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ON PAGE B2

THE WASHINGTON POST  
28 September 1979

*P. Causey, Mike*

~~ORCA AFIO~~

# The Federal Diary

By Mike Causey

*CUA 101 TURNER, Admin.*

Association of Former Intelligence Officers will hold its fifth annual convention Oct. 5 and 6 at the Sheraton Conference Center in Reston. Old boys, and old girls, from various cloak-and-dagger operations will meet and hear from the current chiefs of CIA, NSA and DIA about new trends in intelligence gathering. Package price for the Friday-Saturday sessions, including food, is \$68.50. Call (703) 790-0320 for details.

The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

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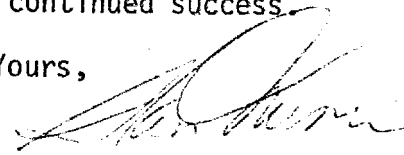
Dear Dave,

Thank you for your kind letter of congratulations on my appointment as Director of Central Intelligence. I am well aware of the fine work you and your colleagues in AFIO have been doing in support of the Agency and the Intelligence Community. I am pleased that the association has made such good progress in so short a time.

I would have been delighted to be a speaker at your convention, but unfortunately I will not be in the Washington area during that time period. I sincerely regret this and hope that I will have another opportunity to meet your members at some future time.

With all best wishes for continued success.

Yours,



STANSFIELD TURNER  
Admiral, U.S. Navy

Mr. David Atlee Phillips  
President  
Association of Former Intelligence Officers  
McLean Office Building  
6723 Whittier Avenue, Suite 303-A  
McLean, Virginia 22101

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Association of  
Former  
Intelligence  
Officers



. February 1977

Admiral Stansfield Turner  
Director of Central Intelligence  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Admiral Turner,

The Association of Former Intelligence Officers has a membership of 1,600 ex-intelligence men and women from all services. Among them are your two immediate predecessors.

I would like ~~████~~ to invite you to speak at the keynote luncheon of the Third Annual Convention of AFIO on 15 September. Last year then-DCI George Bush was the guest, and we hope that the appearance of the DCI will become the custom. Our meeting will be at the Twin Bridges Marriot Convention complex. If you are kind enough to accept the invitation I will be glad to work out the details with your staff.

Our congratulations on your confirmation. This organization is attempting to educate the American public on the need for adequate, responsible intelligence. If there is anything we can do to make your job easier, please let us know.

Sincerely and cordially,

*[Signature]*  
David Atlee Phillips  
President

To be sure you are not confused: we recently changed our name from ARIO---The Association of Retired Intelligence Officers.

*DCI - advice  
Ms J. this different than  
CIA retirees?*

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DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

10 March 77

DCI,

AFIO (Association of Former Intelligence Officers) is about three years old and consists of former intelligence officers from all services. It is very active in defense of the Agency and the Intelligence Community and provides speakers for many university and other functions. The "Periscope", a copy of which is attached by Phillips, indicates some of the activities of AFIO. The membership is 1,600.

On the other hand, CIRA (Central Intelligence Retirees Association) is limited to retirees who worked for CIA (members must have worked for CIA for 10 years). Whereas AFIO is of officer rank, CIRA has members of all grades. It was started at the suggestion of Dick Helms when he was Director. Whereas AFIO is activist, CIRA is strictly social and fraternal and avoids publicity. CIRA has some 800 members; Col. Lawrence K. (Red) White, former CIA Comptroller-General, is Chairman of the Board of Directors. [redacted] formerly of DDA/CIA, is President.

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# PERISCOPE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS

VOL. II, NO. 4, CONVENTION ISSUE 1976

In Reston, Virginia...

## A SUCCESSFUL SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION!

A galaxy of government and top intelligence community officials greeted the 250 ARIO members who met in their second national convention at Reston, Virginia on September 16 and 17 and told them, in the words of a message from President Gerald Ford, that "The United States cannot afford anything but the very best intelligence if we wish to preserve peace and freedom....I welcome," the President went on, "this opportunity...to express my deep appreciation to all of those who have served our country and have provided the critical information that the President must have in discharging his responsibilities."

President Ford's message, reproduced in full on this page, was delivered for him by White House Counsellor John O. Marsh, Jr. at the final banquet of ARIO's second national convention, a gathering which confirmed that the organization has firmly established itself in the eyes of government, Congress and press as an authoritative and credible public spokesman for the intelligence function in our society. As LTG Samuel V. Wilson, Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, put it in a rousing speech at Friday's luncheon, "You are, collectively, an important voice today. One of these days I hope to join you and together we will go on shouting out what America must continue to hear. In the meantime, you have my utter respect for the contributions you have made in your lifetimes and continue to make today."

General Wilson received a standing ovation that shook the walls as he reaffirmed his conviction that America could and would retain its place in the world and live up to its ideals "and will stay that way until Americans choose otherwise - and nobody wants to consciously make a choice like that."

A similarly encouraging message came from the man who, above all others, has his fingers on the pulse of the intelligence community and its standing in the government and Congress. DCI George Bush addressed the Thursday lunch meeting of the convention and delivered the hopeful message that Congress, before which he has testified no fewer than 37 times in eight months, is beginning to see its job as that of

strengthening the U.S.'s intelligence rather than "ferreting out corruption." He added the cheering news that CIA recruitment is up much higher this year in both quantity and quality and added the finding that in the course of his distinguished career in politics and diplomacy he has "never been associated with more selfless dedication and at the same time more quality than I am at this time as DCI."

The press agreed with these distinguished gentlemen that the ARIO convention was an important event. No fewer than fourteen micro-

*(Continued on page 2)*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 17, 1976

These past two years have been a time of testing for the American Intelligence Community.

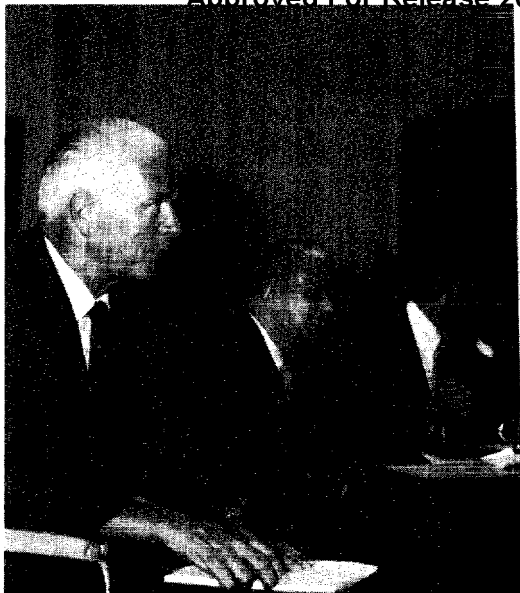
Throughout this period I have made my position clear: The United States cannot afford anything but the very best intelligence if we wish to preserve peace and freedom. I have known many dedicated and capable American intelligence officers. They are a credit to our country. They serve quietly, without public acclaim, and their achievements are often never known to the American people.

I welcome this opportunity of this Second National Convention of the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers to express my deep appreciation to all of those who have served our country and who have provided the critical information that the President must have in discharging his responsibilities.

### AN IMPORTANT QUESTIONNAIRE

With this PERISCOPE you will find a questionnaire. Participate in the two vital decisions soon to be made by ARIO. Please return by 5 December.





Left, Chairman of the Board Lyman B. Kirkpatrick listens to the panel on intelligence and the media. The two newsmen behind him are from *Editor & Publisher* and *TIME*. Right, the panel: Walter Pincus, LTG Danny Graham, Bill Colby and Charles Bartlett (Moderator Erwin Griswold is hidden by Pincus).

(Continued from page 1)

phones were fastened to the podium when George Bush spoke. All the major TV networks were represented and national coverage was accorded to the Bush speech on the evening news with an excellent shot of the ARIO emblem. (See photomontage, page 6.) The news agencies and a number of domestic and foreign newspapers sent reporters. This coverage, much greater than last year's, confirms that ARIO is a known and respected organization involved with one of the major continuing public issues of our times.

Mr. Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Counselor of the Department of State and often described as "the right hand" of Secretary Kissinger, provided the delegates with an informal insight on the role of intelligence in foreign policy decision making. Sonnenfeldt, who cancelled another engagement to appear at the ARIO convention, asked that his remarks be "off the record" so he could be candid with this "knowledgeable group." Needless to say, the questions were sharp and the responses informative.

The convention not only listened to a number of interesting speeches but also transacted important business at the annual membership meeting. Most important was the election of four new members of the Board of Governors: William E. Colby, LTG Daniel O. Graham, USA Ret., Helen Priest Deck and Col. George R. Weinbrenner, USAF, Ret. The election brings to 14 the total membership of our governing body. (See biographies of members, next issue.) Under the gavel of Lyman Kirkpatrick, Chairman of the Board of Governors, the membership meeting approved the amended by-laws, concurred in the appointment of a committee to explore the question of adopting a new name for the organization and of another committee to nail down finally the legal

aspects of maintaining a tax free status while attempting to influence Congressional actions on intelligence matters. A number of committee reports were submitted which will provide a source of program activity and membership and other policies in the year to come.

An intellectual highlight of the gathering came in a seminar on the provocative subject of "Good Secrets, Bad Secrets and Non-secrets," chaired by Dean Erwin N. Griswold, former Solicitor General and former Dean of Harvard Law School. Participants were William E. Colby, LTG Daniel O. Graham, Walter Pincus of *The Washington Post* and Charles Bartlett, syndicated columnist. Although the discussion produced no agreement on the tortured subject of what should be kept secret and how it should be done, it produced excellent statements of opposing points of view. Pincus, on the one hand, maintained that keeping its secrets is the government's internal problem and that anything the press obtains and considers news is fair game. General Graham on the other hand, felt that the Espionage Act should be enforced to the hilt against newspapers that publish classified information. In between were Colby and Bartlett, both of whom felt the laws needed strengthening but that the focus must be on the government employees who violate their oaths and pass information to unauthorized parties.

Like all other good conventions, this one was also a grand reunion of old buddies who swapped tall stories and lifted their glasses more than once to toast old times, old friends or just because they were thirsty. A few hardy souls got out of bed early to play in the golf and tennis tournaments on Friday a.m. (For the results see page 8.) As the last stragglers made their way out of the hospitality room at 3 a.m. on Saturday morning many were heard to pledge that they would meet again at the next convention — and we can all drink to that!

## DCI Bush Optimistic And Confident The Patient Will Survive

George Bush, the latest distinguished American to sit at the bulls-eye on the Seventh Floor of Langley Headquarters, told the assembled ARIO conventioners that "CIA has weathered the storm" of congressional and press investigation that swirled about the agency for the last two years. As evidence for this conclusion Bush cited a changed attitude in Congress where, he said, "the mood has changed. No one is campaigning against strong intelligence. The adversary thing, how we can ferret out corruption, has given way to the more serious question of how we can have better intelligence."

As another sign of change, the DCI reported an improvement in the reception that CIA recruiters have on college campuses. Recruitment is up both in quality and quantity, he stated. "Young people nowadays are proud to accept the challenge of serving their country in intelligence."

According to the DCI, a thorough reorganization has improved the internal workings of the intelligence community and of CIA. To implement the President's Executive Order, which decreed greater centralized management and budgeting for the community, the DCI now has two equal deputies. One, Hank Knoche, attends to the day to day management of CIA. The other, VADM Daniel Murphy, is responsible for the co-ordinating of the intelligence community. According to the DCI, Admiral Murphy is "tenacious and working hard to implement the President's Order in letter and in spirit." Backing him up is the high-level Committee on Foreign Intelligence, set up by the President's Order, in making budgetary decisions for all the components of the community, regardless of which department of government they are in. This system now gives far better control to the managers whose job is to handle America's intelligence effort as a single, unified program.

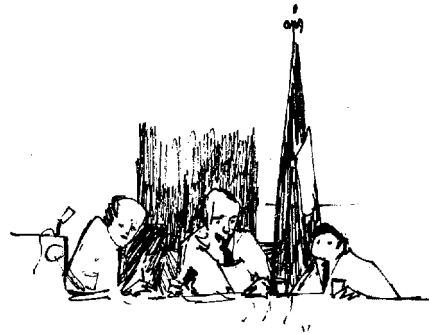
Mr. Bush did not gloss over the fact that numerous problems remain to be solved. There has been a definite diminution, he said, in the extent of the co-operation of certain friendly foreign intelligence services. The publicity that has exposed numerous sensitive operations is largely responsible for this result — but that situation is also improving with time.

Since he was sworn in to his new job early in the year, Mr. Bush has been obliged to make 37 formal appearances before Congressional committees — not including numerous informal appearances. To reduce the obvious duplication, the DCI expressed the hope that the new Senate Intelligence Oversight Committee will lead to a consolidation of committees and consequently a better quality of oversight.

The security of the congressional oversight system remains a problem in Mr. Bush's view, but here, too, the situation is improving, largely as a result of the responsibility and seriousness of Senator Inouye's new oversight committee. Mr. Bush said that he doesn't feel that leaks of classified data from the Congress are inevitable but he weighs the risks himself before passing on such information. If he knows a Congressman plans to make information public, he would feel obligated not to give it.

On the complex problem of covert action, Mr. Bush said that the law is now very specific. The highest levels of the government are involved in the approval process through the Intelligence Advisory Committee. To make this system work, a good deal of trust and prudence are required. According to the DCI, the country needs a covert action capability and hopes that the new procedure will succeed.

Director Bush brought forth sustained applause when he assured the convention that in his entire career he has "never been associated with more selfless dedication and at the same time with more quality than I am at CIA."



Ted Mackechnie

## Counsellor John Marsh

President Ford's Counsellor John O. Marsh told the final banquet of the ARIO convention — after delivering the President's message reproduced elsewhere — that our organization "has a unique opportunity":

"You can help achieve a better public understanding of the role of the intelligence service in our national defense.

"You can present to your elected representatives views on pending legislation that relate to the operation of the intelligence community."

Counsellor Marsh also called attention to President Ford's executive orders tightening up approval procedures and executive oversight of intelligence operations. "For the first time," he noted, "he spelled out the charters of the components of the community. His Executive Order also defined and designated certain responsibilities. There was some restructuring of the intelligence community together with provisions for Executive oversight including the newly created Intelligence Oversight Board.

"His purpose," Marsh went on, "was not only to strengthen the intelligence community, but to specify safeguards against abuses. This has restored public confidence in our very excellent agencies."

Mr. Marsh also had some kind words for one of ARIO's newest members. "At this point," he said, "let me mention to you the tremendous contributions that were made by the former Director of the CIA, William Colby. In a situation in which the principal thrust was impacting on his agency, Bill Colby met the highest standards of public service. I know the President would want me to thank him here tonight in the presence of his colleagues."

**Giving a speech on intelligence to the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers, a group which includes not only yesterday's respected peers but also some of my former superiors is not an easy task. And when one adds the requirement to keep these remarks unclassified, the difficulty is considerably compounded.**

In essence, our job in the next few months is to emerge from this crisis in intelligence with a workable institution without undergoing irreparable damage in the process.

I am certain that no one in this room doubts the need for America to have a strong intelligence service. Some few in our country apparently do doubt it. Others say they believe in one, but they would so expose and unwittingly hamstring it that it could not operate effectively. Still others, who favor an effective intelligence service, question whether our service is properly controlled and properly focused. We must listen carefully to the voices of the latter.....

**The revelation of true intelligence secrets makes exciting reading in the morning paper. It is soon forgotten by most readers, but not by our adversaries. Enormously complex and expensive technical intelligence collection systems can be countered. Need I remind this particular audience, that dedicated and courageous men and women who risk their lives to help America can be exposed and destroyed? I don't think the American people want this to happen; especially when our adversaries, dedicated to the proposition that we eventually must be defeated, are hard at work. But Americans must understand or they will inadvertently cause this to happen.....**

We know the truth of the cliché "victory has a thousand fathers, defeat is an orphan." And our version: "our defeats and mistakes are trumpeted; our successes pass unnoticed and unknown."

Somehow, though, Americans have got to come to realize that America has good intelligence—the best in the world. It is time for them to know our country is safe from a sneak attack. It is time for them to know our country is getting a bargain for its intelligence buck. It is time for them to know the American intelligence record is studded with success after success.

It is time for them to know:

- That American intelligence spotted the Soviet nuclear missiles being delivered to Cuba in 1962 and supported the President as he worked through 13 nightmarish days to force their removal;

#### Statement By Policy And Plans Committee

The past year has seen ARIO grow from a small cadre of initial founders and a convention a year ago to a membership of over 1200 persons from all sectors of the intelligence community.

The policy of ARIO announced last year was "The purpose of ARIO is to promote informed public understanding of our country's need for timely and accurate intelligence and to foster in the public a full appreciation of the role of intelligence and counter-intelligence." We believe this policy has proved to be sound. During the past year ARIO has, through the efforts of its members, achieved recognition for its integrity and capability in presenting to the public the importance of intelligence to the nation. ARIO has established credibility and respect.

In the coming year ARIO will continue on its charted course with even added emphasis on informing the public of the issues facing the intelligence community. Our purpose remains the same—to keep the public informed.

ARIO will continue to provide, as appropriate, suggestions and advice to the Executive and Legislative Branches of the Government on matters affecting the Intelligence Community. Increased attention will be given to ARIO efforts in the educational field.

- That American intelligence gave seven years warning on the development of the Moscow anti-ballistic missile system;
- That American intelligence pinpointed eight new Soviet inter-continental ballistic missiles and evaluated the development of each three or more years before it became operational;
- That two major new Soviet submarine programs were anticipated well before the first boats slid down the ways;
- That we knew the status and design of two Soviet aircraft carriers well before the front one put to sea for sea trials.
- That American intelligence successfully monitors and predicts trends in oil prices and tracks the flow of petro dollars. That these things impinge on their pocketbook and on their everyday life.
- That American intelligence each year turns to the key task of assessing world crop prospects, which has to do with the price of the market basket we all must buy, with the world food problem.
- That American intelligence monitors compliance with the strategic arms limitation agreements. We do not have to estimate. We do not have to guess. We know whether our possible adversaries are keeping these agreements—that this is a new job for intelligence: keeping the peace and restraining the arms race.
- They have to know that the bold technical thinkers; the courageous people on hazardous duty in strange lands; the gifted analysts puzzling out mysterious political and military moves made by unpredictable people in far and closed societies are more than craftsmen—they are dedicated, talented artists.

**Intelligence is more than a craft. It is more than a science. It is indeed an art. We do not have a crystal ball, and we can't yet provide a copy of the 1980 World Almanac. And we may not predict the given hour of a particular coup or revolution—any more than a weatherman can make a flat prediction that it will start raining at precisely 0920 hours tomorrow. We can't tell what God is going to do on Tuesday of next week, especially when he hasn't made up his mind. But we probably can tell when he's getting mad. You and I know all of this—but the American people don't—and they are confused. They don't realize our primary function is to provide the leadership of this nation with the deepest possible understanding of the military, political, social, and economic climate of countries that affect vital American interests. Our mission is to see that our leaders know about what may happen in the world beyond our borders and about the forces and factors at work there. The American taxpayer should know we do this job well, despite our problems.**

In fact, when people see a statue of Nathan Hale—like the one in front on the CIA Headquarters building at Langley, Virginia, they recall his voice from the past. But they don't go beyond his words enough to take a close look at him. For that shows his hands are tied behind him and his legs are bound with a rope, just as he was bound before the Redcoats hung him for attempting to steal their secrets.

They, not fully understanding, accept that state as the way it should be. Somehow we have got to secure their support to *help us get the ropes off of Nathan Hale*. Failure to do that would be to neglect the voices from our past, to jeopardize our freedom, and to endanger our tricentennial.

**The Soviets seem to believe their own propaganda that we are disintegrating as a society but they worry about what we may do in our death throes. At the same time, they will not hesitate to do whatever they can discreetly to hasten our demise. Their strategy is to press us politically, economically, psychologically wherever we are weak and where the risks are slight, particularly in the low-intensity conflict arena in the underdeveloped world; to bleed us and to embarrass us, while striving for across-the-board military superiority, especially in strategic weapons systems—in other words, a form of nuclear blackmail.**

*My good friends, I know many of you personally—have worked with you and for some of you—know your great abilities and your dedication. You are, collectively, an important voice today. One of these days I hope to join you and together we will go on saying what America must continue to hear. In the meantime, you have my total respect for the contributions you have made in your lifetimes and continue to make today. In recognition, I block my heels and give you my snappiest and proudest salute. Thank you.*

Four distinguished new members of the ARIO Board of Governors were elected at the Reston Convention among other important association business transacted.

The new board members were: former DCI **William E. Colby**, former Director of DIA LTG **Daniel O. Graham**, **Helen Priest Deck** who was the prime mover in the formation of our first formal chapter in New England; and Col. **George R. Weinbrenner**, USAF (Ret.), who has been our most active and energetic member in the Southwest. (For biographies of the new and old members of the Board of Governors see the next issue of *PERISCOPE*).

Under the leadership of **Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, jr.**, Chairman of the Board and former Executive Director of CIA, the ARIO Board of Governors and its officers have been consulting the membership for opinions concerning ARIO's future plans. With the benefit of the collective views of Convention delegates, Chairman Kirkpatrick took the following steps:

Instructed the President to appoint a committee to organize the next annual convention and report recommendations on the question of whether to hold it at a site outside the Washington area:

Approved the suggestion that ARIO issue an annual award to the American who has done most to advance the purposes for which ARIO was founded:

Agreed to appoint three regional co-ordinators to act as channels between the headquarters and the membership. (Details on this decision appear elsewhere in *Periscope*.)

The membership meetings held during the course of the convention also got through a respectable amount of business. At one session the Constitution and By-laws as amended were read and adopted. Most discussion focussed on whether or not we should bar ourselves from attempting to influence legislation in order to maintain our tax-exempt status. This tangled question was temporarily set aside in order to get the Constitution and By-laws on the books. But a motion was carried asking the President to appoint a committee to study the legal questions involved and make recommendations. At present, the by-laws prevent us from attempting to "influence legislation" but if the committee of experts recommends a change, the membership will be polled by mail on the proposed amendments.

Another vote approved the appointment of a committee to look into the pros and cons of changing our name to eliminate the troublesome word "retired." If it decides to recommend such a change, the proposed alternatives will be submitted to the membership.

On Thursday afternoon and Friday morning the conventioners broke up into eight separate committees which accomplished the following:

**The Policy and Plans Committee** reported that since last year at this time ARIO has forged toward its goal, achieving recognition for integrity and capability in presenting its case and establishing credibility and respect. "In the coming year ARIO will continue on its charted course...Our purpose remains the same — to keep the public informed. ARIO will continue to provide, as appropriate, suggestions and advice to the executive and legislative branches of the government

on legislation affecting the intelligence community. Added emphasis will be given to its efforts in the educational field."

**The Academic Planning Committee** drafted a sample letter to a university suggesting a course of study on intelligence and offering ARIO's assistance in setting it up.

**The Chapter Organization Committee** recommended that three geographical regions be set up, each headed by an officer to "provide a communications link between local chapters and the Washington Headquarters." As reported elsewhere in this issue, the recommendation was acted upon immediately.

**The Convention Operations Committee** recommended that the next ARIO convention be held outside of the Washington area and that a committee be appointed to explore the feasibility of this proposal.

**The Committee on Constitution and By-laws** revised and tightened these basic documents and submitted them to the membership which approved them in toto.

**The Membership Expansion Committee** made a number of recommendations of which the most important were: appoint membership chairmen to each new chapter or regional organization as it is formed; explore the possibility of inserting an ARIO membership application into the retirement packet of retiring intelligence personnel; encourage each active member to recruit at least one new member per year.

**The Membership Services Committee** recommended against providing any commercial services to members at this time; it proposed the revision of the membership directory to make it more useable to members and suggested the maintenance of an employment clearing house at the ARIO headquarters simply to facilitate the answering of employment enquiries. Another suggestion was that members notify headquarters of the death of any member so that a condolence card can be sent and a notice entered in *Periscope*.

**The Publications and Media Committee** recommended against the creation of a serious quarterly journal to be published by ARIO at this time but proposed that a committee be appointed to explore the idea. It recommended that *Periscope* be maintained as the principal publication of the association, increased in size and frequency as funds permit.

**The Fund Raising Committee** met and deliberated but reached no conclusions.

**Joe Burke**, a new member and former Special Agent with the FBI, spoke to the delegates about ways in which ARIO and the Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI could cooperate. Recognizing that ARIO is the only organization which can claim to represent the entire intelligence community, the delegates recommended that ARIO officials look into means of cooperation. Since the convention, a preliminary meeting has been held with the FBI group and the manner in which we could cooperate is to be the subject of formal discussions by the executive board of the FBI group at their October convention.

### ARIO'S PRESENT COURSE: SUMMARY OF PRE-CONVENTION SURVEY

In mid-1976 ARIO sent all members a questionnaire asking their opinions on ARIO's present course — "too aggressive, too passive or just about right." We also asked for comments on the present organization and for suggestions for its future course.

The majority who responded said the present course was "about right," but a number qualified their approval with additional comments. Some disapproved "our consorting too much with the Media — the nemesis of intelligence"... "a tendency to accommodate those in high position, many of whom were part of the original problem." Others disliked our "Not hitting back hard enough"... "Our need to limit ARIO efforts to advisory or informative levels in a critical struggle"... "The defensive rather than positive and aggressive response to our attackers."

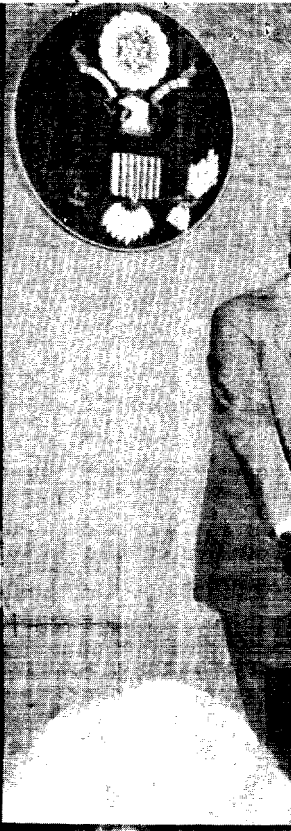
Corrective suggestions included placing a priority on "an active and strong legislative committee"... Greater efforts to get materials into schools to "stem the flow of one-sided information currently prevalent there." One member recommended arming members with "clarifying and justifying back-up information for use in defending potentially misunderstood or controversial public statements made in the name of ARIO."

More aggressive tactics proposed: "Jump in and give the FBI some strong support." "Join with American Security Council to fight CBS."

On the positive side members liked *Periscope*; appreciated the unbiased information ARIO made available; approved the establishment of our McLean office (which one respondent hoped would alleviate the past lack of response to, or acknowledgement of, communications); and they felt that ARIO has "put it all together." One person said that America needs ARIO, and another seconded ARIO's efforts to "dam the flood of leaks." The "broad membership" policy was endorsed.

All in all, the thoughtfully prepared responses, while somewhat disappointing in quantity, made up in quality for the lack of volume. One in particular struck a responsive chord and is worth quoting in its entirety:

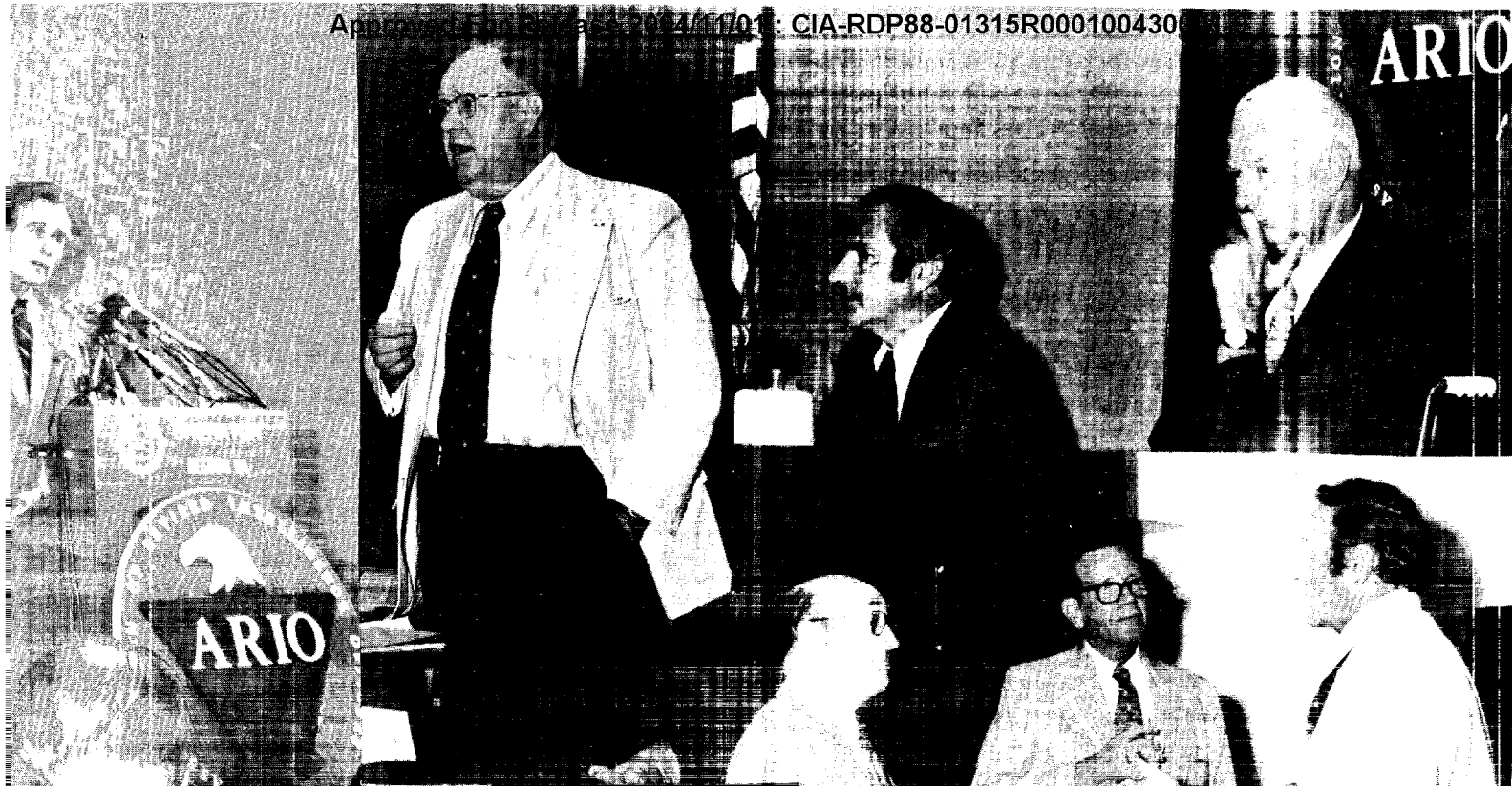
"It (ARIO) is bringing we retired officers in out of the cold, so we can meet our former coworkers and collectively work to improve our image in the public eye as well as, hopefully, *improve conditions for those who follow in our footsteps.*" (Emphasis added.)



## Some Work, Some Relaxation And

SNAPSHOTS FROM ARIO'S SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION: Top, center, DCI George Bush addresses the Friday luncheon. Counter-clock-wise from the Director: Tommy Lee Watson, with Bill Hood not far behind....O.S.S. veterans Jim Ward and COL Carl Eifler, the latter a member of the ARIO Board of Governors and West Regional Coordinator, share a serious conversation with ARIO Vice President Col. Steve Hammond....Former O.S.S. and CIA officer Curtis Carroll Davis and Mrs. Davis....Don Huefner is listening to Sam Halpern, but seems skeptical about what Sam is saying....ARIO President Dave Phillips and Gina find something very amusing in their conversation with ARIO Treasurer Lou Napoli. Why are the two men who sign and counter-sign ARIO checks laughing with such glee?

MIDDLE PANEL, left to right: California delegate Lee Echols didn't miss a trick at the ARIO Convention, and managed to sell a number of copies of his book, *Dead Aim*....Marian Sulc poses prettily with her husband Larry, ARIO's man-on-the-Hill and East Coordinator....John Muldoon stares sternly at the cameraman—seems he should have grinned, having persuaded George

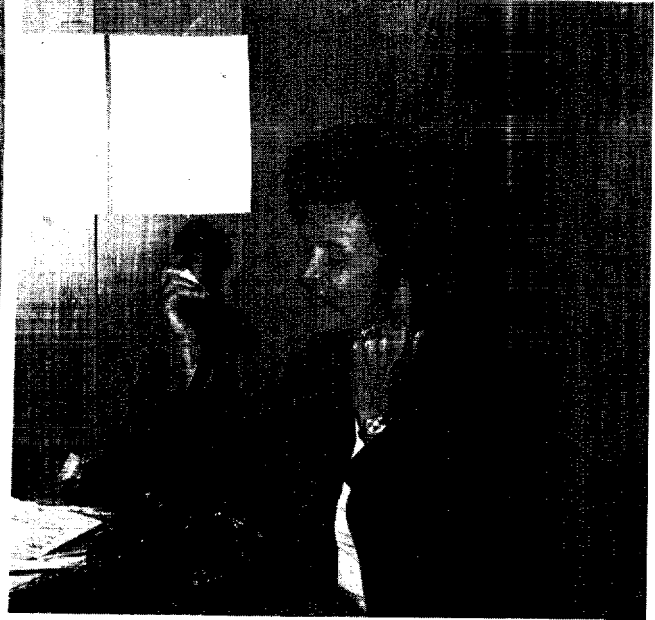


### A Fine Reunion Of Former Colleagues

King to donate his time for Convention photography. Col. Gil Layton looks the other way....but toward Margaret Ruddock, one of a number of delegates who flew all the way from California.

ON THE RIGHT, clockwise from DCI Bush: ARJO Board of Governors member and Central Regional Coordinator Col. George Weinbrenner stands to raise a point-of-order....Near the flag, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, the Counselor of the Department of State, discusses intelligence and foreign policy as presiding officer Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr. ponders. (Mrs. Kirkpatrick, a former intelligence officer and ARJO member, also attended the Convention)....Major Al Wright, glass in hand, listens with Board of Governor's member Jim Flannery as ARJO's Executive Director and Convention Manager Jack Coakley makes a point....CWO John Smith and Mrs. Smith drove up from Richmond, as John has for all Washington area meetings....Major Lou Taylor, one of several delegates from South Carolina. That's not Kojak standing next to him, but COL Bob Roth who joined ARJO at the Convention after coming along to take a look. Finally, Bill McTigue, formerly with DIA.





ARIO Champs—Ed Buchanan, runner-up and Earl Sears, tennis winner; on the right, Jim Kim, low gross in golf (low net winner John Warner was busy elsewhere when the picture was snapped). Far right, PERISCOPE's Pat Stringham manages to talk on two telephones with a pencil clenched in her teeth!

## LIVE FROM THE "GO-TO-H-ROOM... Pat Stringham Reports From The Nerve Center

Aka as "The Press Room, The War Room, The Phone Booth," and in fact Room "H" of the Sheraton Reston Convention Center.

"ARIO, may I help you?" And Oh Rogues, did we ever try!  
"Where are the Committee Assignment Lists?" . . . "Dave is bringing them." . . . "Where's Dave?" . . . "He's on his way."

"ARIO, may I help you?" . . . "Oh, yes, Jean White of the *Washington Post*" . . . "**Mr. Phillips** is in a Board Meeting at the moment. May I have him call you as soon as he is free or may I refer you to **Mr. Hayden Estey**, our Media Representative?" . . . "Where's Hayden?" . . . "Ms. White we are calling Mr. Estey. Perhaps I can help you?" . . . "The schedule? Of course, I would be happy to." . . . "Yes, **Mr. George Bush** is addressing the Keynote Luncheon. Then at 1515 hours a discussion on the subject of "Good Secrets, Bad Secrets and Non-secrets with **Dr. Erwin Griswold** as Moderator is scheduled." . . . "The panelists? **Mr. William E. Colby**, **LTG (Ret) Daniel Graham**, **Mr. Walter Pincus** and **Charles Bartlett** . . . Ah, Mr. Estey is here, Ms. White."

"ARIO, may I help you?"

All this time the two phones in Room H have been either in use or ringing. A TASS correspondent wants some information on the Convention. Philadelphia is calling for a "live-interview." We find the "live" ARIO member and muffle the other noise.

Anybody who moves is drafted for some task . . . "**Al (Wright)** you take charge of the ARIO Shield. Move it in to whatever room we are currently using." . . . "We need Scotch Tape. Will someone go buy some at the "Store" . . . "The pencils are all broken, Gina, see if you can find a pencil sharpener?" . . .

We're an information booth, too. **Barbara Storer** forgot to pack a lipstick so we send her off to the "Little Store" at the end of the hall . . . **Herb Hudson** has lost his name tag and needs another one. His original is later seen on **Grace Covault's** big toe. (No time now for an explanation of *this* one!)

"Who worked the Crossword Puzzle in *Green ink*?" . . . "I, **John Muldoon**, did."

"Does it always rain on ARIO Conventions?"

"Let's hear it for the Flip Side of Intelligence!"

"Suppose we had a Convention and nobody came?" (**Jack Coakley's** recurring nightmare.)

A reporter — "Were all you cute gals really spies, Mata Hari types — or are you mostly wives?" (I deplore the grammar, but sorted the syntax.) . . . "Most were Intelligence Officers and, of that 'most' some were wives. Hardly Mata Hari's, but professionals nonetheless — analysts, researchers, writers, editors and general factotum. Don't forget! She also serves who sits and analyzes."

And there was a Pennsylvania reporter whose interviewing priorities were: A) Women ARIO members from Pa.; B) A woman member; C) A male member from Pa. A fast search of our "Resources File" disclosed — NO "A's" in attendance, 50 some "B's" and 1 "C". We hated to do it to you **Helen Deck** and **Oscar Stroh**, but that's the way the eagle soars.

Enter five media persons wishing to file reports on our two phones. Unlike 1776, Great Britain won this round and for twenty minutes we were treated to Oxfordian prose. We eavesdropped scandalously ("Spook's Convention," indeed!) but noted that he was returning the compliment. WE found out more than he did!

"Who is that photographer with the ARIO I.D. tag who says he's with *Izvestia*?" "That's **George King**, the official ARIO photographer." (Audible sighs of relief)

A slim young man says quietly, "I am General Wilson's driver. To which entrance should I bring the General tomorrow?" . . . "I'll check with Mr. Coakley." . . . "Where's Jack?" . . . "Right here." Another problem solved.

And so it went for eight and one-half hours on Thursday and the same on Friday with staggered breaks to attend sessions, committee meetings, discussions and the luncheons.

The content of the speeches certainly gave us all something to take home and ponder upon. . .

ARIO membership is up, with 25% of that membership women. Convention attendance is close to the latter figure with roughly 50 women out of more than 200 delegates.

Not all of ponderous import, but quotes your correspondent felt worth preserving: "I pursued, but never quite overtook, my studies." (**Gordon McLendon**) . . . "Babbling bureaucrats!" (**LTG Graham**) . . . "The fundamental 'secret' is the Ballot Box." (**William Colby**) . . . "One person's 'secret' is another person's open information." (**Walter Pincus**) . . . (The "corrective lens" theory) "Intelligence should help broaden the sometimes myopic view of those too close to the scene of action." (**Helmut Sonnenfeldt**) . . . "Democracy cannot be taken from us! We can only give it away!" (**LTG Wilson**) . . . "You can't conduct intelligence in a Macy's show window." (**Dave Phillips** in Philadelphia "live" interview)

A special vote of thanks must go to the fifteen Roguettes who kept their cool in Room H while all around them were wilting: **Marian Gaumond**, **Myra Johnson**, **Doris King**, **Helen Kleyla**, **Florence Larson**, **Marjorie Martin**, **Mayme O. McNally**, **Ruth Olson**, **Ethel Pearson**, **Meg Roney**, **Dorothy Southerland**, **Elizabeth Sudmeier**, **Jo Thompson**, **Virginia Thorne** and **Pat Venable**.

NUMERO UNO Recommendation for next year: Issue skateboards to all Roguettes for rapid transit from Lobby to "H" and return.

## RAY CLINE COMMENTS ON THE FUTURE OF COVERT ACTION

(This is another of PERISCOPE's presentations of personal viewpoints on intelligence by persons eminent in the field. Dr. Ray S. Cline, a member of ARIO's Board of Governors, is the author of *Secrets, Spies and Scholars*, which is reviewed on page 10. The review does not discuss Cline's views on the future of covert action. While the former Deputy Director of CIA and Director of INR at the Department of State endorses the maintenance of a covert action capability he does propose drastic change. The following — direct quotes from United Press International — outlines his proposal. We welcome comments from ARIO members).

"A former deputy director of the CIA says his old spy agency should be stripped of covert operations and turned into a relatively open research institute.

Dr. Ray S. Cline said he still favored limited clandestine operations by the United States, but they should be hidden in other parts of the federal government.

CIA headquarters, he said, should be purged of its 'dirty tricks' reputation by becoming the benign Central Institute of Foreign Affairs Research.

'The Central Intelligence Agency, the famous acronym which has become a worldwide public relations liability, would cease to exist,' he said.

Cline, educated at Harvard and Oxford, made the proposals in a memoir of his two decades of service with the CIA, 'Secrets, Spies and Scholars.'

Cline outlined a bold reorganization of the U.S. intelligence community which would allow CIFAR to assign intelligence tasks to intelligence units of the departments of state, defense, treasury, commerce and

agriculture intelligence units.

This reorganized intelligence apparatus, he said, should be monitored by a special committee of the House, as well as of the Senate. So far, only the Senate has such a panel.

Clandestine operations, he said, should be controlled by a small professional staff within the White House.

'These covert operations should not be too frequent nor too large,' he said. 'The operations themselves should be carried out by specifically trained personnel assigned to Clandestine Services or members of the Clandestine Services Staff.'

'The heart of these additional steps to put our intelligence on a sound footing is to change the popular image of intelligence by demonstrating that most of the work is neither illegal nor immoral.

'Thus, CIFAR should replace CIA at the Langley Headquarters Building, which could then be more open to scholars and journalists interested in consultation and substantive research findings.'

Cline said any future intelligence director should be a cabinet member standing above CIFAR, taking orders from the president and the National Security Council. He should have direct access to the chief executive, he said.

The deputy director for intelligence in 1962-1966, Cline departed from CIA Director George Bush's reluctance to publish the CIA annual budget which he said runs \$4 billion a year because 'the marginal value of this information over and above what Soviet and other spies can now get is so small that it is less important than the gain in congressional and public confidence in the accountability of our intelligence system.' "

### ARIO LIFE MEMBERSHIPS AVAILABLE

Life Membership for interested ARIO members is now available for a one-time payment of \$150.00. The next edition of PERISCOPE will contain an Honor Roll of the first members to solicit Life Membership, to be recognized by issuance of a special membership card, listing on a plaque in the Ario National Office, and other benefits and recognition as the Board of Governors shall approve during its December, 1976 general meeting. As the title implies, Life Members will receive all publications and enjoy all prerogatives of ARIO membership without future assessment.

Those who wish to provide full support to ARIO by becoming Life Members should so advise the National Office before the publication of the Winter Edition of PERISCOPE.

### Association Notes From All Over. . .

From a newsletter for computer experts: "CIA Changes Name to CCIA. The Computer Industry Association became the Computer and Communications Industry Association by unanimous vote of its board of directors on August 19. The change was explained by Jack Biddle, CCIA president, 'as reflecting the growing interdependence of the computer and communications industries.' Biddle also said that the CIA acronym had caused some 'interesting confusion' since the association's move to Washington."

### ARIO APPOINTS REGIONAL COORDINATORS

Three Regional Coordinators have been appointed to provide executive direction for the formation of Area and State ARIO Chapters. COL Carl Eifler, is now the West Coordinator, Col. George Weinbrenner, will be responsible for Central development, and Mr. Lawrence Sulc is the East Coordinator.

Each of the three Coordinators will have the authority to appoint Area or State Chairpersons. Colonel Eifler, for instance, has already announced that Lee Echols will be the California State Chairman, and Mr. Sulc has confirmed that Chairwomen Helen Priest Deck and Barbara Storer will continue to manage ARIO affairs in New England.

The West Area, under Colonel Eifler, is composed of the West Coast states, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico. The Central states for which Colonel Weinbrenner will be responsible are Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, South and North Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas and Louisiana. The remaining Southern and Eastern states will be supported in their activities by Mr. Sulc, who works from the ARIO national office.



ON THE  
INTELLIGENCE BOOKSHELF ...Current books  
of interest to intelligence buffs and watchers of the world  
scene. All reviews are by ARIO members.

**SECRETS, SPIES AND SCHOLARS, by Ray S. Cline, Acropolis Press, Washington, D.C. 1976. \$10.00.**

There are a number of reasons for reading this book, the first and least of which is that it is written by Ray Cline of our Board of Governors. Another reason, still not pertinent to the value of the book itself, may attract the curious: one suspects that Ray will be back in a key position in government one of these days. The remaining reasons for reading it and for giving a copy to others are many and they are compelling, as is the book itself.

Each of us had a different set of experiences in his or her intelligence career; few could have had as varied and exciting experiences as did Ray. He does not himself appear in the earliest part of this work which reviews the development of our intelligence services. The theme here — and it appears throughout — is the need for central intelligence. He tells of the struggle during and then after the war to put such an apparatus together. And he shows us that the form alone is not enough: there is a constant struggle to keep to satisfactory standards and to produce satisfactory results.

When he writes of his own experiences the book is liveliest. Don't get the wrong idea. This is a serious book. It is not romantic and it is never cute. In an aside at one point he says: "Most books on the subject of intelligence operations are garbage." He spends a little time good humoredly dissecting and spoofing the false mystique. He tells a straightforward story of the OSS and his experience in it and in other intelligence endeavors before he joined it. The important dividends are the constantly perceptive lessons he draws from these experiences — I won't say morals, although some of these lessons may be seen that way. He tosses occasionally an amusing How-To hint: ". . .controlling the newsbreaks. . . is the best entree to the great men, who like to be up to date even more than they like to be well briefed."

One assumes that this book will be on reading lists in courses of political science and international affairs. Maybe it will attract the attention of the bright and literate newspaperman here and there. You could do your Congressman and your country a service by sending a copy to the first with the prayer that his duty to the second will lead him to read it. Probably the President would get as much out of it as anyone else could and this might avoid for all of us what Santayana feared.

Ray Cline's mind is impressive and he writes clearly and forcefully and as simply as he speaks. The book is sometimes brilliant, sometimes exciting, and always interesting. He stirs the blood when he says that "There was an idealism and an urgency in all this that gave meaning and lives to a generation of CIA officers and their many colleagues in other agencies in the U.S. intelligence community." If the eyes of your young listeners have glazed when you told them what it was like clubbing away with your musket there at the high tide of the Confederacy at Gettysburg, give *them* this book: that is, if they be intelligent and thoughtful young — or even old — persons who need perspective to see how we intelligence people got where we are today or, better, were yesterday. (It's hard for anyone — even Ray Cline — to judge just where we are now.)

Once, a year or so ago, I congratulated Ray on his coolness in a TV performance in which he played the patient bull to several ill-trained matadors who peevishly waved their trendy capes at him. He said something like this: "Some of these people just don't know anything. They don't understand. You have to start with the basics and explain it to them." One admires Ray's being able to discuss the worst of the anti-CIA time in this book without — as it were — raising his voice.

Probably what hurts intelligence professionals most about the writing on intelligence in the press is the sloppiness of terms and the carelessness with facts, a looseness which would not be tolerated in the intelligence services but which our citizenry must consume or starve. (Or is it the lack of objectivity? We are told there is no such thing.) Perhaps the best moments an operations officer can remember are

those times when intelligence and sent something resembling truth forward with the editorial remarks cleanly removed from the report in the field comment. In this book examples of hewing to the clean line of respect for the truth are many. Ray makes this exciting on the analytical and on the most sophisticated level — the estimative. Thus he was disturbed by the abolishing of the Office of National Estimates in 1973: estimates ". . . should be responsive to the evidence. . . not bent to support [the policymaker's] views."

As his prescriptions for the future will be discussed elsewhere in this edition of *Periscope*, I shall not treat with them here except by saying that they will cause controversy. The book is a study of the pursuit of excellence and where we have fallen short. It is criticism in the best sense and it is a welcome change to have our real faults discussed by a professional.

John R. Horton

**BODYGUARD OF LIES, by Anthony Cave Brown, Harper & Row, New York, Evanston, San Francisco and London, 1975. 947 pp.**

At the 1943 summit meeting in Teheran, Winston Churchill while briefing Marshall Stalin on a series of deception operations to mislead Hitler and protect the supreme secret as to the time and place for the invasion of Europe in 1944 uttered a classic epigram: "In wartime, truth is so precious that she should always be attended by a bodyguard of lies." Thus emerged the code name for the overall Allied plan for deceptions and stratagems that would vitally affect the success or failure of the Normandy invasion—Code name: NEPTUNE.

Hitler was completely confident of his ability to drive the invasion forces back into the sea. Despite losses in Russia, he still had a million men in the West entrenched in the strongest line of fortifications along the coast. It was the judgement of highest military authorities on both sides that the invasion would likely fail if Hitler could locate or rapidly concentrate his forces to meet the assault coming across one of the world's most capricious waterways. Such failure could only mean disaster of the highest order.

To counteract such bleak prospects, Plan BODYGUARD provided for fabrication of a series of war plans just close enough to the truth to seem credible to the Fuehrer, but which would mislead him completely as to the time and place of the invasion. A succession of intrigues would compel him to disperse his forces throughout Europe and thus weaken him in Normandy, to delay his response to the actual invasion by threats in other areas and continually suggest that Normandy was only the prelude to the "real" invasion coming in the Pas de Calais. By clever use of doubled agents, firmly in the control of the XX Committee, the Allies were able to feed Hitler with plans for invasion in other areas.

Plan BODYGUARD contained thirty-six subordinate plans and scores of associated stratagems all designed to disguise Allied intentions, conceal the real secrets of NEPTUNE and provide the one essential element needed for its success—Surprise.

The supreme prize that enabled BODYGUARD to succeed was called "ULTRA"—the interception and decryption of secret German wireless signals. Just how the Allies were able to duplicate the German cipher machine called Enigma and decode Hitler's signals makes most fascinating reading. Hitler had confidence in his Enigma machine to the very end and used it to send his most secret directives, which by 1944 were being read by top allied commanders almost as fast as by the intended addressees. The obvious value of this source explains the extreme measures to protect it, including Churchill's soul searching decision to sacrifice Coventry rather than to let Hitler know that his signals were being read.

On D-Day the top Allied generals read the pleas of Field Marshall Rundstedt to use the seventeen divisions earmarked for invasion contingency, including over 1600 panzers in the Pas de Calais, to drive the Allies back into the sea. But, Hitler vetoed the request believing "that the enemy is planning a further large scale operation in the channel area." Hitler's belief was based on deception reports from

(Continued on page 11)

**AUTOGRAPHED COPIES OF SECRETS, SPIES AND SCHOLARS AVAILABLE FROM ARIO HEADQUARTERS**

The publishers of Ray Cline's newest book have generously allowed ARIO to act as purchasing agent for readers who desire a personally inscribed copy. Send a check for the bookstore price, \$10.00 to ARIO with the name or names to whom Cline should pen his personal dedication. The price includes mailing costs — and a percentage of profit to ARIO for the expansion of our library.

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Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

## FROM THE DESK OF DAVE PHILLIPS...

ARIO is now eighteen months old and it begins to appear that, despite some shaky moments in 1975, it and American intelligence will survive. Although we have never solicited funds other than dues and personal contributions of ARIO members, we have an office and the furniture is paid for. We just purchased shelves for the first books in our library. Our Second National Convention, thanks to some volunteer work from many of our members and a great deal from a few, was a success. We have a now-experienced cadre of public speakers and writers who will stand up and be counted when there is debate concerning the need for adequate intelligence in America. By the time you read this we will certainly have 1,300 members.



The most important thing going for us, after that initial period when many a skeptic eyed us warily, is our good name. Next week, for the fifth time, an ARIO representative will speak on that important little Hill in Washington—at Congressional request.

To me the most satisfying part of ARIO's development has been the ecumenical aspect—former intelligence professionals from all services working together, in tandem, and speaking in a collective voice which cannot be ignored. Let me quote from a letter one of our members just mailed to a number of his former colleagues. CAPT Robert P. Jackson, Jr., USNR (Ret) of Louisiana recently attended the ARIO convention with Mrs. Jackson. Returning home, he urged friends who had served with him in ONI to join ARIO. In his letter he told them: "ARIO was started by a few retired agents of the CIA, because of their concern... They evidently believed that only a joint organization could accomplish the things they hoped for... The retired personnel from any one organization could not be effective in the encouragement of Congress to pass the necessary laws to protect our national secrets. Separately they could be successful only as social clubs. Together the possibilities are great."

There has been considerable discussion as to whether ARIO should exist at all. Some of my former colleagues from CIA have not joined ARIO, saying frankly they believe intelligence is a secret business to be conducted in secret, and that its practitioners should continue in the silent service even in retirement, just hanging in there until the problems go away. Two years ago I agreed with them. Now I am convinced that ARIO's course is a proper one. The "problems" which have been behind the onslaught against intelligence, and which have tarnished the image of those who served diligently and honorably in an arcane but necessary trade, will be around for a long time. Today, as I write, a copy of *The Washington Post* is in view—there are two, separate lurid headlines on the front page about the CIA. The FBI is besieged now for actions taken against a revolutionary group, as it was being investigated announced from underground that it was

responsible for bombing the United States Capitol. ARIO has never denied that American intelligence has made mistakes, some grievous. But ARIO must continue to insist that the intelligence community, on balance, has served this country well, and that intelligence operators were dedicated patriots.

Our task is not easy. We do not sell secrets, and thus cannot titillate those who write headlines or insist on indiscriminate revelation. (ARIO speakers have appeared before innumerable civic and educational groups—I am not aware of a single instance when one of our members has let slip a vital secret). To maintain credibility, we must be low-key and ready to admit that our critics can sometimes be well-meaning, with concerns as honest as our own. But a prudent long range investment can pay dividends. For instance, I have just reviewed a class-room kit for use in the nation's high schools. Produced by the Associated Press and Prentice Hall, the kit is composed of film-strips and tape cassettes about the CIA and the intelligence community; it is designed to provide students the information necessary to allow them to make their own decisions about the need for secret operations. As far as I know it is the only teaching aid of its kind now available in the American secondary school system, and certainly thousands of young people in hundreds of schools will be making their decisions about the role of intelligence after seeing the film-strips and hearing the cassettes. They will make that judgment after hearing the observations of four persons, each commenting on intelligence. The four? Senator Frank Church and three others. The other three are ARIO members.

You will have noted elsewhere that we now have three ARIO Regional Coordinators. Contact them, work with them. Form an ARIO group in your community—it takes only one of you to make a reservation at a restaurant and to invite those colleagues who live in your area to gather for a dutch-treat lunch and to plan local ARIO activity.

There is still much work to be done. Our detractors, many of whom have prospered from selling secrets, have made their impression, and we must put their perceptions in perspective for the American people.

Recently I have been working on a speech I will give at the end of the month in Madison, Wisconsin to a public affairs group. In the mail yesterday I received the publicity which has gone out for that presentation. Among other items was a suggested reading list about intelligence, provided to the group by the Madison public library. Four volumes were suggested, so that the members of the audience would be knowledgeable about intelligence operations before my appearance. The four volumes? First, the Rockefeller Commission Report, which is fine. The other three were *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, by Marchetti and Marks, *The CIA File*, by Marks and his colleague from the Institute of Policy Studies, Robert Borosage, and, finally, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, by Philip Agee.

Perhaps in the future ARIO can become a social and fraternal group, and we can all get together occasionally to swap war stories and drink to better times. But not yet. There's work to be done.

P-BINDER, DAVID  
CIA 101 Sorensen, Te  
~~OR 91 AFL-CIO~~

# A.F.L.-C.I.O. REPORTED TO OPPOSE SORENSEN

## Group Said to Have Attempted to Persuade Carter Not to Name Him as Chief of the C.I.A.

By DAVID BINDER  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4—The A.F.L.-C.I.O. leadership attempted to dissuade President-elect Carter from appointing Theodore C. Sorensen as Director of Central Intelligence last month, union officials and others familiar with the matter said today.

Asked to confirm that the trade union leadership opposed the appointment, Lane Kirkland, secretary treasurer of the group, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, said: "It is fair to say we weren't happy about it." He declined to elaborate.

However, according to other sources, Mr. Kirkland carried this message to Mr. Carter at his Plains, Ga., home on Dec. 17. They quoted Mr. Carter as saying: "I am in a bind, I had no options" other than to name Mr. Sorensen.

The President-elect reportedly went on to say that Mr. Sorensen, former special adviser to President Kennedy and now a New York lawyer, had been "the first to raise money for me in New York and the first to come out for me."

### Sorensen Denies Stand in Contest

Mr. Sorensen and Mr. Carter met first in Aspen, Colo., in the summer of 1975. They conferred at length in September 1975, according to a Sorensen aide, and Mr. Carter stayed at the Sorensen apartment. Mr. and Mrs. Sorensen also gave a dinner party for Mr. Carter at which the guests included New York Democratic Party leaders.

Union opposition to Mr. Sorensen apparently originated primarily in his purported identification with the campaign of Edward Sadlowski, who is challenging the union leadership's candidate for presidency of the United Steelworkers of America in an election next month.

Mr. Sadlowski has drawn support from a wide variety of nonunion people—including Jane Fonda, the actress, and John Kenneth Galbraith, the economist—in his campaign against Lloyd MacBride, the leadership's candidate.

In November and December several press articles also linked Mr. Sorensen with the Sadlowski campaign.

Through a spokesman, Mr. Sorensen denied any ties with the Sadlowski campaign. His statement said:

"I have at no time taken any position, expressed any opinion, authorized any use of my name or participated in any other way in any union election of any kind at any time."

### Comment by Shanker

Mr. Sorensen's selection as the Carter choice for Director of Central Intelligence was announced by the President-elect on Dec. 23.

About that time, Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, was writing a column for a paid advertisement that appears in The New York Times on Sundays, in which he also accused Mr. Sorensen of being part of

a "radical chic" campaign for Mr. Sadlowski. The column appeared Dec. 26.

Asked how he had come to include Mr. Sorensen in his list, Mr. Shanker referred a caller to an aide in New York, who said the union chief's files contained two press clippings suggesting a Sorensen association with the Sadlowski backers.

"That sounds pretty thin," the caller observed.

"I guess it is," the aide replied.

However, there appear to be other sources of opposition to the appointment of Mr. Sorensen.

Fifteen middle and upper-rank employees of the Central Intelligence Agency said in response to questions that they were disappointed with the choice for a variety of reasons, among them Mr. Sorensen's involvement in the Kennedy Administration's Bay of Pigs policy statements. But they refused to be quoted publicly.

But Mr. Sorensen does enjoy the support of William P. Bundy, editor of Foreign Affairs, who had once headed the estimates staff at C.I.A. Mr. Bundy was said to feel Mr. Sorensen would match the directorship of John A. McCone, who was almost universally liked.

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Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

CIA 401 Espionage  
Agee, Philip

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**TV Followups**

**Tomorrow**

With the exposes of the CIA's clandestine domestic operations and the Washington uproar they have caused, it is shocking — if in no way surprising — that not one of the four national networks has bothered to produce anything resembling a full, special report on so major a story.

Under these circumstances, special praise is due Tom Snyder's "Tomorrow" show at NBC-TV for the enterprise of traveling to Canada last week to interview ex-CIA agent Philip Agee. Agee, who defected from the CIA after 13 years as an operative in South America and Mexico, is author of "Inside the Company, the CIA Diary," an adversary exposition on the agency that has been published in England and Canada as part of a plan to prevent censorship of the book's publication in the U.S. On advice of his ACLU lawyers, the author is staying in Canada until the book is published in the U.S.

Snyder's flight to the Toronto studios of CFTO-TV to interview Agee was well worth the effort. The ex-operative might be called an international John Dean, except he has no reason beyond his own conscience to turn on the agency. Anyhow, he proved to be a very willing and able subject. For veteran CIA watchers, much of what was said was confirmation, but there were hard-news aspects to Agee's connection of the Rockefeller family to CIA operations and his details on the intricacies of spurious international union activities that make AFL-CIO prexy George Meany a CIA

**agent.**

It had been said before, but Agee may have said it more succinctly and convincingly when he charged that "the secrecy around the CIA activities is not to keep them secret from the Soviets, because they're obvious to the Soviets. It's to keep them secret from the American public."

And, "CIA, when you come right down to it, is nothing more than a secret political police of these companies, American multinational corporations."

Agee said he knew nothing about the CIA's domestic operations, but he insisted that with the *modus operandi* of the CIA and other intelligence branches, a spread of clandestine activity to the home front was inevitable. And one thought immediately of E. Howard Hunt's phonying-up of State Department documents when Agee said of his work in Latin America: "We would write false documents that would be attributed to people we wanted to discredit and then have them surfaced in one way or another so that people would wind up in jail for months and months."

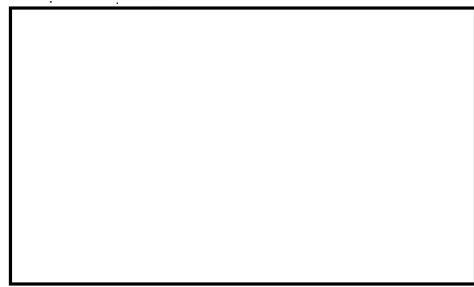
It was an utterly fascinating hour, but much too brief. Agee remains an interview subject with plenty to say, and he would be an invaluable consultant if any network ever works up nerve enough to take on the agency.

Snyder's handling of the interview was good, especially in giving Agee a clear range for discussion. The host has a way of weaseling a bit while getting down to the hard question. For example, to avoid the charge that Nelson Rockefeller is

hardly the one to head a commission investigating the CIA, Snyder said he had heard the charge made the other day at a cigaret counter. The tactic would seem hardly necessary, except, perhaps, when one considers that the head of Snyder's network, Herb Schlosser, is a good friend of the nation's number-one intelligence operative, Henry Kissinger. —Bill

Doc 4.01.0  
INSIDE  
the Company  
CIA DIARY

STAT



*Progressive*  
*Aug 1 - AFL-CIO*  
*Meany, George*  
*and [unclear] - Braden, Thomas*  
*(orig under Lens, Sid)*

Without the knowledge of its rank and file, *CIA 2.04.2*  
the AFL-CIO has dabbled heavily in foreign intrigue *CIA 4.01 Labor Unions*

# Partners: Labor and the CIA

SIDNEY LENS

Wherever you turn on our troubled planet you are likely to find AFL-CIO people, or people linked to AFL-CIO people, involved in shadowy and disturbing situations. The turmoil in the Chilean streets which served as the pretext for General Augusto Pinochet's coup in September 1973 was led, in part at least, by people allied with or trained by an organization called the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), whose president is AFL-CIO president George Meany. People with similar affiliations have been active in clearing the path for political rightists in Brazil, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Guiana, Uruguay, Guatemala, Cuba, and other countries.

In Vietnam you find a labor federation of uncertain virtue whose leader, Tran-Quoc Buu, a supporter of President Nguyen Van Thieu (until recent weeks) and before that of Ngo Dinh Diem, has been heavily subsidized by the AFL-CIO and an organization called Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI). AAFLI, again, traces back to George Meany, Jay Lovestone, Irving Brown, and other leaders of the AFL-CIO "international team." And in Africa another such organization, the African-American Labor Center (AALC), spreads its wisdom and money wherever necessary.

No Western labor group has ever controlled such a far-flung empire as this AFL-CIO team. What does it do? Where does it get its money? How does it relate to the 13 million members of the AFL-CIO in the United States, to the State Department, to the CIA? These are mysteries worthy of attention, for though much is

known, much more is hidden, crying to be revealed.

For the record, Meany, Lovestone (who retired in 1974 after three decades as the key figure in this drama), and Meany's son-in-law, Ernest S. Lee, a former Marine Corps major who has taken Lovestone's place as head of the AFL-CIO international affairs department, adopt the stance of simple trade unionists, totally independent of the U.S. Government, who merely provide mimeograph machines and jeeps for fellow unionists abroad and teach them the skills of organizing new workers and bargaining collectively. "We in the AFL-CIO," Meany declared some years ago, "do not even try to influence the structure of the labor movement in other nations. We teach the fundamentals of union operation; but how the pieces are put together is up to the people involved."

In a more elaborate apologia, an old friend of Lovestone and Brown, Arnold Beichman, claims in the October 1974 issue of the AFL-CIO's *American Federationist* that "American labor has shown an extraordinary independence of governmental foreign policy." His evidence for this assertion is that the 1973 AFL-CIO convention endorsed the longshoremen's union in its "refusal to unload Rhodesian chrome," though Washington itself has often supported racist Rhodesia, and that the AFL-CIO has called on the Administration to "extend economic sanctions against South Africa and the Portuguese territories," which American Presidents have refused to do.

As further proof of the "anti-colonialism and anti-racism" which supposedly stamp the AFL-CIO as independent, Beichman quotes "a sharp left critic," Sidney Lens, to the effect that "Irving Brown gave considerable aid to unionists in North Africa who were fighting French imperialism. He also supported Lumumba, until his death. The AFL-CIO as such has denounced fascist Spain, apartheidist South Africa, and the mili-

*Sidney Lens, a Chicago-based labor leader and activist in peace and radical movements, has written extensively on both domestic and international political and economic issues. His most recent book is "The Promise and Pitfalls of Revolution," published by the United Church Press.*

*Feb 1975*

by Victor Riesel

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

central headquarters executive committees.

# CIA And Labor

WASHINGTON — Of course, the Central Intelligence Agency has been operating inside the U.S. And why not?

All American Presidents since Harry Truman, a score of Cabinet officials and a number of top labor chiefs, for example, have known this for years.

Virtually all of these men have participated in these operations—including such CIA critics as the late Robert Kennedy and Walter Reuther. The latter two and retired Gen. Maxwell Taylor, operating inside the U.S.A., using several Americans, actually discussed methods of uniting and capturing the Italian labor movement.

Reuther, who was United Auto Workers president until killed in a plane crash, earlier had been given \$50,000 in small bills by the CIA to wash and use in and out of the U.S. on certain projects.

Sections of American labor always have cooperated with the CIA—just as British labor works with its MI-6 and German labor, until not so long ago, worked with their own burgeoning counterintelligence service.

And for good reason—labor movements are constantly being infiltrated by the Soviet secret police (the KGB) which has become increasingly active in the U.S. since detente—you can take that for absolutely, positively, uncontradictably certain.

Such infiltration was especially the case in old CIO unions. So it became doubly important to check out certain key labor leaders, most of whom later acknowledged they had been Communist operatives. And they had been privy to considerable U.S. classified briefings and secret information especially during the postwar development of the hydrogen bomb.

Who was to check out the American scene? The FBI, its director and several of his top assistants had a veritable horror of checking certain unions, whether for leakage of secrets or mob infiltration, lest the Bureau be accused of labor espionage.

All intelligence gathering becomes a miasma of secret actions within a subworld-action determined by the crisis of the moment.

Thus in one fashion or another there have always been labor specialists or labor desks or special labor operations inside CIA. Over the years these CIA specialists worked closely with AFL officials, AFL-CIO executives, individual unions and university men specializing in labor—on problems ranging from the newborn Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, inside Hungary, Italy, France, England, Guyana (British Guiana), Bolivia, Chile just to mention a few arenas.

Why? And why not? Even the Socialist British Prime Minister Harold Wilson officially charged that Communist dock workers were conspiring to wreck the United Kingdom's economy some years ago during a London waterfront strike.

And it's generally

acknowledged that six members of the British National Union of Mineworkers' executive committee forced the British coal-diggers' strike to such extremes that the nation almost was paralyzed and a government fell.

The Soviets think so much of their own so-called All-Russian Trade Union "movement" as a force for infiltration of other lands by exchange of labor delegations that the Central Committee put former secret police chief Aleksandr Shelepin in as chairman of the U.S.S.R. labor federation.

There have been all sorts of semi-secret interdepartmental American groups which actually were CIA operations. In December 1954 the late Secretary of Labor Jim Mitchell created a "working group on overseas labor matters." On it were Labor Department, Pentagon, Foreign Operations Administration and CIA representatives.

The late CIA chief Allen Dulles, who himself worked closely with American labor, dispatched to this working group a brilliant aide, Cord Meyer, Jr., writer, poet, analyst, intellectual who nonetheless had been a tough (badly wounded) machine gun-toting Marine officer who had hit Pacific Island beaches during the big war.

There were others but Cord Meyer was almost the top official on this labor front—and easily was and still is one of the CIA's best brains. His Yale University scholarly record will match the whole glob of intellectuals of the Committee for Cultural Freedom. He doesn't believe it corny to say he loves America's freedom despite its faults and, when he says it, it doesn't sound corny.

There are all sorts of reasons for the CIA working in the gray intelligence area inside the U.S.A. Jet travel makes visits by scores of businessmen at a time, merely a two-day round-trip to Russia and even China, give a day or two.

And there are new cultural and commercial exchanges. And on the labor front there are "international trade secretariats" of U.S. which are global labor organizations. Some of them are controlled by the Communists. And there are American labor representatives on the strong-

So if there's to be a series of congressional probes into the CIA, let it be to strengthen the power of this agency to protect the U.S. Sure, someone should know what's in those 10,000 dossiers. How old are they? Are they actually files on anti-war dissidents? Or are they folders on those civilians who hold strategic secrets which may be ferreted out by Soviet agents—who don't exactly wear placards saying, "I'm a KGB man."

What's illegal should stop. Certainly. But first someone should narrow all this down to actually what was done to get up the files. Or is it information sent over by the FBI?

Intelligence work and counterintelligence are the blood-streams of national life. Somebody has to watch the back of the store.

And even the CIA is innocent until proven guilty. Or has the law been changed?

CIA 1.03 Meyer, Cord

Org 1. AFL-CIO

CIA 4.01 Domestic spying



Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

# CIA Accused of Spying

Combined News Services

Washington—The Central Intelligence Agency secretly read the mail of AFL-CIO President George Meany and two of the labor leader's top aides during the 1950s, according to a high-ranking former CIA official.

And, in response to charges that the agency received 9,000 to 10,000 names of American dissidents from the Justice Department in 1970, an administration source said last night that the CIA has told the Justice Department that it made no use of the list and destroyed it in March.

These were the two latest developments concerning the shadowy foreign intelligence agency, which is under fire for allegedly exceeding its authority by engaging in widespread domestic spying.

A high-ranking former intelligence official who personally took part in the program to monitor Meany's mail said the agency also read the mail of Jay Lovestone, the AFL-CIO's now retired director of international affairs, and Irving Brown, the AFL-CIO's European representative.

The former official, who asked to remain anonymous, said the operation was begun because the CIA was not able to get sufficient information from American unions which served as conduits for agency funds to anticommunist European trade unions. The CIA declined to make any official comment, either on monitoring of the union leaders' mail or the statement that the agency funneled money through the American trade union movement to foreign unions.

In Farmington, Conn., a former CIA official last night recalled another operation in which the CIA, working with the FBI, opened the mail of other U.S. citizens. Richard M. Bissell Jr., a former deputy director of the CIA's office of plans, said the operation was aimed at identifying Russians who might be able to supply information to the CIA, and not at "monitoring American citizens."

Former CIA director Richard Helms has denied

## on Meany

allegations that the CIA engaged in illegal domestic spying during his tenure. Helms, now ambassador to Iran, has agreed to testify Jan. 22 at a closed hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the allegations.

The administration source who said the CIA had destroyed the agency's list of American radicals, gave no explanation for its destruction. However, according to one report, CIA officials may have feared that new provisions in the Freedom of Information Act could be used to force the agency to turn over its files to citizens.

In a related development, a confidential letter disclosed yesterday that the CIA began soliciting U.S. companies last fall to conduct a secret study of transportation systems being developed by some of America's major NATO allies as well as the Soviet Union.

Sen. Richard S. Schweiker (R-Pa.) who disclosed the letter's existence, said he would push for a Watergate-style Senate investigation to determine whether the CIA has exceeded its foreign intelligence charter.

MEANY, George  
CIA 3.01.6

# Labor protests CIA role in Chile

In an unexpected and unusual expression of solidarity, the International Longshoremen's Association (AFL-CIO) last month sanctioned a 48-hour boycott of all Chilean cargo.

The ILA action was evidence of a widening split in the AFL-CIO around the question of support for the fascist Chilean junta. An increasing number of U.S. trade unions are adding their voices to the chorus of protests against the role played by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and the CIA in toppling the democratic government of Salvador Allende in September 1973.

Although only a minority of unions is pointing to the complicity of the AFL-CIO's own American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), a substantial number are nevertheless raising strong criticisms of the U.S. intervention and of the fascist policies of the ruling Chilean junta. This is in contrast to the official stand of AFL-CIO president George Meany who pushed through a resolution at the labor federation's last convention that directed its main fire at the Allende government and lightly tapped the wrists of the junta for "excesses" during the bloody September 1973 coup.

The swelling labor protests followed the disclosures of Rep. Michael Harrington (D-Mass.) that contrary to official disclaimers, the CIA was heavily involved in financing Allende's opposition and in organizing lockouts and boycotts to harass the Allende government.

Other U.S. unions which have voiced opposition to the CIA's sabotage and the junta's repression include the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, American Federation of Teachers (AFT), International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), United Auto Workers (UAW) and United Electrical Workers (UE).

The most dramatic protest to date was the Sept. 18 and 19 dock boycott of Chilean ships and cargo on the East, Gulf and West Coasts. The two-day boycott was the result of a resolution adopted last August at the 31st congress of the International Transport Workers Federation in Stockholm, Sweden. The ILA, which represents East and Gulf Coast longshoremen, is a member of the federation. ILA president Thomas Gleason in telegrams to all ILA locals urged them to boycott Chilean cargo for that two-day period. The Chilean ship, Copiapo, was idled for the two days at a Brooklyn, N.Y., pier when members of ILA Local 1814 refused to unload the ship's cargo.

The independent West Coast longshore union, ILWU, although not a member of the federation, also joined the boycott. When 50 demonstrators, including members of the October League and the New American Movement, picketed a ship carrying Chilean cargo at Long Beach harbor, south of Los Angeles, Calif., a crew of 10 longshoremen,

members of ILWU Local 13, walked off the ship. The longshoremen greeted the demonstrators with clenched fist salutes but returned to work four hours later when an arbitrator ruled the walkout an unauthorized work stoppage.

The ship, Prudential Lines' Santa Maria, was boycotted the next day, Sept. 19, when it docked in San Francisco. Longshoremen worked the ship but refused to touch its two tons of Chilean cargo, consigned to San Francisco, when anti-junta demonstrators set up a picketline at the pier. The Santa Maria sailed from the Bay Area for Vancouver, British Columbia, with its Chilean cargo still aboard.

In his telegram to the dock locals, ILA president Gleason noted that the boycott was meant to call attention to the situation in Chile and was only a warning: He said the boycott could be revived in the future if the warning was not heeded.

## FEW ATTACK AIFLD

In other actions, UAW president Leonard Woodcock called for a full-scale, public hearing on the CIA's role in Chile.

President Ford's defense of CIA actions brought further reaction. In response to Ford's Sept. 16 statement that "our government, like other governments, does take certain actions in the intelligence field," IUE president Paul Jennings remarked:

"To justify our actions on the grounds that others do the same thing is to confess that we have no standards of our own. Even if such actions could be justified, why should we meddle in a democratic nation while treating the earth's tyrannies with hands-off respect."

Only a handful of U.S. unions, however, have called for probes of the AIFLD, the CIA front-group set up by the government, several multinational corporations and the AFL-CIO. AIFLD is run by Meany and his international affairs director, formerly Jay Lovestone and now Ernest Lee. Meany's son-in-law. In a Sept. 20 statement, Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union, urged Congress to investigate the functions of the AIFLD in Chile.

At its recent international convention Sept. 9 to 13, in New York City, the UE also adopted a resolution which scored the role played by the AFL-CIO through the AIFLD in bringing about repressive conditions in Brazil and Chile.

23 SEP 1974

P. Needleman, Ruth  
CIA 4 Chile

# The AFL-CIO abroad:

ORGI AFL-CIO  
(orig under Needleman)

by RUTH NEEDLEMAN

The fascist coup which overthrew the progressive Chilean government of Salvador Allende on Sept. 11, 1973, was not solely the work of Chile's generals, acting on behalf of the reactionaries in their country.

Recent exposures of top-secret hearings before a U.S. congressional committee document the involvement of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the committee of 40, the U.S. government's top foreign policy body headed by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. These exposures clearly showed the hand of the Nixon administration in its nearly three-year-long efforts to undermine Allende's Popular Unity government by secretly funneling millions of dollars into Chile as bribes and cash payments for Allende's opposition. Those efforts finally culminated in the bloody Sept. 11 coup, which saw the massacre and imprisonment of thousands upon thousands of people and the stripping away of all democratic rights, imposing fascism on the Chilean people.

Somewhat less well known, however, is the fact that the coup was also aided and abetted by the AFL-CIO, the U.S. labor federation.

Through the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), an organization set up in 1962 by the federal government, multinational corporations and the AFL-CIO, federal funds and dues money paid by U.S. union members found its way into the hands of right-wing Chilean "trade unionists," who were instrumental in toppling the Allende government. Working in concert with the CIA, the AIFLD also helped "train" right-wing Chilean unionists in a special school set up by the institute in Front Royal, Va.

The AIFLD's trainees later played significant roles in the truck owners' lockout and other employer-inspired strikes, economic harassment of the Popular Unity (UP) regime which helped set the stage for the military coup.

How did this all come about and what is the common thread that linked the reactionary, anticommunist forces within the AFL-CIO with the CIA and Chilean fascism?

## AIFLD'S REAL ROLE

The fundamental objectives of AIFLD are reflected in its organizational and operational structure which functions on three levels. It was never just a labor educational institute, as it was advertised. Behind the educational institute is an intelligence-gathering agency. And hidden beneath an even deeper cover, a clandestine operations apparatus functions.

# Behind the Chile coup

On the first level, AIFLD was to train Latin American labor leaders in class collaboration to win or buy support among key unions and key federations. On the second level, AIFLD was given the function of gathering information for the CIA, facilitating the infiltration of Latin American labor movements, and providing a cover for the systematic recruitment of informers and agents. On the third level, AIFLD provides an institutional cover for the transfer of CIA and other intelligence operatives in and out of countries quickly and quietly.

When the institute began its operations, it first assembled a team of U.S. trade unionists. Many had Latin American experience through the Inter-American field offices of the International Trade Secretariats. They had contacts inside foreign labor movements as well as a U.S. trade union background.

Then, a second wave of AIFLD personnel began to function alongside the front-line trade unionists. For the most part, their backgrounds revealed no labor experience. These people included a retired Navy captain, two Air Force colonels, a recruit from the Department of Defense, and a crew of aggressive individuals whose professional training came through the Office of Strategic Services, the Counter-Intelligence Corps and the CIA.

From 1970 to 1973 a number of Chilean trade unionists moved back and forth between Chile and the United States. Most came from strategically placed, right-wing unions. In 1972, at least six groups of Chilean trade unionists toured the United States, meeting with important AFL-CIO, AIFLD and International Trade Secretariat (ITS) leaders. The groups were made up of unions whose leadership consistently opposed Allende and played strategic roles in the counter-revolutionary activities culminating in the Sept. 11 military coup.

## FOOTING THE COST

AIFLD requires a substantial amount of funding. Currently, over 90 percent of AIFLD's budget is financed by the government's Agency for International Development (AID). AIFLD also has access to other funding sources. It has acquired a virtual monopoly over U.S. government and Alliance for Progress funds earmarked for labor in Latin America. Out of a total Alliance budget for 1967 of \$6.1 million,

American Development Bank and even OAS funds in the form of grants, loans and credit flow into AIFLD coffers. Finally, the AFL-CIO pledges about 23 percent of its regular budget to international activities and has doled out generous loans to AIFLD through its enormous pension fund.

Although it has dropped in recent years, AIFLD also receives financial support from private U.S. corporations. At present, large corporations provide about \$175,000 a year. AIFLD goes after corporate support and gets it from the largest multinationals with investments in Latin America.

The list of corporate contributors features W.R. Grace and Co., Rockefeller Brothers Fund, ITT, Kennecott Copper Corp., Crown Zellerbach, Anaconda Copper Co., First National City Bank, the Anglo-Lautaro Nitrate Co. and many others. According to a radio broadcast from Punta del Este, Uruguay in 1967, "Harold Green, head of ITT, was so impressed with the philosophical sales talk for AIFLD by labor's George Meany, that he doubled ITT's contribution." AIFLD's contribution to big business, needless to say, is by far the larger in this mutual aid relationship.

AIFLD channels substantial amounts of money directly into pro-U.S. unions in Latin America. But AIFLD is also an important intermediary or conduit for transferring funds to right-wing unions and individuals. The transfer takes place, however, so that the money cannot be traced back easily to the U.S. government. To launder the money, AIFLD relies on ITS, which performs the touchy job of allocating it among unions in Latin America. This operation is necessarily complex since it is performed to obfuscate the whole funding network.

The International Trade Secretariats are large, international labor federations organized along the lines of a specific trade or profession. Most national or international unions in the United States are affiliated to a corresponding ITS. The Communication Workers of America (CWA), for example, belongs to the Postal, Telephone and Telegraph Workers International (PTTI), an ITS very active in Latin America.

Whereas AIFLD plays an important administrative, educational and intelligence-gathering role, the Secretariats account for the principal activists and operatives in many Latin American trade unions. They can play this role more easily than AIFLD for three basic reasons. They are international

PITTSBURGH, PA.

PRESS AUG 7 1974

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

E - 341,118

S - 722,358

Nixon, Richard

Shultz, George P.

Meany, George

~~ORG L AFL-CIO~~

# Inclusion On Tapes Baffling, Meany Says

Scraps-Howard Service

CHICAGO — AFL-CIO President George Meany says he's baffled by his brief appearance in President Nixon's latest tapes.

At the end of a June 23, 1972, conversation on the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Mr. Nixon says without explanation: "Well, they've got some pretty good ideas on this Meany thing. Shultz did a good paper. I read it all."

George P. Shultz, now out of government, was Mr. Nixon's labor secretary, later his treasury secretary, and a Meany friend and golfing partner.

"I'll have to ask 'blue eyes' about that," Meany chortled. "Maybe he did an investigation on me and kept me off the enemies list. I'll have to ask him the next time I see him."

Mr. Nixon had complained on Sept. 15, 1972, that Shultz was not cooperating with White House efforts to use the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) as a weapon against political enemies.

"He (Shultz) didn't get secretary of the Treasury because he has nice blue eyes," Mr. Nixon griped at one point in the tape of the conversation.

Shortly before June 23, Meany was victimized by the Nixon dirty tricks organization when he was the object of



GEORGE P. SHULTZ  
*'Blue eyes' lost out.*

a rude telephone call purportedly from McGovern's campaign manager, Gary Hart.

Said Meany: "I'm quite positive Shultz didn't have anything to do with that."

Meany, who turns 80 on Aug. 16, said he has never seen a scandal like Watergate. "There has never been corruption in government, at least at this high a level, to the extent there is today."

By comparison, he found the Teapot Dome scandal of the 1920s "a refreshing sort of thing."

Recalled Meany: "Teapot Dome was a good, robust, old-fashioned case of graft — simple, plain ordinary graft."

# Lovestone retiring from key position

# End of an era for U.S. labor

By Ed Townsend  
Labor correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

New York  
An important and controversial era in American labor is ending.

Jay Lovestone, director of the AFL-CIO's International Department and the "gray eminence" of the federation's strong anti-Communist foreign policy, is retiring June 30.

There is general agreement among observers that not many in American labor have been as broadly influential at home and abroad in shaping not only union philosophies, but also wartime and postwar social and political structures.

Mr. Lovestone has been one of a small group of AFL-CIO "cloak and dagger" operatives — more out in the open now — who were highly effective in plots and counterplots throughout the world to oppose Communist global aspirations to infiltrate labor movements.

## Meany still boss

But despite Mr. Lovestone's retirement, the AFL-CIO's international position will remain the same for some time to come, observers say. For no matter who holds the labor body's top international affairs post, it is George Meany, president of the

AFL-CIO, who is the final arbiter of policies — and there is not a more hard-line, implacable anti-Communist in U.S. labor.

"Labor and the free world owe him [Mr. Lovestone] a deep debt of gratitude," said Mr. Meany recently of his friend and long-time adviser. Then recognizing Mr. Lovestone's controversial position, he noted that his foreign policy aide also has long been "the target of all who would pervert democracy and destroy democratic institutions."

Many in AFL-CIO share in varying degrees Mr. Meany's regard for Mr. Lovestone, onetime U.S. Communist leader who renounced communism to become a dedicated and highly effective foe of its ideology and tactics not only in the U.S. but throughout the free world.

Mr. Lovestone is still denounced regularly in the U.S. Communist press and by extreme leftists as a traitor and a "fascist." Those in labor who favor more flexibility in relations with unions abroad, often criticize him as too rigid in his beliefs and too responsive to old ideological positions.

## Party founder in 1916

Mr. Lovestone helped organize the American Communist Party in 1916 and became its general secretary in the late 1920's, until he broke with Russian communism and was purged from the party by Joseph Stalin. A pragmatist, he had protested orders from Moscow to implement a worker and farmer action program during the depression as impractical. He then reorganized the Communist Party, U.S.A., along lines he and other American leaders considered best suited for the country and its workers.

At the same time, in the 1930's, he futilely sought to develop a strong backing for communism within rapidly expanding American unions — at one time with a particular emphasis on the struggling, young United Auto Workers. But in a dramatic philosophical reversal in the late 1930's, Mr. Lovestone renounced communism and became an effective antagonist. He first began working with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in 1943, then later became active with the old AFL and later the AFL-CIO.

Significantly, Mr. Lovestone was decorated for his activities in Europe

by former West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

The AFL-CIO staff official helped form the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and to maintain it for years as a counter to Communist unionism.

Although known particularly for foreign affairs, he also was a trusted aide to Mr. Meany in domestic and union matters. He was an intermediary — unsuccessful — between Mr. Meany, then secretary-treasurer of the old AFL, and John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers during efforts in the mid-1930's to avoid the Industrial unions breakaway that led to formation of the CIO.

After World War II, he worked strenuously to shore up Europe's democratic unions and governments — with AFL-CIO's funds reportedly supplemented by a still-unconfirmed \$2 million a year from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. A former top aide of Allen Dulles, then Director of the CIA, is a source for reports that Mr. Lovestone's vastly informed labor intelligence operation was used to funnel CIA funds to groups fighting to strengthen democracy in Europe.

Mr. Lovestone is to be succeeded by Ernest S. Lee, his assistant since 1964 and Mr. Meany's son-in-law. A graduate of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and onetime Marine Corps major, Mr. Lee's views usually are parallel to those of Mr. Lovestone — and of Mr. Meany — but they are less scarred by decades of ideological infighting.

ORG 1 AFL-CIO  
CIA LOI Dulles, Allen

By CELIA ZITRON

15 JUN 1974

The contest between Albert Shanker and David Selden for the presidency of the American Federation of Teachers at the national union's convention this August is not simply a fight between two individuals. Involved in the election is the future of the AFT, which has, in the past decade, been among the progressive unions in the AFL-CIO.

Many members of the AFT, among them those most concerned about its future, including Communists, have seen in the building of a coalition for Selden the possibility of bringing together those who oppose Shanker's drive to push the AFT into the ranks of reaction and to make it completely subservient to the anti-detente, pro-war, class collaboration policies of the George Meany leadership of the AFL-CIO.

This does not mean that they agree with Selden on all issues. Total agreement is not possible in the building of a coalition of various groups and individuals.

But it should be noted, in this connection, that Selden has broken with Meany and Shanker on very important issues. He stood with the majority of delegates at AFT conventions in strong opposition to the war in Vietnam and to pro-Nixon "neutrality" in the 1972 presidential election. He is opposed to Shanker's step-by-step destruction of democracy in the AFT.

It was his break with Meany-Shanker policies which led to Selden being pushed aside and Shanker being given his place on the AFL-CIO executive council; which led to the demand by the Shanker-dominated AFT executive council that Selden resign as AFT president, and Shanker succeed him, without waiting for the election at the August convention.

It was disquieting, therefore, to find in the February Newsletter of Teachers' Cause, the group built by Selden and some of his supporters, echoes of one of the main policies of the leaders of the AFL-CIO and of Shanker—anti-Sovietism.

Over a report of the AFT council's censorship of a Selden column from the American Teacher, the head is "Your American Teacher Joins Pravda." In the same issue of the newsletter, Selden says of the election in August: "It will be tough, but we should keep dissent alive. I suppose Solzhenitsyn is asking himself, these same questions."

In the February issue of the American Teacher, the issue which carried a two-page spread on the AFT executive council's case against Selden and censored his reply, there is a picture of Selden carrying a picket sign which says "Freedom for Soviet Dissenters."

If this is an attempt to win votes, it is a futile gesture. Selden cannot hope to compete with Shanker in the anti-Soviet league.

One wonders whether Selden realizes that an anti-Soviet campaign has nothing to do with an honest, rational discussion of issues. One wonders whether he

# Anti-Sovietism doesn't help

tal questions:

Why the concentration on the Soviet Union which seeks detente and peace, and on Solzhenitsyn who would return to the days of the Czars? Why no campaign against the torturers and murderers of intellectuals, trade unionists, journalists, in Chile, in Spain, in Greece, in Brazil, and elsewhere? Why no picket signs protesting the junta's treatment of the great poet Pablo Neruda?

The answer should be obvious. The anti-Soviet campaign suits the purposes of the AFL-CIO leaders. Jay Lovestone, who is Meany's chief foreign policy adviser, and who has close ties with the CIA, said: "European trade unionists for detente is simply the moral disarmament of the West." (May 19 issue of the New York Teacher, weekly publication of the United Federation of Teachers.)

The anti-Soviet crusade suits the purposes of Senator Henry Jackson, most strident of Congressional war hawks during the war in Vietnam, and others like him in the House and the Senate.

It is of enormous help to the Pentagon, which always presents the Soviet Union as the enemy in a hot war to come, in order to secure ever-increasing military funds—now up to more than \$80 billion—for first strike and tactical nuclear weapons and for the production of more horrible means of destruction.

What interest can teachers have in promoting the anti-Soviet drive? There has been no peace dividend which the AFT delegates and members who opposed the Vietnam war expected. And there will be no peace dividend—no desperately needed funds for schools.

Zitron, Celia  
Lovestone, Jay  
org of AFL-CIO

Coing under Zitron

almost half the total number. ... the support of several leaders of big city locals. An intensive effort is under way to round up delegates from other locals behind Shanker with promises of vice-presidencies and more generous allocation of funds.

It is, therefore, most unlikely that Selden will be elected. But he has rightly pointed out the need to keep alive continuing struggles within the AFT for a progressive, democratic union. Such a campaign requires the widest possible support at the convention from delegates who are not out for office or personal gain, but for an AFT truly devoted to the interests of children and teachers.

A campaign of that kind calls for opposition to Shanker's calculated use of anti-Sovietism to revive the cold war. For the inevitable accompaniment of that policy is a huge military budget, voted at the expense of the needs of the people including their public schools.

**NO ORDINARY CRISIS:**  
Schools in the Nixon Era. This booklet, reprinting some of Celia Zitron's columns, is available from the Daily World, 205 West 19th St., New York 10911, for 25 cents for single copies, with quantity orders at lower prices. Add 25 cents a copy for handling and mailing.

P-Morris, George

ORG 1 AFL-CIO

*World of Labor*  
By GEORGE MORRIS

### 45 years of serving reaction

With George Meany's "deep personal regret," Jay Lovestone retires, effective June 30, from his post as director of the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department. Technically, he held that post since 1963. Actually, he ran that department since the merger of 1955 under one or another title, and since the mid-thirties whether on the payroll of the International Ladies Garment Workers or the old AFL.

For almost all of the 45 years since he was flushed out of the Communist Party, Lovestone was building a bridge between U.S. intelligence and the labor movement. While it is in the pages of the Daily Worker and most often in this column that Lovestone was tagged for his real profession, reams of copy in the capitalist press exposing his role were never denied by him or the AFL and AFL-CIO.

There will be no basic change in the AFL-CIO's international affairs, however, Ernest S. Lee, Meany's son-in-law, has been Lovestone's assistant, groomed for the job, since 1964. Lee's relation to Lovestone's operations ran farther back when he was international affairs director of the Retail Clerks, when it was headed by James Suffridge, close friend of Meany. Suffridge was the most cooperative to the AFL's CIA operations.

Subsequently, Lee was Suffridge's man in the International Federation of the Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees International Trade Secretariat. He was qualified for the role as a graduate of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, the division that is to this day a partner with the AFL-CIO's world affairs undertakings.

The late Edwin A. Lahey, whom I befriended in 1936 when we were both covering the Flint sit-down strike—I for the DW, he for the Chicago Daily News—had Lovestone's number as early as August 20, 1955. He wrote in the News "Lovestone's office in New York is a 'drop joint' for a well known system of intelligence agents... Lovestone insists rather sheepishly that there is no formal connection between himself and the Central Intelligence Agency, nor between him and the Department of State.

"But it has been stated without equivocation that the CIA, headed by Allan Dulles, the brother of the secretary of state, has in recent years obtained much of his principal information about international Communism from Lovestone." Lahey also observed that Lovestone "most of his life has been occupied with the arts of intrigue, espionage and subversion" and that he is a "magnet" for persons in socialist countries who have "soured."

Twelve years later, in the May 20, 1967, Saturday Evening Post, Thomas Braden (now a columnist) who was in the early fifties top assistant to Allan Dulles, described how he fathered the scheme for setting up phony foundations exposed in 1966, to serve as channels for CIA money to an assortment of existing union, student or cultural organizations or newly-formed outfits, to provide cover for CIA operations abroad.

The big problem for the CIA was how to get a "labor cover" in Europe for the CIA. "Into the crisis stepped Lovestone and his assistant Irving Brown," wrote Braden. He related how until 1950, Lovestone's operators relied on funds from "Dubinsky's union" with which they created the split-away from the French labor movement, "Force Ouvriere."

"When they ran out of money they applied to the CIA," he continued, referring to the foursome who ran AFL world affairs—Matthew Woll, Meany, Dubinsky, with Lovestone as secretary of their "Free Trade Union Committee."

"Thus began the secret subsidy of free trade unions which soon spread to Italy." Lovestone was supplied with \$2 million a year for those operations.

Braden found "Lovestone had

an enormous grasp of foreign intelligence operations." So much CIA money went through Lovestone's hands that at one time the agency came to "Lovestone's superiors"—Meany, Dubinsky and Woll—to complain that there was no accounting. "Lovestone and his bunch are doing a good job. What more do you want?" was the reply.

More recently, Meany's biographer, Joseph C. Goulden, (Meany, the Unchallenged Strong Man) had much copy on the operations of Lovestone and his "superiors." Retired Richard Deverall who was Lovestone's operative in Asia told Goulden in an interview "Many times I was in Lovestone's office in New York, one of those he got from Dubinsky, and a man would come in with a stack of crisp, new hundred-dollar bills. Lovestone would sign a receipt for them." Goulden adds that "when he first joined Lovestone's staff, Deverall did not know the source of the new hundred-dollar bills, but later 'satisfied myself' they came from the CIA."

Lovestone wasn't just an operative on foreign affairs. In the late thirties he was the adviser to Ford agent Homer Martin for a splitting operation in the United Automobile Workers, and planted his agents in the secessionist outfit. Immediately after World War II he was Dubinsky's emissary to Walter Reuther with a sum of \$25,000 for the latter's factional activities for a take-over of the UAW.

So Meany and Dubinsky have much reason for "regret" over "Jay's" departure. But many of Meany's friends in the labor movement will have no regrets. Almost everybody long ago hoped for his departure, but wouldn't

F-MORRIS, George

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

*World of Labor*

By GEORGE MORRIS

CIA 4 ISRAEL

OR 9 1 AFL-CIO

CIA 3.01.3 COVER  
(GENERAL)

While making the rounds in Israel, the delegation, according to AFL-CIO News, visited the Afro-Asian Institute in Tel Aviv to observe "Histadrut's programs on behalf of emerging nations." Although virtually all African nations broke relations with Israel over its subservience to U.S. imperialism, the Institute is still active.

It is a CIA operation, financed by the AFL-CIO but formally operated by Histadrut. It is part of the general program under the AFL-CIO's Jay Lovestone, providing labor cover for U.S. intelligence in Africa. The so-called training of African unionists for "leadership" is similar to the Latin-American operation, the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), financed to the tune of about \$8 million annually, mostly by the U.S. government.

The African project, also mostly financed by the Agency for International Development, was directed until last year by Irving Brown, Lovestone's No. 2 man, long a hardly-concealed CIA operative. During the CIA scandal of 1966-67, when the Lovestone-Meany relationship with the CIA was exposed, AIFLD, and the African American Labor Council, were revealed as CIA covers.



P-Bert, Erik  
 LOVESTONE, JAY  
 BROWN, IRVING  
 MEANY, George



*Revolutionary Philosophy*

# The Meany and CIA connections of Social Democrats, U.S.A.

ORG 4 AFL-CIO

By ERIK BERT

"The American Challenge," subtitled "A Social Democratic Program for the Seventies," offers an elaborate presentation of Right social democratic program and theory. It was adopted at the convention in December 1972 when the Socialist Party USA and the Democratic Socialist Federation of the USA were merged into the Social Democrats USA.

It had been given a dry run, and adopted, the previous week by the convention of the Young People's Socialist League, the youthful branch of Right social democracy.

What kind of "movement" is SDUSA?

"In the rest of the world," SDUSA says, "social democracy is a mass movement." But not in the United States. "We

are not a mass movement here." On the other hand, "neither are we a sect."

What, then, are "we"?

"Our members play active and often leading roles" in "the trade unions, liberal organizations, civil rights struggles."

The importance of Social Democrats USA does not lie in the number of its members, which is small; nor in the originality of its thought, which is nil; nor in leadership of a mass movement.

Its importance, and that is substantial, lies in an odd-couple relationship with the hierarchy of the AFL-CIO, a relationship which has developed strongly in the last few years.

It is strongly represented in the AFL-CIO educational, public relations, publications, and research activities, and in the top administration.

George Morris has spelled out these ties (Daily World, November 3 and 6, 1973), the ties to George Meany, and within the executive council of the AFL-CIO; to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Jewish Labor Committee and "through that committee (to) Jewish officials in a number of other unions, with their voice the Jewish Daily Forward," to the Randolph Institute, A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin, and Norman Hill; to the Frontlash organization for youth voter registration, whose officials are on the AFL-CIO payroll.

There's another area of involvement. SDUSA does not boast of it, despite its importance. "Many SD adherents have landed in CIA service in one or another form," Morris noted, on the recommendation of Jay Lovestone or Irving Brown, two liaisons between Meany and the CIA.

These SDUSAers, serving Meany and the CIA, "make up the core of operatives under the three-government financed

agencies in Latin America, Africa and Asia, under AFL-CIO direction," Morris pointed out.

What kind of movement, then, is SDUSA?

It is not, does not pretend to be and, apparently, does not propose to become, a social democratic movement in the European tradition.

It is, in the first place, a two-way operation between Meany and the SDUSA, with the CIA as an unseen third party.

Meany sees the SDUSA as a reliable channel to liberal and intellectual circles which were revolted by his blatant participation in the Vietnam war incitement.

More broadly, he sees the SDUSA as a means for establishing a "social" presence for the AFL-CIO leadership, perhaps even a socialistic presence, as a means for providing an ideological presence in a world where ideological struggle is crucial.

The SDUSA sees Meany, and the resources he commands, as providing mass resonance for the aims of Right social democracy.

They have renounced, seemingly, the task of building a mass social democratic movement from the ground up; they propose to construct such a movement from the top (Meany) down.

Their intention is to utilize the official channels of the AFL-CIO hierarchy, and its satellite operations, for ideological penetration of the working class. Abroad the path will be smoothed by Jay Lovestone's CIA connections.

(Coming: SDUSA II — Right social democracy's view of capitalism.)

P-Morris, George  
CIA 1.03 BRADEN, Thomas

*World of Labor* By GEORGE MORRIS

ORG 1 AFL-CIO

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SOCY.01.1 ENCOUNTER

## The Meany-SD tryst (2)

The one thing that stood out most in the recent AFL-CIO convention was the effort by the George Meany leadership to revive the "good old days" of the cold war. They look upon the Mideast war and tensions as a godsend. Their interest in a "Jewish homeland" and in the alleged democracy of Israel is of secondary concern, if at all.

The Social Democrats are especially active in efforts to revive old cold war patterns in the AFL-CIO's campaign to nullify the detente treaties, block trade agreements with Socialist countries, and activate their contracts within the Socialist lands to surface as "dissidents."

An example is a project Albert Shanker, head of the New York Teachers, seeks to initiate. He moved through the American Federation of Teachers' 21-member council majority a resolution introduced in the convention entitled "The Plight of Soviet Dissidents." It is a long diatribe centered on Andrei Sakharov's and Alexandr Solzhenitsyn's periodic press conferences attacking the Soviet Union and giving an impression there is a mass rebellion in the USSR.

That type of stuff had, however, been covered in several other resolutions of the convention. But the resolution of the teachers calls for "AFL-CIO sponsorship of a world conference on international freedom." Because of the action required, the resolution was referred to the executive council of the AFL-CIO.

The origin of the resolution is really "The Committee for Detente with Freedom" of which Albert Shanker and Bayard Rustin, both Social Democrats, are co-chairmen. It was initiated by the SD and, as published in the April 25 New America, the SD paper, carried the signatures of such unreconstructed cold warriors as Sidney Hook, professor emeritus of NYU; John Roche, New America and AFL-CIO News columnist, and several members of the SD's executive board and some International Ladies Garment Workers Union officials. The resolution is a rewrite of that statement.

less there is what they call "democratization" of the Soviet Union.

But where does this plan really come from? We turn to an article in the May 20, 1967 issue of the old Saturday Evening Post, by Thomas W. Braden, entitled "I'm Glad The CIA Is Immoral."

That was the article in which Braden, who was a top official of the Central Intelligence Agency in its early stages, described how in 1950 he handed the AFL's Irving Brown \$15,000 for a payoff to gangsters in Mediterranean ports who attacked Communist-led longshoremen. He described how the CIA went to the AFL and how Lovestone was assigned to the job of directing CIA "labor" operations in Europe with two million dollars of CIA money annually to spend. Then he described how under Lovestone's and Meany's direction an organized movement was established to smash what they called "Communist-led" unions in France, Italy and other lands. Braden went on:

"Thus was the international organization division of the CIA born, and thus began the first centralized effort to combat Communist fronts."

Taking credit for the idea, Braden boasted of the way various cultural schemes and orchestra tours were initiated with CIA money:

"And there was Encounter, the magazine published in England, and dedicated to the proposition that cultural achievement and political freedom were interdependent. Money for both the orchestra's tour and the magazine came from the CIA, and few outside the CIA knew about it. We had placed one agent in a Europe-based organization called the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Another agent became the editor of Encounter."

Braden noted that those drawn into these CIA schemes don't know the source of the money. So they were advised the money

comes from "American foundations."

"Why not see if the needed money could be obtained from 'American foundations.'" Braden went on. "As the agents knew, the CIA-financed foundations were quite generous when it came to the national interest."

"I remember with great pleasure the day an agent came in with the news that four national student organizations had broken away from the Communist International Union of Students and joined our student outfit instead."

It was the exposure of the way CIA money financed student groups that exploded in 1967 into an exposure of financing of unions and operations in the fields of culture through fake foundations.

Several years ago Christopher Lash wrote a long piece in the Nation magazine describing bitterly how many intellectuals were suckered into these CIA operations.

Lovestone, Shanker, et al, apparently believe they can find enough new suckers for a repeat performance.

13 OCT 1973

P-Zitron, Celin

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

# Shanker pushing new AFL-CIO cold-war drive

1 AFL-CIO  
Congress For  
Cultural Freedom

By CELIA ZITRON

NEW YORK, Oct. 12 — Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, is seeking to get the AFL-CIO to sponsor a new cold war movement.

This is the gist of what is described as "a major policy statement" published in the Oct. 7 issue of *The New York Teacher*, weekly organ of the UFT.

The policy statement was adopted by the Shanker-controlled UFT executive board on Sept. 24 and was referred to the local's parent body, the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO. The AFT, in turn, forwarded mail ballots to its 21-member executive council for their votes.

If approved by the executive council, the policy statement would then be placed by the AFT before the AFL-CIO convention, opening Oct. 18 in Miami Beach. There it is expected that George Meany, AFL-CIO president, and Jay Lovestone, his foreign affairs adviser, would push the matter.

#### Back Jackson amendment

The 1500-word UFT statement, which repeats every anti-Soviet slander, proposes that the AFL-CIO consider sponsoring a "world-conference on intellectual free-

dom." The statement also endorses the amendment of Sen. Henry Jackson (F-Wash) to block non-discriminatory tariffs on trade with the Soviet Union unless the Soviet Union changes its alleged emigration barriers.

The policy statement would shift the national AFT, which was opposed to the war in Vietnam, to a return to the cold war.

Reflecting the views of Shanker and his right-wing Social Democratic cronies, the statement would have the AFL-CIO take over directly and openly the cold war work of the Central Intelligence Agency. From 1950 to 1967, the CIA secretly supported the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which published magazines in England, West Germany, Austria, France and Italy. The English magazine, *Encounter*, received an annual subsidy of \$30,000.

#### Funds revealed

During the exposure of CIA activities in the late '60s, there was testimony that AFL-CIO organizations and related groups received large sums from the CIA. Some of the groups receiving CIA funds channeled through the AFL-CIO included the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the Institute of International Labor Research, the African-American Labor Center and the American Institute for Free Labor Development.

A number of U.S. unions also received CIA funds, the Newspaper Guild as much as a million dollars.

The Meany leadership of the AFL-CIO still carries on its anti-Soviet, pro-war propaganda, not only at home but among workers in Latin-America, Africa, Asia. It has broken with the ICFTU because it considered it insufficiently anti-Communist.

The UFT executive board now proposes that the AFL-CIO also take over the anti-Soviet, pro-war activities among intellectuals.

By GUS HALL  
ONE IS INCLINED to pass up idiotic drivel without comment. When asinine and fraudulent statements are made by public figures, then it is necessary to speak up. The column by Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, in the December issue of "The Pilot" calls for an answer.

The only truthful word in the whole piece is the title "Passing the Word." The CIA's propaganda department has a large stable of professional falsifiers who, for cash, grind out filthy redbaiting fiction by the ton. In the trade union movement this odious bilge is pumped for publication by a Jay Lovestone who holds down a CIA desk in the front office of the AFL-CIO. This drivel is published in the trade union press under the name of any official who can be convinced, paid off or forced into the use of his name.

Redbaiting has always been a camouflage for the crimes and misdeeds of demagogues and scoundrels of all types. It took a lot of redbaiting to cover for the crimes of Hitler and Mussolini. Senator McCarthy's redbaiting (not Eugene, but Joe) was the cover for the crimes of the Korean War and an attempt to discredit our democratic institutions, including our trade union movement. And in retrospect one must say that the damage to the trade union movement was inestimable.

It takes a lot of redbaiting to cover for the crimes of the U.S. aggression against Vietnam. And it took a wave of fanatical redbaiting for the Meany-Lovestone-Dubinsky clique to put over an endorsement of these crimes of the Johnson administration at the recent AFL-CIO convention.

Curran's column, entitled "The War in Vietnam—Part of America's Defensive Freedom," and his redbaiting speeches at the convention are also a part of this camouflage.

The column by Curran is a rehashing of all the fraudulent filth that was ever peddled by any anti-labor, anti-democratic demagogue from Hitler to Hoover, from Eastland to Welch. It must have been the same stable that shoveled out the swill for the Administration spokesmen at the AFL-CIO convention, because it is difficult to say where Rusk's speech ended and Curran's began.

The ugly imperialist aggression against Vietnam, that is more unanimously condemned by the world than any in history, is defended by Curran. The demagogy he uses is that this is a continuation of the struggle against fascism. This will fool no one. U.S. imperialism is doing today what German imperialism did under Hitler. The forces who fought fascism are today fighting against U.S. imperialism. The forces who defended fascism are today defending U.S. imperialism. Curran tries to cover up for this brutal imperialist aggression by saying, "All Communist countries act as if there were no such things as national boundaries." Such idiocy cannot cover up the undeniable facts that it is U.S. imperialism that has crossed the boundaries in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Taiwan and was instrumental in the crossing of the boundaries of Egypt, Jordan and Syria.

Curran's column talks about the danger of "Communist global take-over." This is a threadbare defense of the greatest "take-over" the world has ever known. U.S. imperialism is now

the largest colonial power in history; it exploits more human beings than any power in history, it has more war bases around the world than any government in history. U.S. capitalism controls more industries, banks and utilities overseas than any class in history. All the redbaiting in the world will not cover up this banditry.

Curran says, "Our hopes of worldwide solidarity of workers through the World Federation of Trade Unions were torpedoed by the Communists."

It is too late for this big lie. Since the public exposure of some of the operations of the CIA no one will buy this hogwash. Because it is now common knowledge based on exposure and open confessions that it was U.S. big business through the CIA, through Lovestone, Meany and Dubinsky, that set out to split the trade union movement. It is now common knowledge that they spent sums running into hundreds of millions to buy, to corrupt trade union officials around the world to split the trade unions. The very latest of these exposes and confessions by labor leaders comes from Finland where trade union leaders admitted being on the CIA payroll for the specific purpose of splitting the trade unions of Finland.

No amount of redbaiting is going to cover up the fact that, because of boot licking subservience to big business by the AFL-CIO leadership, the labor federation has become more isolated from the trade unions of the world than at any time in history. The trade union movement of the world has rejected the very redbaiting filth that Curran now peddles.

In this column Curran trots out all of the old ultra-Right fascist garbage such as "Moscow gold," "subversion," etc.

It takes a lot to cover up an ugly unjust war of imperialist aggression. The Lovestone stables pulled out all stops so Curran could say, "In Vietnam it requires full scale war." And in his speech at the convention, to add a call for, and a prediction of an armed U.S. aggression against the Republic of Cuba.

The redbaiting at the AFL-CIO convention became the cover for the reactionary policies of its top leadership. But in spite of this, it took five members of the President's Cabinet, army brass and dozens of other government officials and the prepared redbaiting trash to keep down the voices of revolt even within a convention whose delegates were largely hand-picked.

Curran is not "passing the word" of the seamen. They will blush with anger and shame because the name of this great union is being used as an instrument of the most reactionary anti-labor forces in the world. Curran is "passing the word" of the CIA, of big business. He has become an instrument of a new wave of McCarthyism. But he is an instrument of a lost cause. Americans and American workers will draw from their lessons gained in the struggle against McCarthyism of the fifties. They know that redbaiting is an instrument of splitting and weakening of the trade unions. They know from their own experience that workers can not win by cringing and groveling before the employers or their spokesman in government.

Why Curran has fallen for this ultra-Right swill is not the most important question. That he has, is important and it cannot be denied or ignored.

LOVESTONE, JAY  
MEANY, GEORGE  
DUBINSKY,

P. HALL, GUS  
ORG I. AFL-CIO

The Workers  
31 December 1967

TOLEDO, OHIO

BLADE

DEC 17 1957

E-181,514

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Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

ORG 1 - AFL-CIO

Original filed under P. Clawson

# Jay Lovestone Battles Communism And Mystifies The Labor Movement

## AFL-CIO Figure Relates Clash With Reuthers

By KEN CLAWSON  
Blade Staff Writer

JAY LOVESTONE, director of the AFL-CIO's international affairs department, rejects and discounts federal agencies intelligence information gathered by his worldwide network of labor contacts.

The 68-year-old Lovestone, former secretary-general of the American Communist party who has turned with a vengeance on his former ideology, emphatically denies, however, that he acts as an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) or has ever accepted CIA funds.

"I am a trade unionist and an American," he said. "When our people come up with information vital to the national security, I turn it over to the proper authorities."

He added that labor officials abroad and foreign trade unionists trained under the AFL-CIO international affairs department supervision often discover information of an intelligence nature because they are closer to the people.

"These Harvard and Yale graduates that work for our government can't get information because they have no rapport with the people. They look down on the people."

IT HAS been charged that like many converts, Mr. Lovestone approaches his work with an overzealousness that borders on fanaticism. Two of his sharpest critics are the brothers, Walter and Victor Reuther, of the United Auto Workers.

While Mr. Lovestone and his boss, AFL-CIO president, George Meany, admittedly follow an anti-Communist foreign policy line, Walter Reuther and his brother, Victor

of UAW's international affairs, accept political democratic and social reform abroad.

The two sides have often clashed over their different philosophies on international affairs. These clashes are part of the widening rift between the UAW and the national AFL-CIO, and contributed to Walter Reuther's resignation from all but one of his federation offices.

Mr. Lovestone, who delights in pointing out what he regards as inconsistencies of the Reuthers, said: "For all that the Reuthers have to say about our operational methods, don't forget that it was Victor who accepted CIA money."

"DIFFERENCES in ideology, he said, are illustrated by an underground movement in which the AFL-CIO currently is involved in Spain. Mr. Lovestone said that the anti-Franco movement con-

sists of trade unionists, Catholics, anarchists, even monarchists, but no Communists.

"Victor would have us include the Communists and the Falangists, but we know better. These latter groups would form a coalition with Franco and crush the movement."

Critics of Mr. Lovestone maintain that no area gets more attention, advice, money, and intelligence agents than Latin America. The vehicle by which Mr. Lovestone operates is the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), which has as its U.S. Government counterpart the Agency for International Development (AID).

FUNCTIONS of AIFLD are to train Latin workers in democratic unionism and to provide housing, banks, and other institutions for them.

Mr. Lovestone is particularly proud of the number of Central and South Ameri-

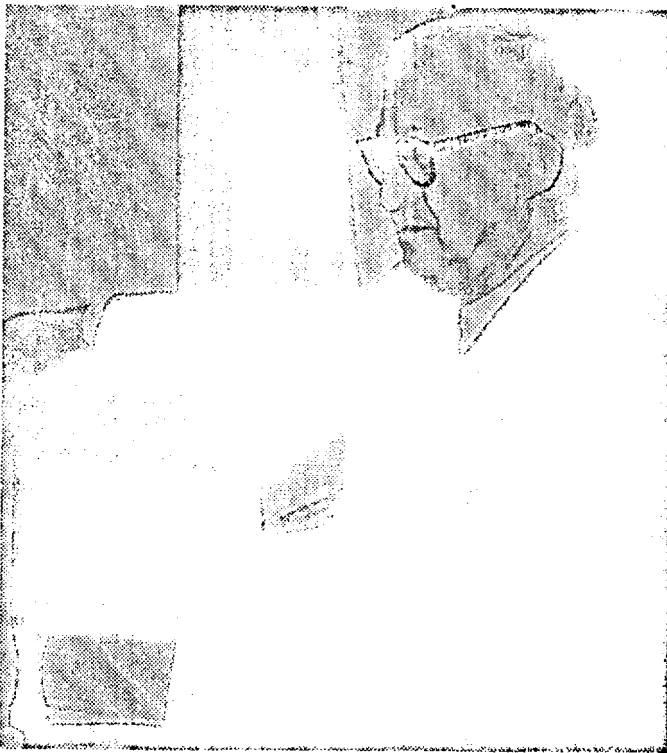
can unionists who have been schooled in an international affairs program in Front Royal, Va. He is vague on the number of graduates, variously stating figures of 7,000, 10,000 and 12,000. One of the students' prime objectives is to learn to "answer Communist arguments and deal with Red agitators."

At the recent national AFL-CIO convention in Miami Beach, Fla., it was reported that the federation has spent \$250,000 on AIFLD in the last two years. Another \$50,000 was appropriated. Many times this amount, however, comes from AID.

LENDING credence to Mr. Lovestone's continuing contact with these cadres of Latin unionists is the fact that they are paid a year's salary by AIFLD following their return home. Mr. Lovestone said the amount per individual ranges from \$1,000 to \$2,000, and the funds are to sustain trainees until they re-enter their local labor force.

Mr. Lovestone says he has few pleasures in life aside from his work, which normally occupies about 18 hours a day. He speaks with a seemingly inexhaustible supply of information about labor activities in nearly every corner of the world, including Africa. He is powerful in foreign affairs within the Johnson Administration, as many disappointed candidates for government jobs abroad can attest.

His current worry concerns a movement by West German trade unions toward affiliation with labor organizations from the Communist bloc. Mr. Lovestone believes that it is impossible to coexist with Communists because "they have no desire to co-exist; it is just that the Communists are becoming less brutal and more subtle in their effort toward world domination."



HE GIVES DATA TO CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
Mr. Lovestone directs international training programs

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

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# U.S. Labor's Conservative Role in Latin America

by SUSANNE BODENHEIMER

"Not one penny of CIA money has ever come in to the AFL or the AFL-CIO to my knowledge over the last twenty years, and I say to you if it had come in, I would know about it. . . . I take a great deal of pride in the work we've done overseas and I resent the fact that the CIA is trying to horn in on it and say that they have done some of it."

—GEORGE MEANY, President of AFL-CIO, denying charges of Central Intelligence Agency subsidies to AFL-CIO, May 8, 1967

IMAGINE, for the moment, that George Meany is incapable of telling a lie. Suppose that the AFL-CIO's expensive campaign to promote "democratic unionism" abroad—particularly in Latin America—is not being charged to the ever-expanding account of the "invisible government," are its motivations and methods so different from those of the CIA, and has Meany any reason to take pride in that campaign?

The apparatus of the AFL-CIO's Latin American program since World War II has been geared to a continuation of the Cold War. Through its principal instrument, the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), founded in 1951 to compete with leftist and Peronist labor organizers, the AFL-CIO has constructed a network of "free and democratic" unions throughout Latin America. This is supplemented by the International Trade Secretariats (ITS), which coordinate activities among unions in the same trade or industry throughout the world. The third agency of the AFL-CIO in Latin America is the

American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), which brings together the resources of American labor, American business, and the U.S. Government.

Like official U.S. policy-makers, the AFL-CIO is ambivalent toward social change in Latin America and vacillates between a desire to win over Latin Americans with promises of gradual social reform and a tendency to rely on "safe"—military and oligarchic—forces which stifle even peaceful social progress. With one hand American labor holds out offers of education and financial aid, and simultaneously, with the other hand, wields the "big stick" of intervention.

A widely-advertised attraction of the AFL-CIO operation south of the Rio Grande is the AIFLD educational program, which has reached more than 60,000 Latin American unionists since 1962. Scholarships to the AIFLD Institute in the United States are awarded to the "star" pupils in local and regional AIFLD seminars, recruited and screened by AFL-CIO and ORIT representatives. After completing the three-month "advanced course" and returning to their own countries, the most promising students remain on the AIFLD payroll as "interns" for nine months.

SUSANNE BODENHEIMER specialized in Latin American political development at Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. She gathered the material for this article while engaged in research at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington—research based largely on interviews with American and Latin American labor officials. She now lives in Latin America.

At the end of an unpaved road in the pleasant, rolling Virginia countryside, more than seventy-five miles from Washington, D.C., is the AIFLD Institute. Originally located in Washington, it was moved to Virginia, according to AIFLD officials, to provide a "more peaceful" environment for study. Students are without cars or bus service to "the monastery," as they have nick-named it, and are seldom exposed to the distractions of the big city. None of the students I met there spoke English and few seemed engrossed in their studies.

All AIFLD students major in anti-Communism, a subject which their instructors, some of whom are Cuban exiles, are well qualified to teach. According to the AIFLD Report, students from several countries spend more hours in the "democracy and totalitarianism" course ("democracy" American-style, "totalitarianism" Communist-style) than on any other subject. Through "role-playing" exercises, students gain practice in countering Communist infiltration. But while AIFLD graduates have acquired expertise in ousting Communists (or anyone who looks Communist to AFL-CIO advisers), they are ill-equipped by their AIFLD education to meet equally potent challenges from rightwing dictatorial governments or entrenched land-owning and business interests. Although ninety per cent of the land in Latin America is controlled by ten per cent of the landholders, land reform receives scant attention in the AIFLD curriculum.



Central to AIFLD's program is the premise, as its director, William Doherty, put it to the Council for Latin America (an American businessmen's group) on February 11, 1966, that "The great bulk of the 15,000,000 organized workers in Latin America think, want, and desire almost identically with their counterparts in the United States." On the dubious assumption that American unionism is exportable, AFL-CIO educators have focused on "bread and butter" issues—higher wages, better working conditions, more fringe benefits—to be obtained through the collective bargain-

ing process. Apparently, the reforms understood that such ameliorations, while necessary, are insufficient as objectives for Latin American workers, and cannot be attained solely through collective bargaining without structural reforms in the distribution of resources and income and the establishment of democratic process in their national governments.

Latin American workers are still fighting battles which American labor won many years ago. A mere ten to fifteen per cent of the active labor force is organized. Lacking funds and political influence, even those represented by unions are not regarded as an autonomous pressure group whose interests and needs demand serious consideration. Moreover, the rights of labor, particularly in state-run enterprises and public services, are generally limited by government labor codes regulating wage increases, strikes, and collective bargaining. In many countries employers are required to bargain only with unions officially recognized by the government.

Particularly inappropriate as an example for Latin Americans is the AFL-CIO's outlook toward free enterprise and the big business community. As witness Doherty's words to the Council for Latin America, "We believe in the capitalist system and . . . are dedicated to its preservation." Latin American unionists also oppose nationalization of industry, he continued, and, "like ourselves, they would want government to step in and interfere in the affairs of business and labor only in case of national emergency. . . ." AIFLD is symbolic of American labor's comfortable relationship with business; as Doherty said in radio interviews in December, 1963, "We welcome [the] cooperation [of management] not only financially but in terms of establishing our policies. . . . The cooperation between ourselves and the business community is getting warmer day by day."

But for Latin American workers, who confront vested and generally unprogressive industrial and land-owning interests, such benevolence toward big business would be suicidal if widely accepted. Imagine a Chilean copper miner "open-minded" enough to embrace an organization whose board included—as AIFLD's does—Charles

President of the United States

Copper.

Those who do adopt the AFL-CIO philosophy have displayed a marked lack of militancy toward business. ORIT affiliates in several countries have fostered company unions. In many countries the AFL-CIO has encouraged its proteges to pull out of coalitions with more militant elements, even at the risk of forming parallel unions. ORIT affiliates have engaged in practices which violate even the principles of American-style unionism and which are regarded by more active Latin-American unionists as *anti-obrero*—anti-worker.

Thus the AFL-CIO has offered an educational program and a philosophy divorced from the agenda for basic social change in Latin America, in the hope of persuading Latin American workers to settle for "bread and butter unionism"—a poor substitute, at best.

Where ideas fail to convince, material assistance often becomes persuasive. American labor's access to U.S. foreign aid funds is tempting bait to impoverished Latin American unions.

Since the inception of the Alliance for Progress, the AFL-CIO has had a virtual monopoly over its union programs. Early expectations that Alliance labor funds would be available to the liberal Social Christian Trade Union Confederation of Latin Ameri-

ary (CLASSE) as well as to the reactionary ORIT were dashed, for the labor advisory committee to the Alliance included only AFL-CIO representatives, and since 1962 the AIFLD Social Projects Department has been the formal agency for channeling Alliance funds to Latin American labor.



Ironically, AFL-CIO control over Alliance funds has caused fewer problems for those excluded than for the intended beneficiaries. In one country after another, union leaders have eagerly accepted AIFLD offers of loans for housing projects, only to find that the strings attached restricted their freedom and in some cases violated national laws.

In Uruguay a \$5 million AIFLD-sponsored housing project for the ORIT-affiliated Uruguayan Labor Federation fell through when the Uruguay representatives refused to sign AIFLD's "letter of intention," naming AIFLD "as their sole agent before any . . . organization . . . for the procuring and realization of the loan," and granting AIFLD the "permanent right" to veto applicants for the project "for trade union and political reasons"—terms which violated Uruguayan law. During the planning stages of a \$3 million housing project for sugar workers in the Dominican Republic, the Inter-American Development Bank, which was to have provided two-thirds of the money, withdrew its loan in objection to AIFLD's insistence that both the construction and the occupancy of the project be restricted to unions affiliated with ORIT. In addition, AIFLD violated Dominican law by awarding contracts in a private rather than an open bidding and favored American firms. The U.S. Agency for International Development later bailed out AIFLD by financing the construction of 110 of the projected 700 to 900 units.

If their exclusion of non-ORIT unions appears narrow-minded, AIFLD officials are more flexible about cooperating with dictatorial and military regimes. This is disguised through the convenient myth of "union-to-union" programs, by which AIFLD can continue direct aid to



Justus in The Minneapolis Star

The All-Inclusive Boot



unions under undemocratic regimes, seeming to bypass these governments. But in practice, AIFLD must deal with governmental agencies, thereby indirectly lending moral and material support to these regimes. In Honduras, for example, after the right-wing military coup of October, 1963—even before the U.S. Government had re-established diplomatic relations—AIFLD was pressing for resumption of work on its housing project for a railroad workers' union.

In countries other than pre-Castro Cuba the AFL-CIO has urged non-action in the face of military takeovers. Following such coups in Guatemala in 1954, in the Dominican Republic and Honduras in 1963, and in Brazil in 1964, ORIT-affiliated unions, acting on AFL-CIO advice, refused to join other unions in general strikes or even verbal protests, on the grounds that repressive action would be taken against unions expressing opposi-

tion. In addition, AFL-CIO officials explain, "Unions should not become involved in partisan causes or use strikes as political weapons."



Such official AFL-CIO ideology notwithstanding, the rhetoric of "apolitical unionism" is discarded and overtly partisan actions taken when expediency requires. Soon after the 1964 coup in Brazil, AIFLD Director Doherty told radio interviewers, "I am certainly not against Brazilian labor getting involved in politics." Apparently not, for at the time of the coup AIFLD graduates were active in mobilizing labor support for it and in ensuring its success. 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. . . ." Doherty's claim has been proudly confirmed by other AFL-CIO officials I interviewed and other popularizers of the so-called "revolution" by which the military overthrew President Goulart's government.

An October, 1966, *Reader's Digest* article related that one AIFLD-trained communications union leader ran seminars in Brazil in which "he warned key workers of coming trouble and urged them to keep communications going, no matter what happened;" as a result, when the call went out in April, 1964, for a general strike to protest the coup, "the wires kept humming and the army was able to coordinate troop movements that ended the showdown bloodlessly. . . ." Just as they had lauded the CIA-instigated takeover in Guatemala ten years previously, AFL-CIO officials endorsed the Brazilian coup. For two and one half years American labor continued to support the military regime, although its anti-inflation measures and strict regulation of wages, its severe strike laws, and its purge of union leadership greatly weakened Brazilian labor.

In the Dominican Republic, those same "non-partisan" ORIT-dominated labor officials who refused to fight during the 1965 revolution, had no qualms earlier about participating in

the political activities which helped bring down the Bosch regime in 1963. In his memoirs, former President Bosch singled out leaders of the Dominican ORIT affiliate as openly favoring the coup against him.

In British Guiana the AFL-CIO participated directly in a three-year campaign to oust the constitutionally elected government of Cheddi Jagan, through assistance to the British Guiana Trades Union Council (TUC)—the anti-Jagan ORIT affiliate which worked closely with Forbes Burnham's People's National Congress (PNC), the principal opposition party to Jagan.

AFL-CIO leaders and their Guianese proteges were deeply implicated in the terrorism and racial violence which accompanied the strike. A secret report of September, 1963, from the British police superintendent in British Guiana to the British Commissioner, named Gerard O'Keefe of the Retail Clerks International Association as having financed the activities of the "security force" (organized gangs) of Burnham's PNC—including assassinations and destruction of public buildings "with explosives and arson."

The British Guiana operation indicates clearly that the AFL-CIO is not squeamish in devising means for the pursuit of Cold War political objectives disguised in the cloak of "free and democratic unionism." In addition, it suggests that George Meany has not been straightforward about labor's dealings with the CIA. The convincing evidence that the AFL-CIO served as a front for the CIA in British Guiana, as described in *The Progressive* (April, 1967), makes more credible the revelations that many American union international programs have been operating in Latin America largely on CIA funds, channeled through "dummy" foundations. Senator J. W. Fulbright told labor columnist Victor Riesel in August, 1966, "I have had suggestions that they [the CIA] had taken a very strong part in labor union organization in the Dominican Republic."

If Communism did not exist, someone in the AFL-CIO would have had to invent it. For the AFL-CIO's frequently stated justification of its dubious political activities has been that

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they help to provide a democratic alternative to Communist influence in Latin American unions. Yet its primary rivals in Latin America today—and the main targets of its criticism—*have not been the Communists but other non-Communist unions.* This has been disguised by the AFL-CIO's use of the Communist issue to smear its non-Communist, democratic-leftist rivals with the red brush.

Chief target of its red-baiting attacks has been the Social Christian Confederation, CLASC. Joe Beirne, head of the Communications Workers of America, for example, stated in a 1963 news conference: "[CLASC has] been infiltrated and I think captured by the Communists. . . ." But CLASC's record speaks for itself. To CLASC, Communism and capitalism alike are forms of materialism, repugnant to the basic precepts of Social Christian doctrine. Both treat unions in the developing nations as pawns in the Cold War, "tools to be employed for gaining political power," says CLASC, and both are alien and irrelevant ideologies for Latin Americans. Emilio Maspero, CLASC Secretary-General, stated at a 1963 conference at the University of Notre Dame that, "The Communist influence has been more inimical still [than the American] to autonomous Latin American labor organizations. . . ."



Closer to the heart of the AFL-CIO's grudge against CLASC is Inter-American director Andrew McLellan's complaint that "[The Social Christians] are not interested in bread and butter issues such as we are." It is not pro-Communism or advocacy of violence, but the unequivocal commitment to peaceful but thoroughgoing social revolution, and the firm refusal to confine itself to "bread and butter" issues, for which AFL-CIO officials cannot forgive CLASC. CLASC's existence and growing appeal for workers in many countries present a challenge and a threat to the AFL-CIO, merely by dramatizing the need for a more satisfactory alternative to Communism than American labor has been able to offer.

Why has the AFL-CIO—potentially a progressive force—failed to provide

an impetus toward vitally-needed structural reforms in Latin America? Why has it wielded its influence in defense of the status quo, often on behalf of those who stifle workers' rights? The answers involve both personalities and the position of organized labor in American society today.

The AFL-CIO international program bears the stamp of those few individuals who have been its chief architects. Imbued with the Cold War mentality of an era when the overseas representatives of American unions fought their Communist counterparts in Europe, several of these individuals have remained active in the network of anti-Communist organizations, venturing even into the camp of the Far Right. Jay Lovestone, foreign policy adviser to George Meany and one of America's most ardent converts from Communism, has had ties with the American Security Council, the Council against Communist Aggression, and the Citizens' Committee for a Free Cuba (to mention only a few). Meany has been in various "China lobby" organizations and on the advisory council of the Foundation for Religious Action in the Social and Civil Order (FRASCO), which claims to wage a "spiritual offensive against Communism." Serafino Romualdi, formerly head of AFL-CIO Inter-American Affairs and director of AIFLD, was scheduled as a speaker for the Washington "school" of Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communist Crusade in 1964. He addressed the 1962 "All-American Conference to Combat Communism" (as Lovestone had done in 1961) and he has been on the Cuban Freedom Committee, the Committee of One Million, and similar groups.

But of greater import has been American labor's acquired position vis-a-vis the American business community. As one labor expert has commented, "Today Big Labor and Big Management [in the U.S.] often deal with each other as affluent fellow corporate groups." Indeed, the AFL-CIO's Latin American program has enjoyed consistent and strong support from certain sectors of the American business community. It is doubtful that management's enthusiasm is motivated purely by altruism. One union official suggested candidly to me that big

businessmen see an opportunity to mold one segment of Latin American labor in such a way as to minimize the threat from labor to private American investment. Certainly, American business has a sympathetic partner in the AFL-CIO. As the labor committee report to the 1965 White House Conference on International Cooperation stated, "[AIFLD] seeks to provide an atmosphere conducive to free enterprise [in Latin America]."



Equally striking but less well known has been the integration of the AFL-CIO international department into the U.S. foreign policy establishment. Exactly because American labor's objectives have become generally indistinguishable from those of the State Department, the alleged rationale for the AFL-CIO's international program—to create "union-to-union" bonds between popularly-based institutions in the "free world" and in developing nations—has been undermined.

To the small clique which runs AFL-CIO international affairs, the close relationship with Federal policy-makers has brought certain concrete returns: access to U.S. foreign aid funds; heightened individual prestige in official circles; a measure of influence over policy; and patronage (for example, candidates for labor attaches in U.S. embassies are frequently recommended, and must always be approved, by Meany and Lovestone). In return, particularly because it passes as a private organization, the AFL-CIO has proved a valuable partner for official policy-makers. Whereas the latter are formally accountable to Congress and the interested public, the AFL-CIO is largely immune from public oversight—even though AID has poured \$15.5 million of taxpayers' money into AIFLD. Labor's "private" nature also enhances labor's usefulness to the "invisible government." Thus, perhaps unwittingly, American labor has fallen into some of the very habits which it recognizes and denounces in Communist-dominated unions.

Unlikely as it is that AFL-CIO foreign policy would be totally divorced from that of the U.S. Government,

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by GEORGE SHERMAN

one might expect the representatives of labor to exert a liberalizing influence. In fact they have done just the opposite. When given a choice between a liberal direction or an interventionist, "negative anti-Communist" one, the AFL-CIO has reinforced the latter. Just as its rigid anti-Communism has undermined State Department initiatives for building bridges to the Eastern European bloc, the AFL-CIO's negative attitude has inhibited overtures to Latin American Christian Democrats. And at a time when the State Department was, to all appearances, supporting the democratic leftist Bosch regime in the Dominican Republic, the Dominican ORIT affiliate, with strong AFL-CIO backing, was actively plotting its overthrow.

Asked by newsmen recently whether the AFL-CIO has made any mistakes abroad, Meany modestly replied, "We haven't found a single thing we would not say again." Clearly there will be no significant changes in AFL-CIO policy under the present leadership. Would it suffice, then, to remove the hard-liners like Meany and Lovestone? I think not. The habits which the AFL-CIO has acquired in dealing with labor in developing nations are not quickly unlearned. Moreover, the Meany and Lovestones could not have been so successful at their own game, but for the willing cooperation of many of American labor's "liberals."

In the United States, AFL-CIO lobbying for increased foreign aid allotments to AIFLD establishes its "liberal" credentials; in Latin America such aid represents a form of intervention disguised in humanitarian rhetoric. To American liberals the AFL-CIO's conservatism is bad judgment on the part of well-intentioned men; to Latin Americans it seems part of a plan to perpetuate their dependence on the United States.

If this is the best that American liberalism has to offer, it merely proves that American liberalism ends at the borders of the United States. Like the "liberal" American students and philanthropists who compromised themselves with the CIA in the name of anti-Communism, the representatives of American labor have confirmed the bankruptcy of American "liberalism" for Latin Americans.

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The result that followed the Mideast conflict has been a searching examination in Congress of American arms policy abroad. At least two subcommittees of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Banking and Currency Committee have revealed for the first time the export face of that military-industrial complex which President Eisenhower warned against in his celebrated farewell radio-television address to the nation in January 1961.

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The statistics turned up by his Committee tell the tale. According to the Department of Defense itself, the annual rate of U.S. arms purchased by the developing countries, mainly those in the Middle East and Pakistan and India, increased thirteen times over the five years from mid-1961 to June 20, 1966—from \$34 million in fiscal year 1962 to \$444 million in the 1966 fiscal year. That makes a cumulative total of \$1.11 billion in arm sales to poorer countries, based again on the Pentagon estimate that they bought ten per cent of the overall \$11.1 billion in worldwide American arms sales during these five years. The remaining ninety per cent went to industrialized allies—NATO partners and Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

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October 23 1967

LOVESTONE, JAY

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

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## WHERE ARE THEY NOW?



Associated Press



Lovestone: Stalin saw red



Newsweek—Phil MacNellan

Henderson: Determined people



### Two Who Watched the Revolution

As the Soviet Union celebrates the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution this month (see INTERNATIONAL), there is general agreement that the lot of the Russian people has improved. But former Communist Jay Lovestone and retired diplomat Loy Wesley Henderson—two men who closely observed Russia's growing pains—have different opinions about the results of those fateful days that shook the world. Lovestone is now the spry, 68-year-old international-affairs specialist of the AFL-CIO. He was called "the American Stalin" in the late 1920s when he was secretary-general of the U.S. Communist Party. The epithet did not last long: in 1929 at the Kremlin he accused Stalin of bloody

betrayal of the revolution. "I called Stalin a murderer to his face," Lovestone recalls. "He turned white." But Stalin thundered back: "There is room in the cemeteries of the Soviet Union for people like you."

Angry Apostate: Wisely, Lovestone fled back to the U.S. where he set up his own Communist party. Later he renounced the movement, has since become militantly anti-Communist. He popped up in the news again earlier this year when he was accused of accepting money from the CIA to finance anti-Communist labor activities abroad.

Henderson's knowledge of the Soviet Union goes back to 1919 when he was a Red Cross officer helping Russian war prisoners return home from Germany.

During two diplomatic tours in Moscow he developed a fondness for the Russians—but not their leaders. Indeed, in 1938, the Soviet Foreign Minister declared: "As long as Henderson influences U.S. policy, there is little chance for improvement of relations between our two states." Henderson has spent little time in Russia since. Baldish and mustached at 75, Henderson and his wife, Elise, now live in Washington, where he lectures at American University and is writing his memoirs. He ticks off the gains of the revolution: "Success in maintaining law and order, in educating the people, in transforming Russia into the chief rival of the U.S.," but thinks progress is due more to the diligent Russian character than the Soviet regime.

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they help to provide a democratic alternative to Communist influence in Latin American unions. Yet its primary rivals in Latin America today—and the main targets of its criticism—*have not been the Communists but other non-Communist unions.* This has been disguised by the AFL-CIO's use of the Communist issue to smear its non-Communist, democratic-leftist rivals with the red brush.

Chief target of its red-baiting attacks has been the Social Christian Confederation, CLASC. Joe Beirne, head of the Communications Workers of America, for example, stated in a 1963 news conference: "[CLASC has] been infiltrated and I think captured by the Communists. . . ." But CLASC's record speaks for itself. To CLASC, Communism and capitalism alike are forms of materialism, repugnant to the basic precepts of Social Christian doctrine. Both treat unions in the developing nations as pawns in the Cold War, "tools to be employed for gaining political power," says CLASC, and both are alien and irrelevant ideologies for Latin Americans. Emilio Maspero, CLASC Secretary-General, stated at a 1963 conference at the University of Notre Dame that, "The Communist influence has been more inimical still [than the American] to autonomous Latin American labor organizations. . . ."



Closer to the heart of the AFL-CIO's grudge against CLASC is Inter-American director Andrew McLellan's complaint that "[The Social Christians] are not interested in bread and butter issues such as we are." It is not pro-Communism or advocacy of violence, but the unequivocal commitment to peaceful but thoroughgoing social revolution, and the firm refusal to confine itself to "bread and butter" issues, for which AFL-CIO officials cannot forgive CLASC. CLASC's existence and growing appeal for workers in many countries present a challenge and a threat to the AFL-CIO, merely by dramatizing the need for a more satisfactory alternative to Communism than American labor has been able to offer.

Why has the AFL-CIO—potentially a progressive force—failed to provide

an impetus toward vitally-needed structural reforms in Latin America? Why has it wielded its influence in defense of the status quo, often on behalf of those who stifle workers' rights? The answers involve both personalities and the position of organized labor in American society today.

The AFL-CIO international program bears the stamp of those few individuals who have been its chief architects. Imbued with the Cold War mentality of an era when the overseas representatives of American unions fought their Communist counterparts in Europe, several of these individuals have remained active in the network of anti-Communist organizations, venturing even into the camp of the Far Right. Jay Lovestone, foreign policy adviser to George Meany and one of America's most ardent converts from Communism, has had ties with the American Security Council, the Council against Communist Aggression, and the Citizens' Committee for a Free Cuba (to mention only a few). Meany has been in various "China lobby" organizations and on the advisory council of the Foundation for Religious Action in the Social and Civil Order (FRASCO), which claims to wage a "spiritual offensive against Communism." Serafino Romualdi, formerly head of AFL-CIO Inter-American Affairs and director of AIFLD, was scheduled as a speaker for the Washington "school" of Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communist Crusade in 1964. He addressed the 1962 "All-American Conference to Combat Communism" (as Lovestone had done in 1961) and he has been on the Cuban Freedom Committee, the Committee of One Million, and similar groups.

But of greater import has been American labor's acquired position vis-a-vis the American business community. As one labor expert has commented, "Today Big Labor and Big Management [in the U.S.] often deal with each other as affluent fellow corporate groups." Indeed, the AFL-CIO's Latin American program has enjoyed consistent and strong support from certain sectors of the American business community. It is doubtful that management's enthusiasm is motivated purely by altruism. One union official suggested candidly to me that big

businessmen see an opportunity to mold one segment of Latin American labor in such a way as to minimize the threat from labor to private American investment. Certainly, American business has a sympathetic partner in the AFL-CIO. As the labor committee report to the 1965 White House Conference on International Cooperation stated, "[AIFLD] seeks to provide an atmosphere conducive to free enterprise [in Latin America]."



Equally striking but less well known has been the integration of the AFL-CIO international department into the U.S. foreign policy establishment. Exactly because American labor's objectives have become generally indistinguishable from those of the State Department, the alleged rationale for the AFL-CIO's international program—to create "union-to-union" bonds between popularly-based institutions in the "free world" and in developing nations—has been undermined.

To the small clique which runs AFL-CIO international affairs, the close relationship with Federal policy-makers has brought certain concrete returns: access to U.S. foreign aid funds; heightened individual prestige in official circles; a measure of influence over policy; and patronage (for example, candidates for labor attaches in U.S. embassies are frequently recommended, and must always be approved, by Meany and Lovestone). In return, particularly because it passes as a private organization, the AFL-CIO has proved a valuable partner for official policy-makers. Whereas the latter are formally accountable to Congress and the interested public, the AFL-CIO is largely immune from public oversight—even though AID has poured \$15.5 million of taxpayers' money into AIFLD. Labor's "private" nature also enhances labor's usefulness to the "invisible government." Thus, perhaps unwittingly, American labor has fallen into some of the very habits which it recognizes and denounces in Communist-dominated unions.

Unlikely as it is that AFL-CIO foreign policy would be totally divorced from that of the U.S. Government,



unions under undemocratic regimes, seeming to bypass these governments. But in practice, AIFLD must deal with governmental agencies, thereby indirectly lending moral and material support to these regimes. In Honduras, for example, after the right-wing military coup of October, 1963—even before the U.S. Government had re-established diplomatic relations—AIFLD was pressing for resumption of work on its housing project for a railroad workers' union.

In countries other than pre-Castro Cuba the AFL-CIO has urged non-action in the face of military takeovers. Following such coups in Guatemala in 1954, in the Dominican Republic and Honduras in 1963, and in Brazil in 1964, ORIT-affiliated unions, acting on AFL-CIO advice, refused to join other unions in general strikes or even verbal protests, on the grounds that repressive action would be taken against unions expressing opposi-

tion. In addition, AFL-CIO officials explain, "Unions should not become involved in partisan causes or use strikes as political weapons."



Such official AFL-CIO ideology notwithstanding, the rhetoric of "apolitical unionism" is discarded and overtly partisan actions taken when expediency requires. Soon after the 1964 coup in Brazil, AIFLD Director Doherty told radio interviewers, "I am certainly not against Brazilian labor getting involved in politics." Apparently not, for at the time of the coup AIFLD graduates were active in mobilizing labor support for it and in ensuring its success. 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. . . ." Doherty's claim has been proudly confirmed by other AFL-CIO officials I interviewed and other popularizers of the so-called "revolution" by which the military overthrew President Goulart's government.

An October, 1966, *Reader's Digest* article related that one AIFLD-trained communications union leader ran seminars in Brazil in which "he warned key workers of coming trouble and urged them to keep communications going, no matter what happened;" as a result, when the call went out in April, 1964, for a general strike to protest the coup, "the wires kept humming and the army was able to coordinate troop movements that ended the showdown bloodlessly. . . ." Just as they had lauded the CIA-instigated takeover in Guatemala ten years previously, AFL-CIO officials endorsed the Brazilian coup. For two and one half years American labor continued to support the military regime, although its anti-inflation measures and strict regulation of wages, its severe strike laws, and its purge of union leadership greatly weakened Brazilian labor.

In the Dominican Republic, those same "non-partisan" ORIT-dominated labor officials who refused to fight during the 1965 revolution, had no qualms earlier about participating in

the political activities which helped bring down the Bosch regime in 1963. In his memoirs, former President Bosch singled out leaders of the Dominican ORIT affiliate as openly favoring the coup against him.

In British Guiana the AFL-CIO participated directly in a three-year campaign to oust the constitutionally elected government of Cheddi Jagan, through assistance to the British Guiana Trades Union Council (TUC)—the anti-Jagan ORIT affiliate which worked closely with Forbes Burnham's People's National Congress (PNC), the principal opposition party to Jagan.

AFL-CIO leaders and their Guianese proteges were deeply implicated in the terrorism and racial violence which accompanied the strike. A secret report of September, 1963, from the British police superintendent in British Guiana to the British Commissioner, named Gerard O'Keefe of the Retail Clerks International Association as having financed the activities of the "security force" (organized gangs) of Burnham's PNC—including assassinations and destruction of public buildings "with explosives and arson."

The British Guiana operation indicates clearly that the AFL-CIO is not squeamish in devising means for the pursuit of Cold War political objectives disguised in the cloak of "free and democratic unionism." In addition, it suggests that George Meany has not been straightforward about labor's dealings with the CIA. The convincing evidence that the AFL-CIO served as a front for the CIA in British Guiana, as described in *The Progressive* (April, 1967), makes more credible the revelations that many American union international programs have been operating in Latin America largely on CIA funds, channeled through "dummy" foundations. Senator J. W. Fulbright told labor columnist Victor Riesel in August, 1966, "I have had suggestions that they [the CIA] had taken a very strong part in labor union organization in the Dominican Republic."

If Communism did not exist, someone in the AFL-CIO would have had to invent it. For the AFL-CIO's frequently stated justification of its dubious political activities has been that

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ing process. Apparently understood that such ameliorations, while necessary, are insufficient as objectives for Latin American workers, and cannot be attained solely through collective bargaining without structural reforms in the distribution of resources and income and the establishment of democratic process in their national governments.

Latin American workers are still fighting battles which American labor won many years ago. A mere ten to fifteen per cent of the active labor force is organized. Lacking funds and political influence, even those represented by unions are not regarded as an autonomous pressure group whose interests and needs demand serious consideration. Moreover, the rights of labor, particularly in state-run enterprises and public services, are generally limited by government labor codes regulating wage increases, strikes, and collective bargaining. In many countries employers are required to bargain only with unions officially recognized by the government.

Particularly inappropriate as an example for Latin Americans is the AFL-CIO's outlook toward free enterprise and the big business community. As witness Doherty's words to the Council for Latin America, "We believe in the capitalist system and . . . are dedicated to its preservation." Latin American unionists also oppose nationalization of industry, he continued, and, "like ourselves, they would want government to step in and interfere in the affairs of business and labor only in case of national emergency. . . ." AIFLD is symbolic of American labor's comfortable relationship with business; as Doherty said in radio interviews in December, 1963, "We welcome [the] cooperation [of management] not only financially but in terms of establishing our policies. . . . The cooperation between ourselves and the business community is getting warmer day by day."

But for Latin American workers, who confront vested and generally unprogressive industrial and land-owning interests, such benevolence toward big business would be suicidal if widely accepted. Imagine a Chilean copper miner "open-minded" enough to embrace an organization whose board included—as AIFLD's does—Charles

president of Anaconda Copper.

Those who do adopt the AFL-CIO philosophy have displayed a marked lack of militancy toward business. ORIT affiliates in several countries have fostered company unions. In many countries the AFL-CIO has encouraged its proteges to pull out of coalitions with more militant elements, even at the risk of forming parallel unions. ORIT affiliates have engaged in practices which violate even the principles of American-style unionism and which are regarded by more active Latin-American unionists as *anti-obrero*—anti-worker.

Thus the AFL-CIO has offered an educational program and a philosophy divorced from the agenda for basic social change in Latin America, in the hope of persuading Latin American workers to settle for "bread and butter unionism"—a poor substitute, at best.

Where ideas fail to convince, material assistance often becomes persuasive. American labor's access to U.S. foreign aid funds is tempting bait to impoverished Latin American unions.

Since the inception of the Alliance for Progress, the AFL-CIO has had a virtual monopoly over its union programs. Early expectations that Alliance labor funds would be available to the liberal Social Christian Trade Union Confederation of Latin Ameri-



Justus in The Minneapolis Star  
The All-Inclusive Boot

ca (CLASC) as well as to the reactionary ORIT were dashed, for the labor advisory committee to the Alliance included only AFL-CIO representatives, and since 1962 the AIFLD Social Projects Department has been the formal agency for channeling Alliance funds to Latin American labor.



Ironically, AFL-CIO control over Alliance funds has caused fewer problems for those excluded than for the intended beneficiaries. In one country after another, union leaders have eagerly accepted AIFLD offers of loans for housing projects, only to find that the strings attached restricted their freedom and in some cases violated national laws.

In Uruguay a \$5 million AIFLD-sponsored housing project for the ORIT-affiliated Uruguayan Labor Federation fell through when the Uruguayan representatives refused to sign AIFLD's "letter of intention," naming AIFLD "as their sole agent before any . . . organization . . . for the procuring and realization of the loan," and granting AIFLD the "permanent right" to veto applicants for the project "for trade union and political reasons"—terms which violated Uruguayan law. During the planning stages of a \$3 million housing project for sugar workers in the Dominican Republic, the Inter-American Development Bank, which was to have provided two-thirds of the money, withdrew its loan in objection to AIFLD's insistence that both the construction and the occupancy of the project be restricted to unions affiliated with ORIT. In addition, AIFLD violated Dominican law by awarding contracts in a private rather than an open bidding and favored American firms. The U.S. Agency for International Development later bailed out AIFLD by financing the construction of 110 of the projected 700 to 900 units.

If their exclusion of non-ORIT unions appears narrow-minded, AIFLD officials are more flexible about cooperating with dictatorial and military regimes. This is disguised through the convenient myth of "union-to-union" programs, by which AIFLD can continue direct aid to

# U.S. Labor's Conservative Role in Latin America

by SUSANNE BODENHEIMER

*"Not one penny of CIA money has ever come in to the AFL or the AFL-CIO to my knowledge over the last twenty years, and I say to you if it had come in, I would know about it. . . . I take a great deal of pride in the work we've done overseas and I resent the fact that the CIA is trying to horn in on it and say that they have done some of it."*

—GEORGE MEANY, President of AFL-CIO, denying charges of Central Intelligence Agency subsidies to AFL-CIO, May 8, 1967

IMAGINE, for the moment, that George Meany is incapable of telling a lie. Suppose that the AFL-CIO's expensive campaign to promote "democratic unionism" abroad—particularly in Latin America—is not being charged to the ever-expanding account of the "invisible government," are its motivations and methods so different from those of the CIA, and has Meany any reason to take pride in that campaign?

The apparatus of the AFL-CIO's Latin American program since World War II has been geared to a continuation of the Cold War. Through its principal instrument, the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), founded in 1951 to compete with leftist and Peronist labor organizers, the AFL-CIO has constructed a network of "free and democratic" unions throughout Latin America. This is supplemented by the International Trade Secretariats (ITS), which coordinate activities among unions in the same trade or industry throughout the world. The third agency of the AFL-CIO in Latin America is the

American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), which brings together the resources of American labor, American business, and the U.S. Government.

Like official U.S. policy-makers, the AFL-CIO is ambivalent toward social change in Latin America and vacillates between a desire to win over Latin Americans with promises of gradual social reform and a tendency to rely on "safe"—military and oligarchic—forces which stifle even peaceful social progress. With one hand American labor holds out offers of education and financial aid, and simultaneously, with the other hand, wields the "big stick" of intervention.

A widely-advertised attraction of the AFL-CIO operation south of the Rio Grande is the AIFLD educational program, which has reached more than 60,000 Latin American unionists since 1962. Scholarships to the AIFLD Institute in the United States are awarded to the "star" pupils in local and regional AIFLD seminars, recruited and screened by AFL-CIO and ORIT representatives. After completing the three-month "advanced course" and returning to their own countries, the most promising students remain on the AIFLD payroll as "interns" for nine months.

SUSANNE BODENHEIMER specialized in Latin American political development at Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. She gathered the material for this article while engaged in research at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington—research based largely on interviews with American and Latin American labor officials. She now lives in Latin America.

At the end of an unpaved road in the pleasant, rolling Virginia countryside, more than seventy-five miles from Washington, D.C., is the AIFLD Institute. Originally located in Washington, it was moved to Virginia, according to AIFLD officials, to provide a "more peaceful" environment for study. Students are without cars or bus service to "the monastery," as they have nick-named it, and are seldom exposed to the distractions of the big city. None of the students I met there spoke English and few seemed engrossed in their studies.

All AIFLD students major in anti-Communism, a subject which their instructors, some of whom are Cuban exiles, are well qualified to teach. According to the *AIFLD Report*, students from several countries spend more hours in the "democracy and totalitarianism" course ("democracy" American-style, "totalitarianism" Communist-style) than on any other subject. Through "role-playing" exercises, students gain practice in countering Communist infiltration. But while AIFLD graduates have acquired expertise in ousting Communists (or anyone who looks Communist to AFL-CIO advisers), they are ill-equipped by their AIFLD education to meet equally potent challenges from rightwing dictatorial governments or entrenched land-owning and business interests. Although ninety per cent of the land in Latin America is controlled by ten per cent of the landholders, land reform receives scant attention in the AIFLD curriculum.



Central to AIFLD's program is the premise, as its director, William Doherty, put it to the Council for Latin America (an American businessmen's group) on February 11, 1966, that "The great bulk of the 15,000,000 organized workers in Latin America think, want, and desire almost identically with their counterparts in the United States." On the dubious assumption that American unionism is exportable, AFL-CIO educators have focused on "bread and butter" issues—higher wages, better working conditions, more fringe benefits—to be obtained through the collective bargain-

ORG 1 - AFL-CIO  
- AIFLD  
- ORIT

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ORG 1 - AFL-CIO

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ORG 1 - AFL-CIO

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# Jay Lovestone Battles Communism And Mystifies The Labor Movement

## AFL-CIO Figure Relates Clash With Reuthers

By KEN CLAWSON  
Blade Staff Writer

JAY LOVESTONE, director of the AFL-CIO's international affairs department, rejects and disputes several agencies intelligence information gathered by his worldwide network of labor contacts.

The 68-year-old Lovestone, former secretary-general of the American Communist party who has turned with a vengeance on his former ideology, emphatically denies, however, that he acts as an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) or has ever accepted CIA funds.

"I am a trade unionist and an American," he said. "When our people come up with information vital to the national security, I turn it over to the proper authorities."

He added that labor officials abroad and foreign trade unionists trained under the AFL-CIO international affairs department supervision often discover information of an intelligence nature because they are closer to the people.

"These Harvard and Yale graduates that work for our government can't get information because they have no rapport with the people. They look down on the people."

IT HAS been charged that like many converts, Mr. Lovestone approaches his work with an overzealousness that borders on fanaticism. Two of his sharpest critics are the brothers, Walter and Victor Reuther, of the United Auto Workers.

While Mr. Lovestone and his boss, AFL-CIO president, George Meany, admittedly follow an anti-Communist foreign policy line, Walter Reuther and his brother

of UAW's international affairs, accept political democratic and social reform abroad.

The two sides have often clashed over their different philosophies on international affairs. These clashes are part of the widening rift between the UAW and the national AFL-CIO, and contributed to Walter Reuther's resignation from all but one of his federation offices.

Mr. Lovestone, who delights in pointing out what he regards as inconsistencies of the Reuthers, said: "For all that the Reuthers have to say about our operational methods, don't forget that it was Victor who accepted CIA money."

"DIFFERENCES in ideology, he said, are illustrated by an underground movement in which the AFL-CIO currently is involved in Spain. Mr. Lovestone said that the anti-Franco movement con-

sists of trade unionists, Catholics, anarchists, even monarchists, but no Communists.

"Victor would have us include the Communists and the Falangists, but we know better. These latter groups would form a coalition with Franco and crush the movement."

Critics of Mr. Lovestone maintain that no area gets more attention, advice, money, and intelligence agents than Latin America. The vehicle by which Mr. Lovestone operates is the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), which has as its U.S. Government counterpart the Agency for International Development (AID).

FUNCTIONS of AIFLD are to train Latin workers in democratic unionism and to provide housing, banks, and other institutions for them.

Mr. Lovestone is particularly proud of the number of Central and South Ameri-

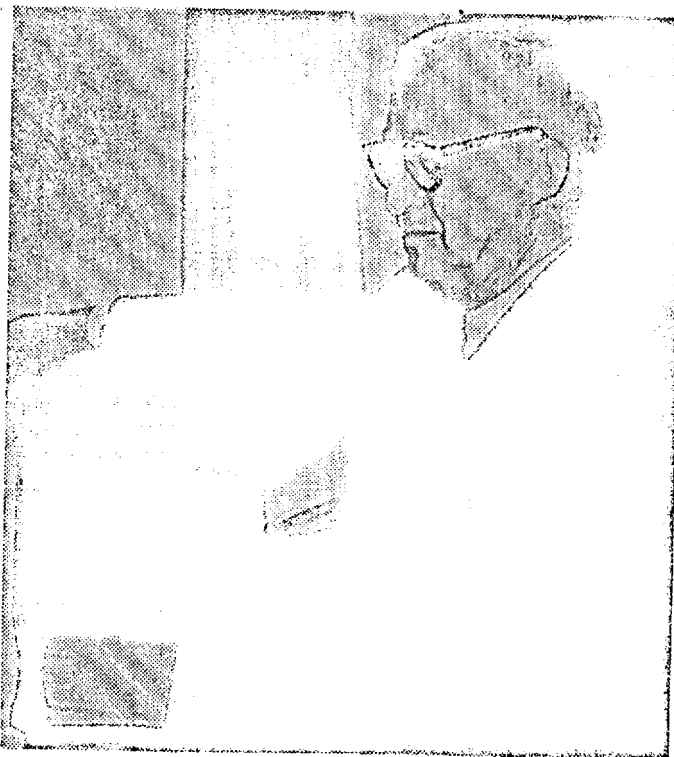
can unionists who have been schooled in an international affairs program in Front Royal, Va. He is vague on the number of graduates, variously stating figures of 7,000, 10,000 and 12,000. One of the students' prime objectives is to learn to "answer Communist arguments and deal with Red agitators."

At the recent national AFL-CIO convention in Miami Beach, Fla., it was reported that the federation has spent \$250,000 on AIFLD in the last two years. Another \$50,000 was appropriated. Many times this amount, however, comes from AID.

LENDING credence to Mr. Lovestone's continuing contact with these cadres of Latin unionists is the fact that they are paid a year's salary by AIFLD following their return home. Mr. Lovestone said the amount per individual ranges from \$1,000 to \$2,000, and the funds are to sustain trainees until they re-enter their local labor force.

Mr. Lovestone says he has few pleasures in life aside from his work, which normally occupies about 18 hours a day. He speaks with a seemingly inexhaustible supply of information about labor activities in nearly every corner of the world, including Africa. He is powerful in foreign affairs within the Johnson Administration, as many disappointed candidates for government jobs abroad can attest.

His current worry concerns a movement by West German trade unions toward affiliation with labor organizations from the Communist bloc. Mr. Lovestone believes that it is impossible to coexist with Communists because "they have no desire to coexist; it is just that the Communists are becoming less brutal and more subtle in their effort toward world domination."



HE GIVES DATA TO CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
Mr. Lovestone directs international training programs

*Passing the Word*

By GUS HALL

ONE IS INCLINED to pass up idiotic drivel without comment. When asinine and fraudulent statements are made by public figures, then it is necessary to speak up. The column by Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, in the December issue of "The Pilot" calls for an answer.

The only truthful word in the whole piece is the title "Passing the Word." The CIA's propaganda department has a large stable of professional falsifiers who, for cash, grind out filthy redbaiting fiction by the ton. In the trade union movement this odious bilge is pumped for publication by a Jay Lovestone who holds down a CIA desk in the front office of the AFL-CIO. This drivel is published in the trade union press under the name of any official who can be convinced, paid off or forced into the use of his name.

Redbaiting has always been a camouflage for the crimes and misdeeds of demagogues and scoundrels of all types. It took a lot of redbaiting to cover for the crimes of Hitler and Mussolini. Senator McCarthy's redbaiting (not Eugene, but Joe) was the cover for the crimes of the Korean War and an attempt to discredit our democratic institutions, including our trade union movement. And in retrospect one must say that the damage to the trade union movement was inestimable.

It takes a lot of redbaiting to cover for the crimes of the U.S. aggression against Vietnam. And it took a wave of fanatical redbaiting for the Meany-Lovestone-Dubinsky clique to put over an endorsement of these crimes of the Johnson administration at the recent AFL-CIO convention.

Curran's column, entitled "The War in Vietnam—Part of America's Defensive Freedom," and his redbaiting speeches at the convention are also a part of this camouflage.

The column by Curran is a rehashing of all the fraudulent filth that was ever peddled by any anti-labor, anti-democratic demagogue from Hitler to Hoover, from Eastland to Welch. It must have been the same stable that shoveled out the swill for the Administration spokesmen at the AFL-CIO convention, because it is difficult to say where Rusk's speech ended and Curran's began.

The ugly imperialist aggression against Vietnam, that is more unanimously condemned by the world than any in history, is defended by Curran. The demagoguery he uses is that this is a continuation of the struggle against fascism. This will fool no one. U.S. imperialism is doing today what German imperialism did under Hitler. The forces who fought fascism are today fighting against U.S. imperialism. The forces who defended fascism are today defending U.S. imperialism. Curran tries to cover up for this brutal imperialist aggression by saying, "All Communist countries act as if there were no such things as national boundaries." Such idiocy cannot cover up the undeniable facts that it is U.S. imperialism that has crossed the boundaries in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Taiwan and was instrumental in the crossing of the boundaries of Egypt, Jordan and Syria.

Curran's column talks about the danger of "Communist global take-over." This is a threadbare defense of the greatest "take-over" the world has ever known. U.S. imperialism is now

the largest colonial power in history; it exploits more human beings than any power in history, it has more war bases around the world than any government in history. U.S. capitalism controls more industries, banks and utilities overseas than any class in history. All the rebaiting in the world will not cover up this banditry.

Curran says, "Our hopes of worldwide solidarity of workers through the World Federation of Trade Unions were torpedoed by the Communists."

It is too late for this big lie. Since the public exposure of some of the operations of the CIA no one will buy this hogwash. Because it is now common knowledge based on exposure and open confessions that it was U.S. big business through the CIA, through Lovestone, Meany and Dubinsky, that set out to split the trade union movement. It is now common knowledge that they spent sums running into hundreds of millions to buy, to corrupt trade union officials around the world to split the trade unions. The very latest of these exposes and confessions by labor leaders comes from Finland where trade union leaders admitted being on the CIA payroll for the specific purpose of splitting the trade unions of Finland.

No amount of redbaiting is going to cover up the fact that, because of boot licking subservience to big business by the AFL-CIO leadership, the labor federation has become more isolated from the trade unions of the world than at any time in history. The trade union movement of the world has rejected the very redbaiting filth that Curran now peddles.

In this column Curran trots out all of the old ultra-Right fascist garbage such as "Moscow gold," "subversion," etc.

It takes a lot to cover up an ugly unjust war of imperialist aggression. The Lovestone stables pulled out all stops so Curran could say, "In Vietnam it requires full scale war." And in his speech at the convention, to add a call for, and a prediction of an armed U.S. aggression against the Republic of Cuba.

The redbaiting at the AFL-CIO convention became the cover for the reactionary policies of its top leadership. But in spite of this, it took five members of the President's Cabinet, army brass and dozens of other government officials and the prepared redbaiting trash to keep down the voices of revolt even within a convention whose delegates were largely hand-picked.

Curran is not "passing the word" of the seamen. They will blush with anger and shame because the name of this great union is being used as an instrument of the most reactionary anti-labor forces in the world. Curran is "passing the word" of the CIA, of big business. He has become an instrument of a new wave of McCarthyism. But he is an instrument of a lost cause. Americans and American workers will draw from their lessons gained in the struggle against McCarthyism of the fifties. They know that redbaiting is an instrument of splitting and weakening of the trade unions. They know from their own experience that workers can not win by cringing and grovelling before the employers or their spokesman in government.

Why Curran has fallen for this ultra-Right swill is not the most important question. That he has, is important and it cannot be denied or ignored.

LOVESTONE, JAY  
MEANY, GEORGE  
DUBINSKY,

P. HALL, GUS  
ORG. I. - AFL-CIO

*The Worker*  
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Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

# Shanker pushing new AFL-CIO cold-war drive

1 AFL-CIO  
Congress For  
Cultural Freedom

By CELIA ZITRON

NEW YORK, Oct. 12 — Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, is seeking to get the AFL-CIO to sponsor a new cold war movement.

This is the gist of what is described as "a major policy statement" published in the Oct. 7 issue of *The New York Teacher*, weekly organ of the UFT.

The policy statement was adopted by the Shanker-controlled UFT executive board on Sept. 24 and was referred to the local's parent body, the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO. The AFT, in turn, forwarded mail ballots to its 21-member executive council for their votes.

If approved by the executive council, the policy statement would then be placed by the AFT before the AFL-CIO convention, opening Oct. 18 in Miami Beach. There it is expected that George Meany, AFL-CIO president, and Jay Lovestone, his foreign affairs adviser, would push the matter.

#### Back Jackson amendment

The 1500-word UFT statement, which repeats every anti-Soviet slander, proposes that the AFL-CIO consider sponsoring a "world-conference on intellectual free-

dom." The statement also endorses the amendment of Sen. Henry Jackson (F-Wash) to block non-discriminatory tariffs on trade with the Soviet Union unless the Soviet Union changes its alleged emigration barriers.

The policy statement would shift the national AFT, which was opposed to the war in Vietnam, to a return to the cold war.

Reflecting the views of Shanker and his right-wing Social Democratic cronies, the statement would have the AFL-CIO take over directly and openly the cold war work of the Central Intelligence Agency. From 1950 to 1967, the CIA secretly supported the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which published magazines in England, West Germany, Austria, France and Italy. The English magazine, *Encounter*, received an annual subsidy of \$30,000.

#### Funds revealed

During the exposure of CIA activities in the late '60s, there was testimony that AFL-CIO organizations and related groups received large sums from the CIA. Some of the groups receiving CIA funds channeled through the AFL-CIO included the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the Institute of International Labor Research, the African-American Labor Center and the American Institute for Free Labor Development.

A number of U.S. unions also received CIA funds, the Newspaper Guild as much as a million dollars.

The Meany leadership of the AFL-CIO still carries on its anti-Soviet, pro-war propaganda, not only at home but among workers in Latin-America, Africa, Asia. It has broken with the ICFTU because it considered it insufficiently anti-Communist.

The UFT executive board now proposes that the AFL-CIO also take over the anti-Soviet, pro-war activities among intellectuals.

*World of Labor*

By GEORGE MORRIS

## The Meany-SD tryst (2)

The one thing that stood out most in the recent AFL-CIO convention was the effort by the George Meany leadership to revive the "good old days" of the cold war. They look upon the Mideast war and tensions as a godsend. Their interest in a "Jewish homeland" and in the alleged democracy of Israel is of secondary concern, if at all.

The Social Democrats are especially active in efforts to revive old cold war patterns in the AFL-CIO's campaign to nullify the detente treaties, block trade agreements with Socialist countries, and activate their contracts within the Socialist lands to surface as "dissidents."

An example is a project Albert Shanker, head of the New York Teachers, seeks to initiate. He moved through the American Federation of Teachers' 21-member council majority a resolution introduced in the convention entitled "The Plight of Soviet Dissidents." It is a long diatribe centered on Andrei Sakharov's and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's periodic press conferences attacking the Soviet Union and giving an impression there is a mass rebellion in the USSR.

That type of stuff had, however, been covered in several other resolutions of the convention. But the resolution of the teachers calls for "AFL-CIO sponsorship of a world conference on international freedom." Because of the action required, the resolution was referred to the executive council of the AFL-CIO.

The origin of the resolution is really "The Committee for Detente with Freedom" of which Albert Shanker and Bayard Rustin, both Social Democrats, are co-chairmen. It was initiated by the SD and, as published in the April 25 New America, the SD paper, carried the signatures of such unreconstructed cold warriors as Sidney Hook, professor emeritus of NYU; John Roche, New America and AFL-CIO News columnist, and several members of the SD's executive board and some International Ladies Garment Workers Union officials. The resolution is a rewrite of that statement.

less there is what they call "democratization" of the Soviet Union

But where does this plan really come from? We turn to an article in the May 20, 1967 issue of the old Saturday Evening Post, by Thomas W. Braden, entitled "I'm Glad The CIA Is Immoral."

That was the article in which Braden, who was a top official of the Central Intelligence Agency in its early stages, described how in 1950 he handed the AFL's Irving Brown \$15,000 for a payoff to gangsters in Mediterranean ports who attacked Communist-led longshoremen. He described how the CIA went to the AFL and how Lovestone was assigned to the job of directing CIA "labor" operations in Europe with two million dollars of CIA money annually to spend. Then he described how under Lovestone's and Meany's direction an organized movement was established to smash what they called "Communist-led" unions in France, Italy and other lands. Braden went on:

"Thus was the international organization division of the CIA born, and thus began the first centralized effort to combat Communist fronts."

Taking credit for the idea, Braden boasted of the way various cultural schemes and orchestra tours were initiated with CIA money:

"And there was Encounter, the magazine published in England, and dedicated to the proposition that cultural achievement and political freedom were interdependent. Money for both the orchestra's tour and the magazine came from the CIA, and few outside the CIA knew about it. We had placed one agent in a Europe-based organization called the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Another agent became the editor of Encounter."

Braden noted that those drawn into these CIA schemes did not know the source of the money. So they were advised the money

comes from "American foundations."

"Why not see if the needed money could be obtained from 'American foundations,'" Braden went on. "As the agents knew, the CIA-financed foundations were quite generous when it came to the national interest.

"I remember with great pleasure the day an agent came in with the news that four national student organizations had broken away from the Communist International Union of Students and joined our student outfit instead."

It was the exposure of the way CIA money financed student groups that exploded in 1967 into an exposure of financing of unions and operations in the fields of culture through fake foundations.

Several years ago Christopher Lash wrote a long piece in the Nation magazine describing bitterly how many intellectuals were suckered into these CIA operations.

Lovestone, Shanker, et al, apparently believe they can find enough new suckers for a repeat performance.



P-Bert, Erik  
 Lovestone, Jay  
 Brown, Irving  
 Meany, George



*Revolutionary Philosophy*

# The Meany and CIA connections of Social Democrats, U.S.A.

By ERIK BERT

"The American Challenge," subtitled "A Social Democratic Program for the Seventies," offers an elaborate presentation of Right social democratic program and theory. It was adopted at the convention in December 1972 when the Socialist Party USA and the Democratic Socialist Federation of the USA were merged into the Social Democrats USA.

It had been given a dry run, and adopted, the previous week by the convention of the Young People's Socialist League, the youthful branch of Right social democracy.

What kind of "movement" is SDUSA?

"In the rest of the world," SDUSA says, "social democracy is a mass movement." But not in the United States. "We

are not a mass movement here." On the other hand, "neither are we a sect."

What, then, are "we"?

"Our members play active and often leading roles" in "the trade unions, liberal organizations, civil rights struggles."

The importance of Social Democrats USA does not lie in the number of its members, which is small; nor in the originality of its thought, which is nil; nor in leadership of a mass movement.

Its importance, and that is substantial, lies in an odd-couple relationship with the hierarchy of the AFL-CIO, a relationship which has developed strongly in the last few years.

It is strongly represented in the AFL-CIO educational, public relations, publications, and research activities, and in the top administration.

George Morris has spelled out these ties (Daily World, November 3 and 6, 1973), the ties to George Meany, and within the executive council of the AFL-CIO; to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Jewish Labor Committee and "through that committee (to) Jewish officials in a number of other unions, with their voice the Jewish Daily Forward," to the Randolph Institute, A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin, and Norman Hill; to the Frontlash organization for youth voter registration, whose officials are on the AFL-CIO payroll.

There's another area of involvement. SDUSA does not boast of it, despite its importance. "Many SD adherents have landed in CIA service in one or another form," Morris noted, on the recommendation of Jay Lovestone or Irving Brown, two liaisons between Meany and the CIA.

These SDUSAers, serving Meany and the CIA, "make up the core of operatives under the three-government financed

agencies in Latin America, Africa and Asia, under AFL-CIO direction," Morris pointed out.

What kind of movement, then, is SDUSA?

It is not, does not pretend to be and, apparently, does not propose to become, a social democratic movement in the European tradition.

It is, in the first place, a two-way operation between Meany and the SDUSA, with the CIA as an unseen third party.

Meany sees the SDUSA as a reliable channel to liberal and intellectual circles which were revolted by his blatant participation in the Vietnam war incitement.

More broadly, he sees the SDUSA as a means for establishing a "social" presence for the AFL-CIO leadership, perhaps even a socialistic presence, as a means for providing an ideological presence in a world where ideological struggle is crucial.

The SDUSA sees Meany, and the resources he commands, as providing mass resonance for the aims of Right social democracy.

They have renounced, seemingly, the task of building a mass social democratic movement from the ground up; they propose to construct such a movement from the top (Meany) down.

Their intention is to utilize the official channels of the AFL-CIO hierarchy, and its satellite operations, for ideological penetration of the working class. Abroad the path will be smoothed by Jay Lovestone's CIA connections.

(Coming: SDUSA II — Right social democracy's view of capitalism.)

ORG 4 AFL-CIO

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Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

*P. Kempton Murray*  
*Chg. AFL-CIO*  
*CIA 2-04.2 Labour*

Front Page    Ed Page    Other Page

NEW YORK, N.Y.  
 POST

E. 317,237  
 S. 250.207

APR 5 1967



## Irving Brown Is Shocked

By MURRAY KEMPTON

There comes to hand the pamphlet "Trade Unions in Chains" or "How Kwame Nkrumah destroyed free trade union movement in Ghana and attempted to extend this on the African Continent." It is being circulated with the compliments of Irving Brown, minister plenipotentiary to Europe for Jay Lovestone, Secretary of State of the AFL-CIO.

Its author is B. A. Bentum, Secretary-General of the Trades Union Congress of Ghana. Bentum ascended to leadership after the military coup which ousted Nkrumah and which he describes as "our glorious revolution," an encouraging sign that fealty to the robber in power is a tradition in the leadership of Ghanaian labor whether free or enslaved.

What follows are documents proving how Nkrumah schemed to twist the African unions to his will.

"The African liberation struggle," one captured Nkrumah document says, "has reached a stage which calls for the employment of secret methods; i.e., intelligence methods... (In Nigeria) the officers responsible will have to secure one top source each in the Prime Minister's Office and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs..."

Goodness, this sinister fellow was trying to organize a CIA.

Nkrumah also set up the All-African Trade Union Federation to "subvert African labor." Its methods were unthinkable. For example, in Somali, Nkrumah's labor agents "exploit vulnerabilities such as venality, a great weakness for free travel and training anywhere outside the Somali Republic and the almost absence of ideological motivation."

The Secretary-General of the All-African Trade Union Federation always swore that its activities were financed entirely by the dues of its affiliates in 36 countries and that its budget was only \$120,000 a year. Actually the AATUF proposed to spend \$480,000 a year, \$75,000 from a secret subsidy from the government of Ghana and the rest to be begged from "friendly Social-

ist governments and friendly Socialist organizations."

John Tettegah, Nkrumah's man in the AATUF, asked for two Volga cars and three French typewriters from the Russian unions. There is no record that he ever got them. He also asked for \$250,000 from the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Communist labor international. He got less than \$20,000. Nkrumah then turned to the Chinese. They offered \$125,000 but insisted that Tettegah go to Peking to get it.

"Tettegah was reluctant to do this on grounds that if Peking were to publicize the gift, AATUF's non-aligned 'image' would be ruined in Africa. Apparently non-alignment for Tettegah represented an 'image' to be preserved with no foundation in reality!! It was cleverly designed to fool the gullible."

We owe our knowledge of these shabby tricks of the enemy to Irving Brown, the AFL-CIO's ambassador to the old world.

\* \* \*

In 1963, the CIA subsidized the State, County and Municipal Workers Union (AFL-CIO) to combat communism in British Guiana, an effort which had to be called off when the British complained that among its measures was a plot to blow up their government house.

In the early 50's, Paul Jacobs informs us in the current Ramparts, the CIA paid for the operation of the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers to enlist foreign unions under the cover of the AFL-CIO Oil Workers. In 1965, the Oil Workers elected a new president. The CIA had already lost control of State, County and Municipal, so in 1965, Jacobs says, its agents on the Oil Workers payroll actively campaigned against a candidate believed hostile to them. He won anyway and the CIA connection was broken.

We should be grateful to Irving Brown for warning us against Nkrumah. His efforts to use government funds to buy union leaders sounds shabby, sinister and incompetent. Altogether very much like Brown and Lovestone.

*Soc 4-011 Ramparts*

*284.2 Labor groups  
Org. 1 AFL-CIO*

*Org. 1 American Newspaper Guild*

*Org. 1 Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Union*

*Org. 1 Amer. Fed. of State, County & Municipal Employees*

*Meany, George*

# Ramparts Hits Meany On Denial of CIA Links

Ramparts magazine, continuing its criticism of the Central Intelligence Agency, disputes President George Meany's denial that the CIA financed the international operations of several AFL-CIO unions.

In its April issue, the magazine said three unions have cooperated with the CIA—the American Newspaper Guild (ANG), the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

Jay Lovestone, AFL-CIO director of international affairs, and Irving Brown, AFL-CIO European representative, were named by Ramparts as organized labor's principal liaison officers with the CIA.

## Strident Anti-Communist

"The American government has contracted out both its open and secret foreign relations with workers and trade unions in other countries to Meany and his secretary of state, Lovestone," said the magazine.

Lovestone is a former head of the American Communist party who became a strident anti-Communist. Ramparts last month touched off a major controversy when it disclosed that the CIA had provided extensive but covert financial support to the U.S. National Student Association and other youth groups.

President Johnson last week endorsed the report of a Cabinet-level commission that called for the end of covert financing of

"educational or private voluntary organizations," but did not specify whether labor organizations were to be included in that policy.

Ramparts said Meany is either "a liar or a fool" in denying knowledge of CIA financing of the several unions.

Ramparts said that "every month for many years" checks from CIA conduit agencies were made out to O. A. Knight, president of the OCAW, who endorsed them over to the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical workers "to finance its 10 offices in all parts of the world."

## 'Cut off Operations'

But when A. L. Grospron was elected president of the union in 1965, he "quietly cut off CIA ties as soon as he took office, resisting all pressures applied to him to keep them intact," the magazine added.

The magazine aid the AFSCME also "cut off the CIA operation" in 1965 after a new president was elected.

No details were provided concerning the ANG, but the union recently announced that it was dissolving its relationship with five foundations alleged to be CIA fronts which financed its international program.

Ramparts also said "the CIA has been involved in the work of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), allegedly a private organization of union leaders and businessmen, operating extensively throughout Latin America."

## News Guild Cuts Ties To Alleged Channels Of CIA

Washington, March 13 — The American Newspaper Guild announced tonight it is severing its ties with the foundations which have financed its international program with funds reported to have been supplied secretly by the Central Intelligence Agency.

But the Guild's international executive board said this "vital program" cannot be abandoned and it will seek money to support it from private or open Government sources, until the Guild's convention can act on the question.

### Meeting In July

The union of newspaper workers said that it has insufficient funds to continue the program on an interim basis until the Guild convention in July and without help the program may have to be ended. It added that acceptance of any money will be subject to approval by the board.

The board, meanwhile, authorized its three top officers to seek funds from the AFL-CIO, from any recognized trade union affiliated or not affiliated with the CIO, from the American Institute for Free Labor Development or from overt Government sources.

The board told the Guild's top officers to join in the appeal being made for a "congressionally established, quasi-public independent body, financed by congressionally authorized and appropriated funds" to which private organizations could apply for support of their international activities.

The board, which met here over the weekend, said the Guild still has no conclusive proof that CIA funds—nearly \$1,000,000 in the last seven years—were channeled to it through the foundations. And it emphasized that the foundation grants were made at the Guild's initiative and were fully reported.

"There were no strings attached" and "no guild officer or member involved in the international program has done anything other than carry out the

Guild's trade-union mission," the statement said.

The board said the three foundations which have supported its program since 1964 refused to say whether they have received any CIA funds or otherwise to "make an accounting of their operations on the ground that they are confidential."

These foundations, the Guild said, are the Broad-High Foundation of Columbus, Ohio, the Chesapeake Foundation of Baltimore, and the Warden Trust of Cleveland.

The Guild said an attorney Hamilton Fund of Philadelphia, who responded for the Andrew which ended its aid to the Guild in 1946, said he was unable to supply the information requested because the fund had gone out of existence several years ago.

The Guild said a fifth foundation, the Granary Fund of Boston, which ended its aid to the Guild in 1963, said only that its clients wish to remain unnamed and that the fund has filed "required records" available to the public.

CIA 2-04.2 newspaper groups

*Orig. 1 AFL-CIO**CIA 2-04.2 labor organs.*

## AFL-CIO Branch Of CIA, Reds Say

MOSCOW, March 4 (AP)

The Soviet trade union newspaper Trud charged today that the AFL-CIO "has become the largest branch of the American intelligence service."

The newspaper claimed that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) channeled funds through the American labor union organization to help topple leftist regimes in Latin America.

It said "\$100 million out of its \$3 billion budget is allocated annually" by the CIA to the AFL-CIO.

In Washington, a spokesman for the Federation said "the AFL-CIO stands by George Meany's absolutely flat denial that the AFL-CIO, the American Institute for Free Labor Development or the Afro-American Labor Center ever received one cent of CIA money."

*Pers. Kempton Murray*

*copy 1 AFK-CIO*

*CIA 2-04.2 Labour*

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NEW YORK, N.Y.  
POST

E. 317,237  
S. 250,207

FEB 28 1967



## The Last Stevensonian

MURRAY KEMPTON

The pleasure of seeing Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz is part in what he still is and part in what he has always been. He is the only Stevensonian left in government, and there could never have been enough of them in the first place.

The sight of the last of them calls back the memory of the first; the Wirtz face has, as the Stevenson face did, the look of a man come for the question period and not the oath of allegiance. To see him is to notice again how few truly serious faces there are in government. And yet how sad it is to be a Stevensonian; government is the highest calling you know, and to serve it is to retire the Adlai Stevenson in yourself.

\* \* \*

Victor Riesel had invited the Labor Secretary to the Overseas Press Club yesterday to expand on his recent complaints about the condition of American journalism. There was no escaping the lesson that, however one cherishes the man, the instrument of government is always the enemy.

The burden of the Secretary's distress is that newspapers cherish the sensational above the truly important. What was curious was his selection of excessive sensations to deplore.

He noticed with amusement and faint disgust how George Meany's last AFL-CIO Executive Council was distracted from the normal somnolence of its mid-winter meeting in Miami because "the open tensions in organized labor" had brought down so many journalists "hoping something completely untoward would happen."

(Now, what would have been completely untoward? Well, for openers, one AFL-CIO vice president might have demanded to know from George Meany the circumstance in which the former administration in the State, County and Municipal Workers Union gave cover to a CIA agent whom the British accuse of having financed a private army which blew up government buildings in British Guiana. Of course, that would also have been a serious question, as well as untoward. Instead, to the Secretary of Labor's obvious satisfaction, there was only a general, apathetic silence.

The Secretary went on to wonder "what ethic there is—except scolding more papers—for giving front-page advertising to any white supremacist or nonwhite racist who coins an ugly phrase or whose dementia drives him to murder."

(Here that is an odd confusion of categories. Mr. Johnson, of course, showed rare discretion in discouraging the prints from discovering what went on when Lester Maddox had lunch at the White House three weeks ago. But murder would seem to be something else. There could hardly be a more basic civil right than not to be shot by somebody just for being a Negro. The federal government hasn't been able to do much to establish that right in states like Mississippi.)

"When the coverage of a major address by some public official seeking earnestly to find the common wisdom about how to achieve peace for the world is led by an account of 50 student hecklers . . . [with] the speaker's point appearing on the carry-over page—it becomes fair to ask whether the news editor and the makeup man are putting circulation and civilization in the right balance."

(Here, perhaps, he has the press. A balanced account of this affair would have begun: "Secretary of State Rusk said what he usually says last night and the usual pickets filed their objections.")

\* \* \*

The Secretary was particularly depressed by "people's apparent interest in dissensions and discords at home—a blasphemous book, for example, about a human and national tragedy."

(He was talking about the Manchester book, one assumes. There go those definitions again, "Tasteless," if he chooses, but "blasphemous"? That is a word describing a direct insult to the Almighty. Neither the Senator from New York nor the President of the United States is yet the Almighty.)

But such is government, when even the best of its servants speaks for it, as ready to criticize the private man as it is wounded when the private man criticizes government. The Stevenson face belongs in the opposition.

FEB 28 1967

*Pres. Goldwater, Barry*  
*Pres. Clark, Joseph S.*  
*Org. 1 AFL-CIO*

## CIA And Socialism

Barry Goldwater said that the CIA has been financing left wing causes in this country. He would be happier if it had spread the money around a bit and financed some right wing organizations. At the same time, liberal Senator Clark stated that it was just terrible of the CIA to finance the left wing groups which it seems were subverted by the act. The squawks coming from some of the groups subsidized do indeed support Senator Clark. It seems that some of them feel that they were betrayed into being of service to their country.

Both Senator Clark and Mr. Goldwater seem to have missed the point. There is nothing subversive about the CIA and no American need feel ashamed of having served it. If the CIA did favor socialist organizations in this country it certainly opposed them abroad. It was in some cases extremely successful.

The case of Communist Cheddi Jagan in British Guinea is an example. After Cuba it was essential to our safety that no more Communist bases be allowed on this hemisphere. Jagan was near to taking over the colony and Britain was ready to throw the whole problem away. The CIA used an AFL-CIO union as a base for operations. Jagan couldn't keep control of the country. He lost an election and a government friendly to the free world took over and has remained in power. This was done without the loss of a single American life. What could have been another Dominican Republic affair was settled by the CIA quietly and efficiently.

The problem now is how to get the CIA operating again. No secret agency can operate under the glare of publicity, which the CIA has suffered. Every organization which has aided the CIA in defense of the country will automatically have to stop its cooperation. It will be a long time before the

agency will again reach its former efficiency. In the meantime, it is absurd to state that the CIA has "subverted" any American agency. It is Communism that is the enemy not an American agency, which despite some blunders, has served the country well.



*Mrs. Herling, John*  
*10043001-9*  
*CIA 2-04.2 Labor Organs.*

## Mr. Meany's Probe

By John Herling



BAL HARBOUR, Fla., Feb. 28—What worries the leadership of the AFL-CIO—despite strenuous efforts to retain composure—is the degree of involvement of U. S. trade unions with the Central Intelligence Agency.

AFL-CIO President George Meany started off the AFL-CIO Executive Council meetings with a curt refusal to talk about possible relationships between the AFL-CIO and the CIA, direct or indirect. By the end of the week he conceded under questioning that he now has plans to

investigate.

He insisted, however, that he has no knowledge of any involvement by AFL-CIO affiliates with the CIA. At least three unions — the State, County and Municipal Employees, the American Newspaper Guild and the Oil Workers — have been named publicly as having received sizable sums of money from the CIA to carry on programs of international affairs. In the case of two of these unions, the State and County Workers, and the Oil Workers, their new leadership elected within the past two years promptly cut off the CIA connection. As to the Oil Workers, the fact is that some CIA subsidized staff people became a factor in the convention elections a year ago last September. They did not succeed.

How many other unions had similar ties is not clearly known. Whether it is one or five more, the fact is that the effectiveness of U.S. trade unions abroad is bound to be cast in the shadow of doubt and suspicion.

What makes this whole development tragic is that by commitment and tradition the American trade union movement has long been active in international affairs on its own volition. Thru world bodies like the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and thru international trade union secretariats, American labor has participated aggressively in the shaping of co-operative policies both against communist and totalitarian influences on all continents.

About two years ago Mr. Meany proudly announced that the AFL-CIO spent 23 per cent of its \$12 million national budget on

international affairs. Such sums did not include the international relations funds of individual unions such as the United Auto Workers. The UAW fund was established by convention action, from interest accruing on the defense fund. Other unions with extensive international activities financed their programs out of their own treasuries.

Hence, the question: Was this type of CIA involvement necessary? Why did the CIA go shopping among some of the weaker unions and some union people? How stupid of the involved unions to develop such furtive ties which were bound to undermine their effectiveness in trade union relations.

All this is quite aside from the fact that many trade unions and their representatives have actively and openly participated in implementing developmental programs in other countries. In recent years the government has quite sensibly tapped this resource of skill and knowledge in the service of the country. Organized labor co-operated. Scores of union officials and staff people were given leaves of absence for assignment to and by the government. But this activity was not furtive or secret; it was understandable and acceptable. It was recognition of the labor and human dimension in international affairs.

Unfortunately, it now appears that at least some of the charges made a few months ago by some union representatives of CIA involvement with trade unions had foundation in fact. At that time, they were angrily dismissed by Mr. Meany. Now he says that altho the Executive Council itself has not made any plans to investigate, he gave assurances that he would look into the question of labor involvement with the CIA.

Even before his investigation, however, Mr. Meany put in a spirited defense for Jay Lovestone, director of the AFL-CIO International Affairs Department, the target of many attacks.

"No matter who else may be involved — anybody wants to bet — you will find out — they turn this thing upside down — that Jay Lovestone has nothing to do with the CIA and never did have, that you can bet on." Mr. Meany later insisted on confining his defense to Mr. Lovestone, altho Lovestone associates have been named in the CIA imbroglio.

FEB 27 1967

*Per. Townsend, Ed*

*Labar*

*AFL-CIO*

# Debate on CIA aid jolts U.S. unions

By Ed Townsend  
Labor correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Miami Beach

American labor is seriously concerned about the possible impact abroad of revelations that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has channeled "spy funds" to unions through foundations. It deprecates the "use of labor" for CIA activities.

The CIA was established by Congress in 1947 to coordinate intelligence activities of all government departments and agencies. It's a top-secret body, operating under the National Security Act. It answers to the National Security Council and the President — and to nobody else. Its budget of about \$500 million a year doesn't show up formally anywhere, and there is no public accounting for its expenditures.

Under its authorization, CIA can "perform for the benefit of the existing intelligence agencies such additional services of common concern as the National Security Council determines can be more efficiently accomplished centrally."

## Subsidies traced

Recent disclosures — in what labor describes as "a new McCarthyism in reverse, a McCarthyism of the left" — have traced "additional services" to subsidies given, through foundations, to student, labor, church, and other organizations working abroad against communism. Reports of this have jolted labor; it fears that its own union-financed work will be hurt.

For years, American labor has been conducting worker-to-worker campaigns all over the world to promote free and democratic unionism. About one-third of all AFL-CIO income goes to finance international campaigns and programs. Unions, the United Automobile Workers (UAW) in the fore, spend additional millions of dollars annually to help free labor and to develop union movements in developing and underdeveloped nations.

This is labor's own money and it is spent (some in labor's ranks quarrel about how wisely) as labor's leaders in Washington, Detroit, and elsewhere see fit.

Some goes to help unions overseas finance organizing and bargaining efforts and to support strikes. Part pays for United States advisers assigned to help less sophisticated labor movements.

ment and maintenance of regional and worldwide labor federations—of automobile workers, metal workers, shipyard workers, seamen, and others. This is support by workers for workers who need United States help, AFL-CIO people say.

## Influence extensive

The work has been helpful—on both sides of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. UAW aid has been an important factor in the growth of auto unionism in Europe and Japan. Pay and standards for work have been increased and the differential between production costs abroad and in this country has been narrowed. The program under Walter P. Reuther, President of the UAW, and his brother, Victor Reuther, is still being expanded: The long-term objective is tightly linked worldwide automobile unionism.

The Communications Workers of America has been a powerful influence in postal, telephone, and telegraph unionism abroad. The Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union has a large staff working for international labor programs wherever there are oil fields and refineries. United States maritime unions are active in campaigns to raise worldwide employment standards for seamen; if there is a shipping strike anywhere, they are a supporting factor.

United States unions are affluent in varying degrees. Some like the UAW have millions of dollars in reserves. If a conference of world unions in the automobile industry is called anywhere, the UAW can pitch in to help less affluent unions abroad send representatives. Last year, the UAW picked up much of the expense for foreign unionists who attended conferences in this country. The International Union of Electrical Workers and other unions helped with the costs of delegates from electrical manufacturing unions abroad at meetings called in the United States. These were called to consider ways bargaining with General Electric and other big worldwide employers could be coordinated on an international basis.

## Exceptions subtle

However, there have been exceptions to this worker-to-worker aid. It has been subtle. Apparently, even American unions weren't aware of its source.

According to critics of CIA's work, the

Continued

*Pers. Thomas, Norman*
*Org. AFL-CIO*
*Org. American Fed. of State,  
County & Municipal Em-  
ployees*

## Curbing the C.I.A.

When so sophisticated a fighter for political and intellectual freedom as Norman Thomas finds himself a dupe of the Central Intelligence Agency, it becomes plain that no one can be sure what the outer limits of C.I.A. penetration have been—or, indeed, whether there were any outer limits.

Mr. Thomas headed an institute designed to foster left-wing democracy in Latin America; many members of its faculty were openly critical of United States policy. Yet, with no awareness by Mr. Thomas or his associates, most of the money to finance their activities was coming from C.I.A. through one of its foundation fronts.

From all indications, the agency never insinuated itself into the institute's operational structure; but it maintained no such detachment in other cases that have come to light. The most conspicuous was the revelation that the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes had, in effect, turned its International Affairs Department over to the C.I.A. in 1962 and 1963 to use as a base for strikes and other activities aimed at overthrowing Dr. Cheddi Jagan's Marxist regime in British Guinea.

The union's present president, Jerry Wurf, severed the C.I.A. tie soon after he took office in 1964. Mr. Wurf is an uncompromising anti-Communist, but he recognized the need for an unblurred line between his union and any imprint of Government domination. The A.F.L.-C.I.O., which ridiculed earlier reports of links between its overseas operations and the Intelligence Agency, has now decided it had better examine how separate the two really were.

All these developments make it essential that the report soon to be issued by President Johnson's Special Review Committee establish a clear and enforceable cut-off of clandestine C.I.A. support for nongovernmental organizations in education, labor, publishing and other fields. As long ago as 1960 a study group headed by former Assistant Secretary of Defense Mansfield D. Sprague recommended liquidation of such programs, with no affirmative response at the White House level.

The break should be conclusive now. The C.I.A. has many vital jobs to perform, but subverting domestic institutions is not one of them.

*CIA 2-04.2 labor groups*

*Pres. Meany, George  
Pres. Brown, Irving  
Org. 1 AFL-CIO.*

FEB 27 1967

**Meany Promises  
Probe of Funds**

By Scripps-Howard Newspapers

MIAMI BEACH, Feb. 27. — George Meany has promised to investigate personally, charges that some AFL-CIO unions and officials have received Central Intelligence Agency funds.

Obviously nettled by newspaper reports of such dealings, Mr. Meany denied them vigorously. He appeared particularly sensitive about a recent column charging that Jay Lovestone, Mr. Meany's long-time adviser on international

affairs, had been a conveyor belt for CIA funds to foreign labor groups.

With a shaking voice and a stabbing index finger for emphasis, Mr. Meany declared:

"Here's something to put in your pipe. You can turn this thing upside down, but no matter how you look at it, Jay Lovestone has nothing to do with the CIA and never has. That you can bet on."

The column also listed Irving Brown, veteran AFL-CIO representative abroad, as another conduit for CIA money.

Mr. Meany made no disclaimer for him, when asked whether his remarks about Mr. Lovestone also applied to Mr. Brown.

"My remarks were in reference to Jay Lovestone," said the AFL-CIO head cryptically.

*Pers. Pearson, Drew*

*Arg. 1 AFL-CIO*

*Pers. Reuther, Victor*

*Mrs. Reuther, Walter*

*Arg. 1 AIFLD*

*CIA 2-04.2 labor groups*

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

# Threat of Labor Split Laid to CIA Cash

By Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson

Inside reason why the giant AFL-CIO labor combine is on the verge of breaking up is because of Central Intelligence money secretly pumped into its "International Affairs Department."

President George Meany has denied that the AFL-CIO receives CIA money; but it does. Furthermore, part of the money is used to follow foreign policy exactly opposite to that of President Johnson.

Backstage story of the CIA battle inside the labor federation goes back to May 22, when Victor Reuther, brother of the president of the United Automobile Workers and head of the Auto Workers' International Affairs Department, charged that Central Intelligence money was "involved" in the AFL-CIO.

Victor stated that AFL foreign affairs activities "are a vest-pocket operation run by J. Lovestone . . . who seems to have brought into the labor movement the working habits and undercover techniques which he learned when he was in the highest echelons of the Communist Party. I guess it's awfully hard to break those habits."

AFL supporters of Lovestone immediately saw red, especially Joe Beirne, head of the Communications Workers. Beirne wrote a letter to Meany demanding that Victor Reuther

be disciplined. Meany referred the matter to the next AFL-CIO Executive Council, and Walter Reuther, brother of Victor, countered by asking for a review of all the Meany-Lovestone foreign policies during recent years, which included opposition to cultural exchanges with East European Communist countries and opposition to trade with Russia.

## Reuther Is Slapped

At this point it looked as if there might be a bitter cat-and-dog fight between powerful labor executives just on the eve of a congressional election in which united labor support was needed for the re-election of liberal Congressmen.

So Walter Reuther—reportedly at the suggestion of the White House—approached Meany with a proposition that the review of AFL-CIO foreign policy be postponed until after the November election. Meany agreed. He told Reuther to propose such a resolution at the upcoming Executive Council meeting. "I will second it," he said.

But at the meeting, held Aug. 22, Jay Lovestone proposed a surprise resolution which endorsed Meany's entire foreign policy for the postwar years.

The vote on the Lovestone resolution was 21 to 2, with only Walter Reuther and Joe

Curran, president of the Maritime Union, opposing it.

Meanwhile, Joe Beirne had submitted a report to the Executive Council attempting to slap down Victor Reuther's criticism of CIA funds.

Beirne particularly defended the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), which has spent tens of millions of dollars in Latin America, most of it from the CIA since it receives only about \$200,000 annually from the AFL-CIO and about \$280,000 from business executives such as Peter Grace of the Grace steamship lines.

## Meany Gets Slapped

Earlier, Meany had tried to withdraw American support from the International Labor Office because the ILO, with headquarters in Geneva, had elected a Polish president—a Communist.

The International Labor Office is the oldest international organization, having been started by the League of Nations 20 years before the founding of the United Nations. For many years Communist nations boycotted it, but they affiliated in 1945 when the U.N. was created. It has been the opinion of David Morse, head of the U.S. delegation to the ILO, and of Jim Carey, former head of the United Electrical Workers, that the Communist labor unions were becoming more

independent of their governments and leaning more toward the type of trade unionism existing in the West.

However, Meany called a meeting April 8, 1965, after the ILO had elected a Polish Communist as president, and recommended that the United States not send a delegation to the ILO that year. Carey vigorously disagreed.

In a showdown vote Carey won; one of the few times Meany has been overruled.

One of the gripes which the Reuther brothers have against the Meany-Lovestone-CIA foreign policy is that they swing their weight behind dictatorships in Latin America and use CIA funds to do so.

In the Dominican Republic, Meany was dead opposed to President Juan Bosch, and it was AFL-CIO confederates, backed by CIA money either directly or indirectly, who helped to oust Bosch.

Later, during the 1966 election, Meany and Lovestone again swung their influence, backed by CIA money, to defeat Bosch.

In Brazil, AFL-CIO agents, backed by CIA money, helped overthrow President Joao Goulart in 1964.

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*Drew Pearson will predict what the House will do on congressional ethics as a result of the Powell case at 8:40 p.m. today over Radio WTOP.*

**CONDUITS GAVE AID TO LABOR SCHOOL**

**Cornell Affiliate Received Foundations' \$288,500**

By E. W. KENWORTHY  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 25—From 1961 to 1963, the School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University received a total of \$289,500 that was channeled through foundations previously identified as conduits for the Central Intelligence Agency.

Returns filed with the Internal Revenue Service by the Marshall Foundation of Houston show that the foundation contributed \$94,000 to the school in 1961, \$120,500 in 1962, and \$75,000 in 1963.

The same returns also show that the money for these contributions came to the Marshall Foundation from the Beacon Fund, the Borden Trust, the Price Fund, the Edsel Fund and the Tower Fund.

All except the Tower Fund were identified as involved in "foreign relations of the C.I.A." during the hearings in 1964 of the Foundations Subcommittee of the House Select Committee on Small Business, of which Representative Wright-Patman, Democrat of Texas, is chairman.

The Tower Fund has figured prominently in the revelations of the last week of intelligence agency subsidies to educational and research organizations. Informed officials have said that it, too, was a "front" foundation.

**Unaware of Conduit Funds**

The trustees of the Marshall Foundation are Douglas B. Marshall, W. Oscar Neuhaus and Corbin J. Robertson. Effort to reach these trustees for comment were unsuccessful.

However, Vernon Jensen, associate dean of the industrial and labor relations school, which is a part of the State University of New York and is supported by the state, said he was not aware that the money had come through intelligence agency conduit foundations to the Marshall Foundation.

The money, he explained, was used to finance a project called the International Labor Training Program. Under this program, union officials or members who were deemed able to carry on college work and who were interested in the international activities of their unions were subsidized for two semesters at a rate equal to that for graduate students with families.

Over the three years, Mr. Jensen said, about 10 persons were in each of the two groups that formed the program each year. Many of the union members, he said, supplemented courses in the industrial and labor school with courses at Cornell.

Union Chiefs On Council  
The project had an advisory council, Mr. Jensen said, composed of four union leaders and four faculty members.

The four union leaders were Joseph A. Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America; George Harrison, president emeritus of the Railway Clerks; Lee W. Minton, president of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association, and Michael Ross, now dead, who was then director of international affairs for the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Mr. Beirne, Mr. Harrison and Mr. Minton, reached at the A.F.L.-C.I.O. convention in Bal Harbour, Fla., all said they were unaware of any intelligence organization connection with the program and thought the money came from the university itself.

Mr. Harrison said he remembered only one meeting of the advisory council to talk about the curriculum.

"I'm not disturbed about it at all," he said upon learning of the agency connection. "This is a hell of a lot to do about nothing."

**Lovestone Denies Knowledge**

Mr. Harrison is chairman of the International Affairs Committee of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Jay Lovestone, now director of the labor organization's International Affairs Department, said he knew nothing about the operation in Ithaca or its financing.

Mr. Jensen said the school ended the program three years ago because "it just felt this was enough." But he said he thought the university was unaware of the original sources of the funds.

Over the three years, the Marshall Foundation received \$475,750 from the "dummy" foundations.

Other organizations that received contributions in the three years from the Marshall Foundation were: American Friends of the Middle East, \$65,000; African American Institute, \$25,000; Christianform Inc., \$25,000; People-to-People, Inc., \$4,000, and the Vernon Fund, \$52,250.

The National Education Association this week acknowledged that it had received money from the Vernon Fund of Washington, which is not listed in the telephone directory.

*Approved for Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9 E. W.*

- Org. 1 Cornell University*
- Org. 1 School of Industrial & Labor Relations*
- Org. 1 Intl. Labor Training Program*
- Org. 1 AFL-CIO*
- CIA 2-04.2 labor groups*

*Pers. Levey, Stanley*  
*Rev. Meany, George*  
*CIA 2-04.2 Labour*  
*Org. 1 AFL-CIO*

Front Page    Edit Page    Other Page

12

DENVER, COLO.  
ROCKY MOUNTAIN  
NEWS  
M-195,870  
S-193,057

FEB 25 1967

12—ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS  
Sat. Feb. 25, 1967, Denver, Colo.

# Meany Denies Union Given CIA Funds

By STANLEY LEVEY  
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

MIAMI BEACH, Feb. 24—George Meany has promised to investigate personally charges that some AFL-CIO Unions and officials have received Central Intelligence Agency Funds.

The AFL-CIO president would not go into detail about his inquiry, nor would he say what he would do with his findings. But he is already on record as opposing any connection between unions and the CIA.

Obviously nettled by newspaper reports of such dealings, Meany denied them vigorously. He appeared particularly sensitive about a recent column by the syndicated writers Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson charging that Jay Lovestone, Meany's long-time adviser on international affairs, had been a conveyor belt for CIA funds to foreign labor groups.

With a shaking voice and a stabbing index finger for emphasis, Meany declared:

"Here's something to put in your pipe. You can turn this thing upside down, but no matter how you look at it, Jay Lovestone has nothing to do with the CIA and never has. That you can bet on."



Levey

The Pearson-Anderson column also listed Irving Brown, veteran AFL-CIO representative abroad, as another conduit for CIA money. Meany made no disclaimer for him, when asked whether his remarks about Lovestone also applied to Brown.

"My remarks were in reference to Jay Lovestone," said the AFL-CIO Head cryptically.

Meany was scathing in his allusions to Pearson. He called him "a liar by choice" and said he paid no attention to him. Pearson had said the CIA paid about \$100 million a year to organized labor, "probably the biggest fund dished out by the central intelligence to anyone."

As the AFL-CIO executive council wound up a week of meetings here without Walter Reuther, who resigned as a vice president three weeks ago, Meany expressed the hope that Reuther would rejoin the club.

FREE PRESS

M - 509,410  
S - 555,779.

FEB 25 1967.



Meany



Reuther

# Meany Takes Jab At Reuther

BY PATRICK J. OWENS  
Free Press Labor Writer

MIAMI BEACH — George Meany has pictured Walter P. Reuther as a drag on the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

But the council is not a social club, the AFL-CIO President said Friday, and Meany would like Reuther to return to it.

Though charity-coated, the insult was expected to worsen relations between the AFL-CIO and Reuther's United Auto Workers.

THE EXECUTIVE council Friday named William Pollock, 67, president of the Textile Workers Union of America, to succeed Reuther on the council.

Following Meany's lead, the council rejected a request by Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, to leave the Reuther seat vacant.

Instead, Meany and the council have a commitment from George Burdon, ousted Rubber Workers president, to resign his council seat if Reuther should have a change of heart.

Reuther quit the council Feb. 3.

Curran wanted the Reuther seat left vacant until after a UAW convention in Detroit in April when the UAW will amend its constitution to permit withdrawal from the AFL-CIO.

He argued with other council members in private talks that this might help keep the UAW in the AFL-CIO.

MEANY HAS been in a relatively benevolent and soft-spo-

ken mood all week. But he got his dander up at a press conference Friday when he was asked about Central Intelligence Agency involvement in AFL-CIO unions.

The Drew Pearson column in Friday morning's Free Press charged that the CIA pays \$100 million a year to organized labor. Pearson said Jay Lovestone, a fierce anti-communist sometimes called Meany's minister of foreign affairs, allows no ICA money to be spent without his approval and (with Meany follows policies that are the direct opposite of those of the U.S. government.

But Meany said Pearson was a "liar by choice" and "the truth is not in him." And he said emphatically that Lovestone, AFL-CIO director of international affairs, "has nothing to do with the CIA and never has had — that you can bet on."

Meany did say that he would look into CIA involvement in labor unions, but it appeared that his inquiry would be informal.

Meany told reporters that it was his "candid opinion" that the executive council had done unusually well at Miami Beach this week because Reuther was absent.

"I think the discussions were very productive," Meany said. "And I don't know . . . sometimes some of our members don't talk when Walter is there. I don't know why."

ASKED IF REUTHER contributed to "brainstorming" in the council, Meany answered:

"You know, we had a golf game a week or two ago. We had five and we were going to a course where only four were allowed. One fellow didn't show up. So when I met him, I said he had made a great con-

tribution to our game by not showing up."

Meany said he wanted Reuther on the council because "I believe in labor unity." He said he hoped the UAW would stay in the AFL-CIO.

Asked if he would speak at the UAW's April convention, he said: "If I'm invited, sure." But Meany made it clear that his feelings about Reuther's value aren't personal.

"It is my feeling . . . as president of the AFL-CIO and I don't see why I have to make it a personal feeling. This is not a social club."

MEANY NAMED I. W. Abel, president of the United Steel Workers union, to succeed Reuther as chairman of the AFL-CIO economic policy committee.

It was an unusual choice, because Abel has admired Reuther and the two have sought to bring the steel workers and the UAW closer together.

Pollock, Reuther's successor on the executive council, is expected to champion southern organizing and the problems of poor workers.

Meany had no comfort for James R. Hoffa, president of the Teamsters Union. The executive council adopted a resolution attacking electronic eavesdropping and supporting President Johnson's bill to limit wiretapping.

Meany was asked if he was concerned about the violation of Hoffa's rights by federal investigators.

"Do you mean Jimmy Hoffa's right to put bugs in his own office building in Detroit?" Meany answered.

The executive council also: ● Said it "unhesitatingly supports President Johnson in his determination not to call off unilaterally the bombing of North Vietnamese military targets." The policy statement lumped "Hanoi, Moscow and Peking" as unresponsive to peace appeals.

● Endorsed the U.S.-Soviet consular treaty now before the Senate. The endorsement was a surprise because the AFL-CIO regularly takes a conservative position on the Soviet Union.

● Requested congressional investigation of auto insurance rates and prescription drug and food prices.

*Mrs. Owens, Patrick J.  
Mrs. Mary, George  
Orig. AFL-CIO  
CIA 2-042 Labauer*



Feb. 25, 1967

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

Vers. Brenna, Tony  
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CIA 2-04.2  
newspaper  
Orig. Inquirer

# o Guild Irresponsibly Smeared

## By CIA Story, Leader Claims

### Rosenstock Defends Programs To Help Foreign Journalists

By Tony Brenna

Arthur Rosenstock, president of the American Newspaper Guild, declared himself to be "shocked and amazed" at the implications being drawn from the allegation that the Guild has been engaged in a broad international program since 1960 through a subsidy of nearly \$1-million supplied by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Rosenstock told E&P the whole story was now being used "to blacken the name of the Guild which has done a fine job with its international program," and was providing a "field-day for muck-rakers and character assassins."

He took particular exception to columns written by Pete Hamill in the *New York Post* — the newspaper where Rosenstock works as a librarian — and by Jimmy Breslin in the *World Journal Tribune*.

(Hamill wrote: "Arthur Rosenstock, president of the Guild, says that he knows nothing of the CIA's involvement. If that is true, he should resign immediately . . ." Breslin charged the Guild with having "been caught running the most outright red-light house the newspaper business ever has seen.")

"Such comments typify the irresponsible conclusions that are being drawn from this still unproven allegation of CIA money being used to finance our overseas operations," said Rosenstock. "Let me tell you — and I can't say it strongly enough — as president of the Guild I can say categorically that there was no indication that the foundation grants for Latin American programs and other overseas operations came from the CIA. And, what's more, anyone who tries to suggest that such money was used to influence, to control or to make us influence foreign newsmen, is utterly wrong . . ."

The Guild's president continued: "I have attended many overseas congresses and meetings. Their sole and entire purpose was to help teach foreign journalists the fundamentals of their crafts and to help them form unions to better their working conditions. It is ridiculous to suggest otherwise."

"When we set up our international program in 1960 we had plenty of experience of political activity within our own union. We threw the Commies out of the Guild nationally in 1945 and out of the New York Guild in 1947.

"I would agree that in setting up our international program we did not want to see communist influences take over journalistic activity in Latin America. The Communist-controlled International Organization of Journalists was spending tens of millions of dollars on a world-wide basis to gain control of newspaper unions and workers in emergent nations.

"Sure, we needed finance, but we weren't going to any federal spy agency for it . . . the Guild through its officers in Washington wrote to Funds and received support. As far as I know those funds supported our program on a no-strings-attached basis. That's why I'm shocked and amazed by the implications which are now being drawn . . ."

From Washington, Charles A. Perlick Jr., Guild secretary-treasurer, told E&P: "In the international labor movement, one of the subjects always being discussed is how to get money to finance operations. When we decided to expand our international program we drew up a list of funds likely to be of help, then wrote to them stating our case. There was no indication at that time, nor since, that the funds now being described as CIA conduits were interested in

anything other than providing finance."

Earlier, a statement from the Guild's executive officers said: "Initial assistance was sought and received from the AFL-CIO and from the Solidarity Fund of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Letters requesting assistance were addressed to approximately 50 American funds and foundations."

"Through January 31, 1967, financial assistance totaling \$1,004,000.00 has been received by the Guild, and used solely for its international affairs program, from the labor movement (\$10,000) and from five foundations, the Granary Fund of Boston (\$200,000), the Andrew Hamilton Fund of Philadelphia (\$90,000), the Broad-High Foundation of Columbus, O. (\$343,000), the Chesapeake Foundation of Baltimore (\$328,000) and the Warden Trust of Cleveland (\$33,000). The first two terminated their assistance in 1963 and 1964, respectively; the others have made grants within the past year . . ."

"The Guild has no knowledge that any of the money came from the Central Intelligence Agency or any other U.S. or other government source. The Guild has never used its international affairs program as a forum to deliver anything but its trade union message. No one has sought to have it do otherwise."

The Guild's statement (issued Feb. 18) also said that the union was inquiring into the published allegations and would "immediately terminate its association with any foundation found to be linked to the CIA, and, if necessary, will seek alternative sources of financial assistance to carry on its overseas program through free and democratic trade union processes."

First step in the investigation, said Perlick, would be direct inquiries to the "funds in question." He did not know how long the probe would take. Asked if the Guild would go directly to the CIA if the information was not obtainable directly from the Funds, Perlick

said, "I really don't know at this stage; anyway, who ever got anything out of the CIA?"

Guild headquarters was critical of a story published in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* which quoted William J. Farson, executive vicepresident, as saying that there was a possibility that the money might have been intended to influence foreign journalists to pro-American points of view. This report was described by Guild officers as "inaccurate," and "unfortunately, given wide coverage in Europe."

Farson, a former Philadelphia newspaper employe, was also reported as saying: "I can tell you this, if any foundation ever tried to influence our work, we would not accept contributions from them. In any case, these reports make it practically impossible for us to continue our international work. Anything we proposed now would be suspect. The only thing left to do is to pull out."

#### In Officers' Reports

Guild spokesman, in conversation with E&P, did not indicate that so far there had been widespread condemnation among the union's membership of the Guild's alleged utilization of government money. They described a protesting telegram from *New York Times* Guild members as having "a mere three signatures." They said there had been no official communication from *New York News* members who were reported to be starting a petition requiring national officers to call a general membership meeting to explain the Guild's asserted links. The petition, which was posted on the newsroom bulletin board, declared that the allegation had "misdemeaned the reputation of American journalism throughout the world."

The telegram from Times staffers charged Guild officers with violating the union constitution by failing to list the foundation grants in general accounts audits in the *Guild Reporter*, the union newspaper.

Perlick said the officers had interpreted the constitution as not requiring them to list the grants in general audits. The grants were included in officers' reports to the ANG convention, through regular reports to quarterly meetings of the International Executive board, and through periodic stories in the *Guild Reporter* which went to all members.

*Pers. Bernstein, Harry*  
*Org. 1 AFL-CIO*  
*Pers. Meany, George*  
*CIA 2-04-2 Labor*

Part I—SAT., FEB. 25, 1967 Los Angeles Times \*

# Meany to Investigate Charges of CIA Links

## Unionist Also Offers a Somewhat Barbed Olive Branch to Walter Reuther's UAW

BY HARRY BERNSTEIN  
 Times Labor Editor

BAL HARBOUR, Fla.—AFL-CIO President George Meany Friday started his own private investigation of charges that labor unions are linked to the Central Intelligence Agency.

At the same time, he offered a somewhat barbed olive branch to Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers.

The head of the 13.5-million-member labor federation again flatly denied "any knowledge whatsoever" of CIA ties to unions, saying the only information he has comes from news stories which have reported that several unions are getting CIA funds.

### Reply to Pearson

Told that columnist Drew Pearson estimated that \$100 million a year was going to unions for CIA activities, Meany said:

"Drew is a liar by choice. The truth is not in him."

Meany also replied angrily to reports that the key labor figure in the CIA link to unions is Jay Lovestone, head of the AFL-CIO International Affairs Department. He said:

Lovestone "has nothing to do with the CIA, and that you can bet on!"

Meany said that if any

CIA money has gone to AFL-CIO unions, "I'm opposed to it."

He said that based on the newspaper reports and "the stories going around," he is starting his own investigation of the situation.

The barbed olive branch approach to the UAW started when Meany announced that William Pollack, 67, president of the Textile Workers of America, was unanimously elected to fill the post of AFL-CIO vice president, from which Reuther resigned last month.

### Curran Proposal

Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, proposed that the Reuther spot be left open to ease the way for his return and to help prevent a UAW withdrawal from the AFL-CIO when the auto workers hold their special convention April 20 in Detroit.

Meany said he would gladly address the UAW convention if invited, that he hopes the 1.4-million-member union does not leave the AFL-CIO, and that he would like to see Reuther return as vice president.

The reason for this, he said, is the obvious need for unity in the labor movement.



"Take it off—take it off—!"

FEB 25 1967

Pres. Meany, George

Ok. 1. A.F.L.-C.I.O.

CIA 2-04.2 labor

## MEANY TO STUDY C.I.A.-LABOR TIES

**A.F.L.-C.I.O. Head Opposed  
to Subsidies by Agency**

Special to The New York Times

BAL HARBOUR, Fla. Feb. 24—George Meany said today he would look into the allegations that some A.F.L.-C.I.O. unions received financial support from the Central Intelligence Agency.

The president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations was responding to a question at a news conference after reasserting his opposition to the subsidization of trade union activities by the Federal agency.

Mr. Meany said that he had no knowledge of any affiliated union's having received any funds, directly or indirectly, from the agency. But he said later that "I can assure you that I will look into it."

The labor leader said he would investigate by "asking questions here and there." He said he did not "think it will take too long to get what information I want to get."

But he declined to elaborate on how he would go about the investigation. He said he would not make the results public.

Mr. Meany heatedly denied that Jay Lovestone, the labor federation's director of international affairs, had ever been involved with the intelligence agency.

He called the columnist Drew Pearson a "liar" for having alleged that Mr. Lovestone had taken orders from the agency.

FEB 25 1967

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

*Pers. Levey, Stanley*  
*Meany, George*  
*Org. 1 AFL-CIO*

# MEANY PROBES CIA 'AID TO UNIONS'

By STANLEY LEVEY  
*World Journal Tribune Special*

MIAMI BEACH, Feb. 25—George Meany has promised to investigate personally charges that some AFL-CIO unions and officials have received Central Intelligence Agency funds.

The AFL-CIO president would not go into detail about his inquiry, nor would

he say what he would do with his findings. But he is already on record as opposing any connection between unions and the CIA.

Obviously nettled by newspaper reports of such dealings, Meany denied them vigorously. He appeared particularly sensitive about a recent column by the syndicated writers Drew Pearson

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With a shaking voice and a stabbing index finger for emphasis, Meany declared: "Here's something to put in your pipe. You can turn this thing upside down, but

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*Scripps-Howard Newspapers*

*CIA 2-04.2 labor argu.*  
*Pers. Pearson, Drew*

*Mrs. Kiesel, Victor*  
*Bob Kiesel, Labor groups*

Inside Labor

**CIA Was Piker,  
Labor Spent More**



*Org. 1 AFL-CIO*  
*Org. 1 ICFTU*  
*Org. 1 UAW Intl.*  
*Free World Labor*  
*Defense Fund*

By VICTOR RIESEL

WASHINGTON, D. C. — It's about time this whole spy story came in out of the cold. The Central Intelligence Agency may have thrown in a few coppers for "cover" and "front" action. But CIA's expenditure is penny and two poker compared with the millions being spent by American labor to do CIA's and the State Dept.'s tasks around the world.

A rough estimate, from the the inside, has it that U.S. labor chiefs have poured some \$50 million of their unions' money onto the international front since the big war ended in the whimper of 1945.

This is no typographical error — I mean \$50 million. This gold flow goes into organizations virtually unknown to our citizenry — outfits whose delegations have become the new jet set. I've met them in the Hotel Ethiopia in Addis Ababa one week and in Karaca's Hotel Metropole a few months later.

They've operated from the tip of Manhattan to the tip of Chile. They go under such names as the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the International Transport Workers Federation, the International Metalworkers (Detroit, Mexico City, Caracas, Geneva, Frankfurt and on to Tokyo), The International Telephone and Telegraph secretariat, the International Oil Workers Federation, etc., etc.

Most active is America's only labor leader ever to be profiled by William Manchester, meaning Walter Reuther, not George Meany. Reuther and his younger brother Victor hedgehop the world.

In a few weeks Reuther will fly to the headquarter city of most international planning — Brussels. That's where the action is. That's where the ICFTU

The CIA has been charged with contributing a few pennies to this ICFTU—one of the most effective infighters against the Communist apparat. If the ICFTU leaders took the money, they're greedy.

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this has been going on for decades.

This money springs from the \$3 million spent abroad annually (and on its International Affairs Dept.) by the AFL-CIO.

Furthermore, there are at least 20 national unions with similar international departments — such as the United Auto Workers. The Reuthers are authorized to spend the interest of its mammoth strike fund on such action ranging from its home city to Tokyo. And the strike fund stood at over \$3 million on Dec. 31.

Much of the foreign affairs money is spent by the UAW International Free World Labor Defense Fund. It goes underground in Spain and overground to help Domei, the AFL-CIO's counterpart in Japan.

And why should the American unions not spend such money? The Soviets' World Federation of Trade Unions, located in Prague, spends more. And the Chinese Communists are not too busy massacring themselves or culturally bloodletting to finance undercover labor operatives across the world.

Just to pick one Communist objective, the Dominican Republic, as an example, there is the case of Julio Pena Valdez, secretary general of the left wing labor federation Foupaa-Cesitrado.

Mr. Riesel

Last Dec. 21, Senor Pena Valdez was arrested at the Santo Domingo airport. He had just jetted in from the WFTU "congress" in Budapest. He had gone as a delegate from the Foupaa-Cesitrado.

On him was \$3,000 in cash—quite a bundle on the island. On Jan. 19, 1967, he publicly resigned from the 14th of June Castroite movement, stating he was joining the pro-Peking MPD — Popular Dominican Movement. On Jan. 20, the 14th of June Movement accused Valdez of "losing" \$10,000, saying he should have had \$13,000 on him when arrested.

There is Fernando De La Rosa - Foupaa - Cesitrado Secretary of Education — who was arrested in Venezuela also as he returned from Budapest—though by a circuitous route. The Venezuelans returned him to the Dominican authorities along with the documents found sewn into his clothing. These papers turned out to be detailed plans for the launching of guerilla warfare inside the Dominican Republic.

FEB 23 1967

Orig. 1 AFL-CIO

Pers. Reuther, Walter

CIA 2-04.2 labor organs.

**Why Not Call It AFL-CIA?**

Walter Reuther may have isolated himself from the rest of organized labor.

No member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council is backing him in his fight with George Meany. Former associates in the old CIO don't agree with his charges or his tactics, even in private.

Few labor leaders thought, at the start of the squabble, that Mr. Reuther would pull his United Auto Workers out of the Federation. Now some think he will have to secede to save face.

Some comments:

Jacob Potofsky, president Amalgamated Clothing Workers: "Reuther is very able but he couldn't wait. He was in too much of a hurry." (Mr. Reuther is almost 60, Mr. Meany, 72).

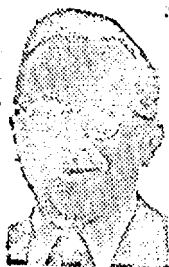
David Dubinsky, former president International Ladies Garment Workers' Union: "When it comes to a choice between George Meany and Walter Reuther, I have to go with Meany."

NOTE: AFTER DISCLOSURE THAT SOME LABOR UNIONS WERE GETTING CIA FUNDS, WAGS AT AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING SUGGESTED THE NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION BE CHANGED TO AFL-CIA.

Mrs. Herling, John  
 Pers. Wirtz, Willard  
 Pers. Meany, George

## Labor and the CIA

By John Herling



**B**AL HARBOUR, Fla., Feb. 24 — An unwelcome item on the unofficial agenda of the AFL-CIO Executive Council this week is the question of alleged relations between the AFL-CIO and the Central Intelligence Agency. Secretary of Labor Wirtz and AFL-CIO President Meany were asked about the matter, and both refused to talk about it directly on grounds of lack of information.

But Mr. Wirtz enthusiastically stressed American labor's important role in the subtle diplomacy of identifying with the needs and aspirations of the developing countries. All such relations that he knew about, however, he stressed were open and aboveboard.

For his part, Mr. Meany denied absolutely that the AFL-CIO ever received overtures from the CIA, and further said he would be opposed to having trade unions receive money from the CIA.

Here is the way Messers Wirtz and Meany handled the sticky problem which now has exploded upon the country.

Q. "Can you discuss the matter of government participation or co-operation with the activities of American trade unions abroad?"

SECRETARY WIRTZ: "There has been very extensive co-operation between the Federal Government as a whole and the labor movement as far as foreign relationships are concerned. I feel very strongly that the American labor union and its leaders probably represent the largest potential for diplomacy that we have. It is much easier for a newly developed country to identify with the history of the American labor movement than I think with any other element in the American experience and perhaps in the world experience. The American labor movement is a success story in gaining within a society, a national society, what most newly

developed countries are looking forward to in a world society. The ambassadors in overalls, from the American labor movement, I think, are probably among our most effective diplomats. And therefore, in connection with the programs we have worked out with Latin America as part of the Alliance for Progress, the programs that are being developed in Africa, involving both government and private participation and the relationships between the private labor organizations around the world and the foreign policies of these nations, I find a close working relationship, and one which is all to the public good."

Q. "In your reference to labor's international affairs, you referred to activities that are clearly know, well-known, and there is nothing furtive about them. Is that so?"

SECRETARY WIRTZ: "Yes, it is. My answer is limited entirely to that and I will speak nothing but the view of every single person in this country that we just don't like anything furtive, any of us..."

Q. "Mr. Meany, last week it was revealed that the CIA had indirectly financed international activities of the American Newspaper Guild. Now, do you support the CIA's involvement in this area, and are you aware—"

MEANY: "I know nothing about it, and I will not comment until I know something about it."

Q. "Has the AFL-CIO received any CIA money—"

MEANY: "Absolutely not!"

Q. "Have you, or to your knowledge, has anybody else, in official capacity in the AFL-CIO ever received any overtures from the CIA?"

MEANY: "No. None whatsoever."

Q. "Are you opposed to receiving such money from the CIA?"

MEANY: "Yes, I would be opposed to it."

*Victor Riesel, Editor*

Form 100-1  
1965 Rec/ Cites Page

Victor Riesel

*AFL-CIO*

*CIA 2-04.2 Labour*

PHILADELPHIA, PA.  
INQUIRER

M - 603,438  
S - 933,643

# Labour's Anti-Red Expenditures

## How the CIA and State Dept. Spend Money

FEB 24 1967

WASHINGTON. IT'S ABOUT time this whole spy story came in out of the cold. The Central Intelligence Agency may have thrown in a few coppers for "cover" and "front" action. But the CIA's expenditure is penny-a-nte poker compared with the millions being spent by American labor to do CIA's and the State Department's tasks around the world.

A rough estimate, from the inside, has it that U. S. labor chiefs have poured some \$50-million of their unions' money onto the international front since the big war ended in the whimper of 1945.

This is no typographical error—I mean \$50 million. This gold flow goes into organizations virtually unknown to our citizenry—outfits whose delegations have become the new jet set. I've met them in the Hotel Ethiopia in Addis Ababa one week and in Karachi's Hotel Metropole a few months later.

They've operated from the tip of Manhattan to the tip of Chile. They go under such names as the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the International Transport Workers Federation, the International Metalworkers (Detroit, Mexico City, Geneva, Frankfurt and on to Tokyo), The International Telephone and Telegraph secretariat, the International Oil Workers Federation, etc., etc.

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And why should the American unions not spend such money? The Soviets' World Federation of Trade Unions, located in Prague, spends more. And the Chinese Communists are not to busy mas- sacking themselves or culturally bloodletting to finance undercover labor operatives across the world.

Somebody had to match the Soviet Union at first and Peking later. So the labor movement did—and at least Willy Brandt, Foreign Minister and Vice Chancellor of the West German Republic; Kenneth Kaunda, president of Zambia; Habib Bourguiba, president of Tunisia; President Guisepe Saragat and Deputy Prime Minister Pietro Nenni of Italy owe their lives and high positions to the American labor movement.



ILLEGIB

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

HERALD

W. 178,553  
S. 283,819  
FEB 21 1967

*George*  
Cy. 1 AFL-CIO

CIA 2-04.2 Labour



(AP Wirephoto)

**THINKING MAN** — AFL-CIO President George Meany blows a puff of smoke as he thinks over a question thrown to him at the news conference at Miami Beach regarding CIA activity in the labor organization. Meany said he is opposed to CIA funds and the labor group has not accepted any.

## Meany Warns CIA Not to Use Labor

BAL HARBOUR, Fla.—George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, spoke out strongly Monday against any effort by the Central Intelligence Agency to use or subsidize the labor movement.

Meany's denunciation of any such practice or intention followed disclosures during the past week indicating that the American Newspaper Guild, the Retail Clerks International Association, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and a wide assortment of non-labor groups had received money from foundations identified as channels for CIA funds.

### MONDAY NEW CONFERENCE

At a news conference Meany was asked whether the labor or funds from the CIA.

"Absolutely not," Meany declared emphatically.

He said that he was opposed to unions receiving money from the CIA or from foundations that were serving as conduits for the intelligence agency.

"I suppose it's just my natural ingrained opposition to spy activities. I think the CIA has a job to do but it can do it without using or subsidizing the labor movement."

Meany said the CIA clearly had a responsibility to carry out its assigned role in a world in which every country is trying to find out what other countries are doing in the defense area. The U.S., he said, must have a CIA, but he added that he felt he could not pass judgment at this time on whether the recent disclosures were a service or a disservice to the country.

*Pers. Kuppinec*  
*by J. RFL-C10*  
*CIA 2-04.2 labor*

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
SUN-TIMES

M - 538,870  
S - 661,622

FEB 21 1957



KUPCINET

### KUP'S COLUMN

MIAMI BEACH—Thanks to Joe E. Lewis, we have a roof over our heads at the Eden Roc Hotel. For a while it seemed that we'd have to pitch a tent on the oceanfront, so jam-packed is Miami Beach at this time. We came down here at the invitation of the Miami Beach Police and Firemen's Benevolent Assn. to en-

joy its annual gala for the third time. The local police and fire chiefs, Rocky Pomerance and D. C. (Doc) Kennett, could provide all the niceties, but no room at the inn. There simply wasn't a hotel reservation to be had.

THAT'S WHERE LEWIS ENTERED the picture. He heard of our plight and graciously offered his accommodations at the Eden Roc. Joe, who is spending the winter here to convalesce from a small stroke, was going up to New York to appear on the Ed Sullivan Show and didn't plan to return for a few days. His room would be our room. My wife and I are enjoying his hospitality, except for the fact that every half-hour or so another racetrack tout phones with a red-hot tip at Hialeah for Joe. We have been keeping tabs on the tips from touts and so far we're out \$55. (Note to Joe: Please remit.)

ON THE SUBJECT OF JOE E.'S CAREER: His legion of admirers who watched Lewis' performance on the Sullivan show Sunday—his first since suffering that stroke in Las Vegas, Nev.—are divided on whether he should continue. Some are urging Joe to retire; others are telling him he just needs a few more performances to sharpen up and he'll be as good as the old Joe E. Our personal plea to Lewis: Quit while you're ahead. Lewis has no financial problems, thanks to the fiduciary arrangements made for him long ago by his closest chum, U.S. District Court Judge Abraham Lincoln Maroyitz.



FRANK SINATRA

THE TALENT THAT TURNED UP for the police and firemen's benefit is an indication of how swingin' Miami Beach is at this time. Among the stars were Bob Hope, Frank Sinatra, Shecky Greene, Jackie Miles, Totie Fields, Pat Henry, Senor Wences, Don Rickles and Marion Colby. . . . Hope, accompanied by his favorite traveling companion, Chicago's Charlie Hogan, was an overnight visitor en route from Nassau to California. Typical of Ol' Ski Nose, he found time to play a benefit. Quote from Hope: "I love the smell in the air here. It's 40 per cent corned beef."

COMEDIAN JACKIE MASON, victim of a slugging here last week, implied to the press that he thought "friends of Frank Sinatra were responsible." (Mason's nightclub routine includes some digs at Sinatra.) Mason apparently had second thoughts and dispatched a two-page telegram to Sinatra, appearing at the Fontainebleau, in which he apologized for linking his name with the incident. . . . Mason, after a 10-day layoff and 13 stitches to close his wounds, resumes his appearances at the Saxony Hotel on Wednesday. He visited Harry's American Bar in the Eden Roc the other night, where comedian Don Rickles introduced him. "Jackie Mason," intoned Rickles, "is the only act being booked by the Red Cross."

EVEN SINATRA DOES SOME RIBBING about his 21-year-old wife Mia. He introduced her at the late show the other night (2 in the ayem) and then demanded, "Who gave you permission to stay up so late?" . . . The Sinatra-Shecky Greene show is the hottest ticket on the beach and is playing to turn-away crowds nightly. And the zany Shecky is holding his own in entertaining the cafe-goers who come to see Sinatra. . . . Frank, incidentally, plans to film his next movie, "Shamus," in Miami Beach.

AMONG THE MANY CHICAGOANS spotted at the police and firemen's gala was Bill Johnston, the horse and dog track mogul. Bill, recovering from a stroke, gets around in a wheelchair. . . . Another was the onetime "night mayor of Randolph St.," Joe (Stick and Slug) Sherman. . . . And Chicago's Arturo Petterino, the famous maitre d', is now a top executive at the Eden Roc Hotel. His ambition is to operate his own restaurant in Chicago. . . . Comedian Jackie Miles, thinnest male in show business, deadpans that he can't tell you how much he weighs: "I step on a scale and nothing moves."

MEMBERS OF THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, meeting here, were startled to read of the CIA's subsidization of some of their international programs. The stories bear out the complaints of Walter Reuther, long at odds with AFL-CIO president George Meany, that the "CIA has been dictating our union's foreign policy." . . . Chicago union leader Sidney Lens is another who registered complaints about the CIA influence in labor policy. . . . Sheila MacRae, estranged from hubby Gordon, is the constant companion here of Ronnie Wayne. He's producer of the Jackie Gleason TV show on which Sheila is a regular.

MEANWHILE, BACK HOME: The big snow is gone but not forgotten. The Edgewater Beach Hotel, on Thursday and Friday, will play host to all airline personnel who worked around the clock during the storm. The two-day party is being called "Operation Blizzard." . . . Actress Patti Gilbert and her ex, Henry, are locked in a legal hassle over child custody. She wants to move to California to further her career. He charges such a move will violate his visitation rights. Attorneys Norman Becker and Sanford (Bud) Wolff are trying to settle it amicably. . . . And Al Hamburg reports Lar Daly could make an excellent contribution to the political scene—"But he insists on running for office!"

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
SUN-TIMES

M - 538,870  
S - 661,622

FEB 21 1967

*Pres. Reddy, John*  
*Pres. Reuther, Walter*

*Org. 1 AFL-CIO*

*CIA 2-04.2 labor groups*

# Meany Denies

## AFL-CIO Received CIA Funds

By John Reddy  
Sun-Times Correspondent

BAL HARBOUR, Fla. — George Meany, president of the 13,500,000-member AFL-CIO, denied Monday that the Central Intelligence Agency contributes money to the labor federation.

Meany, during a press conference after the first session of the federation's 29-member executive council, added:

"I would be opposed to it because of my naturally ingrained opposition to spy activities."

He said he supports the purposes of the CIA, but he maintained that the AFL-CIO "shouldn't be helped from the outside."

Victor Reuther, whose brother Walter is president of the United Auto Workers, had charged that the American Institute of Free Labor had received CIA funds in the past.

### He Ought To Know

Meany explained that he once opposed a grant to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions from an institution about which he said he had doubts.

Meany said he would know if CIA money had been going to the JCFTU because he was "on the finance subcommittee and ought to know."

He was asked about the alleged acceptance of CIA funds by the American Newspaper Guild to promote professional newspaper editorial unions in Latin America. He said, "I knew nothing about it and will not comment."

Ly Lovestone, director of AFL-CIO international relations, said that involvement of

the CIA in American labor's overseas organizing efforts in the free world could only be a detriment.

### Reject Travel Money

"We resist it," he said. "We even reject money offered for transportation by the state Department when we travel overseas."

Lovestone, a strong anti-Communist, long has been cited as a combatant with Victor Reuther, president of the international affairs department of the United Auto Workers.

Earlier, Labor Sec. W. Willard Wirtz, here to seek labor support for a proposed federal Economic Affairs Department, refused to comment on the allegation of CIA involvement in the labor movement.

"I could not responsibly comment," he said.

Wirtz did say, however, he felt organized labor had an open role to play in advancing the cause of labor in "creating better international relations."

### Takes The Spotlight

The press conference focused on the CIA's possible involvement in the labor movement, resulting from recent disclosure that the intelligence agency has funneled funds into international student organization programs.

Meany's willingness to elaborate on his feelings about the CIA, after first saying he would not, upstaged the executives' rebuke of Walter Reuther.

In a prepared statement, adopted unanimously by the executive council, the AFL-CIO accused Reuther of failing to use "free and open in-

the American labor movement. Meany said that posts resigned by Reuther would be filled at the current meeting of the policymaking body.

Reuther and other UAW officers resigned key federation positions on Feb. 3 and a week later attacked the AFL-CIO leadership in a 7,000-word "bill of particulars."

### Denies A Feud

Meany said the only communication he has had with Reuther since sitting with him at a luncheon in January was to receive a copy of the UAW's administrative letter which detailed Reuther's and the UAW's complaints.

Referring to published accounts of a personality clash between himself and Reuther, Meany said:

"Let me make this crystal clear — this is no feud."

He added that he and Reuther, have "not had a cross word" in more than five years.

Asked if he could comment on the impact of the UAW's threatened withdrawal from the AFL-CIO, Meany said: "I can, but I won't."

Auto workers leaders have called a special convention in Detroit on April 20 to ask authority to disaffiliate with the federation.

On the Friday withdrawal of UAW local unions from the Chicago Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council, Meany said: "They've got a right to withdraw if they want to."

The executive council's statement appeared to leave the door open for Reuther to bring his complaints formally before the council.

"The officers and members of the executive council de-

the AFL-CIO to receive, consider, debate and act upon any complaint, charge, proposal or program—novel or ancient—that any affiliate . . . desires to advance and advocate."

The council expressed willingness to act on the matter "any time" and said it would call a special convention, if necessary.

The executive council action, Meany said, would not affect Reuther's position as president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department. The IUD is composed of 59 affiliated international unions with a total membership of 7,000,000.

The former New York plumber said he looked with disfavor on the proposed new Cabinet department to combine the activities of the present Commerce and Labor departments, along with some functions of other agencies. Meany said if other special-interest agencies are eliminated, "I presume we can live with it."

Wirtz, during his press conference, said he had not solicited a reaction from the executive council for support of the newly proposed Cabinet-level department.

He also told the labor leaders he would begin a review of their complaints about certain applications of the Landrum-Griffin Act. The federation's Maritime Trades Department last week charged that information given by unions in compliance with the act was being used by other government agencies.

ILLEGIB

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

*Miss. Russell, Union  
D. Eugene*

## Inside Labor

# CIA Works With Labor Leaders

By VICTOR RIESEL



Mr. Riesel

Certainly the Central Intelligence Agency and the American labor movement have cooperated.

Alliances between the intelligence communities and union federations are standard operating procedure in virtually all the free nations of the globe.

There must be such joint action in order to neutralize the Communist World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) headquarters in Prague. The WFTU is the "conduit of Communist money and manpower pouring into all continents in a drive to capture unions and sabotage democratic governments," former CIA Director Allen Dulles once told me.

Inside American labor, cooperations with the CIA privately is considered a badge of honor. There's been such intimate relations between the two apparatuses on a vast international front — and with labor leaders headquartered in Washington, New York, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco and even Denver.

Not too many years ago, for example, the CIA was directed to thwart heavily financed Communist efforts to seize oil workers unions in the Mideast. If the WFTU's Mohammedan section could have pulled this coup, the Soviets would have been in a position to throttle much of the oil and fuel flow to the entire free world.

The CIA did what comes naturally. It contacted U. S. labor leaders. This is not difficult for the CIA — it certainly has a fine labor division, organized in the late forties.

There was — and is — one small national union which was just the outfit to move into the fight. It did.

But during this period its erudite president came up for reelection. He won. It takes money to run union campaigns.

The incumbent obtained funds from labor sources, much the same as his colleagues found such financing available ever since the ladies garment workers' Dave Dubinsky helped Walter Reuther capture the Auto Workers back in 1946 in Atlantic City.

As a result of the victory of the CIA's friend, reports flared that

this campaign was financed by the "invisible government" — which even Arthur Schlesinger Jr. says does not exist.

The chap most responsible for spreading this story is the intense and didactic Victor Reuther, younger brother of the 59-year-old Walter.

Victor has spoken of it freely. He protests what he terms is CIA interference in the American labor movement.

Recently I discussed the matter with Sen. Fulbright. The gentleman from Arkansas says his Senate Foreign Relations Committee will probe the report.

The other day I talked with Sen. Eugene McCarthy. He asserted he would push for a probe of the story because he feels "CIA has gotten careless about domestic affairs."

"I'm concerned about the domestic CIA activities, said the to the international field alone.

"If the latter is true, I'm not concerned too much with foreign operations. But I want to know.

Probably the House Committee on Education and Labor will take a look, too, if some of its members, such as Frank Thompson, chairman of the Democratic Study Group, have their way. Many important "group" members are on the House committee and plan to push through such a probe.

They will find that American labor does not need CIA funds. The AFL-CIO headquarters down the street here spends over \$3 million yearly.

It helps to support such "action" as the African-American Labor Council from which Reuther has just resigned. This council is directed by the genial, one-man itinerant laborite "State-Dept." — Irving Brown. He has just returned from a 10-nation tour of French-speaking Africa — all the way from Dakar to Addis Ababa.

In Ethiopia Emperor Haile Selassie has pledged to donate 3,000 square meters on which the council will build a labor headquarters for CELU — Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions — which had two small offices and three typewriters. I was there. But it will be a free labor movement.

American labor action in par-  
oramic.

In Mombasa, Kenya, the international longshoremen have a dockwalloping team teaching the Africans how to run an efficient waterfront. In Nairobi there is an American-financed sewing factory; in Wampala, Uganda, there is a labor college; in Lagos there is a machine and automotive laborparts school; in Zambia the AFL-CIO is aiding President Kenneth Kaunda, one of the best friends the U. S. has.

In Latin-America, the council's counterpart launched by labor and management (GW) and the Grace Co., for example, is building three room which can be bought for \$380 down and \$24.18 a month.

Disease, hunger and hopelessness are fought as well as the Communists.

I have been there. I have spoken to the hopeless one year and found them strong, free men the next. In all this, the CIA is of no importance. Only humanity is.

*CIA 2-042 labor groups*

*Obj. 1 AFL-CIO*

*CIA 4-01 AFL-CIO*

*Orig. 1 AFL-CIO  
CIA 2-04'2 Labauer*

M - 603,438  
S - 983,643

FEB 21 1967

# Reuthers Gave Funds To Red Sympathizers, AFL-CIO Aide Says

*Special to The Inquirer*

BAL HARBOUR, Fla., Feb. 20.—The United Auto Workers was charged on Monday with using the interest from its multi-million-dollar strike fund to buy popularity from Communists and Communist sympathizers abroad.

Jay Lovestone, the AFL-CIO's international affairs director, made the charge when questioned as to any possible link between the labor federation and the Central Intelligence Agency.

Lovestone said the AFL-CIO has never taken a penny from the CIA and that the agency has never had a say in the federation's overseas affairs.

### PASSED DATA ALONG

On the contrary, he said, his seven-man staff has often spotted anti-U. S. trends abroad before the CIA or State Department was aware of them. In those cases, he said, information passed along by labor people has been of value to the U. S. Government.

But, he said, Walter and Victor Reuther in years past have given money to such known Communist sympathizers as Ahmed Ben Bella, the Algerian revolutionary leader, and Kwame Nkrumah, deposed president of Ghana. They have also made sympathetic overtures to Gamal Abdel Nasser, president of the United Arab Republic, he said.

In addition, Lovestone, a former Communist, said Victor Reuther, brother of the United Auto Workers president, had given \$20,000 to a Communist front labor organization in Nigeria.

### ILLEGALITY CHARGED

The money disbursed abroad was taken from the union's strike fund illegally and the practice was stopped, he said, after objections were raised

within the union.

Lovestone's statements were made after AFL-CIO President George Meany also denied any CIA role within the 13.5-million-member labor federation. Meany said he approved of the CIA's role, but that labor would destroy its own purpose abroad by accepting money from the agency.

The AFL-CIO spends more than \$300,000 a year on its efforts to promote a democratic trade union abroad. It currently has programs in which visits of trade union officials are exchanged with Brazil and Japan.

*Pers. Meany, George*

*Org. 1 - AFL-CIO*

*CIA 2-04.2 Labaree*

Front Page    Edit Page    Other Page

SALT LAKE CITY,  
UTAH  
TRIBUNE  
M - 108,632  
S - 190,454

FEB 21 1967

3A The Salt Lake Tribune, Tuesday, February 21, 1967

# AFL-CIO Chiefs Ignore Reuther Charges

Los Angeles Times Service  
BAL HARBOUR, FLA. — Top AFL-CIO leaders Monday almost contemptuously dismissed charges by Walter Reuther and his United Auto Workers that the 13,500,000-member labor federation has become a stagnant institution in urgent need of revitalization.

Twenty-seven members of the AFL-CIO executive council said in a unanimously adopted statement:

"We are not prepared to act (on the UAW charges or propos-

als for reform) on the basis of a kaleidoscope of everchanging allegations and demands, expressed through press releases, public speeches or circular letters."

## Opens Winter Session

AFL-CIO President George Meany, a key target of the auto workers attack, said the entire matter took up "maybe six or seven minutes" of the council's first-day agenda as it opened its winter session here.

Also, Meany emphatically de-

nied any money has come to the AFL-CIO from the Central Intelligence Agency, saying he would oppose such action "because, I guess, I have a natural ingrained opposition to spy activities."

He said he has no information, however, on reports that several AFL-CIO affiliated unions are using CIA money, indirectly put into the unions through private foundations.

## Changed CIA Links

The current battle, which could well end with the withdrawal of the 1,400,000-member UAW from the AFL-CIO, became public last summer when Victor Reuther, brother of Walter, charged the AFL-CIO has secret links to the CIA.

The union leaders meeting here unanimously accepted the resignation of Walter Reuther as an AFL-CIO vice president. He will be replaced during the session.

The UAW will hold a special convention in Detroit April 20 to decide whether it is ready for a complete break with the labor federation.



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Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

*Pers. Bernstein, Harry*

*Org: 1 AFL-CIO*

*Pers. Meany, George*

*CIA 2-04.2 labor groups*

Front Page    Edit Page    Color Page

4

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
SUN-TIMES

M - 538,870  
S - 661,623

FEB 20 1967

# Two Big Issues Face AFL-CIO Leaders

By Harry Bernstein

L. A. Times Special

BAL HARBOUR, Fla. — AFL-CIO leaders from around the nation convene here Monday to map strategy in the bitter battle that has started to split the labor movement.

A critical, behind-the-scenes issue will be allegations that the Central Intelligence Agency is using the AFL-CIO as one of its instruments.

Walter P. Reuther's United Auto Workers have charged that the AFL-CIO under President George Meany has become stagnant in its domestic policies and less than effective in its foreign policies.

Reuther resigned last month as an AFL-CIO vice president, with an attack on the labor federation's "lack of social vision and crusading spirit."

Meany has made no public

response to the attack, but an aide said:

"To be an affiliate of the AFL-CIO, a union only has to be non-Communist and not run by crooks. There is nothing in our constitution that prohibits Walter (Reuther) from shooting off his mouth."

But broad questions are involved in the dispute, dealing not only with AFL-CIO policies but also with the CIA.

Victor Reuther, Walter's brother and head of the UAW's international affairs department, said the CIA's involvement with the AFL-CIO "is a bigger story" than the current furor over CIA support of college student organizations. Unlike the student organizations, however, the AFL-CIO denies any involvement. The CIA has not commented.

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

Harry Bernstein

LOS ANGELES, CALIF. TIMES

M-839,735 S-1,165,396

FEB 20 1967

# AFL-CIO to Meet on Issues Splitting Labor

## Meany May Use Convention to Answer UAW Charges and Replace Reuther

BY HARRY BERNSTEIN  
Times Labor Editor

BAL HARBOUR, Fla.—Top AFL-CIO leaders from around the nation will convene here today to map strategy in the bitter battle which has started to split the American labor movement.

And a critical, behind-the-scenes issue will be allegations that the Central Intelligence Agency is using the AFL-CIO as one of its instruments.

Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers has charged that the AFL-CIO under President George Meany has become stagnant in its domestic policies and less than effective in its foreign policies.

### Scorching Attack

Reuther resigned last month as an AFL-CIO vice president, with a scorching attack on the labor federation's "lack of social vision and crusading spirit."

Meany and his supporters, who make up almost all of the 29 members of the AFL-CIO executive council, may use the week-long meeting of the council to reply to the UAW charges, and to replace Reuther as a vice president.

But the AFL-CIO leaders are not going to instigate ouster proceedings against the 1.4-million-member UAW, its largest affiliate.

### Special Convention

That kind of action will have to come from the

UAW itself. The UAW will hold a special convention April 20 in Detroit to decide whether it is prepared to disaffiliate from the AFL-CIO.

So far, Meany has made no public response to the bitter attack on him and the AFL-CIO policies he helps set, but an aide said:

"To be an affiliate of the AFL-CIO, a union only has to be non-Communist and not run by crooks. There is nothing in our constitution that prohibits Walter (Reuther) from shooting off his mouth."

But broad questions are involved in the dispute, dealing not only with AFL-CIO policies but also with the CIA.

Victor Reuther, Walter's brother and head of the UAW's international affairs department, said the CIA's involvement with the AFL-CIO is a bigger story than the current furore over CIA support of college student organizations. Unlike the student organizations, however, the AFL-CIO denies any involvement. The CIA has not commented.

### Adding More Fuel

Reports that the CIA secretly gave more than \$1 million to the AFL-CIO American Newspaper Guild are adding more fuel to the controversy.

Charles A. Perlik Jr., guild secretary treasurer, said that, if the CIA links to his union prove true, "it will destroy the guild's international affairs program. It has been a fine program, and I'd hate to

see it destroyed for no reason."  
The CIA allegedly gave money to the guild through the Warden Trust of Cleveland, the Chesapeake Foundation of Baltimore and the Broad-High Foundation of Columbus, Ohio.

The differences between Meany and Walter Reuther over policies have existed for years, with Meany the more conservative of the two.

But their differences seldom were made public, and many observers felt Reuther, 59, eventually would succeed Meany, 73, as the nation's top labor leader.

### CIA Ties Charged

While the UAW had been increasingly restive in the last two or three years, no major public controversy developed until last summer, when Victor Reuther charged the AFL-CIO has secret ties to the CIA.

Meany denied the charges, terming them slanderous.

In an interview with The Times last summer, Victor Reuther alleged that a significant part of AFL-CIO policies are never reported to the AFL-CIO executive council.

He centered his attack on Jay Lovestone, director of the AFL-CIO's international affairs department, who broke with the Communist Party in the 1930s and since has become a dedicated anti-Communist.

Victor Reuther charged that the AFL-CIO's expenditures in Latin America are indicative of the federation's ties with the CIA.

He said the AFL-CIO spends almost as much there—\$6 million a year—as it takes in dues from all of its affiliates.

Last week, the New York Post expanded on Reuther's charge. It said an investigation will disclose at least one sensa-

tional case of quiet CIA an AFL-CIO union election.

The Post asserted that when the "CIA man" won the election, the union's staff and budget increased, and its international activity suddenly increased in Latin America and the Middle East.

Lovestone replied: "It's all old stuff. I've read it all before. We have already made our categorical denial."

When the Victor Reuther accusations were made last summer, Walter Reuther and his associates were, to some extent, annoyed. They felt the first major confrontation with Meany and AFL-CIO policies should have been based on more than the alleged AFL-CIO ties and an attack on Lovestone.

But there was no quarrel between the Reuthers over the accuracy of Victor's charges, just over timing.

After a few sparring moves, the UAW executive council last month issued a broad policy statement outlining in general terms its criticisms of the AFL-CIO.

The foreign policy criticism was relatively muted, and the CIA was not even mentioned in the official UAW "white paper."

The auto workers charged that AFL-CIO policies have not strengthened but rather weakened the Free World's effort to resist communism and all forms of tyranny.

This was an apparent reference to an earlier remark by Victor Reuther that the AFL-CIO spends most of its time and energy trying to fight communism in the labor unions abroad, with CIA help, rather than taking "positive steps" to help foreign workers solve their "day-to-day problems."

The UAW outlined a lengthy series of proposals to unionize the millions of nonunion workers in the nation, to unite unions in collective bargaining strategy and, even in strikes, and, in general, to mobilize labor's forces in a massive war on poverty.

But Reuther's friendly critics say almost all of the ideas are dependent for success on cooperation from many other unions.

And the current battle is

achieving the opposite effect.

A supporter of the Reuther policies said: "The idea is simple. The AFL-CIO needs a shock treatment to enliven it, and you just watch from now on how many more programs are initiated by the AFL-CIO as a result of the UAW attack on the complacent stand of the federation."

The AFL-CIO leaders here will have to decide whether, in effect, to mildly answer the UAW by just listing the federation's achievements, or whether to hit back against what one Meany supporter said is the "gabby rantings of Reuther, who is just frustrated because it doesn't look like he will ever get to be AFL-CIO president."

E - 682,834

S - 917,360

FEB 19 1967

*Kerr: Cullin, Jim*  
*APR - CIO*  
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# Reuther Pair Hands Meany a Hornet's Nest

By JIM CRELLIN

Detroit News Labor Writer

MIAMI BEACH—The Reuther brothers, Walter and Victor, appear to have stirred up a hornet's nest here on the eve of the midwinter meeting of the AFL-CIO's executive council.

On one hand, AFL-CIO President George Meany was confronted with growing UAW rank-and-file support for Walter Reuther's decision to withdraw from the council, and on the other, he was being pressured to clarify the organization's involvement with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Walter, UAW president, touched off the row over Meany's leadership of the federation, and Victor, as director of the UAW's international department, added fuel to the fire by making new disclosures about the CIA.

Two actions this week within the UAW, the largest union in the federation, widened its rift with the federation.

THE MOVES could prod the 28-member council, which Walter quit two weeks ago, to take a public position on UAW charges that Meany has handled AFL-CIO operations in an undemocratic fashion.

Meany so far has declined to discuss any issues relating to the UAW.

Friday night, representatives of UAW local unions representing some 60,000 members in the Chicago area, voted to disaffiliate from the Chicago AFL-CIO central body.

UAW Vice-President Leonard Woodcock, appearing before the group, voiced sharp criticism of Meany similar to that made by the UAW's executive board.

Woodcock said that the labor movement should not be under the dictatorship of one man.

The Chicago UAW locals still must get membership and international union approval to disaffiliate from the local AFL-CIO. Robert Johnston, director of UAW Region 5, said that a vote will also be taken concerning disaffiliation from the state AFL-CIO.

He said similar meetings to discuss withdrawal from local AFL-CIO bodies will be held soon in other Illinois towns and in Davenport, Iowa.

THE ACTION followed UAW executive board approval early last December to permit local unions to disaffiliate from AFL-CIO bodies which do not act in line with UAW policy on such things as politics.

The Chicago action reportedly was the result of a feud over political candidates endorsed in the last election.

Victor Reuther late this last week renewed charges that the AFL-CIO is deeply involved with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

He said that AFL-CIO involvement with the CIA is "a lot bigger story" than the disclosure of the agency's operations with student groups.

JAY LOVESTONE, AFL-CIO director of international affairs, flatly denied the charges.

However, it was disclosed Saturday that the American Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO, had received almost \$1 million since 1961 from foundations that were subsidized by the CIA.

VICTOR REUTHER made similar charges last summer, but the executive council denied them. The issue was one of several that led to the

UAW's current rift with the federation.

Until the latest charges and the Chicago UAW action, it appeared that the executive council would answer the UAW charges with an effective weapon—almost complete silence.

The council now may be forced to answer the UAW publicly.

Meany said that the UAW's only communication with him had been the telegram from Walter Reuther and three top UAW officials notifying him that they had resigned top positions in the federation.

"That's what we will act on," Meany said.

He said the executive council would immediately fill the vacancy created by Reuther's resignation, but would not say who his choice might be.

Reuther had been a vice-president and executive council member since the merger of the AFL and CIO in 1955.

IF MEANY supports someone from one of the AFL unions to succeed Reuther, it would be a direct slap at the UAW. Since the merger, the executive council has had 17 representatives from the old AFL unions and 10 from the CIO.

It was learned Saturday that there may soon be another vacancy on the executive council.

George Burdon, former president of the United Rubber Workers, may resign before the week is over, according to an AFL-CIO source.

The UAW will ask delegates to a special collective bargaining convention in April in Detroit to give the international executive board the power to pull the union out of the federation if it feels this is necessary.

What Meany and the executive council do this week may determine what position Reuther will take at the Detroit meeting.

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Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

CIA 1-01 Helms  
Walt Student Assn  
AFL-CIO

# News-Times Editorial & Feature Page

## National

### Students And CIA: A You-Too Incident

America's favorite reading matter during the past few years has been the espionage thrillers of some 20 successful authors, running the literary gamut from John Le Carre to the late Ian Fleming and from Deighton to Aarons, who became millionaires in the process of writing them and having them made into movies seen by tens of millions.

One would think therefore that a nation fed on this kind of a diet would have taken the "revelations" that the Central Intelligence Agency has been subsidizing American students abroad with an eloquent, "So What?"

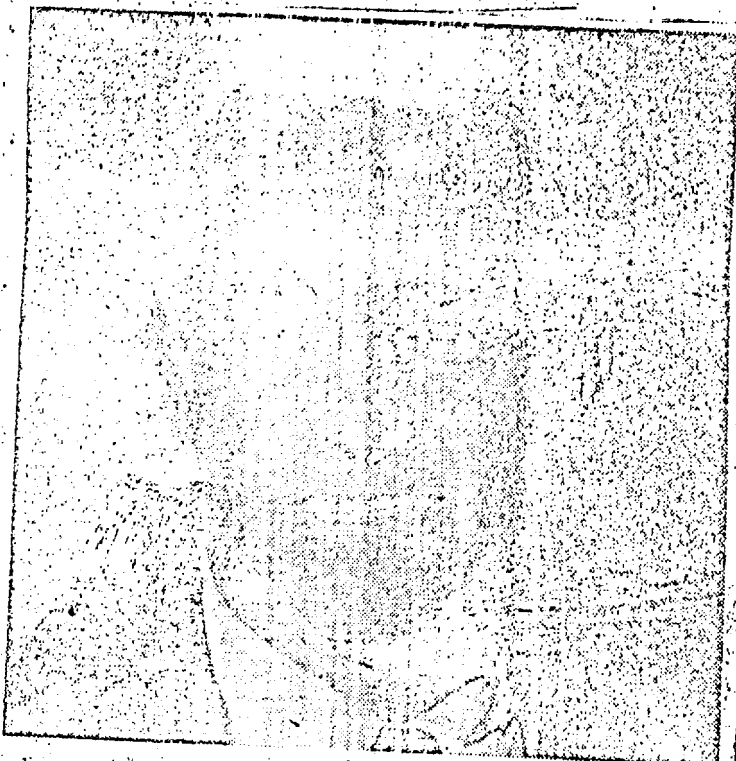
Instead, the "revelations" published by Ramparts magazine became the political and journalistic flap of the week, resulting in a lot of rather silly breastbeating and dubious righteous moral indignation over something that not only has been an open secret for many years but has constituted an accepted fact of international political life since 1950.

#### President Intervenes

The story first broke on Monday. It snowballed immediately and by Wednesday had assumed the proportions of another U2 incident. By Thursday President Johnson had intervened and ordered the CIA to phase out all secret programs of financial aid to student groups.

He further instructed the acting Secretary of State, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, to consult with Health Education and Welfare Secretary John W. Gardner and Central Intelligence Director Richard Helms in order to review all government activities "that may endanger the integrity and independence of the educational community."

The background is this.



Helms — the academic spy —

For the past 14 years the CIA has been helping to finance the National Student Assn. to a total known amount of about \$3 million. In doing so, the CIA did what every other great power has been doing for a quarter of a century. The idea that this was an undercover operation, which has now been wrecked, as maintained by many jittery writers, is simply ludicrous.

The known number of academic groups financed in part by the CIA had grown to 11 by the end of this week with the total amount spent on them not available.

#### A Russian Example

Students may have been "used." This may be "immoral." But consider: The first Soviet vice president of the International Union of Students was Aleksander N. Shelcpin, who later became boss of the Russian State Security Committee.

American students who had their studies abroad financed in part by CIA funds are now

an sensitive U.S. government positions here and abroad. There is nothing wrong in that. They are placed in U.S. embassies, in U.S. Foreign Aid Agencies, in the Agency for International Development, the Peace Corps, branches of U.S. banks abroad, and in U.S. corporations with international connections.

It is silly to assume that some U.S. foreign correspondents abroad and U.S. professors teaching at foreign universities do not double as CIA agents. If they don't, then the CIA simply would not be functioning. The British, of Course

Classic examples are the basic approaches used by the various British intelligence services. Anyone who has ever served, even temporarily, in such organizations as MI 5 or MI 6 or the Special Branch, is on call for the rest of his life for special missions, even if he might be used only once every five years. Oxford and Cambridge have sent many a professor on such

The CIA relationship to some American universities is a

The howls of protest from many walks of life and the demands for Congressional investigations, while morally well taken, are, unfortunately but unquestionably, naive in the nuclear age.

One valid criticism is, of course, that knowledge of the program has been leaking all over the map of the world during the past five years. It should therefore have been curtailed or abolished some time ago, before the U.S. suffered world-wide embarrassment. It might be said that this is cynical. The terribly sad fact

of the matter is, however, that these things are natural, albeit minor, concomitants of contemporary power politics.

#### A Million Students

The whole thing has of course become a nightmare for the bewildered leaders of the United States National Students Assn., which is a confederation of about 300 college and student governments representing over a million students.

But to lament, as some of the student leaders did this week, that their credibility, now destroyed, had been based on the fact that they were leftist liberals, fails to recognize the truism that from the CIA point of view, the very fact that they were left wingers made the best cover for them.

Whenever they were attacked by anyone in the U.S. as fellow travelers or communist sympathizers, their value as potential CIA agents increased. Communist counterespionage was in all probability not fooled too often.

It is to be doubted that there are many informed people anywhere in the world who have had any illusions about these matters.

It has been a 50 year old tradition of the French Foreign office to have semi-public funds available for just such subsidies as the U.S. public is now hearing about. Kipling in a savage moment once said, "There is no need to be a

Feb. 17, 1967

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-04315R000100430001-9

# Union-CIA Link 'Bigger Story'?

By JAMES A. WECHSLER

Victor Reuther read the disclosures of CIA's secret financial sponsorship of the National Student Assn. with wry interest.

"All I'll say now is that there is a lot bigger story in the CIA's financial and other connection with the A.F.L.-C.I.O. than with the students," he said over a telephone from Washington.

"I did my best to try to lift the lid on it. And some day it will all come out."

Reuther, director of international affairs for the automobile union and brother of the embattled U.A.W. leader, was reluctant to amplify his charges at this juncture because of the union's strained relation with the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Council.

But he added he would "stand by everything I've said before," about the labor organization's involvement with CIA. He suggested it was unfortunate and ironic that the storm had broken over N.S.A. because he believes much of its work has been useful. He takes a dimmer view of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s operations.

For the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s top official

dom, the explosion over CIA comes at a painful moment because its executive council is meeting shortly in Miami and there will undoubtedly be press inquiries on the subject.

But any major confrontation within the council is unlikely in the light of Walter Reuther's resignation from that body. There are no indications that any other leader of significant stature will ask embarrassing questions.

The questions, however, will persist and they will be especially awkward because too many men of labor privately know too much about the facts. Bland denials may become increasingly hazardous in the face of congressional curiosity that the students have already stimulated.

Such an investigation, it can be flatly stated, would reveal that various international and Latin American operations of AFL-CIO have been heavily subsidized through CIA conduits.

It would also disclose at least one sensational case of quiet CIA intervention in an election in an AFL-CIO union. When a "CIA man" won, the union's staff and the budget rose and its international activity suddenly increased in Latin America and the Middle East.

And finally an inquiry would show innumerable instances in which AFL-CIO agents collaborated with the CIA's cloak and dagger men in an infinite variety of coups and undercover entries.

The key figure in the AFL-CIO's underground ties to CIA is Jay Lovestone, sometimes known as George Meany's personal secretary of state. Lovestone, a Communist leader in the 1920's, has become a high flying hawk whose views are often indistinguishable from Barry Goldwater's. Last June he told an interviewer that he favored a "more forceful" position on Vietnam than President Johnson's and he proclaimed "superior military strength and no appeasement" as his slogan.

Lovestone and Victor Reuther have frequently clashed and, last May, Reuther first added the charge of Lovestone's relations with CIA. He also observed that "the tragedy of A.F.L.-C.I.O. activities in the field of foreign affairs is that they are a vest pocket

Lovestone, a 66-year-old veteran of operation by Jay Lovestone."

many public and clandestine wars, has always blandly denied any close ties to CIA. But few sophisticated laborites have doubted the intimacy.

Whatever the extent of CIA's financial support for Lovestone's many maneuvers, the uncontestable fact is that he has continued to receive a blank check from A.F.L.-C.I.O. leadership.

Not until long afterward did it become known that one of Lovestone's "institutes" actively helps to train Brazilian unionists here to participate in the military coup against Goulart's Brazilian regime (only to discover two years later that an alleged leftist but constitutional government had been replaced by an oppressive tyranny of the right).

The record, of course, is not fully negative. During the Marshall Plan era, Lovestone and his associates played an affirmative role in strengthening democratic unionism. It is only in recent years, amid the turmoil in the Communist world and the shifts in many camps, that Lovestone's rigidities have rendered the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s posture so grotesque.

But the issue of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s relations with the CIA transcends the merits of specific policy disputes between Lovestone and Victor Reuther.

It has been the traditional boast of A.F.L.-C.I.O. spokesmen at international congresses that they speak as free men against the government-controlled unions of totalitarian nations. How free are men who accept government subsidies directly or indirectly and who work hand-in-hand with an intelligence network that has become a state within a state?

The damage now suffered by the National Student Assn. is incalculable. But there will be more and larger world repercussions if the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s chief foreign policy operatives are revealed to have been subsidized partners in CIA's games and if the CIA is shown to have even taken a hand in internal union conflicts here.

To paraphrase an old remark, it's a misfortune when secret agents blunder; it is inexcusable when they get caught. That is what has begun to happen to CIA and many institutions bigger than the students groups—including the A.F.L.-C.I.O.—may be scared by the fallout.

Org. 1 N.S.A.



Pers. Lens, Sidney

Org. AFL-CIO

Pers. Reuther, Walter

Pers. Meany, George

CIA 2-04.2 labor

# REUTHER VS. MEANY



SIDNEY LENS

At the fork of a river, where two branches veer off, the distance between them is still small; further along it can become enormously large. The open break between the goliaths of AFL-CIO, Walter Reuther and George Meany, seems at first glance to be minor, even personal. But as the song says, it can be the start of something big, perhaps something of historical portent.

Reuther is irked at many things, at many levels of importance, none of which in itself appears to be significant enough to cause permanent rupture. Yet added up they indicate that the two men are travelling in different directions. Both of them are aware of it, Reuther to such an extent that at one point he weighed the pros and cons of withdrawing the auto union from the Federation.

The idea was given up in favor of what might be called "living together, separately." But this may be a distinction without a difference.

Reuther is miffed, to begin with, because Meany has stopped consulting him and no longer seeks a consensus on major issues. When the AFL and CIO were merged in December 1955, Meany as the president of the larger body was given the top post in the wedded group. But it was always understood that he would seek the advice of the former president of the CIO and try to act in unison. For a long time now that has not been happening. As a matter of fact the small body of eight men—president, secretary-treasurer, and six vice-presidents—who were to act as a policy-making executive committee where conflicting views might be harmonized, has been buried without the benefit of a formal funeral.

The failure to establish this working relationship after 11 years reflects, alas, a deeper failure—the failure to blend antipathetical social attitudes. Both men are devotees of what is euphemistically called the "free enterprise" system. But Reuther is the personification of social liberalism, which demands large scale face-lifting of the system, Meany of business unionism, which is highly uncomfortable with crusades. Typically, Reuther, though he is no longer the irrepressible socialist of the 1930's, walks with Martin Luther King in Selma or pickets with the grape strikers in California. The "honest plumber" by contrast, not only eschews such symbolic

solidarity, but *boasts* that he has never walked a picket line or been on strike in his life.

For Meany the addition of a million members to the AFL-CIO in the last couple of years—mainly due to enlargement of the blue-collar force with the Vietnam war and the growth in government organizing with an assist by John Kennedy—falls under the nomenclature "success." Reuther is painfully conscious that the AFL-CIO today represents a smaller portion of the labor force than it did at birth. The grandiose organizing plans that were envisioned in 1955, in the South, amongst white-collar workers, in agriculture and the service industries, have been stillborn or minuscule at best. And though the AFL-CIO has pipe-lines to the White House and "friends" on Capitol Hill, it is not part of the "in" group as it was in Roosevelt's day.

## Labor's Role

Reuther is distressed with the *image* of labor under Meany. It no longer blazes trails in the civil rights field, as it did in the 1930's. Its lobbying activities for social change have the dull luster of a rockbound institution, rather than the flaming zeal of a crusader. When it speaks for rebuilding the cities, more public housing, better education, medicare, it speaks as an echo. It is no longer the center of the liberal movement but a loosely-tied tail to it.

In the realms of international affairs the situation, insofar as Reuther is concerned, is even worse. On many issues, Meany and the former general secretary of the Communist Party, Jay Lovestone, who heads his international affairs department, is to the right of the Chamber of Commerce—e.g., on the question of trade with the Communist nations.

Reuther, like Meany, is an anti-Communist, a supporter of the Vietnam war, an advocate of "strength" through military power. But he cannot stomach the "narrow and negative" anti-Communism of the Meany-Lovestone clan. He has been chafing at the bit for years over Lovestone's kinship with the Central Intelligence Agency and his cloak-and-dagger operation.

The Lovestone issue, in fact, was one of the immediate causes of the schism. Reuther has wanted him tossed out of the movement since 1955, but he has kept publicly silent until the middle of last year when his brother,

SIDNEY LENS is an editor of Liberation magazine and author of *Radiation in America* (Crowell).

*1 AFL-CIO*

*CIA 2-04.2 labour*

DETROIT, MICH.  
NEWS

E - 682,834  
S - 917,360

FEB 17 1967

# Vic Reuther Says CIA Has AFL-CIO Tie

By JIM CRELLIN  
Detroit News Labor Writer

MIAMI BEACH — The rift between the UAW and the AFL-CIO may be worsened by a UAW official's charges that the Central Intelligence Agency is more deeply involved in affairs of the federation than it is with student groups.

Victor Reuther, director of the UAW's international department, was quoted in a New York newspaper yesterday as having said that the CIA involvement with the AFL-CIO is "a lot bigger story" than the disclosure of the agency's involvement with student groups.

His comments followed State Department acknowledgement that the CIA had subsidized some activities of the National Student Association since the early 1950s.

The already critical split between the UAW and the AFL-CIO began publicly last May when Reuther made charges that the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) was a tool of the CIA.

His latest charges are certain to further strain the UAW's relationship with the AFL-CIO and increase the possibility that the 1,400,000-member union will bolt the federation.

THE DIRECTOR of international affairs of the AFL-CIO, Jay Lovestone, angrily denied that the AFL-CIO was connected with the CIA in operations of any kind.

He blasted Victor Reuther in unprintable language and said he would "take care of Mr. Reuther" when he feels it is the proper time to do so. "Everyone knows our record," Lovestone added, referring to the AFL-CIO.

Reuther's comments appeared in an article in the New York Post written by James A. Wechsler, editorial page editor.

Apparently referring to his

earlier charges, Reuther was quoted as saying:

"I did my best to try to lift the lid on it. And some day it will all come out."

Following Reuther's charges last May, the AFL-CIO executive council virtually slapped him and his brother, UAW President Walter P. Reuther, in the face by voting overwhelmingly to support the AIFLD.

LOVESTONE, former Communist who is now sharply anti-Communist, figured in the dispute between the UAW and the AFL-CIO last June when American labor delegates walked out of the International Labor Organization's meetings in Geneva after the election of a Polish Communist as president.

The charges about the CIA and the disputes over foreign policy were steps that led to the UAW's break with the federation.

The disagreement is expected to be the chief item of discussion at the meeting here next week of the AFL-CIO executive council.

Walter Reuther will not be present because he and other top officers of the UAW resigned key federation posts in a surprise move two weeks ago.

The AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department, which began meeting yesterday, may provide the executive council with much of the background information it wants concerning Reuther's criticism of its stand on important issues.

PAUL HALL, president of the Seafarers International Union and head of the Maritime Department, announced that the department has compiled a complete record of AFL-CIO convention actions on issues such as economic affairs, organizing, international affairs and civil rights.

All of these are areas where the UAW has been especially critical of the federation for lack of action.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

TIMES-PICAYUNE

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

M - 190,636

S - 306,325

FEB 17 1967

*Pers. Sharkey, Samuel Jr.*

*CIA 2-04.2 labour*

## Union Official Charges CIA Tie with AFL-CIO

'Some Day It Will Come  
Out,' Says Reuther

By SAMUEL SHARKEY JR.

(The Times-Picayune National Service)  
WASHINGTON — Is the Central Intelligence Agency piping \$7 million a year into international labor operations through the AFL-CIO?

Victor Reuther, brother of Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, made this charge of CIA involvement with the AFL-CIO last June. The AFL-CIO has denied the charge.

In a New York interview Thursday, Victor Reuther renewed the charge and added that the issue was "a lot bigger story" than the disclosure of CIA support of student groups.

"I did my best to try to lift the lid on it. And some day it will all come out," he told the New York Post.

He said he would "stand by everything I've said before"—referring to a charge that Jay Lovestone, AFL-CIO director of international affairs, had secret links with the CIA.

Lovestone, a former Moscow Communist and member of Stalin's Comintern, but since 1940 a strident anti-Communist, often has been called AFL-CIO President George Meany's secretary of state. He has a powerful voice in the federation's foreign policies.

Since Meany himself admits the AFL-CIO expends 25 percent of its \$10 million annual budget on foreign affairs, this makes Lovestone's role even more significant.

In his original charge, made at the UAW convention in San Diego last June, Victor Reuther said the CIA was channeling \$7 million, mostly through the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

This organization, which operates in the Western Hemisphere, was founded in 1962 mainly by the AFL-CIO. Meany is its president and Joseph Beirne, president of the communications workers, is secre-

tary-treasurer. A number of prominent business and industrial leaders are on its board of directors.

The AFL-CIO in its 1965 budget report listed a \$200,000 contribution of its own to the AIFLD, double that of the previous year. It also gave \$25,300 to "AIFLD projects," about which labor spokesmen were silent.

The AIFLD has trained more than 1,000 Latin American labor leaders at its graduate school here in Washington, and close to 15,000 at institutes in

their local areas. The organization says the training is "in anti-Communist techniques and in methods of promoting free democratic unions."

AIFLD says its overall funding comes in equal parts from three groups—the AFL-CIO, business and industry, and the federal government. The government's share comes largely, it says, through the Alliance for Progress.

An AFL-CIO spokesman said that after Victor Reuther leveled his charge at the AIFLD, Beirne took umbrage, regarding it as reflecting on his integrity as secretary-treasurer.

Beirne took the issue to the AFL-CIO executive council, which met shortly thereafter, but was ruled out of order by Meany "because it wasn't on the agenda."

It was on the agenda for the executive council's meeting last August. After extended debate, the spokesman said, the council adopted a resolution "rejecting out of hand the vilification" against the AIFLD.

The AFL-CIO is a heavy contributor to other labor groups. It gives \$500,000 to the solidarity fund of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and \$327,000 more for the ICFTU's other operations.

The exact function of the solidarity fund is something of a mystery. Labor sources would say only that it is to "finance regional activities" of unions in

the free world. Whether these involve the CIA could not be established.

The Inter-American Regional Labor Organization gets about \$75,000 from the AFL-CIO.

A budget item listed as "African Program," on which the sources also declined comment, received \$58,000.

The entire AFL-CIO operation, however, functions around and through Lovestone. Through his role in a number of international organizations, reliable sources say, he directs a worldwide intelligence operation that is informally but tightly integrated with CIA operations. Lovestone himself refuses to discuss his activities.

Approved for Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

SYRACUSE, N.Y.  
HERALD JOURNAL  
S-HERALD-AMERICAN  
E-152,311  
S-206,391

FEB 17 1967

HERALD-JOURNAL  
8 PM., Feb. 17, 1967

# Is CIA using unions?

By SAMUEL SHARKEY JR.  
Of Our Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Is the Central Intelligence Agency piping \$7 million a year into international labor operations through the AFL-CIO?

Victor Reuther, brother of Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, made this charge of CIA involvement with the AFL-CIO last June. The AFL-CIO has denied the charge.

In a New York interview Thursday, Victor Reuther renewed the charge and added that the issue was "a lot bigger story" than the disclosure of CIA support of student groups.

"I did my best to try to lift the lid on it. And some day it will all come out," he told the New York Post.

### Secret Links

He said he would "Stand by everything I've said before"—referring to a charge that Jay Lovestone, AFL-CIO director of international affairs, had secret links with the CIA.

Lovestone, a former Moscow Communist and member of Stalin's Comintern, but since 1940 a strident anti-communist, often has been called AFL-CIO president George Meany's secretary of state. He has a powerful voice in the federation's foreign policies.

Since Meany himself admits the AFL-CIO expends 25 per cent of its \$10 million annual budget on foreign affairs, this makes Lovestone's role even more significant.

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American Institute for Free La-  
This organization, which operates in the Western hemisphere, was founded in 1962 mainly by the AFL-CIO. Meany is its president and Joseph Beirne, president of the communications workers, is secretary-treasurer. A number of prominent business and industrial leaders are on its board of directors.

### Union Gives

The AFL-CIO in its 1965 budget report listed a \$200,000 contribution of its own to the AIFLD, double that of the previous year. It also gave \$25,300 to "AIFLD projects," about which labor spokesmen were silent.

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An AFL-CIO spokesman said that after Victor Reuther leveled his charge at the AIFLD, Beirne took umbrage, regarding it as reflecting on his integrity as secretary-treasurer.

Beirne took the issue to the AFL-CIO executive council, which met shortly thereafter, but was ruled out of order by Meany "because it wasn't on the agenda."

### Issue on Agenda

It was on the agenda for the executive council's meeting last August. After extended debate, the spokesman said, the council adopted a resolution "rejecting out of hand the vilification" against the AIFLD.

He said the vote was 27 to 2, the dissenters being Walter Reuther and Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union.

"Another important labor leader, who insisted his name not be used, declared, "There have been other implications involving international trade secretariats with the CIA."

These are groupings of similar unions in the same general industries in various countries—such as steel or metal or mining or autos.

This leader said the unions involved were "in general" in the petroleum, chemical and food industries. He declined to name the unions.

He also linked the AFL-CIO with the overthrow of the Joao

Goulart regime in Brazil in 1965. The action at that time hailed the coup as a "spontaneous action by workers and intellectuals," and as a great advance for Democracy.

A few weeks later, he said, an AFL-CIO broadcast said the AIFLD had trained 55 Brazilian leaders in the United States and that on their return home they had worked actively to create the conditions, and were involved in the forces that overthrew Goulart.

Other AFL-CIO spokesmen declined any comment.

The AFL-CIO is a heavy contributor to other labor groups. It gives \$500,000 to the solidarity fund of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and \$327,000 more for the ICFTU's other operations.

RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.

*Per. Myer, John*

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

*Org. 1 Natl. Student Assn.*

*CIA 2-04.2 student groups*

*Org. 1 AFL-CIO*

*Per. Reuther, Victor*

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM CBS News

STATION WTOP Radio  
CBS Network

DATE February 16, 1967 8:00 PM

CITY Washington, DC

FUROR PICKS UP MORE STEAM

JOHN MYER: "The public furor over Central Intelligence Agency involvement in the National Student Association seems, if anything, to have picked more steam here in the capital. United Press International claiming it had complete access to an NSA board meeting last night, says that despite statements by the organization renouncing CIA ties, the group supervisors secretly considered ways to keep the Intelligence Agency subsidy. NSA spokesmen in turn deny the UPI report."

"The student association says withdrawal of CIA funds has created a financial pinch, but that it hopes to stay alive with money from private foundations.

"President Johnson, late yesterday, ordered a top level probe of the relationship following State Department admission that link existed.

"Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield has gone even further and has urged the Senate to investigate those private foundations which turn CIA money over to the NSA.

"Meanwhile, the New York Post quotes United Auto Workers official Victor Reuther as claiming that the CIA is involved with the AFL-CIO, and that that involvement is a lot bigger story than the student group situation.

"Reuther is the brother of UAW President Walter Reuther."

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

*Pers. Reuther, Victor*  
*Arg. 1 AFL-CIO*

*CIA 4-01.2 AFL-CIO*

*Arg. 1 AIFLD*

Front Page    Edit Page    Other Page    **4**

**DETROIT, MICH.  
NEWS**

**T - 682,834  
S - 917,360**

**JAN 26 1967**

# **Vic Reuther Again Ties CIA, Labor**

Victor Reuther, director of the UAW's international affairs department, said yesterday that he will stand behind statements that he made indicating that the AFL-CIO is involved with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in foreign affairs.

Reuther was here yesterday for speeches at Wayne State University and the Wayne County AFL-CIO's first of a series of labor forums. He discussed the UAW's involvement in foreign affairs.

He denied he had ever said that the CIA was involved in operations of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

"At no time did I make any statements concerning a connection between the CIA and the AIFLD," Reuther said.

However, he said he would "stand on the statements I made" concerning CIA involvement in AFL-CIO foreign

Early last year, Reuther, who is an administrative assistant to his brother, UAW President Walter P. Reuther, indicated that the government was using the AFL-CIO, as a front in a number of areas.

The charges led to one of two serious disputes between the UAW and the AFL-CIO over foreign policy. The UAW has since announced that it will go its own way on important policy decisions.

Reuther also said that a "clear, clean military victory in the historic sense" cannot be accomplished by either side in Vietnam.

He said that the war could only be ended by a "political settlement" through political conferences at the bargaining table.

Reuther said the situation in Vietnam is "not without hope" and said that the current unrest in China could have a pronounced affect on the position that Hanoi takes in the future.

Reuther, according to press releases, was scheduled to discuss the UAW's current dispute with the AFL-CIO on foreign policy and other matters, but announced upon his arrival that his subject actually concerned labor and its role in foreign relations.

Page 1 AFL-CIO  
CIA 4-01.2 (AFL-CIO) U.S.

Pres. Reuther, Walter

Front Page	Editorial Page	Other Page
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LUBBOCK, TEXAS  
AVALANCHE-JOURNAL

M-58,468

E-27,337

S-70,974

DEC 9 1958

## AFL-CIO Yet Might Lose Reuther

THE AFL-CIO, in much the same manner as the major political parties, is having its troubles in keeping dissident factions under control.

In the case of Walter Reuther and his 1,500,000-member Auto Workers Union, the giant labor organization is faced with a major revolt in place of the public and private bickering which has gone on between Reuther and President George Meany. Several of the better-known labor observers are predicting that, sooner or later, Reuther will cut his organization adrift.

The move could be made on December 15, the deadline for UAW payment of almost \$300,000 in back dues. Reuther failed to show up for the recent AFL-CIO Executive Council session and made no move to assure the Council that the \$1,000,000 a year the UAW has been paying in dues to the Federation will continue.

Reuther has said he will fight Meany "within the Federation," but his mind could be changed if he could persuade the Steel Workers, the Electrical Workers and the Clothing Workers to join in a bolt. Mean-

while, he has sharply reduced his heavy financial support for major unionizing drives such as that aimed at the 16,000 employees of Texas Instrument Co.

The points of difference with Meany are many, but two stand out. Meany and most of the other top labor leaders have chosen one side of the U.S. Government's "two-sided" policy toward Communism. They generally oppose efforts to increase trade and other relations with the Communist countries. At the same time, on the "toughness" side, they have supported the Administration's moves to block Communist aggression. In the process, they have been accused by Reuther of too much cooperation, with the Central Intelligence Agency.

The other issue is the AFL-CIO leadership's refusal to go along with Reuther's passion for "social revolution." He has never really lost his interest in the massive socialization of the U.S., nor in closer contacts between "labor movements" of the Communist East and the non-Communist West. He subscribes to the notion that Sen. Bobby Kennedy is the best hope of those working for a "great social revolt."

It is obvious that the Meany group is more in keeping with the "mainstream" of American political, social and labor thinking. And it is obvious that Reuther is leaning toward a voyage up another stream. The situation is heading toward a point of decision.

✓  
 PERS. MEANY, GEORGE  
 PERS. LOVESTONE, JAY

## Rejection of a Soviet World

The split in the leadership of the AFL-CIO is deeper than last week's apparent rift over foreign policy. News reports said merely that Walter Reuther failed to show up for a discussion of the union's stands on foreign policy issues; whereupon the Executive Council voted unanimously for the hard-line, anti-Communist posture that Reuther abhors. The cleavage was all the more significant because Reuther himself had called for the showdown.

Even though there have been a number of events leading up to the foreign policy imbroglio, the real issue is much more fundamental. Reuther and George Meany simply embody two conflicting concepts of the role of the labor union. Not so long ago Meany attacked the secretariat of one of Reuther's pet operations, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Brussels, as filled with homosexuals and incompetents. Some months later, Victor Reuther, Walter's assistant, accused Meany and Meany's agent, Jay Lovestone, of being tools of the CIA. Yet Lovestone, an unfrocked Communist, has been working through the ICFTU.

For an answer to the conflict, one must look below the surface. Meany comes from the old-school of unionists, who see the labor-management conflict in terms of immediate material benefits for union men. He chooses action, rather than subtlety; he believes a head-on clash of interests puts more in the pocketbook than do nebulous ideologies. He is not only a firm advocate of blunt resistance to Communism, but deeply concerned that proposed Federal legislation would put an end to collective bargaining. Both attitudes are all of one piece.

Walter Reuther, however, thinks the union's role should be concerned with

control of the whole social milieu of the nation, instead of merely with employee contract negotiations. Back in the Thirties, he was accused in a famous phrase of desiring a soviet America, after his glowing reports of collectivization in the U.S.S.R. Although he now refers to himself as anti-Communist and anti-Russian, his social views still reflect a preoccupation with sovietized society. For "soviet" simply means a social structure based upon the organization of worker's councils. Although most union leaders and union men are simply interested in collective strength to win pocketbook issues from their employers, Reuther sees the labor movement as a great apparatus to plan health, education, and welfare programs for the nation. His drive to increase labor's political strength, and his preoccupation with welfare schemes "run by the poor" are an up-to-date interpretation of a soviet America.

Such views, of course, do not mean that he is advocating the rule of the U.S.S.R. over the United States. All he wants to do is to change the social structure to make it more like the Russian experiment. On the international level, he seeks to build corresponding structures through the world labor movement; he has often said that he would like to be able to strike an industry throughout the whole world at the same time, doubtless for social as well as economic aims. Such a goal requires international solidarity—and international political supra-structure. No wonder, then, that he wants to reduce hard-line postures towards the Communists. Mr. Meany's inflexibility is getting in the way of a grand dream.

It is a tribute to the good sense of American labor that Reuther stands virtually alone. He probably thinks George Meany is a reactionary fossil.



*Mrs. Markin, George*

*CIA 4-01.2 AFL-CIO*

*Org. 1 AFL-CIO*

*CIA 5-01.1*

George MORRIS

# Dirty Secrets of the Labour-Union CIA

From: International Affairs (Moscow), No. 10,  
October, 1966.



THE controlling top bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO) has long shamed the workers of America by its rabid support of the cold war and every imperialist venture, including the current Viet-Nam war. This position, on behalf of the federation's 13 million members, has both shocked and puzzled world humanity. How can such a stand be taken on behalf of workers in face of a sweeping popular opposition to the Viet-Nam war such as has never been experienced in U.S. history? This opposition has been articulated actively by professionals in all fields, the people in the arts, churchmen of all denominations, teachers and college professors, a tremendous student movement, and large blocs of members of Congress. Surely the working class these AFL-CIO leaders profess to represent is not behind the other sectors of the population, ran the question among Americans and people abroad.

Something happened recently that throws some light on the question and may be the start, for the first time in AFL-CIO history, of a debate on foreign policy. On May 22, Victor Reuther, brother of Walter Reuther, president of the 1,600,000-member United Automobile Workers, and head of that union's international affairs department, said in a press interview that the AFL-CIO's International Relations Department is "involved" with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Reuther said it was a "tragedy" that the department's activity should be a "vest pocket operation run by Jay Lovestone". He added that as long as George Meany, AFL-CIO president, keeps Lovestone as director of that department, he sees no change in the federation's foreign policy position.

The charge isn't new. The suspicion that Lovestone is the "CIA man in labour" and that

the department he long influences and now directs is co-operating with the CIA, has long been felt in some quarters. But only the Marxist Left has made the charge openly. Now this charge is confirmed by so important a person like Victor Reuther who knows the situation from inside, having been associated with the international affairs of the AFL-CIO and, before the 1955 merger, of the CIO's international affairs.

But this disclosure, so shocking to many in labour ranks and given wide press coverage, was followed by a whole chain of related developments. Some weeks earlier Reuther visited the Dominican Republic along with a committee that sought to ensure fair elections there. He returned with the charge that Meany and Lovestone aligned the AFL-CIO with a small trade union group that is associated with U.S. imperialist and CIA policy there, a group that is hated by the population as a tool of "Yankee Imperialism". But the three labour centres with mass support were opposed by the Lovestone-Meany agents.

Reuther gave another example of the discovery in the small country of Panama of eight intelligence operatives who carried credentials of the Food and Drink International Federation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) without the knowledge or authorisation of the Geneva office. Obviously those agents obtained their "cover" from AFL-CIO-dominated ORIT, regional organisation of the ICFTU.

Some weeks later, Walter Reuther, acting on behalf of his union's general executive board, sent a sharp letter to Meany, denouncing his order for a boycott of the conference of the International Labour Organisation in Geneva by AFL-CIO delegates there, because a representative of Poland was elected conference chairman. Reuther took the occasion to attack the entire international relations policy of the Meany-Lovestone team.

The author is an American publicist specialising in the U.S. labour problems.

Pers. Meany, Res.  
Pers. Reuther, Walter  
Pers. Lovestone, Jay  
CIA 4-01.2 (AFL-CIO) U.S.A.

## **AFL-CIO Board Avows, 23-2, The CIA Has Not Infiltrated**

(Special to The Worker)

CHICAGO — The AFL-CIO executive council meeting here, by a vote of 23 to 2, approved the activities of its foreign affairs network which operates as the American Institute for Free Labor Development.

George Meany, AFL-CIO president, reported to the press that the executive council "rejects out of hand the campaign of vilification directed against it."

In reply to newsmen Meany said that Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, and Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, had voted against the resolution, that Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, had abstained, and that three members of the council were absent.

Meany told the press that the opinion had been expressed in the council that Victor Reuther, head of the UAW's international affairs department, had "made a mistake and shouldn't have made the statement he did." He refused to say who had expressed that opinion.

Victor Reuther had charged some months ago that Jay Lovestone, head of the AFL-CIO's international operations, was "involved" with the Central Intelligence Agency.

Asked to spell out the criticisms of the AIFLD, Meany said, "fomenting revolutions, running training schools for company unions and acting as an agent of the State Department and the CIA."

"What prompted this criticism?" he was asked.

"Does the Daily Worker need prompting to vilify the AFL-CIO?" he replied.

A newsman asked: "But

weren't there any other sources of criticism?"

"Oh! there were some criticisms in The Nation and some other publications," Meany replied.

He was asked if there were any specific charges that CIA agents had infiltrated the AFL-CIO's international department, "No, just that it was working for the CIA," said Meany.

"The only specific criticism was that the Food and Drink Union was working with the CIA in Panama and that this caused the International Secretary of the Food Union to close down its Panama office. Joseph Beirne (President of the Communications Workers of America) who made the lengthy report to the council meeting, and the Food union international secretary investigated and reported that the union had closed all its Latin American offices "as an economy move."

Meany was the only one of the 29-member council at the press conference, affording the newsmen no opportunity to get the other side of the controversy.

1006-1 AFL-CIO  
PERS. (LOVESTONE), JAY

**RADIO-TV MONITORING SERVICE, INC.**

3408 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N. W. -- WASHINGTON, D. C. 20016 -- 244-8682

PROGRAM: DREW PEARSON	DATE: August 27, 1966
STATION OR NETWORK: WTOP Radio	TIME: 6:40 P.M.

MEANY IRATE OVER PEARSON COLUMN

DREW PEARSON: CHICAGO:-- Well, George Meany delivered a diatribe against Jack Anderson and me at the closed door meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council. Meany particularly was irate over my column identifying the AFL-CIO's free labor development institute as an agent of the CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY.

I had reported that Jay Lovestone, who directs Meany's international affairs, had worked closely with the CIA. Angrily, Meany called this a campaign of villification, and pushed through a resolution commending the institute which Lovestone heads. Two labor leaders voted against the resolution -- Walter Reuther of the Auto Workers and Joseph Curran of the Maritime Union. Jake Potofsky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers abstained.

AUG 26 1966

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

~~Aug. 1~~ AFL-CIO  
 Pers. Lovett, Jeff  
 Pers. Meany, George  
 Pers. Farrell, Barry

# LABOR LEADERS, TOUGH, REMOTE —OR FEUDING

by BARRY FARRELL

Erstwhile friend of labor!" may not strike every ear as an especially withering curse—to some it could only be a compliment. But coming from George Meany, as it so often does these days, it conveys a cold rain of frustration and anger. For labor is rich in erstwhile friends—liberals, intellectuals, politicians, people plainly disgusted with the increasing number of strikes in which the public seems to do all the suffering. The sorry thing, for labor as well as for the nation, is that there is little Meany or anyone else in the leadership can do in the near future to win back the friends, or even to stop very many of the strikes.

It is no illusion that strikes are growing both in number and in nuisance value. Each of the past three years has brought more shut-downs than the year before, and, as the economy becomes more intricate and cohesive, strikes become more painful and disruptive. High nuisance value, of course, only makes a strike more effective, just as the presently feverish economic climate makes one more tempting. A worker who knows that labor costs are declining in relation to both prices and profits, and that jobs are easy to find in case unemployment insurance and strike benefits don't see him through—such a worker is apt to consider it a most felicitous season to go out on strike.

Yet much of the old belligerence is gone from the union leadership. The enactment of the Taft-Hartley

Landrum-Griffin bills acquainted labor with its vulnerability to political attack, causing the leaders to drift deeply into the sophisticating atmosphere of official Washington, concentrating on such matters as lobbying, economics and foreign affairs. In the process it has acquired considerable influence within the government, the respect of economists and planners, a certain new prestige. But it has also lost touch with its membership, and that is now proving to be a very troublesome mistake.

Union leaders provide long, serpentine explanations of how such a thing could have happened to them. Mostly they have to do with the apathy of the men ("You can't get them to meetings unless there's a strike vote coming up"), or how the young worker lacks the historical perspective that comes from having stood on the barricades. Strike fever, or "militancy," as it is called in union circles, is similarly accounted for by the increased self-confidence of a work force which is largely well-educated, native-born and in demand. Coupled with the tradition of "local autonomy" that permits the "rank and file" to ignore a union's national strike policy, these factors have made the unions difficult to control, even for the best leaders.

The unnecessary strike often suggests neither malicious nor headstrong leadership so much as failing leadership or no leadership at all. Thus the galling spectacle of 35,400 air-line mechanics treating themselves to the rare, invigorating thrill of telling the President of the United States to go to hell,

while their own president explains that "one of my problems is that the men are very militant." Thus the appalling circus of strikes that has maimed the newspaper business in New York City.

A good many labor leaders have their doubts about the future of the strike—automation may kill it, and so may the wrath of the public. "The American labor movement has become too established, too mature, to justify these biennial conniption fits, these sullen dramas," says Edward Swayduck of the Lithographers, whose men have not been off the job in 45 years. Walter Reuther has spoken out against strikes that cripple transportation and other public services—though in the past year firemen have struck in Atlanta, transit workers in New York, nurses in California and New York, teachers and garbage collectors in a half-dozen cities. After a 1959 strike the steelworkers experimented with a "Human Relations Committee" that made negotiations a relaxed, year-round affair, with none of the anxiety that comes from the countdown effect of deadlines. But last year, the membership threw out its president and killed the committee, which had negotiated, according to an officer in the new regime, "two of the lousiest, cheapest, chintziest, goddam awful contracts this union ever had."

The defense of strikes is simple: that there is no choice of weapons. Interests conflict, fair demands go unheard by even the most respectable firms, labor has to act—it's a tough world. The hitch is that labor bears most of the odium in almost every strike. Privately, union leaders are often dismayed by each other's strikes. The air-lines strike, for example, was considered a disaster by the pros since it not only offended the most talkative segment of the population (thereby making more erstwhile friends in Congress), but also struck fires of anarchy and avarice among other workers whose contracts are due to expire soon.

But officially, the AFL-CIO is loyal to any well-behaved affiliate, no matter how ridiculous or disgraceful its situation. Meany can be counted upon to make any criticism out to be an attack on "free collective bargaining," launched by "those who want to take the country down the road to socialism." This contradictory behavior reveals one of labor's great quandaries: It cannot confess the disorganization and political weakness that explains much which otherwise seems callous and destructive. It does its best work in technocratic obscurity, catching public attention only when it speaks in fighting words. Consequently it is widely mistaken for a brutal, one-punch fighter, the heavy in every match. Peevish and self-righteous, the movement is stuck fast at the awkward stage of its development and growth.

The complexity and subtlety of labor's deepest problems is reflected in the variety of tasks performed by an able union leader. To do his job at all well, he should be familiar with the operations that employ his members, be at least conversant in labor law, accounting, funding and insurance techniques, direct a staff of lawyers, economists, industrial engineers, specialists in investment banking and international trade. He should be a man unspoiled by room service and the fine perks of convention life, a charismatic personality driven with a zeal to organize, a student of lobbying, a straight talker equally at ease with factory hands, company officers, and congressional committees. Finally, most crucially, he better be a tough hombre.

Not everybody qualifies—no body qualifies. The best men in the movement almost always get by on a few surpassing qualities, even when the whole job is beyond them. Walter Reuther and David Dubinsky survived as humanists, labor's living Messengers. Joe Beirne of the Communications Workers and Paul Hall of the Seafarers Union are modern and public spirited; only Harry Bridges of the Longshoremen and Warehousemen can match Beirne's understanding of what automation implies for the work force. I. W. Abel of the Steelworkers and James Suffridge of the Retail Clerks are exemplary managers, the solidest kind of bureaucrats.

But the man most union-watchers feel serves his membership best is the well-known Jimmy Hoffa, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers (and paper tube converters, policemen, missile handlers, laundrymen, sheriffs, sugar workers, log rollers, telephone operators, turnpike toll collectors, icemen, office workers, janitors, dock foremen—and, as soon as Hoffa can swing it, baseball players) of America. Up in his Byzantine headquarters across from the Capitol building, he looks the role he has been given to play—a smart man who gets elected to a \$100,000-a-year job by acclamation. The walls of his office bear none of the public service awards that are customary for a man in his wage bracket. But at his elbow, he keeps a bronze plaque of his own making: *Illigitiimi Non Carborundum—Don't Let the Bastards Wear You Down.*

Hoffa's place in labor history depends on whether or not his lawyers can, as he puts it, "prevail upon the courts to see things our way" in two appeals coming up this fall; if they can't, Hoffa could be gone by Christmas, not to return from jail for as long as 13 years. The precise charges against him—jury-tampering and fraud—have been shrouded by all that it took to nail him, the thicket of investigations, motions, grand juries, petitions, FBI men, wiretaps, hung juries, even a special "anti-Hoffa squad" working around the clock in the Justice Department. Whatever the final truth of the matter

may be, the chase was too long and frenzied to be especially becoming. And though the AFL-CIO, along with the rest of the society, considers Hoffa a fiend and a scoundrel, a great many union men think of him as a wizard, and a rather sympathetic wizard at that.

Hoffa's charm lies in his ice-cold cynicism, the depth of his faith in "muscle," his absolute conviction that everyone is a hustler and everything a hustle: in the business he is known as the kind of unscrupulous man who never breaks his word. He invariably speaks of "the union business" as though it were one like any other, and he pursues it with a stampeding zeal unknown in the AFL-CIO. He dismisses all calls to conscience and other such talk as pure rot. Describing how the Teamsters could lay siege to New York City in a trucking strike, he chooses "knocking out the milk" as his example, and no guff about the babies.

The effects of Hoffa's rule are impressive. He has stabilized the trucking industry by eliminating labor costs as a factor of competition—the goal of every union is to do the same. He has put bargaining and strike power in the hands of area-wide jurisdictions, thus eliminating the problem of militant locals, or "locals with a wild hair," as he calls them. With strike power so awesome, not many strikes are called; for the past two years there have been fewer than 2,000 Teamsters a month on strike out of a total membership of 1.5 million.

At the same time, Hoffa runs a lobbying group involved in all manner of social legislation, and he is one of the very few union leaders who wins any praise from civil rights groups. But Hoffa denies any intention of "changin' the world"—his derisive term for good works. "If colored workers can't get into unions and can't get decent work," he says, "that just invites them to become strikebreakers who the employers are going to use against you. I don't call this a social issue at all—it's bread and butter."

Apart from calling itself "the people's lobby" and generally thinking of its 13.5 million members as equal to the population at large—"we are the people"—the

AFL-CIO also disclaims a preoccupation with anything and respect come to mind. More than bread and butter, as well as descend all fronts, all battles. They it should. While claiming to speak have worked far better together for the American worker, it effectively excludes those who need it than have their chiefs, and they most—farm workers, Negroes, have made important progress on Puerto Ricans, Mexican *braceros*. many difficult questions that once set the unions at each other's throats.

Says Herbert Hill, NAACP labor director and a milder critic than his counterparts at CORE and SNCC: "The broad national pattern of discrimination in craft unions remains intact. We are forced to conclude that the AFL-CIO is either unwilling or unable to move against racist elements." Headquarters offers labor's liberal stand on civil rights legislation as proof that its heart is in the right place. Still, it is difficult for most people to appreciate why there should be more Negroes with Ph.D.s in the country than Negroes with tickets as plumbers or electricians.

Complaints along this line are likely to be dismissed by Meany and his staff as the talk of the "so-called disenchanted liberals," as this category of erstwhile friends is invariably described. The departure of the liberals in the movement occurred when both government and the civil rights drive took over labor's old place as "the conscience of the nation." With them went all but the lingering scent of class struggle that clings to Walter Reuther's thought. The atmosphere they left behind is not at all that of a social movement. It is more like an aquarium, where the liberal fish circle near the surface and the tough fish stay down below, learning the tank.

Ten years of merger have not healed the deep animus that boils between Meany and Reuther. At the start it was presumed to be a quarrel mainly involved with the old feud between the trade unions of Meany's AFL and the industrial unions of Reuther's CIO. But this problem has now been all but solved, thanks to the efforts of two extraordinarily capable assistants—Jack T. Conway, Reuther's man, and Lane Kirland, Meany's. Conway and Kirland are like one of those classic pairs of matched generals who test each

other's courage and wit until they scend all fronts, all battles. They have worked far better together than have their chiefs, and they have made important progress on many difficult questions that once set the unions at each other's throats.

But Meany and Reuther are still streets apart. Meany, his aging fingers gripping ever tighter, is the complete oligarch—a 21 to 2 vote in the Executive Council leaves him furious. After all the challenges that have been put to his leadership, he is in more complete control than ever. His position in labor is very much like De Gaulle's in France: people say they hate him, and that no one else is half his size.

Specifically, not Walter Reuther. From the beginning Reuther misplayed his hand. "Walter enraged people by talking proletarianism at council meetings," says a witness to the period. He went to make peace with Khrushchev in Moscow and with Nehru in Delhi after Meany had insulted them, and though these trips may have been a service to the nation, to Meany they were intolerable grandstand stunts.

Then for years Reuther seemed to be making an effort to wily back Meany's favor—"He's leaning over backwards to be nice," said an aide. These conciliatory efforts lasted just long enough for Reuther to disappear from the honored place he had held for years in the conversation of liberals. Now he has surfaced again, striking out at Meany over "the gross disservice to democracy" involved in an AFL-CIO walkout from the International Labor Organization's convention in Geneva last June, in protest against the election of a Polish Communist as president. Reuther's choice of this somewhat obscure issue mystifies nearly everyone, especially since two months before he had gone along with Meany on a resolution promising the AFL-CIO's blanket support for any kind of escalation of the war in Vietnam.

Meany and Reuther are having it out this month at a special "foreign policy debate" in the Exec-

utive Council called to examine the role played by Jay Lovestone, Meany's chief rival. Since the AFL-CIO spends more on foreign relations than it does on education, research, civil rights and organizing combined, Lovestone is a man of great influence. His specialty is Communism, and his obsession with it runs so deep that he has spent the past 47 years of his life in complete dedication to first one side, then the other. He was a founder of the American Communist Party as well as the Comintern; but with the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939, he became what he has been ever since, "a tireless anti-Communist." Victor Reuther, Walter's brother and his foreign affairs advisor, flatly says that Lovestone is "involved with the CIA." Lovestone denies it obliquely, sounding more like a man who would like to be a CIA agent than one who really is. It is often suggested that Meany's foreign policy line—at least as rigid as Barry Goldwater's—results from Lovestone's influence. "Rubbish," says Lovestone, "George was an anti-Communist when I was still a Communist."

No one can predict how much of a confrontation Meany and Reuther will permit themselves; the present wave of "anti-labor" feeling in Congress may make this a time for unity. "Look, I'll level with you," Reuther said recently, standing on the curbstone outside a union hall in Portland where he had just spoken out in favor of the Great Society. "Organized labor is in deep trouble. I could give you a story that would make headlines across the country. I could tell you things that would blow organized labor apart. But I'm not going to do it." Then off and away in a limousine, destination a secret, plans unknown.

Such ominous rumblings are not to be taken too seriously. Reuther frequently talks that way in his impatience to be heard—the mark of a man with convex ideas trapped inside a concave career. Meany, too, is given to overstatement, as when he refers to his opposition as "those fairies." But labor has al-

ways been able to indulge its leaders in their quirks and huffs, and the institution will long survive its builders. "When you're talking about the future, say 10 years from now, you can't talk in terms of the present leadership," says Jack Conway. "It's as if you could take a scythe and mow down the whole front line."

Future ranks of labor leaders will have to include men capable of guiding the work force into the wholly new industrial environment promised by automation, and they will have to do it in an atmosphere increasingly less tolerant of breakdown and stalemate. To manage at all, they will first have to solve the basic problem that bedevils the men who lead labor now: how to serve the interests of the nation and still get their men what they want—the bigger slice of the pie.

The most energetic expression of the "new militancy" which has left so much of labor's leadership high and dry is to be found in the very place the public interest is presumably paramount—that is, among public employes. One of the few great domains of unorganized workers, it is the target of a 47-year-old New Yorker named Jerry Wurf. He is president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, whose membership has soared by nearly 100,000 in two years.

When President Kennedy signed an order in 1962 granting collective bargaining rights to government workers, he rewrote an American tradition famously evoked by Governor Calvin Coolidge during the 1919 Boston police strike: "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime." Kennedy's order gave labor the same green light in this area that early New Deal legislation gave labor in industry. In 1964 Wurf, in a bitterly contested election, became the union's president. His readiness to clean out dead wood soon earned him a reputation for toughness.

What sets Wurf apart from old-style militants is his emphasis on membership involvement—"making it with the little guy," he puts it. "I don't want to control my members," he explains. "I want to involve them." He also involves himself at every level, and the union's booming recruitment has been assisted by Wurf's personal skill in hammering out contracts with state and local officials.

The same eight states which have definitive laws permitting workers to join Wurf's union also prohibit strikes, and on this stormy ground the public interest and bread-and-butter claims clash head-on. Many other states have antistrike laws concerning public employes, although punitive sanctions have proved difficult to enforce. But Wurf insists that the right to strike "is a right that cannot be denied to a worker." To prove this point his union sanctioned brief walk-outs this summer in such cities as Lansing, Mich., Durham, N.C. and Dayton, Ohio—all in defiance of state law. Flexing new-style union muscle, he says, "Everyone is learning to hit the bricks."

AUG 25 1966

# AFL-CIO Advises War Critic Silence

By a Washington Post Staff Writer

CHICAGO, Aug. 24 — The world peace and freedom," it  
AFL-CIO in effect today advised critics of American policy in Vietnam to shut up.

While claiming that "the right to dissent is sacred," a resolution approved by the federation's Executive Council at its quarterly meeting here insisted that "disruption by even a well-meaning minority can only pollute and poison the bloodstream of our democracy."

The strongly worded motion singled out the Soviet Union as the foremost villain in the Vietnamese fighting, claimed that the United States "isn't resorting to an escalation of the war," and accused the Communists of "the most savage ruthlessness and reckless bombings against civilians."

"Those who would deny our military forces unstinting support are, in effect, aiding the Communist enemy of our country—at the very moment when it is bearing the heaviest burdens in defense of

Some officials of the AFL-CIO, who give qualified support to the Johnson Administration's policies in Southeast Asia, professed acute distress over what they claimed was the jingoistic and hawklike tone of the resolution.

But Walter P. Reuther, a bitter critic of the federation's stand on many international issues, joined in unanimous approval of the resolution after two minor word changes, according to federation sources.

Sources within the federation said Reuther gave grudging support to the Vietnam resolution after these changes were made:

"Russian, Chinese and North Vietnamese warlords" were changed to "Russian, Chinese and North Vietnamese governments." And the word "such" was deleted before the phrase "disruption by a well-meaning minority."



BOSTON, MASS.  
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE  
MONITOR

6- 177,755

AUG 24 1966

## Institute role

# CIA ties denied by AFL-CIO

By a special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor.

### Chicago

Charges that the AFL-CIO is working overseas with the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) were "rejected out of hand" by the federation's executive council in Chicago Monday.

The federation said the charges are part of a "campaign of vilification" against the American Institute for Free Labor Developments (AIFLD), supported by labor, business, and the government.

The AFL-CIO executive council "commended" AIFLD for its work in Latin America, in line with the international policies of the federation. A split vote in the policy-making council's midsummer meeting, 23 to 2, with one abstention and three absences recorded, found only Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers Union, and Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, against the AFL-CIO support of AIFLD and condemnation of its reported ties to CIA.

The charges were voiced by Mr. Reuther's brother, Victor Reuther, UAW's international-affairs director and a labor foreign-policy specialist. They have been heard widely elsewhere, too. Generally, they say that the AFL-CIO's foreign apparatus and AIFLD are used by CIA to funnel money and trained leadership into Latin-American countries.

Walter Reuther, while voting against the policy statement, expressed personal high regard for AIFLD's work. Council members inside the closed meeting said "Walter admitted Victor went too far" in criticizing the AIFLD. But, they added, Walter believed the AFL-CIO statement went too far in its condemnation of honest criticism and serious doubts about the AIFLD.

### Leadership questioned

Mr. Curran, who frequently backs Walter Reuther's position on international matters, also questioned the AIFLD leadership.

The charges by Victor Reuther were brought up "for a thorough airing" by Joseph A. Beirne, president of the communications Workers of America and secretary treasurer of AIFLD. Mr. Beirne objected strongly to the "vilification" in the charges and denied to the council that CIA is calling the plays for the labor-supported team that, he said, is working with "untiring devotion" to promote free-trade unionism in Latin America and to "unionize the nonunion" workers in less-developed countries.

Last year, according to Mr. Beirne, AFL-CIO contributed \$200,500 to the program, business and industry \$150,000 to \$160,000, and the government's Agency for International Development about \$3 million. Since the program actually got under way in 1961 and 1962, he said, about \$7 million to \$8 million contributed by all three has been used, largely in training programs.

At present, Mr. Beirne said, 28 trade unionists from 15 unions are working in Latin America under the AIFLD program, and, so far, some 43,000 have been trained in Latin America to "fulfill their commitment" to work for better standards for workers. Of the 43,000, Mr. Beirne said, only 455 have received any training in Washington or Fort Royal, Virginia, presumably where CIA would have a voice in the training.

Although the statement may lay to rest the argument for a time, it may break out into the open again this fall when AFL-CIO's executive council plans a full-scale review of the federation's international policies.

In other actions Monday, George Meany, AFL-CIO president:

- Said the airline settlement, whatever its real percentage increase would "have an impact on collective bargaining, because it certainly goes above the guidelines."

- Pledged AFL-CIO and its unions will "support without reservations" coalition bargaining by AFL-CIO unions for 180,000 workers employed by General Electric and Westinghouse. All labor stands solidly behind "an AFL-CIO national committee" in electrical-manufacturing bargaining, Mr. Meany said, to strengthen unions that might be weak otherwise.

- Reiterated that labor "couldn't live under a collective-bargaining pattern in which Congress would intervene in any dispute in which the public is inconvenienced." Mr. Meany had told Congress this when it took up airline-strike legislation — now dropped.

AUG 23 1966

*Org. 1 AFL-CIO*  
*Pers. Reuther, Victor*  
*Pers. Swenson, Jay*  
*Org. 1 AIFLD (Am. Inst. of Free Labor Development)*  
*CIA 4-01.2 AIFLD*

## AFL-CIO Council Denounces Defaming Of Training Unit

(By a Sun Staff Correspondent)

Chicago, Aug. 22—The AFL-CIO executive council today denounced accusations that the American Institute of Free Labor Development was infiltrated by the Central Intelligence Agency and served as a front for the Department of State.

This "vilification" included a charge that the AIFLD was being used to foment revolutions in Latin America, George Meany, AFL-CIO president, revealed.

The institute, a training school for labor leaders from Latin American nations, is jointly sponsored by the AFL-CIO, American industry with Latin American ties, and the Agency for International Development of the State Department.

Now located at Front Royal, Va., it trains from 20 to 45 labor leaders every three months.

An investigation of the institute was conducted by Joseph A. Beirne, a council vice president and president of the Communications Workers of America, after the CIA infiltration charge was hurled by Victor Reuther, director of the Department of International Affairs of the United Auto Workers.

Reuther, brother of Walter Reuther, UAW president, charged

the institute was being used in this manner during a press interview at the UAW convention in Long Beach, Cal., last May. Subsequently, the AFL-CIO called for an investigation to "clear the air."

### Vote Is 23 To 2

A lengthy report on the matter was presented today by Beirne to the council, which voted 23 to 2 to accept the report. Walter Reuther and Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, voted negatively. Jakob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, abstained.

Presumably Walter Reuther would not vote against his brother, regardless of how he might feel. Walter Reuther has not been in agreement with the AFL-CIO's foreign policy in a number of areas. He and George Meany, AFL-CIO president, had a severe falling-out in June over a walkout at the International Labor Organization session in Geneva, Switzerland.

Curran said he voted no because Peter Grace, president of W. R. Grace & Co., owners of the Grace Lines, was the management head of the institute and he often negotiated with the Grace Line. **H.D.B.**

*Pers. Meany, George*

*AFL-CIO*

*Pers. Feinstein, Jay*

*CIA 4-<sup>old</sup> Panama (AIFLD)*

*Pers. Reuther, Victor*

*Pers. Mallon, Jack*

*Orig. 1 AIFLD*

# Meany Denies CIA Has Spies In Labor Unit

By JACK MALLON  
Staff Correspondent of THE NEWS  
Chicago, Aug. 22—AFL-CIO  
President George Meany vigor-  
ously denied today charges that



George Meany

the Central In-  
telligence Agency had in-  
filtrated" into  
the labor organ-  
ization's pro-  
gram in Latin  
America.  
Blasting crit-  
ics who have  
charged that  
the American  
Institute for  
Free Labor De-  
velopment was  
"forming revolutions" and act-  
ing as "training school for company  
unions," the executive council of  
the AFL-CIO meeting here passed  
a resolution condemning "the  
campaign of vilification con-  
ducted against the AIFLD."

At the May Convention of the  
United Auto Workers in Cali-  
fornia, Victor Reuther, head of the  
UAW's international department  
charged that CIA agents had  
been manipulating unions in  
Panama to protect U.S. interests.  
He said the intelligence agency  
was working through unionists  
trained by the AIFLD.

## Another Reuther Charge

Reuther also contended that the  
international labor organization  
was supporting a union in the Do-  
minican Republic opposed to left-  
ist leader Juan Bosch. The left  
wing press and other critics  
joined in the Reuther charge.

The AIFLD, a unit of the AFL-  
CIO International department, is  
financed by U.S. labor, industry,  
and the federal government.  
Formed in 1962, it trains Latin  
American trade unionists and  
promotes better-housing and social  
programs.

"I'm no agent of the U.S. gov-  
ernment. No one is going to make  
me into some cloak and dagger  
character," Joseph Bierne, secre-  
tary treasurer of the AIFLD, said  
after yesterday's executive  
session.

## Demands Condemnation

Bierne, also president of the  
Communications Workers of  
America, insisted in the closed  
meeting that the 29-man execu-  
tive council condemn the accusa-  
tions of Victor Reuther.

Victor's brother, Walter, presi-  
dent of the UAW, said, "He's my  
brothre and I'm not going to sit  
here without defending him."

Although he said he supported  
the basic goal of the AIFLD, the  
UAW president objected to the  
presence of businessmen on the  
board of the international labor  
organization.

The resolution supporting the  
AIFLD and condemning its de-  
tractors was passed by a 23-2  
vote, with Joseph Curran, presi-  
dent of the Maritime Union and  
Walter Reuther voting against it.  
Jacob Potofsky, president of the  
Amalgamated Clothing Workers  
Union, abstained.

*Low, Loveston, Jay*

*Pers, Stetson*  
*Damon*

*CIA 4-01.2*  
*AIFLD*



Associated Press Wirephoto

THE TOPIC IS A.F.L.-C.I.O. ACTIVITIES ABROAD: George Meany, left, president of the merged labor organization, and Walter P. Reuther, a vice president of the organization and head of the United Automobile Workers, at Chicago meeting yesterday.

## Labor Chiefs Back Aid to Latin-American Unions

By DAMON STETSON  
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Aug. 22—Organized labor's high command strongly supported today a four-year-old program for assisting trade unions in Latin America.

At the same time the labor leaders rebuked one of labor's own leaders in international affairs, Victor Reuther, for criticizing the union program.

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, holding its quarterly meeting here, adopted a resolution commending the American Institute for Free Labor Development for its work in carrying out the policies of the merged labor movement in the international field. The council rejected "out of hand the campaign of vilification that has been conducted against the A.I.F.L.D."

The institute conducts the Latin-American program.

### Linked to C.I.A.

George Meany, president of the labor federation, in reporting on the council's action, said that critics of the institute had charged that it was fomenting revolutions in Latin America, was serving as an arm of the

### Victor Reuther Rebuked by A.F.L.-C.I.O. Leaders for Criticizing Institute

agent of the Central Intelligence Agency.

One of the chief critics of the institute has been Mr. Reuther, director of international affairs for the United Automobile Workers. His views and activities have often brought him into conflict with the more conservative policies of the international affairs department of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., directed by Jay Lovestone.

The council's rebuke of critics of the institute did not directly involve differences between Mr. Reuther and Mr. Lovestone, but it did serve once again to accentuate the schism, particularly regarding international affairs, that has been developing between Mr. Meany and Walter P. Reuther, a vice president of the merged federation who is also president of the auto workers and Victor Reuther's brother.

The vote on the resolution supporting the institute and rebuking its critics was 23 to 2, with 3 members absent. The negative votes were cast by Walter Reuther and Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union. Jacob

gamated Clothing Workers, abstained from voting.

The executive council took up the issue at the behest of Joseph Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America and also secretary-treasurer of the institute. He gave a detailed report on the activities of the institute, which was founded in 1962 to train Latin-American trade unionists in this country, to set up national training centers in various nations and to assist in the establishment of low-cost housing projects.

In other resolutions the executive council pledged support to the unions currently attempting to negotiate new contracts with the Western Electric Company, the General Electric Company and the Westinghouse Corporation.

Mr. Meany indicated that the settlement terms of the recent airlines strike would spur other unions to seek agreements higher than the 3.2 per cent guidelines of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. He was critical of attempts to make specific applications of the guidelines.

"The unions are asking what they're entitled to," Mr. Meany said. "If it's over 3.2 per cent, so be it."

AUG 23 1966

*Org. 1 AFL-CIO*  
*Reuther, Walter*  
*Pers. Javerton, Jy*  
*Pers. Porter, Frank*  
*Org. 1 AIFLD*

**Union Leadership Votes 21 to 2**

**Reuther's Foreign Policies Rebuked**

By Frank Porter  
 Washington Post Staff Writer

CHICAGO, Aug. 22—Walter P. Reuther, the No. 2 man in the U.S. labor movement, received another stinging rebuke on foreign policy here today from the leadership of the AFL-CIO.

The Federation's executive council voted, 21 to 2, to "reject out of hand the campaign of vilification that has been conducted against the AIFLD (the American Institute For Free Labor Development)."

The prime target of the resolution wasn't Reuther, who heads both the 1.3-million-member United Auto Workers (UAW) and the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, but statements made by his brother Victor.

Victor Reuther is director of the UAW's department of International Affairs and has publicly assailed the AIFLD, among other things, he has charged the AFL-CIO-sponsored Institute with working with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and interfering in the internal political affairs of Latin American nations.

**Wrong in Attacks**

Although the quarterly executive council meetings that opened here today are closed, members said Walter Reuther conceded his brother had been wrong in his attacks on the AIFLD.

The UAW president nonetheless voted against the motion along with Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union. President Jacob S. Potosky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America abstained and three other council members were absent.

Walter Reuther reportedly favored the first part of the resolution, which commended the AIFLD for its "work in carrying out the policies of the AFL-CIO in the international field."

But colleagues said they believed he could not lend support to a motion which con-

demned his brother by in-direction. They also speculated that a yes vote from Walter might have implied that he is in accord with overall AFL-CIO foreign policies when indeed he is not. President George Meany has scheduled a special executive council meeting for after the November election at which Reuther and his supporters will have a chance to debate these policies.

**No Comment**

Walter Reuther would not comment on today's action.

The Reuthers' earlier defeat on foreign policy came in June when the council upheld, 18 to 6, the walkout of American labor delegates to the International Labor Organization meetings in Geneva after election of a Polish Communist as president. Walter Reuther, aided by his brother, had protested the action bitterly as inimicable to a free labor movement and asked Meany for a special hearing.

The episode was regarded as a tempest in a teapot by some rank-and-file unionists who contend AFL-CIO foreign policy holds little interest for the membership as a whole.

But higher-ups view both the ILO and AIFLD incidents as greatly weakening Walter Reuther's chances of succeeding Meany as federation president. Even some of his friends, while supporting him in the ILO fight in theory, were dismayed by what they considered Reuther's decisive tactics in bringing the matter into the open before the council could consider it.

**Report Outcome**

Today's resolution was the outcome of a long report de-fending the AIFLD by Joseph A. Bierne, its secretary-treasu-

rer since its inception in 1961 and president of the Communications Workers of America.

Although the report was not made public, Bierne told The Washington Post that he sought to refute what he called a number of untruths about the Institute, among them charges that the AIFLD:

- Works as an arm of the U.S. State Department.
- Is dominated by or cooperated with the CIA.
- Fosters company unions in Latin America.
- Intervenes in the internal affairs of foreign countries.
- Supports anti-democratic leaders in Latin America.

Bierne said he was not unduly disturbed when "this fabric" of allegations was woven by individual newspaper and magazine writers.

**Public Changes**

"It still didn't have credence until someone from the movement (Victor Reuther) gave it credence," he said. Shortly after Victor first made his charges public in a newspaper interview last May, Bierne asked Meany for the opportunity to defend the AIFLD, which is an outgrowth of pilot projects in Latin America by his own union. Today's report was the fruition of that request.

Bierne said his action was "not an attack on Victor Reuther as a person but on the statements he made."

The CWA chief, who called the AIFLD "the one bright star in the whole alliance for progress," said he told the council the Institute has trained 43,000 Latin Americans as labor leaders, spent or committed \$63 million on worker housing and spent another \$100,000 on such "impact" items as sewing machines for cooperatives, sanitary facilities, schoolhouse improvements and the like.

The council also passed a resolution supporting the communications workers in their efforts to shatter the "shield" of the Administration's 3.2 per cent wage guidepost which the union says Western Electric has erected to resist CWA demands for "decent wage levels."

It asked the Senate to act promptly on an improved minimum wage bill, asked that the House expedite the so-called truth in packaging bill which it said has become bogged down in committee, and gave "support without reservation" to seven unions seeking to bargain collectively with General Electric and Westinghouse.

Org. 1 AFL-CIO

# AFL-CIO Chiefs Open Summer Session Today

By D. J. R. Bruckner

Los Angeles Times

CHICAGO, Aug. 21 — Politics will dominate the summer meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, which opens here Monday.

With the leaders of the Nation's unions more divided than ever by political arguments, the meeting promises to be a difficult one.

George Meany, President of the 13-million-member labor federation, would like to persuade the Council to continue to go along with President Johnson and to pour funds into Democratic Party races across the Nation in November. But, in some cases, he will have a hard time doing it.

The Council, made up of 27 vice presidents, Meany and AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler, is the ruling body of the federation and usually sets political policy.

Since Mr. Johnson took office, its policy has been to support him and most Democrats in Congress. That support can be moral, through public statements, or purely political, through campaign contributions and the registration and vote drives conducted by the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE).

Leaders of the federation's 130 national and international unions continued to go along with Meany's moral support of the Administration. But a number of unions are far below their "quotas" in COPE contributions and others, despite pleas by Meany, are not pushing either fund or vote drives this year.

Many of the union leaders, including some prominent members of the Executive Council, are angry with Mr. Johnson.

They resent what they consider rough handling of the International Association of Machinists by Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz during the airline strike. They say Mr. Johnson has not pushed legislation for a higher minimum wage. Further, they accuse the President of not working hard enough for the repeal of the right to work section (14b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, and they resent the so-called wage-price guidelines. Some even feel the Administration now would be willing to support a compulsory arbitration law.

The resentment cannot affect the President personally this year. But COPE officials and Meany argue that it could result in the election to the 90th Congress of a large number of Republicans who might even promote restrictive labor legislation.

Political analysts inside the labor movement feel that the Democrats stand to lose more than 50 house seats plus some key Senate races and a few governorships.

They point out that the Vietnam war is working against Democrats in the election; current racial troubles across the country are producing a political reaction that labor men feel will favor the Republicans, and in the farm states there is widespread discontent with Administration agricultural policies.

In some states, such as Michigan, Ohio and Illinois, all of which have large congressional delegations, union strength is sufficient to make the difference, the labor leaders say. But the political staff men in the AFL-CIO are worried that the necessary effort may not be made.

Meany is also deeply concerned about the gubernatorial races in California, where labor's problems are complicated by deep divisions within the state AFL-CIO. A four-member task force of the Executive Council has been assigned to coordinate labor efforts on behalf of Gov. Edmund G. Brown in his race against Ronald Reagan.

Another task force has been assigned for Illinois, to work for Sen. Paul H. Douglas, the liberal Democratic incumbent, in his fight against Republican industrialist Charles H. Percy.

AUGUST 14, 1968

*pers. Lovestone, Jr.  
Pers. Beil, Victor  
Arg. 1 AFL-CIO  
Pers. Fulbright, Jr.  
CIA-01 Raborn*

This is a duplicate of the article sent around at 4:00 except for the last paragraph which changes its emphasis.

*Paragraph on Helms omitted here also.*

Victor Riesel

# CIA-Labor Tieup Is Openly Charged

WASHINGTON, Aug. 13.

HERE will be more daggers than cloaks flying around a closed room in Chicago's Hotel Ambassador East come Aug. 22. If the "intelligence community" of labor's high command is as well-informed as it usually is, the word is that the Reuther brothers plan to give the Central Intelligence Agency another going over. Their position is that the CIA is active in the labor affairs of the world—and probably inside American unions, too.

The brothers, Walter and Victor, disapprove. And at least Victor has openly charged that labor's president George Meany and his International Affairs director, Jay Lovestone, work closely with the CIA.

It will all come to a loud and angry showdown during the AFL-CIO Executive Council (high command) session.

No matter which side wins, the CIA, which undoubtedly has a unit of labor specialists doing what comes naturally in a world rapidly going labor, will lose. Certainly some of its classified activities will be made public.

For some weeks now, Victor Reuther's people have had a small task force here digging up what they can to bolster his charges that Meany and Lovestone virtually are CIA agents. They have a skilled and prolific writer weaving the material into one document which could be published easily. Insiders believe that this will be published as a pamphlet just before the Council meeting.

ANGER inside the Meany camp over the original and recent charges by Victor Reuther has been compounded by reports that the younger Reuther, 54-year-old, went to Sen. Fulbright with reports of alleged Meany-Lovestone intelligence activity.

Meany's people believe that Reuther's statements to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman prompted Mr. Fulbright to suggest publicly that the CIA intervenes in U. S. union elections.

The Senator freely discussed the matter with me:

"This is one of the questions which had been in my mind," said the gentleman from Arkansas. "I have had suggestions that they (the CIA) had taken a very strong part in labor union organization in the Dominican Republic. I believe they have worked hand in glove with Meany's crowd in the AFL-CIO. But I truly don't know whether there has been any interference in American unions. I tried to get that answer from the former (CIA) Director Raborn. But he would not reply."

This matter of alleged CIA operations inside labor had followed by a month the flare-up over Victor Reuther's open attack, not only on Meany and Lovestone, but upon the American Institute for Free Labor Development. Reuther has asserted that sections of AIFLD had been used by CIA agents, especially in Panama.

AIFLD is jointly sponsored by labor, management and Government. Meany is president; J. Peter Grace, of the famed steamship line, is chairman of the board. But the active executive is a battling Irishman, Joe Beirne, head of the Communications Workers of America. He is AIFLD secretary-treasury.

It is the opinion of many observers who have been out in the field, including this columnist, that AIFLD has done mighty constructive work. It educates some 20,000 workers and labor officials throughout Latin America. It builds worker-owned housing in the slum areas of big cities such as Mexico City.

It has put up social and welfare and clinic centers in such impoverished areas as Carpina, in Brazil's rural northeast, which I visited last year. It provides disaster aid. It builds playgrounds.

What has angered Meany, Beirne and Lovestone most has been the effect on the AFL-CIO's international work. It would be hampered in its bolstering of free unions abroad.

Even if there were a CIA-AFL-CIO link somewhere, why should such aid to one's country be considered by anyone to be a stigma?

Inside Labor

# Reuther Set To Blast CIA

By VICTOR RIESEL



Mr. Riesel

WASHINGTON, D.C. — There will be more daggers than cloaks flying around a closed room in Chicago's Hotel Ambassador East come August 22.

If the "intelligence community" of labor's high command is as well-informed as it usually is, the word is that the Reuther brothers plan to give the Central Intelligence Agency another going over.

Their position is that the CIA is active in the labor affairs of the world—and probably inside American unions, too.

The brothers, Walter and Victor, disapprove. And at least Victor has openly charged that labor's president George Meany and his International Affairs Director, Jay Lovestone, work closely with the CIA.

It will all come to a loud and angry showdown during the AFL-CIO Executive Council (high command) session in Chicago.

The won't be a family fight—closed doors or no closed doors. The battle, story will leak. It always does.

Thus no matter which side wins, the CIA, which undoubtedly has a unit of labor specialists doing what comes naturally in a world rapidly going labor, will lose. Certainly some of its classified activities will be made public.

For some weeks now, Victor Reuther's people have had a small task force here digging up what they can to bolster his charges that Meany and Lovestone virtually are CIA agents. They have a skilled and prolific writer weaving the material into one document which could be published easily. Insiders believe that this will be published as a pamphlet just before the Council meeting.

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Meany's people believe that Victor Reuther's statements to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman prompted Mr. Fulbright to suggest publicly that the CIA intervenes in U.S. union elections.

The Senator freely discussed the matter with this reporter when I phoned him the other day.

"This is one of the questions which had been in my mind," said the gentleman from Arkansas. "I have had suggestions that they (the CIA) had taken very strong part in labor union organization in the Dominican Republic.

"I believe they have worked hand-in-glove with Meany's crowd in the AFL-CIO. But I truly don't know whether there has been any interference in American unions. I tried to get that answer from the former (CIA) Director Raborn. But he would not reply."

When the Senator questioned CIA Director Richard Helms recently, the latter replied that the CIA, to the best of his knowledge, does not "intervene directly or indirectly" in such domestic matters as union elections.

This matter of alleged CIA operations inside labor had followed by a month the flare-up over Victor Reuther's open attack, not only on Meany and Lovestone, but upon the American Institute for Free Labor Development. Victor Reuther had asserted that sections of AIFLD had been used by CIA agents, especially in Panama.

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It has put up social and welfare and clinic centers in such impoverished areas as Carpina in Brazil's rural northeast, which I visited last year. It provides disaster aid. It builds play grounds.

When Joe Beirne heard of Victor Reuther's charges, no ceiling was too high for him to hit. He prepared to bring charges against Victor, though the latter is just the head of the United Auto Workers International Affairs Dept., and is not a member of the high council which meets on August 22.

What has angered Meany, Beirne and Lovestone more than the criticism made by the Reuthers has been the effect on the AFL-CIO's international work. It would be hampered in its bolstering of free unions abroad. If the AFL-CIO national headquarters here was thought to be even a small section of CIA.

*Handwritten notes:*  
K...  
Victor  
AFL-CIO  
Reuther  
Walter  
Fulbright  
D.C.  
CIA - of Labor  
CIA - of Helms



Meany's Blunder

When the CIO was a separate entity, American labor had at least one important liberal voice on foreign policy matters. But when it merged with the AFL in 1955 its influence for world peace and progress was all but smothered by the reactionary policies of AFL-CIO President George Meany and his foreign policy Rasputin, Jay Lovestone. A one-time leader of the U. S. Communist Party, Lovestone is Meany's foreign policy director and greatly contributes to the growing Red-phobia of the AFL-CIO in its world outlook. As a result, the AFL-CIO's position on world affairs has, in the past decade, moved to the right of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the American government.

Now President Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers and his brother Victor have forced a show-down over the foreign policy role which Meany and Lovestone have dictated to the AFL-CIO. When labor officials meet this fall for discussion of foreign policy issues, that role will be subjected to its first serious review in a decade. It is a long overdue battle expected to challenge—if not revise—the AFL-CIO's opposition to U. N. membership for mainland China, its "hawk" posture on the Vietnam war, its backing of anti-democratic forces in Latin America, its resistance to East-West trade, and other cold and hot war exercises ordered by Meany and Lovestone.

The development leading to the test this fall (was the recent furor over the AFL-CIO's boycott of the International Labor Organization, a United Nations agency with labor, employer, and government representatives from U. N. member countries. Meany ordered the AFL-CIO delegation to walk out from the ILO conference as a protest against the election of a Polish Communist delegate to preside over its sessions at Geneva. Walter Reuther charged that the boycott was "a distinct disservice to the AFL-CIO, to the free world labor movement, to our nation, and to the cause of international peace and freedom."

The Meany action also was contrary to the position of the Administration and U. S. business, whose representatives remained in the ILO meetings, and it contradicted the George Meany of 1955 who said, on the occasion of an employer walkout from the ILO: "We are not going to walk away from the ILO. We are not going to fall into a Soviet trap and aid them in destroying this organization."

The 1966 Meany called a meeting of the AFL-CIO executive council which then voted eighteen to six—a smaller majority than expected—to endorse his boycott. Not long after—probably because of Administration pressure—Meany approved the return of AFL-CIO representatives to the ILO.

The boycott was a tragic blunder which damaged President Johnson's stated program of "building bridges" to countries in the European Communist coalition. It placed American labor on display in the world's window as a "sore loser" when ILO members, in a democratic election, chose a Communist delegate by one vote as their chairman at Geneva.

A great deal more than was lost can be gained if the final outgrowth is some realistic revision of AFL-CIO foreign policy at its leadership meeting this fall. Meany and Lovestone should not be permitted by the representatives of the international unions to decree simplistic anti-Communism as the central policy for the AFL-CIO, which represents 13.5 million American union members. The cause of democracy can only be set back, not advanced, by so mindless and sterile a doctrine.

Victor Reuther has called special attention to one of the most alarming developments of all—the infiltration of the American labor movement by the CIA. The man who permitted, if not invited, the CIA to infiltrate the AFL-CIO (to the point where Victor Reuther dubbed it the "AFL-CIA") is Lovestone. At labor's fall meeting, Lovestone should be put on the carpet. If he were a rank-and-filer, shop steward, or official in any democratic union local he would have been tried and expelled long ago for anti-union activities. But with Meany's protection

he will probably go on to forge even stronger links between AFL-CIO activities overseas and CIA foreign operations. Here is a corruption of the progressive ideals of unionism which, if continued, can seriously injure American labor from within.

*Original AFL-CIO  
for Mr. Lovestone, Jay  
Pers. Morris, George*

## George Morris

### World of Labor

#### Internationalism Vs. CIAism

IT MAY have been a coincidence, but it was certainly appropriate, that in the very week Walter Reuther attacked George Meany for his "CIA-type" of international relations, at Detroit a conference of unions of auto workers of 14 countries gave a demonstration of true workingclass internationalism brought up to date. The United Auto Workers had been long preparing for such world labor unity to match the "international assembly lines" of the big auto corporations.

It was in that week that Reuther sent his sharp letter protesting Meany's order to the labor delegation at the International Labor Organization conference in Geneva to boycott the sessions because a representative of Poland was elected its chairman. Reuther also challenged Meany's, and his man Lovestone's, right to operate the AFL-CIO's international affairs department like it was their personal property. This attack came on the heels of Reuther's brother Victor's attack upon that department for being "involved" with the Central Intelligence Agency and on following CIA policy in the Dominican Republic. Also in that week Victor Reuther sharply attacked the Meany-Lovestone directorate for interceding with the State Department to stop visas for a delegation of Soviet trade union leaders who were due here June 6, on invitation of the UAW.

Anti-Communism, which to Meany is the reason for international "relations," was not in evidence at the Detroit parley. Reuther opened it by saying "wages, production standards, grievance procedures, fringe demands are what we are here to discuss."

★  
SPEAKERS at Detroit pointed out how the "Big Three" now have assembly lines ringing the world as they seek the lowest wages, the best investment opportunities and highest prices for their cars, and they go anywhere across national boundaries to achieve their aim. The conference concluded that the way to meet this international power of the giant corporations here and in Europe and Japan, is to organize the united power of the 1,440,000 workers they represented.

Thereby the UAW is setting an example for the many other fields where corporations operate plants they own directly or indirectly throughout the world—in electronics, steel, copper, oil, machinery, and others. And to make the unity they seek effective, of necessity, it will have to include the unions in Fiat, Citroen, Simca and others affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions. We have what amounts to a head-on clash between two types of international relations, although both Reuther and Meany are officers of the AFL-CIO and of the International Confederation of Trade Unions of which the unions that met in Detroit are affiliates.

MEANY'S "international" relations, under Lovestone's directorship, follow the course of cooperation with the CIA to ease the penetration of American monopolies in Africa, Asia and Latin America; Reuther's international relations are designed to unite the workers in a struggle against the big international monopolies. In a sense this difference underlies the clash that was triggered by the ILO issue and came before the AFL-CIO's special executive council meeting June 16. On August 22, in Chicago, the council will take up Reuther's charge of "involvement" with the CIA.

★  
IN HIS letter replying to Reuther dated June 10, Meany wrote, "I regret the publicity which will undoubtedly follow in the European press, at a time when you and I both know that the future of the ICFTU hangs in the balance."

Why does he think the ICFTU's future hangs in the balance?

Last year, prior to the ICFTU's convention, Meany sent a Lovestone-prepared letter to all ICFTU affiliates in which he criticized its leaders for not showing enough anti-Communist vigor. He wrote that "today as then (in 1949) it is a major task of the ICFTU to fight against Communism."

But in 15 years, and many changes, even the right wing ICFTU leaders and heads of most unions abroad affiliated with it, became tired of the Cold War and anti-Communism. They are ignoring Meany's periodic threats to quit the organization or cut off funds, if the fight on Communism, especially in Africa, doesn't pick up steam. They can't live on anti-Communism. But the international assembly lines of the big corporations are becoming an ever greater menace. Meany and Lovestone were not able to get anywhere in the ICFTU congress last year with their efforts to make the ICFTU unions conduits for the CIA's global operations. But the UAW's approach for hands across the sea in the interest of the workers in the spirit of traditional solidarity, finds a welcome abroad.

Incidentally, the State Department, too, is disturbed by Reuther's type of international relations, according to Victor Rieser in a column June 16. He wrote "what intrigues the U.S. State Department is the impact of the auto union's 'little State Department' on American foreign policy."

Orig. 1 HFL-CIO  
CIA 1-01 Raborn  
CIA 1-02 Helms

PEOPLE

Much-publicized shots of Lyndon Johnson fraternizing with Sen. William Fulbright set off flurry of speculation that LBJ might be intending to use Fulbright as possible emissary to Hanoi. . . . Other important developments along peace front of the fortnight: under-wraps trip of Canadian diplomat Chester Ronning to Hanoi; announcement that Jean Sainteny of France was en route there (Sainteny handled complicated post-Geneva pact negotiations with North Vietnamese in middle and late fifties, has negotiated some tough ones with Ho Chi Minh); unilateral blast by UN Secretary General U Thant at U.S. conduct of a "barbarous" war in Vietnam. . . . Insiders wondering whether President's decision to retire Adm. Raborn as head of CIA and elevate his deputy Richard Helms (an experienced and much respected intelligence professional) to #1 spot was dictated by a) bureaucratic or b) policy considerations. . . . Peace rumors floated anew though only important dove in State Department, Under Secretary George Ball, prepares to step down. . . . On two counts Washington debunks—in advance—hints that Ball's replacement will be Bill Moyers: not enough experience in foreign affairs; too valuable to LBJ in his present position.

Oh, that Nkrumah! According to British reports Sékou Touré is now considering sending Nkrumah to the UN as Guinea's official representative, which might be difficult to carry out since Interpol has just put the late Osagyefo on its list of wanted international criminals (Ghanaian authorities are looking for \$180,000 of Ghana Educational Trust that had been banked in Cairo). Meanwhile, Nkrumah spends time attacking Gen. Joseph Ankrah over Radio Conakry, whose signal is weak because, it turns out, Russian builders placed tower on an iron deposit.

James Meredith, who returned to Mississippi march last week, disagrees with Joseph L. Rauh that the blame for his shooting "rests squarely at the doorsteps of the FBI." The FBI, says Meredith, "didn't invent the racial problems in this country." Meredith also opposes the armed Negro Deacons of Defense, thinks that civil rights movement shouldn't mix in with Vietnam war. . . . Adam Clayton Powell Jr. has lined up with Walter Reuther vs. George Meany over the AFL-CIO decision to walk out of the International Labor Organization after it elected a Polish Communist as President.

Mystery Note of the Month: One of three French residents picked up by Algerian police on May 4 in unexplained raid is a widowed dressmaker, Mme. Suzanne Zakipe. Mme. Zakipe and her late husband have since been identified as members of the Fourth International and close friends of Leon Trotsky. It was in her home that Trotsky's wife died three years ago.

Pers. Lovestone, Jay  
 10-1-1942-C10

# Rift on ILO Spurs Labor To Review Foreign Policy

By GEORGE MORRIS

THE RIFT in the AFL-CIO's executive council over relations with the UN's International Labor Organization, has widened to the whole field of labor's foreign affairs policy, opening up a Pandora's Box within the AFL-CIO that George Meany has managed to keep tightly closed for many years. The 18 votes in last week's council meeting in Washington in favor of Meany's instruction for a boycott of ILO because a Polish representative was elected its chairman, to six votes for Walter Reuther's position was only the curtain raiser, as reported in detail in *The Worker* of June 21.

A letter by Meany in reply to Reuther's charges that the ILO action was "unwise, undemocratic and unfortunate" was especially sharp because Reuther brought the dispute into the open. Meany wrote:

"I do not question the right of the UAW, or any other affiliate, to criticize any action of mine, as president of the AFL-CIO. The challenge to the administrative conduct of any organization, by an affiliate of that organization, must be an internal matter, and should be pursued through the internal channels for the resolution of such charges and issues, at least before being made the subject matter of a publicity campaign."

## FUTILE YEARS

The forces backing Reuther say they have limited their criticism of policies affecting international affairs to internal channels for years without getting even an elementary consultation on issues that come up. They charge that the AFL-CIO's foreign affairs are a "vest pocket operation of Jay Lovestone, Meany's 'secretary of state' known as the CIA man in labor."

Reuther said in his statement that the "labor movement belongs to all its members and is not the private property of any one." And he served warning that from now on his 1,600,000-member UAW will insist on a say "on all policy matters, both foreign and domestic."

No one has talked like that to Meany before. The biggest defeat for the Meany-Lovestone forces is the apparent success in bringing the issues of peace and war into the open in America's labor movement.

## ICFTU REVOLT

Meany's letter expressed fear as to the effect that the debate may have on his and Lovestone's efforts to turn the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions into a conduit of the CIA in Africa, Latin America and Asia. Currently the ICFTU is in revolt against Meany domination, since almost all its affiliates now accept the principle of coexistence, and not one of them is known to back U.S. policy in Vietnam.

"In addition, I regret the publicity which will undoubtedly follow in the European press," wrote Meany. "at a time when you and I both know the ICFTU hangs in the balance; at a time when you and I both agree that the ICFTU needs the fullest possible support from American labor; at a time when the executive board meeting of the ICFTU is just a few weeks away — it is indeed unfortunate that our European trade union friends should be led to believe that there is a major split in American labor."

The "crisis" in the ICFTU in Meany's sense was his inability to get it to make "anti-Communism" its "major" goal.

As to the "support" the ICFTU allegedly needs, Meany means the united AFL-CIO pressure to get it back fully on the "anti-Communist road."

Meany and Reuther, however, have also differed much on policy in the ICFTU.

## WIDE ATTENTION

The executive council meeting of the AFL-CIO that sparked the foreign policy debate has received wide press attention and editorial comment throughout the country. The magazines are also beginning to give attention to the charge by Victor Reuther, UAW head of international affairs, that Lovestone, the AFL-CIO's director of international affairs, is "involved" in the CIA.

The New Republic runs an article titled, "Lovestone's Cold War — the AFL-CIO has its own CIA," by Dan Kurzman, who last December wrote four articles in the Washington Post on Lovestone's CIA relationships and activities (summarized in *The Worker* in January).

Repeating the same material, Kurzman noted that after these articles appeared, "Lovestone persuaded Labor Department officials and Leonard Marks, director of the United States Information Agency, to cancel plans for distributing the articles to U.S. missions abroad."

"Building walls instead of bridges seems to be the AFL-CIO's idea of how to arrive at one world," said the N.Y. Times last Monday in an editorial captioned "U.S. Labor's Iron Curtain." Rapping both the Meany boycott of the ILO and his intrusion with the State Department to block visas for a Soviet trade union delegation invited by the auto union that was due here June 6, the Times said:

"The backlash reflected itself almost at once in the election of a Soviet unionist as a workers' representative in the ILO governing body, a much more serious rebuff of the AFL-CIO than the Pole's designation to the ceremonial post of conference president."

In an editorial before the council meeting, the Times rapped sharply the Meany-Lovestone foreign policy and said the ILO issue "presages more open debate inside the AFL-CIO on the wisdom of the adamant stand its president, George Meany, has taken against any East-West approach to the labor field." The paper also welcomed "the

J. Edgar Hoover  
AFL CIO

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

# Lovestone's Cold War

## The AFL-CIO Has Its Own CIA

by Dan Kurzman

Victor Reuther, director of international affairs for the United Auto Workers, told reporters after a visit to the Dominican Republic that the AFL-CIO was "unfortunately" supporting a "small and unrepresentative group" of Dominican trade unions and ignoring the larger democratic ones. Behind this casual remark simmers a bitter dispute within American labor. AFL-CIO President George Meany and his AFL cohorts support an "anti-Communist" foreign policy that is at least as rigid and narrow as that of the Goldwaters; UAW President Walter P. Reuther and his followers accent political democracy and social reform abroad rather than negative anti-Communism. Their differences surfaced at the recent AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco when Meany men, to loud objections, demanded a resolution urging the Administration to step up its military activities in Vietnam. It was due only to Reuther's unremitting resistance that compromise was reached - leaving it all up to Mr. Johnson.

The man who pushed the "Meany resolution" was barely mentioned in news accounts. Jay Lovestone thrives on anonymity. Yet, few non-governmental fig-

ures wield so much influence over foreign policy. As director of the AFL-CIO's international activities, which consume over 20 percent of the federation's \$2 million annual budget, Lovestone is Meany's foreign minister, with his own private network of ambassadors, aid administrators and intelligence agents. Labor attachés in key countries, or their assistants, are often more loyal to him than to their diplomatic superiors. Many of his agents overseas are believed to work closely with the Central Intelligence Agency. Considerable government aid money is channeled through his "ministry" - after he decides who deserves to receive it.

Meany entertains little doubt that Lovestone's guidance is enlightened. For who should know better how to fight Communists than a founder and Secretary-General of the American Communist Party, as well as a founder of the Comintern? Lovestone's attitude to Communism, of whatever variety, is that it must be completely isolated; "peaceful coexistence" is appeasement. Virtually unlimited force should be used to crush Communist "aggression," whether in Vietnam or in the Dominican Republic. There is no real distinction between Soviet and Communist Chinese policies.

To CIO leaders, Lovestone is a man who, in his disillusionment, seeks the expiatory satisfaction of bringing

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DAN KURZMAN reports on Latin America for The Washington Post.

# ISOLATION OF REDS IS OVER, HALL SAYS

U.S. Party Opens Its First Convention Since 1959

By PETER KIHSS

The Communist party, U.S.A., opened its first national convention since 1959 last night, and its chief spokesman, Gus Hall, declared the party had "fought its way out of political isolation."

Three hundred delegates, representing 40 states by the party's claim, are scheduled to take part in the five-day gathering in the century-old Webster Hall, at 119 East 11th Street.

The grand ballroom, often the scene of Greenwich Village and society revels as well as political rallies of many complexions, this time was placarded with such exhortations as "Take the Right Turn, Go Left! Join the Communist Party."

The party's rent bill was reported as \$4,200.

Non-Communist observers had been invited and, for the first time, the opening session saw news representatives admitted. The sessions go back behind traditional closed doors today.

## Concession Is Made

The first night's piece de resistance, a 68-page report by Mr. Hall, included these points:

"A concession that the party had suffered from 'bureaucratic hangovers.' Mr. Hall said 'the years of not being able to function openly have left behind some habits of cutting democratic corners.'"

"A charge that 'United States imperialist aggression' in Vietnam was 'the most vicious, savage, uncivilized assault on a small nation' in history. Mr. Hall, citing the cremating victims in Nazi Germany, said 'now the United States is operating hundreds of flying crematoria.'"

"An attack on the international affairs department of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, headed by Jay Lovestone, as 'an arm of the C.I.A. Central Intelligence Agency' involved in trying to get governments 'overthrown.' Mr. Lovestone had been expelled from the Communist party in 1928 when he was its national secretary."

"A call for political power for Negroes in 'localities where they are the dominant people in the population.' This stands akin to 'black power' demands in some Negro quarters now,

had previously been taken by the 1959 Communist convention, Mr. Hall said.

"A promise of Communist return to the electoral arena, an appeal for 'left unity,' and a proposal for a movement for 'an' independent candidate for President of the United States in 1968."

James E. Jackson, a former editor of The Worker, the Communist newspaper, reported that more than a score of foreign Communist parties had sent greetings to the convention.

## Message From Moscow

These included a message from the central committee of the Soviet Communist party, which hailed "the true internationalism and real patriotic determination" of the United States Communists in opposing the Vietnam war and in seeking an end to alleged United States intervention in Cuba, the Dominican Republic and other Latin American, African and Asian countries.

"The Communists of all countries," the Soviet message said, "attach great importance to the role of the Communist party, U. S. A. in its principled struggle for the defense of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism for its consistent line of strengthening the unity of the

international Communist movement."

This, in effect, recognized the American Communists' alignment with Soviet views in the international Communist split as against the more militant Chinese Communists. Arnold Johnson, a spokesman for the Johnson, a spokesman for the sage had arrived.

## Italian Turned Back

Mr. Jackson said that Renato Sanori, an Italian Communist deputy, had reached Chicago's O'Hare Airport Monday from Montreal in an effort to attend the convention. He said Mr. Sanori reported he had been sent back across the Canadian border after being given a visa for entry here starting July 1—after the convention ends.

The Communist party has climbed back to 12,000 members, up 2,000 in the last six or seven months, according to Mr. Hall. Federal officials have estimated its membership at 10,000, well above such other leftist groups as the Socialist Workers party, a Trotsky group; the Progressive Labor party, whose line tends to parallel the Chinese Communists', and the splinter Communist party, U.S.A., Marxist-Leninist.

*Pers. Loveston, Jay*  
*Org. T. AFL-CIO*

UNITED PRESS  
INTERNATIONAL

JUN 23 1966

UPI-52

(LABOR-CIA)

*Under Man*

NEW YORK--AMERICAN COMMUNIST LEADER GUS HALL CHARGED LAST NIGHT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE AFL-CIO "IS NOTHING BUT AN ARM OF THE CIA."

HE TOLD THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY THAT THE LABOR FEDERATION FUNNELLED FINANCES TO ANTI-LABOR FORCES ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY.

HE PARTICULARLY ATTACKED JAY LOVESTON, HEAD OF THE AFL-CIO INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT. LOVESTONE WAS THE COMMUNIST PARTY NATIONAL SECRETARY WHEN HE WAS EXPELLED FROM THE PARTY IN 1929. HE LATER BECAME A MILITANT ANTI-COMMUNIST.

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AFL-CIO

WASHINGTON  
DAILY NEWS

JUN 23 1966

## Racial

### The Emerging Reds

GUS HALL, leader of American communists, read a 36,000-word speech to 300 delegates in New York with this theme: The time is ripe for radicalism. Communism is "relevant" to America. Communists must unite in a popular front with the peace and civil rights movements to defeat President Johnson in 1968. And Hall wound up calling the International Department of the AFL-CIO, "an arm of the CIA."



Pers. Lovestone, Sp  
AFL-CIO

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

# Rift in AFL-CIO Over ILO Widens To Peace Debate

BY GEORGE MORRIS

WASHINGTON — A debate over foreign policy, long kept within the inner sanctum of the AFL-CIO by the Meany administration, broke into the open with explosive force here at a special meeting of the federation's council called to hear Walter Reuther's sharp criticism of its policy and practices on international affairs.

Specifically the council was called to act on the objections of the executive board of the 1,600,000-member United Auto Workers to the boycott of the UN's International Labor Organization conference in Geneva by the AFL-CIO delegates. On that score Meany won 18 votes to six for Reuther's position, with five council members absent. But few observers expected the result to be otherwise.

The far more significant development was the fact that the events before and after the four-hour council session was just a curtain-raiser for the belated debate in labor ranks on issues of war and peace such as is taking place in the country generally.

The groups around Meany and Reuther have been known to quarrel over issues many times since the 1955 merger. But unlike the patch-ups that frequently took place, this time they emerged with tensions higher than ever, with the issues broadened to the entire field of foreign policy and viewpoints wider apart than ever.

## ANOTHER SESSION

That the debate is far from closed by an 18 to six vote was made clear with Meany's announcement that the council agreed to hold a special session next fall for a "four or five" day discussion of the foreign policy position of the AFL-CIO, the first time in history that such discussion was agreed to.

Also, the next regular quarterly session of the council on Aug. 22, in Chicago, will place on the agenda Victor Reuther's charge that the AFL-CIO's international affairs department

under Jay Lovestone's directorship is "involved" with the CIA. With the atmosphere already heavily charged by Victor Reuther's May 21 charge of CIA involvement and earlier his attack on the Lovestone-Meany position in the Dominican Republic situation, the election of a representative of the Polish government as chairman of the ILO conference in Geneva threw the Meany-Lovestone crowd into a fit of anti-Communist hysterics. In Geneva, Rudolph Faupl, head of the AFL-CIO group there walked out, although the employer and government group in the USA delegation stayed in.

"The leadership and the membership of the UAW, like many other Americans, are deeply disturbed about the growing negative character of AFL-CIO policy in the field of international affairs, of which the withdrawal of the AFL-CIO delegates from the current International labor organization (ILO) Conference is but the latest expression," declared a statement by Reuther made public while the Council was still in session.

The action of Meany's men at Geneva "must be evaluated in the broader context of the world in which we live," declared Reuther as he dealt with the principle of coexistence under which the UN operates, citing the opinion of the Pope and other public figures. Reuther further noted a speech of President Johnson before the UN in which he called for "building bridges."

AFL-CIO policy as implemented by Meany and Lovestone "undermines and runs counter to the spirit of this national effort" and the UAW's board is "in sharp disagreement" with the action at Geneva, he said.

"Unity in diversity" Reuther declared, is possible only if the

and added:  
"This essential democratic procedure was totally ignored in this situation. A free labor movement belongs to all of its members and is not the private property of anyone."

"As an autonomous affiliate of the AFL-CIO, representing approximately 1,600,000 members, the UAW declares its intention to exercise its full democratic right to express its views on all policy matters, both foreign and domestic, that relate to the welfare of UAW members and the well-being of our nation."

But the section that made Meany furious and evoked shouts of "it's an absolute damnable lie" was the following in Reuther's statement:

"In the last 24 hours, the UAW has learned from authoritative sources that the boycott of the ILO by the AFL-CIO had been under consideration by AFL-CIO headquarters for approximately a week prior to the walkout and it is, therefore, evident that there was ample time for consultation and discussion with the leadership of the AFL-CIO before any final decision was taken."

## CONFIRMED

Despite Meany's heated denial, in his press conference after the council meeting and the report of Rudolph Faupl the council made public, the Reuther charge is confirmed.

Meany was just as emphatic in his denial that pressure by the Johnson Administration made him change instructions to Faupl to consider his withdrawal as only a "protest" and not a pull-out from the ILO.

Meany said that as soon as he received word of the Geneva walkout, he called the President and met him on the following day. The matter was turned over to a meeting with Secretary of State Dean Rusk whom he met a day after.

Meany said he posed the question to the Administration whether the AFL-CIO should continue in the ILO in the light of the "deterioration" taking place and the danger of "capture" of the UN body by the "Communists." Specifically he sought advice on whether Faupl should be a candidate for reelection to the labor group of the governing division of the ILO. Rusk advised him to "hold on to the seat" and Meany communicated that advice to Faupl. It was then that Faupl came into the ILO labor division just to get re-elected then took a plane home.

UN PARALLEL

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

Continued

Res. Lovestone, Jay

## Labor's Hard Line On Foreign Policy

By Marquis Childs

THE AMERICAN labor movement has once again cut across America's declared foreign policy with an act bewildering to organized labor in the rest of the non-Communist world. The AFL-CIO delegates walked out of the International Labor Organization conference when the head of the Polish delegation was elected president by a vote of 184 to 183.

American business representatives stayed on, as did those from Government. But following the George Meany line, American labor, of all the 106 nations represented at Geneva, refused to abide by the outcome of a free election to an office largely formal and procedural. While the move was made without Meany's sanction, it is of a piece with the dictates of the man who sits behind him and calls the foreign policy moves.

Jay Lovestone is a figure as remote and mysterious as the great khan and on the issues of foreign policy almost as absolute in the labor movement. Once a Communist, he became, as have so many others, a professional anti-Communist. His hold on the 72-year old AFL-CIO president and the hierarchy of aging moguls around him is so strong that no interference or even criticism is tolerated.

An important initiative of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations is the opening of new avenues to the Communist bloc countries. This is in the belief that Moscow's grip is weakening and signs of independence should be encouraged. It is recognition of the fact that America's allies in Western Europe are drawing closer to the East through greatly expanded trade and cultural exchanges.

THE AFL-CIO has often tried to frustrate this initiative. The International Longshoremen's Association announced they would not load ships with wheat for the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc countries. It took prolonged effort at the highest level to reach a compromise that made some shipments possible. The longshoremen have repeatedly proclaimed their refusal to unload cargoes from Communist countries, no matter how small and negligible in the total of American trade these shipments were.

Walter Reuther, second in command in the AFL-CIO, has kept silent even though he has been opposed to much of this arbitrary behavior. He has wanted to maintain at least a semblance of harmony and avoid a direct clash with Meany, whom he had hoped to succeed in the No. 1 post. His chances seemed to depend on preventing an open break in the uneasy alliance between the old-line unions and the new industrial unions.

Once Reuther's sharp criticism of the walkout at Geneva became known, the long knives were out. The old-liners in the craft unions can be expected to use the opening to try to deny him the top job, no matter what papering-over is done in the immediate aftermath of the dispute.

Reuther is 59 years old, and the time is rapidly running out when he might provide the dynamic leadership which most observers feel the AFL-CIO urgently needs. Weighted with the inertia of the past, the organization has failed to adjust to rapid changes in the labor force. A negligible effort has been put into organizing the increasing mass of white collar workers.

MOST OF the AFL-CIO chiefs couldn't care less about the International Labor Organization. It has nothing to do with the hard facts of wages, hours and fringe benefits that absorb their time and energy.

The conduct of foreign policy in a democracy is, for the unhappy conductors, like running a race in which every conceivable obstacle is thrown in the way. President Johnson, seeking avenues to the East, recommended changes in the tariff act that would give satellite nations that do not now have it favored-nation treatment. This was a bold move in marked contrast to the timidity of only a few years ago.

It was vetoed by Chairman Wilbur Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee and is apparently dead for this session of Congress. That is "one man, one vote" with a vengeance. It comes just as Italy, France and Britain are making big trade deals with the Communist bloc countries.

The widening conflict in Vietnam is the obvious reason for the failure to make some progress in easing tensions between East and West. The President sent to the Senate a consular treaty with the Soviet Union which had obvious mutual advantages for both powers. The treaty was "vetoed" by J. Edgar Hoover. You pay your money, as was once said of politics here at home, and you make your choice of your own foreign policy.

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JUN 14 1966

## MEANY TO REBUKE REUTHER ON I.L.O.

### Showdown Due This Week Over Backing of Boycott

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 13—George Meany has scheduled a showdown this week with Walter P. Reuther over the A.F.L.-C.I.O. boycott of the current International Labor Organization conference.

The confrontation will come on Thursday at a special meeting of the 29-member executive council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. Mr. Meany has called for what will amount to a vote of confidence on his decision supporting the boycott.

The boycott began early this month when a United States labor delegation led by Rudolph Faupl walked out of the I.L.O. meeting in Geneva after a Polish Communist was elected to head the session. The action had Mr. Meany's backing.

Mr. Reuther, president of the 1.5-million-member United Automobile Workers, denounced Mr. Meany last week for the boycott on the ground that it was "unwise, undemocratic" and contrary to A.F.L.-C.I.O. policy.

#### Meany in Firm Command

There was no doubt here today that Mr. Meany, who is in firm command of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., would receive the executive council's support on any issue he put forward. But his decision to call the federation's policy-making body for the showdown with Mr. Reuther was a move to rebuke the auto union leader for his open challenge.

The I.L.O. controversy has suddenly revived latent hostilities between the two men and is putting a strain on A.F.L.-C.I.O. unity. The fight is not likely to split the federation,

but it has highlighted factionalism and has sharply diminished Mr. Reuther's chances of succeeding Mr. Meany as A.F.L.-C.I.O. president.

The dispute over the I.L.O. boycott is the sharpest personal fight between Mr. Meany and Mr. Reuther since 1963, when they split over the choice of a candidate to fill an executive council seat. Since then, the two labor leaders had sought to dampen their animosities.

The controversy stems from divergent political views. The Meany wing of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. is staunchly anti-Communist and is opposed to cooperation with nations that suppress free trade unions. But the Reuther wing takes a more liberal view of foreign policy, and favors a greater effort at co-existence.

The Reuther forces believe that Mr. Meany ordered the I.L.O. boycott, and they contend he should first have obtained approval from the executive council of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. foreign policy committee. The Meany forces contend that no special authority was needed.

Orig. I.L.O.

1966 WFL-CIO

Orig. ILO

Orig. AFL-CIO

NEW YORK TIMES

JUN 14 1966

## Labor's Foreign Policy

The protest by Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, against American labor's walkout from the annual conference of the International Labor Organization is important and valuable for reasons that transcend the immediate issue. It presages more open debate inside the A.F.L.-C.I.O. on the wisdom of the adamant stand its president, George Meany, has taken against any East-West rapprochement in the labor field.

The specific issue at Geneva was election of an official from Communist Poland to preside at the I.L.O. conference. Certainly no action by the American union delegation could have been more ironic; a walkout based on the vaunted abhorrence of United States labor for suppression of free decision-making and democratic choice in Eastern Europe.

It is true that Communist unions are not free in any sense that parallels the freedom of American unions; but the Meany policy of clanging down an Iron Curtain against any communication between Soviet and American unionists is no way to demonstrate the virtues of freedom. Nor is the idea of independence fostered by the *pro forma* discussion that precedes the adoption of most A.F.L.-C.I.O. foreign-policy statements.

Even though Mr. Reuther is likely to find himself friendless in the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Executive Council test that Mr. Meany has set for this week, labor will benefit from the new respectability he has given to the right of dissent in an organization that speaks in the name of 13.5 million American workers.

JUN 14 1966

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Orig. I. ILO  
AFL-CIO

# MEANY-ILO SPLIT CAUSES CONCERN

## Administration Seeking To Mend Damage Done

By HELEN DELICH BENTLEY  
(Maritime Editor of The Sun)

Washington, June 13—The Johnson Administration is straining to mend the breach created in the International Labor Organization last week by George Meany when he ordered the United States worker delegation to boycott the conference after a Communist was elected president.

At the same time, the AFL-CIO withdrew completely from the current conference, and Meany ordered Rudolph Faupl, the chief United States worker delegate, home.

That incident not only has created a crevice between Meany and the Administration but a deeper chasm between Meany, AFL-CIO president, and Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers.

### Meeting Called

Because of a severe chastising given Meany by Reuther over the Geneva event, Meany has called a special meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council for Thursday "to consider important matters."

Meany sent out the telegrams to the 28 other Council members Friday after he had received a scathing letter from Reuther denouncing the AFL-CIO's boycott as "unwise, undemocratic, contrary to established AFL-CIO policy and unauthorized by an AFL-CIO body with authority to change that policy."

It is believed generally that Meany is seeking a vote of confidence from the AFL-CIO Executive Council and that he knows he has the votes or he would not have called the special meeting.

### Support Sought

The 71-year-old Meany obviously was stung by Reuther's rebuke, it was said, and is trying to win support for his stand in backing the boycott recommended originally by Faupl who said he did not want to sit in the ILO after the Communist from Poland was elected.

An Administration spokesman said that as soon as word was received from Geneva regarding the walkout of Faupl, an effort

was made to have someone else represent the United States there.

"Just think what would have happened over the years with the United Nations if we had walked out whenever a Communist was elected to a top position," the spokesman said.

"And, in turn, we have rebuked the Communists for walking out in the United Nations whenever they staged such a scene."

"Certainly this is embarrassing for the United States, and we are trying to make amends."

The ILO president whose election created such a disturbance is Leon Chajin.

Faupl, who belongs to the International Association of Machinists (AFL-CIO), issued a statement through his union which said that the pole's election "has placed in serious jeopardy the continuance of the ILO as a tripartite organization," namely labor, management and governments.

### For Coexistence

At the recent convention of the Auto Workers in Long Beach, it became evident that Reuther's philosophy was more one of coexistence than the hard-line AFL-CIO position of not having anything to do with the Communists.

Reuther's letter pointed out that the walkout "merely because of an election—about which no question of impropriety has been raised—is not to their (American delegates') taste." He also said the walkout is the kind of action for which American labor in the past has condemned the Communists and that the United Nations would have been destroyed if the United States Government had walked out whenever a Communist was elected to a position there.

He also contended that the free world can do more to advance its cause among the Communists not by isolating them, "but rather by promoting relations with them that will enable us to demonstrate the superior value of our democratic institutions."

With the reopening of the once-mended chasm between Meany and Reuther, there is speculation separation of the AFL and the CIO after a 10½-year marriage.

## Reuther Heads for a Clash With Meany, Is Expected to Suffer Setback in AFL-CIO

By JOHN A. GRIMES

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, and Walter Reuther, head of the United Auto Workers union, are on a collision course again after surprisingly tranquil relations in recent years.

The approaching clash, which seems certain to come at a special AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting hurriedly called for Thursday by Mr. Meany, seems likely to set back Mr. Reuther's long-range chances of succeeding to the presidency of the powerful labor federation.

The subject of the special council session will be Mr. Reuther's sharp criticism in a letter to Mr. Meany last week of the American union delegation's boycott of the current International Labor Organization conference in Geneva. Many union officials, including Mr. Meany himself, read the Reuther letter as a direct attack on Mr. Meany's leadership of the federation on foreign policy matters. The federation chief, it's understood, reacted angrily and, after checking with various members of the Executive Council, called the special council session for this week.

The expected battle, however, will be one-sided. Union officials believe Mr. Reuther's attack has, in effect, turned the ILO matter into one in which council members will be voting either for Mr. Meany's leadership or against it. On those terms, Mr. Reuther is bound to lose.

There is hardly the remotest chance though, that the resumption of battling between Mr. Meany and Mr. Reuther will endanger the 11-year old merger of the AFL and CIO. Constant and bitter conflict between Mr. Meany and Mr. Reuther in the past raised the distinct threat of a federation breakup, but union officials currently agree that this danger is safely behind.

### Damage to New Image

But the coming confrontation cannot help but send Mr. Reuther's stock within the federation plummeting, with considerable damage to the new image the UAW chief has been trying to create.

In recent years, Mr. Reuther has been getting along almost famously with the man he had clashed with nearly every time they got together in the early years of the AFL-CIO merger. Mr. Meany has been finding Mr. Reuther a firm supporter and a willing cooperator in the affairs of the AFL-CIO. It was a change that some federation officials still find difficult to believe; these officials think Mr. Reuther decided that if he wanted to become president of the AFL-CIO some day, his best tactic was to join Mr. Meany, because he couldn't lick him.

This strategy seemed to be highly successful: Federation men only recently expressed the opinion that Mr. Reuther's chances of succeeding Mr. Meany had vastly improved over the past five years. The old distrust and hostility to Mr. Reuther among the older AFL union chiefs had been visibly dwindling. But by taking on Mr. Meany, all of these old feelings

denounced was decided on because a Polish Communist had been elected president. In his letter, which became public, Mr. Reuther declared the move was "unwise, undemocratic, contrary to established AFL-CIO policy, and unauthorized by any AFL-CIO body with authority to change that policy." The letter was sent after a two-day meeting of the UAW's Executive Board in Detroit, which gave Mr. Reuther unanimous backing for his stand.

### 'Gross Disservice'

Mr. Reuther remarked it was a "gross disservice to democracy" for the American union delegates to walk out on the Geneva conference "merely because the result of an election . . . is not to their taste. This is precisely the kind of action for which American labor has in the past justifiably condemned Communists."

The American Trade Union delegation was headed by Rudolph Faupl of the Machinists union. Federation sources said it was Mr. Faupl's decision to walk out, and the order didn't originate with Mr. Meany.

Now that he has been attacked, however, Mr. Meany is likely to assume full responsibility for the move. Because this will turn the issue into a personal battle between the two labor leaders, many union officials wonder why Mr. Reuther launched the attack. These officials are mystified, too, about why Mr. Reuther chose an issue about which most U.S. union officials care very little.

One explanation is that Mr. Reuther, far more than his colleagues, cares about the image abroad of the U.S. labor movement. He sees the Geneva walkout of the U.S. unionists as creating an image of arrogance to other union officials in Europe and Asia.

While the ILO doesn't mean much to U.S. union officials, it stands much higher in importance in the thinking of the European and Asian trade union officials. So Mr. Reuther, who believes the AFL-CIO should be expanding its global influence, appeared to feel deeply enough about the Geneva incident to risk even a battle with Mr. Meany in making his disagreement at the walkout apparent.

# Those Senate Experts

## Hard-Working Commerce Committeemen Become Authorities on Food Packaging

By Drew Pearson

MEMBERS OF the Senate Commerce Committee, one of the hardest working on Capitol Hill, have become experts on almost everything from packaging fish to protecting fishing grounds.

The Senate has passed a truth-in-packaging bill and is considering a bill for the protection of laboratory animals, a law establishing a 12-mile limit for fishing off the American coast and a law for automobile safety.

Chairman Warren Magnuson (D-Wash.), who was a bachelor for many years, has become an expert on such problems as "huge" gallon containers and such sales slogans as "three cents off."

Under truth-in-packaging, the "huge" gallon would be banned. A gallon is a gallon. The "three cents off" sales gimmick would also be banned, together with similar gimmicks, because there is no telling what the three cents is off of.

Also, the new law would prohibit various types of deceptive packaging.

The bill, fathered by Sen. Phil Hart (D-Mich.), and godmothered by Sen. Maurine Neuberger (D-Ore.), is now before the House.

### Kosygin Irks Nasser

INTELLIGENCE reports from Cairo, received following the visit of Soviet Premier Alexi Kosygin, state that his much glamorized pilgrimage was a dud. More than that, it was a bitter blow to President Nasser.

Though not obliged by protocol to do so, Nasser accompanied Kosygin everywhere during his visit. Nasser was also careful to adopt a firmly anti-American line. And he sided entirely with Moscow against Peking.

But despite all of Nasser's good-will gestures, Kosygin was cool. He made no concessions.

Here are some of the points, according to the diplomatic grapevine, which Nasser hoped, but failed, to get out.

1. Reduction by \$35 million in Egypt's \$200 million debt to Russia.

2. Postponement of the first installment of the debt.

3. Russian involvement in Nasser's long dispute with Yemen, which has tied up 60,000 Egyptian troops.

4. Finally, and most important, Kosygin officially informed Nasser that he could not aid Egypt with wheat. Russia is too short of wheat to spare any for export.

\* \* \*

### Labor's Aristocracy

THE PUBLIC doesn't realize it, but a major obstacle to both civil rights and President Johnson's hold-the-wage policy against inflation is the lily-white aristocracy of labor.

AFL-CIO President George Meany has made his peace with LBJ and is all for him. But not so the rank and file of the building trades unions. In St. Louis, for instance, they staged a strike at the new Gateway Arch project because three Negro plumbers were hired to help construct a visitors' center.

Actually, the Interior Department had stipulated before work began that Negro workmen could not be barred from the job. The general contractor, however, was unable to find any Negroes in the Plumbers Union because of a discriminatory apprentice-training policy.

Finally, a small independent plumbing contractor, Elijah Smith, a Negro, and two of his Negro apprentices, were hired. The AFL-CIO building trades struck in protest. The National Labor Relations Board obtained a Federal court injunction to break the boycott and protect the Negroes' jobs.

A similar racial bias is evident in numerous building trades unions from coast to coast, stemming partly from the still widespread practice of accepting no Negroes as apprentices—thus barring them from becoming union craftsmen. The classic example has been the Electrical Workers of New York, a vir-

it has opened the racial door a crack.

Four of the St. Louis building trades unions that walked off the Gateway job had only three Negroes among 5600 members. A Department of Labor survey shows further that in Pittsburgh only four out of 100 carpenters interviewed were Negroes. There were none among 162 electricians, 19 painters and 14 plumbers. There was one Negro among 46 sheet metal worker apprentices.

In Philadelphia, there were only two Negroes among 111 plumber apprentices, none among 48 electricians and 34 iron workers. In St. Louis, there were only eight Negroes among 179 carpenters and none among 121 electricians, 60 iron workers and 93 apprentice plumbers.

THESE SAME father-and-son unions have been the most notorious in violating the President's wage guideline against inflation. The New York electrical workers get a base wage of \$5.63 an hour (plus various fringes), but work a trick five-hour regular day plus three hours of overtime at double pay so that they receive about \$62 for an eight-hour day.

AFL-CIO plumbers in San Francisco and adjacent counties recently signed a contract that will give them a raise totaling \$3 an hour over the next six years. They receive approximately \$7 an hour now.

Detroit electrical workers got a 12.8 per cent package wage boost recently, compared with the 3.2 per cent guideline, while Detroit millwrights got a 16 per cent hike and Michigan cement finishers ratified a 10 per cent increase. Miami, Fla., carpenters recently signed a new three-year agreement giving them a 31 per cent boost in pay.

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JUN 11 1966

# Split Develops Over the CIA

By VICTOR RIESEL

Mr. Riesel

*Pres Riesel, Victor  
Rees Lovestone, Jay  
Long, AFL-CIO*

For months left-of-center, liberal months left-of-center, liberal critics of Lyndon Johnson's foreign policy have pounded him with some mighty big intellectual guns. They've cannonaded him from field bases in the universities, in the arts and in the professions.

But the mightiest mortar of all, criticism from a labor leader of prominence, has been missing.

Now, however, they have found one, and he has opened up.

He's the dynamic, continent-hopping, younger brother of Walter Reuther, namely, Victor George Reuther, director of the auto union's far-flung and even further-ranging international affairs department.

His opening shot—and it has been heard 'round the world was a blunt charge that President Johnson's staunchest labor supporter, AFL-CIO President George Meany, and the latter's foreign affairs specialist, the fabulous mastermind of a thousand anti-Communist offensives, Jay Lovestone, are "involved" with the Central Intelligence Agency. (Mr. Lovestone directs the AFL-CIO's international affairs dept.)

Inside labor, such a charge is as dead'y as getting up in Peking's main square and denouncing Mao as a Khrushchev revisionist.

It makes suspect all the work of the AFL-CIO's international affairs dept. These reach from championing of the Dalai Lama to cooperation in educating some 20,000 trade unionists each year in Latin America.

Such activities have ranged from the befriending of anti-Sukarno generals in Indonesia to building workers' homes in Honduras, to assisting democratic unionists in Africa to briefing the labor attaches of foreign embassies in Washington, where, in some capitals, labor leaders know the names only of such Americans as the recent U.S. Presidents, the Vice Presidents and that of Irving Brown, one of Mr. Lovestone's colleagues in the international dept. here.

Thus when Victor Reuther charged that "Meany and Lovestone" not only were practically CIA agents, but were spending some \$5 million in Latin America alone, they were shocked. Lovestone was in West Berlin for a labor conference at which he had brought Mr. Meany's greetings.

The Victor Reuther charge was embarrassing, not alone to Mr. Lovestone, but to the entire American labor movement which Meany personifies.

Mr. Meany was chagrined. He had just completed plans to leave the U.S. on June 19 for a world labor congress in Brussels.

He like all other insiders knew that the charge would be hurled at him wherever he went since it was first thrown by Victor, brother of Walter, whose name is synonymous in Europe with militant unionism.

So Mr. Meany telephoned Walter Reuther. The gist of the conversation was: Did this public attack represent Walter's thinking and the position of the influential auto union?

The Detroitier replied that it did not and that he had not known of the open criticism of the Meany-Lovestone activities before Victor had unburdened himself.

Victor had given a long interview on many issues and had not especially zeroed in on the CIA charge. But he had said it.

And so it flared in excitable circles as the most sensational conversation piece in recent years.

It set the pattern of the differences between the two forces inside labor.

Victor Reuther is an intellectual and ideological colleague of such men as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and author-economist-university professor John Kenneth Galbraith. He and they, for example, built the Committee on Free Elections in the Dominican Republic.

Victor Reuther attempted to give the committee staunch labor support. He sent letters to such influential leaders as the steel union's I. W. Abel. The latter did not join or support the group, which finally dispatched to Santo Domingo several score men led by Norman Thomas.

Committee leaders say they dispatched the ballot box observers after full discussion with Under Secretary of State Averell Harriman and other State Dept. officials.

However, Mr. Meany and Mr. Lovestone were opposed to such a committee which they believed insinuated that the U.S. and the Organization of American States would not permit free elections.

There are other sharp differences.



ETA 1 AFL-CIO  
Rees Lovestone Jay

**Criticism Strains AFL-CIO Merger**

# Reuther Attacks Meany Over Boycott Of World Labor Unit Headed by Red

By Stephen S. Rosenfeld  
Washington Post Staff Writer

In a move straining the 11-year merger of American labor, United Auto Workers President Walter P. Reuther yesterday attacked AFL-CIO President George Meany on his international policy.

Saying it was "unwise, undemocratic, contrary to AFL-CIO policy and unauthorized," Reuther condemned the action of the AFL-CIO delegation to the International Labor Organization conference in Geneva in walking out after a Communist was elected president.

Reuther, front-ranking candidate to succeed Meany as head of organized American labor, made his challenge in a letter unanimously sanctioned by the UAW's Execu-

tive Board, which ended a two-day meeting yesterday in Detroit. A copy of the letter became available here.

The 71-year-old Meany was not available for comment yesterday.

The 13-million-member AFL-CIO came close to splitting as recently as four years ago over temperamental, political and philosophical differences between Meany and Reuther. But recently Reuther had seemed to mellow his pursuit of non-bread-and-butter causes and Meany had freshened his interest in Great Society goals. The apparent result was a political detente.

A labor source last night



Associated Press

**WALTER REUTHER  
... berates Meany**

played down Reuther's revolt. "The ILO is not much of an issue," he said. "This is one more in a series of strongly brewed tempests in a teapot. Meany and Reuther have found a way to get along in the continental United States—in domestic affairs—but from time to time they blow up in foreign affairs. At some point someone will bring them back together again."

Reuther's brother and aide, Victor, last month strongly attacked Meany's "secretary of state," cold warrior Jay Lovestone, and Walter Reuther yesterday continued in that vein on the issue of the ILO boycott.

The autonomous labor delegation walked out on the new Communist president of the ILO in order to implement a traditional AFL-CIO stand on non-recognition of Communist unions. Efforts of the embarrassed Johnson Administration to get the delegation to return have so far failed.

"It is a gross disservice to democracy," Reuther told "dear George," for delegates to walk out "merely because the result of an election—about which no question of impropriety has been raised—is not to their taste. This is precisely the kind of action for which American labor has in the past justifiably condemned Communists."

"We yield to no one in our opposition to Communist tyranny. We are fully aware that, in the absence of democracy, so-called unions in the Communist countries are not free.

"But we share the view that the cause of human freedom will be advanced, not by isolating ourselves from the hundreds of millions of people now under Communist domination, but rather by promoting relations with them that will enable us to demonstrate the superior value of democratic institutions."

Rees Lovestone, Jay  
my  
AFL-CIO

# AFL-CIO Foreign Policy Rapped by UAW Leader

Special to The Worker

LONG BEACH, Cal. — "The tragedy of AFL-CIO activities in the field of foreign affairs is that they are a vest pocket operation run by Jay Lovestone," Victor Reuther, in charge of UAW's International Affairs Department, told newsmen here. Lovestone is the head of the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department.

Reuther charged that the AFL-CIO department run by Lovestone is involved with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and that little effort is made by Lovestone or the AFL-CIO leadership to "involve union membership in discussion of the great issues of the day."

## MEMBERS NOT INFORMED

He also charged that under Lovestone's operation a substantial part of the AFL-CIO's international union department activities are not reported even to the executive council.

Reuther cited as an example the fact that eight CIA agents in Panama about two months ago posed as representatives of the International Food and Drink Workers Federation, whose headquarters are in Geneva. This federation's general secretary, A. Paulsen, abolished the Panama office as the only way to end this imposture by the CIA agents, said Reuther, and he added that the entire incident was kept from the knowledge of AFL-CIO members here.

Reuther estimated the AFL-

CIO spends about \$6,000,000 a year in Latin-America alone.

The AFL-CIO, he noted, says it spends about 25 percent of its budget on international affairs, but he declared the additional money spent comes from U.S. government and private sources.

Some, he said, comes through the American Institute of Free Labor Development (AIFLD), set up by Lovestone in cooperation with employers and the U.S. government.

"As long as AFL-CIO president George Meany has such personal confidence in Lovestone, I see no changes in the federation's foreign policy," Reuther said.

Al Zack, AFL-CIO spokesman, denied by phone to newsmen here that AIFLD has anything to do with the CIA or that Lovestone set it up. He said AIFLD is about to "graduate" its 13th class of Latin-American "labor leaders."

The AIFLD's main purpose is to fight Communism in Latin-America and subvert the Latin-American labor movement away from militancy.

## UAW ACTION

Reuther said the UAW's international affairs department spends \$500,000 to \$750,000 a year on its programs abroad. With \$3,000,000 in its treasury now the UAW convention here broadened the department's activities to include the war on poverty in the U.S., and legislative work.

The resolution on foreign policy adopted by the UAW convention was in conflict with the Meany-Lovestone attitude. It called for the recognition of People's China and China's admission to the UN; strengthening the trade and cultural ties with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, working to bring an end to the war in Vietnam by getting the issue to the bargaining table, as UAW president Walter Reuther termed it. Emil Mazey, UAW secretary-treasurer, went further and supported a cease-fire, no more escalation and a national conference of the union to hasten peace.

29 May 1966

Pres Morris, George  
Pres Lovestone, Jay

George Morris

World of Labor

Kicking Back at CIA

OF LATE there have been signs that all is far from unity and sweetness in the Meany-Lovestone-dominated, CIA-orientated International Affairs Department of the AFL-CIO. Even some of the insiders have publicly kicked up at the "CIA line," now that it is quite the fashion for many persons to swear "they are not and never have been in the CIA or had any knowledge of organizations fronting for it."

By the way, we are still waiting for some statement from the AFL-CIO on the four-part series in the Washington Post almost five months ago in which Meany's International Affairs Department under Jay Lovestone, his operation man, was disclosed to be what amounts to an arm of the CIA. Such silence amounts to eloquent "confession" to the truth of much in that series.

ONE OF THE LAST cracks in the wall of secrecy that has always surrounded Lovestone's domain, resulted from the attack upon his policy in the Dominican Republic, which was leveled by Victor Reuther, a member of the AFL-CIO's International committee and head of the United Auto Workers union's committee on international affairs.

Returning from a trip to the Island along with Bayard Rustin, Norman Thomas, and others of a liberal group calling itself the Committee on Free Elections in the Dominican Republic, Reuther sharply denounced the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development. He accused the Institute, which is chaired by Meany and financed by industrialists and the U.S. government, of subsidizing CONTRAL which he "called a very small and unrepresentative group" in Dominican labor.

AIFLD ignored the much larger unions associated with Juan Bosch's backers and chose instead the insignificant Rightist-dominated group that backed the ultra-reactionary "triumvirate" which the U.S. State Department had set up. CONTRAL, echoing the CIA line, denounced Bosch and the major labor federation as "Communist dominated."

ANOTHER CASE of embarrassment for the CIA and the State Department, came at the recent Inter-

American Conference of Labor Ministers at Venezuela. Newsmen received two copies of an address which a U.S. delegate, Joseph Beirne, president of the Communication Workers of America and an AFL-CIO vice-president, was to deliver there. One copy was the report which he gave, the other was a censored copy, with deletions and rewrites by the State Department's press office. Beirne's own text was difficult to secure because agents were put on the job to round up all copies that had been released and to destroy them. The New York Times, in its extensive report on the affair, quoted Beirne as telling newsmen "I'm sticking by my address, and if you can't get a copy I'll show you mine in longhand."

WHAT DID BEIRNE say that was so objectionable? According to the Times, he said:

"When we speak of non-violent change, the priority if it should come to that, is on change, not on non-violence."

"We believe in obtaining social reforms through lobbying and voting rather than by fighting, but if anyone were to take away our rights to lobby, to strike or to vote, you can be sure we would fight."

And further:

"It is material progress that the workers of Latin America need and demand today. They are not concerned with declarations and conferences and plans. They want houses, education and higher wages. I am not satisfied with my own government's involvement and I am even less satisfied with involvements and actions of other governments."

Another passage which was doctored by the censors originally declared for support of "our Latin American brothers" if they fought dictators.

The question is not only what Beirne meant by his remarks but, more importantly, that he, as a labor member of the delegation, chairman of the AFL-CIO Latin Affairs Committee, defied both the U.S. Government and the Lovestone-Meany CIA line.

This was termed most significant by the labor delegates of the other governments who have long taken it for granted that the AFL-CIO people echo anything that comes out of the State Department.

The Times reported one delegate as telling an American newsman that when Beirne "overrode your State Department people and issued a press statement saying he advocated change in social conditions even if it meant violence, many of us woke up for the first time during the conference."

The Latin-Americans were treated to a dramatic showing how after many years of servile trailing of the State Department and its CIA through every turn and twist, enough self-respect came up in one labor leader to stand up and say: "I've had enough!"

*Pers. Lovestone, Jay*

AFL-CIO

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Page Page Page

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MAY 23 1966

# CIA Linked to AFL-CIO Foreign Unit

By HARRY BERNSTEIN  
L.A. Times-Washington Post  
News Service

LONG BEACH, Calif., May 23.—There is evidence that the AFL-CIO international affairs department is "involved" with the Central Intelligence Agency in foreign affairs, according to a UAW official.

Victor G. Reuther, head of the UAW's international affairs department and assistant to his brother, UAW President Walter P. Reuther, said in an interview yesterday:

"The tragedy of the AFL-CIO activities in the field of foreign affairs is that they are a vest-pocket operation run by Jay Lovestone."

### CHARGES SECRECY

Lovestone is director of the AFL-CIO's international affairs department. The UAW ended its annual convention here Saturday.

The extent of AFL-CIO involvement in the internal affairs of unions of other countries or in the political affairs of those countries is either publicly unknown or, at best, only partially reported, Victor Reuther said.

He said a substantial part of AFL-CIO international affairs department activities are carried on in the name of the AFL-

CIO but are not reported to the AFL-CIO executive council.

Reuther said that "what seems to be one most recent example of CIA activities took place about two months ago in the International Food and Drink Workers Federation, headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, and supported by the AFL-CIO."

He did not elaborate...

### PANAMA SITUATION

Eight individuals in Panama alone were posing as official representatives of the federation, he said, without the knowledge of the federation's general secretary, A. Paulson.

These eight people had the credentials of a legitimate worker organization, enabling them to function as they saw fit, Reuther said. The only way Paulson was able to correct the situation was by sending a letter to all affiliates announcing that he had to abolish the Panama office because of this, Reuther said.

Al Zack, spokesman for the AFL-CIO, denied that the American Institute for Free Labor development has any connection with the CIA or that Lovestone had anything to do with setting up the organization.

### LATIN MOVEMENT

Zack said the "school" is about to graduate its 13th class of Latin American labor leaders and that its purpose is to build a strong democratic labor movement in Latin America.

Reuther said that as long as "President George Meany has such personal confidence in Lovestone, I see no changes in the federation's foreign policies."

In one of the sharpest criticisms yet made of Lovestone by a top union leader, Reuther said:

"Mr. Lovestone seems to have brought into the labor movement the working habits and undercover techniques which he learned when he was in the highest echelons of the Communist Party. I guess it's awfully hard to break those habits."

Lovestone was a onetime member of the party, but broke with it to become one of the nation's most dedicated anti-Communists.

Per. Twisting Jay

AFL-CIO

FILED

## *End the War in Vietnam!*

**M**ORE and more killing is the only answer President Johnson seems able to give to the worldwide protests against the hideous U.S. war against the people of Vietnam. It is his only answer to the demonstrations of the people of South Vietnam against the hated U.S. puppet government and against the U.S. presence in their country, which have torn to shreds all his protestations about honoring "our commitment to help Vietnam and turn back aggression from the North." It is his only answer to the demands of the people of the United States that the war be brought to an end, and to the public opinion polls that show the sharp drop in his popularity among the American people due to the continued escalation of the war.

The Pentagon has announced that another 100,000 troops will go to Vietnam before the year's end. On June 9, Maj. Gen. Ben Sternberg, commander of the 101st Airborne Division, just returned from 26 months in Vietnam, said 500,000 more troops would be needed there. In his latest news conference (June 18) President Johnson threatened a still further escalation of the war, and increased bombing of the North. Even as he was speaking, the bombing of targets in South Vietnam by U.S. B-52's from Guam was increased from one raid daily to three. And the *Wall Street Journal* reported from Washington, June 20:

The Johnson Administration is moving inexorably toward another significant escalation of the Vietnam war—the bombing of oil storage depots and perhaps other power sources in North Vietnam.

Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara, Dean Rusk—you and all the others who make U.S. policies—can you sleep well these nights? Surely if you are human the bloody deeds for which you have been responsible must have murdered sleep. Surely the ghosts move through your nightmares of the tens of thousands of Vietnamese people—the figure of 170,000 has been given—killed through the civil war for which the United States is responsible, the countless thousands of others maimed, burned by napalm, poisoned by chemicals, the women and children, the old and the sick killed by our bombs in both South and North Vietnam, the 24,000 dead and wounded American soldiers, the ten flaming Buddhist suicides, the three Americans who have immolated themselves, and now many more deaths as Ky's troops move in with U.S. equipment to put down by violence the Buddhist and student dissidents in Danang, Hue, Quang Tri and Saigon itself.

Only brute force, which the U.S. Government has supported, has

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NEW WORLD REVIEW  
June 1966

*Copy 1 AFL-CIO  
files Lovestone, Jay*

# V. Reuther Links CIA, AFL-CIO

By Harry Bernstein  
Los Angeles Times

LONG BEACH, Calif., May 22—There is evidence that the AFL-CIO international affairs department is "involved" with the Central Intelligence Agency in foreign affairs, according to a United Auto Workers Union official.

Victor Reuther, head of the UAW's international affairs department and assistant to his brother, UAW President Walter Reuther, said in a far-ranging interview:

"The tragedy of the AFL-CIO activities in the field of foreign affairs is that they are a vest-pocket operation run by Jay Lovestone."

Lovestone is director of the AFL-CIO's international affairs department. The UAW, a member of the AFL-CIO, ended its annual convention here Saturday.

The extent of the AFL-CIO involvement in the internal affairs of unions of other countries or in the political affairs of those countries is either unknown or, at best, only partially reported, Reuther said.

He said a substantial part of AFL-CIO international affairs department activities are carried on in the name of the AFL-CIO but are not reported to the union's executive council.

Reuther said most of the activities, of course, are not known, but "what seems to be one most recent example of CIA activities took place about two months ago in the International Food and Drink Workers Federation, headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, and supported by the AFL-CIO."

Some eight individuals in Panama alone were posing as official representatives of the federation, he said, without the knowledge of the federation's General Secretary A. Paulson.

These eight people had the credentials of a legitimate worker organization, enabling them to function as they saw fit, he said. The only way Paulson was able to correct the situation was by sending a letter to all affiliates announcing he had to abolish the Panama office because of this situation, Reuther said.

Al Zack, spokesman for the AFL-CIO, denied that the American Institute for Free Labor Development has any connection with CIA or that Lovestone had anything to do with setting up the organization.

Zack said the AIFLD "school" is about to graduate its 13th class of Latin American labor leaders and its purpose is to build a strong Democratic labor movement in Latin America.

Reuther said that as long as "President George Meany has such personal confidence in Lovestone, I see no changes in the federation's foreign policies."

In one of the sharpest criticisms yet made of Lovestone by a top union leader, Reuther said:

"Mr. Lovestone seems to have brought into the labor movement the working habits and undercover techniques which he learned when he was in the highest echelons of the Communist Party. I guess it's awfully hard to break those habits."

Lovestone was a onetime member of the party, but broke with it to become one of the nation's most dedicated anti-Communists.

The sharp differences over foreign policy, and over the basic concept of the role organized labor should play in international affairs, have not resulted in a break between men like Meany and Reuther.

The Meany-Lovestone attitude includes opposition to East-West trade, opposition to cultural exchanges with the Soviet bloc nations, opposition to admission of Communist China to the United Nations or to U.S. recognition of Red China.

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Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

March 2, 1966

# Cold Warrior

## *The Washington Post* *on Jay Lovestone*

ON JANUARY 30 the influential *Washington Post* began publication under the title "Labour's Cold Warrior" of a series of articles by its staff writer Dan Kurzman, exposing Jay Lovestone, Director of the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs, as an arm of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Lovestone, Kurzman writes, is, in fact, "Meany's Secretary of State, directing a world-wide operation that parallels and often converges with the U.S. diplomatic network. And he runs a vast intelligence system that appears to be informally but tightly integrated with the operations of the Central Intelligence Agency." His co-operation with the CIA has cooled relations between American trade unions and unions abroad.

Especially irksome to foreign labour leaders, writes Kurzman, is Lovestone's "influence over U.S. labour attachés stationed in embassies abroad." Some responsible union sources even say that appointment of labour attachés in "such key places as London, Paris, Rome and Brussels must always get Lovestone's stamp of approval."

Another sphere of Lovestone's co-operation with U.S. government bodies is in the American Institute for Free Labour Development (AIFLD), which is financed by 60 corporations with interests in Latin America and by the U.S. government through its Agency for International Development. The AIFLD, which operates a training centre in Washington for "labour leaders" in Latin America, has long since become in effect a branch of the CIA. In this connection Kurzman writes that its critics say it "does not make for independent-minded union leaders and looks all the worse when Lovestone

and his aides boast, as they have, that their pupils have plotted against undesirable governments such as the Joao Goulart Brazilian regime that was deposed in 1964."

Kurzman shows that Washington's policy of supporting reactionary military dictatorships, if they go along with State Department and CIA wishes, has a faithful parallel in the activities of Lovestone. In the Dominican Republic, he writes, Lovestone's Latin-American agent, Andrew McClellan, supported the U.S. tool General Elias Wessin y Wessin and "justified the overthrow of the Bosch regime under Wessin's leadership."

In Latin America the AFL-CIO supports dictatorial regimes in Brazil, Guatemala, Honduras and other countries. When the U.S. sought to overthrow the regime of Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan in British Guiana, "Lovestone's operatives" did their part. "The AFL-CIO sent in teams of advisers and tons of money," writes Kurzman, "to combat the regime's forces and eventually depose it." In Cuba Lovestone "backed the Cuban Federation of Labour (CTC) whose leaders closely co-operated with Batista. When Batista was overthrown by the Castro-led revolution, CTC general secretary Eusebio Mujal and his associates fled." Now Mujal and other leaders of the Batista union have CIA connections and are working for Lovestone.

Lovestone's hand in Latin-American affairs became most noticeable, writes Kurzman, when President

Johnson named a fellow-Texan, Thomas C. Mann, as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. McClellan, also from Texas, was a boyhood friend of Mann's. They participated together in some Latin-American operations. Mann's first action when he took his post was to ask McClellan and Lovestone to address his staff.

Lovestone policy, supported by Meany, has brought a rift with the leadership of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), to which the AFL-CIO is affiliated. Tension reached such a point that at a press conference last March Meany said the ICFTU was "an ineffective bureaucracy."

Kurzman observes that Lovestone's line of narrow "pragmatic" unionism with emphasis on anti-communism and hostility to peaceful co-existence clashes with the policy of most of the unions of Europe and especially of developing African countries, where the unions play a strong role in the struggle for freedom from imperialist domination. In recent months, says Kurzman, almost a dozen African unions have withdrawn from the ICFTU and joined the All-African Trade Union Federation.

Opposition to Lovestone's policies is evident not only in international organizations but also in primary trade union organizations in the United States.

Dan Kurzman's series in the *Washington Post* provides added confirmation of the disgraceful role the reactionary American trade union leadership is playing on the international scene.



24 February 1966

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

*Port workers' war*

The United States has frequently seemed to have two foreign policies—one conducted by the State Department and the other by the CIA. It has long been a commonplace that sometimes they coincide and sometimes they do not. Now a third policy-executing body is making one of its periodical reappearances—the maritime trade unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO. It is incensed by the ships that call at North Vietnam flying flags of the "free world." It seems to think that the US Administration has been weak about stopping them, and since "the time for pussy-footing is long past," it has decided to take matters into its own hands and boycott the ships of all nations that permit it.

Mr Ian Smith of Rhodesia recently asked: "Is [Mr Wilson] a fellow traveller? If not, why does he allow the British ships to pour British provisions into the Vietcong?" The American trade unionists probably know better than that. It is not British provisions that are taken; the ships are mostly registered in Hongkong and carrying nonstrategic goods under charter. True, it is often to the Chinese Government that they are on charter, and one can understand why many Congressmen as well as trade unionists should be perturbed. But Mr McNamara himself recently told the Senate Armed Services Committee that it had no need to worry; the shipments hardly affected the war, and there was not much the British Government could do about them anyway.

The Administration did make the gesture of putting five ships on a black list so that they are now forbidden to carry cargoes financed by the US Government from American ports. Since the owners probably had no such intention, and never send their ships anywhere near America, the trade unionists are no doubt right in assuming that this is not a very frightening sanction. So they have decided, it seems, to take it out of the Queen Mary. No doubt precedent will now be followed and the Administration will explain things to them. As the State Department put it in 1960, when the unions boycotted the Egyptian ship Cleopatra out of sympathy for Israel:

With such complex questions involved, an effort by a private group to apply pressure publicly with a view to bringing about shifts in the policies of foreign Governments is, of course, embarrassing to the conduct of our Government's foreign relations and may have unfortunate consequences.

Eventually, in these cases, the unions come to terms with their Government; the sooner they do so the less the waste of everybody's efforts.

CIA 5-012  
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Inside Labor

## Vultures Feed Off Uncle Sam

By VICTOR RIESEL



Mr. Riesel

*Peru being visited*  
*10.1 AFL-410*  
[Redacted]

Apparently there is a group of policymakers inside the American government whose specialty is feeding the hand that bites us.

They have decided, in a fulsome burst of Food-or-Peace magnanimity, to bolster Yugoslavia with \$78.5 million worth of wheat. In a true fraternal gesture the U.S. even is laying out some \$8 million for shipping costs.

In an official statement the Yugoslav Communist regime of Marshal Tito said it was grateful. And it showed its gratitude. It authorized a powerful arm of its government to dash at President Johnson's policy of bombing North Viet Nam; and with world-wide charges that the U.S. was committing mass murder with poison gases; and by calling a session of the Yugoslav-Cuban Commission for Economic Cooperation in Belgrade.

The huge food shipments, for which Marshal Tito's treasury need pay nothing during 1966 and '67, must all be delivered this year. Then the American credit arrangement gives the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia up to 1980 to complete the easy installments.

All this was agreed to by the directors of the U.S. AID administration and the Dept. of Agriculture.

Half the wheat shipments to Yugoslavia go over in American ships — because George Meany, AFL-CIO president, and leaders of the waterfront unions have fought for at least this share of the traffic. But the other half voyages in the holds of vessels owned by men and nations who do business with North Viet Nam, Cuba or other Communist lands.

Critics of the Belgrade government do not object to the feeding of the hungry people of Yugoslavia. What is now resented is the attack being mounted by their government and its controlled fronts upon the U.S. during the very time that the succoring wheat is beginning to flow into the empty

Belgrade granaries.

Not the least vituperative of the assaults of the U.S. has come from the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia. Its official organ has just arrived here. This is the English version of the publication which is issued in four languages and distributed to opinion-making newsmen, intellectuals, labor leaders and government officials across the world.

Apparently, as part of this unique barter for the U.S. wheat, the publication calls America "inhumane."

"The Yugoslav trade unions energetically condemn the use of military gases and other means for mass destruction," says the publication after denouncing the U.S. as militaristic, imperialistic and aggressive.

The Yugoslav labor magazine refers to Ho Chi Minh's government as the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The edition says bluntly, "towards the end of March, American units used poison gas against the Viet Cong liberation forces in South Viet Nam . . . the use of gases inflicts suffering on the innocent population in South Viet Nam."

There are further vitriolic attacks by the Yugoslavian editors upon "responsible American circles." Thus there is a direct attack on the same government which is helping to feed the Yugoslavs despite the sharp difference in ideologies between Washington and Belgrade. There appears to be little "inhumane" about this dispatch of life-giving food.

Furthermore, American labor specialists, who monitor Yugoslav labor activities, point out that the Yugoslav labor confederation has leaders who are in Marshal Tito's government itself. The confederation is an integral part of the Yugoslav Communist Party's central committee.

Thus some of its officials, as this columnist can report from personal discussions in Belgrade, also double as government leaders.

Paul Keyman, War  
Pete... Jay  
Org 1 AFL-CIO  
Org 1 AIFLD  
CIA W-01.2 AIFLD

M. 422,145  
S. 510,543

JAN 2 1966

Labor's Cold Warrior-IV

# Lovestone's Aid Program

## Bolsters U.S. Foreign Policy

Last in a series

By Dan Kurzman

Washington Post Staff Writer

Jay Lovestone, the powerful director of AFL-CIO overseas operations, is helping to operate a trade union aid program in Latin America and elsewhere to fight communism and win support from international labor for United States foreign policy.

This program is consistent with his double-edged effort to push for a tougher U.S. cold war policy on the one hand, and for conformity with U.S. policy by foreign, particularly Latin, labor on the other.

Lovestone, who at one time headed the American Communist Party, wields substantial control over the staunchly anti-communist Inter-American Regional Organization (ORIT). But this control is diluted by the voices of labor leaders from other nations.

This limitation of power, however, has been offset in part by the establishment of a strictly U.S.-operated American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

### U.S. Backed

The AIFLD is a nonprofit institute backed by the AFL-CIO, almost 60 U.S. business firms, and the U.S. government. The Government through the Agency for International Development (AID), finances or guarantees about 80 per cent of the program.

The institute has two main official functions: training Latin American labor leaders in democratic unionism and fi-



WILLIAM C. DOHERTY JR.  
... complains of red tape

ancing social projects for workers—mainly housing and community centers.

Defenders of the Institute point out that its educational program has so far reached some 30,000 people, including almost 400 graduates from a training school in Washington and about 2000 graduates of 13 regional schools.

The AIFLD has completed a \$10-million, 3100-unit workers' housing project in Mexico, and a few hundred houses in Honduras. It has set up a Workers' Housing Bank in Lima, Peru, and spent some \$60 million on "impact" projects such as food distribution and laundry cooperatives.

to the AIFLD say that its announced program is suffering

from a preoccupation with its unannounced activity — intelligence gathering.

At least some persons working for the organization, informed sources said, have been asked to cooperate with the Central Intelligence Agency. They are told, as one informant put it, that "Latin America's social revolution must be diverted into proper channels."

Some time ago, the AIFLD communicated with a certain Michigan Fund about the availability of funds. However, the connection was severed after Rep. Wright Patman (D-Tex.) charged that this Fund supplied the J. M. Kaplan Fund of New York, which he said was a CIA organ, with nearly \$1 million from 1961 to 1963.

Some Institute employees express concern that AIFLD engrossment in intelligence matters at the expense of social development activities has made more enemies than friends among Latin American workers.

Lovestone's chief AIFLD lieutenant, bluff, energetic Director William C. Doherty, Jr., says that delays in his social development program are due mainly to the red tape involved in obtaining U.S. government housing loans.

### Blasts From Up High

Criticism nevertheless has come from some high sources. At a meeting in September of the Labor Advisory Committee on Foreign Affairs, which embraces top U.S. gov-

ernment and labor officials, Jack H. Vaughn, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, was one such critic:

Vaughn said U.S. ambassadors and mission directors he had met on a recent trip to Latin America, indicated that the social projects program was in trouble in a number of countries because of overpromotion, administrative weaknesses, and failure to coordinate activities with the U.S. Embassy.

AFL-CIO President George Meany himself said at the same meeting that he, too, was troubled by the AIFLD's performance.

Meanwhile, criticism has poured in from Latin America. Leaders of four Argentine unions, who were promised, amidst great fanfare, a \$10-million housing project in April, 1964 are still waiting for the first house to be built.

Doherty has replied that the problem of inflationary costs had held up the program, not a very satisfactory answer to either the workers or to some Americans close to the program.

### Costa Rica Row

In Costa Rica, where a \$12-million housing program is being contemplated, the press has been strongly critical of the AIFLD for trying to impose "unjust" conditions. The AIFLD says that it, and not the Costa Ricans, must decide who will get the houses. It is also requiring an interest rate

Org. HEL-CIF  
Org. I

file, Morris, George  
file, Morris, Jay  
file, Morris, George

# George Morris

## World of Labor

### AFL-CIO vs ICFTU

AMONG the little-noticed resolutions passed at the convention of the AFL-CIO was one sharply critical of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Underlying that resolution is the disappointment of George Meany and his director of International Affairs, Jay Lovestone, over their inability last July at the Congress of the ICFTU in Brussels to get an endorsement of Johnson's escalation policy in Vietnam. Meany took a big delegation of 20 top AFL-CIO leaders with him, but was not able to bring home anything worth reporting in the AFL-CIO News.

The convention resolution considers it "regrettable" that despite past decisions forbidding ICFTU affiliates to have "exchanges" with unions affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions, including organizations of socialist countries, "some ICFTU affiliates have recently moved toward establishing relations in struggles and exchanging delegations with these organizations."

And the resolution warns that "fraternization with such enemy organizations on the part of ICFTU affiliates can only breed dissension and division in the ICFTU." It should be noted, of course, that the only major source of "dissension and division" on such matters can only be the AFL-CIO leadership from whom several threats have come in recent years to leave the ICFTU.

Earlier this year, at a press conference, Meany went so far as to charge that ICFTU headquarters is loaded with "fairies" (homosexuals) — hardly an expression of love for the ICFTU.

"THIS POLICY of rapprochement is a product of wishful thinking about so-called liberalization of the so-called Communist party-controlled 'unions' behind the iron curtain," argues the resolution prepared by Lovestone, as it goes into a long spiel on the consequences that may befall the "free" unions if they exchange views and delegations with the unions of socialist countries.

The resolution goes as far as to term the fast-spreading relations between many ICFTU and WFTU affiliates a "rapprochement." This is an exaggeration and may be true in only certain instances. But it does reflect the alarm in Meany's

office.

The resolution went on to say that the "ICFTU is a potentially valuable force," and that if it accepts the "cooperation and effective help" of the AFL-CIO, it may be "possible for the ICFTU to overcome its weaknesses." To this end the resolution authorizes the federation's leadership "to prepare concrete proposals for strengthening the union" of the ICFTU.

After 16 years, most of it under AFL-CIO domination, the ICFTU is seen as only "potentially" valuable, and to underscore the threat of a split, the resolution in effect conditions ICFTU unity on acceptance of some unspecified "concrete proposals" that will be prepared for it by the AFL-CIO in Washington.

LEST ANYONE fails to catch the meaning, delegates received a reprint of a letter Meany addressed to all affiliates of the ICFTU last June and had printed in AFL-CIO News, in which he attacked the ICFTU leaders for their lack of zeal in fighting what he called Communism.

Meany's complaint was detailed in some 5,000 words. He recalled how the ICFTU, a splitoff from the WFTU, was born out of the cold war in 1949 and argued that nothing had changed since 1949 and "today as then, it is the major task of the ICFTU to fight Communism." But such an approach is getting less and less attention in unions outside the U.S. Meany is having a harder task than ever to make "anti-Communism" the "major task" of any U.S. union.

Unions everywhere are concerned first with the problems affecting the social-economic position of their members and peace. They want action to meet the new problems like automation and job security, jobs for a restless youth, a constructive care of development for the rising countries.

Not a single major ICFTU affiliate, to my knowledge, has endorsed Johnson's Vietnam policy. Much as some of the leaders of the ICFTU unions in Europe and other areas may want to accommodate their friend Meany, support for the Vietnam operation is more of a load than most of them can undertake and face their members. The fact is that since escalation of the Vietnam war began, the image of the "Ugly American" became uglier. By their cuddling up to the Johnson administration, the labor leaders of America are seen outside the U.S. in the same ugly image.

To judge from the AFL-CIO's own resolutions and documents, therefore, we seem to have a trend toward increased estrangement between the AFL-CIO and the world labor movement, including the ICFTU unions, while there is a tendency toward what Meany and Lovestone alarmingly call a "rapprochement" between many unions of the ICFTU unions, while there is a tendency toward tian Trade Unions. This saddens the old men who sit on the AFL-CIO executive council. They have worked so hard for a reverse trend. But the world simply doesn't understand them.

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

An appeal to our President  
From 1,268 drug and hospital workers  
Members, Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Employees Union,  
RWDSU, AFL-CIO

orig. AFL-CIO  
VIETNAM

# NEGOTIATE— DON'T ESCALATE THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Every day precious American and Vietnamese lives are being lost in a war nobody can win; a war that can spark a world conflagration.

## WE BELIEVE

There can be no military solution to this war.  
This war must end at the conference table.  
Our government should undertake new actions to speed that day.

WE  
ASK  
OUR  
GOVERNMENT  
TO

- Stop the bombings
- Seek an immediate cease-fire
- Negotiate an international settlement

We ask our government to announce our willingness to include all parties directly involved, including the Vietcong, in any approach to a settlement; to reiterate our support for the withdrawal of all foreign military forces and the peaceful reunification of Vietnam with the right of the people to choose their own government.

Let us demonstrate that the U.S. is truly a leader in advancing the cause of peace and

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9



Pres Lovestone, Jay  
CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9 SR (NEWTIMES)

Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100430001-9

CIA 5-01-1  
Org 1 American Institute  
for Free Labor Development  
Org 1 ORIT

Org 1 AFL-CIO  
CIA 4 British Guiana  
Govt 1-06.3 US

# Espionage Under Trade Union Cover

THIS is probably no longer a secret. At any rate, American newspapers and magazines have long been writing of the links between the AFL-CIO leaders and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. One of these leaders, Jay Lovestone, the Chicago Tribune wrote back in 1954, had "readily agreed that his AFL Free Trade Union Committee is engaged in intelligence work." Edwin Lahey, Washington correspondent for the Knight newspapers, writes that "it can be stated without qualification that the CIA ... has in recent years obtained much of its primary information about international communism from Lovestone."

On July 5 this year the Nation magazine carried an article entitled "Lovestone Diplomacy" which sheds an ominous light on the activities of some of the American labour leaders.

Here is what this weekly writes:

"What the U.S. government does not do directly, because it would be flagrant meddling with the internal affairs of other nations, and what the CIA cannot do because it is suspect, the AFL-CIO does on their behalf. In ostensibly innocent relationships between unions of one country with another, the AFL-CIO throws its weight toward the making and unmaking of governments, with the purpose of instilling abroad the phobic anti-communism that has become entrenched at home."

This is followed with facts. Dozens of facts. The AFL leaders helped split the French labour movement after the war. They encouraged the West-German unions to take part in the cold war. Lovestone was one of the founders of the Committee of One Million, formed in the United States to keep the People's Republic of China out of the U.N. Along with Admiral Burke and Edward Teller,

## Scanning the World Press

"father" of the H-bomb, he heads the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, that is, helps the Cuban counter-revolutionaries in their subversive activities.

The reactionary coup in Brazil, the establishment of the military junta in the Dominican Republic, provocations against Dr. Cheddi Jagan's progressive government in British Guiana—AFL-CIO agents have had a hand in all these anti-democratic plots in the Western Hemisphere.

"American labour leaders," Nation writes, "certainly have a right to express a preference between foreign unions controlled by Communists or neutralists and those with pro-American sentiments. And it is certainly legitimate for them to offer gifts of cars or mimeograph machines to help the work of those they favour. But there is a line beyond which such aid becomes intervention."

Elsewhere in this article, the weekly says that if "the other side" were doing it, this would be called "outside subversion." "What is intolerable," it writes, "is not that Lovestone and company are anti-communist... What is intolerable is the combative, deliberate attempt to set off one type of foreign unionist against another in order to enhance the United States position in the cold war. What is intolerable is the deliberate attempt to mould a foreign union in a barren 'anti-communist' image."

How is this done? Can one attribute to the labour unions the methods employed by "Lovestone and company"? No, they are largely peculiar to "Lovestone and company,"

the group of anti-communists, whose ideological leader is George Meany, and who include Irving Brown, Harry Goldberg, Andrew McClellan, Ernest Lee, Serafino Romualdi and William C. Doherty, Jr.

The American labour bosses make special trips to the countries where they conduct subversive and counter-revolutionary work. Several AFL-CIO leaders, for instance, visited British Guiana at the time of the onslaught on Jagan's government. What is more, there is an AFL-CIO agent permanently assigned to the U.S. Embassy there.

"The links between the State Department and Meany's international missionaries are indisputable," Nation writes. "The AFL-CIO has its own liaison man in the Department; he is George P. (Phil) Delaney, who serves as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for International Labour Affairs. It is almost impossible for any labour attaché to be appointed to a diplomatic post if Meany and Lovestone advise Delaney, that he does not please them." The weekly adds that during the preparations of the coup which overthrew Juan Bosch's constitutional government in the Dominican Republic; "Labour Attaché" Fred A. Somerford assisted the military junta in every possible way.

However rich the American labour federations may be, they have not enough money to finance all their activities in other countries. Lovestone and his group, for instance, were in back of the eleven and a half weeks' political "strike" against the progressive forces in British Guiana. The operation cost all of \$1,200,000. As Drew Pearson writes, it was "inspired by a combination of CIA money and British intelligence." But the guiding force was the AFL-CIO!

Continued

ORG 1 AFL/CIO  
ITS 3-04.7 NS

CIA 3-01.2

# Why AFL-CIO Wars On 'Lie Detectors'

By GEORGE MORRIS

**THE FAST-SPREADING menace in the use of "lie detectors," on which qualifications of job applicants and often the dismissal of workers are based, features the August issue of the American Federationist, monthly magazine of the AFL-CIO.**

"The silent assault on the Right of Privacy," as the article is titled, is illustrated with a front cover photo of a chair, and on it polygraph equipment and the many cords extending from it for attachment to parts of an examined victim's body that gives it the look of an electric chair.

Encouraged by hearings of the Moss subcommittee of the House on the use of polygraphs and the recent orders by a number of government departments banning the compulsory use of "lie detector" and "personality" tests, the AFL-CIO is waging a drive against the practice. The business of using "lie detectors" with an estimated 1,500 private practitioners in the field, is classed by the trade unions with use of electronic stoolpigeoning equipment, like hidden listening devices and TV recorders secretly installed in factory washrooms or wherever workers congregate.

James A. Suffridge, president of the Retail Clerks, one of the

unions most affected by use of the electronic "informers," is the author of the article. He writes:

"Employers have found a cheap, effective way of getting rid of employes they did not want, especially those who had incurred executive displeasure by their union activity."

The article points out that the use of "lie detectors" is an invasion of constitutional rights, especially the fifth amendment that protects a person's right to privacy and against self-incrimination, and cites authority showing that technically the "lie detector" principle is false and would not stand a scientific test.

"In fact," writes Suffridge, "the entire weight of evidence is that it does not work and, in the opinion of many, actually tells more lies than it detects."

## STATE BANS

Suffridge cites much court and expert opinion on the unreliability of "lie detector" tests and their unconstitutionality. He notes that six states have passed laws rejecting the practice (Alaska, California, Washington, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Oregon), and that bills banning polygraphs are pending in other legislatures. The United States Civil Service under pressure of government workers' unions finally banned the use of its "personality" tests that violate privacy and on which the prospects

of job seekers hung. Many government discharges were based on what the polygraph said.

The practice has also been curtailed in the military departments, following recent exposure of the practice in congressional hearings.

The "lie detector" seized upon by many employers ostensibly to combat pilferage, has proved to be a convenient club over active unionists.

Noting that some 1,500 lie detector "experts" now operate in the U.S. privately and that there are at least fifty of them listed in the N.Y. phone book, Suffridge, said that a vast business of manufacturing, selling and operating polygraphs has arisen in the U.S. and Japan, just as the listening device business has mushroomed.

"A good example of the boom is a firm started in Austin by two University of Texas students in 1959," writes Suffridge. "Two years later it had offices in ten cities. In fact, Texas may be the heaviest polygraph user with an estimated 7,500 companies there requiring employes to take periodic lie detector tests."

Suffridge also calls attention to a Wall Street Journal survey reporting that among the clients of polygraph operators are steel, copper refining, auto, meat packing, food processing, oil, elec-

Continued



tronic, mail order retailing firms  
The claim that employes submit to "lie detectors" voluntarily is meaningless, writes Suffridge, "when that submission is a condition for obtaining or retaining a job."

**SAMPLE QUESTIONS**

One sample of a "lie detector" test given by Suffridge, has such questions as whether the employe ever gambled, bet on horses and whether "you participated in any sexual activities with a member of the same sex." The report to the company on that quiz said the polygraph indicated doubt concerning the employe's reply on sexual activities. Other questions may be about religious sentiments or whether another name was ever used.

"A person may be fired not merely for failing a test but for refusing to take it," writes Suffridge. "In innumerable instances, a worker must sign a pledge that reads 'I agree to submit to a screening test and to take a lie detector test at any time the company may so request. I also grant my employer the right to dismiss me at any time that I fail or refuse to take a lie detector test.'"

"Lie detector" machines are supposed to show reactions in terms of blood pressure and pulse, breathing rate and electric conductivity of the skin in graphs penned on chart paper much as in a cardiogram. This is supposed to provide an "electronic" measure of the guilt or innocence of a person.

Last March 22, after hearings of the House subcommittee, Rep. Cornelius E. Gallagher of New Jersey said in a speech in the House that the committee concluded:

"There is no 'lie detector' either machine nor human. People have been deceived by a

myth that a metal box in the hands of an investigator can detect truth or falsehood.

"Mr. Speaker, the committee found that the government has fostered this myth by spending millions of dollars on polygraph machines and on salaries of hundreds of federal investigators to give thousands of polygraph examinations.

"The committee further found that the federal investigators rely on these investigations for everything from top security matters to minor pilfering cases."

Gallagher concluded that the only recommendation is a ban on the use of polygraphs.

A companion article in the Federationist summarizes numerous other electronic or human "informers." Among them is the diversion of first class mail for opening and inspection by government agencies; tapping of wires, use of the widely advertised electronic "snooping devices" and the "bugging" of homes and offices of persons.

The Federationist called attention to some sharp struggles unions have waged against the up-to-date stoolpigeon, like the recent case where the auto union found listening devices on toilet doors and other places.

In another case the Communications Workers of America discovered installation by a Telephone company of closed circuit TV cameras in the men's toilet ostensibly to find out who was scribbling obscenities on walls. And only this year the U.S. Post Office decided to discontinue the use of peepholes in the washrooms of over 5,000 post offices in the country.

House hearings brought out that at least 19 federal agencies used polygraphs. Seventeen of those agencies employed 639 operators of 512 "lie detectors" and spent about \$4,500,000 a year on the tests. In 1963 more than 20,000 such tests were given. The other two agencies, the CIA and the National Security Agency, did not reveal how many machines and operators they use.

There is one important omission in the articles of the Federationist: that it was the wave of McCarthyism and the business of "sniffing for reds" that opened the field of "electronical snooping" now so menacing to the people and especially the labor movement. The leaders of the AFL and CIO displayed little concern when the red-hunting drive, and the inventions that came with it, was in full bloom. Having committed themselves for an all-out coldwar and anti-Communist drive, they were silent as the instruments and their own organizations were put into practice.

July 11, 1965

PKS Lovestone, Jay  
 PKS Lens, Sidney  
 ORG 1: AFL-CIO  
 CIA 5-01.1

## Nation Magazine Runs Exposure Of Lovestone CIA Labor Machine

THE EVIL CIA hand of Jay Lovestone in the extreme cold war ultra-Right position in the foreign policy of the AFL-CIO's top leadership is the main theme of the July 5 issue of the liberal magazine, "Nation."

The magazine carries a 10,000-word documentation by Sidney Lens, a labor writer, under the title "American Labor Abroad-Lovestone Diplomacy." The Nation's own editorial commenting on the article titled "Lovestone's Foreign Policy" expresses astonishment that labor should have a man like Lovestone play a "key role not merely in orienting the American labor movement well to the right on foreign policy issues, but in setting up a worldwide intelligence network which, throughout the cold war has worked in close liaison with the official CIA."

Except for The Worker and earlier the Daily Worker, that have for many years followed and documented the operations of the Meany-Lovestone-Dubinsky group in close relation with the CIA and against peace, the "Nation" is the first magazine to do a comprehensive article on the role of Lovestone.

"What the U.S. Government does not do directly because it would be flagrant meddling with the internal affairs of other nations, and what the CIA cannot do because it is suspect, the AFL-CIO does on their behalf," says the Lens article.

The "Nation's" editorial follows, in full:

### LOVESTONE'S FOREIGN POLICY

In this issue Sidney Lens, most of whose adult life has been spent as a trade union organizer

and official, lifts the curtain of secrecy and silence which has long obscured the role of Jay Lovestone in what "Business Week" calls "labor's own version of the Central Intelligence Agency."

More than one observer has been astonished that a man of Lovestone's background should, for so many years, have played a key role not merely in orienting the American labor movement well to the right on foreign policy issues, but in setting up a world-wide intelligence network which, throughout the cold war, has worked in close liaison with the official CIA and unofficial militants.

On reflection, however, it is not as surprising as it appears. After the labor movement conducted

Continued

CIA 3-01.2  
3-04, 7 WS  
ORG 1 AFL-CIO  
Pete Moss, John E

BALTIMORE, MD.  
SUN  
M. 189,356  
E. 211,991  
S. 325,664

FEB 26 1965

# LABOR FIGHTS LIE DETECTOR

## Calls For Ban On Use Of Device By Employers

By HELEN DELICH BENTLEY  
Bal Harbour, Fla., Feb. 25 —  
The AFL-CIO launched today a full-scale campaign to eliminate the use of lie detectors by employers.

The campaign was announced at the mid-winter meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council here by the union organization's president, George Meany. He expressed complete amazement over the extent to which the Government has been using lie detectors on employees.

It also was noted that private concerns — particularly department stores — have been relying on lie detectors to determine whether workers have stolen merchandise.

### Reliability Questioned

The council's statement objected to the "so-called 'lie detectors'" not only because their reliability is dubious, it said, but also because they infringe on the fundamental rights of American citizens to personal privacy.

"Neither the Government nor private employers should be permitted to engage in this sort of police state surveillance of the lives of individual citizens," the council continued.

A publication circulated by the AFL-CIO's department of research stated that there now are about 1,500 private lie detector operators in the United States who are hired by companies to give tests to employees.

### Texas Trusts Machines

The same article said that Texas may be the heaviest user, with an estimated 7,500 companies requiring employees to take periodic 'lie detector' tests.

The labor organization quoted a management magazine, *Business Week*, as saying that "business organizations, by hiring 'lie detector' firms to find out if employees are honest, are responsible for 80 per cent of these firms' incomes. The cost of a test varies from a minimum of \$25 a routine screening test to hundreds of dollars for tests designed to locate 'guilty' workers."

Meany said that complaints about the use of the lie detectors came primarily from three unions: government employees union, the machinists union, and the retail clerks association.

But it was noted that among polygraph users are supermarkets and major companies in steel production, copper refining, auto manufacturing, meat packing, food processing, oil, electronics and mail-order retailing.

However, private industry has no monopoly because government on all three levels—local, state and Federal—is also a major user, it was stated.

"The Federal Government seems sold on polygraph," the AFL-CIO report said.

"A survey of the House Subcommittee on Government Operations, headed by Representative John E. Moss (D., Cal.), recently revealed that nineteen Federal agencies use them. Seventeen of these agencies, employing 639 operators, and using 512 machines, spent approximately \$4,500,000 giving about 20,000 tests in fiscal 1963. Two agencies, the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency, have their totals classified as secret.

### Ban In Five States

Although five states already have outlawed the use of these devices and many unions have forced their elimination through collective bargaining, the executive council declared "it is obvious that further steps must be taken without delay."

Another council statement urged a step up in civil rights, particularly in the right to vote.

Meany said that 73 "all of the large" internationals — including the building trades — have established civil rights divisions and are working "hard" with the AFL-CIO to eliminate discrimination.

In other matters, the council:

1. Called for over-all improvement in wages, retirement, health benefits and life insurance for Federal employees.
2. Urged Congress to help farm workers by establishing minimum wages and maximum hours for them; by enacting special measures to improve educational, housing, health and other conditions for them; by including them under the National Labor Relations Act, and by establishing a national farm labor recruitment program through a voluntary recruitment act.

NOV 16 1964

AFL-CIO

## Polygraph Tests

You should be commended for the excellent editorial answer Nov. 10 to the letter from George Lindenberg, President of the American Academy of Polygraph Examiners.

The lack of concern by polygraph purveyors for human dignity and rights of privacy is illustrated by this attempt to use the Jenkins tragedy to justify an increased use of the "lie detector." How can Mr. Lindenberg assume that the polygraph would have detected Mr. Jenkins or anyone else "suffering these vulnerabilities" in light of his own testimony before the Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee which recently held hearings on the Government's use of the polygraph. Mr. Lindenberg testified that in spite of claims by polygraph sellers of up to 99 per cent validity and reliability, his own firm could only show proof in 18.9 per cent of its cases.

But even Mr. Jenkins's "vulnerability" could have been discovered by a "lie box," the use of the procedure still would not be justified. Mr. Lindberg makes no mention of the fact that polygraph operators have judged innocent people guilty of deception causing loss of employment and social ostracism. Mr. Lindberg does not seem to consider the basic constitutional and human questions so ably raised in your editorial.

The AFL-CIO, while willing, has not as of this date "joined" with any organization or person in opposing the unwarranted and widespread use of the polygraph. The AFL-CIO does suggest

however that the only sure protection for any individual is not to gamble on the "lie box" game.

When the suggestion was made during an investigation of an alleged information leak that Defense Department officials take a lie detector test, Secretary Sylvester refused.

Congressman Moss, Chairman of the Committee investigating the polygraph said, "After months of investigation, including many hours of sworn testimony, I am firmly convinced that there is no such thing as a 'lie detector.' The American people have been fooled into believing that an electronic gadget used by an investigator with no scientific training can detect truth or falsehood. This is absolutely not the fact."

FBI Director Hoover told the Warren Commission that: "It should be pointed out that the polygraph, often referred to as a 'lie detector' is not in fact such a device."

So much for the "lie detector."

A vigorous protest should also be made to Mr. Lindberg's suggestion that persons being considered for appointment to Federal posts be screened first, without their knowledge, and before they are even told that they are being considered. Since this type of security clearance involves extensive investigation of a person's private life, no such investigation should be undertaken without prior knowledge and consent of the person being investigated.

**BERTRAM GOTTLIEB,**  
Industrial Engineer, AFL-CIO  
Washington.

NORTHERN VIRGINIA SUN

*Cons: Riesel, Victor*  
*JUN 4-02, 2 USUJK (CIO-AFL)*  
*JUN 4-02, 2 USUJK/US (CIO-AFL)*  
*Org 1 AFL-CIO*

JUN 4 1954

Inside Labor

# Soothing The USSR

By VICTOR RIESEL



Mr. Riesel

Some one extremely high in the U.S. government has issued orders to the United States Information Agency and to our embassies across the world not to broadcast news or propaganda, distribute literature, or issue statements which would irritate the Soviet Union.

This policy has angered a group of men who don't usually anger quietly. The indignant men are leaders of American labor who recently spent considerable time formulating a declaration of principles denouncing Chairman Nikita S. Khrushchev and sharply taking issue with the State Dept. policy of aiding the U.S.S.R. during its present economic and political chaos.

A statement critical of the Soviets was adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council here last week. Although the council speaks for over 13 million union members, not a word of this has been flashed around the world. It would have great international impact, since it is a labor statement issued by American union officials whose counterparts in scores of lands are prime ministers, cabinet members or leaders of powerful opposition parties. Such criticism is known to enrage Chairman Khrushchev and his presidium because it cannot be attributed to right-wing or conservative forces in the U.S., which are traditionally anti-Soviet.

In the statement which is now official AFL-CIO policy, the labor chiefs warn that the U. S. must neither let its guard down nor permit the Sino-Soviet division to do "our work."

"In spite of the present 'relaxation of tensions,' Khrushchev stubbornly persists in all the old Soviet positions," the document states, "which are at the root of the cold war. Through his current less abusive tactics, he seeks to spread illusions, confusion and division amongst the Western democracies, to lull them into a false sense of security and to facilitate his securing from the U.S. and from Europe the economic assistance the U.S.S.R. so urgently needs."

After denouncing as a "monstrous myth" the notion that world peace can be won by helping Communist dictatorships, the statement released by AFL-CIO President George Meany asserts:

"... At the very moment when it seeks American assistance, the Soviet government continues to spend more than a million dollars a day to keep that 'distasteful nuisance' Castro, in power. Moscow is training and financing his Communist agents for subverting Latin America, spreading hatred of the U.S. and sabotaging the Alliance for Progress Program . . ."

Recent agreements such as the Soviet-U.S. pact on cutting down production of fissionable materials, the labor leaders said, "do not prove that the Soviet government has dropped all plans for aggression." Therefore, they urge that the U. S. should get some acts of good faith from the Kremlin.

"Difficulties now afflicting the Communist economies and the conflicts plaguing the international Communist movement provide a propitious moment for our country and its allies to initiate diplomatic, economic and political moves to eliminate the causes of world tension and to promote just and lasting peace," the labor resolution continues.

"Their statesmen should insist that the Soviet and other Communist regimes stop their efforts to subvert democratic institutions and governments. Let Moscow drop its opposition to self-determination for the German people and the peoples of the Soviet satellites and annexed lands. Let the Kremlin give the signal for tearing down the wall which shamefully divides the city of Berlin, stop supporting the Viet Cong guerrillas and bomb-throwers in Viet Nam and the Pathet Lao military attacks against the Laotian government, cease encouraging terror and bloodshed in Cyprus and fanning the flames of hatred and war in the Middle East."

Though the U. S. government did not distribute this statement, as it has with similar resolutions in the past, the AFL-CIO has its own facilities for making its viewpoint known to many governments.

The labor federation's International Affairs Dept. headed by Jay Lovestone — who is as much a bone in Khrushchev's throat as he was in Stalin's — makes it a practice to meet regularly with the labor attaches of some 20 embassies here. The foreign affairs section met from 9:30 a.m. to well past 2:30 p.m. at the Statler-Hilton here and briefed diplomatic officials of other nations on U. S. labor's attitude towards Khrushchev's possum playing. Thus the reports went back to the heads of many foreign governments.

The labor leaders will now insist that the U.S. government let hundreds of millions across the world on all sides of the Iron and Bamboo curtains know what many Americans really think.

*Pers, Fulbright, J. Wm. (Sen)*  
*Org, AFL-CIO*  
*Pers, Meany, George*  
*Cuba*

NORTHERN  
 VIRGINIA SUN

APR 28 1964

Inside Labor

Criticism Of  
 Fulbright

By VICTOR RIESEL



Mr. Riesel

Senator J. William Fulbright is being tackled by some heavyweights who are coming in from left of center and not from the right wing.

Influential labor leaders resent the Senator's statement that Fidel Castro is a "distasteful nuisance but not an intolerable danger." The national union leaders, especially those close to Mr. Labor himself, George Meany, interpret this to mean that the gentleman from Arkansas believes the cold war is over.

They don't agree. Furthermore, they plan to take their viewpoints directly to the White House and to Secretary of State Dean Rusk to make clear that they see a parallel between Fidel Castro's iron Communism and Adolf Hitler's iron cross Nazism.

They are flatly charging Senator Fulbright with appeasement. And they are aiming for a head-on collision with him if he continues his effort to make his views the nation's foreign policy.

The Senator already has been hit hard by AFL-CIO President Meany, who eschews diplomatic talk for the bluntness of which he is a master. Meany's first attack on Fulbright was unleashed recently at the United Auto Workers' Convention. His criticism of one of the nation's top foreign policy makers went unnoticed by the public.

"... As you know, we are not only interested in international labor, we are interested in foreign policy," said Meany whose organization spends over \$1.5 million annually to aid anti-Communist movements abroad. "We are interested in preserving a type of society in America under which it is possible to maintain free trade unions.

"The chairman of our Senate Foreign Relations Committee came out... with a suggestion that we should accept this idea of Castro as a permanent way of life. While he concedes it represents a threat to all of Latin America as well as us, he says we must be realistic and practical and accept it. I would like to say that this is the sixth year of the reign of Mr. Castro and he is still going strong.

"Cuba is still a base of Soviet Union anti-democratic propaganda for the Western hemisphere, and I don't think we can afford to get tired and just say that this man is a fact, a reality, and we have got to accept him."

After this call for a continuing fight on Cuban Communism, Meany hit Fulbright with the appeasement charge.

"Back in 1933 the democracies of Western Europe got tired," Meany said. "They got tired of fighting for freedom and at that time, of course, very few people in America were concerned with the problem of Adolf Hitler. The labor movement, of course, was concerned. We recognized what was happening 4,000 miles away as a threat to our way of life. . .

"England and France were close to this problem, but they got tired, and in 1933 they decided to accept Hitler as a way of life, as a fact, and at Munich they turned over to him the Sudetenland. This, of course, was when France was relaxing behind the Maginot line and while England was asleep. Oh, yes, you remember, Hitler wasn't so bad, they said."

Meany then pointed out that the Hitlerian gas chambers and other persecutions followed the Neville Chamberlain "peace in our time" statement after Munich.

"We all know the result of that," Meany concluded, "and we all must know by now that appeasement of any form of dictatorship has no real future as far as those who believe in freedom are concerned. We can't afford to get tired. . ."

It is certain that this attack on the Senator was only the first of many which will come out of national AFL-CIO headquarters here. There is concern in Meany's circle that national silence will be taken for acquiescence to Fulbright's policies.

The unionists believe that the Senator's speech is a trial balloon sent aloft for the State Dept. There is fear that some elements in that Department are planning to pressure President Johnson into attempting a rapprochement with Fidel Castro on the theory that he is a Castro-ite first and a Khrushchev-ite and Mao-ist last—and that he might be induced to "Tito" (break) his close ties with Moscow and Peking.

The AFL-CIO International Dept., which has been revitalized under its new director, Jay Lovestone, will seek conferences with President Johnson, Dean Rusk and other government leaders in an effort to head off what they believe is a concerted move to recognize Communist Cuba.

There's a showdown in the making — and not behind the scenes either

FEB 25 1964

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CIA-03.2

# Soviet 'Peace' Bids Attacked

By the Labor Correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

## Miami Beach

American labor has sharply attacked Soviet "peace offensives" as camouflage for a continuing, unrelenting campaign against the West through support for "so-called wars of liberation."

Meeting in Miami Beach, the executive council of the AFL-CIO called on the Johnson administration to maintain this country's military and "peace-keeping" strength, to "invigorate" efforts to promote unity in the Western democracies, and to strengthen NATO.

The resolutions were adopted by the federation's policymaking body after members heard "disturbing" reports from the AFL-CIO staff on the international situation. The federation and most of its 130-odd affiliates maintain their own "diplomatic" staffs throughout the world; typically, the International Union of Electrical Workers has 35 representatives overseas.

## Top-Level Parleys

AFL-CIO and individual union workers abroad deal primarily with foreign unions and labor organizations — but in many countries this comes close to dealing with governments or political groups. The American labor movement's foreign intelligence — its private CIA — is good. And, currently, what it reports is not encouraging.

According to the summary presented to executive council members, the current Soviet

"peace offensive" is not to attain a genuine peace but to gain time to consolidate past gains.

The accelerated armament program carried out in the U.S.S.R. from 1958 to 1962 strained the Soviets' economic resources to the breaking point. This situation was aggravated by the failure of the Khrushchev agricultural program which, with the country's intensified collectivization campaign, led to the current serious food crisis. And Soviet differences and disputes with Communist China added to the already heavy pressures by bringing "fierce competition from Peking within the Communist bloc" in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, according to the summary.

## Soviet Shifts Noted

Shifting its position to meet its problems, the Soviet Union moderated its stand against the West, according to the AFL-CIO, to:

- Create a favorable climate for Western aid—through financial aid and credits—to improve economic conditions at home and increase its industrial stature and prestige abroad.

- Gain time to concentrate on—and defeat—the Peking threat to its primacy in the Communist world and its influence and authority in the developing countries.

But while it has modified its position toward the West, the report notes, the Soviet Government is fomenting subversion, financing insurrections,

and equipping guerrilla armies in North Vietnam and other countries of Southeast Asia; it is "instigating bitter civil strife and supporting armed struggles between young developing nations"; it is training and maintaining bands of assassins, kidnapers, and terrorists in Latin America, notably in Venezuela, and supporting the totalitarian dictatorship in Cuba; and, in Cyprus, it is "maneuvering to bring about an all-out suicidal war between Greek and Turkish Cypriotes, plunge the island into chaos, and create conditions conducive to a Communist seizure of power."

## Soviet Proposals Hit

Further, the report condemns recent Soviet "peace proposals" as meaningless — with particular emphasis on Moscow proposals for disarmament.

The AFL-CIO called for recognition that "a real détente is possible only when the Soviet rulers renounce subversion, infiltration, and 'revolutionary warfare' for promoting communism and . . . respect the right of self-determination of the peoples subjugated by them." Almost wholly, AFL-CIO proposals are in line with this country's foreign policy on Berlin and West Germany, disarmament, a stronger peace-keeping machinery for the United Nations, and Communist China.

The labor organization urged the government to go further with NATO "to speed the establishment of a multilateral atomic force" to increase the

defense capacities of the free world and improve prospects for world peace.

## Plan for Cyprus

It proposed the submission of the Cyprus dispute to the International Court of Justice for a binding decision, with peace to be maintained meanwhile by Greek, Turkish, and British troops — the three guarantors of Cypriote independence — under a commander to be named by Dr. Carlos Sosa Rodriguez of Venezuela "from the highest military echelons of his country." Dr. Rodriguez is president of the UN General Assembly.

The AFL-CIO has been allied with Cyprus through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and helped build up the island's labor movement.

The federation reaffirmed support for "African people struggling for their freedom in South Africa." It warned of "a deteriorating situation that threatens to erupt into an armed conflict with every likelihood of setting a whole continent on fire and of embittering racial strife the world over."

And it called for an international embargo through the UN on oil and arms shipments to South Africa, while urging United States unions to extend material and financial assistance to the African resistance movement.

American unions have a heavy concentration of representatives in the developing countries of Africa.

In economic areas, the AFL-CIO reiterated its appeal for international fair-labor standards to prevent "unfair competition, based on exploited labor," that could undercut living standards and working conditions in this and other countries. Federation proposals will be pressed at a series of international conferences this year.