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*World of Labor* by George Morris**Meany's endless cold war**

A major consideration in AFL-CIO President George Meany's accommodation to the Nixon Administration undoubtedly is the desire to insure the flow of about \$11 million annually to finance the army of AFL-CIO operatives abroad working in concert with the Central Intelligence Agency.

It is with that objective in view apparently that the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department of which "Labor's CIA Man," Jay Lovestone, is director, arranged the recent conference in New York on the topic, "Labor and International Affairs in the Seventies."

The major thrust of the gathering, including some 200 staff people of several unions and the general office, was to emphasize to the Nixon Administration that the only reliable "labor" handmaiden to its imperialist program abroad is the AFL-CIO's three-part "international." The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, set up mostly with U.S. money and CIA organization in 1949 (from which the AFL-CIO withdrew), is not an effective anti-Communist force; some of its major affiliates have actually developed friendly relations with the Soviet trade unions.

That was the direction of the main report to the conference delivered by Ernest Lee, Meany's son-in-law, who, as assistant director, is being groomed to take over the aging Lovestone's post. Lee, in effect, conceded that the AFL-CIO's cold war policy was a failure.

The AFL-CIO's concern over the financing of its "international" is understandable in view of growing opposition to it. In 1970, Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman J.W. Fulbright had Meany over the coals on the matter. Fulbright disclosed that since 1962, when the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) was formed by Meany's group jointly with corporations doing business in Latin America, \$44 million of Administration for International Development money was pumped into it. In the two subsequent years about \$22 million more was dished out.

director of AIFLD, who has often boasted of some 200 operatives roaming in Latin American lands and that some of the trainees in the AIFLD school here had an important part in a coup that overthrew a liberal regime in Brazil. Irving Brown, who has never denied a former CIA top official's disclosure he (Brown) was an agent, reported as director of the Afro-American Labor Council on that outfit's very limited success in Africa. Morris Paladino, director of the Asian-American Free Labor Institute, told of his feeble efforts to find a base in Asia beyond Saigon and Taiwan.

As Rick Nagin who covered the conference reported in the Dec. 1, Daily World, Lee boasted that the three operations get \$11,500,000 every year from AID "notwithstanding charges from George Morris and liberal newspapermen that this is CIA money."

I certainly never expected that my writings could stop such funds for the AFL-CIO.

Perhaps Lee figures that calling attention to charges from this source would be a strong argument for continuance of the funds. In any case, Lee is late in taking note of those charges. I noted and detailed the relation between the CIA and the AFL-CIO's international affairs as far back as 1961 in my book "American Labor, Which Way, in my book "CIA, and American Labor, The Subversion of the AFL-CIO's Foreign Policy," published in 1967 (which, incidentally, was reprinted in about 10 countries) and in my "Rebellion in the Unions," published in 1971, not to speak of the scores of columns on the subject. But the charges didn't only come from me. I simply detailed the numerous sources, including Tom Braden, who, as a CIA official, originated the "labor" program in 1950. He disclosed the shocking relationship.

relations in 1966-67 of AFL-CIO-CIA relations, Meany told newsmen

he'll, "look into it." His son-in-law's statement is the first reference to it since.

AFL-CIO Conferences on international affairs are very rare. The field is limited strictly to the inner sanctums of the AFL-CIO. The last conference of the AFL-CIO on the topic was in the same Commodore Hotel, April 19-20, 1960, with Henry Kissinger the main speaker on Lovestone's list. That conference was called to pressure President Eisenhower against coming to terms with the Soviet Union at a summit conference scheduled in Paris in May 16 that year. To the delight of Meany and friends, the shooting down of Gary Powers in a CIA U-2 plane (built by Lockheed) he flew over Soviet territory as the conference was to begin, torpedoed the meeting.

The main consideration in the Meany crowd's calculations is to maintain the relationship with the Administration on global affairs and the flow of dollars. For that reason Meany obliged with the "neutrality" policy in the elections. He has since indicated a willingness to accommodate the Federation to the Nixon program. His group returned to the Nixon committee for a drive to raise labor productivity. This is taken as an indication that the Meany group may also return to the Wage Board.

The December 4 AFL-CIO News carries an editorial, a reprint of a speech of Lane Kirkland, the secretary-treasurer, declaring that the AFL-CIO is opposed to "all quotas" — meaning government guidelines towards increase of minority workers in building and other crafts — and against "quotas" in representation in political parties or in the trade unions, meaning, of course, opposition to any deliberate effort to break through the all-white domination in union leadership of most unions or in the Democratic Party.

Most workers pay no attention to what top union leaders do on international deals. But those deals are very costly to workers in terms of wages, production

Lee's report was supplemented by reports of William Dougherty,

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28 DEC 1972



## Editorials

### Congress must act!

**U.S. BOMBERS UNLOOSED** on Tuesday night the most violent attack on Hanoi since the beginning of the war. Hundreds of people were slain in the densely populated center and suburbs of Hanoi, and in other cities.

Encouraged by Nixon's murderous bombing of North Vietnam, Israeli war planes, after a lapse of five weeks, bombed the Syrian villages of Deiel and Seda yesterday. The Israeli war raids underscored Gus Hall's press conference statement that "all world relations will sharpen if the war does not end."

The renewing of the bombing makes it necessary to ask in each Congressional district: what has our Congressman or Congresswoman done to cut short this monstrous killing?

Today, and tomorrow, and each day until your representative returns to Washington are days for delegations to visit them at home, insisting that they act now against the slaughter.

The next step is to make sure that your representative is not alone in Washington on January 3 and 4; that determined delegations from the district are at his desk, all the time, insisting that he take every action necessary to end the war.

The best assurance of action is for the trade unions, shop workers, rank and file unionists to be included in the delegations to Washington. Start a collection now in your shop to send one or more delegates to Washington for Jan. 3 and 4.

It is one thing — and a very important act — for a union's national officers to protest to Nixon and to insist that Congress act. It is another thing, and even more important, when the local unions, their officials or rank and file members, shop workers right off the job, put the power of the workers visibly behind the peace actions of the top union officials. And if the leaders don't act, it is doubly important for the rank and file to do so. That is the more necessary since George Meany, AFL-CIO president, and Jay Lovestone, the CIA's top agent in labor's ranks, and some other unworthies are on the side of the Mad Bomber as he orders the destruction of Vietnam.

The most effective answer to the Mad Bomber and his servile tools in labor's ranks is for the workers to conduct five-minute stoppages, so that the rank and file can send a message to Nixon demanding that he "Sign Now!" the 9-point peace agreement he okayed in October, and other messages to the House Speaker and the Senate president, demanding that the horror end.

# BOOKS & THE ARTS

STATINTL

## Name of Meany—Says He Kept the Boys Together

**MEANY:** The Unchallenged Strong Man of American Labor. By Joseph C. Goulden. Atheneum Publishers. 504 pp. \$12.95.

**B. J. WIDICK**  
*Mr. Widick, currently professor of industrial relations in the Graduate School of Business at Columbia University, has been The Nation's labor correspondent since 1958. His most recent book is Detroit: City of Race and Class Violence (Quadrangle Books).*

This book is a gold mine of insights, irony, and original source material about George Meany, the trade unions and important American public figures. No post-mortem account of the 1972 elections will be complete without a reading of this fascinating, full-scale biography of the controversial president of the AFL-CIO. Its publication is a major accomplishment for the author, its timing a likely source of embarrassment for its subject, George Meany and other union leaders.

The intention of this biography was otherwise. Written with the full cooperation of George Meany, its thrust was to portray him as a militant labor leader climaxing a fifty-year career in the trade union hierarchy with a glorious finale: the defeat of the anti-labor occupant of the White House. "Nixon! Labor has detested this man and fought this man for more than two decades, and now here he is in the White House. A man with absolutely nothing in common with George Meany, except mutual enmity." So ran the "party line" in national AFL-CIO headquarters early in 1972, when Goulden was finishing his book. The reasons are outlined in rich detail in two chapters about the acrimonious dispute between Meany and the President over incomes policy. With everything on the record.

For good measure, in that period of time George Meany did not simply disagree with President Nixon. He told Goulden quite often that he detested Nixon as intensely as he did any man who had ever been in public life in the United States. The question arises: what manner of man could flip flop from total war against to "neutrality for Nixon," even at the expense of widening the split among unions? The book furnishes the basis for an explanation—and it had

pro- or anti-labor voting records, as Meany's relations with many politicians testify. Rather the explanation lies in Meany's character.

To begin with, there is an arrogance in the man, visible at press conferences and in his conduct of the AFL-CIO conventions, which is reflected in this book by the disdain with which he views mere mortals. And they include a Who's Who of American politics. Meany's sting has among its victims Arthur Goldberg, Edmund Muskie, Hubert Humphrey, Lyndon Johnson, Frank Fitzsimmons, Walter Reuther, James Hoffa, John L. Lewis, FDR and Mrs. Roosevelt, as well as President Nixon and John B. Connally. Spiro Agnew rates no mention and George McGovern barely a word, although Meany spoke of him as a possible, acceptable candidate at the breakfast he had with the press late in 1971, when he dismissed John Lindsay and George Wallace from consideration.

Interestingly enough, there was only one exception. Meany admired and was proud of John F. Kennedy, the first Irish Catholic President of the United States, regarding him almost with devotion. This does not, of course, extend to the other Kennedys. President Kennedy knew how to handle Meany. It was always "Mr. Meany," never "George." Goulden observes, "Intellectually, Kennedy felt more rapport with Walter Reuther, but he took care to maintain friendly relations with both men. For Reuther, a long hour on the beach with Jacqueline at Hyannis Port, the week after her husband's nomination; for Meany, an advance briefing on the Cuban missile crisis, so that the voice of organized labor would support the administration."

When George McGovern received the 1972 Democratic Party nomination, Meany's fury was unbounded. In 1968, he had been wined and dined and flattered by the most important party politicians. He felt like a king maker, and reserved his scorn for the kids outside, whose heads were broken in the Chicago bust. Indeed, Meany praised the conduct of the Chicago police. In 1972—and the details are in this book—Meany had only one possible Democratic Party choice, Sen. Henry Jackson. The others were pawns in his game.

tion. The people he despised took over. Hence the bile of his remarks against Senator McGovern at the Steelworkers' convention. Now there was a greater hate than the big hate.

Is George Meany that vengeful? In a footnote about his own research for this book, Goulden writes revealingly, "The presidents of some large unions, supposedly fearless labor leaders, are frightened silly at offending Meany, and would talk about him only in generalities, or off the record." When in 1942 Franklin Roosevelt, with Sidney Hillman's assistance, blocked a merger of the AFL and the CIO proposed by John L. Lewis, and which involved having George Meany as president of the new organization, Meany did not forgive and forget. In 1944 he voted for Dewey.

A note on his feelings toward Walter Reuther, and the atmosphere in the AFL-CIO headquarters, provides further insight. "Meany slowly became an isolated man—so scornful of critics that only rarely would anyone in his inner circles differ with him, upon pain of being denounced as a 'Reutherite.' Nelson Cruikshank, who left the AFL-CIO to run a Medicare lobby financed by labor, was distressed at what he saw. George found himself surrounded by yes men, by guys who thought the way to get along with him was to toady to him. They were wrong; they should have argued with him, for he respects people who do. But by the early 1960s all he heard was people who agreed with him, and told him what they thought he wanted to hear."

Obsessive anti-communism is another major factor coloring all of Meany's politics, at home and abroad. Meany described himself as "second only to Richard Nixon, in the 1950s, as the most rabid anti-Communist in America." (In the epoch of McCarthyism, that's saying a mouthful. For whatever reason, Goulden did not explore Meany's views on Sen. Joseph McCarthy, a regrettable omission.) Knowing these views of Meany made it predictable that he would do everything in his power to defeat Senator McGovern. Nixon's landslide, for Meany, is a defeat for "neo-isolationism," and perhaps a good omen for destroying any peace movement which by definition has to be appeasement or softness toward commu-

DEC 1972

## World of Labor by George Morris

In 1967, when the lid was blown off the CIA's operations which it conducted through phony foundations and the international affairs machinery of George Meany and Jay Lovestone, it was

disclosed that more than a million dollars of CIA money was channeled through the M. J. Kaplan Fund to finance an outfit called the Institute of Labor Research. The real operator of the ILR was one Sacha Volman, who had earlier worked for Radio Free Europe, one of the CIA propaganda networks. The ILR, under Volman's direction, was given the task of splitting and confusing the forces in Latin America opposing the reactionary dictatorships in a number of countries, by setting up "left of center" anti-Communist fronts. Seventeen such parties were set up in Latin American lands by the CIA through the ILR's finances and CIA contacts. And who was the chairman of ILR? Norman Thomas!

Was Thomas a conscious collaborator with the CIA? Not likely. I recall the pitiful sight he made when he appeared on a TV screen and frankly admitted he was deceived.

What made possible such monstrous deception of the head of the Socialist Party? Harrington's predecessor also was a strong adherent of anti-Communism in the name of what he called "democratic socialism." He naively believed that "left of center" parties in Latin America would be an effective substitute for the militant left and Communist movements spreading across those lands. But shortly before his death he found that the tactic only proved most useful to the CIA for setting up the military dictatorships, like those over Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala and others.

Basically, the deception was the same in the case of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, as Harrington would find by examining the facts with prejudice.

Harrington, like many reform socialists in the past who have seen the futility of their course, just doesn't want to see the realities of socialist development now embracing peoples of a third of the world. In search of "alternatives" they either get swindled into enemy ventures, like the CIA operations in Latin America, or they imagine they see "socialism" in something like Israel. Whether conscious or not, their line in the end serves the reactionaries.

As for Harrington's repeated reminders that he follows the Debs tradition: Debs was a militant fighter. He hailed the establishment of the Soviet government as the first socialist state. He militantly fought against the imperialist war of his time and went to jail for doing so. In all the long years of the war in Indochina, we have not seen any evidence of the Debs tradition in any of the wings of Socialist Party before and after the merger.

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# Admits failure of AFL-CIO

## cold war

By RICK NAGIN

NEW YORK, Nov. 30 — The cold war policies of the AFL-CIO have completely failed, a top official of the labor organization's International Affairs Department, admitted to a closed gathering of 200 trade unionists here yesterday.

Ernest Lee, assistant director of the labor body's foreign policy department, made the admission in a bitter speech at a conference on "Labor and International Affairs in the '70s," held at the Commodore Hotel.

The conference, sponsored by the New York City Central Labor Council and Georgetown University, included delegates from many of the city's unions but the press was excluded. It was necessary to glean what happened from friendly sources who took part in the conference.

Lee spoke in place of Jay Lovestone, director of the International Affairs Department, who was unable to attend. He expressed anger and frustration with current developments in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which was formed by U.S. union leaders in 1949, with State Department encouragement. The aim was to split the world labor movement and isolate the trade unions in the socialist countries as well as those led by Communists in the capitalist countries.

### Betrayers betrayed

The AFL-CIO, said Lee, was forced to break with its own creation three years ago because European trade unions were insisting on doing exactly what they were not supposed to do — establishing ever closer ties with trade unions in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

With the formation of the ICFTU, Lee stated, "We saved the European trade union movement from Communism." The U.S. labor movement, he added, had

sent its top leaders to Europe for this purpose.

"But I have to admit we failed," he said. "The very same trade unions and leaders that we helped to create are now running to Moscow."

Lee expressed particular anger with the labor movements in West Germany and England for their rapprochement with the socialist countries.

He said he was not surprised that AFL-CIO policies were in disrepute in France and Italy where the main leaders of the labor movement are Communists, but even in these countries, he said, the situation was much further advanced than expected. The Communist parties, he continued, have such strong leadership in the French and Italian labor movements that even the workers in the Christian trade unions would be ready to join Communist-led labor organizations if their own unions were to dissolve.

### More of the same

While Lee openly admitted the bankruptcy of AFL-CIO foreign policy, he proposed no change in course. He simply urged that the same policies be pursued more vigorously.

He indicated that the same policies that failed in Europe are now being carried out by the AFL-CIO in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Each year the labor organization spends \$11.5 million in these areas which it gets from the U.S. Government's Agency for International Development "notwithstanding charges from Geor-

ge Morris and liberal newspapermen that this is CIA money," Lee said.

Morris is the labor columnist for the Daily World and the author of "CIA and American Labor: The Subversion of the AFL-CIO's Foreign Policy."

Other speakers at the conference outlined AFL-CIO activities in the Third World, in the United Nations and in attempting to deal with the international aspects of the U.S. economic crisis.

An account of these parts of the meeting will appear in Saturday's Daily World.

# CIA FUNDING CHALLENGED;

# PRESS SUPPRESSES STORY

## Mass Media Ignore Item

A virtual news blackout has been declared by the nation's press concerning the major legal challenges that have been launched against the Central Intelligence Agency.

The August 10 filing of a suit in Washington against CIA Director Richard Helms and other government officials was a matter of court record and easily accessible to the news media. In addition, a news release containing essential facts about the story was hand delivered to the Washington Post, the Evening Star, the Associated Press and United Press International.

A week later, not one line concerning it had appeared anywhere in the country.

It was confirmed by THE VOICE that editors were well aware of the story and its importance.

A call to one of Washington's two dailies by a source accessible to THE VOICE produced this comment from a leading reporter: "You can call it a 'press conspiracy' if you like, but we're not going to print it and I'm sure no one else is either."

Earlier this year on July 20, an important decision in the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals guaranteed that the CIA would be brought to court on a challenge that had been in process since 1968. America's

greatest newspaper "of record", the New York Times, ignored the story, as did the Washington Evening Star and most other papers. The Washington Post carried the story as a small item on page ten.

### Special Edition

The Washington Post, The Evening Star, the news services and the local radio stations have seen fit to suppress one of the major news stories of the year--the legal challenges to the nerve center of American imperialism, the Central Intelligence Agency.

For this reason THE VOICE felt obligated to fill the void by bringing out the first "special edition" in its young life.

### Domestic Spying

The National Security Act which created the CIA states that it shall not have "police, subpoena, law-enforcing powers or internal security functions." The CIA has been operating in violation of this law for at least fifteen years and probably longer.

In early 1966 Richard Helms, the Director of the CIA, in testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee stated flatly that the CIA does not operate in the United States.

Yet in 1964 in a court case involving two Estonian emigrés the CIA presented to the court a secret document authorizing it to engage in certain domestic activities.

This authorization was in the form of an executive order which seems to be in direct violation of the act creating the CIA.

As a matter of fact the domestic operations of the CIA were so large by 1964 that it set up a Domestic Operations Division with headquarters at 1750 Pennsylvania Ave., about a block and a half from the White House.

Major breaks in CIA secrecy in 1966 and 1967 resulted in disclosures that the CIA was very heavily involved in financing all types of programs at such major universities as Michigan State and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In addition, it was revealed that the CIA had subsidized many domestic organizations including the major American student organization, The National Student Association. CIA money also found its way into at least twenty foundations, as well as Radio Free Europe, a large publishing house, and various other organizations.

Have the CIA's domestic operations ceased? A simple inspection of telephone books discloses that today the CIA has offices in at least twenty American cities.

29 AUG 1972

*World of Labor* by George Morris

The recent death of Joe Fay was ignored in the labor press, although he was once a powerful figure in labor circles. His base was Local 825, Operating Engineers in New Jersey, but as a vice-president in the international he had a powerful hold on building trades operations over a wide area. His local favored him with a brand new Cadillac every year. He was the central figure of racketeering elements in the old AFL. He was finally convicted in 1950 for extorting hundreds of thousands of dollars from contractors in exchange for "strike insurance," and sentenced to Dannamora Prison in New York for 15 years. Even in prison he was still able to exercise his "strike insurance" power.

One mystery was never cleared up: Why did George Meany pay a number of visits to Fay in Dannamora? The question was often raised but was never answered publicly.

Hoyt Haddock's retirement as National Maritime Union representative in Washington was announced in the NMU Pilot with a picture showing Joe Curran honoring him with a plaque. From 1937 to 1940 Haddock was labor advisor and assistant to the manager of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey. He later wiggled his way into labor circles, finally settling down for a long spell under Curran.

My book, "CIA And American Labor" includes a section on the way Hulbert B. Warner, Black, in 1954 vice-president of the NMU, was third-degreed by Haddock on the basis of "subversive" charges given him by Army Intelligence. Warner said Haddock told him, "You know I am close to the Pentagon."

STATINTL

DAILY WORLD  
15 AUG 1972

# Union history for teenagers a once-over-lightly review

**THE UNIONS**, by Alvin Schwartz.  
The Viking Press, 1972. \$6.95

By PHILLIP BONOSKY

This book, which sets out to explain (primarily to high school students) trade-unions in a sympathetic way, should be counted on the plus side, I suppose. After all, it was not long ago when merely to want to organize a union was to be branded not only as a criminal but as an un-American bent on undermining the foundation of the republic.

Even today, as Alvin Schwartz brings out in this book, ignorance about unions remains widespread and hostility to "power" still runs deep in many sections of the country. So a book which tackles the question even on this one's rather elementary level is one for our side.

But it doesn't deserve a very strong hurrah. In fact, for every false notion Schwartz uproots he re-plants others.

He does give us a short birds-eye view of labor history, describing some of the intolerable working conditions which workers had to endure before unions. In fact, with the hours so long, the rights of workers so meager, the wages so low, Schwartz draws the obvious conclusion that workers were justified in forming unions, even in striking to win concessions.

He devotes a great deal of space to how a typical union functions:

Who belongs to a union; what kind of unions there are (craft and industrial); who runs them; who abuses them; how loyal workers are to their unions, and the role unions play (or don't play) in society.

He touches, quite lightly, some of the history of American unions since World War II, using, unfortunately, government rationale for both the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin laws.

He discusses corruption in unions, quite properly noting that corruption is relatively small and that most unions are honest and honestly-led. He further observes that most trade-unions have been, since World War II, backward on social issues, including their support of the war.

His social view of America is of a country divided into three groups: "management," organized workers and "the public." He sees a successful America as one which has all three elements balanced. He believes that workers have views scarcely different

from their employers' on all social questions except wages and working conditions.

Schwartz admits, interestingly enough, that some American union channels were used by the CIA, on President Kennedy's orders, to subvert foreign governments, particularly Guyana.

And it's most particularly on the question of Communism that Schwartz falsifies and distorts the true picture of trade-unionism in America.

So you may look at this book in three ways: If you know nothing about unions, or have been hostile to them, this book serves to prove they have a legitimate place in the life of workers.

If you want a quick, though incomplete, handbook on how and why unions work, a bit of their history, a bit of their policies — this book will be of less use.

If you want the whole story, including the truth about Communists and organized labor, then this is not your book, not even for teenagers.



1 August 1972

STATINTL

MAC'S  
MEN

**MANKIEWICZ:** Frank Mankiewicz got his start working for the notorious Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in Los Angeles, where he acquired skill in intrigue, double-dealing and villifying, which was an asset when he joined the Kennedy Task Force. He was Press Secretary for Sen. Robert F. Kennedy in the 1968 Presidential campaign. After Bobby was assassinated, he received a Ford Foundation grant and immediately launched a syndicated column in collaboration with Tom Braden, former high CIA official who used to deliver CIA unvouchered funds to Walter and Victor Reuther. Last fall Mankiewicz took leave of his column to join the McGovern campaign.

Newsmen have acclaimed Mankiewicz as the master strategist of the McGovern campaign.

**SALINGER:** Pierre Salinger, also of Los Angeles, joined the Kennedy Task Force in 1960 and became White House Press Secretary for President John F. Kennedy. His job was terminated with the assassination of the President. He was U.S. Senator for one month, being appointed to fill out an unexpired term. Then he ran for Governor, but lost in the Primary. He tried his hand as a movie producer, but failed. He then latched on to a lucrative job with the notorious Bernard Cornfeld, promoter of the multi-billion-dollar Investors Overseas Services Ltd.

Salinger was in charge of the Paris I.O.S. office. Angier Biddle Duke, an impoverished socialite and

a fellow-star of the Kennedy regime, held a similar post in London, while Jimmy Roosevelt was at the IOS headquarters in Switzerland. Also originally at the Swiss headquarters in Geneva was President Nixon's nephew, Donald Nixon, Jr., who was transferred to the Bahamas last fall. Last August, President Nixon and family spent a week-end at the Dreyfus estate on Minot Island, off the Maine coast.

With the permission of the Pentagon, promoter Cornfeld and his cohorts sold dubious stock to American G.I.s stationed in Germany. Their method is described as "hard-sell tactics." After unloading all the stock they could on the naive servicemen, they applied the same hard-sell tactics on German and French factory workers.

Among the dubious equities unloaded by IOS in Germany and France was the Dreyfus Fund. The Swiss authorities watched the operation with equanimity until the IOS associates, emboldened by their success elsewhere, tried to peddle the same stock to Swiss citizens, and then, on November 30, 1971, the blow fell.

The Geneva police took into custody Robert L. Vesco, who had succeeded Cornfeld as chairman of IOS, and Milton Meisner, president of the once-mighty mutual fund complex, charging them with embezzlement. In another action, the ten original stockholders of the Dreyfus Fund, including Secretary of State William P. Rogers, in an out-of-court settlement, agreed to pay \$5 million to settle a 3-year old court action charging them with reaping excessive and illegal profits in the public offering of shares of their mutual fund.

Howard Stein, Chairman of the Dreyfus firm, is one of the biggest bankrollers of the McGovern campaign. In a financial conference in Geneva recently Stein assured the international financiers that they had nothing to fear if McGovern is elected President.

1 JUN 1972

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# Labor for Peace

By Margrit Pittman

In common with the overwhelming majority of Americans, the working people of our country are plain sick and tired of the cruel and senseless war in Vietnam," states the call to the founding conference of Labor for Peace. It invites all organized labor "to join us in harnessing the conscience and will of American labor in a powerful organization... to bring an end to this war now."

The immediate impetus for this conference — to be held in St. Louis, June 23-24 — was the visit last March of three union leaders to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam at the invitation of that country's trade union movement. But the struggle within the labor movement to accomplish the organized participation of labor in the movement for peace is as old as the peace movement itself.

The three unionists who went to Vietnam — David Livingston, secretary-treasurer of the Distributive Workers of America, Harold Gibbons, vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Clifton Caldwell, vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen — had long been involved in the struggle to free organized labor of the dictates of the top labor leadership which has been committed to an aggressive foreign policy since the end of World War II.

The conference call, which is addressed to international unions, state and city central labor bodies and local unions, is sponsored by 44 union leaders from AFL-CIO and independent organizations. Among them are leaders of the above named unions plus auto, farm, hospital, electrical, clothing and food unions, the west coast longshoremen and state, county and municipal employees.

George Meyers, national labor secretary of the Communist Party, warmly welcomed the initiative taken by labor leaders. "This conference," he said, "can change the character of the peace movement. It can stimulate the formation of labor peace committees all over the country and help the peace movement acquire organizational stability that will put an end to this criminal war and deter future foreign adventures by U.S. monopolists."

Meyers said that the majority of the union membership has long opposed the war, but that coercion from the top, notably in the AFL-CIO national leadership, has hampered meaningful expression of such opposition.

"Since its formation in 1955 the AFL-CIO international department has worked in cahoots with the Central Intelligence Agency," Meyers said, "and they have worked in cahoots with successive presidents in a desperate attempt to force labor's support for imperialist policies."

He said that there are many examples of political and economic pressures exerted on union leaders and organizations to discourage their expression of peace sentiments and their participation in peace actions.

There was, most recently, the example of the ousting of three locals of the American Federation of Government Employees in Washington, D.C., because they refused to recant their anti-war position.

The history of the peace movement in the Sixties is full of such incidents — local labor councils forced to withdraw support to peace moves, unions threatened with economic reprisals — every known shape of blackmail used by the government and its supporters in the union leadership to prevent organized union opposition to U.S. foreign adventures.

"This is a direct challenge to George Meany," Meyers said. "In an election year it means a challenge to Meany's efforts to tie the labor movement to a pro-imperialist candidate for the presidency. In addition to the effect it will have on helping to end the war, it will help to develop independent political action."

The Conference Call has been sent to thousands of union bodies: locals, districts, labor councils. At this writing — a month prior to the event — it is impossible to gauge the response. "The conference will be successful to the extent to which the membership is organized," Louis Weinstock, a longtime rank-and-file union leader, a former president of New York Painters District Council 9 and well-known Communist, told us. He himself has been elected a delegate to the conference from Painters Local 838, and he emphasized the need for getting delegates elected in as many local

This means overcoming the inertia that exists in many locals of unions that endorsed the conference. It will also, as of this writing, leave out in the cold the members of unions whose leadership opposes the conference. This includes some large unions, such as the National Maritime Union, the United Steel Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers.

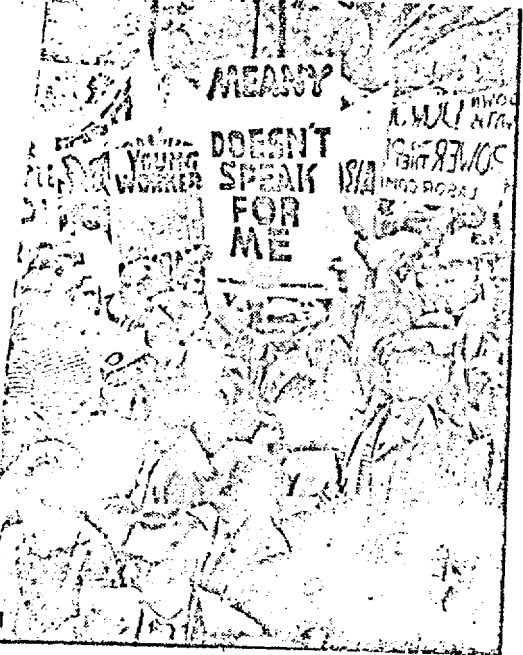
A meeting of the conference leadership is scheduled for Detroit on June 9. Additional details are expected to be worked out.

Notable about the conference's sponsorship is the strong representation of Black labor leadership — among them Doris Turner, vice-president of the Hospital Workers; Charles Hayes, vice-president of the Amalgamated Meatcutters; Cleveland Robinson, president of the Distributive Workers, and William Simons, vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers.

Even in its early stages, the conference has accelerated labor expression for peace.

Thus Emil Maze, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers, said at a press conference in Washington on May 17 that more than 1,000 officially elected delegates are expected in St. Louis.

Speaking for 24 labor leaders representing four million workers, Maze released a blistering attack on President Nixon for his escalation of the war and promised that the labor peace group would "mobilize the rank-and-file of the labor movement and its leaders in bringing this Vietnam war to an end."



Continued

## AFL-CIO members urged to disavow Meany's support of Nixon war acts

NEW YORK, May 10—George Meany's statement of support yesterday for President Nixon's criminal actions in Vietnam was blasted today by George Meyers, National Labor Secretary, Communist Party, U.S.A.

Meyers called for immediate action by union members, including strikes for peace. His statement follows:

AFL-CIO president George Meany has quickly rushed to support Richard Nixon's latest criminal actions in Vietnam. He says the President's dictatorial decision to mine North Vietnam wa-

ters and escalate the bombing and shelling of the whole country should be endorsed "irrespective of politics or any other consideration."

This is the same George Meany who rushed to support Nixon's illegal fiasco in Cambodia. He has backed every aggressive act of the U.S. monopolies since

World War II. He supports global reaction and with the help of Jay Lovestone and the C.I.A.-controlled International Department of the AFL-CIO he has split the U.S. unions from their brothers and sisters in other countries. ✓

Meany joined the head of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the most reactionary sections of Big Business in support of an action that has brought us, the people of the United States, of the whole world—to the brink of a nuclear war. He supports Nixon's open contempt of Congress and the Constitution. He supports a President who would like to destroy the right of workers to strike for their rights.

Workers have the right to ask the question: "Would George Meany have supported Adolph Hitler, 'irrespective of politics or any other consideration?'"

The great number of union members and the many union leaders who are saying, "Get out of Vietnam," should make it clear: "Meany doesn't speak for me." They should tell him so in no uncertain terms.

Every possible way must be found to repudiate Nixon's criminal and unconstitutional acts of war. Telegrams and petitions to Congress and the White House; delegations to Congressmen and Senators; local union resolutions; peace demonstrations in the plants and at the gates.

No curb on Labor and the democratic rights of the American people!

**STRIKES FOR PEACE!**



Premier Fidel Castro (right) of Cuba is embraced by Algerian President Houari Boumedienne after arriving at Algiers airport from Guinea. Castro is on the second stage of a nine-nation tour of Africa and Europe.

MAY 10 1972

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SEES 'MAGNIFICENT ALLIANCE' BETWEEN UNION AND YOUNG

# Last Reuther Retires From UAW, Backs McGovern

By William J. Eaton

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WASHINGTON, D.C. — Victor Reuther, the lone survivor among three brothers who helped create the United Auto Workers (UAW) in the turbulent 1930s, is retiring at age 60 with a firm belief that young people and union members can form a "magnificent alliance" for social justice.

Victor, often overshadowed in the public eye by his older brother, the late Walter P. Reuther, bowed out as international director of the UAW at the union's recent convention.

But he indicated he would remain active by campaigning for Senator George McGovern (Dem., S.D.), his choice for the Democratic nomination for President. Victor also is working on a book about his 35 years in the labor movement.

During the historic sit-down strike against General Motors in Flint, Mich., in 1937, Victor Reuther was one of the strike leaders along with another brother, Roy. Both of them were accused of inciting to riot

after a bloody confrontation of auto workers and Flint police, but the charges were dropped as part of the eventual settlement.

### Lost an Eye

Twelve years later, Victor lost his right eye when an unknown gunman fired a shotgun blast through the front window of his home in Detroit. The attack followed a similar assault on Walter Reuther in 1948, which deprived him of the full use of his right arm.

Reminiscing about his UAW career, however, Victor recalls the joys and hardships of his experiences. Describing his role

as roving ambassador for the auto union, he said:

"I have had the privilege of sitting in world meetings of General Motors workers and hearing GM cussed out in 15 different languages, and that's a joy."

During the Flint sit-down against GM in the winter of 1937, Victor manned one of the sound trucks commanding the pickets in a confrontation with Flint police after heat was turned off in the occupied auto plant.

"We wanted peace," Victor roared. "General Motors chose war. Give it to them."

### Retreat by Police

A shower of car door hinges, bolts and nuts, followed by water from high-pressure hoses, forced the police to retreat in what UAW legend describes as "the battle of the running bulls."

Interviewed at the UAW convention, Victor minimized the conflict, saying: "The world has seldom experienced such an industrial upheaval with such little violence as the auto sit-downs of 1937."

The agreement between the UAW and GM gave the union a much needed triumph and started its expansion from a few hundred to the one million and more members it now boasts.

Victor believes the UAW's accomplishments hold a lesson for anti-establishment youngsters of today.

"The present generation of

youth is among the most idealistic," he said. "Young people are less concerned about individual material well-being than they are about peace, ecology and social justice.

"What they lack is a sense of pragmatism which we excelled in," he added.

### Step by Step

He said the UAW and other industrial unions learned that their goals could not be achieved overnight but had to be approached on a step-by-step basis.

"It's a disservice to young people and the nation to set unobtainable goals," he said. "It leads to greater frustration. Labor has learned that each step forward is a victory and gives us courage to march toward the next goal."

Combining the idealism of young people with the experience of organized labor, he said, could produce a "magnificent alliance" for progress.

Victor was a factor in the UAW's pullout from the AFL-CIO and he still is cool to AFL-CIO President George Meany, although Walter Reuther's successor, Leonard Woodcock, has restored amicable personal relations with Meany.

It was Victor's charges that the AFL-CIO was co-operating with the Central Intelligence Agency that opened the breach between the UAW and the AFL-

CIO that led to the split within the federation.

Victor acknowledges that Meany, who led a labor walkoff from President Nixon's Pay Board, has become more militant than he was in the past.

"But he should not have gone onto the Pay Board in the first place, or asked for controls," Reuther said of Meany. "It's not enough to be militant. One must be prudent and wise as well."

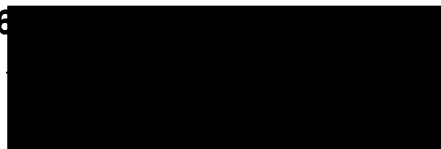
In his farewell speech to UAW delegates, Victor asked them to carry on the Reuther traditions, saying:

"This union from its very inception was not just another union. You made it different. You gave it a soul and you gave it a commitment to people ... you made this trade union into a social instrument for human betterment."

Reuther's son, John, 28, is not quite following in his father's footsteps although he has returned to the auto plants in Flint. John Reuther is seeking votes for McGovern, however, not the UAW, after a successful stint as McGovern co-ordinator in Massachusetts.

When he and his brothers first became active in the UAW in Detroit, Victor recalled, General Motors must have thought:

"My god, is there no end to the number of Reuthers?" He added: "They should know the new batch that is coming on."



# Editorials

## The broadening peace front

The announced participation of Victor Reuther, United Auto Workers leader, of Charles Hayes, Illinois Federation of Labor vice-president, and other labor officials in the May 4 Moratorium for peace — marks an important new initiative by national trade union leaders.

That action, and the announcement by Harold Gibbons, Teamsters vice president, David Livingston, District 65 president, and Clifford Caldwell, Butcher Workmen's vice-president, that they are forming the Labor Peace Committee, suggests a turn of major significance in labor peace action.

This is affirmed by the unanimous decision of the Ohio Rank and File Fight-back Conference last Sunday demanding an end of the bombing and total pullout.

The peace road serves the best interests of American workers. The line of George Meany and Jay Lovestone, his CIA foreign minister, has prolonged the war. Thousands of American GIs, including unionists and the sons of unionists, would be alive today if Meany had not scabbed on peace, for love of big business, and anti-Communism.

The 144 to 58 vote of the House Democratic caucus yesterday shows how deeply the anti-war sentiment has affected the American people. It suggests strongly that we are at a new stage in the struggle to halt Nixon's war-making.

Meany's war line has cut into the living standards of millions of trade unionists. Yesterday he complained at a congressional Joint Economic Committee hearing that Nixon's economic policies enrich the rich and impoverish the workers. But Nixon's economic policies are part of Nixon's war. And Nixon's war policies are supported by Meany, bloodletting and all.

The raw deal which the workers have been getting is being visited on the farmers, also. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz, who went to Moscow to sell surplus U.S. wheat, declared obliquely at a press conference in Washington, after his return that the U.S. would sell the wheat only if the Soviet Union cut back its help to the Vietnam liberation forces.

Butz' stupid and futile attempt to pressure the Soviet Union into selling out its anti-imperialist birthright for a shipload of pottage shows how intimately the livelihood of all working people — workers, farmers, taxpayers, professionals — are tied in with the winning of the peace.

The preservation of peace, the livelihood of all working people, require their massed intervention against Nixon's madness — by acting together for peace now.

## Factional Slanders

At what point in remote time will the American Left finally and fully liberate itself from some at least of the manifestations of "infantile leftism"? One such, vividly preserved in the memory of those whose experience dates from the 1930s, is the way in which small left-wing sectarian groups have habitually slandered one another. For some reason such groups have acted as though they felt that any slander against a rival group was justified if it made "good propaganda."

Apparently the practice has not been abandoned. In the October 19, 1971 *Daily Worker*, George Morris, the Communist Party's national labor secretary, inveighing against "Maoist, Trotskyite and anarchist sections," wrote that the "ringleaders" of a group that "calls itself 'National Caucus of Labor Committees'" were "getting encouragement from very reactionary sources such as employer agencies, police, FBI, CIA, or any of the other instruments for disruption and division in the progressive sectors of the working-class movement." Not very nice, and the caucus vehemently protested, managing in the course of its rebuttal to get in a few cracks at its defamers. Then, on January 20, 1972, Rowland Watts, on behalf of a commission of inquiry consisting of Eric Bentley, Fred J. Cook, Nat Hentoff, Conrad J. Lynn, Dwight Macdonald and Richard Ohmann, requested evidence that would confirm all or any of the charges. There was no response. So on February 9, 1972, Conrad Lynn, acting on behalf of the commission, notified the Communist Party that a hearing would be held on February 23 and that, failing confirmation of the charges or publication of a retraction in the *Daily Worker*, the finding would be against the Communist Party by default. No retraction was made and no appearance entered at the hearing. So the commission found the charges without foundation. Such a procedure is certainly to be preferred to the time-honored practice of giving it back to them, double and in spades. What Left sectarian groups should understand by this time is that the public—even the "Left" public—will no longer view with tolerance these smears and countersmears. Differences between the sects are real enough. Let them be stated, clarified and debated, but without charges of a kind that have made, in times past, a mockery of the idea of free and open debate. If evidence existed that the charges, in this instance, were true, the commission, made up of notably fair-minded individuals, would not have hesitated to issue appropriate findings. As it is, the charges should be dismissed as a cheap smear.

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1 APR 1972

# Thieu's Firm Grip Brings Political Calm to Vietnam

By HENRY S. BRADSHIER  
Star Staff Writer

SAIGON — In the half-year since South Vietnam's presidential elections ended with a whimper instead of a bang, this country has been politically more quiet than at any time in recent years.

The quietness is a sign of President Nguyen Van Thieu's political mastery, of the demoralization of his opponents, and of preparations for a possible eventual political contest with the Communists.

And it might also be taken as a sign of the narrow focus of Vietnamese politics on a small handful of people, with the bulk of the population knowing little about them and caring less—in the normal way of underdeveloped countries with strongman traditions.

In the offices and villas of those persons who consider themselves Saigon politicians, there is some desultory discussion these days of new political alliances. Thieu might once again be interested in gathering the support of some politicians, instead of spurning them all.

The An Quang pagoda group of Buddhists is busy cleaning house, the student movement is hardly visible, and war veterans are being taken care of fairly well. These are the groups that have caused the most political turmoil in recent years, but not now.

## Few Pay Attention

Retired Gen. Duong Van Minh, the self-appointed savior of Vietnam from both Thieu and communism, has issued a few statements since deciding in August not to fight a losing presidential election campaign.

Not many people pay attention. Vietnamese politicians, journalists and other observers find it hard to imagine any future developments which could bring to Minh the call to national leadership that he wants.

The other man whom Thieu maneuvered out of the presidential race, former Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky, plays tennis and talks with his military cronies.

Now outranked by a former subordinate, he cannot return

to command of the air force which he held before becoming premier seven years ago. Besides, Thieu seems disinclined to give Ky any position of authority—not surprisingly, since Ky threatened in September to “destroy him and all his clique.”

Ky is not so easily written off as Minh, however. He has more determination and, at 43, he is younger. He can wait for the next presidential elections in 1975, when Thieu will be constitutionally unable to seek another term.

## Way Charter Reads

Or at least that is the way the Constitution reads at the moment. But that American-inspired limitation may prove no more realistic for Vietnam than other ideas copied from the U.S. Constitution and later abandoned, like an independent judiciary.

Few observers would want to predict as far ahead as 1975.

But if Thieu is still running the same kind of government then, it seems likely that he might decide to emulate President Chung Hee Park of South Korea. A few years ago Park found himself so indispensable that he had to force through his parliament a change in the American-inspired two-term limitation.

Thieu works from behind a screen of Oriental aloofness. He tours the country extensively to meet with local officials, who form the basis of his political power, but he does not try to establish a popular image with the masses.

He has made little effort to explain his policies. The presidential palace provides almost no information to the Vietnamese press about what it is doing. More than just a reticence, there seems to be an absolute hostility toward the American press.

## Parties Too Fractious

Thieu dickered in 1969 with the idea of uniting seven political parties behind his programs. But they proved too fractious. By early 1970 he was denouncing all politicians as would-be leaders without any followers.

Now he has signs that the president might

be coming back to the idea that organized political support can have a value beyond his use of local officials and army officers to rally popular backing and turn out voters.

The three parties that show signs of coalescing behind Thieu are the Workers' and Peasants' party, the Progressive party, and the Revolutionary Greater Vietnam party.

The first is primarily composed of union members led by Tran Quoc Buu. He has had strong American support since the days when the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency financed the creation of anti-Communist unions abroad.

The second party unites professional men and civil servants. Its highly respected leader, Prof. Nguyen Van Bong, was assassinated in November, weakening the party.

The third, part of the old Dai Viet semi-secret political movement, is led by a former minister of the interior, Ha Thuc Ky.

## Position Strengthened

Thieu gave these parties some help of dubious legality in August's elections to the lower house of parliament, and they strengthened their position. Now, he might be looking toward next year's lower house elections.

If a constitutional amendment is to be passed allowing a third term, Thieu would need more parliamentary support than he now has.

The president is still presenting a stoutly anti-Communist determination to the world. But he has gained politically — and weakened his critics — by offering in January to resign and fight presidential elections against the Communists.

This helped Thieu to capture much of the credit for favoring peace which had been held by various opposition groups.

It has at the same time caused concern. After a six-week silence, the president of the upper house of parliament, Sen. Nguyen Van Huyen, who would run the country temporarily under Thieu's plan to resign for new elections, expressed guarded disagreement.

“No one has the right, through ill-considered acts, to go counter” to the constitution, Huyen said. Thieu's proposal to let the Communists contest elections would violate the anti-Communist provisions of the Constitution.

## Cautiously Quiet

The opposition groups which had voiced desires for peace have been cautiously quiet.

The most interesting development among the opposition is an attempt by the An Quang Buddhists to purge Communist sympathizers from their own ranks, especially their student movements. After denying government accusations that they often served communist purposes, the church leaders now seemed concerned about this.

Their supreme patriarch recently accused both the Saigon and Hanoi governments as “merely acting as puppets for foreign powers.” This even-handed condemnation was a change from attacking Thieu while being polite to the Communists.

STATINTL

## Samizdat, Meany and the CIA

During the past couple of years the capitalist press, especially the New York Times, has reported how Soviet poets, writers, and scientists have resorted to "samizdat" to get their words to the world.

Via "samizdat" — self-publishing — the beleaguered intellectuals, through typewritten carbon copies, mimeograph, hectograph or other primitive publishing means, have bared their tortured souls, and have appealed to the conscience of the world for support, or so the Times claimed.

We now have the Library of Congress to thank for removing the veil from "samizdat."

Dr. Joseph G. Whelan, head of the Library of Congress' anti-Soviet operations, revealed last week that the "samizdat" business is a CIA operation.

The Library of Congress has been an unlikely source for truth about the socialist world, devoted as it is to anti-Sovietism.

However, when Senator William Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, demanded that the U.S. quit funding Radio Liberty, a CIA operation in Munich, West Germany, Whelan complained that this would end the means of distributing "samizdat" in the Soviet Union. This "movement will unquestionably receive a serious setback," Whelan said.

The alleged cry for freedom from "Soviet intellectuals" is thus revealed to be, as long suspected, just a fink CIA operation.

It shares this distinction with Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and the Assembly for Captive European Nations.

All have been fed out of the U.S. Treasury to incite subversion and rebellion against socialism.

George Meany's complaint last weekend that the ACEN's \$250,000 a year payoff has been ended is one more token of the fact that his heart belongs to the CIA, as does his "foreign secretary," Jay Lovestone.

Meany's spiritual and other relations to the CIA are of long standing. His opposition to the Soviet Union and socialism reflects his devotion to U.S. imperialism. That devotion accounts for his unconscionable support of the ravaging of Indochina by the U.S.

Meany's devotion to U.S. imperialism is betrayal of the most elementary interests of the U.S. workers, is enmity to the national liberation movement throughout the world.

STATINTL



## World of Labor by George Morris

### With Gleason's permission

STATINTL

For its own political reasons the Nixon Administration found it advantageous to conclude an agreement for an estimated \$190 million grain export to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union needs the grain for animal feed to step up meat production in line with its new Five Year Plan.

It appears that Washington, forced by necessity, is beginning to discover the potential of USSR trade. Recently, approval was announced of other exports and imports running into hundreds of millions of dollars.

However, it takes more than Washington's approval to negotiate such deals. The State Department had first to come hat-in-hand to Thomas (Teddy) W. Gleason, president of the International Longshoremen's Association; Paul Hall, president of the International Seafarers' Union, and George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, to please permit trade with the Soviet Union.

Those unfamiliar with the history of the problem may find it puzzling that maritime union leaders, whose members have a high rate of unemployment, should have to be asked permission for such trade. But these labor leaders have banned Soviet shipments for twenty years. Often their ban embarrassed the State Department when supplies for the Soviet Embassy remained on ships, untouched by Gleason's stooges for "patriotic" reasons.

One such passion for Americanism was disclosed during the New York Crime Commission hearings in the early 50s. Reports told of longshoremen in the Port of Newark refusing to unload a ship with Soviet furs. Picketing dockers were pictured as men whose hearts throbbed with love of freedom. The commission disclosed through the testimony of the fur importers that while the ship was picketed, two ILA business agents negotiated in a warehouse for the amount needed to relax their "patriotism." Some \$45,000 did the trick, and the furs were unloaded.

Anyway, the first vessel loaded with grain for the USSR left New Orleans Dec. 1. But before the deal was negotiated, according to a Washington Post story there was a June 9 meeting

Henry A. Kissinger called at the White House with Gleason and Jay Lovestone, who is director of the AFL-CIO International Affairs Department.

Gleason is quoted as saying, "There was just myself and Lovestone. Kissinger was there by himself. He told us of the announcement and asked me what my intentions were. I said we wouldn't load the ships."

Gleason's reference was to an Administration intention to rescind the rule that 50 percent of U.S. shipments must go in U.S. vessels. He claimed the AFL-CIO maritime unions must be consulted because there is an agreement between them for enforcement of the 50-50 rule. The 50-50 rule, announced under President Kennedy, has been a joke from the start. It has never been enforced.

In 1951 U.S. vessels carried 42.9 percent of the oceanborne trade. By 1970 that percentage fell to 5.6 percent. The sudden concern of Gleason, Lovestone, Hall and the rest of the AFL-CIO's Maritime officialdom for the 50-50 rule was strictly an excuse for continuing their boycott of USSR trade. In the final analysis their boycott cuts work for their members because it cuts trade, hence jobs.

Since 1951 the number of shipboard jobs dropped from 93,163 to 31,938 in 1971.

The boycott of Soviet shipping by U.S. labor officials — a boycott NOT practiced by the West Coast's progressive-led union of longshoremen — was not entirely an invention of Gleason and his predecessor, Joe Ryan. During the heyday of McCarthyism it was a convenient mask for U.S. policy.

Meany and his man Lovestone needed little urging to provide the image of labor refusal to handle Soviet goods. Just as they lent

CIA activities in various lands, they provided such label on domestic fronts. As times changed and the U.S. government itself, for policy reasons, farmer pressure and opposition to the cold war, the need arose to change "labor's" role.

It wasn't easy. President Nixon himself eventually had to take a direct hand, according to the published account, to get Meany, Gleason and Lovestone to agree to handle the grain on a promise of some further government aid to the shipping industry.

It was a hard decision for the AFL-CIO's hard-bitten anti-Sovieteers to make. As Hall described it, the men held a secret powow on whether to bow to the government at a motel in Cherry Hill, N.J., on Nov. 4, "from 10 to three without breaking for lunch and we all stayed sober."

It remains to be seen, of course, whether the ban is lifted only for the current grain deal or whether it will be renewed. Unemployment is continuing to run high and the prospect for new trade with the USSR and the other socialist lands is promising.

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# The band didn't play for Nixon

By S. W. Gerson

President Nixon loves the ceremonial rituals of his high office, especially the sound of march tunes as he ascends a dais to make a speech. Thus he was mightily peeved when the band at the recent Miami Beach AFL-CIO convention failed to tootle "Ruffles and Flourishes" for him, a request made by Nixon's advance men and turned down by gruff, jowly, 77-year-old AFL-CIO president George Meany.

Meany explained later that the convention didn't have the proper harmonic group for an appropriate salute to the President. "We had an orchestra," he told the delegates. "I don't think you can play 'Ruffles and Flourishes' on a violin. I could be wrong, but that is my impression."

The 891 delegates and 1,000 guests who filled the Hotel Americana ballroom roared with appreciative laughter at Meany's "explanation." But all understood that behind the concerted media assault on the alleged "discourtesy" to the President there lay something far more fundamental. No one used the Marxist phrase, but all seemed to be aware after the Nixon confrontation that there had been something like a declaration of class war by monopoly capital against labor.

It was this mood that gave the Ninth Biennial Convention of the AFL-CIO a special quality. While couched in labor officialese, the convention resolution nonetheless partially reflected the widespread resistance to the Nixon wage freeze on the part of the 13 million members of the AFL-CIO. This may seem odd to those who view the official leadership of American labor as a bunch of high-salaried, high-living, cigar-chomping bureaucrats (and there were plenty at the plush Hotel Americana to reinforce that

image). But there was something else.

That was the realization that Nixon's New Economic Policies constitute a fundamental threat to the trade union movement. Apart from control over wages and union contracts by an employer-dominated Pay Board, many delegates saw ahead to anti-strike laws and a corporate state form in which traditional collective bargaining and freedom of union association would be banned.

It would be wrong, however, to idealize the convention and its decisions. It did not adopt an unqualifiedly fighting line despite the strong element of resistance. What it did was to adopt Meany's position of working "within" Nixon's Pay Board while not "cooperating" with it, notwithstanding the hundreds of demands from the ranks that the five labor members quit the 15-member body.

However, the resolution declares that "the AFL-CIO (will) insist at every level on the validity of their contracts... and that they take every lawful action at their command to insure that their contracts be honored."

The latter clause was seen as encouragement of strike actions by individual unions, but it was a far cry from the call of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters for "a general strike, if necessary" by all organized labor against the Nixon economic policies. Discussing the resolution from the floor, grizzled Pat Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Meat Cutters, said it was not enough and urged: "Instead of us being here as the top representatives of the organized labor movement... reflect and put ourselves back into the meeting halls of all the labor unions throughout the country, hear the debates on what they think of this whole program and have the spirit we once had in those halls making the same complaints."

The resolution was, of course, adopted, but the following day Gorman reinforced his words by a speech via telephone hook-

up to 55,000 of his union members who had left their jobs to mass before union-halls in 35 cities.

But Gorman's speech was only one sign of the seething beneath the convention's surface. The Black Caucus, with about 30 delegates, bluntly termed Nixon's controls "the maturing of the crisis in the political economy of the United States" and warned that the regulations "are intended to be permanent." It also called for the use of the general strike weapon against the freeze, urged a drive to organize the unorganized and scored racism and tokenism in the AFL-CIO. It was by far the most advanced position at the Hotel Americana, but it reached the delegates only as filtered through the media.

If the Black Caucus did not get its message directly to the delegates, one Black voice did score some points. Vernon E. Jordan Jr., newly named as executive director of the National Urban League to succeed the late Whitney Young, laid it on the line in an address to the convention.

"Are you aware that it takes three workers in a Black family to make as much as one worker in the average white family?" he asked the delegates. "Or that Black college graduates still average lower incomes than whites who never attended college?"

Jordan went on to criticize racism in the construction unions and warned that failure to organize Black construction craftsmen "can ultimately work to the disadvantage of the unions, in that they represent a temptation to throw more business to non-union contractors and represent a constant threat of dual unionism."

If the convention mirrored, even if inadequately, rank-and-file feeling on the wage freeze, its resolutions on foreign policy were miles from the position of millions of Americans in and outside the

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## World of Labor by George Morris

### China vote saddens Meany

The most unhappy people after the UN vote admitting People's China and booting out Taiwan were George Meany and his foreign affairs minister Jay Lovestone.

Meany termed the UN vote a "crushing defeat" for the U.S. and blamed President Nixon's new policy towards China that began with ping pong. It was certainly a crushing defeat for U.S. policy but the screams of the Meany-Lovestone group also show it was a "crushing defeat" for the AFL-CIO's position on international affairs.

The UN vote "reflects the diminishing confidence placed by an increasing number of countries in the credibility and strength of U.S. foreign policy," Meany said. That, too, is now widely recognized. The AFL-CIO leaders who were the loudest in voicing support for the U.S. cold war policy, including its anti-China aspects, discovered that truth earlier, although they didn't admit it.

The Meany-Lovestone group has been sharing the unpopularity of the U.S. policy within the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions which they helped found and finance. After a steady loss of prestige, the AFL-CIO pulled out of the ICFTU and for more than two years has been isolated from world labor. The isolation became especially apparent after the 1966-67 revelations that the AFL-CIO's international affairs department directed by Lovestone was providing a cover for the global "labor" operations of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Lovestone and the AFL-CIO leaders never admit defeat for their policies. They always resort to twisters to "explain" things. They give two reasons for the "crushing defeat" and the "diminishing confidence" in U.S. foreign policy. One reason given is Nixon's new China policy that was "not lost on many of the smaller nations who must of necessity look to the bigger powers for their security."

A much stronger argument can be made to the contrary. The Nixon administration, seeing the handwriting on the wall, geared its policy to soften the blow.

To that end, a strategy was outlined designed to foster the belief that eventually some arrangement would be made to bring China into the UN, depending on Nixon's trip, etc., but in the meantime Taiwan should be kept in and People's China kept out.

As for Meany's reference to the "smaller powers" deserting the U.S., some are, in fact, no longer impressed by U.S. power—especially in view of "crushing defeat" for the U.S. in Indochina. But the UN roll call indicates that it is the U.S. that was left with the smaller and most of the tiniest UN members. Only Brazil and Japan of the populous countries were on the U.S. side. Most of the votes came from lands with fewer than ten million population and several with less than a million people.

Applying the yardstick of democracy, the Meany claim is equally false. Among the chief backers of the U.S. in the UN vote were Greece, South Africa, Saudi Arabia, Portugal, Spain, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Paraguay and others in that category.

From the roll call it appears that the Meany-Lovestone operatives in Third World lands, along with the CIA, have not been doing so good. It appears that where the most money and manpower were expended, the results were worst for Meany & Co. Nigeria, the most populous land in Africa, and others where Lovestone operatives were most active, voted against the U.S., as did Kenya, Uganda, Tunisia, Morocco, Ethiopia. In mainland Asia, only the dictatorships of Thailand and Cambodia voted with the U.S.

Meany also said that the vote turned against the U.S. because of "appeasement, especially in such pivotal areas as the Asian mainland, central Europe and Middle East." There you have the Meany-Lovestone policy in a nutshell.

The "appeasement" in mainland Asia is clearly the policy of withdrawal of a substantial part of the U.S. armed forces in Indochina in contrast to the AFL-CIO leadership's demand for a still greater commitment of forces and armed might there. "Appeasement" in Europe are the steps taken towards normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and West Germany.

Meany's "explanation" is ridiculous on its face. Meany singles out the very developments where U.S. imperialism and its aggressive designs for "world leadership" have met the latest defeats. They do not show "appeasement" but forced retreats by the U.S. imperialists. The trouble with Meany & Co. is that they still think the world has not changed since the days when President Truman and Winston Churchill signaled the start of the cold war.

An especially bitter pill for Meany to swallow is the fact, so well reflected in the UN vote, that there is developing a powerful anti-imperialist combination of the Socialist lands and the major Third World lands. Even some of the older imperialist lands, notably France and Britain, are forced to recognize this fact. That's the combination that was decisive in the vote on China.

Meany & Co., must realize that this combination also spells a finish to the AFL-CIO's operations, financed by the U.S., in Latin America, Asia and Africa. Based on these new developments, there is evident a new international labor unity growing up, involving the World Federation of Trade Unions and other international bodies -- a unity from which the workers of the U.S. are today isolated by Meany-Lovestone & Co.

STATINTL

## World of Labor by George Morris

### 'Revolutionary' disrupters

In recent years activists in the progressive movements have become familiar with the disruptive antics of an assortment of Maoist, Trotskyite and anarchist sects appearing under dozens of names. You see them at every demonstration for peace, against the wage freeze, for Black liberation, in defense of political prisoners, and others, with their leaflets attacking the leaders of such united fronts and with their heckling squads.

We saw such disgraceful exhibition at last Wednesday's labor rally for peace and against the wage freeze and racism held in the New York garment center. It was addressed by leaders of a considerable section of the New York labor movement, as well as Emil Mazzy, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers, and Mayor John Lindsay.

It was, as the Mayor observed, an advanced step because it brought together a substantial labor group in action for peace, a refutation of the claim of the George Meany's that they speak for labor in support of the Indochina war.

It was a united front bringing together organizations that may differ in some respects but were united on the broad issues of the Moratorium Day meeting.

X

To the amazement of many, some individuals handed out leaflets viciously denouncing the labor leaders who sponsored the rally, singling out especially the chairman, David Livingston, president of Dist. 65, Distributive Workers. When the Mayor was introduced, a score of these disrupters, by obvious pre-arrangement, appeared to heckle him.

The question was not whether there is ground for criticizing the Mayor on a number of issues. In this case he came as a powerful voice for an end of the war and aligned himself with a peace movement that of necessity must be broad enough to include people like the Mayor.

The group calls itself "National Caucus of Labor Committees." Some of its leaflets are signed "New York Labor Committee."

them think they must be something connected with labor. They are actually a handful of anarchist elements who broke away from the now defunct Students for a Democratic SOCIETY (SDS). So r-r-revolutionary is this "labor" committee that its leaflet even accused the Communist Party and the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party of "joining with labor fakers like Livingston" to build "this anti-Nixon movement," (that) can only act as a grass roots support movement for the liberal Democrats.

There are in the U.S. at least a half dozen Trotskyite organizations. They have a cut-throat relationship among themselves over various issues. But even the SWP, from which they have split off, isn't "revolutionary" enough for them because it has been involved recently in pro-peace united fronts.

Those able to observe the activities of these groups, especially this so-called "Labor Committee" and the "Workers League" which publishes a sheet called the "Bulletin," know that they make it a consistent policy to single out for attack only organizations or leading individuals on the Left, and others moving in a progressive direction. Their line is to attack their targets as not "revolutionary" enough.

Take the leaflet quoted above. Of some 700 words, you'll find no attack upon Nixon, Meany or the war makers. The headline attacks Lindsay, Livingston, whose union is one of the foremost in the city in progressive policy and union militancy and action, especially for peace, Livingston, a "labor faker" and they

liken him to the worst sell-out artists in the labor movement. Other leaflets of this "labor committee" as of the Maoist "Progressive Labor" group, singles out for attack the rug and Hospital Workers, Local 1199 leaders, notably Leon Davis who led the advance of this union into a powerful progressive national organization, mostly of Black and Hispanic workers. Similarly, leaders of the Furriers Joint Board, District 37, State County and Municipal Employees and the rank and file movements in various unions the Trade Unions for Democracy and Action is building are targets for scurrilous attacks.

X

But you'll look in vain for a word on the most reactionary labor leaders, like those in Meany's circle.

Who are the people engaged in this dirty business? There are among them some duped youths who may honestly think that the measure of "revolutionism" is how violently you denounce union leaders. But in terms of what they accomplish, the ringleaders of these sects are clearly getting encouragement from very reactionary sources -- as employer agencies, police, FBI, CIA or any of the other instruments for disruption and division in the progressive sectors of the working class movement.

What else can you say of groups that make these who move forward their major target? What else can you say of a group like the "Labor Committee" that seems to have ample funds to saturate every demonstration with printed leaflets?

The clear object of the "Labor Committee" is to disperse and confuse every manifestation of progress. For example, when the recent rebellion broke out in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the first time in two generations, this group came in with its "revolutionary" leaflets to these workers who were seeking a little more democracy and a few cents more an hour. Obviously the ringleaders of this sect aimed to short-circuit a developing rank and file movement in the ACW.

This is not a "revolutionary" group; it is a counterrevolutionary group known as such.

E - 326,376  
S - 541,868

SEP 26 1971

# Confidential Report Urges More Secrecy In CIA Spying

By RICHARD DUDMAN  
Chief Washington  
Correspondent of the  
Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25.— A confidential report being circulated in Washington and Boston urges that the Central Intelligence Agency improve its secrecy in penetrating private institutions at home and abroad.

The document proposes also that the CIA direct its covert operations particularly at Africa, Asia and Latin America and make wide use of agents other than Americans.

The report is a summary of a panel discussion on intelligence and foreign policy conducted by the Council on Foreign Relations in New York Jan. 8, 1968.

Copies of the document are being circulated in this country and Europe by a group of radical scholars in Cambridge, Mass., as "a still-relevant primer on the theory and practice of the Central Intelligence Agency" and "a fair warning as to the direction of the agency's interests and efforts."

Leader of the 1968 discussion was Richard M. Bissell Jr., a former CIA deputy director who was in charge of the U-2 spy plane program in the late 1950s and the abortive invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in 1961. He left the Government in 1962 and is a vice president at United Aircraft Corp.

Others in the group were the late Allen W. Dulles, who had been the CIA director; Robert Amory Jr., who had been the deputy CIA director for intelligence; Thomas L. Hughes, then director of intelligence and research at the Department of State and now president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Meyer Bernstein, director of international affairs for the United Steel Workers.

mer Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon was chairman. The document, reporting Bissell's review and appraisal of the CIA's covert operations, said: "If the agency is to be effective, it will have to make use of private institutions on an expanding scale, though those relations which have 'blown' cannot be resurrected.

"We need to operate under deeper cover, with increased attention to the use of 'cut-outs.' CIA's interface with the rest of the world needs to be better protected."

Bissell's presentation, as reported in the summary, referred frequently to exposes in the previous year of the CIA's penetration and financing of the National Student Association and other private organizations including trade union organizations overseas.

"If various groups hadn't been aware of the source of their funding, the damage subsequent to disclosure might have been far less than occurred," the summary said.

"The CIA interface with various private groups, including business and student groups, must be remedied."

Other documents, obtained in early 1959 by the Post-Dispatch, showed that the U.S. Agency for International Development had picked up the tab for certain overseas programs that had been financed secretly by the CIA. These became known as "CIA orphans" after the secret financing was disclosed.

The change apparently grew out of a 1967 order by President Lyndon B. Johnson prohibiting any further hidden subsidies to private voluntary organizations. He promised to consider a proposal that the Federal Government establish "a public-private mechanism to provide public funds openly for overseas activities of organizations which are adjudged deserving, in the national interest."

As a result, AID funds have been used to finance in part certain international labor programs handled through . . . the AFL-CIO.

One member of the 1968 panel, not identified but apparently Bernstein, the Steelworkers' officer, was quoted as saying that it was common knowledge even before the exposes of 1967 that there had labor programs.

Persons in international labor affairs were dismayed, he said, over public disclosure of this CIA support. He said that "certain newspapers compounded their difficulties by confusing AID with CIA."

The summary continued, quoting the same speaker: "Since these disclosures, the turn of events has been unexpected. First, there hasn't been any real trouble with international labor programs. Indeed, there has been an increase in demand for U.S. labor programs and the strain on our capacity has been embarrassing. Formerly these common labor unions knew we were short of funds, but now they all assume we have secret CIA money, and they ask for more help."

Citing labor union in British Guiana as an example, he said they were "supported through CIA conduits, but now they ask for more assistance than before."

In the summary of Bissell's presentation, the report said the United States should make increasing use persons other than American citizens who "should be encouraged to develop a second loyalty, more or less comparable to that of the American staff."

The desirability of more effective use of foreign nationals increases as we shift our attention to Latin America, Asia and Africa, where the conduct of United States nationals is easily subject to scrutiny and "described," the summary

said.

Bissell was reported to have suggested that the CIA could use foreign nationals increasingly as "career agents," with a status midway between classical agent in a single operation and that of a staff member involved through his career in many operations.

At another point, the account of Bissell's presentation asked the question "From whom is a covert operation to be kept secret?"

"After five days, for example, the U-2 flights were not secret from the Russians, but these operations remained highly secret in the United States and with good reason," the summary said.

"If these overflights had 'leaked' to the American press, the USSR would have been forced to take action.

"On a less severe level, the same problem applies to satellite reconnaissance. These are examples of two hostile governments collaborating to keep operations secret from the general public of both sides. Unfortunately, there aren't enough of these situations."

Returning to covert financing of private organizations overseas, Bissell said that such pro-

STATINT

continued

## World of Labor by George Morris

### SP romance with Meany (2)

The extent of the Socialist Party's swing rightward to win acceptance by the top bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO, can be judged by its approval of the position of the Meany group in the AFL-CIO on the Indochina war. This was well demonstrated at the May 25-27 conference of the Socialist International (SI) in Helsinki.

Even that body, dominated by rightwing socialists who head capitalist governments or have a part in coalitions, rejected the out-and-out pro-Meany pro-Nixon line in the U.S. Socialist Party's position.

A compromise position was accepted which included a warning that the Indochina position cannot be settled by military means, and that a date should be set for withdrawal, although there was still an effort to equate the U.S. aggressors with North Vietnam and the liberation forces. Delegates of some of the major socialist parties attacked the U.S. delegates position. Canada's delegate, D. Lewis, for example, said, "A socialist who does not see America's aggression has no right to call himself a socialist."

The SP played a similar ultra-rightist role when the Middle East situation came up. This is evident even from the report on the conference by Paul Feldman, delegate of the SP in the July 30 issue of "New America," paper of the SP.

The U.S. delegates were the most loud-mouthed backers of Golda Meir, who represented "socialist" Israel. So blatant was their position that Vaino Leskinen, the Social Democratic minister of foreign affairs of Finland upbraided Friedman for his rabid anti-Communism and "termed the U.S. delegate 'stupid.'" To the displeasure of the U.S. "socialists," the SI resolution, also a compromise, was considerably subdued in comparison to the earlier stand.

Thus we see the SP trying to play the same role in the SI that Meany and Co. had been playing in the International Confederation of Free Trade Union until they eventually gave up and quit that body.

of the Vietnam policy.

So the SP sent a delegation of its Young People's Socialist League to look the Senator over and ask him questions. They came away convinced that "Jackson is the one."

A column of Evans and Novack (N.Y. Post, Aug. 13), noted "The heart of the Young Socialists now belongs to Scoop Jackson." They found him to be almost a "socialist."

Josh Muravchik, YPSL president expressed delight with Jackson because he was "not falling into the neo-isolationist bag on foreign policy"—meaning, in SP language, that Jackson would continue the "American world leadership" policy.

Less publicized is the supply by the SP of some of its younger recruits for the AFL-CIO's services abroad under the government-financed, CIA-oriented programs in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

What does it all add up to? The SP, long dormant, is being reactivated as the core of a "socialist" orbit now controlled by the rightwing Social Democratic elements who for many years were independent of the SP when led by Norman Thomas. They called themselves the Social Democratic Federation. They are mainly the group that depended on finance from David Dubinsky when he headed the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and on his successor. They included the Jewish Labor Committee headed by Dubinsky. The Jewish Daily Forward, right-wing organ for generations; the League for Industrial Democracy; the Workers Defense League; Albert Shanker of the Teachers Union and some of his staff; and the A. Philip Randolph Institute, of which Bayard Rustin is director, financ-

ed by the AFL-CIO and some other unions noted for keeping black persons out of policy making positions.

To this coordinated "socialist" camp should be added the alliance with the Zionists in the U.S., with Israel pictured as the "model" socialist state.

Few of the men who oriented the Social Democratic elements towards rabid anti-Sovietism and red-baiting since World War I days, are still alive. But their offspring, including several renegades from Communism and deserters from socialist lands, make up the staff and full timers of the present SP orbit.

Their links to the AFL-CIO bureaucracy take various forms.

Rustin writes an article in Harper's Magazine defending the AFL-CIO leadership against charges of racism. The AFL-CIO reprints it and distributes it widely. When Meany and Co. were under sharp criticism for their attitude towards youth and the campus anti-war movement, Tom Kahn, YPSL member and executive director of LID came through with an article about an alleged "frontlash" among the youth in support of the right wing in the AFL-CIO Federationist.

The Jewish Labor Committee is especially appreciated in Meany's office because it defends his crowd against charges of racism. ...John P. Roche, former YPSL member, has a weekly column in the AFL-CIO News. The SP's paper reprints those columns.

Now that SP leadership has been cleansed of pro-peace and Thomas followers, men like Shanker, Rustin and Roche write in "New America" under by-lines.

In past years, the SP was not welcome to the top bureaucracy of the AFL and later AFL-CIO. The very term "socialist" rubbed this gentry the wrong way. But today, when progressive winds are strong and people in academic and other intellectual fields are cold to the leaders of most unions, the top labor bureaucracy is very much in need of a "liberal" cover. For that reason, on a number of occasions, the AFL-CIO Federationist printed articles on the kind of socialists here and abroad who are "acceptable."

## World of Labor by George Morris

### SP's romance with Meany

A piece of literature titled "Rediscovering American Labor," a reprint of an article in the magazine, *Commentary*, of last April, is making the rounds in the labor movement, distributed by the AFL-CIO. At the recent convention of the New York State AFL-CIO, the delegates received a copy of the reprint in their kits.

The article is by Penn Kemble, a member of the staff of the League for Industrial Democracy, the organization that was for many years headed by the late Norman Thomas. Today the LID is headed by Michael Harrington, who is also chairman of the Socialist Party.

What has been happening to the LID and the SP under Harrington since they "rediscovered" U.S. labor must make Thomas turn in his grave. Whatever one may say of Norman Thomas' checkered political record, at least in his final years he played an active role for peace, denounced the Meany policy and often rapped members of his own party for playing the Meany game in connection with the Vietnam war.

The officials of the AFL-CIO encourage the distribution of a piece of literature like the Kemble reprint because they, too, did some "rediscovering" — of the SP after Norman Thomas, and they love it.

What could be sweeter to a mossback with a case-hardened mind, a breed still influential in U.S. labor leadership, than to have people who call themselves "socialists" give them an A-1 rating? That's what Kemble's piece is, and the LID is supplying it to the labor bureaucracy for distribution.

Kemble's piece is mostly pitched to intellectuals to win support for the Meany-led bureaucracy. What disturbs Kemble was the emergence of a group led by George Wald, the Harvard Nobel prize scientist, "who has become a spokesman for academic radicalism. Wald set out, in a united front with some labor leaders, to combat the hawk line of the AFL-CIO's officials and the racism that is still so rampant in many unions.

Kemble recalls the 1930s, when people in the academic field had an active role in the struggles of the unemployed and the rise of the CIO organizing movement, and contributed to the left ward trend of that period. He is apparently fearful lest a similar trend develop with the current sweep of militant struggles.

Kemble assures the intellectuals that things are different now, because the leadership of the AFL-CIO is full of vim and vigor.

It is well known, of course, that intellectuals and progressive people in general have been hostile toward the top labor leadership because of its support of a cold-war policy, even serving as a cover for CIA operations abroad, because of its support of the persecution of the Left during the McCarthyite fifties, and because of the tolerance by Meany's group of the racism in some unions, especially in construction.

What really happened, writes Kemble "is that many intellectuals became more conservative and abandoned labor."

Kemble takes up the defense of "labor," as he terms the top reactionary bureaucracy.

The statistics showing a steady decline for almost a generation of the percentage of the wage earners organized, are all wrong, claims Kemble.

He quotes an AFL-CIO economist who claims the "organizable" labor force is much smaller and so the percentage in the unions is really higher. But he doesn't answer the main criticism, especially that which came from the late Walter Reuther, the ex-socialist, that the AFL-CIO leadership is the "guardian of the status quo" and has not come up with ways to meet changes in the work force, the economy and the world.

As another measure of AFL-CIO vitality Kemble cites a claimed expenditure of \$6 to \$7 million by U.S. unions to aid the Democratic candidates in 1963. This figure is neither official nor proven, but Kemble doesn't explain why only a fraction of that amount came in the form of dollar-a-head collections of the Committee on Political Education (COPE).

Kemble admits that "perhaps the strongest charge" leveled at the AFL-CIO leadership is that "it stands as a barrier to Negro advancement." He claims that the unions and civil rights forces have "almost always stood together." One out of every three new union members today is black, he observes, but he ignores the fact that the bulk of these newly organized black workers come into unions led by strong critics of George Meany & Co.

How does Kemble treat the racism in the building trades and the decline of the percentage of black workers in them, as U.S. statistics show? What's "really significant," he writes, "is the speed and energy with which such discrimination is being eliminated." And he gives much credit for this non-existent "speed and energy" to the A. Philip Randolph Institute, of which SP member Bayard Rustin is director, and to the SP-run Workers Defense League that's been involved in some government-financed apprenticeship programs.

On foreign affairs, there is a "profound misunderstanding" of the position of the AFL-CIO under Meany and Jay Lovestone, his director of international affairs. Their policy has "many profoundly democratic and internationalist elements" with which liberals can "ally" Kemble discovered. The unions have actually developed "a proletarian internationalism," says Kemble (presumably referring to the cover that Lovestone's operators provide for the CIA).

And in case you didn't know, the AFL-CIO leaders didn't really support the Vietnam war and the Tilden-Ky government but the "focus of AFL-CIO policy has been the support of the Vietnam Confederation of Labor," writes Kemble.

Such are the ideological gymnastics the SP is engaging in today or of the AFL-CIO's bureaucracy.

(To be continued)



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STATINTL

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E. VLADIMIROV

## Imperialist Intelligence and Propaganda

STATINTL

IN OUR DAYS, the role of propaganda and intelligence as major foreign policy instruments of the imperialist states is growing all the time. B. Murty, an American professor, emphasises that the functions of camouflaged ideological coercion and subversion of world law and order are being carried out by means of propaganda.<sup>1</sup> In effect, Murty recognises the close connection between propaganda and intelligence.

The intelligence agencies do not, of course, conduct their propaganda activity openly, but they possess the necessary means to promote ideological subversion abroad and render it more effective. A network of secret agents and paid informers, bribed newspaper and magazine publishers, corrupt politicians and adventurers, to whom the intelligence service assigns the role of "charity workers" and "educationalists"—all this makes it possible for the intelligence service to exercise anonymous control in spreading propaganda and disinformation.

Richard Helms, the head of the CIA, stated in a memorandum to the government, that the psychological warfare must be placed fully under the control of the US intelligence service. Psychological warfare, he stressed, is a sphere of government activity which must be dealt with only by professionals acting in secret. An American professor, Ransom, who for a long time took part in the military research programme of Harvard University, holds that the role of the CIA in undertaking political and psychological subversive acts has increased so much that it has become a major instrument of political war, and has far exceeded the functions determined by the law on the establishment of the CIA.<sup>2</sup>

Some bourgeois scholars call this process "politicising" the intelligence service. "The

agent influencing political affairs abroad is becoming a central figure," wrote Bergh, a West German expert on intelligence.<sup>3</sup>

In this way, a kind of an organisationally independent sphere of so-called unofficial propaganda is forming. In the opinion of Western specialists and politicians, this type of propaganda has a number of advantages over the official one. A report "The American Image Abroad", submitted to the American Senate in 1968 by the Republican Coordinating Committee, stresses that the material being spread by non-governmental agencies is accepted in foreign countries with greater trust than that put out by the government. In view of this, the committee recommended the government to encourage by every possible means the American organisations issuing information and propaganda material for foreign countries.

A vivid example of the kind of unofficial propaganda directed against the USSR and other socialist countries is the activity of Radio Free Europe, officially an independent organisation, but virtually controlled by the US authorities.

Speaking in the US Senate in January 1971, Senator C. Case said that 1,642 employees of Free Europe and about 1,500 professional workers of the Liberty radio station were maintained by the CIA. These subversive centres make use of 49 transmitters bought with CIA money. The American intelligence service expends annually over \$30 million on these radio saboteurs. Hundreds of millions of dollars have travelled from the US state treasury to the accounts of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty for over 20 years. As for the assertions that they are financed from "private donations", it transpires that these donations do not even cover advertising expenses on appeals to the American public for money.

The US intelligence agencies secretly subsidi-

<sup>1</sup> See B. Murty, *Propaganda and World Public Order. The Legal Regulation of the Ideological Instrument of Coercion*, New Haven—London, 1968, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See H. Ransom, *The Intelligence Establishment*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1970, pp. 94, 239.

<sup>3</sup> H. Bergh, *ABC der Spione*, Pfaffenhofen, 1965, p. 83.



# Deeper and Deeper

## Revolution Next Door Latin America in the 1970s by Gary MacEoin

(Holt, Rinehart and Winston; \$6.95)

Gary MacEoin assembles the necessary facts to prove that revolution next door is inevitable. The Alliance for Progress has failed, and the reforms agreed on at Punta del Este have been blocked whenever anyone has tried to implement them. The disturbing new element in this book lies in the plentiful evidence that the United States may already be so enmeshed in Latin American economies as to find difficulty in disengagement when the firing begins. The situation is comparable to the early years in Vietnam when the extent of our involvement was large but hard to see.

Once again the role of imperialism is the cause. The Swedish authority, Gunnar Myrdal, is quoted as roughly estimating that "directly or indirectly through joint enterprises or other arrangements, United States corporations now control or decisively influence between 70 and 90 percent of the raw material resources of Latin America, and probably more than half of its modern manufacturing industry, banking, commerce, and foreign trade, as well as much of its public utilities." That high percentage of big business involvement and control means there are innumerable American families who will find disassociation from engagement in Latin America economically painful.

Our imperialism is also extending its neo-colonial tentacles into the social and political life. Latin American armed forces have been assimilated into the United States defense system under which participating countries receive advanced weapons and integrated training. Instruction includes ideology. The same old ruse of fighting "communist subversion" is being used to maintain the hemispheric status quo. And Latin American labor syndicates have been emasculated. Their leaders have been trained in our brand of trade unionism so expertly that they can easily be manipulated. The CIA, if Gary MacEoin is correct, is using the American Institute for Free Labor Development "to

corrupt and control popular movements."

According to MacEoin, we have also invaded Latin American culture, finding it beneficial to integrate Latin American higher education with our own machinery for establishing academic standing. We can then employ the properly trained nationals in our international industrial complex, or drain off the brains where shortages exist at home. Also we have monopolized the mass media so that they may play their part in cultural colonialism; our insistent advertising sells both our products and our dollar-sign notions of human needs.

The penetration thus appears to be complete. But what is happening? In Panama, Peru and Bolivia, power has been seized by the armies "to protect the people from the exploitation of local oligarchs and their international business allies." Chile has gone the same road by means of a democratic election. All through the continent, suppressed nationalist elements are taking heart. Even though it may be a long wait, they are holding out to regain the control of their destinies. MacEoin sees a parallel here with the pacification program in Indochina: "the more total the penetration the more negative the results. Political scientists must, in the future, cite this experience as no less significant than that of the Vietnam war when they discuss the limits of power of the great."

Virginia Freehafer

STATINTL

## World of Labor

By GEORGE MORRIS

## An old yellowed pamphlet

"In the main, the officialdom of the American trade union movement functions brazenly and aggressively as an agency of American imperialism at its worst. Our labor leaders are, with too few exceptions, primarily serving as labor lieutenants of American imperialism in the ranks of the organized and unorganized workers. On the whole, these trade union officials react swiftly and decisively to the needs and demands of the Yankee imperialists."

Guess who wrote the above. Or the following:

"Everyone knows that the whole policy of the American Federation of Labor officialdom in inspiring and making possible the organization of the so-called Pan-American Federation of Labor was largely a game calculated to help Ludwick and mislead the working masses of the Latin-American countries so as to paralyze and stifle their possibilities and capacities to resist the plans of Wall Street for imperialist domination and exploitation of these territories."

And the same person, referring to the AFL leadership's opposition to a delegation of non-Communist labor leaders to the USSR, wrote "reactionaries feel that such a delegation is dangerous to their campaign of slander and vilification of the Soviet Union." So the "most corrupt forces of the trade union officialdom were mobilized by them to crush the plan to send this American delegation." The writer further observed that "too often it is true that our American labor leaders pursue a policy far more reactionary than that pursued by some groups of powerful capitalists."

The above is from a pamphlet "The Labor Lieutenants of American Imperialism," published 45 years ago by the Daily Worker. I went in search for this 14-page yellowed pamphlet on receipt of a new pamphlet, a product of the same man, published by the AFL-CIO, entitled "Who is the Imperialist?"

The pamphlet, writes the director, is a history of "30 years of Communist territorial expansion as contrasted with the efforts of the free world to implement the principles of self-determination and national independence."

The director of the AFL-CIO's international affairs, as our read-

## THE LABOR LIEUTENANTS OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM



JAY LOVESTONE

author of the above-quoted 1926 pamphlet was Jay Lovestone.

Today, as for at least 40 years, it is Lovestone who is in the service of the "labor lieutenants of American imperialism." He has been the "CIA's man in labor" since the agency was set up after World War II.

Forty-five years ago Lovestone denounced AFL service to imperialism in Latin-America. But that operation was a very small one compared to the CIA cover operated by Lovestone's department called "American Institute for Free Labor Development," financed by the government to the tune of almost \$3 million annually.

Today it is Lovestone that pressures the State Department to bar U.S. labor contacts with Soviet trade unionists, as it did in 1957.

In face of the extreme hawk position of the group of labor officials Lovestone now serves, few can dispute his 1926 observation that some labor officials are "far more reactionary" than some capitalists.

It is precisely because the tide of opposition is running so strongly against the Meany-Lovestone operation that they reactivated their old red-baiting yarns about "Soviet imperialism" and issued

the scurrilous pamphlet. It was certainly timed to "balance" the Pentagon Papers exposure of the most brazen imperialist conspiracy in modern times — a conspiracy in which the Meany-Lovestone clique were partners.

Thomas W. Braden, now a columnist, in 1950-53 was assistant to CIA director Allan Dulles. He also went in search for an old "creased yellowed" piece of paper, as he described it. In an article in the May 29, 1967, Saturday Evening Post magazine entitled, "I Am Glad the CIA is Immoral," Braden defended the CIA even as a scandal raged over disclosure that the CIA set up a gigantic network of phony foundations, or used existing institutions, as conduits for financing student, union and cultural organizations as covers for CIA operations in many areas abroad.

That yellowed piece of paper Braden described was a receipt from Irving Brown, Lovestone's traveling agent, for \$15,000 "from the vaults of the CIA" given him by Braden "to pay off strong arm squads in Mediterranean ports" who broke Communist-led strikes.

"Into the crisis stepped Lovestone and his assistant, Irving Brown," wrote Braden. "With funds from Dubinsky's union, they organized Force Ouvriere, a non-Communist union. When they ran out of money, they appealed to the CIA. Thus began the secret subsidy of free trade unions which soon spread to Italy."

Braden said the CIA knew Lovestone was spending "nearly two million dollars annually," and went to his superiors in the AFL (presumably George Meany, David Dubinsky and the late Matthew Wolf) for some accounting. But he was simply told "Lovestone and his bunch are doing a good job."

Lovestone, wrote Braden, "had an enormous grasp of foreign-intelligence operations."

Look who's calling the USSR "imperialist"!

STATINTL

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## World of Labor by George Morris

### The 'labor' war criminals

The whole country is talking about how the people of the United States were swindled into the Indochina war—the greatest mass deception since Hitler launched the Nazi march toward “world leadership.” But as the AFL-CIO building facing Washington's Lafayette Park, directly opposite the White House, the occupants are silent.

George Meany's people are glum. They know we are nearing judgement day. From what the New York Times has already printed and the avalanche of material now appearing in the press, in defiance of Attorney General John Mitchell, people are beginning to find out who belongs on the war criminals' list. And when that list is completed, George Meany and some of his cronies, will be, or should be, on it.

We must not forget that the AFL-CIO bureaucracy had a very important part in the gigantic conspiracy the details of which are only now coming out.

Those of us who have been saying—and were maligned and persecuted for saying it—that a military-industrial complex running the government engineered the conspiracy and deceived the people, have always pointed a finger at those labor leaders who had a hand in it. Their part in the plot was clear even before the first U.S. “advisers” began to arrive in Vietnam.

In 1966, the people learned of how the Central Intelligence Agency operated a chain of phony foundations through which it financed student, labor, cultural and other groups as covers for its global operations. The news media then put the spotlight on the International Affairs Department of the AFL-CIO, run by George Meany and its director Jay Lovestone. A number of unions were especially distinguished in CIA operations under Jay Lovestone's department.

Among those given prominence were leaders of the American Newspaper Guild; the Retail Clerks International Association; former leaders of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic and of the State County and Municipal Employees; Joe Beirne's Communi-

cation Workers of America and, of course, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union whose leaders originally used Lovestone to head their international affairs.

Recall the article by Thomas Braden (now a N.Y. Post columnist) in the May 20, 1967 Saturday Evening Post (now defunct), entitled, “I'm Glad the CIA is Immoral.” He told how, as assistant to CIA director Allan Dulles, he (Braden) arranged a network of conduits and phony “foundations” to finance people in unions, student and cultural organizations to provide cover for CIA's dirty work.

Braden told how in the 1950-53 period, he personally handed out CIA money to Irving Brown, Lovestone's assistant, mentioning \$15,000 in one case, to pay off strikebreaking waterfront gangsters in France who operated in the guise of “pro-American anti-Communists.”

He described how Lovestone was given about \$2 million a year to spend for CIA “labor” operations, and how he obtained assurance from the leaders of the AFL that it was money spent effectively.

In that period even the auto union's leaders accepted CIA money for some operations in Europe. Walter Reuther later claimed that only once did his group take \$50,000 from Braden.

So the record is quite clear on the cozy relations that existed between the controlling top bureaucracy of labor and the State Department and CIA; at least since 1950. And it was all “justified” in the name of anti-Communism.

In those years Irving Brown was the AFL's “roving ambassador” and he was the field man for the operation

coordinated at Washington headquarters by Lovestone, Meany, the late Matthew Woll and David Dubinsky. This was before Dien Bien Phu, where the French colonialists met disastrous defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese headed by Ho Chi Minh. In those days, the AFL's Federationist frequently carried articles by Brown in, which his main target was the French government on the ground that it was inept and not an effective force against “Communism” in Asia. He harped on the urgency of a U.S. takeover of the job.

Operating out of Tokyo was Richard Deverall; the AFL's East Asia agent, who wrote in a similar vein in the Federationist.

This Lovestone-Meany line for a U.S. takeover in Indochina was the policy of the AFL's bureaucracy long before it became acknowledged State Department policy. In the AFL-CIO 1965 convention in San Francisco, this line was made “palatable” to some opponents of the policy, and trimmed up as “solidarity” with trade unions in Saigon.

Two years ago the dominant Meany-Lovestone clique split from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions they were instrumental in founding in 1949, because even the right wing leaders of unions abroad refused to align themselves with the Meany-Lovestone-CIA operations.

As recently as February, the AFL-CIO executive council went on record supporting expansion of the Indochina operation to Laos. The ILGWU's convention in Miami last month, deaf to the rising cry for peace again restated its extreme hawk position.

Ironically, these “labor” hawks are even to the right of some of the Southerners like Senators B. Everett Jordan (D-NC) and Herman Talmadge (D-Ga), who shifted position for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam.

The part some union leaders played in hoodwinking us into the disastrous Indochina war shames us before the world. We must not forget. The guilty must be exposed. Their treachery must be bared. They are not labor leaders. They are the tools of imperialism in labor's ranks.

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The General Policy Statement  
And Labor Program of the  
League of Revolutionary Black Workers

## World of Labor by George Morris

### Meany's ILO antics

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So rabid is the anti-communism of the AFL-CIO hawk leaders that it has led them to the most extreme stupidity. So stupid, in fact, that even the New York Times has lost editorial patience with their antics.

The latest episode is the controversy over the International Labor Organization, a UN agency, that the Federation's leaders frequently boast was originally proposed by Samuel Gompers, founder of the AFL.

A year ago, the ILO's conference elected Wilfred Jenks, a Briton, as director general. Backing for Jenks came mainly from the employer's and AFL-CIO-influenced unions, while the Soviet delegates and those allied with them voted against him. Nevertheless, for the first time since the USSR's affiliation with the ILO, one of its union leaders was named by Jenks as one of his five assistants. That was more than George Meany and Jay Lovestone, his foreign affairs director, could take.

They immediately sought U.S. withdrawal from the ILO, a step welcomed by the business section of the tri-partite representation to the UN body. With lightning speed, the Senate appropriations sub-committee last August followed with a vote not to appropriate \$3.7 million in dues owed the ILO for six months. In effect, that meant notice of withdrawal from the ILO.

Since ILO rules require two years notice for withdrawal, the debt has since escalated to more than \$10 million. With the U.S. share 25 percent of the ILO budget, much of the organization's work was curtailed. The Senate voted 48 to 28 to deny the ILO funds with the usually anti-labor senators voting for Meany's request, while those friendlier to unions either voted against or absenting themselves.

Meanwhile, as the months rolled on, the stupid action became embarrassing to the Administration and to much of Congress. The New York Times, reflecting that embarrassment, ran several editorials critical of Meany and his friends in Congress, as it did last Saturday, charging this "kind of political blackmail is

as self-defeating in diplomatic terms as it is illegal under the rules of the United Nations."

In an effort to crawl out of the mess, the Nixon administration, with Meany's backing, is proposing payment of the debt and the balance for two years, giving notice of withdrawal, and further warning to the ILO that if it doesn't mend its ways, the U.S. will stay withdrawn. But it isn't so easy.

Rep. John J. Rooney, arch reactionary Brooklyn Democrat, chairman of the House Appropriations Sub-Committee, served notice that he won't let the matter come before his committee until the ILO ousts not only the Soviet assistant director but Jenks as well. He says the ILO is "anti-American" and "I am just going to harass hell out of them." So Mr. Nixon better find some ways to defeat Rep. Rooney before he can work out the crawl-out tactic.

The ILO has steadily lost the favor of AFL-CIO leaders since the fifties when the USSR was admitted against Meany's objections. After years of struggle against Meany efforts to disqualify the Soviet trade unions on grounds they are "government agencies," the ILO conducted surveys of both U.S. and Soviet trade unions in 1960 and came up with two book-size reports picturing the Soviet trade unions in a much better light than the U.S. unions.

Then came the 1966 ILO conference when a majority of the labor delegates (including some from affiliates of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) elected a representative of Poland as chairman of the sessions. The AFL-CIO delegates walked out on Meany's instructions (while Walter Reuther blasted the action).

The stage for the AFL-CIO's eventual withdrawal was set. The naming of a Soviet representative as assistant director was the last straw. By that

time, however, the AFL-CIO had also withdrawn from the ICFTU, mainly because its leaders didn't have the power to force affiliates into an anti-Communist policy or ban relations with the socialist land unions and affiliates of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

At the moment the AFL-CIO's "internationalism" is limited to fronting for the State Department and CIA in Latin America, Africa and Asia under a "payoff," as Senator J. W. Fulbright put it, of some \$10 million annually to finance the operations.

Never in its modern history was the U.S. labor movement as isolated from world labor as today and never was the prestige of U.S. labor leaders as low. And not since the days when Gompers sought some ways to lessen the competitive menace of foreign workers (whom labor agents were bringing in by the shipload) is U.S. labor as in need of constructive international relations as today. An ILO effective enough to establish by international rule at least some decent minimum labor conditions globally would lessen the exploitive power of international corporations. Similarly, real international labor cooperation could be an effective help—more effective than the fruitless efforts of U.S. unions to stop imports.

While the Meany group continued its foolish antics, representatives of the WFTU and the World Confederation of Labor (formerly the Christian international) held a constructive conference in Paris and agreed on common action to make the ILO more responsive to the needs of the world's working class. Similarly the powerful unaffiliated Japanese unions and the major union of India, affiliated with ICFTU, greeted the move for cooperation.

The ILO has too long been little more than a body for periodic gatherings of representatives of governments and government-picked representatives of labor and employers. Since the socialist and developing countries came into it, there has been pressure to make the ILO more meaningful.

## World of Labor by George Morris

### May Day's new spirit

May Day, recognized in every section of the globe as the day of review of working class strength, progress and fighting spirit, reflects this year more than the usual yearly strides forward. The U.S. is not isolated from this more unified world progress. The tremors of rebellion are felt in many sectors of our life as those who were in Washington last week certainly realized.

A major development since our last May Day is the worldwide trend towards unity of action by the organizations representing 200,000,000 organized workers. Only the AFL-CIO is isolated, having withdrawn from the conservatively-led International Confederation of Free Trade Unions it helped to found in 1949 to serve as an organ of U.S. "anti-Communist" policy.

So strong is the surge for worldwide unity for peace and the other real objectives of working people that even the ICFTU's executive body had to bow to it. The ICFTU abandoned interference with its many affiliates that have established fraternal relations and common struggle programs with unions of socialist lands and other affiliates of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

There is serious talk now of developing a giant world-wide united front to embrace the ICFTU, the WFTU, the World Confederation of Labor (formerly the Christian International) and the regional federations of unions in Latin America, Africa, and Arab lands.

Observing the unity trend, Pierre Gensus, general secretary of the WFTU, said at the recent meeting in Paris marking the 25th anniversary of the WFTU that "as a result of objective facts, which they are willy-nilly forced to recognize, changes are taking place within the ICFTU and the WCL. These realities are the pressing necessity for the working class to combine its forces in the face of the policies of the powerful monopolies, whose power extends beyond national boundaries, and to oppose with a united front the alliance of the monopolies."

It is the refusal by the leaders of the AFL-CIO to recognize these realities and their persistence in the game of providing a labor cover for the bourgeoisie that isolated them from the flow of

world events.

More countries are turning away from capitalism. The government based on a socialist-Communist united front in Chile and the anti-imperialist oriented changes in the Peruvian and Bolivian governments are a further indication of such development. More African countries are joining the lands taking the "non-capitalist" path.

Capitalism, rusty and rotting, has little attraction today for developing countries which are more attracted to the socialist countries, where the new socialist system is giving tangible evidence that it is truly the society of the future. The people of the Soviet Union, at the start of a new five-year plan, are projecting new social and economic advances. So are all the other socialist lands.

In the U.S., too, the working class is moving in common with the worldwide trend despite the efforts of the George Meanys to build a wall around it. There were many tens of thousands of trade unionists in Washington and San Francisco among the more than a million who rallied against war, racism and repression, just as people are rallying today in every land.

The San Francisco rally had the endorsement of the San Francisco, Richmond, San Mateo and San Jose central labor councils. In Washington federal workers by the thousands came in defiance of their top union leaders.

No less important was the higher level of unity and maturity that the demonstrations showed by comparison with 1969. The "crazies" and ultra-leftist provocateurs were either absent or revealed their impotence. An outfit that calls itself "Progressive Labor Party" blanketed the demonstration with leaflets calling for a "break-away" meeting at a spot along Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington along the line of

march. No one joined them. Most just laughed at them. But in 1969 the same group was able to fool several thousand people to gather at the Department of Justice for a confrontation with tear-gas-throwing, club-swinging police — just what the enemies of the demonstration had sought to provoke.

Nor was the antipathy evident of students to the trade unions which had been evident to a large extent in 1969. The big majority who came to Washington were young people, and today many of the young people distinguish between a Meany and men like David Livingston, Cleveland Robinson, Patrick Gorman, Harold Gibbons, Charles Hayes, Leonard Woodcock and other union leaders who worked for the demonstrations.

Among the important steps since last May Day was the setting up of the Labor-University Alliance headed by Nobel prize-winning Professor George Wald of Harvard. LUA aims to build a united front of labor, academia, students and intellectuals in all fields.

The Washington-San Francisco demonstrations were more than a coalition for peace. They united the organizations fighting for black liberation, the welfare rights movement, the tenant organizations, the trade unionists fighting anti-union repression, the women's rights groups and the defense movement for Angela Davis and all political prisoners. They unite for peace, knowing there cannot be progress on any front without peace.

This realization is the basis for the coalition that can continue and expand beyond the day when the last American is withdrawn from Indochina. Main attention of this unity will then be directed to problems of the rotting inner cities; of jobs for all on the basis of production for peace, not war; of catching up with the long neglect of construction of houses, hospitals, schools, and of eliminating the racist pattern still in force in much of U.S. life.

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