

LABOR
DIVISION
O.S.S.

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

Labor Union 14.041
x SI x Personnel

INTEROFFICE MEMO

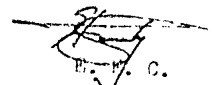
TO: The Director, OSS.
FROM: Colonel E. F. Connely,
Chief, Personnel Procurement Branch.
SUBJECT: Activities of the Labor Section of SI.

DATE: 10 April 1944.

1. In visiting the various theaters, I ran into a question which seemed to be common to all of the theaters - namely, just how much OSS may be sticking its neck out through the activities of the Labor Section. There is a feeling which is prevalent in all theaters that OSS may be being used as cover for an international labor movement. I believe there was an unfortunate situation which developed in England that caused quite a ripple in British circles.

2. The common criticism of this particular activity is that no one charged with the responsibility of running a mission is permitted to know very much about the activities of the Labor Section. It might be well to consider the advisability of making a thorough investigation of how the Labor Section originated, who brought the ideas to OSS, and how it is manned. I have been informed that practically all of its personnel consists of men who were active in labor unions or in the Department of Labor.

3. This may be entirely legitimate, but, on the other hand, if there is any reason to doubt the underlying objectives, a thorough investigation might well be worthwhile.


E. F. C.

cc: Mr. Cheston

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Labour. Darwin 17/04/41

The Director, OSS.

10 April 1944.

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E. F. C.

CONFIDENTIAL

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

✓ 00.001 Division 14,041
X 51
X Personnel

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : *General Donovan*
~~Secretary~~

DATE: 18 March 1944

FROM : Arthur J. Goldberg *A.J.G.*

SUBJECT: Attached Memorandum and Draft of Cable

- 01 - P. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22

Attached you will find a memorandum from Mr. Shepardson and myself to General Donovan together with a draft of a cable submitted for the General's signature to give effect to the recommendation contained in the memorandum.

AJG

Mr. Goldberg wishes to be advised when this goes out etc

Attachments

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Section Subscribed 14, 1944

Q. J. J.
SECRET

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, OSS

FROM : Chief, SI and Chief, Labor Section, SI

SUBJECT: Personnel changes of the Labor Section, SI

DATE: 15 March 1944

Major Goldberg has discussed with you the question of strengthening the administration of Labor Section activities in NATO by making certain personnel changes in the staff of the Labor Section, SI there. Pursuant to these discussions a cable has been sent to Colonel Glavin and Colonel Rodrigo requesting that Van Arkel be returned to the States for consultation and for a different assignment.

This change makes it necessary that certain personnel be transferred from other theaters in order that the affairs of the Labor Section be properly directed. Your authorization is, therefore, requested to give effect to the following personnel changes:

1. The transfer of Mortimer Kollender, who presently heads the Labor Section, SI in Cairo, to Algiers to be in charge there of the Labor Desk, SI. Kollender has done a responsible and able job for the Labor Section in New York and in Cairo and is a man of demonstrated administrative capacity. As Head of the Labor Section in Algiers he would be in a position to supervise and control the activities of the Section both in Algiers and in those parts of Italy which are under the jurisdiction of AFHQ.

2. The dispatch from Washington to Cairo of Mr. Carl Devos to assume the duties as Head of the Labor Desk, SI in Cairo. This to take effect as soon as Mr. Devos's Naval commission is forthcoming. It is anticipated that this will be within the next week or ten days since the proper papers have been processed and we are now merely awaiting notification by the Navy of his commission. Mr. Devos has been acting as Executive Officer for the Labor Section, SI in Washington and, during the absence of Major Goldberg, performed the duties of Acting Chief of the Labor Section, SI with capacity and to the satisfaction of all concerned.

It is believed that these changes will give the Labor Section better administration in the areas in question.

Attached is a draft of a cable for your signature giving effect to the foregoing.

Walter H. Murphy
WHE

*copy sent to
Major Goldberg*
OBS, LONDON

Sabotage Division 137811

SECRET

*x Citrine
x Oldenbrock
x Italy
x Sabotage*
COPY

To: Mr. Whitney D. Shepardson
From: I. S. Dorfman

ATTENTION MAJOR ARTHUR GOLDBERG

Dear Arthur,

Further developments have occurred since I last wrote you about the Citrine-Oldenbrock matter. The meeting between the two of them, designed to straighten out misunderstandings, failed of its purpose. The Foreign Office thereupon called a conference at which, in addition to the Foreign Office representative, Mr. Dew, the following were present: Colonel Forgan, Sir Walter Citrine, Mr. Oldenbrock, Mr. Marchbank, Mr. Keil (Broadway), Sir Walter Citrine's secretary, and I.

The position of the Foreign Office was that it had granted exit permits to Kramer and Fano on the representation that they were going to Italy to engage in sabotage. Citrine stated: (1) that to date the TIC had been denied the opportunity of sending a trade union delegation to Italy; (2) that before Kramer and Fano were dispatched to Italy, he (Citrine) inquired of Foreign Secretary Eden as to the purpose of the mission and was advised that they were going as agents of the OSI for the purpose of engaging in sabotage; (3) that when Kramer's and Fano's activities in Southern Italy received publicity here, he (Citrine) again inquired of the Foreign Office and was assured that they had not been sent as a trade union delegation or to engage in trade union activities, but as agents of the OSI to engage in sabotage; (4) that he then inquired of Oldenbrock and was told that the ITF had sent Kramer and Fano to Italy to re-organize the transport union; and (5) that if Oldenbrock's statement to him was correct, the ITF had been granted the privilege of organizing Italian workers previously denied to the TIC.

A subsidiary point made by Citrine was that he saw a memorandum among the records of the Foreign Office stating that the request of Oldenbrock to permit Marchbank to accompany Kramer and Fano to Italy had been denied. Oldenbrock denied that he had made any such request. When reference was made to the Foreign Office file, it was found that the memorandum, dated January 25 (about two months after the mission had left for Italy), was written by someone in the Passport Division, and purported to

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summarize the facts concerning the mission. Apparently the writer had obtained the facts second-hand, and in any event the memorandum was written long after the mission in question had occurred.

Oldenbrock stated: (1) that Kramer and Fano were sent to Italy as representatives of the IFF, and not as agents of the OSS; (2) that this was done in cooperation with the OSS and with the use of OSS transportation facilities, but that Kramer and Fano were paid by the IFF and not by the OSS; and (3) that the purposes of the mission were to reorganize transport workers in Italy and to help in the war effort.

Colonel Logan, on behalf of the OSS (supported by myself as to certain details) stated: (1) that the OSS is a United States war agency entrusted with intelligence and sabotage functions; (2) that, in furtherance of these purposes, it sought and received support from various sources, including trade unions; (although trade union activity as such was not the business of OSS); (3) that among the activities, the OSS was interested in stimulating and supporting resistance to the enemy in Italy; (4) that the Kramer and Fano mission was one of such stimulation, directed towards contacting trade union elements in Italy and increasing their activities against the enemy; (5) that the mission could not reasonably be considered as a trade union negotiation within the meaning of Executive Statement; and (6) that the Foreign Office was not concerned in this mission except that it granted exit permits to Kramer and Fano.

Despite the repeated explanation of the representatives of the Foreign Office, Broadway, and OSS, Canning still held the view that the mission, in effect, served the major interest for the Anglo-American Transportation Migration to Italy; and that he had been deceived as to the purpose of the mission. He indicated he would pursue the matter on a higher level in the Foreign Office, and also voiced the hope that his friend William Green may wish to hear of this. Oldenbrock feels he can prevent embarrassment to the Foreign Office in the House of Commons, should Canning attempt it.

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I understand that when Robert Watt was here for the TLO Convention, both Citrine and Oldenbrook spoke to him about this matter. I am advised that Watt knows Oldenbrook very well, and is on better terms with him than with Citrine. Also, as you know, AF of L problems relating to unions outside of the United States, in the normal course of events, are referred to Watt for action. I should like to suggest, therefore, that the best approach to the AF of L phase of this problem may be through Watt. In addition to whatever approach you may make to Watt, I have asked Oldenbrook to write a letter to him on the issues here involved, which will be forwarded to you immediately upon receipt. I shall keep you advised of any further developments.

J. S. Dorfman

Enc.: Colonel Bruce, Colonel Forgan, Major Maddox and I discussed this matter today, and agreed that the full facts should not be disclosed to Watt unless and until Citrine communicates with Green, since it is not certain that he will do so. Should Citrine seek the advice or permission of the TUC General Council before writing to Green, I shall be in a position to notify you of such action. However, should Citrine write a personal letter to Green, we shall have to depend upon notice from Watt or Green in advance of action taken by them on Citrine's letter.

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OFF, LONDON

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To: Mr. Whitney H. Shepardson

From: I. S. Forster

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The position of the Foreign Office was that it had granted exit permits to Kramer and Fano on the representation that they were going to Italy to engage in sabotage. Citrine stated: (1) that to date the TUC had been denied the opportunity of sending a trade union delegation to Italy; (2) that before Kramer and Fano were dispatched to Italy, he (Citrine) inquired of Foreign Secretary Eden as to the purpose of the mission and was advised that they were going as agents of the OSE for the purpose of engaging in sabotage; (3) that when Kramer's and Fano's activities in Southern Italy received publicity here, he (Citrine) again inquired of the Foreign Office and was assured that they had not been sent as a trade union delegation or to engage in trade union activities, but as agents of the OSE to engage in sabotage; (4) that he then inquired of Oldenbrook and was told that the ITF had sent Kramer and Fano to Italy to re-organize the transport unions; and (5) that if Oldenbrook's statement to him was correct, the ITF had been granted the privilege of organizing Italian workers previously denied to the TUC.00

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Colonel Forgan, on behalf of the O.S. (supported by myself as to certain details) stated: (1) that the O.S. is a United States war agency entrusted with intelligence and sabotage functions; (2) that, in furtherance of these purposes, it sought and received support from various sources, including trade unions; (although trade union activity as such was not the business of O.S.); (3) that among its activities, the O.S. was interested in stimulating and supporting resistance to the enemy in Italy; (4) that the Kramer and Fano mission was one of such undertakings, directed towards contacting trade union elements in Northern Italy and inciting their activities against the enemy; (5) that the mission could not reasonably be construed as a trade union delegation within the meaning of Citrine's statement; and (6) that the Foreign Office was not concerned in this mission except that it granted exit permits to Kramer and Fano.

Despite the repeated explanations of the representatives of the Foreign Office, Broadway, and O.S., Citrine persisted in his view that the mission, in effect, served the purpose intended for the Anglo-American Trade Union Delegation to Italy; and that he had been deceived as to the purpose of the mission. He indicated he would pursue the matter on a higher level in the Foreign Office, and also voiced the thought that his friend William Green may wish to hear of this. Oldenbrock feels he can prevent embarrassment to the Foreign Office in the House of Commons, should Citrine attempt it.

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OSS, LONDON

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 From: I. S. Dorfman

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2202
FROM:

S E C R E T

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

Accession No. *S.O. 22... 306*
Date Rec'd. SA. *MAR 18 1964*

To	Room No.	Date		Officer's Initials	Comments
		Rec'd.	Fwd'd.		
1. E.T.O.				<i>WJ</i>	
2. <i>Goldberg</i>	<i>2210</i>	<i>2/16</i>		<i>WJ</i>	
3. W. J. Donovan					2 to 3. For your information.
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					

Each comment should be numbered to correspond with number in To column.
 A line should be drawn across sheet under each comment.
 Officer Designations should be used in To column.
 Each Officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing.
 Action desired or action taken should be indicated in Comments column.
 Routing sheet should always be returned to Registry.
 For Officer Designations see separate sheet.

(20640)

S E C R E T

By Airnough.

Labour Mission 11 10 9
1. 10. 10
J. H. Long
SF-1472
S-022-306

OSS, LONDON.

MAR 13 1944

March 6, 1944.

To: Mr. Whitney H. Shepardson
From: A. B. Jellis

0-13.3
St. Polyn
Rich. W.
0-10-1

ATTENTION MAJOR ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG.

LABOR DECK FIELD UNIT.

Further discussions have been held separately with the OIT and the IITF.

A joint discussion with the OIT and IITF was also held. The question of one or more representatives of these organizations accompanying the Labor Desk in the field was explored. Not knowing precisely at this stage how many persons we shall be permitted to take in with us, either in the first or second field group, my discussion was limited to securing a joint understanding in general terms, and to preparing the ground for specific arrangements when our own plans are further advanced. For instance, it is not yet certain that I shall be able to take a civilian labor representative with me in the first group, to which I have been assigned. Should permission be granted, however, I doubt whether it will allow for more than one. I regard it as highly important that I should have someone with me in the operational stage who can speak authoritatively on behalf of labor groups and who will be of inestimable assistance in evaluating agent personnel and securing labor cooperation in the collection of intelligence. If this permission can be secured, and assuming that I shall not be permitted to take in more than one civilian, we agreed on the desirability of having someone who could carry a joint mandate from both the OIT and the IITF. Should this person be Guigui himself, IITF support has been assured.

If at a later stage we were to take a further IITF representative into the field, the latter have expressed an opinion that such a man should not be a Frenchman. This view is no doubt occasioned by a desire to remain outside any purely French controlled areas that may arise. Instructions were sent by the IITF to the French railroad workers' representative inside France to place one or two good men in each principal port on the invasion coast; also

-11-

at the principal railroad junctions. Our understanding is that he has accomplished this, though we have no information as yet on the extent of the work or precise names and locations.

A message was sent by the OIT in London to this same railroad representative advising him to secure a hide-out somewhere along the coast pending D day. This man, apparently, is pretty resourceful, and it is thought that should he not find himself in the vicinity of an Allied debarkation point, he could make his way along the coast by small boat.

In view of the speculative nature of such an operation and the great value of this man for our operations, I suggested the possibility of trying to get him out of the country before D day. Both the OIT and the TTP were agreeable to this, and I am at present exploring the possibilities of getting him out either by air or maritime operation. It should be stated that OIT and TTP are in full agreement on the above points and are working in close cooperation with each other.

A field exercise has been planned at the Freshford for the week-end of March 10th, which I am preparing to attend.

11/6/44
A. B. Jellis.

WPM

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

11/17
SECRET

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: Col. G. Edward Bixton
FROM: Arthur J. Goldberg *AJG*
SUBJECT: Report on Activities of Labor Section, SI

DATE: January 17, 1944

Knowing of your interest in the work of the labor section, I am attaching herewith a copy of the report prepared for General Donovan on our recent operations.

AJG

Attachment.

*file
Col Bixton
for am RT
11/1/44*



January 8, 1944

WASHINGTON LABOR SECTION

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The Washington staff including men on temporary assignment with title or brief description of duties is as follows:

Major Arthur J. Goldberg: Head of Labor Section
 Carl Devoe: Executive Officer
 Thomas B. Wilson: Area Officer* for Labor Desk
 ETO, Sweden and Far East
 Mortimer B. Wolf (on temporary duty): Area
 Officer* for Labor Desk NATO
 Daniel Margolis (on temporary duty): Area
 Officer* for Labor Desk MEPO and Lisbon
 Lt. Al Suarez (on temporary duty): Recruiting
 Officer

One of the principal jobs undertaken by the Washington staff since Major Goldberg's overseas survey and return has been a comprehensive recruiting program to provide agent personnel and radio operators for the various projects in the several theaters. Specifically the goals sets have been as follows:

80 German recruits for NATO to service Faust "A"
 Project
 80 German recruits for ETO to service Faust "B"
 Project
 15 Greek recruits for MEPO to service Pericles
 Project
 15 Yugoslavs for MEPO to service TUNIC Project

Specific purposes of these projects are more particularly described in the respective theater reports.

In addition to the recruiting done locally and in New York, four recruiting missions were arranged through Colonel Connely on each of which an officer attached to the Labor Section was present and personally interviewed all of the recruits finally accepted. The following is the statistical summary of the results of the recruiting program:

Number of men interviewed (approx.):	750
Total men now attached to Labor Section and in training	20
Total men whose transfer has been requested but who have not yet reported for duty	25
Total men trained and awaiting transportation (five are actually alerted)	7
Total men en route	2
Total men awaiting TOA	<u>1</u> 85

*Labor Desk Area Officers are responsible for reports and communications by cable and pouch to and from the field. They also coordinate the activities between the field offices and Washington.

- 8 -

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For the period from March 1, 1943 to December 31, 1943 the Labor Section has received a total of 1,477 reports. During the past three months it has received 603 pouch reports and 114 cable reports.

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LABOR DESK IN NEW YORK

Operations

This Desk has been largely engaged in the past months in locating and recruiting men with European labor or underground experience for the Varlin, Faust A and B, Pericles and Tonic projects. Several promising recruits for these projects have been secured. These men are now either in transit overseas or in training preparatory to departure.

A large number of reports received from European Labor Research, Dr. A. S. Lipslett and other sources have been processed and transmitted to Washington for dissemination. Other reports have been prepared by European Labor Research at the express request of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations.

Staff

Mr. David G. Shaw, since his return from London for temporary duty, has been looking after the operation of the New York office.

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SHIP OBSERVER PROJECT

Operations

The Ship Observer Project which was set up to obtain military, economic and psychological information concerning both enemy and neutral territory by interviewing specially selected seamen has been particularly useful with respect to port defenses, troop movements, ship movements, port facilities and security and considerable information of X-S value. In addition a great deal of information regarding underground movements and publications, rationing, availability of food,

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- 3 -

black markets, morale, etc. has been supplied. The information almost always covers port cities, although in some cases the informants have been familiar with inland conditions as well. Many of the foreign informants have formerly worked in industrial plants in occupied countries and were familiar with the details of such plants.

Over the year and one-half of operation of this project, close contacts have been made with hundreds of seamen in the Merchant Marines of all countries touching American ports. These unpaid contacts are constantly on the alert for material useful in the war effort.

During the past months, many specific projects have been developed. Among the more important of these has been the work of this project in recruiting seamen of foreign nationalities as agents for work in their occupied homelands.

It has also been possible to secure through returning seamen innumerable documents, newspapers, underground publications, and various types of negative intelligence. Discussions regarding the possible assistance of the project have been held with Commander Morgan and Commander Pratt as a result of which information of this type has been turned over to the negative intelligence unit.

While most of the work of the project has dealt with the European field, work has already been begun to extend this work to the Far Eastern field by opening offices on the West Coast. There is every reason to believe that the use of seamen as a source of information and as a means of contacting other useful people from among Oriental labor groups will be as successful on the West Coast as it has been on the East Coast.

It is difficult to summarize in figures the number of men interviewed since recorded reports are only made of a small percentage of those who are contacted. Since almost 400 reports have been actually recorded, it is likely that well over 1,000 men have been interviewed in the course of the year. Of these a large number were considered sufficiently observant and reliable to be considered for further use. As the number of ports made available to Allied shipping increases, there is little doubt that the scope of the work of this project will similarly expand. Changes in the immediate types of and places from which information comes may take place but the source--seamen--will continue to be of vital importance.

- 4 -

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Liaison has been established with the merchant marine industry to enable the project to place seamen on ships definitely bound for locations where the men may be useful to field projects.

Staff

All work in connection with the Ship Observer Project is managed by Mr. Edward A. Mosk and his assistant, Mrs. Lillian Traugott.

LABOR DESK IN LONDON

Operations

(1) General

During the past three months the Labor Desk has maintained and developed its previously established contacts and through its enlarged staff has succeeded in creating new sources of information. The Labor Desk is working in close conjunction with British SOE and French BRAL as well as other governmental information services.

Besides the above mentioned contacts the Labor Desk has strengthened its ties with ITF, OGT, British Labor Unions and the refugee representatives of labor groups from various continental countries.

(2) ITF

Besides its regular flow of intelligence from the majority of continental countries, the ITF has placed at the service of the Labor Desk valuable organizers and leaders who are attempting to increase the number of underground contacts on the Continent. Through the efforts of the ITF the services of Hans Jahn, organizer of the German Railway Union, and Fano of the Italian Railway Workers Union have been put at the disposal of the Labor Desk which arranged their transportation to North Africa and to Italy, where they are now engaged in contacting the railroad workers of Italy and German railroad workers who are now in Italy. This project is further described in this report under the heading relating to NATO.

SECRET

- 5 -

At the suggestion of the Labor Section, James A. Phillips, Frank K. Switzer, and Victor Sjaholm, representatives of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, were sent to England for the purpose of implementing the work of the Labor Desk in London and Sweden and in developing contacts with railway workers in enemy and enemy-occupied countries. Phillips and Switzer remained in England and worked in cooperation with the representatives of the Labor Desk in London. Mr. Sjaholm went to Sweden to work with the Labor Desk representative in Stockholm. Both Mr. Phillips and Mr. Switzer have since returned and Mr. Sjaholm is still in Sweden.

(3) The Three-Way Fund

Throughout this period the payments under the Three-Way Fund have been continued. Both Guigui, official CGT representative in London, and Laurent, CGT officer in Paris who had charge of the distribution of the fund, have recently acknowledged by letter the great benefit French resistance has received from payment of this subvention.

The French labor groups have been responsible for part of the material which OSS receives from French intelligence sources and in this respect the Three-Way Fund has proved extremely helpful.

Plans for the active cooperation of CGT with the invading forces on and after D Day have been worked out in detail with CGT representatives in London. Preliminary instructions have been transmitted to the representatives of CGT in the 17 organizational districts into which France has been divided. These representatives are carrying out these instructions from the London Labor Desk and are preparing to comply with further demands of the Desk.

(4) Mission Varlin

This is a plan conceived as a joint American and British operation working through the machinery and with the active cooperation of CGT. The United States is represented by the Labor Desk of OSS, the British by SOE, and the French by BRAL and the CGT. The object of the Mission is briefly as follows:

Through its existing underground machinery the CGT under the direction of its Paris Committee will seek to expand and

- 6 -

SECRET

improve its channels of communication with French workers in Germany who at present are organized in Stalags. They will seek to achieve a maximum penetration of the Stalags so as to bring all trustworthy Frenchmen in Germany within their network. Through this work it is hoped to create a network of information which will extend throughout Germany. The attempt is being made from Great Britain and from the Swiss border.

Two French bodies recruited by OSS Labor Desk in North Africa have been transported to England by the Labor Section and have received training through BRAC and OQT for the past month and a half. When the training of the bodies had been completed, SOE arranged a Reception Committee which was to meet the bodies in France during the month of December. Unfortunately the weather was so bad that the attempt to send the men into France was abandoned until the January moon period. It is expected that the project will be in actual operation some time during January 1944.

(b) Faust B.

Plans have been arranged for the reception and training of the recruits from the United States for the Faust B project. The object of this project is to contact reliable German underground labor groups and thus create a network of informants throughout Germany. The recruits will receive the same training as is contemplated for the recruits for the Sussex plan. Due to the feeling of expectancy caused by the imminence of the opening of the second front, the London Labor Desk is urging the prompt transportation of recruits now in the United States over to Great Britain so that they may be on hand for use at the time of the invasion.

In conjunction with this project the Labor Desk in London has been collecting information regarding materials and documents needed for the use of our agents in enemy countries. This information is also being forwarded to Washington.

The Labor Section in Washington now has 17 recruits for the Faust Projects in advanced stages of training. The Faust recruits will complete their SI-80 training on January 31, and in response to urgent requests recently received, ten of them will be shipped to the London Labor Desk.

- 7 -

SECRET

(6) Labor No. 8.

This project is now in operation and is affording means of contacting people in the European labor movement and the labor representatives of the governments-in-exile. As originally planned, this office was to be a joint venture of the Labor Desk and Baker Street. After innumerable delays on the part of Baker Street, the London Labor Desk proceeded with the project on its own. As a result of this project the Luxembourg Government through its intelligence officer is now making available to us intelligence reports. We are now beginning to receive a steady flow of information as a result of the operation of this project.

(7) Labor Desk Field Mission.

In preparation for the invasion and the establishment of the OSS field mission headquarters, Mr. Waldberg procured two weeks of valuable training at Beaulieu and Sergeant Jolis is to receive a week's training at Sussex. It is now expected that Sergeant Jolis, Mr. Waldberg, Guigui representing OOT, a nominee of the ITP, and probably Mr. Pratt will accompany a BT detachment at the OSS base set up near Army Headquarters.

Staff

In anticipation of the opening of the second front and in order to develop the contacts described above, our London staff has been increased and now consists of the following people: Mr. George O. Pratt, Mr. Isaiah S. Dorfman, Sergeant Albert E. Jolis, and Mr. Patrick O. Waldberg. Mr. David C. Shaw who previously had been attached to the staff returned on a temporary mission to the United States in November 1943. The first three named individuals are well known to the OSS. Mr. Waldberg was employed by Mr. Pratt because of his intimate knowledge of and contacts with the French labor movement and political parties. His education was largely secured in France and Spain. He has travelled extensively on the Continent of Europe. Since February 1943 Waldberg has been employed in various capacities by OWI in North Africa from which he transferred to OSS directly.

In general, Dorfman maintains contact with Hungarian, Luxembourg and German trade union groups; Jolis with Dutch, Belgian and some French; and Waldberg with French labor groups. Pratt supervises the staff work generally and maintains his own personal contacts.

- 8 -

SECRET

LABOR DESK IN NORTH AFRICA

Operations

During the past two months several of the plans discussed with General Donovan in North Africa have been put into effect by the Labor Desk in NATO. The operations have been handicapped by a number of factors, including shortages of instructor and staff personnel, insufficiency of training facilities, difficulties of transportation, and unavailability of necessary equipment. These obstacles are being remedied but the process is slow and the conditions of work remain adverse. Nevertheless, considerable progress has been made in carrying past plans into operational stages as well as in blueprinting and making painstaking preparations for future operations.

The activities in NATO are briefly summarized below under the various project titles that have been assigned:

(1) "Heine" Project: This project was suggested by General Donovan while in Algiers during the past summer. In essence, it consists of sending officials of the strongly organized International Transport Workers Federation into northern Italy for promoting resistance among the railroad workers there and spreading dissatisfaction among the German railroad workers themselves. Two officials of the ITR spent a number of weeks in Algiers training agent personnel for this penetration. At present they are both at our advance base in Bari, one having arrived at the end of November and the other at the end of December. They immediately established contact with emissaries coming through the German lines. One of them who speaks Italian fluently has studied the Italian situation itself at first hand and also acquired information from government representatives interested in labor problems. It appears that although the Northern Italian railway workers have a functioning organization of considerable strength which we shall be able to use, there is considerable difficulty at the moment in establishing contact with Italian railway workers in northern Italy since a great many of their leaders were shot or went underground after the fall of Mussolini. Hence, at the moment there is no evidence or accurate information about personalities in the north of Italy. Our agents are making every possible attempt to reestablish contacts with this group.

(2) "Stork" Project: This project contemplates agent penetration of Austria and Germany by infiltration from Partisan-held territory. Mr. Van Arkel is currently in Bari where he has concluded the necessary arrangements with the Partisan representatives for a personal trip into Partisan territory for the conclusion of final arrangements with high elements of the Partisan command. The Bari office communicates

- 9 -

[SECRET]

directly from Algiers, with an alternative tie-in to Corsica. It is probable that a courier through the Partisans can be arranged; if not, other means will be found. Arrangements have been made for parachuting in additional supplies. There is a map tie-in with Algiers and their grid system can give any spot with precision. All arrangements have been completed for reproducing almost any German documents. It is intended that on the trip mentioned above Mr. Van Arkel will be accompanied by at least four qualified agents, who will remain in Yugoslavia when he returns to Italy, and by his Executive Officer, Captain Gevers, who will likewise remain at the Yugoslav base; the goal of the trip is some location as close as possible to the Headquarters of one of the Partisan Corps and as close as possible to the territory selected for operations.

The project has suffered no doubt by a temporary setback as a result of military action taken by the Germans, who have occupied one of the islands on which it was proposed to land, and were sighted by rescue planes off another. Other points will now have to be selected.

(3) "Redbird" Project: The Redbird Project is intended to make effective contact with a comprehensive Austrian political group called "Free Austria" by means of sending in a WI operator. The original contact was established through Istanbul when a representative of this group, himself in the radio business, contacted one of the OSS representatives and plans were made to send in a radio transmitter. However, this bogged down in the middle and so far there is only an unverified guess that the radio transmitter was stalled in transit in Sofia. Accordingly, Algiers Labor Desk was contacted by Bern and, after a project to parachute a transmitter in to the group was shelved, it was decided to pursue the same objective through the Bari advance office of the Algiers Labor Desk. The Labor Desk representative now in Bari has selected a man suitable for the job. The project is marking time while doubts as to his availability are cleared up.

(4) "Sparrow" Project: The Sparrow Project is intended to effect physical contact with extremely high-placed Hungarian officials with whom the Bern Office has long been in relatively intimate association. It is intended to convey an OSS Labor Section representative of sufficiently high rank through Partisan territory to a rendez-vous agreed upon with a Hungarian General with whom conversations are to be held. Arrangements are now in process for selecting the appropriate officer.

- 10 -

SECRET

(5) "Faust" Project: The training and recruiting of German or French-speaking personnel, both for penetration teams and for use in various capacities with the invasion army, has been carried forward in NATO. The recruiting efforts in this country have been pushed vigorously. Four agent recruits are on their way to join the 17 already in NATO.

Staff

Captain Gevers and Lieutenant Wittinghill are maintaining in Bari a joint base for the "Heine", "Stork", and "Redbird" projects. Lieutenant Sprecher has remained at Algiers to supervise the training, instruction, feeding, housing and other care of recruits, as well as to service the requests of the advance base. It is contemplated that Lieutenant Sprecher will shortly move up to Naples, and Lieutenant Brewster is en route from Washington to replace him in Algiers. M/Sgt. Nunn has taken over Mr. Van Arkel's work on the maintenance and development of French labor contacts in North Africa both as a current source of intelligence and as a basis for future operations in metropolitan France. Lieutenant Suarez and Ensign Carmichael are scheduled to depart soon for addition to the NATO staff.

LABOR DESK IN CAIRO

Operations

The Cairo Labor Desk was established to coordinate and direct projects to be carried out in the labor field in the Balkans and the Middle East. The progress of the work in the short time elapsed has justified the expectation that the labor approach would be important in that area. After initial discussions in July 1943 and the recruitment of a basic staff, Major Goldberg visited Cairo in October, and explored the situation thoroughly with the OSS office in Cairo and with other groups.

The preliminary investigation brought out that the spread of organized resistance groups in Greece and in Yugoslavia has been accompanied by rapid shifts in the political scene. By approaching labor organizations, as distinct from political organizations, an independent source can be opened for obtaining strategic information and for furthering sabotage and operations harmful to the enemy. The work of the Labor Desk has been oriented accordingly.

- 11 -

SECRET

The Labor Desk at Cairo began to function on November 18 with the arrival of Mr. Mortimer Kollender, formerly with the New York Labor Desk. Mr. Kollender had assigned to him Cpl. Costa G. Couvaras, whose fluency in Greek and whose general background made him an excellent aide. Two projects have now been formulated and are under way. The first project is the Pericles project involving Greece. The second in the Tunic project involving Yugoslavia.

(1) The Pericles Project (Greece).

The Greek underground labor movement is affiliated with a political resistance movement known as the EAM (National Liberation Front). A left-wing dominated group, the EAM has been rapidly asserting itself as the dominant resistance organization in Greece. No direct communication has been established by the United States with the EAM and British relations have been strained for political reasons. Clearance has been established within the US office in Cairo to have the Labor Desk effect communication with the EAM through labor channels.

By means of arrangements perfected in London, Mr. Kollender and Cpl. Couvaras met in Alexandria with the representative of the Greek Seamen's Union on December 1. Arrangements are being made for Cpl. Couvaras and a man to be selected by the representative of Greek Seamen's Union to enter Greece and establish contact with the EAM. For the purpose of the mission, a request has been made to have Cpl. Couvaras commissioned as a Second Lieutenant. The program contemplates the use of 15 agents to enter Greece and establish organized communications with the EAM. Recruitment of the 15 agents as requested by Mr. Kollender is now proceeding in Washington. Mr. Omer Reou, who represents the ITF abroad, joined Mr. Kollender on December 22, and has been working with him and Karayiannis on the program.

(2) The Tunic Project (Yugoslavia)

Kollender is also working on a labor mission for Yugoslavia similar to the Pericles project in Greece. This operation, known as the Tunic project, will be directed from an advance base at Bari, Italy. Kollender is now proceeding with Reou to Bari, Italy, to examine the situation and to formulate a definite program with the aid of the Yugoslav Desk. Ivo Antunovic, a Captain in the Yugoslav merchant marine, was inducted into the Army as a private, and was sent by plane to Cairo to assist Mr. Kollender in the planning and execution

SECRET

- 12 -

of the project. Antunovic is exceptionally well qualified to establish contacts with labor groups in Yugoslavia and it is planned that he will direct the work of the Labor Desk agents within Yugoslavia. Four agents have been selected for the project and are being processed, and a pool of other possible recruits is being formed pending a specific request from Kollender based on plans resulting from the work he is now engaged in.

Staff

The present program of the Cairo Labor Desk contemplates the following organization:

- (a) Main Office - Cairo. The Cairo office will be responsible for:
 - (1) Processing of staff and agent personnel
 - (2) Direction of Pericles Project (Greece)
 - (3) Reporting
- (b) Advance Office - Bari. The Bari advance office will be responsible for:
 - (1) Direction of Tunic Project (Yugoslavia).

The Cairo Labor Desk will be required to handle administrative routine, reports, and supervision and processing of agent personnel at Cairo and Bari. In order to permit Mr. Kollender to establish his Bari advance office without delay, Mr. Edward Mosk, at present in charge of the Ship Observer Project in New York, is being sent to Cairo to be Mr. Kollender's assistant as soon as arrangements can be made. Mr. Kollender has asked for:

- 2 additional civilians to handle intelligence and recruiting.
- 3 First Lieutenants to handle processing and training of agents.
- 1 Desk administrative assistant with rank of Second Lieutenant.

The agent personnel being recruited for the Pericles Project consists of 15 qualified agents. No definite figure has been established for the number of agents for the Tunic Project in addition to Antunovic, who is already en route.

- 13 -

[SECRET]

LABOR DESK IN SWEDEN

Operations

The representative of the Labor Desk arrived in Stockholm during the early part of June 1943.

On June 21 we received our first report and periodically thereafter on the average of at least every two weeks we received further reports covering his activities. His accomplishments in brief during his operations were as follows:

(1) He made contact with the leading figures of the international trade unions and the Swedish trade unions and in this connection established a working relationship with the head of the ITF in Stockholm. The transport reports which have heretofore been made available to us through the ITF are still being provided through these same channels.

(2) He made contact with and was engaged in perfecting projects for penetrating Germany in collaboration with the leading German trade unionists in exile in Sweden. Through these same sources he was receiving reports from recent emigres from enemy territory with whom these refugee elements were in contact.

(3) He was likewise in touch with the responsible leaders of the Hungarian, Polish, Norwegian and Austrian refugee trade unionist groups.

(4) In his contact with the Swedish Seamen's Union he operated the Swedish end of our Ship Observer Project, interviewing selected seamen on Swedish boats which stopped at enemy ports.

(5) Through the trade union contacts and the refugee elements, channels of communication were being perfected through which information concerning conditions in Germany and German-occupied countries was received in the form of (a) chain letters in innocuous code, and (b) spot reports from travellers, seamen, and people crossing the border illegally.

(6) Mr. Victor Sjaholm, the Railway Labor Executives Association representative who went to Sweden worked very closely with our representative for the purpose of developing contacts with the railway workers of enemy and enemy-occupied countries by means of Sweden and with the help of the Swedish

- 14 -

[SECRET]

railway workers group. Although his original mission has been completed, he has been asked by the American Legation to remain there to assist them in matters in which they are concerned.

Plans were being formulated for physical penetration from Sweden when all activity and all active operations were suspended in the latter part of October 1945 when, on a trip to London, our representative met with a fatal accident.

Our immediate plans now contemplate the resumption of the many contacts, relationships and projects previously established and the maintenance of their continuity. During the brief period of past operations it is clear that this post is vital for OSS purposes. From on the spot observations of other OSS personnel, such as Dr. Calvin B. Hoover, it appears that the relationships established are not only valuable but are extremely friendly and cooperative. In addition, the relationship which existed between the American Minister and our staff man had been extremely favorable.

Staff

At present we are making arrangements to fill this vacancy by sending Mr. David C. Shaw, one of our staff men who through his activities on our London Desk has some familiarity with the operations and contacts of our former representative. Pending the arrival of Mr. Shaw, Dr. Hoover's man has taken over the affairs of our Desk to the extent of keeping papers and records intact and secure.

As a result of our recent experience in Sweden we believe that in so far as it is feasible no man should go into a territory as a staff man for OSS even though under complete cover unless he has an assistant with him so that in an event, such as occurred in our set-up, the continuity of operations will not be interrupted. With this in mind we are preparing to send an assistant with our new representative.

General

Complete arrangements have been made to provide for the widow of our former representative and her family to the extent of our facilities and those provided through U.S. Employees Compensation Commission benefits. She has expressed her appreciation of the interest we have shown in helping her to overcome a tragic experience.

SECRET

- 15 -

LABOR DESK IN LISBON

Operations

On July 23, 1943, the Labor Section dispatched an agent to Lisbon. Since his arrival, he has sent us twenty-five reports which dealt principally with the Portuguese political scene. These reports were circulated within OSS and have received very favorable comment together with a request that they be continued. This agent is presently travelling throughout Spain and is working very closely with Gregory Thomas who has been advised to make use of the widespread and important contacts available to this agent.

Staff

The work of the Labor Desk is limited to the operations of the single agent referred to above who is stationed principally in Lisbon, but who by reason of an excellent cover is able to travel throughout the country at will and contact a broad range of business, political and professional groups. The administrative features of the work are taken care of for the Labor Desk by other OSS personnel in Lisbon.

BERN

From time to time the Labor Desk has communicated to our Bern representative the names of various figures formerly active in trade union circles many of whom were thought would be of aid to him because of previous underground experience and contacts leading into enemy territory. Bern has indicated in many cables that these persons have been and are extremely helpful to him and are collaborating with him in definite projects for penetrating Austria, Hungary and Germany. One of these projects is about to be activated having progressed to the point of arranging a rendezvous. The Labor Section through its Bari, London and Algiers representatives is keeping in close touch with developments in Bern with a view to coordinating the activities of the Labor Section and its field offices with Bern.

File-

Labon Division 10,115 A
x Seamen
x Allied Nations **SECRET**

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

x Internat Transp. Workers Fed

February 15, 1945.

TO: Colonel William J. Donovan
 FROM: Arthur J. Goldberg *A.J.G.*

In our last discussion together, you displayed interest in the number of seamen employed by the different Allied Nations at the beginning of the war and the number already lost through enemy action. We are in receipt of some statistics on this subject from the International Transportworkers Federation. In supplying us with this information, Mr. Becu, the international representative of the ITF states:

"The figures, however, are only approximate and are not official seeing that they have been supplied by the different unions affiliated with our International."

Great Britain is not included in the list since Mr. Becu was unable to obtain even approximate figures with regard to that country. The British seamen's representative in America was of the opinion that at the beginning of the war about 50 to 60 thousand seamen were employed, excluding Chinese and Lascar seamen sailing under British flag.

Arthur J. Goldberg

Attachment.

SECRET

Seamen of Allied Nations

	Seamen in war service in 1940	Seamen lost
<u>Holland</u> (including Chinese, Ganara and West and East Indies natives)	20,000 to 21,000	2,500
<u>Greece</u>	20,000 to 22,000	4,000
<u>Belgium</u>	2,200	700
<u>Norway</u>	20,000*	2,200
<u>Yugoslavia</u>	1,600	27 (incl. 12 in prison in Germany)

* 2,000 transferred to Navy, Army and Air Forces.

February 4, 1948

Lab. Donovan 11/10/43
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Goldberg, A.
KPW x Intel. Dept

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 25, 1943.

file

TO: Colonel William J. Donovan
FROM: Arthur J. Goldberg, *AJG*
SUBJECT: Dr. Lipsett's Report

I want to call your attention to the attached note from Mr. Belin. The report which was favorably commented on by the British Admiralty was received by us from the International Transport Workers' Federation.

Attachment.

14193

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

TO: Mr. Arthur J. Goldberg
FROM: F. L. Bellin

The British Liaison officer reported to us yesterday that the Admiralty in London had written the following comment concerning report No. 14193 of January 2, 1943, (submitted by Dr. Lipsett):

"Of value. Thank you very much. This confirms similar reports from various sources."

SECRET

COPY

February 15, 1943

To: Mr. Arthur J. Goldberg
From: F. L. Relin
Subject: DI 11667

Referring to this Agency's report No. 11667 of October 17, 1942 which we believe emanated from Dr. Lipsett, we have received, through our British liaison, a comment to the effect that "report No. 11667 has received extremely favorable comments from the British War Office, Admiralty and Air Ministry respectively and independently. They make it plain that they consider the source exceptionally good."

I thought this might be of encouragement to the source of this report.

11067

SECRET

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
Washington, D. C.

The effort to convert oil and gasoline-driven transportation means in Germany to the use of wood-burning gas generators has been extended to the Netherlands, I am informed. Practically the entire fishing fleets of the Netherlands are now being fitted with these devices. Work on the large numbers of fishing boats in the towns of Wieringen, Enkhuizen, Uithoorn, and others has already been completed, while the conversion of the fleets of IJmuiden and other fishing centers is scheduled for the latter part of October.

Though this conversion serves the purpose of conserving the rapidly diminishing oil reserves in German hands, the Germans are forcing the Dutch fishermen to shoulder part of the financial burden of the conversion, with the result that the fishermen are doing their utmost to outwit the invaders. The boat owners are made to pay 65% of the installation costs, to be paid partly in cash and partly in installments to be deducted from their fish catch which they are bound to deliver to the German authorities in its entirety. As a result, the Dutch fishermen are now diverting large part of their catch to the "black food market" where they get high prices.

Another sign of the transportation difficulties in seemingly unimportant fields is to be found in the recent confiscation of all bicycles throughout the Netherlands. The Dutch workers who for the most part are dependent upon this means of transportation, protested so vigorously that the German authorities ordered the return of the confiscated machines. In practice, however, many bicycles have remained in the hands of the Germans, which furnishes the workers with an excuse for absence from work or delay in reporting to work.

The steadily growing shortage of manpower in Germany, particularly in the fields of transportation, is also attested by the fact that nearly all Dutch street car motormen and conductors have been sent to the Reich for work. In Karlsruhe, Western Germany, - recent target of a heavy air attack, - trolley cars and other public conveyances are run almost entirely by Dutch personnel. The number of Dutch transport workers employed in Germany in the spring of 1942 was 21,823, according to these same sources. The figures for other skilled labor groups, shipped from the Netherlands to Germany, were: 60,371 building trades workers, 2,497 garment workers, 1,976 lumber workers, 2,195 rubber workers, 6,520 coal miners, 25,682 metal workers, 15,640 textile workers, 6,773 food processing workers and 17,228 agricultural workers.

Labor Division 10115

*x Labor Union
x Goldberg
x ...
x P.W.*

January 30, 1943

MEMORANDUM TO: Colonel William J. Donovan
FROM: G. Edward Buxton

The attached material from the International Transport Workers' should be explored very carefully and, in my opinion, discussed with the office of the Joint Chiefs before any decision is taken.

1. To reply with a flat NO might offend a strong group now loyal to the war effort.

2. Acceptance without investigation might involve the following:

a. Result in friction between English and American labor leaders following the Army and the labor leaders in the countries liberated.

b. As indicated in the memorandum, create confusion in identifying friend and foe among those representing themselves as having authority to reorganize the transport situation.

c. Involve us in local politics of some countries where it would be contended that we were turning them over to radical left-wing

*Hand
follow
into to ...*

*1/30
I talked with
Mr. Goldberg
He agrees that
these points need to
be considered.
He is preparing a
memorandum for
me -
G.E.B.*

page 2

elements in their population and that the
ultimate result would be Sovietizing the country.

I think you should let Mr.
Goldberg tell you what he knows and I will be
glad of a chance to listen with you.

Red

GEB FS

enc

Report Received from International
Transportworkers' Federation

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Labor Div.
* *Labor Union*
* *Goldberg, A.*
* *Jaholay*
* *P. W.*

January 1943

EUROPEAN MEDITERRANEAN COAST

Axis Defense Fortifications

Amplifying further my previous memoranda of December 14 and 31, 1942, and January 5, 1943, the construction of Axis defense fortifications along the European Mediterranean coast is in the hands of the Speyer Arbeitdienstkorps, Labor Service Corps, under the command of a General Speyer. This workers' army has been boosted to great numerical strength by the inclusion of large Yugoslav, Hungarian and even Dutch forced labor detachments, and is working continuously day and night.

The main lines of the Axis defense chain in the Balkans are said to run from Kavalla, near the Turkish border, to Saloniki, and then up and along the Adriatic coast. The strategically important Morava and Vardar Valleys have been converted into positions in depth. This would place Greece outside the main fortification chain, though Axis defense positions within Greece and along the Greek southern coast are by no means neglected.

The Axis position in Southern Europe is further strengthened by the transfer of large military forces from Central and Eastern Europe to the Balkans and particularly to the sectors of Greece, Yugoslavia and southern Italy, which are expected to become objects of Allied assaults. The main bulk of these forces are German and Hungarian divisions, which have also taken over the protection of all rail and water transportation communications. Every effort is made to suppress guerrilla and sabotage warfare along these vital lines, and it is with this purpose in mind that all passenger

and private freight traffic over the Balkan and southern European railroads, with the exception of some Italian lines, has been suspended since December 31, 1942.

Estimates of the total strength of Axis troops in the southern Balkan sectors vary from 24 to 30 fully equipped divisions. Many of these soldiers, however, are older men and not to be rated as first-class troops. This is not the case of the German detachments going to southern Italy, Sicily and Crete. The Germans, according to reliable sources, are throwing daily 10,000 and more of their best reserves over these routes into Tunisia.

SECRET

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

324 A (Rev. 12-15-41)
1. 1. 2. 25
1. 1. 2. 23

January 21, 1943.

10/15
London
ITF
x Labor Union - *ITF*
x Saboteurs
x Goldberg
x P.W.

TO: Colonel William J. Donovan
FROM: Arthur J. Goldberg

Attached are two memoranda containing a very interesting proposal received from the International Transport Workers' Federation.

I should like to discuss these memoranda with you at your convenience.

A. J. Goldberg
Arthur J. Goldberg

Attachments.

SECRET

Memorandum of the International Transport Workers' Federation
on the Second Front and Reconstruction in Europe

The organized transport workers can render valuable service in the establishment and maintenance of a Second Front. This service can be rendered under three heads:

1. Sabotage in the enemy's rear

An important prerequisite is the establishment of direct contact between the headquarters of the I.T.F. and the Continent. This can be most expediently achieved by sending a representative of the I.T.F. to the Continent. For the purpose of his task he would have to be provided with all the necessary documents.

On the Continent are agents of the I.T.F. ready to cooperate. The I.T.F. has agents in France, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Germany, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland and Portugal.

These agents, according to their occupation - railwaymen, inland waterway worker, dockworker, seaman or motor driver - can be given work at any moment to bring about sabotage in the transport services and dislocation of communications. Specially selected agents should be provided with short-wave transmitting and receiving sets. A suitable code should be worked out for these purposes.

These agents have further the task of locating enemy objects of particularly great military and strategical importance and to report their nature and situation. Such objects will include railway installations, viaducts, bridges and power stations; food, munition, equipment and clothing depots; minefields, tank traps, gun emplacements and flying fields; staff quarters, radio stations, disposition of troops and reserves and of munition works.

2. Organization of an Anti-Fascist front in the Third Reich

The second kind of activities is to encourage foreign workers in Germany to make their contribution towards defeating Hitler. Spokesmen of the different countries must address their countrymen over the radio. Leaflets with suitable contents must be prepared and dropped by planes. Foreign workers in the Third Reich must be urged to fraternize with German workers and anti-Fascists. Cooperation between workers and anti-Fascists in Germany must be encouraged and facilitated by clearly defined plans for the post-war world.

3. Relief of the fighting forces of secondary work and organization of a new economic and social order immediately behind the fronts

The third kind of activity is of an entirely different character. In the event of a Second Front Hitler would pursue a ruthless scorched earth policy. He will endeavor to evacuate the population and essential factory plants. In this he will not succeed completely, but he will succeed in carrying off all who at any time held office in a trade union. For that reason when the invasion takes place the troops must be followed by an army of trade union officials. The latter have the task of rallying the population rendered leaderless and of conducting them as far as possible to their former homes and

- 2 -

places of work. They must help the people to recover their social equilibrium. At the same time these peoples or sections must be organized so as to support the fighting forces.

Transport services must be kept going by every possible means. In the ports and depots the work of loading and unloading ships must be carried out as swiftly as possible. Roads must be repaired and reconditioned. Workshops for urgent repairs must be staffed with skilled personnel and all damaged transport installations must be renewed.

Organization of transport labour at the rear of the liberation army will shorten the lines of communication, bring the supply bases nearer the troops, save valuable shipping space by rapid turn-round, and thus heighten the striking power of the troops.

Officials of the American and British transport workers' unions could as liaison officers with the Military authorities greatly facilitate the work of the Continental officials and render other valuable assistance.

x

The activities described as far as transport workers are concerned would be calculated to bring about a sabotaging population behind the lines of the enemy army and a sympathetic population behind the allied armies and to make a substantial contribution towards defeating Hitler. The enthusiasm of the peoples working actively for their own liberation would be communicated to the fighting troops. The liberating army would become a freedom-bringing army. History shows that such an army is invincible. The Atlantic Charter may thus become a living reality.

International Transport
Workers' Federation

SECRETAgreement

The High Command of the United Armies and the International Transport Workers' Federation agree as follows:

Introductory

In view of the great importance that immediately after a landing of the army of liberation the workers, and particularly the transport workers, should place their services at the disposal of that army, it is necessary that timely steps be taken and arrangements agreed to for bringing about such cooperation with the greatest possible speed.

With this end in view the International Transport Workers' Federation (I.T.F.) undertakes to give active support to the military authorities in reorganizing and maintaining the port and transportation services.

The High Command of the United Armies undertakes to give all appropriate assistance to the I.T.F. and those acting in its service.

This agreement will run for an indefinite period and will be terminated in mutual consultation.

(1)

The I.T.F. will appoint a representative Committee, the delegates to which will be attached to the appropriate department of the High Command.

The High Command will appoint the liaison officers necessary for the assistance of these delegates.

The High Command will arrange for the I.T.F. delegates to be provided with the necessary identity documents.

The I.T.F. delegates will carry out their function in agreement with the High Command and on behalf of the I.T.F. They will be salaried by the I.T.F.

(2)

The tasks of the I.T.F. Committee will be:

- (a) To give support to the military authorities in reorganizing and maintaining the port and transportation services.
- (b) To give counsel to the High Command in all matters concerning transport and propaganda.
- (c) To reconstruct the trade unions.

The primary task will be to muster and provide sufficient and trustworthy manpower.

Trustworthy representatives must man the points where in agreement with the High Command the transshipment of men and material is to be effected.

With the progress of the military operations the requisite coordination of the various branches of transport must be effected.

The members of the I.T.F. Committee, in the light of close knowledge of the locality, district and country will offer the High Command the necessary information and suggestions.

They will be accorded opportunities of cooperating in the propaganda carried on in friendly and enemy circles.

They will see to it that only trustworthy persons are engaged and that any sabotaging elements (Seventh Column) are eliminated.

- 2 -

(3)

Of the first urgency is the reorganization and functioning of the port services.

The I.T.F. will provide the necessary delegates for the ports concerned of France - Belgium - Holland - Germany - Denmark - Norway - Yugoslavia - Greece.

A delegate assigned by the I.T.F. will accompany the occupation force, proceed following the landing to his assigned destination and get into touch with his friends.

Dockers, seamen and technical personnel will be called upon to offer their services for work and will be registered according to occupation, qualifications and trustworthiness.

With a view to the most efficacious employment possible they will be divided into groups.

Each group will elect a foreman, who will be responsible for its work and supervision and for the preparation of the wage-sheets.

Pending further regulation, the wages customary in the locality will be paid plus a 25% Liberty Bonus.

Dockers will get a guaranteed weekly wage based upon a 40-hour working week.

The working day will average 8 hours.

In the case of seamen the provisions of the agreements concluded by the I.T.F. and its affiliated unions will operate.

All other social questions will be regulated anew in consultation with the trade unions.

The requisite means for meeting all financial obligations will be provided by the High Command.

Pending the reorganization of the food distribution services, the provision of the supplies of all registered workers and their dependants will be guaranteed by the military authorities.

(4)

The resumption and maintenance of the railway services will be effected to meet the military, the civil requirements.

Members of the I.T.F. Committee will participate in the management and operation of the railways.

They will provide for the recruitment and employment of trustworthy personnel.

The recruitment or continued employment of personnel will be effected by the publication of appeals and by registration after careful examination of the professional qualifications and trustworthiness of those concerned.

Working hours and spreadover will average 8 hours a day.

Pending further regulation, existing wage rates will remain in force, with addition of a 25% Liberty Bonus.

All other social questions will be regulated in consultation with the trade unions.

In the interests of a smooth working of the services and the promotion of a new order in industrial life, each unit of personnel will elect a foreman or committee.

- 3 -

The means for the payment of wages and the assurance of food supplies will be regulated as under 3.

(5)

The recruitment of manpower for the inland waterway and highway transport services will be effected under conditions analogous to those under 3 and 4.

For the
International Transport
Workers' Federation

London, 20th October 1942

Annex

The conclusion of the above Agreement is deemed necessary to prevent elements in the service of the Nazis from sabotaging the functioning of the port and transportation services. The qualifications are not all known. Those of them assigned by the enemy to stay behind in the event of an invasion are the most dangerous spies and saboteurs.

The most trustworthy elements are the workers who have fought Fascism from the outset. Former officials and honorary trade union leaders are the ones most capable of restoring the functioning of labour processes with the greatest possible speed.

Re 1

The delegates of the I.T.F. will be named as soon as the conclusion of this or some similar agreement is guaranteed. Apart from the delegates referred to specifically above, men are available if needed for carrying on activities in the rear of the enemy.

For all these persons the requisite identity documents must be prepared and provided. These documents must assure them of freedom of movement, access to radio and the press, power to seize the properties and premises of the trade unions set up or taken over by the Nazis and to convene meetings.

The delegates are responsible to the I.T.F. and liable to be called to account for neglect of their duties.

Re 2

The I.T.F. delegates will be the links between the I.T.F. headquarters, the High Command and the trade union and workers' circles on the Continent. They will be responsible for recruiting sufficient and trustworthy workers and for their appropriate utilisation for rearming and maintaining the port and transportation services. Their task will include the reconstruction of the trade unions, without whose cooperation that task cannot be fulfilled.

They will further prepare appeals, announcements and leaflets. These will call upon the workers to collaborate and give the first indications for the resumption of work. They will prepare for similar activity, adapted to circumstances, among transport workers in territory still under Hitler's

- 4 -

domination, including indications for slowing down work and carrying on sabotage.

The I.T.F. delegates will, in the light of the strategical situation existing at any time, give indications and descriptions of objects and works to be attacked with a view to dislocating enemy lines of communication.

Re 3

Attention should be given to the question of providing for the safety of the most exposed and endangered officials in the event of an evacuation.

Detailed questionnaires should be worked out in advance for use in recruiting the requisite manpower. These shall serve as a guide for the involvement of individual workers, for the regulation of working conditions, for the assurance of the food supply, and for the trade union reconstruction work.

Re 4

The whole of the railway network of the Continent has been organized to serve the needs of the enemy. This centralized operation of railway transport should be retained in the interests of a smooth functioning of the lines of communication. To ensure this, it is necessary that the I.T.F. share in the operating of the services and that workers' leaders or committees be elected locally.

Re 5

See sections 3 and 4.

Postscript

France will play a part of special importance in the event of an invasion of the Continent, and owing to the country's geographical situation and extended coast line special importance attaches to its network of traffic routes and traffic installations. Hence the question as how the transport services of France will function in the event of an invasion to what extent the workers concerned, the transport workers more particularly, place themselves in the service of the Allies and the means of communication can be used to good advantage, is of the first importance. For these reasons it is necessary to let a leading official of the French transport workers come to England for the purpose of discussing the problem.

Labor Division 11109-A

SECRET

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

*x Labor Unions
x Internat. Trump.
Workers Fed.
x Goldberg, Arthur*

May 10, 1943

To: General William J. Donovan
From: Arthur J. Goldberg *A.J.G.*
Subject: The Labor Section of the Office of Strategic Services

Attached you will find the memorandum you asked me to prepare the other day. I trust that it will suit your purpose.

Attachment

SECRET

THE LABOR SECTION OF THE OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

Acting upon the assumption that this is a people's war and that a people's war requires a people's intelligence service, the Office of Strategic Services very early in its work established a section to maintain close contact with the underground labor movements of the Axis and occupied countries. These underground labor movements are important allies in the common struggle against the Axis powers. In every Axis and occupied country they constitute the bulwark of the movements of resistance. Although their organizations have been formally dissolved they, nevertheless, wage an unremitting struggle underground. They constitute a continuous and valuable source of strategic, military, naval and political intelligence. They also carry on continuous warfare behind the enemy lines in the form of sabotage and by guerrilla methods.

In recognition of this the Office of Strategic Services established a Labor Section for the purpose of cooperating with the underground labor movements of enemy and occupied countries in obtaining intelligence and in encouraging sabotage and resistance. In its work the Labor Section operates in close cooperation with the Joint A.F. of L. - C.I.O. Relief Committee, headed by Mathew Noll and Sidney Hillman, and with the relief committee established by the Railway Labor Executives' Association, representing the twenty-one standard railway organizations of the United States and headed by J. A. Phillips. Through these labor channels we have obtained and continuously are receiving a flow of vital and important information about the activities of the enemy. The underlying principle behind the operation is that throughout the occupied countries and in the enemy countries as well, there are countless thousands of devoted anti-Fascists who are willing to and do risk their lives to cooperate in communicating information and in sabotage activities so as to hasten the overthrow of the Axis powers.

The work of the Labor section encompasses many projects by which intelligence from labor channels is obtained collected, analyzed and reported to the Joint Chiefs of Staff and to the other military and naval services. Illustrative of these projects is one which emphasizes a widespread plan for the utilization of the underground network of the International Transport Workers' Federation, the International Federation of Trade Unions and other democratic trade union organizations which have underground organizations operating in occupied and enemy countries.

The International Transport Workers' Federation, which for brevity is often called the ITF, is the largest international union in the world and has among its affiliated members transport workers in five of the world's continents. The unions affiliated with the ITF are democratic trade unions of railwaymen, seamen, longshoremen, tramway and truck drivers and other transport workers throughout the world. Every worker who has anything to do with the movement of passengers or goods is eligible for membership in the ITF. The ITF has eighty affiliated unions and is represented practically in every country on the globe. Prior to the

SECRET

- 2 -

advent of the Hitler regime in Germany and the occupation by the Nazis of countries in Europe, transport workers of the following countries were affiliated with the ITP:

Algeria	Dutch East Indies	Indo-China	Poland
Argentina	Dutch Guiana	Ireland	Portugal
Australia	Ecuador	Italy	Rhodesia
Austria	Egypt	Japan	Rumania
Belgium	Estonia	Kenya	Spain
Bolivia	Finland	Latvia	South Africa
Brazil	France	Luxemburg	Sweden
Bulgaria	Germany	Madagascar	Switzerland
Canada	Great Britain	Mexico	Trinidad
Chile	Greece	Morocco	Tunisia
China	Holland	New Zealand	United States
Cuba	Hungary	Nicaragua	Venezuela
Czechoslovakia	Iceland	Norway	Yugoslavia
Denmark	India	Palestine	

The greatest strength of the ITP was in Europe. In Belgium the ITP had organized the general transport workers, railway, maritime, air, telephone, telegraph and other services, tramways and motor bus personnel. In Denmark the ITP was represented by the general transport workers, locomotive and railwaymen, seamen and maritime personnel. In Estonia the general transport workers, railway workers and related transport trades were all members of the ITP. In Finland the ITP represented and still represents the general transport workers, railwaymen and seamen. In France the ITP had affiliated with it railwaymen, transport workers, dockers, longshoremen, river men, fishermen, seamen, and other maritime personnel. In Great Britain there were and now are affiliated with the ITP the railwaymen, locomotive engineers, firemen, clerks, general transport workers, dockers, distributive and allied workers, bargemen, seamen and all maritime personnel. The ITP represented all general transport workers and municipal transport workers in Hungary. In Iceland they represented the sailors and fishermen; in Ireland the railwaymen and general transport workers; in Luxembourg the railwaymen; in the Netherlands the general transport workers of all trades, the railwaymen and the seamen; in Norway the general transport workers, railwaymen, seamen and other transport trades; in Poland the railwaymen, general transport trader and the seamen; in Rumania the dockers and the general transport workers; in Sweden the general transport trades, the locomotive and railway personnel, seamen and all maritime personnel; in Switzerland the railwaymen and all general transport trades; in Yugoslavia the general transport trades, dockers, maritime workers, river men, fishermen, seamen and all mercantile marine personnel; in Greece all seamen and maritime personnel; in Austria the railwaymen and general transport workers; in Czechoslovakia the railwaymen and general transport workers; in Germany the railwaymen, inland waterway men, dockers, seamen and all related trades; in Spain the railwaymen and general transport workers, including truck drivers.

SECRET

- 3 -

The ITF also represents transport workers and railwaymen and seamen in the Argentine, Canada, China, Ecuador, India, the Netherlands East Indies, New Zealand, Australia, Palestine, Rhodesia and Trinidad. }

When Hitler came to power, the transport workers' unions in Germany and the various countries occupied by Germany were among the first to be officially dissolved. In spite of this official destruction, however, the organizations, though driven underground, kept in regular communication with ITF headquarters, and the ITF underground communication system between its affiliates and its members has been rather effectively maintained.

Until 1939 the headquarters of the ITF were in Amsterdam. In that year they were moved to London where they are at present. }

The attitude of the ITF toward the present war is one of militant support. This attitude remained unchanged during the period of the German-Soviet pact. The ITF has at all times resisted communist penetration, and does not follow the communist line.

In France, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Germany, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal and Spain, functionaries and agents of the ITF are carrying on underground activities. Unlike the usual agents employed for sabotage or subversion, the members of the ITF do not have to be paid for their work. They are devoted to the task of interfering in every way with the successful exploitation of their countries by the Nazis. Furthermore, because of the strength of the ITF in the railway and maritime fields among the skilled employees of these industries, the members of the ITF have natural cover for their activities.

✓ We are in cooperation with the ITF and are utilizing their facilities for penetrating the occupied and enemy countries of Europe. For example, Swedish seamen as part of their job regularly travel to the occupied countries of Europe and even to Germany itself. Swedish railwaymen have direct contact with the Norwegian underground and Swiss railwaymen with the German underground. Many of these workers are ITF people and are devoted to the principles of the ITF. We, in collaboration with the ITF, are obtaining intelligence from these sources which should be most helpful in shortening this war.

Among the transport workers perhaps the most important are railway workers. With natural cover, going as a part of their job from place to place, they can, if cooperative and organized, become the key to an information system. Most of them are skilled and cannot be replaced. Many of them are resourceful. They are, on the whole, unusually intelligent. Such evidence as we have has indicated their desire to injure the enemy and to help United Nations. Prior to 1933 in Germany and prior to the dates of occupation in the occupied countries, these workers had strong unions, all affiliated with the International Transport Workers' Federation. Occupying key positions in the enemy's transportation system, these railway workers can do more than gather and carry information. They can be of tremendous help as saboteurs.

SECRET

- 4 -

For many years the Railway Labor Executives' Association, representing the twenty-one standard railway organizations of the United States, has been in close contact with various of the European railway organizations which are affiliated with the International Transport Workers' Federation. These contacts have been maintained to the present time and the leaders of the American railway labor organizations have exhibited great interest in augmenting and supplementing these contacts during the war in such a way as to be of assistance to the prosecution of the war by our Government. At our suggestion the Railway Labor Executives' Association is cooperating closely with the ITR in collecting intelligence through underground channels and in encouraging sabotage and resistance by underground labor groups in the occupied and enemy countries.

The participation of American railway labor organizations will be of great value in accomplishing the purposes of this undertaking. Representatives of the railway labor organizations in the United States have already established many personal friendships with the leaders of European railway labor organizations and, by working in close cooperation with the ITR, these friendships and contacts may be expanded. In addition, Swedish and English railwaymen have expressed a desire to have the participation of American railway labor representatives in developing their plans for the defeat of our enemies by working with railway workers in enemy and occupied countries.

The prestige and popularity of America is tremendous among the labor groups in the enemy and occupied countries. Therefore, the participation of American workers will greatly enhance the value of the work now being done and that planned by the ITR. This will make the ITR venture one of transport labor of the United Nations rather than that of transport labor which is European and insular. Effective resistance and cooperation with our military effort can be multiplied and greatly expanded if it is known that our American workers' organizations are sharing with the ITR in the program.

The Railway Labor Executives' Association, with one or two exceptions, represents all of the railway brotherhoods, both operating and non-operating. This organization has recently set up a committee for the handling of their international problems. This committee will be staffed with a permanent secretary with an office in Washington and will carry the cover of a relief organization which is created for the purpose of assisting the needy railway workers who have been victimized by the war. This committee will be financed by contributions from the various railway unions and the personnel and administrative expenses will be paid from this fund. The resources of this committee can be drawn upon to assist not only in the relief of individual railway employees but also for the maintenance of contacts with their brethren in the occupied countries in order to encourage their activities in opposing the enemy. These activities include both the gathering of information about the enemy and encouragement of resistance. Our office has cooperated closely with this committee and the committee is prepared to do anything it can to assist our Government in the war.

SECRET

Beyond the International Transport Workers' Federation and the American Railway Labor Executives' Association, there are those democratic labor unions associated with the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) which maintains headquarters in London and with which the British Trade Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor are associated. The IFTU has contact with personnel in enemy occupied and controlled territories who were formerly members of powerful unions in the manufacturing, mine, and distributive industries. This office has close working relations with the IFTU; they have proven to be a valuable source of intelligence for us.

Before the war the following National Labor Federations were affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions:

Country	Name of National Labor Federation	Latest Available Membership Figures (pre-war)	Number of Unions Belonging to IFTU
Belgium	Confederation Generale du Travail*	507,000	74
Czechoslovakia	Československá Jednota*	760,000	74
Denmark	De Samvirkende Fagforbund	526,000	
Estonia	Eesti Ühisõhukorraldus*	16,000	40
Finland	Tuomien Ammattijärjestysten	77,000	19
France	Confederation Generale du Travail*	3,600,000	117,000
Great Britain	Trade Union Congress	6,200,000	116
Hungary	Hungarsk Szocialistak Szovetssege*	116,000	34
Ireland	Irish Trade Union Congress	276,000	60
Luxemburg	Confederation syndicale*	16,000	11
Netherlands	Verbond van Vakverenigingen*	310,000	29
Norway	De Hve Landsorganisasjoner*	340,000	34
Poland	((three national federations))*	500,000	
Rumania	Confederatia Generala*	60,000	19
Spain	Union General de Trabajadores*	2,000,000	43
Sweden	Landsorganisasjonen	950,000	46

SECRET

- 6 -

Country	Name of National Labor Federation	Last Available Membership Figures (pre-war)	Number of Unions Belonging to IFTU
(Continued)			
Switzerland	: Gewerkschaftsbund	: 230,000	: 17
Yugoslavia	: Ujedinjeni Radnicki*	: 65,000	: 37
Algeria	: (See France)		
Argentina	: Confederacion General	: 265,000	: 50
Australia	: Australasian Council	: 600,000	
Brazil	: Uniao Geral dos Trabalhadores	: 13,000	
Canada	: Trades and Labor Congress	: 235,000	: 2,000
	: Canadian Federation of Labor	: 65,000	: 260
	: All-Canadian Congress of Labor	: 30,000	: 288
Ceylon	: Ceylon Trade Union Congress	: 15,000	
China	: Chinese Association of Labor	: 500,000	
Cuba	: Confederacion de Trabajadores	: 400,000	
India	: National Trades Union Federation	: 165,000	: 63
	: All-India Trade Union Congress	: 275,000	: 165
East Africa	: Labor Trade Union of E.A.	: 3,000	
Mexico	: Confederacion de Trabajadores	: 1,200,000	: 48
New Zealand	: Federation of Labor	: 200,000	: 238
Paraguay	: General Federation	: 125,000	: 38
South Africa	: Trades and Labor Council	: 25,000	: 50
	: Cape Federation of Labor Unions	: 18,000	: 26
United States	: Federation of Labor	: 5,000,000	: 120

* Destroyed or Inactive

X Reorganized in England under IFTU Auspices

SECRET

- 7 -

There were also affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions certain international federations of crafts and industries organized in International Trade Secretariats. A list of these follows:

Name	Seat	Last Available: Membership Figures (pre-war)	Number of Countries
Internat'l Landworkers' Federation	Copenhagen	263,000	15
Miners' Internat'l Federation	London	1,500,000	14
Internat'l Metal Workers' Federation	Berne	1,918,000	16
Internat'l Federation of Stone Workers	Zurich	49,000	8
Internat'l Federation of Pottery Workers		65,000	4
Internat'l Federation of Building and Wood Workers*X	Amsterdam	1,500,000	25
Internat'l Painters' Federation*	Amsterdam	38,000	7
Internat'l Typographers	Berne	165,000	23
Internat'l Federation of Lithographers and Kindred Trades*	Amsterdam	35,000	15
Internat'l Federation of Bookbinders	Copenhagen	65,000	12
Internat'l Federation of Textile Workers	London	670,000	14
Internat'l Clothing Workers' Federation*X	Amsterdam	640,000	17
Internat'l Federation of Hatters*	Paris	15,000	7
Internat'l Boot and Shoe Operatives and Leather Workers' Federation	London	226,000	14
Internat'l Union of Food and Drink Workers	Zurich	250,000	15
Internat'l Federation of Tobacco Workers	Copenhagen	43,000	9
Internat'l Transport Workers' Federation *	Amsterdam	2,000,000	29

SECRET

- 8 -

Name	Seat	Last Available: Membership Figures (pre-war)	Number of Countries
(Continued)			
Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone International	Berne	200,000	16
Internat'l Federation of Employees in Public and Civil Services*	Paris	830,000	13
Internat'l Union of Hotel, Restaurant, and Bar Workers	Stockholm	32,000	5
Internat'l Union of Hairdressers	Copenhagen	30,000	8
Teachers' International*	Paris, also Brussels	1,600,000	19
Universal Alliance of Diamond Workers**	Antwerp	18,000	4
Internat'l Federation of Factory Workers**	Amsterdam	545,000	14
Internat'l Federation of Enginemen and Firemen*	Amsterdam	24,000	5
Internat'l Federation of Employees*	Amsterdam	900,000	18

*Destroyed or inactive

**Transferred Abroad and reorganized

Also there are other democratic trade unions which are not affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions and which have been helpful to us in the past.

The foregoing illustrates the vast scope of the work which is being done by the Labor Section of the Office of Strategic Services in cooperation with the European and American labor movements in obtaining intelligence about the enemy and in carrying on internal warfare against the enemy.

Subor Division 11, 109

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

SECRET

Y Report
Goldberg, Arthur

April 1, 1948

To: General William J. Donovan
From: Arthur J. Goldberg *A. J. G.*
Subject: Reports and Documents Received by Labor Desk

Enclosed you will find certain reports and documents received by the Labor Desk recently which, I believe, will be of interest to you. The reports and documents are as follows:

1. A report which we received from the IFF and which was carried out of Luxembourg early in March. It emanates from a well informed and reliable source.
2. A report about recent conditions in France. The source of this report is a leading French trade union official who escaped from France during the latter part of February. He is now in London and is in close touch with George Pratt, the representative of the Labor Desk there. The report was prepared at our request after the informant had carried on various discussions with Pratt. You will note the reference in the report to the program of subsidizing French labor in their opposition to the German forced labor program. This is a project which we have undertaken jointly with the British and the Fighting French. In this connection you will note the reports from Pratt about this project which are hereinafter referred to. (1-15)
3. A series of reports which we have received from our men in the field who are operating our ship observers plan which, as you know, is now in operation. We have an office in New York which is engaged in work in the port of New York, a representative in Philadelphia who is supervising the work there, a representative in New Orleans who is directing our ship observers set up in the Gulf ports, and two men on the West Coast who are doing the same work in West Coast ports. The plan is operating smoothly and a flow of reports from our agents on board various ships is now being received. As time goes on we will undoubtedly receive a continuous flow of valuable information from our ship observers throughout the world.
4. A summary of an interview with Jose Rodriguez Vega, the Secretary General of the UFF (Union General de Trabajadores), the socialist trade union in Spain. Vega recently escaped from a Spanish prison camp and is now in Mexico. While he was in the United States we established contact with him and interviewed him at some length. In addition

SECRET

P - General William J. Donovan - April 1, 1943

to the summary of this interview, there is also attached a complete report of his observations which, as you will note, we have sent to the Reporting Board for dissemination.

6. A report from Mr. Thomas Wilson, a Labor Desk representative on the West Coast, dealing principally with Russian shipping.

7. A report on German labor and "the German question" received from London. The author of the report is a leading German trade union official who is now a refugee in England. (P-13)

8. A report received from London on conditions in Italy, based on conversations with some ten people who left Italy about January 13, 1943; and an analysis of the present situation in Italy together with suggestions as to how it might be exploited, prepared by a leading Italian socialist in London. (P-17)

9. Reports on conditions in Prague and Finland, received from a Sudeten German in London. (P-24)

10. Copy of death notices for Czechoslovak soldier, received from London. According to the source from whom received, these death notices are carried in stock in stationery stores, and you can go into the store, select the appropriate one and then order the inside to be printed up in the manner you wish. (P-23)

11. Article recently published in London based upon a document prepared in the Vichy Ministry of Interior, dated November 25, 1942. Our representative in London is assured that the document referred to is authentic. (P-20)

12. A series of letters and reports from George Pratt in London, which are self-explanatory. (P4-306; P4-317; P-9; P-10; A2540; A1608-122)

Enclosures

Labor Division 10,750
X London Office
X Pratt, Sec.

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

DATE: March 22, 1948

TO: Major Doering
FROM: Whitney H. Shepardson
SUBJECT:

As requested in your memorandum of March 10, 1948
I am returning herewith Colonel Donovan's copy of report
prepared by George Pratt. Many thanks for letting me
see it.

WHS
W.H.S.

SECRET



OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
~~COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION~~
LONDON, ENGLAND

Labor Division 10,750
SECRET
London Office
** Pratt, Geo.*
376-209

Attached to Bruce, David 10,737
February 9, 1943

TO: Lt. Col. David K.E. Bruce
FROM: George O. Pratt

In accordance with the request made yesterday, I am reporting briefly on the work that is being done by myself as a representative of the Labor Desk in London.

1. Contacts with foreign labor groups, unions and representatives

In London there are formal organizations of foreign labor unions from Germany, Belgium, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Norway and Spain. With respect to some of these countries there are several organized groups. In addition there are formal organizations of old Social Democrats, particularly for Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. I am in regular contact with representatives of all of these groups, and through them intermittent contacts with enemy and occupied countries is maintained, largely through Sweden. Italy is a special case and the organization with which I am in touch calls itself Movimento Libera Italia. It is socialist, left-wing, labor in its outlook, but is not formally organized as such. Spain also is a special case, there being the Negrin group, the Caballero-labor group and the Anarchists.

2. International labor organizations

In this category fall the International Transport Workers Federation and the International Federation of Trade Unions. Both organizations have been helpful, particularly the Transport Workers. Presently a project is developing for a major expansion of contacts with labor in Germany through Transport Workers channels that I should like to discuss with you in detail. It has reached a stage where the further implementation of it requires a man in Stockholm. Goldberg is working on the job of getting such a person.

In addition the Transport Workers organization is attempting on its own initiative to raise considerable sums of money for rehabilitation of trade unions in France, and we have co-operated in transmitting messages to U.S. for this purpose as well as aiding in planning distribution in France. We expect to receive reports in return for our aid. This, it should be noted, is a separate project from the joint Baker Street-O.S.S. project for the subvention of French labor which is underway.

SECRET

Lt. Col. David K. Bruce

February 9, 1943

3. British contacts

The most important of these is with Price at Transport House. Price works with Baker Street and P.W.E. on labor matters. He is actually the Research Director for the Transport and General Workers Union (of which Devin was Secretary before he assumed office). Price and I meet regularly twice a week to exchange information. From Price I receive the Mayfair reports - which are reports from labor sources in France that are transmitted through Baker Street facilities. Moreover we are in constant touch with the labor people going in and coming out of France through Baker Street facilities. One of the latest arrivals is Gavner, former economic analyst for Jouhaux of the C.G.T.

In addition to the joint project for subvention of French labor, there is another joint project that has been proposed for implementing labor resources and facilities for communications with Germany and the Low Countries. At present this is being considered by Baker Street - it having been submitted by Price to his people last week.

I should also point out that a few contacts have been made with British labor leaders, notably Marchbank (presently in the U.S.), Tracey, Tanner and Roberts - all of whom occupy responsible positions in the labor movement in England - but are not particularly useful as far as intelligence work is concerned.

4. Miscellaneous contacts

- 1. Volontaire - a French source from which I receive clandestine papers which are microfilmed and sent to Washington
- 2. Kinche - editor of left wing paper, who has contacts in Switzerland
- 3. Walker - B.H.C. German labor news
- 5. Greek Irregular Project

On assignment from Amos to be in touch with Theofanides on local aspects of project.

Through the above contacts an appreciable, though far from satisfactory volume of intelligence is being received and forwarded to Washington. It can be and is being increased as plans mature.

I shall, of course, be glad to go into detail with respect to the above matters if you wish, but I rather gathered that at this stage you simply wanted a bird's-eye view of the general nature of the work each of us was doing.

GP
GEORGE O. PRATT

Labor Division 7238A

x Goldburg, Arthur

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

SECRET

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: Captain Dunuan Lee

DATE: June 1, 1948

FROM: Arthur J. Goldberg *A.J.G.*

SUBJECT: Revised Memorandum

Attached you will find the memorandum on the Labor Section of the Office of Strategic Services which I have revised in accordance with our discussions over the telephone.

A.J.G.

Attachment

Labor Section
Office of Strategic Services

Acting upon the assumption that this is a people's war, the Office of Strategic Services has established a Labor Section to initiate and maintain a people's intelligence service to operate in close contact with the underground labor movements of the Axis and occupied countries. These underground labor movements are important allies in the common struggle against the Axis powers. Although their organizations have been formally dissolved they, nevertheless, wage an unremitting struggle underground and constitute the bulwark of the movements of resistance in the Axis and occupied countries.

The Labor Section of the Office of Strategic Services operates in close cooperation with a Joint A. F. L. - C. I. O. Relief Committee, headed by Messrs. Mathew Wolf and Sidney Hillman, and with the relief committee established by the Railway Labor Executives' Association, representing the twenty-one standard railway organizations of the United States and headed by Mr. J. A. Phillips.

Through these labor channels we have obtained and continuously are receiving a flow of vital and important information about the activities of the enemy.

- 2 -

The work of the Labor Section encompasses many projects by which intelligence from labor channels is obtained, collected, analyzed and reported to the Joint Chiefs of Staff and to the other military and naval services. Illustrative of these projects is one which emphasizes a widespread plan for the utilization of the underground network of the International Transport Workers' Federation, the International Federation of Trade Unions and other democratic trade union organizations which have underground organizations operating in occupied and enemy countries.

The International Transport Workers' Federation, which for brevity is often called the ITF, is the largest international union in the world and has among its affiliated members transport workers in practically every country on the globe. The eighty unions affiliated with the ITF are democratic trade unions of railwaymen, seamen, longshoremen, tramway and truck drivers and other transport workers throughout the world. Every worker having anything to do with the movement of passengers or goods is eligible for membership in the ITF.

When Hitler came to power, the transport workers' unions in Germany and the various countries occupied by Germany were among the first to be officially dissolved. In spite of this official destruction, however, the organizations, though driven underground, kept in regular communication with ITF headquarters, and the ITF underground

- 3 -

communication system between its affiliates and its members has been rather effectively maintained. Until 1939 the headquarters of the ITP were in Amsterdam. In that year they were moved to London where they are at present.

The attitude of the ITP toward the present war is one of militant support to the United Nations. This attitude remained unchanged during the period of the German-Soviet pact. The ITP has at all times resisted communist penetration, and does not follow the communist line.

In France, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Germany, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal and Spain, functionaries and agents of the ITP are carrying on underground activities. Unlike the usual agents employed for sabotage or subversion, the members of the ITP do not have to be paid for their work. They are devoted to the task of interfering in every way with the successful exploitation of their countries by the Nazis. Furthermore, because of the strength of the ITP in the railway and maritime fields among the skilled employees of those industries, the members of the ITP have natural cover for their activities.

We are cooperating with the ITP and are utilizing their facilities for penetrating the occupied and enemy countries of Europe. For example, Swedish seamen as part of their job regularly travel to

- 4 -

the occupied countries of Europe and even to Germany itself. Swedish railwaymen have direct contact with the Norwegian underground and Swiss railwaymen with the German underground. Many of these workers are ITP people and are devoted to the principles of the ITP. We, in collaboration with the ITP, are obtaining intelligence from these sources which should be most helpful in shortening this war.

Among the transport workers perhaps the most important are railway workers. With natural cover, gain, as a part of their job from place to place, they can, if cooperative and organized, become the key to an information system. Most of them are skilled and cannot be replaced. Many of them are resourceful. They are, on the whole, unswerving, unflinching. Such evidence as we have has indicated their desire to injure the enemy and to help the United Nations. Occupying workers can do so in a direct and sure way. They can be of tremendous help on the ground.

For example, the Rail and Labor Executive Association, represented by the Rail and Labor Executive Association of the United States, has been in close contact with various European railway organizations which are affiliated with the International Transport Workers Federation. These contacts have been maintained to the present

- 5 -

time and the leaders of the American railway labor organizations have exhibited great interest in augmenting and supplementing these contacts during the war in such a way as to be of assistance to the prosecution of the war by our Government. At our suggestion the Railway Labor Executives' Association is cooperating closely with the ITP in collecting intelligence through underground channels and in encouraging sabotage and resistance by underground labor groups in the occupied and enemy countries.

The prestige and popularity of America is tremendous among the labor groups in the enemy and occupied countries. Therefore, the participation of American workers will greatly enhance the value of the work now being done and that planned by the ITP. This will make the ITP venture one of transport labor of the United Nations rather than that of transport labor which is European and Insular. Effective resistance and cooperation with our military effort can be multiplied and greatly expanded if it is known that our American workers' organizations are sharing with the ITP in the program.

Beyond the International Transport Workers' Federation and the American Railway Labor Executives' Association, there are those democratic labor unions associated with the International Federation of Trade Unions (ITF) which maintains headquarters in London and with which the British Trade Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor are associated.

- 8 -

Before the war national labor federations of thirty-three countries were affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Also there are other democratic trade unions which are not affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions and which have been helpful to us in the past.

The foregoing illustrates the vast scope of the work which is being done by the Labor Section of the Office of Strategic Services in cooperation with the European and American labor movements in obtaining intelligence about the enemy and in carrying on internal warfare against him.

Colonel Donovan 1288A
X OSS X Goldberg, Arthur

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 23, 1943

TO: Colonel Donovan
FROM: Arthur J. Goldberg

I spoke to D.N. this afternoon, and he has spoken to Harry Hopkins. D.N. reports that this decision is not a final one, and that the question is still open.

Arthur J. Goldberg

Arthur J. Goldberg

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 23, 1945.

TO: Colonel William J. Donovan
FROM: Arthur J. Goldberg *A. J. G.*
SUBJECT: Labor Division of OSS.

Attached is a brief memorandum which
I have prepared in accordance with our discussion
yesterday.

Arthur J. Goldberg

Attachment.

Labor Division of the
Office of Strategic Services

Very early in the work of the Office of Strategic Services it was recognized that the labor movements in Axis and occupied countries were important allies in the common struggle against the Axis powers. These labor movements had declared war on Hitler and Mussolini long before Pearl Harbor. In every Axis and occupied country they constituted the bulwark of the movements of resistance. Although their organizations were dissolved, they nevertheless waged an unremitting struggle underground. Not only did these labor movements wage internal warfare in the form of sabotage and resistance but also they constituted a valuable link with the outside world and a potential source of valuable and strategic information. Carrying on as they did and do under the most difficult of circumstances, they required help in many forms in order to continue and intensify their activities.

In recognition of this, the Office of Strategic Services established a Labor Division, staffed with men who had an understanding of the labor forces which had carried on the underground war against the Axis. This Labor Division has:

1. Established contact with underground labor organizations in virtually all of the occupied countries and in the Axis countries too,
2. Extended substantial help to these underground movements in the form of financial subsidies, facilities for communication, equipment and materials indispensable for carrying on underground activities, etc.

To win the confidence and support of these labor elements has been a difficult and arduous task. They all share a traditional antipathy toward cooperating with governmental agencies. This is contrary to the established policy of the continental labor movement. In order to establish intimate collaboration, it was necessary to break down this traditional attitude. No existing intelligence service of the Government was or is in a position to do this. They lack the personal and sympathetic point of view which are essential in order to obtain the cooperation of labor elements. The relationships which have been established between the underground labor movements and the Labor Division of the Office of Strategic Services proves the necessity for an agency which can carry on political and psychological warfare free from the limitations inherent in the functioning of the orthodox military departments. The fact is that neither the Military Intelligence Division nor the Office of Naval Intelligence has developed any relationships of any

- 2 -

consequence with important underground labor groups nor were such relationships established by the Psychological Warfare Branch of MID during the period of its existence. This was due to two reasons: (1) the lack of appreciation by MID and ONI of the value of these contacts, and (2) the lack of confidence of the underground labor groups in the military and naval intelligence services.

We are entering upon a period of the war in which it becomes more important than ever to capitalize upon the forces of internal resistance behind enemy lines. We have underway, in collaboration with the underground labor groups, elaborate plans and projects to coordinate military invasion of enemy-held lands with widespread internal resistance. The success of these plans will mean much in the shortening of the war and in the lessening of our casualties. They will also mean much in the restoration in enemy and occupied countries of democratic institutions which the underground labor movements are uniformly pledged to reestablish.

**Labor Division of the
Office of Strategic Services**

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Lab Division 7038
X OSS X Bowden 8/4
X 51 and 30

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

July 6, 1962

MEMORANDUM

To: Major David Bruce
From: W. J. D.

Will you look at the attached and the copy of
letter I have sent to Bowden and let's make a date with
him and talk the thing through.



XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

July 6, 1942

MEMORANDUM

To: George W. Bowden

From: W. J. D.

I have just read the memoranda on "A Labor Division for the Office of Strategic Services" and "Strategic Services". In both of these papers there are suggestions that I think should be carried into effect. Some of them should be under S. I. and some under S. O.

You are perhaps aware that we now have a working arrangement with A.O.E. in London and it should be possible to make effective certain of these plans that are proposed.

I think we should first deal with the S. I. feature. I am asking David Bruce to meet with you and me and discuss the practical aspect of these proposals.

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