more expensive ones going to the National Security Council or the Forty Committee for approval.

Two categories of covert action exist: Psychological Warfare and Paramilitary. Psychological Warfare actions, as defined by former CIA agent Philip Agee, include "propaganda (also known simply as media), work in youth and student organizations, work in labor organizations (trade unions, etc.), work in professional and cultural groups, and in political parties." He goes on to define paramilitary actions as "infiltration into denied areas; sabotage; economic warfare, personal harassment; air and maritime support, weaponry, training and support for small armies."

The Chief of Station is charged with overseeing the use of these techniques and the network of contacts

that makes them possible. The world wide infrastructure maintained by the CIA intervenes in the affairs of other nations on a daily basis, not "from time to time as the National Security Council may direct."

Despite the national debate currently in progress, the American public is still being asked to leave evaluation of this nation's security forces to dubiously qualified experts. The record of such experts in overseeing the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency is clear: power continues to be abused, nations and peoples are being denied the right of self determination, and the clandestine infrastructure that makes covert action possible continues to remain unchecked.

Since foreign intelligence services, host countries, and other interested parties have an awareness of the CIA's world-wide clandestine presence, the American people have a right to know as much as those outside the United States do. The time has come for the cloak of secrecy surrounding the activities of the CIA to be examined and cut down to size, a size that reflects the people's right to know.

In keeping with the belief of the Fifth Estate that the people have a right to know about the nature of their security forces, and Philip Agee's statement elsewhere in this magazine, following is a list of the CIA's Chiefs of Station and Chiefs of Base from around the world. The list is accurate as of June, 1974, and contains as many personnel working under diplomatic cover as we were able to locate. Due to transfers and other causes, there may be a few inaccuracies.

For purposes of this list, CAS means "Controlled American Source", a name used to route information to intelligence offices.

CAS-Kabul

U.S. Embassy

Wazir Akbar Khan Mina

Kabul, Afghanistan

COS-Samuel H. Rickard III — born, New Jersey, July 10, 1924; Graduated from Georgetown University in 1950. Has served in Burma, India and Ethiopia.

CAS-Algeria

Embassy of Switzerland

U.S. Interests Section

4 Chemin Cheikh Bachir Brahimi

Algiers, Algeria

COS-Edward R.M. Kane — Born, Massachusetts, December 15, 1929. Joined CIA in 1952. Has served in Egypt, Iraq, Libya, Senegal. Speaks French.

CAS-Vienna

U.S. Embassy

IX Boltzmannngasse 16 a-1091

Vienna, Austria

COS Charles Trofford Malton, Jr. — Born, Massachusetts, October 22, 1927; Joined CIA in 1951.

CAS-Dacca

U.S. Embassy

Adamjee Court Bldg., Montjheel Area

Dacca, Bangladesh

COS George T. Walsh — Born, Massachusetts, July 9, 1925. Has served in Rawalpindi, Sri Lanka, Egypt.

CAS-Brussels

U.S. Embassy

27 Blvd. du Regent

Brussels, Belgium

COS Michael S. Thompson — Born, England, February 20, 1928; Joined CIA 1956. Has served in Rabat, Congo, Algeria.

CAS-Antwerp

U.S. Consulate General

64-68 Frankrijklei

Antwerp, Belgium

COB Rowland E. Roberts, Jr. — Born, Pennsylvania, May 8, 1928; Joined CIA 1954. Previously stationed in Denmark.

CAS-La Paz

U.S. Embassy

Banco Popular del Peru Bldg.

Corner of Calles Mercado y Colon

La Paz, Bolivia

COS Frederick W. Latash — Born New York, November 29, 1925. Graduated from USC in 1947. Joined CIA in 1951. Has served in India, Jordan, Egypt, Venezuela, Panama, and Chile.

CAS-Brazilia

U.S. Embassy

Lote No. 3

Avenida das Nocoes

Brazillia, Brazil

COS Wilfred D. Koplowitz — Born June 24, 1925. Has served in Paris.

CAS-Recife

U.S. Consulate General

Rua Goncalves Maia 163

Recife, Brazil

COB Thomas J. Barrett, Jr.

CAS-Rio de Janeiro

U.S. Consulate General

Avenida Presidente Wilson, 147

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

COB Stephen F. Creane — Born Massachusetts, May 31, 1926. Graduated from Georgetown University in 1951. Has served in Indonesia and previous assignments in Brazil.

CAS-Sao Paulo

U.S. Consulate General

Edificio Conjunto Nacional,

Rua Padre Joao Manuel, 20

Sao Paulo, Brazil

COB Louis V. Ebert III — Born New York, July 2, 1927. Graduated from University of Wisconsin in 1952. Has served in Colombia, Brazil, Honduras, Mozambique, and Zambia.

CAS-Sofia

U.S. Embassy

1 Alexander Stamboliski Blvd.

Sofia, Bulgaria
COS Robert M. Sargent — Born China, September 9, 1936. Graduated from Bowdoin College 1953. Previously stationed in the Netherlands. Speaks Bulgarian.

CAS-Rangoon
U.S. Embassy
581 Merchant St.
Rangoon, Burma
COS Clyde R. McAvoy — Born New York, March 27, 1926. Graduated from Bucknell University 1951. Joined CIA 1953. Has served in Thailand, Laos, and Indonesia.

CAS-Bujumbura
U.S. Embassy
Chausse Prince Louis Rwagasore,
Boite Postale 1720
Bujumbura, Burundi
COS John C. Beam — Born Montana March 25, 1935. Graduated from Montana State University 1956. Previously stationed in Morocco.

CAS-Phnom Penh
U.S. Embassy
Blvd. Preh Norodom and Samdech Sutharot Rd.
Phnom Penh, Khmer Republic (Cambodia)
COS John F. McCarthy III — Born Washington DC, September 12, 1940. Graduated from Washington University in 1967. Served in Vietnam.

CAS-Yaounde
U.S. Embassy
Rue Nachtingal
Boite Postale 817
Yaounde, Cameroon
COS Jeff Corydon III — Born Illinois, March 14, 1929. Graduated from Northwestern University in 1953. Joined CIA in 1955. Has served in Vietnam and Tunisia. Speaks Arabic.

CAS-Bangui
U.S. Embassy
Place de la Republique Centrafricaine
Bangui, Central African Republic
COS William L. Moesby, Jr. — Born Pennsylvania, March 23, 1938. Graduated from Penn State in 1959. Joined CIA in 1961. Has been stationed in Sudan and Ethiopia.

CAS-N'Djamena
U.S. Embassy
Rue du Lt. Col. Colonna D'Ornano B.P. 413
N'Djamena, Chad
COS Gary M. Miller — Born Wyoming June 16, 1938. Graduated from the University of California in 1965. Has been stationed in the Ivory Coast.

CAS-Santiago
U.S. Embassy
Codina Bldg.
1343 Agustinas
Santiago, Chile
COS Stewart Burton
CAS-Bogota
U.S. Embassy
Edificio Bavaria Carrera 10 No. 28-49
Bogota, Colombia

COS-Nestor D. Sanchez — Born New Mexico July 28, 1927. Graduated from Georgetown University in 1951. Joined CIA 1953. Has served in Morocco, Venezuela, Guatemala and Colombia.

CAS-San Jose
U.S. Embassy
Avenida 3 and Calle 1
San Jose, Costa Rica
COS Comer W. Gilstrap — Born Alabama, August 6, 1926. Graduated from the University of Maryland in 1950. Joined CIA 1950. Has served in Ecuador, Brazil, Uruguay, El Salvador, and Guyana.

CAS-Nicosia
U.S. Embassy
Therissos St. and Dositheos St.
Nicosia, Cyprus
COS Marlan D. Bowe — Born September 17, 1934. Language: Greek.

CAS-Prague
U.S. Embassy
15-12548 Praha
Prague, Czechoslovakia
COS Richard A. Kahane — Born New York, August 9, 1938. Graduated from Princeton in 1960. Has served in the Congo, Algeria, France, and others. Languages: French & German.

CAS-Cotonou
U.S. Embassy
Rue Caporal Anani Bernard
Cotonou, Dahomey
COS-Montgomery L. Rogers — Born April 2, 1936. Has served in Tanzania. Language: Swahili.

CAS-Santo Domingo
U.S. Embassy
Corner of Calle Cesar Nicholas Penson y Calle Leopoldo Navarro
Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic
COS-Thomas A. Clayton — Born Washington, February 14, 1927. Graduated from San Jose State 1951. Joined CIA in 1956. Has served in Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, and Bolivia. Language: Spanish.

CAS-Quito
U.S. Embassy
120 Avenida Patria
Quito, Ecuador
COS-Paul V. Harwood — Born Massachusetts, July 4, 1923. Graduated from University of Michigan in 1945. Joined CIA in 1948. Has served in Burma, Vietnam, France, and Mexico.

CAS-Guayaquil
U.S. Consulate General
Guayaquil, Ecuador
COB-Norman M. Descoteaux

CAS-Cairo
U.S. Embassy
Cairo, Egypt (United Arab Republic)
COS-Arthur M. Niner, Jr. — Born DC, September 14, 1935. Has been stationed in Lebanon, Iraq, Yemen, Yemen People's Republic and Egypt. Language: Arabic.

CAS-San Salvador
U.S. Embassy
25 Avenida Norte
San Salvador, El Salvador

COS-Kenneth R. Goodman — Born Arizona, July 15, 1936. Joined CIA in 1964. Has been stationed in Venezuela and Ecuador.

CAS-Addis Ababa
U.S. Embassy
Crown Prince Asfaw Wassen St.
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
COS-Eugene L. Jeffers — Born May 5, 1926. Joined CIA in 1955. Has served in Congo and Zambia.

CAS-Helsinki
U.S. Embassy
Itainen Kaivopuisto
Helsinki, Finland
COS-William C. Simenson — Born June 3, 1925. Has served in Iceland and Sweden. Language: Finnish.

CAS-Paris
U.S. Embassy
2 Avenue Gabriel 75382
Paris Cedex 08 France
COS-Eugen F. Burgstaller

CAS-Berlin
U.S. Mission
Clayallee 170
1000 Berlin
COS-George Weisz — Born Hungary, August 26, 1918. Graduated from New York University in 1953. Has served in Germany and Vietnam.

CAS-Accra
U.S. Embassy
Liberia & Rowe Rds.
P.O. Box 194
Accra, Ghana
COS-Joel D. Ticknor — Born New York, September 27, 1939. Graduated from Union College 1960. Has been stationed in Zaire.

CAS-Athens
U.S. Embassy
91 Vasilissi Sophias Blvd.
Athens, Greece
COS-Stacy B. Hulse, Jr. — Born Connecticut, April 25, 1920. Graduated from Harvard in 1941. Has been stationed in The Netherlands, Bulgaria and Italy.

CAS-Guatemala
U.S. Embassy
8 Avenida 11-65, Zone 1
Guatemala
COS-Edwin M. Terrell — Born Kansas, May 22, 1915. Has been stationed in Cuba, El Salvador, Colombia, Peru, Dominican Republic, and Panama.

CAS-Conakry
U.S. Embassy
2d Blvd. and 9th Ave., Boite Postale 603
Conakry, Guinnea
Peter V. Raudenbush — Born Minnesota, August 13, 1935. Graduated from Harvard in 1957. Joined CIA in 1962.

CAS-Georgetown
U.S. Embassy
31 Main St.
Georgetown, Guyana
COS-Robert H. Riefe — Born Connecticut, May 15, 1922. Graduated from Boston University in 1952. Has been stationed in Uruguay and Colombia.

CAS-Port Au Prince U.S. Embassy Harry Truman Blvd. Port Au Prince, Haiti COS-James D. Montgomery — Born January 1, 1928. Joined CIA in 1961. Previous service in Algeria.	CAS-Kingston U.S. Embassy No. 43 Duke St. Kingston, Jamaica COS-Thomas J. Keenan — Born Wisconsin, June 29, 1930. Graduated from Marquette in 1953. Has served in Mexico, Bogota, and Peru. Language: Spanish.
CAS-Tegucigalpa U.S. Embassy Avenida La Paz Tegucigalpa, Honduras COS-Glenn O. Brown — Born Illinois, December 28, 1927. Graduated from the University of Illinois in 1951. Has been stationed in Surinam and Haiti.	CAS-Amman U.S. Embassy Jebel Amman Amman, Jordan COS-Frederic H. Sabin III — Born Minnesota, January 20, 1934. Graduated from Williams College in 1956. Has served in Lebanon, Iraq, and Egypt.
CAS-Budapest U.S. Embassy V. Szabadsag Ter 12 Budapest, Hungary COS-John W. Whitley — Born December 7, 1939. Has been stationed in Helsinki. Language: Finnish.	CAS-Nairobi U.S. Embassy Cott House, Wabera St. Nairobi, Kenya COS-Howard T. Bane — Born Virginia, August 5, 1927. Graduated from Georgetown U. in 1951. Has served in Thailand, India and Ghana.
CAS-New Delhi U.S. Embassy Shanti Path, Chanakyapuri 21 New Delhi, India COS-William C. Grimsley, Jr. — Born Florida, April 20, 1927. Graduated from Columbia University in 1951. Has been stationed in Pakistan and Nepal.	CAS-Kuwait U.S. Embassy P.O. Box No. 77 Kuwait COS-Robert C. Ames — Born March 6, 1934. Has served in Yemen and Lebanon.
CAS-Bombay U.S. Consulate General Lincoln House, 78 Bhulabhai Desai Rd. Bombay, India COB-Edward J. Gotchef — Born September 2, 1937. Previous service in Hungary.	CAS-Beruit U.S. Embassy Corniche at Rue Ain Mreisseh Beruit, Lebanon COS-John J. Seidel, Jr. — Born Maryland, August 21, 1925. Graduated from Princeton University in 1947. Has served in Egypt and Pakistan.
CAS-Calcutta U.S. Consulate General 3A Shakespeare Sarani Calcutta 16, India COB-E. Norbert Garrett III — Born Missouri, November 25, 1938. Graduated from the University of Kansas in 1960. Joined CIA in 1962. Has served in Pakistan, Jordan and Egypt.	CAS-Luxembourg U.S. Embassy 22 Blvd. Emmanuel Servais Luxembourg COS-Felton M. Wyatt — Born May 23, 1920.
CAS-Madras U.S. Consulate General Mount Rd-6 Madras, India COB-Jack S. Ogini — Born California, October 9, 1935. Graduated from the University of Utah 1960. Has served in Egypt, and Nepal.	CAS-Kuala Lumpur U.S. Embassy A.I.A. Bldg. Jalan Ampang P.O. Box 35 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia COS-Robert E. Brown — Born January 22, 1939. Has served in Singapore and Indonesia.
CAS-Tehran 260 Ave. Takti Jamshid Tehran, Iran COS-George W. Cave — Born New Jersey, August 6, 1929. Graduated from Princeton in 1956. Has served in Lebanon and Rawalpindi.	CAS-Bamako U.S. Embassy Rue Testard and Rue Mohamed V Bamako, Mali COS-Raymond F. Demicourt — Born Massachusetts, November 30, 1925. Graduated from Providence College in 1949. Has served in Vietnam and Ethiopia.
CAS-Rome U.S. Embassy Via V. Veneto 119 Rome, Italy COS-Howard E. Stene — Born Ohio, March 3, 1925. Graduated from USC in 1949. Has served in Iran, Jordan, Pakistan and Vietnam.	CAS-Valletta U.S. Embassy 2nd fl. Development House, St. Anne St. Floriana, Malta COS-George A. Chritton — Born February 25, 1933. Graduated from Occidental in 1955. Has been stationed in Turkey and Nepal.
CAS-Jakarta U.S. Embassy Medan Merdeka Selatan 5	

The CIA is reportedly backing rightist anti-corruption forces in South Vietnam.

CAS-Port Louis
U.S. Embassy
Anglo-Mauritius House, Intendance St.
6th fl.

Port Louis, Mauritius

COS-Vasja C. Gmirkin — Born China,
February 11, 1926. Graduated from
Woodbury College 1948. Has served in
Japan, Nepal, Iraq, and Zaire.

CAS-Rabat

U.S. Embassy
2 Ave de Marrakech

Rabat, Morocco

COS-Charles G. Cogan — Born Massachusetts,
January 11, 1928. Graduated from
Harvard in 1949. Has served in India,
Congo and Sudan.

CAS-Casablanca

U.S. Consulate General
No. 1, Place de la Fraternite

Casablanca, Morocco

COB-Mark J. Colby — Born Indiana,
September 16, 1930. Graduated from
Brown University in 1952. Has served in
Lebanon, Sudan, Vietnam, Congo,
Malawi and Sierra Leone.

CAS-Kathmandu

U.S. Embassy

King's Way

Kathmandu, Nepal

COS-Joseph A. Murray, Jr. — Born May
22, 1934. Graduated from Boston
College in 1960. Previous service in
Taiwan and Singapore.

CAS-Managua

U.S. Embassy

Bldv. Somoza

Managua, Nicaragua

COS-Joseph Piccolo, Jr. — Born Florida,
December 8, 1935. Graduated from
Georgetown U. in 1963. Has served in
Mexico and Brazil.

CAS-Lagos

U.S. Embassy

1 King's College Rd.

Lagos, Nigeria

COS-David M. Zimmerman, Jr. — Born Lebanon. Graduated from University of Buffalo 1947. Has served in Turkey, Morocco, and Tunisia.

CAS-Kaduna

U.S. Consulate

S Ahmadu Bello Way

Kaduna, Nigeria

COB-Robert W. Ince — Born October 3,
1934. Has served in Ghana.

CAS-Muscat

U.S. Embassy

Muscat, Oman

COS-Robert L. Headley, Jr. — Born Pennsylvania, July 10, 1920. Graduated from Dartmouth College in 1956.

CAS-Islamabad

Diplomatic Enclave, Ramna 4

Islamabad, Pakistan

COS-Donald F. Vogel — Born New York,
July 4, 1930. Graduated from Williams
College in 1951. Has served in Argentina
and Mexico.

CAS-Karachi

U.S. Consulate General

8 Abdullah Haroon Rd.

Karachi, Pakistan

This secret fleet of airplanes, located in Arizona, can be called into service to support covert operations in Latin America.

COB-Edward R. Brown — Born Montana,
February 16, 1927. Graduated from Mont. State in 1951. Has served in Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan.

CAS-Lahore

U.S. Consulate General

50 Zafar Ali Rd.

Lahore, Pakistan

COB-Paul F. Carlton — Born June 26,
1929. Previous service in Lebanon.

CAS-Panama

U.S. Embassy

Avenida Balboa at 38th St.

Panama

COS-Joseph Y. Kiyonaga — Born Hawaii.
Graduated from the School of Advanced
International Studies in 1949. Has served
in Brazil and El Salvador.

CAS-Lima

U.S. Embassy

S.W. Corner Avenidas Wilson and España
Lima, Peru

COS-Richard S. Welch — Born Connecticut,
December 14, 1929. Graduated from Harvard in 1951. Has served in
Cyprus, Guatemala, and Guyana.

CAS-Manila

U.S. Embassy

1201 Roxas Blvd.

Manila, Philippines

COS-George T. Kalaris — Born Montana,
May 4, 1922. Graduated from NYU in
1951. Previous service in Indonesia and
Laos.

CAS-Warsaw

U.S. Embassy

Aleje Ujazdowskie 29/31

Warsaw, Poland

COS-Carl E. Gebhart — Born June 8,
1933.

CAS-Bucharest

U.S. Embassy

Strada Tudor Arghezii

Bucharest, Romania

COS-Jay K. Gruner — Born Missouri,
August 23, 1935. Graduated from USC
in 1957. Has served in Venezuela and
Peru. Language: Romanian.

CAS-Jidda

U.S. Embassy

Palestine Rd., Ruwais

Jidda, Saudi Arabia

COS-Raymond H. Close — Born New
Jersey, March 12, 1930. Graduated from
Princeton in 1951. Has been stationed in
Lebanon, Egypt and Pakistan.

CAS-Dhahran

U.S. Consulate General

Dhahran, Saudi Arabia

COB-Richard B. Jackman — Born
October 1, 1940. Previously served in
Jordan.

CAS-Dakar

U.S. Embassy

Boite Postale 49,

BIAO Bldg., Place De l'Independance

Dakar, Senegal

COS-Charles L. Randolph — Born
Washington, DC. Graduated from Teachers
College in 1960. Previous service in
Nigeria.

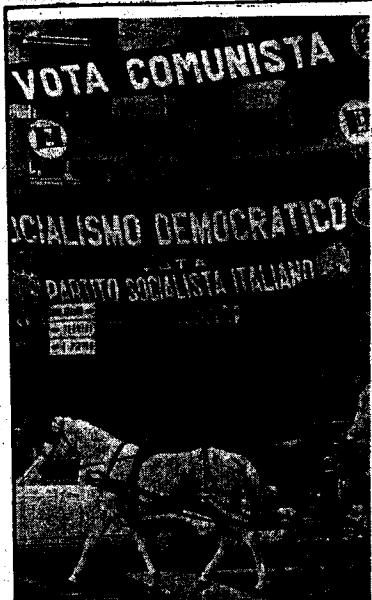
CAS-Singapore

U.S. Embassy

30 Hill St.

Singapore

COS-David T. Samson — Born Florida,
May 2, 1943. Graduated from UCLA in
1967.



Italy is one of the countries where the CIA has been reported to have been active in recent months.

CAS-Mogadiscio
U.S. Embassy

Corso Primo Luglio

Mogadiscio, Somalia

COS-David P. Hunt — Born New York, August 42, 1939. Graduated from Colby College in 1963.

CAS-Pretoria

U.S. Embassy

Thibault House, 225 Pretorius St.

Pretoria, South Africa

COS-Jarrel H. Richardson — Born Oregon, August 5, 1940. Graduated from University of Oregon in 1964. Previous service in Ethiopia.

CAS-Colombo

U.S. Embassy

44 Galle Rd., Colpetty

Colombo, Sri Lanka

COS-James A. Higman — Born Massachusetts, April 24, 1934. Graduated from Tufts University in 1959. Has served in India and Pakistan.

CAS-Khartoum

U.S. Embassy

Gamhouria Ave, P.O. Box 699

Khartoum, Sudan

COS-Murat Natirboff — Born February 4, 1921. Has served in Austria and Turkey.

CAS-Dar Es Salaam

U.S. Embassy

National Bank of Commerce Bldg, City Dr., P.O. Box 9123

Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania

COS-Harry S. Slifer, Jr. — Born Michigan, February 22, 1929. Graduated from the University of Michigan in 1956. Has served in Vietnam, France and Japan.

CAS-Ankara
U.S. Embassy
110 Ataturk Blvd.
Ankara, Turkey

COS-John H. Hoskins — Born Massachusetts, June 5, 1927. Graduated from Swarthmore College in 1949. Has served in India and Iran.

CAS-Istanbul
U.S. Consulate General
147 Mesrutiyet Caddesi
Istanbul, Turkey

COS-Robert B. Goodwin — Born Massachusetts, April 2, 1940. Graduated from Clark University in 1964. Previous service in India.

CAS-Moscow
U.S. Embassy
Ulitsa Chaykovskogo 19/21/23
Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

COS-Donald E. Graves — Born April 16, 1929. Graduated from Harvard in 1955. Language: Russian.

CAS-Abu Dhabi
U.S. Embassy
United Arab Emirates

COS-James M. Fernald — Born New Jersey, June 19, 1931. Graduated from Brown University in 1953. Has served in Lebanon, Yemen, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

CAS-London
U.S. Embassy
24/31 Grosvenor Sq. W. 1
London, England

COS-Cord Meyer — CIA labor specialist on temporary assignment to oversee British situation. Due to be transferred in June.

CAS-Montevideo
U.S. Embassy
Calle Laura Muller 1776
Montevideo, Uruguay

COS-Martin C. Hawkins — Born Arkansas, May 20, 1930. Has served in Honduras and Guatemala.

CAS-Caracas
U.S. Embassy
Avenida Francisco de Miranda and Avenida Principal de la Floresta

Caracas, Venezuela

COS-Wade E. Thomas — Born in South Carolina, May 14, 1922. Graduated from Georgetown University in 1951. Has served in Bolivia, Guatemala and Mexico.

CAS-Saigon
U.S. Embassy
39 Blvd. Ham-Nghi

Saigon, Vietnam

COS-Thomas Polgar — Born Hungary, July 24, 1922. Naturalized 1943. Has served in Germany, Austria and Argentina.

CAS-Danang
U.S. Consulate General
10 Gia Long St.
Danang, Vietnam

COS-James M. Howley — Born Ohio, August 4, 1929. Graduated from Marquette U. in 1952. Previous service in Germany.

CAS-Bien Hoa
U.S. Consulate General
Bien Hoa, Vietnam

COS-Thomas W. Lamb — Born New York, May 5, 1924. Graduated from Georgetown Univ. in 1957. Previous service in Geneva.

CAS-San'a
U.S. Embassy
P.O. Box 1088
Yemen

COS-John L. Brady — Born September 10, 1941.

CAS-Belgrade
U.S. Embassy
Kneza Milosa 50
Belgrade, Yugoslavia

COS-Richard F. Stoltz — Born Ohio, November 27, 1925. Graduated from Amherst in 1949. Has served in Germany, Bulgaria, USSR and Italy.

CAS-Zagreb
U.S. Consulate General
Zrinjevac 13
Zagreb, Yugoslavia

COS-Paul J. Redmond — Born Massachusetts, February 8, 1941. Graduated from Harvard in 1961. Previous service in Malaysia.

CAS-Kinshasa
U.S. Embassy
310 Avenue des Aviateurs
Kinshasa, Zaire

COS-James Kim — Born California, March 15, 1921. Graduated from Georgetown University in 1950. Previous service in Nigeria.

United Nations, U.S. Mission
799 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY, USA

COS-Rudolph Carter — Born in Pennsylvania, March 24, 1926. Graduated from U. of Pa. in 1949. Previous service in Sweden, Great Britain.

U.S. Mission to the European Office of the United Nations
Rue Du Lausanne
Geneva, Switzerland

Leo Sandel & Throop Wilder

UNESCO
2 Ave. Gabriel
Paris, France

John H. Kenney — Born Massachusetts, November 4, 1927. Previous service in Singapore, Guinea and Indonesia.

CAS-Hong Kong
U.S. Consulate General
26 Garden Rd.
Hong Kong

COS-Joseph J. Simon — Born Minnesota, November 14, 1928. Graduated from Yale in 1956.

Examining the Examiners

The appointment of a Presidential "Blue Ribbon" panel to investigate domestic CIA activities has come under fire from both the right and left of the political spectrum as a sham and a farce. Some officials around Washington D.C. are openly speculating that Gerald Ford either believes that the American people can't read or think, or that Ford has committed the Cardinal Sin of attempting to whitewash domestic CIA operations and placate a demanding and inquisitive public.

In announcing the appointment of the review panel, one White House representative characterized the panel members as "*respected citizens without any affiliation with the CIA.*" This statement is reminiscent of Ronald Ziegler "mis-speaking" himself; it is hard to believe that Jerry Ford actually thought that the American people would believe such a false statement when public facts speak to the contrary.

The following is not intended to give a life history of each panel participant, but rather a general view of how they will think as they sit in judgement of the Central Intelligence Agency domestic operations. None of these people are spies or former spies, but the majority of them are connected with American Intelligence through past work or acquaintances. Several of them are spy-masters, an elite of policy makers who have little knowledge of the technical craft of intelligence, preferring rather to be like Pontius Pilate with freshly washed hands and blood-free garments.

There is little need for us to comment further on the composition of the panel: the facts speak for themselves.

Vice President NELSON ROCKEFELLER, 66, known in some circles as the "Butcher of Attica", served as a member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board from 1969 until one month before the creation of the panel. His former foreign policy advisor and friend, Henry Kissinger, is the head of the National Security Council and responsible for the approval of major covert operations such as the 1973 Chilean coup support.

General LYMAN LEMNITZER, 75, was the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1960 to 1962. During his tenure as CJCIS, he personally counseled John F. Kennedy to proceed with the CIA sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion.

C. DOUGLAS DILLON, 65, is a college friend of Nelson Rockefeller and a former member of the OSS. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and once chaired its Discussion Group on Intelligence and Foreign Policy. At one meeting of that group in 1969, former CIA Director of Clandestine Services Richard Bissell outlined the entire CIA philosophy on covert operations. In 1960, as the Undersecretary of State, Dillon helped to fabricate the cover story for the ill-fated U-2 flight of Francis Gary Powers.

ERWIN GRISWOLD, 70, served as the Solicitor General from 1967 through 1972. As the Solicitor General, he argued the government's case defending the right of the U.S. Army Military Intelligence to conduct domestic operations, and later for the suppression of publication of the Pentagon Papers. Griswold lost both cases.

EDGAR F. SHANNON, 56, was President of the University of Virginia for many years. U.Va. is considered a "safe school" for military officers, and has a large number of former CIA Phoenix personnel in its graduate school.

JOHN T. CONNOR, 60, served as Secretary of Commerce from 1965 through 1967. He is now the President of Allied Chemical Corporation.

JOSEPH L. KIRKLAND, 52, is the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor-Council of Industrial Organizations and a member of the Board of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). AIFLD is a CIA property operating in Latin America. For more information on AIFLD, see "CIA Labor Operations in Latin America" on page 30 of this issue.

RONALD REAGAN, 63, former liberal who turned conservative during the heat of the McCarthy era, is a close friend of his former Attorney General, Ewell Younger. Younger is a former OSS officer who is rumored to have still close and current ties with the CIA. Former Governor Reagan once called for a "bloodbath" of student dissidents after the murder of four students at Kent State University.

Although not a member of the actual panel, DAVID W. BELIN will serve as the chief counsel for the panel. His most notable past service was with Gerald Ford as a member of the Warren Commission, where he helped to formulate the Lee Harvey Oswald/Lone Assassin theory and became one of its staunchest supporters.



"We must have a bit of a fight, but I don't care about going on long," said Tweedledum. "What's the time now?"

Tweedledee looked at his watch, and said, "Half past four."

"Let's fight till six, and then have dinner," said Tweedledum.

Tom Darcy—Newsday

AN EDUCATIONAL GUIDE TO CIA LABOR OPERATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

The following pages present information on CIA operations against the toiling people of Latin America and the Caribbean. These operations, due to recent disclosures, are being exposed as strategic daggers of the multinational corporate expansion to global empire and control over the American political economy. They are two edged daggers.

One side is visible in its effects and promotes the privileged, aristocratic, and still dominant AFL-CIO theory of "business unionism", or "Gomperism", as the correct organizing form for Latin America. This theory, due in part to the collaboration of business-unionism proponents and multi-national corporations, is now coming under fire from American unionists as well as their international counterparts in the Third World.

The other edge of the dagger is invisible. Its effects are cloaked in the awesome state secrecy, making it an invisible edge which, in fact, controls the weapon. But this edge is dulling as various tendencies fight for its control.

These daggers are aimed at communism, but they have managed to stab and knife the body of virtually every labor movement in Latin America. The daggers respond to the CIA theory of anti-communism: anyone to the left of their position is at least untrustworthy, and quite possibly the enemy.

The facts and analysis in the following article come at a time when the world is experiencing a major political transition. Recent events at the United Nations reveal that the world balance of forces has, in the last few years, tipped from conditions favorable to the multinational corporate expansion to conditions favorable to Third World nations in their struggle against foreign corporate domination.

As these global corporations have used, dominated, and even determined our foreign policy for the last thirty years, it is only natural that our government and its citizens are receiving the shock waves of this major revolution in world politics. For the CIA, this has meant disarray of its apparatus and confusion over policy.

Today, these daggers are not so much aimed as they are "dangled" over the heads of Latin American labor. In desperation the dagger may stab here, there, or yonder, but it cannot cut with the scientific precision that it once may have claimed.

Further, the CIA is weakened from its role in Watergate, from public outrage over CIA domestic spying, and from the current purge of "Cold Warriors" who refuse to accept detente.

This weakened condition of the CIA invites more than just an expose or the removal of the cloak: it invites the neutralization of a CIA covert operation that, aside from being a simple abuse of power, bears all the traditional markings of CIA intervention into the affairs of other countries. It is an issue that many can unite around.

The full record of CIA labor operations is not known; only patience and aggressive investigation will reveal them to the fullest extent. From the massive amount of information compiled by the Fifth Estate and others investigating this area, we are able to offer a basic record and analysis.

Because, as former CIA officer Phillip Agee and others familiar with CIA operations note, labor operations are conducted in a political context, we were compelled to present the record in the context of high level state and economic politics. To do otherwise would have been superficial and incomplete. We obviously could not explore all the subjects and questions raised by our analysis, but we have tried to be as objective as possible in preparing the material.

We hope that you can use this information to educate yourselves and others on the problems and issues surrounding the American Institute for Free Labor Development's ties to the Central Intelligence Agency. Already, this is a focus of education and agitation amongst trade-unionists and rank-and-file organizations around the country. Such activity is taking the form of seeking the abolition of AIFLD, and we believe that only through the trade union movement can AIFLD be abolished and a CIA activity neutralized.

This material is presented in an experimental format. We know that there is currently a booklet on AIFLD currently circulating within the trade-union movement, and we support the points made in that document, especially its call for the abolition of AIFLD. But we do not feel that one booklet is adequate for the task ahead. A combination of the booklet along with other nationally and locally prepared material is needed for distribution and discussion by union members.

The next year is critical for those organizing and agitating around AIFLD. While it may not be possible to actually abolish AIFLD within the next 12 months, it is possible to keep the spotlight on the issue and build support for AIFLD's demise.

We hope that this information will be of use for those studying CIA operations, especially those active in the struggle against AIFLD. If you desire more information, please write to: the Fifth Estate Labor Education Project, Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044.

ANALYSIS

INTEGRATION

A current joke throughout Latin America and other regions of the world when referring to the U.S. labor central is to call it the AFL-CIA. This joke is an accurate observation of the *Integration* of the AFL-CIO with the CIA; of labor union international affairs with U.S. state diplomacy; of labor union foreign policy with the objectives of the multinational or transnational corporations.

This integration is the result of a long history of collaboration by labor leaders (especially the American Federation of Labor) with government and industry in both domestic and foreign policies. Even before World War II, labor participated in international affairs as an independent foreign policy pressure group, by being active in independent international programs and by cooperation with our government in other areas. In this last area, the integration of labor union international affairs with U.S. state diplomacy came to include the active collaboration of many labor leaders with the clandestine apparatus of the U.S. government, including the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). The OSS was the predecessor to the Central Intelligence Agency.

After the war, this level of collaboration was strengthened by industrial and governmental analysis which summed up the war-time experience and defined the needs for the U.S. political economy in the coming era.

The emergence of the multinational corporations as a dominant aspect of industry (and U.S. political economy) produced a change in U.S. global strategy which aided the growth of a multinational corporate empire. The primary focus of multinational corporate strategy was to prevent the development of socialist economies in war-torn European nations by using economic rather than military means. The experience of the war revealed that to truly implement this global strategy, the multinational corporations needed to maintain and strengthen the U.S. security forces; specifically a clandestine offensive force. Such a force was necessary for secret maneuvering in the global political arena.

In 1947 the Armed Forces Act and the National Security Act were passed, followed by the Central Intelligence Act in 1949. Passage of these bills served to reorganize the security forces of the government and to create an enormous clandestine force which included the Central Intelligence Agency. Since state foreign policy has been dominated by the desires of the multinational corporations since the war, the CIA has therefore not only served as an instrument of state diplomacy, but also has served the multinational corporations especially in the area of labor operations. The war-time experience also demonstrated that this strategy would need the continued collaboration of those individuals and bureaucracies in the American labor movement involved in international affairs. By skillful "motivation of incentives", the multinational corporations assured this continued collaboration by recruiting some leaders as CIA agents, and began the integration of the AFL-CIO with the CIA.

"Motivation of incentives" is a standard technique of hierachial control which has been refined quantitatively by the CIA in order to maintain control not only over their own personnel and foreign national agents, but also over other elements of the political economy, such as members of Congress, scholars, and labor. Labor's incentives for being involved in international affairs arises from: (1) the basic responsibility of the labor leaders to maintain the welfare of the unions, (2) the desire to increase labor's power in the domestic arena, (3) the leader's desire to act in the interests of the nation, (4) the intention of promoting or defending a political movement or group ideology, and (5) the personal interest and needs of the leadership.

(1) — There are three fundamental areas in the international affairs arena with direct links to the welfare of union members: international trade, migration and population, and investment. In significant areas, the Agency's view of a situation was the same as labor's view, thus motivating successful collaboration. It is conceivable that political discussions were carried on by Cord Meyer (CIA) and George Meany or Jay Lovestone. Formal discussions or conspiracy on questions was not necessary for collaboration; all that was necessary was a similar political practice.

Thus, the AFL-CIO could demand that the government (CIA) and industry (multinational corporations) approve the organization of unions in Latin America in order to raise the wages of the workers so as to offset the competitive threat from abroad. The CIA could support this policy as long as it helped to provide for profitable international trade. In practice, it was only necessary to raise the living standards of those in leadership positions in Latin America.

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Organized labor has a deep-seated fear that non-union foreign workers will depress wage standards and create unemployment. In demanding help from the government for control of the migration of foreign workers, and their numbers, the AFL-CIO knew that the government would respond; given the fact that government, industry, and labor all agree on the need to limit foreign populations in areas such as this.

In the early stages of AFL-CIO collaboration, labor leaders were not concerned about the question of international investment, however, today this has become a very important question. Overall, U.S. labor leaders benefited from their collaboration with the CIA and other elements of the foreign policy apparatus by being able to better protect their unions in most areas of vital concern.

(2) — Participation in international activity by U.S. trade union leaders led to the acquiring of status with the national policymaking elite and sometimes with the public at large. Thus the government rewarded labor leaders for their collaboration with the CIA by admitting them to this select club. In retrospect, since the AFL-CIO is more effective in foreign policy arenas than in domestic ones, it appears that their reward was a dubious honor. It is probable that the purge of the left in the CIO and its subsequent merger with the AFL in the early 1950's was a CIA labor operation.

(3) — "Serving the nation" is an important area of motivation that has profound control over trade unionists. The AFL-CIO believes that it must assist in the exercise of state foreign policy for its own self-preservation. In two world wars, American trade union leadership has sought to demonstrate that national loyalties can override class, and group loyalties; this strategy was utilized because of the fear by union leaders that any national crisis could subvert or destroy the unions. Throughout AFL-CIO polemics there is a constant comparison of the trade union with the nation. They say: What's good for America is good for American labor." Appealing to nationalist feelings is a very important motivation technique used by the CIA to insure collaboration of leaders.



(4) — Trade union leaders tend to champion three types of ideologies: political; movement; and group. Trade unions throughout the world are generally associated with variations of five different political ideologies: capitalism, democracy, socialism, communism, and to a lesser extent, christianity. Often these ideologies have been combined into broader ideologies. The AFL-CIO for instance, supports a political ideology expressed positively as "democracy and freedom" and negatively as "anti-communist". Thus the CIA and the AFL-CIO could find common ground for cooperation in building "anti-communist free trade unions" in Latin America due to the fact that the CIA is primarily anti-communist and could easily motivate this ideological incentive. Whether the CIA supports "democracy and freedom" is debatable; as is the AFL-CIO concept of "free trade unions." Trade unionists also possess an international group loyalty or "movement" ideology. They refer to each other as "brother" and speak of "fraternal aid"; however, true incentives arising from this movement ideology are difficult to discern. In the CIA's eyes, this is at least demonstrated strong *bona fides* that labor leaders would have with their Latin American counterparts. It is easier for AFL-CIO representatives to manipulate foreign labor leaders than representatives of the U.S. government.

Not all trade unions can be said to possess a group ideology. However, the CIA is one labor organization that does possess a group ideology. These ideologies arise from trade unions claiming to have attributes, other than nationality, which make them unique. They then claim that their form of unionism is the best for workers world-wide. The AFL-CIO claims that its form, "business unionism", is the best form for trade union organizing. Even in the early days, the AFL promoted this group ideology against other forms which it saw as aberrations of trade unionism. Of course, other unions not connected with the AFL-CIO would disagree.

Business unionism focuses on skilled and professional workers in craft and professional unions in order to consolidate these workers into a middle or intermediate class in relation to management and as a major constituency in relation to government. The philosophy is: given a higher standard of living (as opposed to industrial workers) this minority will become stable members of society. While elevating skilled and professional workers, the AFL-CIO blocks efforts to organize skilled and unskilled workers.

While "business unionism" is "depoliticised" in that it does not allow any other political ideologies, it is, contrary to the propaganda line of the AFL-CIO ideology, politicised. This necessitates counter-militant activities including black lists, red-baiting, craft-scabbing and clandestine labor operations.

Further, business unionism preaches labor/management cooperation in order to increase production. Collective bargaining and negotiations are always preferred to strikes. This theory of labor/management harmony insures the raising of wages without reducing industry's share of the economic pie. The issue of wages and prices is a flexible one, however, with the unions responding according to the situation.

In general, business unionism has been compatible with the CIA in that its promotion in Latin America would aid the stability of that area and create a favorable investment climate for the multinational corporations. Support of business unionism by the CIA and the multinational corporations was a strong motivation for collaboration.

(5) - Motivation of the personal needs of the leadership in the labor movement is too complex of an issue to examine in this analysis. It is sufficient to say that the CIA prepares extensive psychological profiles on nearly everyone with power in world society. While many leaders are susceptible to bribery, others require more subtle approaches. For instance, the CIA must have known of Jay Lovestone's stormy repudiation by Stalin, and probably encouraged his anti-Stalin (anti-communist) sentiments throughout his period of collaboration.

Thus, incentives for international activities by trade union leaders could be motivated towards collaboration with the CIA. An integration of the AFL-CIO and the CIA could motivate similar incentives among Latin American trade union leaders to become part of the infrastructure of "free trade unionism" in Latin America and also lead some of them to become CIA agents.

STRUCTURE

Although general formation of policy for labor operations has occurred with the integration of certain labor leaders and the government-corporate leadership of the CIA; actual operations are implemented by the CIA. The Agency conducts three basic types of clandestine operations: Foreign Intelligence (FI), Psychological Warfare and Para-military (PP), and Counter-Intelligence (CI). FI is concerned with clandestine intelligence collection (agent handling, electronic surveillance, etc.). PP is concerned with action operations and CI with protection of both FI and PP.

Although all of these operations are considered clandestine and often overlap, PP are considered covert because they consist of the control, manipulation and support of individuals and organizations engaged in the battle against communism throughout the world. PP involves youth and student organizations, public information media, professional societies (journalists and lawyers), businessmen's associations, women's organizations, politicians, political parties, governments and labor organizations. Action operations also involve the training and support of para-military, irregular military, police and military forces throughout the world.

PP, as well as FI and CI are controlled operationally by the Clandestine Services (CS) side of the CIA. Administratively CS is known as the Deputy Directorate for Plans, (or Operations as it is now known). From the early 1950's until 1964, the CIA maintained a senior staff to coordinate and review all PP activities within the various divisions of the DDP. This senior staff provided functional control, while the divisions provided area control. Besides the area divisions, there were four other divisions operating to serve the others. One of these was the International Organizations Division (IOD), run for many years by Cord Meyer, Jr. (Meyer is the soon to be replaced station chief in London.) The IOD was further divided into five branches. The labor branch focused on labor operations throughout the world. Labor operations in the field were coordinated by the IOD staff with the PP staff and the area divisions and branches directly concerned. In 1964, the IOD and PP were merged to form the new Covert Action Staff.

The Western Hemisphere Division (WH), is the area division responsible for Latin America. The WH Division is in turn divided into several branches. Branch 1 includes Mexico and Central America; Branch 2 has the Caribbean; Branch 3 has Venezuela, Columbia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Aruba, Curacao, British Guyana, and Surinam; Branch 4 covers Brazil; and Branch 5 covers Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, and Chile. After 1959, Cuban affairs were handled by a special branch.

For many years, WH was the fiefdom of Colonel J.S. King, who also worked with Cord Meyer on labor operations. Many of the Station and Base chiefs, as well as the division leaders are members of a fraternity of ex-FBI intelligence operatives who came into the CIA in 1947 after the Agency absorbed FBI operations in Latin America. This group is often referred to as the "gumshoe" division.

The psychological and paramilitary operations, known by the cryptonym KECAGE, are generally approved on at least the level of the PP staff (Cover Action) of the DDO. When large amounts of money are required or especially sensitive methods are used, approval may come from as high as the National Security Council or the President. Labor operations are generally considered psychological warfare rather than paramilitary operations because of the extensive use of propaganda and other psy-war techniques utilized. Labor operations can begin on any level, in fact, labor operations are often mounted at the request of corporations operating in Latin America.

Labor operations are targeted at several levels. On the global level, IOD in collaboration with the AFL-CIO targeted the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU); (the only international trade union center after WWII) with a full propaganda effort to red-bait the union because of the communist influence among its membership. Simultaneously, a union splitting operation was launched against the WFTU. These operations came to a head in 1949 over the question of the Marshall Plan for recovery of Europe under US Military and economic control. As Communist unions, along with a great number of others refused to support this plan to extend the power of the multinational corporations, the IOD encouraged several unions to leave and join with the AFL in forming a new international; The International Confederation of Trade Unions (ICFTU). IOD was also responsible in part for the expulsion of the WFTU from its Paris headquarters in 1951. The labor operations of the CIA continue to propagandize against the WFTU and its divisions on the global level. In Latin America, any union that relates to the WFTU is branded communist.

Labor operations promoted and supported the ICFTU and its regional organizations, such as ORIT in Latin America, by having Agency influenced and controlled unions and national centers affiliate with the International. Thus, within the ICFTU, from its beginning, was an infrastructure of the *Integrated AFL-CIA*. For many years, these labor operations were a result of the highest level of collaboration between the AFL-CIO and the IOD, principally between Jay Lovestone and Cord Meyer.

Although there were other philosophies and political forces in the ICFTU, which would become stronger at a later date, both the CIA labor operations and AFL-CIO business unionism were the dominant factor in early ICFTU policy decisions. For many years, this integrated policy bloc could mobilize the entire organization to propagandize and organize against the WFTU and other forces on issues of mutual concern to labor and government. The WH division could control and mobilize ORIT in a similar fashion.

Most labor operations happen at the field level; local station and base operations are designed to weaken and defeat communist or leftists dominated union structures and to establish and support a non-communist structure. They are also used in conjunction with other operations to control entire societies in Latin America.

In addition, the CIA works through the International Trade Secretariats (ITS) affiliated with ICFTU. The ITS are organized along functional lines of a particular industry rather than as national centers which organize workers in various industries. Because the ITS are often more flexible and more influential with Latin American workers than the ICFTU or ORIT, the Agency often uses the ITS to assist labor operations targeted against workers in a specific industry.

Often the CIA agents in the ITS are the American labor leaders who represent the US affiliate of the ITS. Their power is enormous since the ITS receive their principal support from their US members.

The five major ITS used by the CIA are: (1) the Inter-American Federation of Entertainment Workers, whose U.S. member is the American Federation of Musicians; (2) the International Transportation Workers Federation, whose U.S. member is the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks; (3) the Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone International, whose U.S. member is the Communications Workers of America; and (4) the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers, whose U.S. member is the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union and (5) The Inter-American Textile and Garment Workers Federation whose U.S. member is the Textile Workers of America. In the last two decades, the CIA has been particularly active in the affairs of the Communication Workers of America, and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union. ITS "activists" (as their field organizers are known) have often been agents of the integrated AFL-CIA. In Latin America, on several occasions, CIA station or base labor operations have been given cover as a local program of the ITS.

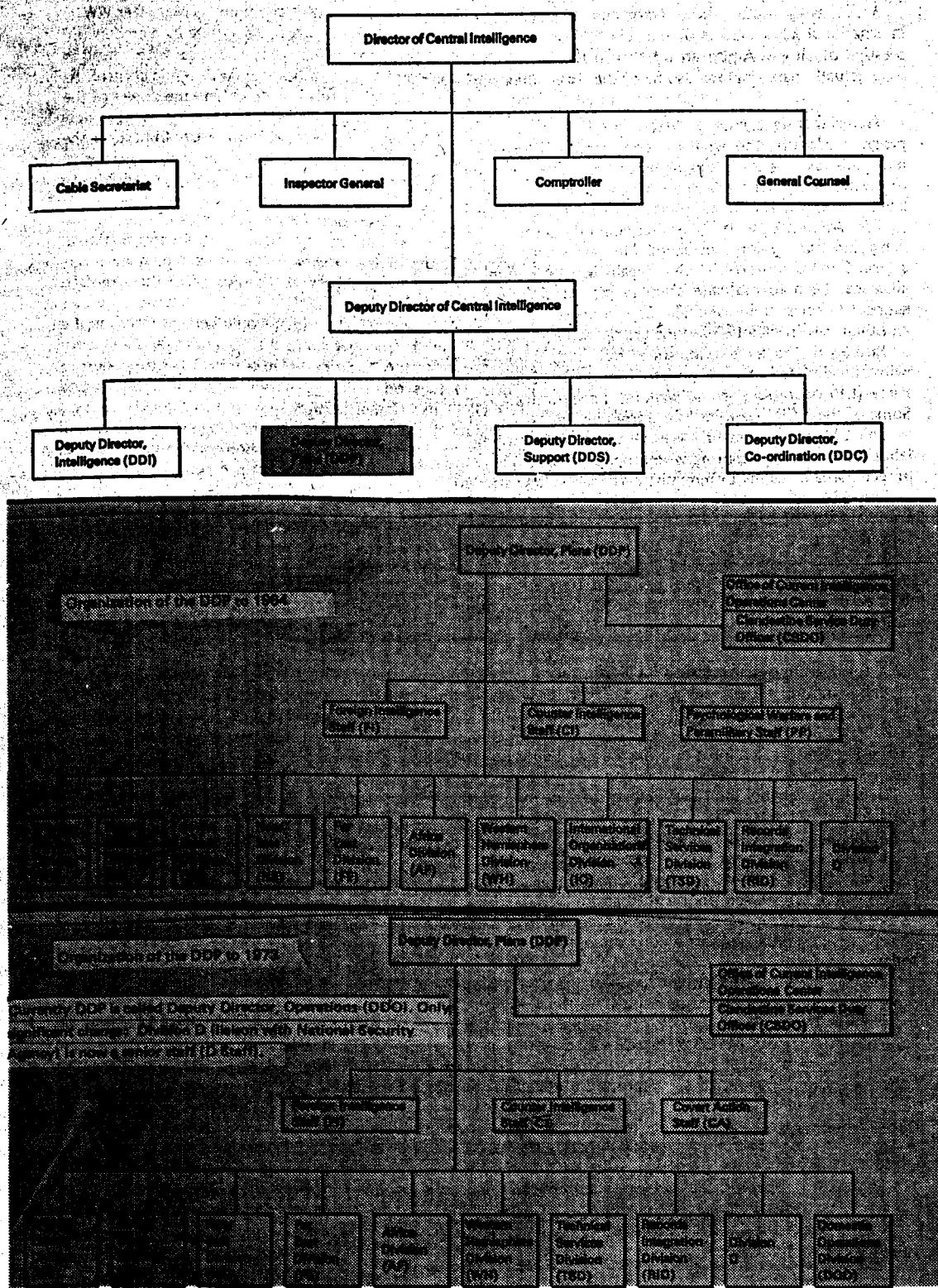
There is also a Catholic trade union movement which, similar to the ITS, has been infiltrated and manipulated by the CIA. Although the World Confederation of Labor (WCL) does not usually support business unionism; it has been used by the CIA because of its extreme anti-communist bias. The Latin American affiliate of the WCL is the Latin American Confederation of Trade Unionists (CLASC).

Politically, U.S. control over ORIT was weakened by both the element of foreign control in certain areas, and the fact that the Cuban revolution spurred new militancy in Latin America which resulted in a desperate need for a new CIA property.

Since 1962, the CIA has originated, developed and maneuvered a new major labor operation involving yet another organization. The CIA created the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) for both administrative and political reasons. Administratively the new organization answered the CIA's growing need for better control and higher efficiency with regard to CIA labor operations.

AIFLD has been completely controlled by the CIA, and thus can be categorized as a *labor proprietary* of the CIA. AIFLD was also designed to be flexible and more influential because it did not claim to represent union members in world or national affairs; rather, AIFLD provides training and education while establishing credit unions and cooperatives for the workers. Although these projects are in fact designed to have impact on the Latin American movement, the real activity of AIFLD is organizing more unions along the lines of business unionism, along with the recruiting of CIA operatives. Of course, all operations are more efficient through the apparatus of a *labor proprietary*; CIA operatives are assigned to almost every AIFLD office and/or operation.

C.I.A. CLANDESTINE SERVICES



With this apparatus, the CIA has conducted most of its labor operations in Latin America. The collaborating international labor leaders of the AFL-CIO have provided CIA operations with not only the cover of having the prestige of all the American workers in the AFL-CIO (along with some of their dues and tax dollars), but also have actually participated in some of the covert operations as "witting" agents.

These witting agents or "labor assets", can be enormously valuable in assisting a local CIA station labor program. Usually, the agent has considerable prestige as a result of his position on the international and regional level. His favor is often sought by indigenous labor leaders because of the travel, training, grants, and invitations to conferences that the agent dispenses. He accordingly has ready access to leaders in the local non-communist labor movement and he can establish contact between the station and those local labor leaders of interest.

The AFL-CIA, with its anti-communist posture, has had to face several political ideologies in the Latin American trade union movement. Most have been viewed as enemies, or at the very most temporary allies against a larger, more powerful enemy (again usually communism). But the general attitude towards these temporary allies has been to motivate them in certain directions and not to really join with them because they do not support business unionism. The CIA, proceeding from a very thorough and scientific analysis of these ideologies and their role in society, has targeted operations against all of them.

Besides the business unionism or free trade unionism organizations being formed by the CIA, the Agency was primarily directed towards penetration of the communist movement. The CIA would get most of its Communist Party (CP) operations from "walk-ins"; disgruntled CP members who contacted CIA agents or the U.S. Embassy. Some of these CP "walk-ins" were from unions associated with the WFTU and were used in labor operations.

The CIA was successful over the years in diminishing the influence of communism over the Latin American labor movement through massive propaganda campaigns and other anti-CP operations. Only in Chile and Ecuador in recent years has the Communist Party shown any strength.

The CIA also gained agents in the democratic socialist movement, consistently maneuvering it into many political factions and parties designed to support CIA policies. For the most part, the social democrats have been viewed as little more than second class partners with communists in the labor movement.

The Catholic influence on the Latin American trade union movement has been powerful. Aside from those groups associated with business unionism, the Catholics have been the primary allies for the CIA. Because of this, they enjoy power in the labor movements of many countries, although they are usually second or third to the national intelligence services and the ICFTU.

A third grouping of political ideologies, primarily nationalistic and populist, have had extensive influence in the labor movements of their nations. These nationalist groupings include the Aprista Party of Peru; the Accion Democratica Party in Venezuela; the Liberation National Party of Costa Rica; the Popular Democratic Movement of Puerto Rico, the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario of Bolivia; the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano of the Dominican Republic; and the Partido Febrero de Paraguay. The Partido Revolucionario Institucional of Mexico is somewhat in the same category.

These movements do not belong to any international ideological movement but recognize common hemispheric interests. They are interested in broad programs of support for changing class and race relationships, strengthening the identity and independence of their nations, bringing about rapid economic development, and establishing a firm basis for political democracy. Accordingly, the motivations of the CIA agents in these movements are somewhat different from their business unionism counterparts, but not so much as to make them incompatible. Organized labor is the backbone of most these nationalistic tendencies.

Besides these ideological political movements which influenced labor, two individuals during the 1940's were able to develop wide support among the organized workers of their respective countries. Their influence persists today.

These two men were Getulio Vargas of Brazil and Juan Peron of Argentina. Both were able, from positions of power in the government, to do enough for the workers to gain majority support and control the organized labor movement. Both Vargas and Peron organized their supporters into political parties, and these parties still controlled the largest part of the Brazilian and Argentinian labor movements by the 1960's.

During each phase of U.S. global strategy the CIA has changed its strategy and actions for Latin America. Labor operations have especially responded to the changing political conditions.

From the end of World War Two to 1950, U.S. global strategy was based on the Truman Doctrine of nuclear superiority to extend U.S. influence and internationalize our political economy.

Most CIA labor operations in Latin America during this period were psychological warfare operations against the WFTU and the strong communist influence in the labor movement. Eventually communist influence dwindled as CIA agents propagandized against communism in the labor movement, moved for a renunciation of class struggle (or at least the objective of seizing state power), and used the Latin American security forces to crush those who were armed. During this time, the multinationals had a solid foundation built for them in Latin America.

From 1950-1959, the U.S. government applied Eisenhower's strategy of "Massive Retaliation" to continue to intimidate other nations and ideologies. During this period CIA labor operations reached their apogee and the AFL-CIO followed an international policy which came to be called "Lovestone Diplomacy." Although the U.S. came to support several nationalist dictatorships during this period, the AFL-CIO did not recognize them as such as long as they allowed a reasonable form of business-unionism to flourish and were under CIA control.

Towards the end of this period, events changed the picture. The Soviet Union gained nuclear parity, causing a change in global strategy to Kennedy's "Flexible Response" strategy for a "new era of peace." This came to be expressed in Latin America as the Alliance for Progress. The Alliance for Progress was launched to counteract the effects of the Cuban Revolution. Although Castro-ism never became a dominant trend in the Latin American labor movement, it did energize a new era of agitation and revolution. During this period the ICFTU and the ORIT became viewed as mere extensions of "Yankee Imperialism." As such, their effectiveness became limited, so the CIA shopped around for a new program for Latin American labor operations. The answer was found in a project started by the chief CIA asset in the Communication Workers of America, Joseph Bierne. From that contact, the American Institute for Free Labor Development was launched.

From 1962 through 1967, AIFLD was a very effective tool for labor operations, but towards the end of the Johnson Administration world events began to shift against the CIA.

DISINTEGRATION

Since the late 1960's, the CIA has experienced a decline in the effectiveness of its labor operations. Multinational corporations have come under attack from many elements abroad and here in America. The U.S. foreign policy which was once monolithic has become divided in almost all areas and all issues. Additionally, collaboration between the AFL-CIO and the CIA has been steadily but unevenly disintegrating.

This is primarily due to a shift in the world balance of forces as emphasized by both the defeat of the United States in Indochina and the combination of the energy crisis and the economic crisis the country now faces.

In Latin America this has heralded a new period of revolution with the formation of new nationalist, communist, and socialist groups in the labor movement. These groups have either evaded or otherwise neutralized the effects of CIA labor operations. Additionally, many Latin American governments, nominally pro-U.S., are moving further away from the U.S. A few are demanding and obtaining greater control over their political economies and are winning concessions from the multinational corporations. Others have begun to swing towards Soviet offers to replace the multinationals in the Latin American spheres of influence. Even others are turning towards Japan and Europe.

Increasingly, the CIA has had to mount more operations against the growing influence of these three powers in the Latin American movements, while at the same time cooperating with them on other operations. This is adding a major strain on the CIA, which is already taxed to the limit with pressure from the revelations over CIA-Watergate connections, its role in the Chilean coup, and the domestic spying operations.

But the primary reason for a decline in CIA operations is that Latin America is seething with revolution. Militancy in the trade union movements is increasing, and with it an increasing awareness of the roles played by AIFLD, ICFTU, ORIT and other organizations affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

This has caused problems of control in labor operations. It is especially noticeable in the operations involving both ITS's and AIFLD. A recent report prepared for the State Department indicates that at a top level strategy meeting of ITS, AID, AIFLD, and CIA personnel in Panama, the government was no longer asking labor "Did we get what we bought?" but rather "Did what we bought make a difference?"

CIA labor operations are also being affected by the internal political struggles of the AFL-CIO. Contradictions are developing over almost all issues of domestic and foreign policy. This process started in 1967 when the Ruether machine in the United Auto Workers of the AFL-CIO became opposed to the Meany hierarchy over many issues. This rift became expressed primarily in the expose by the Ruether machine of CIA labor operations. The issue quickly died down because no political force continued to use this against Meany.

The real source of the problems in CIA labor operations, however, lies in the many contradictions produced by the multinational corporations in their relations with labor.

The multinational corporation was hardly visible to American labor until the late 1960's. Prior to this, the popular analysis was that multinationals were simply "run-away shops". But as events began to show, they were something more. By 1973, an Opinion Research Poll found that 7 out of 10 Americans were convinced that the main reason U.S. firms go abroad is to take advantage of cheap labor and that the result is loss of jobs in the U.S. The same poll showed that the public viewed multinationals as a drain on tax revenues. "When it comes to the bread and butter issues, public sentiment runs strongly against multinationals" Business Week magazine said of the poll.

By 1974, published business reports, government and academic sources began to suggest that multinationals were, in fact, guilty as charged of profiteering, tax avoidance, and other impacts on the U.S. economy and labor. Labor is especially effected by the loss of jobs; spiralling inflation and recession; wasted tax dollars, and diminishing quality of consumer goods; all problems which these reports laid at the doorstep of the multinational corporations.

Profits continued to zoom upward last year after huge gains in 1973, with the multinational corporations showing outstanding gains. Twenty-four major oil companies showed a 81.9% rise in second quarter 1974 profits according to a survey by the *Wall Street Journal*. Other multinationals showed increases as high as 402% (Occidental Petroleum) while the aluminum companies, also multinationals, showed an increase of 131%.

At the same time, a May 1974 report by *Survey of Current Business* tabulated 1970 tax benefits totaling \$4.6 billion for the multinationals. The survey covering 298 U.S. based firms and their 50% owned subsidiaries. Thus, the impact of multinational operations, including the export of jobs and technology, began to be recognized in 1974.

Increasingly, the multinational corporations have not been able to continue motivating the AFL-CIO leadership. The most disastrous ramification of this has been the inability of industry and government to protect the welfare of the unions.

Today, George Meany and his supporters in the AFL-CIO are changing their attitude about government controls over the multinationals, and have in fact declared that their policy is to force the government to regulate the multinationals. There are few appearances of corrective action at the present time, and in the face of economic crisis, the AFL-CIO leadership finds itself increasingly unable to satisfy the needs of its membership. Although opposing the multinationals in the area of union welfare, the AFL-CIO leadership long ago became agents of the multinationals in other areas.

The change occurring in industry, government, and labor are causing a disintegration of the AFL-CIA. But this will no doubt be a long process. Although this integration is weakened, there are no indications that the AFL-CIO and the multinationals will separate altogether. This would be incompatible with business unionism. This apparatus is still powerful and experienced.

Meany's recent call to alter business unionism slightly by calling for "socialism"; government regulation of trade rather than free trade, is, in the face of continuing economic crises, a case of too little too late. At one time, the leadership of the AFL-CIO was able to provide for the welfare of the union members and increase their standard of living (at the expense of Latin American Workers). Meany's strategy may not succeed this time, as the multinationals still have the upper hand in government. The so-called strategy of multinational labor, as Meany calls it, may not be the answer to multinational corporations, and will not hide the widening contradiction between the rank-and-file and the leadership in the AFL-CIO.

Today labor operations of the CIA stand at the epicenter of the shock waves depressing American workers and consumers as a result of the multinational corporate retreat. AIFLD is a focal point of all the contradictions of an integrated AFL-CIA. Realizing this, some union members have begun agitating against AIFLD in their unions. Anti-AIFLD campaigns are also flaring up in Latin America and elsewhere. These union members have become aware of the true role of AIFLD and its effects on them. They emphasize that although the issue is small at present, it is certain to become a major issue within the AFL-CIO as time passes. Other groups such as consumer groups opposed to the multinationals; forces opposed to CIA clandestine or covert operations; and some members of the press are also beginning to call for the abolition of AIFLD. Although these efforts have yet to show true potential, one result is inevitable: should these forces succeed in abolishing AIFLD or at least limiting its operations, they will have succeeded in crippling a major area of CIA covert operations in Latin America.

Those at AIFLD and at the CIA are aware of this activity. William Doherty has taken charge of efforts to counter-act anti-AIFLD resolutions within the labor movement and has spoken against these "lies and accusations". After a speech on the subject in California, someone in the AIFLD office overreacted and sent a few Latino thugs to assault one of the union members who has opposed AIFLD. As this issue becomes well known, it is doubtful that AIFLD will be able to continue with such tactics.

NEXT: CIA LABOR OPERATIONS IN ASIA.

AIFLD Targets IWY.

An indication that the CIA may be focusing on women workers came in the August 1974 *AIFLD Report* which noted that Joan M. Goodwin, Assistant Director of International Affairs of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC), a union that has long supported the AIFLD and its activities in Latin America was now a member of the Advisory Board of the US Center for International Women's Year (IWY). Commenting on a recent conference on the IWY the article went on to reveal that: "After having listened to the participants, Ms. Goodwin said that the women present had been making history within their respective national labor movements, but lamented that others are not aware of the heroic activities they have been carrying out. For that reason, it was suggested that participants put their experiences down on paper for the benefit of their colleagues around the world. Both AIFLD and the U.S. Center for IWY are very interested in having such data as a source of inspiration to others."

AIFLD Order Of Battle

ORDER OF BATTLE (OB) FOR CIA LABOR PROPRIETARY OPERATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

An "order of battle" is the structure, strengths and weaknesses of an organization arrayed for war or political struggle. Since the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) is a major weapon of the CIA to clandestinely enforce U.S. labor policy, we present its OB, here, in simulated dossier format.

OPERATIONAL NAME: American Institute for Free Labor Development

CIA CRYPTONYM: Unknown at this time.

MISSION PURPOSE: To provide CIA with a completely controlled mechanism for trade union organizing and anti-communist psychological warfare (PP) labor operations, while maintaining a cover of overt operations providing educational and social action programs with the prestige of the AFL-CIO.

MISSION TARGET: Primarily communism in the Latin American trade union movement but labor operations by AIFLD have affected every political and trade union ideology, Democratic, Socialist and Catholic movements, especially have been targeted by the CIA.

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY: Business unionism and anti-communism, primarily the latter.

POLICY: Policy making rests in the integrated structure and purposes of labor, business and government.

Business, i.e., multinational corporation executives serve as a front on the Board of Directors so that large sums of funding can be supplied overtly by them and from the government. This front also insures the Institute will have the appearance of cooperation from the multinational corporations operating in Latin America. This provides a mechanism for multinational corporations to monitor and control AIFLD general philosophical direction from atop the hierarchy.

Chairman of the Board is J. Peter Grace, of W.R. Grace & Company, which has extensive economic interests throughout Latin America. Grace preaches integration and anti-communism by saying, "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 between liberals and conservatives, or between business and labor, or between the American people and government. Above all, we have to act together as Americans defending our interests abroad and helping the people of Latin America strengthen their economies, improve their living standards and fortify the basis of their democratic life . . .

"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 and for the best interests of the people of Latin America and the Caribbean. We have here a proven instrument of cooperative efforts among business, labor and government. In this organization we also have a successful joint venture that the communist forces cannot possibly hope to match - one of free men from all walks of life working together in consensus for a common goal without selfish purpose."

The AIFLD is a CIA front organization for labor operations in Latin America. It is headed by George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, who is CIA's point man to Latin America. He is assisted by Tony Boyle, former President of the UMW, and convicted conspirator in the assassination of his opponent for that office. This level of cooperation also includes those in the International Affairs

departments of unions associated with the AFL-CIO, or on the Board of Trustees of AIFLD. But primary contact between the AFL-CIO and AIFLD, and the CIA, is through the International Affairs Department. Until recently, this department was headed by Jay Lovestone, a bitter

ex-communist turned anti-communist, who along with Cord Meyer of the IO Division determined policy for CIA labor operations, including AIFLD. (See last issue of CounterSpy) Upon his retirement he was replaced by George Meany's son-in-law, Ernest Lee. It is believed that he is largely a figurehead and that real power, and thus real collaboration, is exercised by his assistant Michael Boggs, former AFL-CIO Associate Inter-American Representative under Andrew C. McClellan. McClellan and Boggs are suspected high ranking CIA assets. Today then, AFL-CIO interests in AIFLD and other CIA labor operations are promoted by Meany, Lee and Boggs and a handful of other labor union leaders.

Government maintains its interest in AIFLD in a complex relationship structure. The Agency for International Development (AID) funds by contract most of the AIFLD's overt projects in Latin America and maintains some policy control over these projects through its Labor Affairs office and AID field representatives. These offices have CIA personnel even though they just manage the operation's funding. Additionally, the Department of Labor has some influence over AIFLD social action projects through the Labor Attachés in embassies. Since all Labor Attachés are approved by Meany, this is probably just another area of

government-labor collaboration and of minor importance to decision making. Actual decision making for AIFLD rests currently in the Labor Branch of the Covert Action Staff of the DDO of the CIA. The Covert Action Staff was created in 1964 from a combined International Organizations Division (IOD) and the Psychological Warfare and Paramilitary senior staff of the then DDP, now DDO. These offices shared responsibility for AIFLD operations from 1962-64. In the field the CIA maintains agents in every AIFLD office, and most field directors are CIA cleared. Field agents are controlled by one of several branches of the Western Hemisphere (WH) Division of the CIA. Thus the CIA controls and determines policy throughout the AIFLD hierarchy. Ex-CIA agent (handler) Philip Agee says in his new book that, "The other new programme is more closely related to regular station operations and is Washington's answer to the limitations of current labour programmes undertaken through AID as well as through ORIT and CIA stations. The problem is related to the controversy over the ineffectiveness of ORIT but is larger — it is essentially how to accelerate expansion of labour-organizing activities in Latin America in order to deny workers to labour unions dominated by the extreme left and to reverse communist and Castroite penetration."

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE: The officers of AIFLD are elected by a Board of Trustees composed of leading labor officials, businessmen, educators and Latin American experts from both the United States and nations south of the border. Among the prominent leaders who have served on the Board of Trustees in the past are: former President Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela; President Jose Figueres of Costa Rica; Dr. Rafael Caldera, past President of Venezuela; Professor Luis Alberto Sanze, Rector, San Marcos University, Lima, Peru; Juan Antonio Solari, General Secretary, Social Democratic Party of Argentina; former Labor Minister William A. Thayer Arteaga, Santiago, Chile; Geleo Gonzalez, General Secretary of the Trade Union Federation of Honduras; and Guillermo Videla V., Executive Director of the Community Development Corporation of Chile; and Lane Kirkland, Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO, and a member of President Ford's commission to investigate the "domestic spying" charges against the CIA.

The Executive Director, as AIFLD's chief administrative officer, is responsible to the officers and the Board of Trustees for implementing the policies and programs of the Institute. From 1962-67, the Executive Director of AIFLD was Serafino Romualdi. A social democrat and member of the Italian Socialist Party in his youth, Romualdi migrated to the U.S. in 1923 and became active in the Free Italy Movement. After a brief apprenticeship with David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union — an early collaborator with US intelligence — Romualdi traveled to Latin America in 1941 representing the Mazzani Society, an anti-fascist organization. His intelligence gathering, organizing and propaganda work soon caught the eye of Nelson Rockefeller, then Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs for FDR. This office was a pre-runner and then competitor of the OSS, and the FBI, and ran intelligence operations throughout Latin America. Romualdi remained in Latin America for two more years under Rockefeller's auspices, under cover as the Field Representative of the Bureau of Latin American Research. In 1944, he left for a brief assignment as Special Agent to the OSS in the Mediterranean theater to "reconstruct" the Italian labor movement. There he recruited agents from many sectors of the Italian labor leadership including former fascists and the Mafia. By the end of the war, Rockefeller was Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, and Romualdi was named AFL Inter-American representative, which he remained until 1965. Rockefeller went on to be a member of the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. Romualdi became Assistant Secretary General of ORIT in 1951 and first Executive Director of AIFLD in 1962. He was the principal IO Division agent for labor operations in Latin America from

1947 until his death from a heart attack in 1967. Romualdi described AIFLD in his memoirs: "to strengthen the cause of freedom and representative democracy; to combat and defeat communism and other totalitarian movements; and, above all, to assist in the development of a new type of Latin American labor leader who would reject the stale concept of class struggle in favor of constructive labor-management relations in a democratic, pluralistic society."

Current Director is William C. Doherty, Jr. who resides near CIA headquarters at 6715 Weaver Avenue in McLean, Virginia. In his former position as Director of Social Projects Department of AIFLD from 1962-65, he directed AIFLD's collaboration with the government, especially AID, on all overt operations of AIFLD. Prior to this Doherty was an ace IO Division agent in the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International, of which he was the Inter-American Representative. The PTI was the first ITS established and Doherty, head of the international affairs of the CWA, was one of the IO Division's top agents in this ITS. He was quickly promoted since he had personally directed many CIA labor operations in Latin America. Aside from George Meany, he may now be the Agency's most important labor asset. Doherty, in directing AIFLD, has made it clear what the purpose of AIFLD is in a speech after assuming the top position: "The key question of our time is the future road of their (Latin American) revolution: towards Communist totalitarianism or towards democracy. For the American labor movement this is one of the paramount, pivotal issues; all other questions... must remain secondary." It is obvious that Doherty represents more the CIA than the AFL-CIO side of the integration, in that all trade unionist issues, including those vital to business unionism, are subordinate or "secondary" to the anti-communist purpose.

The Executive Director is assisted by the Deputy Executive Director, currently Angelo Verdu. The Deputy serves as chairman of the Regional Revolving Loan Fund Program and the AIFLD Committee on the AFL-CIO Impact Projects Program. He also supervises the Union-to-Union Program to maintain proper liaison with the various participating unions.

The content of AIFLD programs in Latin America and the Caribbean is the responsibility of two regional offices located at the AIFLD headquarters in Washington, each headed by a Regional Director. Country Program Directors in each country (AIFLD/C—Chile, AIFLD/G—Guyana; AIFLD/A—Argentina, etc.) develop and carry out AIFLD's programs under the two Regional Directors' supervision.

The Washington Headquarters staff also is divided into five other administrative groupings: Education Department; Social Projects Department; Finance, Budgeting and Program Planning Department; Administrative and Personnel Services and Information Services.

OPERATIONAL STRUCTURE: Operations are now coordinated by the Covert Action Staff of the Deputy Directorate of Operations of the CIA. The labor branch of the Staff coordinates the operations and the use of assets by either the Western Hemisphere Division at its stations and bases. Operations are run at all levels. It is believed that current director William E. Colby has rested some responsibility for labor operations in the new regional assistant directors of the Agency.

General operational guidelines for station and base labor operations are contained in their Related Missions Directive's (RMD) which establishes priorities and objectives. The PP labor operations mandated by the RMD's include control over AIFLD Country Labor Plans (CLP) which establish the Institute's priorities and objectives.

OPERATIONS: Overt operations involve Education and Social Projects. Education projects provide training on various levels in the techniques of business unionism. AIFLD has taught the principles of business unionism to almost 250,000 workers and trade union leaders in Latin America.

AIFLD's Social Action Projects Department coordinates programs which provide technical and financial support to projects by Latin American labor unions to improve their standard of living. For the most part, these projects have been designed to improve the image of the "free trade union movement" (business unionism) in local communities (and in countries as a whole), and have done little to actualize or improve the working conditions of the vast majority of Latin American workers.

The major effort of AIFLD's social projects have been in housing. The low-cost housing provided by the end of 1971, 16,269 units in 12 countries, had been built at a total cost of \$69,815,060. Most of this housing was for AIFLD graduates.

AIFLD social action programs have also established credit facilities and cooperative alliances, all controlled by AIFLD trained union leaders.

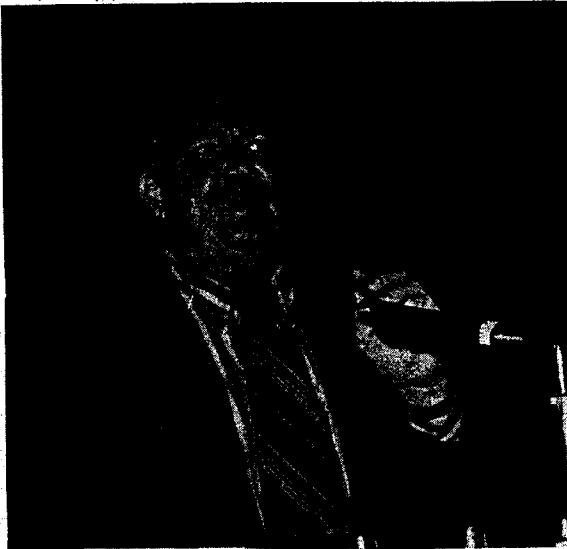
In addition, AIFLD administers the AFL-CIO Impact Projects Program. This project provides grants and interest-free loans for union sponsored self-help projects. They have also been used for development of credit unions, and consumer and producer cooperatives; agricultural development, community improvements, sanitary facilities, and dental and medical clinics and mostly for new union headquarters. Additional projects of this type have been provided through the Special Development Activities Fund of AID, although these programs are controlled by the US Ambassador in each country working with the AIFLD Country Program Director.

Its educational reach has been extended even further by a continuing independent teaching effort by AIFLD graduates. The scope and range of the training has reached a diverse student body ranging from illiterate campesinos in remote villages to metropolitan factory workers, white collar office workers and school teachers. Nearly 30,000 workers annually attend AIFLD education programs abroad. The heart of the AIFLD education effort consists of the educational programs established in Latin American countries. Labor leadership seminars have been conducted in nearly every region except Haiti and Cuba. AIFLD has also been instrumental in establishing educational centers in most regions of Latin America to further train labor leaders. AIFLD also plans and conducts a continuing series of local and regional short term seminars with the local unions in Latin America. Upon completion of these courses, the most promising students are selected (in consultation with their union leaders) for more advanced training in resident courses lasting from one to three months at the national institutes. Outstanding graduates of the national Institutes are then invited to the United States for a seven-week course at AIFLD's center for advanced studies, the Front Royal Institute. In addition, several attend economics courses in the Inter-American Labor Economics Program at Georgetown University. More students have graduated from Front Royal from those countries believed to be the ripest for revolution and unrest in Latin America.

Courses at Front Royal run approximately seven weeks in duration, including an initial one week orientation program at the ORIT Inter-American Labor Education Institute at Cuernavaca, Mexico. The course covers such subjects of business unionism as: advanced leadership training, advanced labor education techniques, union structure and finances, the international labor movement, labor economics and statistics, industrial relations, collective bargaining, job evaluation, time study, standard data and incentive systems, and community development and cooperatives. Attention is made to develop the students to have a sense of their own role in the development of business unionism strategies for their home country. This creates what Romualdi calls the leader of a "new type."

The selection process is quite thorough, with potential trouble makers screened out. Until 1968, top graduates returned home on the AIFLD or AID payroll as full-time teachers or organizers.

William C. Doherty, Jr., Executive Director of the AIFLD, speaks to the graduating class of the recent trade union training course held at Front Royal, Virginia.



In 1965, AIFLD launched its Agrarian Union Development Services, a multi-faceted undertaking including education, establishment of cooperatives, community development and training in improved agricultural techniques, etc. This project has been successful in stabilizing rural areas of Latin America where unrest and rebellion flourish among the rural workers and Indians. Agrarian union leaders receive much the same training and motivation as their urban counterparts. This project is directed by AIFLD/M in Mexico City.

Since 1968, AIFLD has operated the Union-to-Union Program to coordinate its activities with the six major ITS's. AIFLD collaboration with the ITS exists on two levels which reflect the "environmental conditions" or balance of forces in a particular Latin American country. If the environment is favorable to AIFLD organizing the ITS will maneuver recruits into the AIFLD network. At the same time AIFLD and the ITS's will work together in internal union battles to control the unions. If the political environment is unfavorable to AIFLD, the majority of the work may be done by the ITS's.

Covert operations of AIFLD begin with information gathering from the overt programs and extend to the most ruthless of criminal acts. For instance, the housing programs provide considerable data on the workers who occupy the developments. Other programs also collect considerable information on the Latin American working movement.

By building an infrastructure of labor leaders, many of whom have achieved high positions in the labor movements and governments of their countries, the CIA has a continued source of new agents for its operations. Spotting and assessment of potential agents has been a continuing function of the Agency-controlled staff members both in the training courses in Latin America and in the Washington courses. Agents already working in labor operations are often enrolled in the courses to promote their technical capabilities and their prestige. These agents are then used to control their own unions, infiltrate and manipulate the various political ideologies involved with their union, to support other

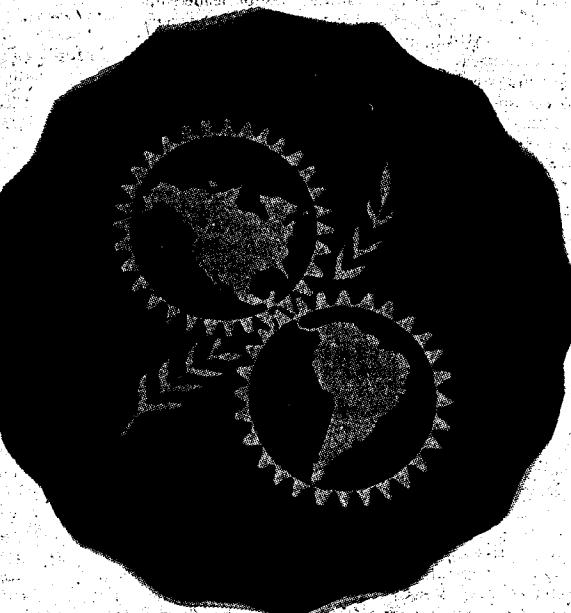
AIFLD, ITS, ORIT or ICFTU programs, and to enter and control their governments. They have also been used to neutralize opposition forces within their unions and societies as a whole. And more importantly they have continuously generated or promoted propaganda for the Agency.

PERSONNEL: Witting agents of the CIA involved with AIFLD include division heads at the Headquarters Staff, including Doherty; AIFLD Country Program Directors, some members of the training staffs both in Latin America and in Washington; members of the AID offices connected to AIFLD, especially the Union-to-Union Program and Rural Programs; and leaders of Latin American unions who have been graduates of AIFLD courses, especially those in the leadership of national labor centers, political parties or the government. Leaders of social action projects are most likely un-witting agents, as is the rest of the infrastructure.

FUNDING: Business contributions from the largest multinationals are a major source of funding for AIFLD operations. Many of these contributions come from the following, including many economic interests controlled or influenced by Nelson Rockefeller, the Vice-President.

W.R. Grace & Company
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
International Telephone and Telegraph
Pan American World Airways
The United Corporation
David Rockefeller
Kennecott Copper Corporation
Standard Oil of New Jersey
Koppers Company
Gillette
Shell Petroleum
Crown Zellerbach
The Anaconda Company
ACFE (Venezuela)
King Ranch
Sterling Drug, Inc.
General Foods Corporation
Loeb Rhoades & Company
National Biscuit Company
Owens-Illinois Glass
Union Carbide Corporation
Ebasco Industries
Reader's Digest
Monsanto
Southern Peru Copper Corporation
Merck
Pfizer International
Otis Elevator Company
Industrias Kaiser Argentina
American Cyanamid
First National City Bank
International Paper Company
Mobil Oil Company
Standard Fruit Company
American Telephone & Telegraph
Corn Products
Council for Latin America
Johnson & Johnson
St. Regis Paper Company
American Can Company
Brazilian Light & Power
First National Bank of Boston
United Fruit Company
Anglo-Lanxaro Nitrate Corporation
IBM World Trade Corporation
International Basic Economy Corp.
Sinclair Oil
Max Ascoli Fund Inc.
International Mining Corporation
Carrier Corporation
Coca-Cola Export Corporation

Container Corporation of America
Stauffer Chemical Company
American-Standard
International Packers
Olin
Standard Oil of California
Warner-Lambert
Corning Glass
Eli Lilly & Company
J. Henry Schroeder Banking Corporation
United Shoe Machinery
Cellanese Corporation
Bacardi Corporation
Schering Foundation
Bankers Trust Company
Bristol Myers
Chase Manhattan Bank
Kimberly-Clark
Upjohn Company
Insurance Company of North America
3M Company
American International Oil Company
Combustion Engineering
Sheraton Corporation of America
Chemetron Corporation
Motion Picture Association of America
Deltec



Corporate contributions have steadily declined, however, over the years: from 21 percent of the AIFLD total budget in 1962, down to 4 percent in 1967. This is just an indication of the greater role of government in funding AIFLD. Labor accounted for only 17 percent of the budget in 1962 and down to 4.5 in 1967, another reflection of the trend toward taxpayer financing.

The undisputed patron of AIFLD operations is now the government. Its participation in the Institute's total budget has grown from 62 percent in 1962 to 92 percent in 1967 and nearly 97 percent now. The primary financier of AIFLD is the AID, which assumed much of the funding responsibilities of the CIA in the early 1960's. AID funds come from direct grants, PL 480 Funds (Food for Peace), Counterpart funds, and Capital Development Funds as well as Special Development Funds.

The trickiest funding operation is of the Union-to-Union Program in which funds are paid to AIFLD to pay the American Unions connected to an ITS, to pay the ITS to finance a local union for some project. This is all perfectly legal but makes tracing of the funds virtually impossible with AID records.

The Union-to-Union Program took a lot of work off the hands of the CIA to finance ITS operations, but the Agency still continues to supply extra funds needed for labor operations. For instance, to recruit a new agent the CIA will attempt various means of motivation; usually bribery. If the labor agent can not be bribed with support from AIFLD or other assets, the CIA may authorize cash payments from CIA funds.

PHYSICAL RESOURCES: Headquarters for AIFLD is on the 5th Floor of the CWA building at 1925 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C. The Front Royal Institute is located on the shores of the Shenandoah River at Front Royal, Virginia.

ORIGIN: AIFLD was conceived by the late Joseph Beirne, the CIA's top asset in the CWA. En route from Santiago to Buenos Aires in Latin America in 1957, he was reflecting on the problems faced by the CIA in Latin America. In his own words, he "suddenly realized that this would never be cleared up unless it could be put in the minds of these people to change their outlook, their view of the world." To Beirne this meant, in a word, education (training and propaganda). Upon his return to this country, he persuaded his union to invite 16 Latin American communications workers to come to the United States for training at the CWA's Educational Center at

An Example of the CIA infrastructure in the labor movement - this obituary appeared in a 1965 edition of the AFL-CIO "Inter-American Bulletin."

Fred A. Somerford

Fred Anthony Somerford, age 61, Labor Officer, Second Secretary and Consul at the U.S. Embassy in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, was killed in an accident on Sunday afternoon, February 28, in Santo Domingo.

The deceased was widely known and highly respected in Inter-American trade union circles and was identified with the development of the democratically oriented National Confederation of Dominican Labor (CONATRAL) which he advised and counselled from its inception in 1962. During the transitional period between 1961 and

1963 in the Dominican Republic Fred Somerford was subjected to bitter publicity attacks from the Communists and other totalitarian forces, but he never wavered in his defense of democracy and democratic trade unionism.

Somerford, who had been stationed in Santo Domingo since 1961, joined the State Department in 1948. He served as an Intelligence Research Analyst in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research for many years. In 1956 he was named Acting Chief of the Middle American Plans in the Division of Biographic Information. That same year he became Vice Consul and Secretary in the Diplomatic Service and served as Consul in Guayaquil, Ecuador and Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

He was born in Cuba of American parents in 1914 and attended school in both Cuba and Texas. He received his Bachelor's Degree in the Foreign Service from Georgetown University in 1950. He is a Veteran of World War II and served with the United States Army overseas. In 1960 he received the United States Department Meritorious Award. In 1964 AFL-CIO President George Meany wrote a personal letter of commendation to the deceased for his outstanding contribution to the Democratic Labor Movement of the Dominican Republic.

He was buried with full military honors at the Arlington National Cemetery March 5. He is survived by his widow, Jonnie, a daughter, Julie, a brother and two sisters.



Photo: L. to R.—Joseph A. Beirne, William C. Doherty, Jr.

Front Royal. Impressed by the results of this effort, the AFL-CIO appropriated \$20,000 to be used as seed money for a new program. A feasibility study was made by the National Institute of Labor Education and the Union Research and Project Center of the University of Chicago which designed AIFLD. In early May, 1961, the Advisory Committee of the AFL-CIO recommended the creation of a non-profit corporation, AIFLD. And in August 1961 AIFLD was formed. Among those instrumental in the creation of AIFLD were: Meany, Beirne, David Dubinsky, A. Philip Randolph, Walter P. Reuther, James B. Carey, George Harrison, James Suffridge, Joseph Keenan, Peter Shoemann, Michael Ross, and Seratino Romualdi, along with J. Peter Grace; Eric Johnson of the Motion Picture Association of America; U.S. Senator William Benton; Kenneth Holland of the Institute of International Education; and Berent Friele of the American International Association for Economic and Social Development. They would later serve as officers or Trustees of AIFLD.

Chronological Highlights Of Labor Operations

We regret that we are unable to present names of all the people — CIA and labor — or their movements which resulted in the following.

WESTERN HEMISPHERE DIVISION BRANCH ONE

Mexico

1947 - 1948 Chief labor asset Romualdi under cover as AFL Inter-American representative continues major operations of propaganda against the WFTU regional CTAL (C). Operations also designed to split-off from CTAL as many workers as possible. During this period he recruited agents known as "five little wolves" who purged communist leader Lombardo Toledano from the CTM labor center. Toledano was influential throughout the hemisphere in CTAL. Also continued use of agent Luis Moronés in another labor center CROM to initiate formation of anti-communist regional organization. CROM agents created a National Labor Council for this purpose and to oppose the influence of Toledano.

1949 - 1951 Through the efforts of Romualdi, and the leadership of the AFL-CIO, a new Latin America regional was formed at a conference in Lima in 1948 called CIT. Largely ineffectual, it was replaced by ORIT of the ICFTU in Mexico City in 1951.

1952 - 1953 Mexican labor movement is sharply divided and factionalized due to coordinated effort by CAS Mexico City (the CIA station), Western Hemisphere Division Branch 1, and IOD's labor assets. CIA strategy changed during this period from splitting-off operations to unifying the labor movement under CIA control while isolating CTAL. Agents in CROM worked to organize and affiliate those unions who did not fully believe or support all tenants of business unionism. But primary effort is to move CTM further in support of ICFTU. CIA engineers CTM affiliation with ORIT in 1953.

1954 - 1962 CIA now firmly in control of CTM. Agents in CROM continue to recruit agents in the numerous splinters which have developed and to unite these elements to form a national political party. This effort fails due to the extreme differences of the various tendencies but a new party was formed with assistance from the CTM which eventually became the ruling Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) (NP).

1963 - 1965 CIA consolidates control over labor and the Mexican government. The Alliance for Progress is launched and CIA liaison operations begin the PRI government to manipulate the government to join the blockade against Cuba. Mexico becomes base area for ORIT and AIFLD enters country. Agents in the Graphic Arts Union work with AIFLD to initiate largest housing project in Latin America as model for future AIFLD housing projects. The JFK Memorial Housing Project is launched with \$10 million loan from AFL-CIO pension and welfare funds. AIFLD begins recruiting for Front Royal programs. Social Projects Department begins cooperatives and other social projects.

1966 - 1971 AIFLD has now trained over 2,000 Mexican labor leaders in business unionism and has recruited many of them. CIA manipulates the PRI government of Ordaz and then Echeverria through operations code name LITEMPO. Present government President Luis Echeverria is codenamed LITEMPO — 14. Trade unions are controlled by assets in place in the PRI government and labor sector of party. Besides direction of AIFLD, station labor operations also include agents at the new GRIT School in Cuernavaca built with the CIA funds for spotting and assessment of trainees for use in labor operations after they return to their country of origin.

1971 - 1974 Although differences among the PRI leadership over the extent of populist reforms, student rebellions, guerrilla warfare outbreaks and growing differences between the Echeverria government and the Nixon and now Ford administration have plagued the CIA in Mexico, it still maintains tight control over the Mexican labor movement. Two CIA agents were recently withdrawn from Mexico City after their exposure by Philip Agee and Echeverria has denied the possibility of CIA agents in Mexico.

Costa Rica

1947 - 1949 As a consequence of the 1948 Civil War, the communist union center CTCR was dissolved by a decision of the Labor Court. In 1949, the CGT-RN (ND) conducted a great banana strike which increased workers salaries but so enraged the United Fruit Company that it was able later to destroy two new unions which had developed among banana workers. With CIA assistance the United Fruit company could impose working conditions unilaterally.

1953 - 1964 Most CIA labor operations during this period directed against the newly formed CGTC center affiliated with the WFTU and to gain control of CGT-RN.

1965 - 1974 The FOCA (Cath.) affiliated with CLASC was constituted in 1966 specifically to divide the workers. To offset this and to prevent a split in the CGT-RN, AIFLD and ORIT agents intervened and reformed this union into the CCTD. Most of its executives are AIFLD graduates. Due to pressure from United Fruit Company AIFLD activity to benefit the workers in labor-management relations are held to a minimum. But due to the business unionism ideology some efforts have been made to organize more workers especially campesinos. Corporate pressure on AID funding attempts to keep these at a minimum also. As for the government, it is primarily aligned with the FOCA and on occasions has even favored the CGTC over the CCTD. Thus there are many contradictions to AIFLD and ORIT organizing here, but the CIA maintains control over the workers movement with its agents in both the catholic and communist labor center. Most AIFLD efforts are in housing through the National Housing and Urbanization Institute with which it works closely. By 1971, 4,096 students participated in AIFLD programs.

El Salvador

1947 - 1950

From 1947 to 1950 there were no unions in El Salvador due to an earlier coup d'etat which dissolved the organizations and jailed or exiled the labor leaders. The Salvadorean economy is also controlled by the United Fruit Company which along with so called "14 families" were reluctant to permit labor organizing. These families, along with the military, have consistently determined the system of government and El Salvador has suffered numberless coups d'etat and violent changes of government. Elections did occur in 1946, which led to the constitutional creation for the first time of the workers' rights to organize themselves in 1950.

1951 - 1962

In 1953 the ATSO (C) was formed. The CIA immediately began operations to split the association primarily through accusations and persecutions. They then formed the FCS(ND) but in 1957 the FCS merged with the ATSO and formed the CGTS under control of the communists. In 1958 the CIA again succeeded in breaking and dividing the union movement by forming the CGS(D). The CIA also split off several others declared as independents which were mostly democratic socialist. This left the CGTS isolated as a definite communist group. CGS was formed primarily through the work of ORIT and the International Union of Food and Drink Workers ITS (UITA). The leaders of the CGS were corrupted by the opportunities for political benefits, public positions and subsidies from the CIA. A split occurred in the CGS in 1960 which helped form a leftist coup d'etat in 1961. Although some democratic socialist trade union leaders from the CGS did enter the government the splitting continued and the left withdrew, forming the CUS(C).

1963 - 1966

The leftist government was strongly defeated in 1964 and almost immediately the new government withdrew its subsidies from the corrupt CGS. At the same time the CIA ended its work through VITA with the CGS. But the CGS then focused on forcing the US government and the AFL-CIO to undertake their subsidy. They applied pressure by requesting the departure of the CIA labor operatives in AIFLD and the Embassy, broke their relations with AIFLD, and began collaboration with the communists. By 1965 the CGS and the CUS and CGTS unified and held a parade on May 1 where the US was criticized and the flag burned. In response the CIA, went to work, primarily through AIFLD and agents in the CGS to reverse this trend. The operations were successful — the CGS broke with the communists, resumed contact with AIFLD and CIA asset Rafael Rodriguez Gonzalez left his position in the government to become Secretary General of the CGS. The government then renewed its subsidy to the CGS, now under CIA control. This did not give new strength to the organization and, in fact, created the opposite effect. The communists formed the FUSS with the rest of CGTS and CUS remaining independent and splintered. But the events did not remain favorable for the CIA, as the Salvadorean leaders remained angry with AIFLD for not helping them earlier and more substantially. AIFLD and the CIA, of course, are under no compulsion to accelerate union organizing due to the strength of management which does not even consider unions. So throughout 1966, some of the CGS leadership would denounce AIFLD for its lack of support and the communist FUSS grew stronger during this period.

1967 - 1974

Increasing hostility towards the US and the United Fruit Company during this period forced CIA to use AIFLD more. By 1971, over 7,000 trade unionists had been trained by the Institute and today CIA assets, firmly in place in the CGS and the newly formed UCS and FESICONTRANS centers and other labor organizations are continuing their effort.

Guatemala

1947 - 1954

Guatemala is similar to El Salvador and the other banana republics, with United Fruit, a supporter of AIFLD, dominating the political economy. Labor organizing until 1954 was scattered and CIA labor operations infrequent. But then the government of Jacobo Arbenz started a program of land reform which threatened the interests of United Fruit and Guatemala became a focus of CIA labor operations. Labor was the most solid supporter of the Arbenz regime and Romualdi and other CIA assets attempted to manipulate labor away from Arbenz. When this failed the CIA organized a coup d'etat which allowed only the United Fruit company union and SAMF, both of which immediately received help from ORIT. As the AFL mobilized American support for the coup d'etat the

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first indications of a difference in foreign policy objectives of trade unionist leaders between the AFL and the CIO developed. Emil Mazey of the UAW voiced his opposition: "The State Department and the United Fruit Company have been manipulating the politics of that country (Guatemala) . . . They have organized revolutions . . . They have opposed land reform. They have opposed any special progress for the people . . . I say we have got to change this foreign policy of ours. We have got to stop measuring our foreign policy on what's good for American business that has money invested in South America and elsewhere in the world." Even after the merger of the AFL and the CIO this difference would emerge again over CIA labor operations in the late 1960's.

1955 - 1963

Most operations during this period were directed against the FASQUA organized by the communists and the FECETRAG by the catholics. About this time hostility to ORIT was growing its representative was expelled from the country.

1964 - 1966

Primary CIA emphasis was placed on AIFLD and ITS work after 1964. AIFLD began working with many of the new federations and attempted to unite them in the CONSIQUA with the help of ORIT. This soon split due to the corruption of its leaders. AIFLD then attempted to unite them again forming the CONTRAGUA(AC). Another center, FENSIL, was formed in 1965 and CIA operations in this center were aimed at preventing both catholic and communist infiltration.

1967 - 1974

Although governments would come and go, AIFLD continued to increase its hold over the Guatemalan labor movement by training almost 6,000 students. Today CIA assets are in the CTF descended from previous unions CONSIQUA and others. They are also active in the FTG and the Textile Federation. In the last year the catholics have achieved important status in the labor movement as the primary opposition to the military government's corruption and the staggering inflation in Guatemala. The CIA is present in almost all operations of the Guatemalan government. Joe Bierne, on Sept. 1, 1970 reflected on Guatemala on AFL-CIO sponsored radio program *Labor News Conference*: "Well, Guatemala, today, is not as bad as it was sometime back, when there was military there. Most Latin American countries, as you know, have military governments."

"In Guatemala, today, we can work. There were times when we couldn't. We were chased out of those countries. We identify with workers in our own industry. Said another way, if I went into Guatemala, I'd talk to the first telephone worker . . . I would meet, I would introduce myself, and tell him why I was there. And it has always happened, that on that first contact, he will get some friends together. First thing you know, five or six of us are sitting down talking about problems of workers . . . There is a community of interest."

Honduras

1947 - 1953

Labor unions made their appearance perhaps later in Honduras than anywhere else in Latin America. It was not until 1948 that unions were allowed to organize. But none were formed until 1954 in this banana republic—again controlled by United Fruit. In May of 1954 the banana workers went on strike and the CIA prevented communists from taking leadership and promoted democratic socialists and nationalist leaders. The new unions eventually formed the CTH(AC) which joined ORIT in 1960. In 1963 a revolt was sparked by two graduates of AIFLD/in the Standard Fruit Company controlled Workers Union, which replaced the few pro-soviet communists in office in that union. Romualdi said: "AIFLD has thousands of workers like the Honduran union members who want to build a free, democratic future for themselves." This action precipitated a military coup d'etat which allowed the CIA controlled unions to continue.

1964 - 1974

Today the CIA enjoys its tightest control over a labor movement in Honduras having agents in the CTH and the ANACH agrarian worker organization. AIFLD has trained over 12,000 Honduran students.

Nicaragua

1947 - 1962

The only union center in Nicaragua after the war was the CTAL(C) sponsored CTN(CS), but the government of dictator Anastasio Somoza abolished all unions in 1947. In 1949, he again allowed the existence of unions, but only if they were loyal to him. During the 1950's several tendencies developed besides communist participation (and its UGT) in a few local unions, and the government controlled SNSD. There was the CGT, a Peronist center and the relatively minor CISL, FOC and FTD. By the early 1960's the Nicaraguan labor movement remained weak and divided, a condition due in part to CIA operations.

1963 - 1974

The advent of Castroism and other events caused AIFLD to enter the country to unify the labor movement under its control to meet the new challenges of the world. By 1974 nearly 9,000 students had been trained and the CIA enjoys control over the unified CUS.

Panama

1947 - 1962

One of the first actions of the CIA labor operations in Panama was to gain control over Local 100 of the CIO's United Public Workers Union and to merge it with the AFL-CIO after the Public Workers Union was purged from the CIO which then joined the AFL. One of the oldest unions in the country, the FSTP, was dismembered by the CIA backing of Socialist elements over the Communist elements. For the rest of this period the labor movement remained splintered, with the CIA controlling the COCP(AC). A peronista center also developed during this period, the CGTP, while the FSTP remained affiliated with CTAL (C).

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1957-1963 Due to this struggle which the CIA won, COB declined in influence from the days of the early fifties when it ran the government with the MNR. But the struggle continued with the CIA directing the government and the Paz Estenssoro wing of the MNR.

1964-1974 A reorganization occurred in the mining industry to subsidize the government mining corporation with foreign capital. This grew as an issue and led to further splits between the left, and the right. Eventually the CIA engineered the exile of two important left leaders. After this the labor movement became splintered. AIFLD has only concentrated on organizing workers into unions and not to unite them in a center. The CIA has control over 24 different confederations although there has been some education by CLASC and communists who are suspicious about AIFLD. AIFLD has trained over 17,000 Bolivian students. In recent months the miners and campesinos have rebelled against the Banzer regime and most GIA labor operations are now focused on these sectors.

Columbia

1947-1950 The Colombian CTC center was split in 1950 because the CIA manipulated the Liberals to expell the communist elements and to disaffiliate with the WFTU. Most actions then centered on reducing the new CTI(C) to skeleton proportions.

1951-1962 The fascists got control of the government during this period and showed favoritism to the Peronist ATLAS while trying to suppress the CTC(AC), and the UTC(Cath.). After they joined together they were able to defeat fascist attempts to control their labor movements.

1963-1974 Both the CTC and UTC are infiltrated and controlled by the CIA chiefly through ORIT with which they both are affiliated and through the ITS. But this has caused some hostility on the part of the Colombian unions over the role of AIFLD, which is anti-catholic. Although AIFLD relates to the UTC it has often been accused of favoring the CTC especially in the Union-to-Union program. AIFLD has managed to train an astounding 35,000 Colombia trade unionists.

Ecuador

1947-1960 The oldest center is the CTE which had both communist and socialist tendencies, but the CIA's agents in the latter engineered the exclusion of the communists after an election in 1960.

1960-1968 A communist, Pedro Saad, ran for the Senate in 1960 and the CIA pulled out all stops to defeat him. Socialist agents tried to move the CTE to not back him. The Agency also launches operation with the cryptonym ECCALICO to control the COG. The CIA used the ICA, forerunner of AID, to establish a special training course for their agents in COG. At the same time, with the help of ORIT and AIFLD, the CIA established CEOSYL, which joined ORIT and replaced COG. Other CIA operations such as ECBLOOM infiltrated the catholic CEDOC. The CIA also used the ITS considerably during this period, establishing such groups as FENETEEL and SFE. During the latter part of this period the military junta repressed both the CTE and

FENETEEL. But allowed AIFLD to continue work with CEOSYL.

1968-1974 AIFLD consolidated its hold over the labor movement during this period with CEOSYL generally replacing the CTE. The petroleum workers in particular are controlled by the CIA. AIFLD trained over 20,000 Ecuadorians. But the ITS have been of limited effectiveness in recent years.

Guyana

1947-1950 The principal union center was the MPCA which was essentially company union in those days.

1951-1956 The early 1950's were years of revolution in the then-British Guyana. In the turmoil of the independence movement, the government of Cheddi Jagan was democratically elected after independence in 1952. The Jagan movement was immediately targeted by the CIA who worked to oust this government as soon as possible. In doing this they also weakened the GIWU (leftist) faction of the MPCA. In 1954, the British TUC gained influence in the MPCA and moved it to a social democratic position. And CIA had organized the GTUC to bring all the other unions together to oppose Jagan's party.

1957-1964 Operations against Jagan continued but by 1964 they had formed the GAWUS to replace the MPCA. Finally the CIA was able to topple Jagan again, with help of CIA agents in AIFLD, AFSMCE and the GTUC. Over \$450,000 was spent just to create the chaos which brought down Jagan.

1965-1974 AIFLD made significant inroads into Guyanan political economy through the GTUC. AIFLD trained over 10,000 trade unionists.

Peru

1947-1948 CIA was primarily providing support for the Aprista nationalist-populist movement to oust communists from the CTP. Through control of the CTP they then helped form the new regional CTI, which became ORIT. They also withdrew the CTP from CTAL, the WFTU regional.

1949-1956 The military government of Odria ruled during this period and, at first, adopted a policy of severe repression of unions. But fearing that the Aprista movement would unite labor against him, he allowed the communists and the Peronistas to organize. The Peronistas formed the CTUU while the communists agitated for the reestablishment of the abolished CTP. As the regime came under more pressure, an attempt was made to organize their own labor program.

1957-1962 During this period the Apristas controlled the labor movement through the efforts of the CIA. In 1962 a crisis developed over the new elections, but the CIA was able to bring it under control and again establish Aprista control over the CTP.

1963-1974 AIFLD operations in Peru have trained over 20,000 unionists and the CIA controls the CTP, even though the country is currently moving away from US domination.

Venezuela

1947-1958 In 1947 the CTV was established with participation by all political tendencies. But Acción Democrática (AD) dominated this

center. The communists were divided with the "Red" forces joining the CTV and the "Black" forces forming their own FWFD. After the military coup in 1948, the unions attempted a general strike but failed and the CTV was dissolved. But while in exile the CTV helped establish ORIT. And for the next few years only the FWFD was allowed to organize. Then in 1952, the government formed its own MOSIT which became the CNT. In 1954 the CNT affiliated with the Peronist ATLAS. Then in 1958, the CIA, along with its labor assets in the underground (TV), overthrew the regime of Perez Jimenez.

1959 - 1964

During the early part of this period the new success of the revolution in Cuba greatly influenced Venezuelan labor and most CIA activities were designed to prevent this. The CTV was reestablished in 1959 with participation by all tendencies. The left moved the CTV closer to ties with Cuba. The CIA then moved to split the AD over the issue. When the left and the catholics left the CTV, it affiliated with ORIT. The Catholics formed their own CODESA and Venezuela has been a strong center for their organizing. In 1960, the communists and the newly formed MIR, dissident members of the AD, called a general strike to support student rebellions in the major cities. These measures failed when the CIA mobilized the AD and catholic members of the CTV to suspend the others from that body. The split in the labor movement widened under CIA action as the CTV initiated a purge of all leftist members. In 1961, MIR and the communists formed the CTV-NG with other dissidents from the AD. This eventually became the CUTV. And during the early 1960's the CTV under CIA leadership became dominant under the Betancourt regime.

1964 - 1974

With the inauguration of the AD President Leon in 1964 further splits occurred in the movement with the catholics leaving the government while a portion of the CUTV, the URD, joined the CTV. As Venezuela was a catholic stronghold, it became the focus of CIA action against this movement. Joe Bierne stated in 1963: "(CLASC has) been infiltrated and I think captured by the Communists..." But the real problem was stated by CIA agent Andrew McLellan: "(The catholics) are not interested in bread and butter issues such as we are." AIFLD has been very active in the past decade, training almost 2,000 workers, and Venezuela has often been called the "Rockefeller Ranch." Although today Venezuela is in the vanguard of the OPEC nations use of the oil weapon against the US, there is no sign of decreased CIA control over the CTV.

BRANCH 4

Brazil

1947 - 1950

Strikes were banned in 1947 along with the MUT and CTB affiliated with the CTAL and WFTU, but the government controlled PTB was allowed to operate. Vargas returned to power in 1950 as a candidate of the Brazilian Labor Party and appointed Joao Gualart as new Minister of Labor.

1951 - 1964

Through successive regimes up to Gualart the government relaxed supervision of unions. As the Gualart regime moved closer to cooperation with the left the CIA went to work. Soon after the coup in 1964, AIFLD director Doherty said, "I am certainly not against Brazilian labor getting involved in politics." As Doherty boasted, "Some of (the unionists) trained at AIFLD... became involved in some of the clandestine operations of the revolution before it took place on April 1. An October, 1966, *Reader's Digest* article gave further evidence of their role in the coup d'etat. When the left tried to organize a general strike to protest the coup CIA agents in the AIFLD-trained communications union made sure "the wires kept humming and the army was able to coordinate troop movements that ended the showdown bloodlessly."

1965 - 1974

AIFLD activity continued in Brazil primarily focused on the petroleum unions while helping to eliminate the left under subsequent military regimes. Today AIFLD controls eight confederations — the CNTI, the CNTC, CNTTT, CNTTMFA, CONTEC, CONTCOP, CNTEEC, and CONTAG. The basic CIA strategy has been to keep the labor movement divided while maintaining control. AIFLD has trained almost 30,000 Brazilian workers and has launched an agrarian workers program to help stabilize the Northeast of Brazil, a scene of peasant and Indian revolts. The ITS's have also been very active in Brazil.

BRANCH 5

Uruguay

1947 - 1951

The nationalist and anarchists joined with the democratic socialists and a handful of pro-Nazi elements to form the Comite-Pro-CNT and then the Comite de Relaciones Sindicales. In 1951 the CRS became the CSU and under CIA guidance was affiliated with the ICFTU and ORIT. The communists maintained the strength and influence of their UGT during this period. Catholic organizing has been negligible during Uruguayan history.

1952 - 1961

The CSU declined during this period due to neglect and stupidity by the CIA and for the effects of Castroism on the democratic socialist movement in Uruguay. The CIA concentrating on problems elsewhere in the WH held back on funds for working with the CSU and as a result the bureaucracy necessary to service its various affiliates was not maintained. At the same time the younger members of the democratic socialist movement moved themselves closer to Marxist-Leninism, with a special affinity for the Yugoslav Communist Party. The denounced several of the European Socialist Parties (which were under CIA control at the time) and withdrew the Socialist Party from the Socialist International. The communists, in the meantime, by 1955 had formed a Committee for Labor Unity with the UGT. In 1960, the CLU launched the CUTU. And politically the country entered a period of crisis, growing inflation and inefficient government, political disillusionment, decline of U.S. influence.

1955

1962 - 1968 From its inception the CUTU was the dominant element in the Uruguayan movement. Throughout this period the organization grew in strength. But as the left in Uruguay adapted the guerrilla strategy of Che Guevara — who was hunted down and assassinated by the CIA — and organized the Tupamaros. Due to the work of AIFLD the Tupamaros never gained a foothold in the unions which remained under communist control. And CIA assets in CP penetration operations were succeeding in moving the Communist Party to renounce seizing state power. After scoring initial success the Tupamaros came under attack by the CIA and its forces, and were eventually defeated. And the CIA through labor operations and CP penetrations were able to weaken the trade union movement in Uruguay.

1969 - 1974

After implementing this strategy of CP penetrations to manipulate the CP — a tactic used in other regions of the world also during this period, the CIA began using its assets to gain control of CUTU which they eventually accomplished. CUTU today is dominated by the CIA. And although the CP declined in strength, as did the guerrilla forces, there is a new wave of militancy in Uruguayan unions which has come to the attention of AIFLD.

Paraguay

1947 - 1954

The government of Paraguay organized their own labor movement but this ended in a month-long civil war between various trends. All labor groups except the Colorado's ORO were banned. Throughout the Colorado dictatorships, the ORO was the only labor organization and in 1951 became the CPT. Due to the strong control of the movement by the government there was no necessity for strong CIA involvement.

1955 - 1965

The military government which succeeded the Colorado's allowed the CPT to operate at first, but in 1958 the government intervened with CIA assistance to install a police official as head of the CPT. The other leaders of the union center were deported and for the rest of this period there was no vestige of an independent labor movement in Paraguay.

1966 - 1974

The CIA and AIFLD continued to gain influence of the CPT with AIFLD training almost 2,000 trade unionists. The CIA has effectively controlled the Paraguayan labor movement and only recently has there been any anti-AIFLD activity. In 1973, more militant communist forces gained control of their party and expelled several CIA agents and their followers and have come to the attention of AIFLD.

Argentina

1947 - 1955

The labor movement during this period was completely dominated by Juan Peron and his wife Eva. She thoroughly purged the labor movement during this period; even those who supported Peron were jailed, exiled or they retired into anonymity. The CGT became the only central labor organization. But due to the corruption and abuse of power by the Peronists loyal to Eva there was virtually no trade-union effort to save Peron when the military overthrew him in 1955.

1956 - 1962 The coup opened the door to the CIA.

Among Latin American labor the CIA had begun a propaganda campaign against Peron channeled through the Committee for Independent Trade Union Action (COASI) affiliated with ORIT and were able to isolate the Peronist CGT and Atlas. After the coup Romualdi concentrated on gaining control of Argentine labor, but the CIA's initial strategy failed. The military dictatorships which succeeded Peron managed to maintain their control over the CGT. In 1956, Romualdi arranged for himself, Meany and Dubinsky — key CIA labor assets, to travel to Argentina to meet with trade union leaders and begin struggling with the government for control. A special Congress of the CGT was organized to determine its future direction. Romualdi, under cover as attending the Inter-American Economic Conference, organized a block of trade unions known as the 32-Block, but they were unable to take control from the 62 organizations composed of Peronists and communists. The CIA managed to force the government to install anti-Peronista labor leaders to provisionally run the CGT. The next government bore down very hard on the CGT, but finally Meany and Romualdi convinced the government to cooperate. Then a militant strike ended this approach and the government, with CIA assistance, broke the strike and all major unions were placed under government control. From 1956 until 1960, the CIA was inactive in Argentine labor, having failed to take control of the labor movement.

1961 - 1968 As time passed deep divisions developed in the Peronists' ranks between the left and right as the country endured the economic crisis. And during this period the CGT split into two factions. These conditions renewed the CIA's interest in Argentine labor. AIFLD entered Argentina with strong assistance from the ITS's. And through this period the CIA increased its hold on the CGT. But by 1968 its strategy was again failing.

1969 - 1974 After the military coup in 1966, AIFLD favored the Vandoridian tendency in the CGT, which was totally opportunist, but as the left Peronists and the communists had formed the CGTA in 1968, AIFLD came to favor the more effective officialists tendency. Although the CGTA did not remain strong, it did spark new labor militancy. In 1969, a series of strikes caused an escalation in AIFLD activities to offset the growing militancy. The AIFLD decided to concentrate on more covert activities as the CIA concentrated more on labor operations. AIFLD assumed a low-profile stance and began phasing out its public activities. But the CIA continued to manipulate events in the CGT in favor of their assets. This approach failed when Peron returned and a more violent approach began. Today the militancy, which increased after Peron's death, is being met by CGT cooperation with the government in jailing, torturing and assassinating striking workers.

Chile

- 1947 - 1953** The CTCH dissolved during this period due to the CIA's maneuvering the government to break their coalition with them. In 1953, the CUT was formed with all ideologies struggling for control. And the catholics formed an ASC to rival the CUT.
- 1954 - 1962** During this period the catholics consolidated their power in the labor movement. The ASC became FEGRECH and affiliated with CLASC (Cath.). The CUT remained affiliated with the WFTU and CTAL due to strong communist and socialist leadership. The CIA gained its greatest control over the CNT, especially its maritime workers union COMACH, which affiliated with ORIT.
- 1962 - 1964** Due to the lack of CIA strength in Chile through ORIT, AIFLD entered the picture in 1962 and attempted to split off the catholic parties in the CUT through their agent Jose Goldsack of the Christian Democrats. This plan fell through but the catholics did form the government in 1964, now with CIA support.
- 1965 - 1970** During this period of catholic governments, AIFLD concentrated on attempts to organize the militant copper miners. But the AIFLD was ineffectual in these operations. And in the meantime the communist-socialist coalition took control of CUT. AIFLD trained about 10,000 people during this period and worked closely with COMACH, now firmly in CIA hands. Due to the vacillation of the catholics, and the organizing of the left, the CIA was inconsistent in its labor policies during most of this period.
- 1971 - 1974** After the election of the Popular United government of Allende, the CIA strategy changed. As recent newspaper articles have disclosed, and President Ford has confirmed, the CIA spent at least \$1 million to overthrow Allende. Some of this money went for labor operations. AIFLD sped up its data collection on Chilean workers. In 1971, AIFLD assisted in the creation of the professional confederation CUPROCH, which was then used by the CIA to create widespread social and economic disruption. CUPROCH received funds from the CIA to support the truck owner's and merchants strike in 1972. And when the rest of the country faced food shortages the CUPROCH workers dined well. Time magazine quoted some of the striking workers as replying to the question of where the steak, vegetables and other food came from, "From the CIA." AIFLD was also active in establishing the National Command of Gremio Defense. A "gremio" is an association of employers, professionals and tradespeople. The National Command was made up of former Nazi's; members of the fascist Patria y Libertad (financed by the CIA and a paramilitary terrorist organization); Chamber of Commerce; the Chamber of Construction — which conducted an enormous housing strike before the coup; the National Society of Agriculture (headed by the leadership of COSEMACH, the agricultural employers association, which prevented Allende land reform); as well as COPRUCH and CUT. The President of CUPROCH, Julio Bazan, from one of the oldest aristocratic families and a CIA asset said before the coup, "... It now seems inevitable that an authoritarian government

will have to be imposed on Chile ... such a government will rely on a combination of the armed forces and the trained educated elite ... the only possibility of a right wing government would involve a massive massacre of communists and members of the left ..." The importance of CIA actions through CUPROCH were dramatized by the last words of Allende over the radio during the coup: "Workers of my country, I want to thank you for the loyalty you have always shown, for the trust you have placed in a man who has only been the mouthpiece of the great aspirations of justice, who gave his word respect the constitution and the law and was faithful to his promise ... I am speaking to the members of the professions, those patriots who a few days ago were continuing to struggle *against the revolt led by the professional unions*. That is, the class unions who are trying to hold onto the advantages granted to a few of them by the capitalist society" (Emphasis added). After the coup AIFLD maintained control over most of the labor movement, but because of the heavy-handed methods of the junta, the AFL-CIO has denounced the government and has done little to organize in Chile. The reason is that this is not necessary to the CIA's goals. What is left of CUT is firmly in control of the CIA and any resistance by the Chilean workers is usually met by the guns of the junta. Although this has caused the destruction of the various other ideologies in the workers movement it is apparent that this condition is only temporary. The CIA appears to be aware of this and is already preparing options available to them if armed resistance grows in Chile. The coup d'etat also has sparked renewed resistance throughout the world to the CIA and has helped make the AIFLD an issue with American trade unionists.

Ideologies of national trade Union centers, unless otherwise specified, appear in parenthesis as follows:
(Cath) - Catholic; (C) - communist; (S) - Socialist;
(DS) - democratic socialist; (AC) - AFL-CIO ideologies.

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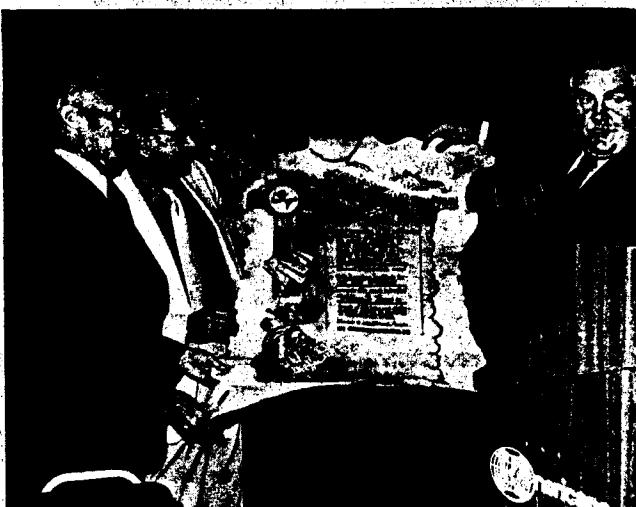
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AFLD



IN HONOR OF THE RETIREMENT of General Secretary Loyd Haskins of the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers and Wallace J. Legge, Inter-American Representative, Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone International, AFLD presented each of them with an illustrated scroll. At left, Mr. Legge receives his scroll from AFLD's Executive Director, William C. Doherty, Jr., as the AFL-CIO's Inter-American Representative Andrew C. McLellan, center, looks on. In the photograph at right Mr. Haskins receives his scroll.

Annual Report



By an objective standard, we are an army rather than a police force, an "civil disc... sion," Butz told Lexington Leader, Lexington.

BY DAVID E. ANDERSON
WASHINGTON (UPI) — Are America's police forces becoming militarized? Yes, according to lawyers who handled the defense of those accused of stemming from the situation of wounded members of the American Indian Movement.

"Instead of a simple 'Counter-Spy' as the Journal of the 7-day Wounded Knee in particular did not bring suice. The Justice Department — and particularly the FBI — supplyng marhals with sniper rifles, with personnel scopes of 16x 20x and armored carriers. Essentially, all of the munitions, while the 2nd Airborne Division of the Army is trained to be controlled by Col. Volney, were chief of staff, Warner, had some Division in Vietnam, as much in early 1960's. Equally disturbing, Khe Sanh, was the growth of the Air Force and the Army, as well as its partners, like the 82nd and 101st Divisions, and the 1st Cavalry Division.

The "Counter-Spy" has been allowed to continue, they feel, simply because it was clandestinely controlled by the military and trained to be controlled by the FBI agents. Wounded judges are defense lawyers, and the chance for military lawyers, said they "representatives of Marshals Service."

He cited as examples of military planes to fly reconnaissance missions, the use of "Counter-Spy" marhals with the FBI's 16x 20x and armored personnel carriers. Essentially, all of the munitions, while the 2nd Airborne Division of the Army is trained to be controlled by Col. Volney, were chief of staff, Warner, had some Division in Vietnam, as much in early 1960's. Equally disturbing, Khe Sanh, was the growth of the Air Force and the Army, as well as its partners, like the 82nd and 101st Divisions, and the 1st Cavalry Division.

"ROGRAM will show operations overseas, as well as domestically, the aims of our spy operations, the aims of our

All In Police Forces Seem To Be G

This past year has witnessed great and sudden changes in world politics. Aside from the recent changes in the Federal government the most obvious effect of these changes has been spiraling inflation and now massive unemployment. Most Americans, according to the latest polls, fear this depression will be as terrible as the great one of the thirties. No one knows for sure what 1975 will bring for American pocketbooks. But the portents are for even more dramatic changes than in 1974.

In this atmosphere of economic depression and constant political change, the Fifth Estate has managed to achieve substantial results. There hasn't always been enough money—there still isn't—nor has public support for our effort been vigorous. But with hard work and a little faith in our knowledge and approach, we have managed to overcome the obstacles of 1974. In many ways the Fifth Estate has grown in numbers and influence; it has monitored the most dangerous trends in the security community; it has provided the public with information on these trends and has joined with them to oppose abuse of power in government. With your support, 1975 can be as equally effective and gratifying.

GROWTH

Despite severe funding limitations, members of the Fifth Estate toured the nation this fall, covering over 25 cities coast-to-coast. The Fifth Estate multi-media presentation was followed by workshops in many cities for those interested in initiating local projects. The Fifth Estate also sought to establish liaison with organizations and individuals in other localities whose work is related to the focus of the Fifth Estate. Among the many conferences attended by the Fifth Estate were: the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL) conference in the spring; the National Lawyer's Guild Conference (with whom we work closely); the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP); and the American Industrial Security Association (AISA). The Fifth Estate also participated in a conference on covert action sponsored by the Center for National Security Studies.

RESEARCH and EDUCATION

Throughout 1974, the Fifth Estate attempted to collect data in as many areas as was possible, concentrating on those areas of vital concern. Most of this work was performed by two of the autonomous, independent and non-profit groups within the Fifth Estate: the Intelligence Documentation Center, and Fifth Estate Security Education. Both are located in the nation's capital. Other research was performed by our embryonic affiliates around the country; a Fifth Estate field project at Wounded Knee, and independent researchers cooperating with the Fifth Estate.

Research has concentrated on the following issues:

The Terrorist Information Project (TIP) was launched with the rise of the SLA. Working with reporters and other investigators, our investigation revealed that SLA member Donald DeFreeze, aka Cinque, had, in the past, been a police informant and agent provocateur. This phenomenon raised the spectre of government agencies using terrorism as a catch-all for repressive domestic operations. Additionally, we examined the activities of two less

Mailer and the Fifth Estate

By Bethlyn Bates

For months Norman Mailer's Fifth Estate was nothing more than a Norman Mailer lecture tour.

But then Mailer headed out CARIC (the Committee for Action/Research on Intelligence) group, sponsored by novelist Norman Mailer, that seeks to now he's in the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate to combat the massive security apparatus reportedly keeping watch over American citizens.

The organization, set up by Mailer several months ago, is whole project pretty dubious: "This will fail if it fails, it will amount to something when it has several

with the woman and members answer, distribute, subscribe as or to set up chapter in Santa Barbara

Santa Barbara is one of 19 cities in the nation selected as a target by a group organized by novelist Norman Mailer, that seeks to now he's in the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate to combat the massive security apparatus reportedly keeping watch over American citizens.

parts of the intended to reassess.

Mailer several months ago, is whole project pretty dubious: "This will fail if it

fails, it will amount to something when it has several

well-known groups—the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), which claims to be a left wing group; and IDENTITY, a paramilitary right wing group using a church as a cover. Although lacking funds, TIP will continue to receive the attention of the Fifth Estate, due to the increased focus of security groups on countering terrorism.

The Fifth Estate also undertook a painstaking analysis of the FBI COINTELPRO memos released through the Freedom of Information Act, and we are working with several attempts to discover how widespread COINTELPRO operations were and if they are still continuing. COINTELPRO was the FBI plan to disrupt and neutralize various political groups. COINTELPRO authorized illegal actions.

We initiated a major research effort into the relationships of international labor organizations with the CIA.

The Fifth Estate also uncovered an intelligence network operating in the United States run by the Saigon government, gathering information on both Americans and Vietnamese citizens in this country opposed to this obviously corrupt dictatorship.

We explored the role of the Defense Intelligence Agency in the coup which overthrew Salvador Allende in Chile.

Memos obtained by the Fifth Estate revealed that local utilities were sponsoring intelligence gathering operations aimed at foes of nuclear power plant construction.

We also exposed a confidential study prepared for LEAA on methods of stopping the flow of illegal aliens into the United States, suggesting a variety of Orwellian methods and blaming aliens for virtually all of the social ills of the United States.

We also explored the incidents of cooperation between the CIA and Soviet KGB which have come to our attention.

The Kent (Ohio) Committee for a Fifth Estate uncovered the existence of a proto-type "Master Plan" for political surveillance of campus groups and activists in Ohio.

And our field project, undertaken in conjunction with the Wounded Knee Legal Offense/Defense Committee, demonstrated the continuing trend towards militarization of domestic law enforcement agencies. Our research showed that the 71 day standoff between Indians and the Justice Department in May, 1973, was, in fact, a classical military cordon operation, patterned after similar missions in Indochina, and in violation of the posse commitatus act of 1887. Recently, a high level FBI official commented that the documents the Fifth Estate helped to procure at the trials were more important than the Pentagon Papers.

In disseminating our research and providing educational materials for the public, the Fifth Estate worked with a wide range of the Fourth Estate (media). We were either interviewed on, helped produce, or otherwise aided news stories on over 25 radio stations; 10 local television stations; all the national networks (as well as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the British Broadcasting Corporation, and the Broadcasting Corporation of Finland); numerous daily newspapers throughout the country and abroad; and throughout the alternative media. Although our educational work through the mass media has been limited by financial considerations, we feel that we have successfully stimulated response by the public on many important issues.

Fifth Estate Out to Get Big Brother

BY WENDELL POTTER
Press-Senior Staff Writer

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students Tim Butz and Michael a series of documents at a documents were "leaked department.

peared to be m-
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sarily to destroy him, but to
keep an eye on him.

This is essentially what
Tim Butz, a coordinator for
the Organizing Committee

for a Fifth Estate, will tell
a Memphis audience tonight

at 1907 Madison.

Butz is touring the country
to promote the Fifth Estate,

an organization formed
early this year

information and to gather

on the intelligence community

in the United States.

Butz says the spying busi-

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To Spy on The Spies We Need a Fifth Estate

The Fifth Estate, he says, is a kind of "counter-spying" group that maintains records on the established agencies and hopes to information to use by the public on how the science of intelligence operates."

The says, is to to native intel-
ligence agencies that the increasing threat to our democracy than the increasing

There is no greater threat to this democracy from the CIA to the White House than that an independent organization has now been estab-

lished to monitor the activities of the CIA and other intelligence agencies in Washington, D.C.

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PROSPECTUS FOR 1975

During 1975, the Fifth Estate hopes to initiate and work with already existing groups, to continue to build a nationwide network of citizen's research and educational groups on questions of security. Contacts and key organizers for such groups already exist in over 30 cities and discussions have been initiated towards establishment of affiliates under the Fifth Estate umbrella in over a dozen cities. Essential to this organizing manual, *Towards a Fifth Estate*, in April of this year.

The two most organized and functioning groups in the Fifth Estate are located in Washington. Hopefully, with adequate funding both will continue to serve the public and the growing Fifth Estate network. The Intelligence Documentation Center (IDC) is a library of information on security and the abuses of power within this community. Fifth Estate Security Education conducts research in selected areas and especially concentrates on educational activities. This publication is printed, usually at a loss, by the Fifth Estate Security Education. We hope to be able to begin a student intern program at the IDC later this year. Several work-study programs at universities and colleges have expressed a willingness to work with us on this project.

At the present time, there are two research and educational projects being conducted by Fifth Estate Security Education. The Labor Education Project hopes to conduct extensive research into the ways in which labor organizations have been targeted by various intelligence agencies. The project will concentrate on providing information to rank-and-file workers on CIA-labor operations. For more information contact: Winslow Peck.

During 1975, we hope to begin a pilot training program to train para-legal workers in basic investigative techniques. This program grows out of our experiences working with the Wounded Knee trials. For more information contact: Margaret Van Houten.

Several of our affiliates are conducting research on their campus's involvement with various security forces, on the action of narcotics agents in their areas, and their local police forces. More information on these projects will appear in *Counter-Spy* throughout the coming year.

The major problem for the Fifth Estate is, as we have said, financial. We have an adequate analysis of the ways and means power is abused in the security community. We have an enormous potential human force. And we have a successful program. But we just do not have enough money.

Some of our financing has been provided by a few foundations and concerned individuals, such as Norman Mailer. We have also raised funds through several events, and subscriptions for *Counter-Spy* are increasing. But this is just not enough.

Therefore we wish to encourage all citizens concerned with the problems we raise to investigate us and our program, and if you then believe that we are providing a vital service to you and your neighbors, please pledge a regular donation for a specific area of Fifth Estate work, on either the national or local level. All contributions to Fifth Estate Security Education or the Intelligence Documentation Center are TAX DEDUCTABLE (write for more information).

With your participation in the Fifth Estate, 1975 can prove to be even more successful than 1974.

In Last Issue

Response to each issue of *Counter-Spy* continues to grow, and we at the Fifth Estate find that fact gratifying. Public criticism, corrections and ideas are invaluable to help us place the information we uncover in a proper perspective. As we have said before on this page, the Fifth Estate believes that criticism is a necessary component for our continued political growth. So we'd like to thank all of the people who took the time to let their feelings be known, and encourage those who have remained silent to contribute.

The lead article in the last issue of *Counter-Spy*, giving an overview of CIA labor operations, has met with worldwide response. Unions in the United States and overseas have kept us busy responding to requests for copies of that issue. The political issue of CIA involvement with labor organizations has grown in importance in recent months as the result of ever increasing contradictions within the AFL-CIO and the CIA relationship, and conscientious organizing efforts on the part of rank-and-file trade unionists. It is our hope that the Fifth Estate will be able to continue to have an important role in educating people to this issue during the coming year. As the content of this issue shows, we are continuing our investigations into the relationships between the Agency and labor.

Aside from the generally positive feedback, and a few minor corrections, the only other significant response to our last issue came when a retired CIA official denounced the Fifth Estate during a forum at a nearby university. We take pleasure in agreeing with his proclamation that we have no respect for that Agency's cloak of secrecy. What secrecy there is in government should be decided by all Americans, not just the "old boys".

Response to other articles in the last issue has been significant also. The article on the counter-insurgency actions of the Army and the Justice Department during the siege at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, has met with unanimous praise. A number of publications have reprinted the article, and the Fifth Estate has been called upon to give technical advice for a Hollywood production of the occupation of Wounded Knee.

We were criticized that our article on agents and informants was too superficial. We agree, and would like to explain our intentions. First, the article was intended to serve as an introductory vehicle, one that would stimulate further observations in this area. And secondly, a bibliography intended for inclusion with the article was left out at the last minute due to space considerations. This detracted considerably from the introductory aspects of the article. We apologize to any readers that we may have inconvenienced. In the future, we intend to publish further discourses on this subject.

In closing, we would once again encourage our readers to contribute advice, criticisms, ideas, and articles to *Counter-Spy*. 1975 promises to be an exciting year for the Fifth Estate, and we hope you will join us in our efforts.

Counter-Spy is a journal of research, analysis, and opinion on the abuses of power by those in our nation's security forces. The journal is educational and, we hope, provides information and analysis otherwise unavailable to American citizens.

Counter-Spy is produced by the Fifth Estate Security Education, an autonomous research and educational group within the umbrella of the Fifth Estate. The Fifth Estate is an attempt by researchers, former government employees, educators, and activists to develop an alternative intelligence community serving the needs of the American public. With the Fifth Estate active in many communities across the country, we believe that abuses of power can be

demonstrated to the public and that the public can take action to terminate them and prevent their reoccurrence.

Counter-Spy, and the Fifth Estate believe that abuses of power occur in three areas. We will expose violations of civil, democratic and humane rights. We will expose corruption and criminality. And we will expose conscious efforts to create some new form of totalitarianism—what we call technofascism—in America. If the military, police or intelligence services are abusing their power in any of these ways, the Fifth Estate will be watching them.

We encourage all citizens to become involved in monitoring their local and national security forces.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CULTURE OF THE FERTILE CREEK ON THE ECONOMY OF THE STATE.

BY JAMES H. DODD, MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

RECENTLY, in a paper before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, I

described the culture of the Fertile Creek, and its influence on the economy of the State.

The culture of the Fertile Creek is a new one, and it has been developed in

the last few years, by the efforts of a number of men who have been interested

in the welfare of the State, and in the development of its resources.

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