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Solidarity Day

PUBLIC SERVICE RESEARCH COUNCIL

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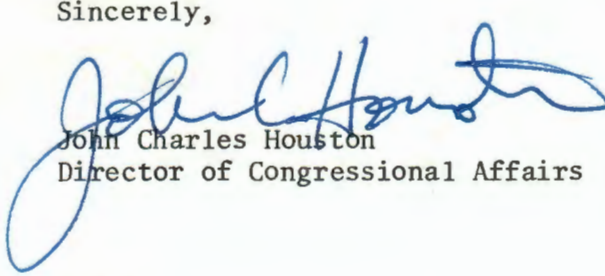
Morton Blackwell, Special Assistant for Public Liaison
Room 134
Old Executive Office Building
17th and Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Morton:

Enclosed is the material which we discussed. Please feel free to distribute the copies of the articles which I have enclosed. If you need additional copies, feel free to contact me. I have a few available.

I would appreciate it if you would keep the memo confidential for the time being. If you see a need to use it otherwise, please contact me first to discuss any other use.

Sincerely,



John Charles Houston
Director of Congressional Affairs

JCH/dc

MEMORANDUM

To: Morton Blackwell,
Special Assistant for Public Liaison

Re: Political Activities of Public Sector Unions and Affiliated Groups

Date September 15, 1981

The impending Solidarity Day, orchestrated by the AFL-CIO public employee unions, has raised a number of issues regarding union political interests and objectives at the national level. What these unions are trying to accomplish is clouded by leftist political activity which has strayed from its traditional role of opposing Republicans and allying with Democrats.

Since January, demonstrations against President Reagan have occurred almost weekly in Washington. Some accounts of these demonstrations are included in the enclosed news clippings. These demonstrations have been led primarily by the "kooky" left wing, including the Communist Workers Party. Although very well publicized, these demonstrations have been highly unsuccessful. The real effect has been to demonstrate that the ultra left wing/communists have not been widely supported, nor do they have much influence in and among themselves. NOTE: A number of organizations affiliated with the Institute for Policy Study have participated in these demonstrations. More on this later.

The succession of legislative defeats suffered by the left wing (which is synonymous with labor unions) has led to increasing political desperation at the union national levels. These unions, unable to corner a legislative majority in Congress, have veered into the left wing of the Democratic party. This stance has manifested itself in a number of ways. For example, Bernard Demezuk was hired to be the Legislative Representative for AFGE at the national level. Demezuk is an operative of the most extreme left wing persuasion, which includes the Communist party and IPS. Interestingly, Demezuk was included in a May 2 demonstration which was planned at a March 20, 1981 planning session. Another demonstration on July 18 was also planned at this March session. The intent of these demonstrations was obvious by their titles, "Citywide Unity Demonstration Against Reagan/Barry Budget Cuts."

Demezuk was hired by Jane McMichael who is the chief lobbyist for AFGE (hired by Ken Blaylock). She is identified with left wing operations, not only at AFGE, but in prior employment. These demonstrations are indicative of a deep political schism in AFGE between leftists and the conservative mainline members who nearly defeated Ken Blaylock in his re-election campaign; this, given Blaylock's enormous political advantages as president.

Memorandum to Mr. Blackwell
September 15, 1981
Page two

A Washington Post report of the May 2 demonstration depicts 100 people led by Communist Worker Party members in a 45-minute demonstration, protesting the President's budget cuts. Obviously, AFGE is not afraid to participate openly in Communist and IPS related projects.

As you may already be aware, the Government Accountability Project, which was initiated by IPS, is jointly funded and manned by AFGE. Refer to the enclosed news release citing one of their complaints, jointly authored and signed, stating that information on the Government Accountability Project is available from AFGE. The Whistle Blower Campaign, initiated by AFGE, and the Government Accountability Project by IPS have serious implications in regard to national security.

On May 22, AFGE held a well publicized, political strategy session in Washington, DC. This was billed as an emergency session to block the Reagan budget cuts. The meeting was closed to the press and even to AFGE members.

A February 3, 1981 memo to Jeanette Abrams (managing editor of the AFGE newsletter) from Demezuk (who lists his title as Organizer and Political Coordinator for AFGE Council 211) outlines a strategy to confront the Barry administration. This memo also includes discussion of a "spring offensive." "We will continue to mount political pressure on the Mayor and City Council to end the lay offs and contracting out. This political pressure may come in the form of lobbying, letter writing, phone calls, press conferences, demonstrations, protests." This memo describes Demezuk's and AFGE's plans to impair the Washington DC government over issues of budget and other political matters. The purpose is to radicalize the District government and thus, influence Congress.

Also among the enclosed clippings is an article from Political Affairs (a Communist party theoretical publication) identifying various officials from AFGE and other public sector unions acting in concert on DC council elections. This reflects an increasing association between left wing public sector unions and the Communist party, as well as the publicly more palatable organization, IPS.

An article (also enclosed) by Maurice Jackson, a self proclaimed Communist, discusses the fact that AFGE was receptive to his candidacy for DC City Council. He says, "After the forum, the majority of the AFGE Council 211 leaders and members present voiced support for my candidacy. On election day, they organized pollsters to distribute our campaign literature."

A June 13, 1980 article from the Metropolitan Review discusses the connection of AFGE with IPS, and the role of Jane McMichael in this association. McMichael's role is "to reorient the legislative and political activity into left wing directions, both in domestic and foreign policy." AFGE represents 65% of the employees of the Department of Defense, Navy, Army and Air Force. The article continues, "Its (IPS's) program is to develop a wide base beneath the elected leadership of the federal, state and county municipal government, who are willing,

Memo to Mr. Blackwell
September 15, 1981
Page three

on-call, to oppose the democratic procedures supported by American people, including strikes and work stoppages in government departments." IPS is very aware of the power of public sector unions to control the institutions in which they work. They realize the political power of public employees who are organized, indoctrinated, and politically motivated to manipulate those in authority. McMichael has represented AFGE at meetings held under the auspices of the Progressive Alliance, which is financed by the ultra left wing union boss William Wimpisinger. Others noted in the article as attending were Bella Abzug, former Congressman Donald Frazier and representatives from IPS.

Also enclosed is the transcript of an executive council meeting at which Jane McMichael, Ken Blaylock and Bernard Demezuk were present, on December 11, 1980, to discuss strategy. On page 577, Mr. Capland is speaking of a resolution which was carried and adopted unanimously: "That AFGE will establish liaison with progressive research and development organizations, such as the IPS, to assist AFGE in developing a detailed, specific, reasonable alternative to administrative and Congressional tax and budget reorganization and contracting out proposals."

Kenneth Blaylock is president of the Public Employee Department of the AFL-CIO. Although he does not have a great deal of prestige within AFL-CIO, he wields massive political power through PED. Enclosed is a copy of their newsletter. Note that the tone is openly hostile to the Reagan administration. Members of PED fall primarily in the Kennedy wing of the Democratic party. They believe themselves to be the leading political option for those who are not conservative Democrats or members of the Republican party.

It is obvious from the enclosed articles, that it is the avowed political purpose of AFGE to join with any and all opponents of the United States government in an effort to circumvent normal democratic procedures for the purpose of obtaining either short term political goals or more widespread destruction of democratic processes and values. There is increasingly volatile evidence of this, of which we believe Solidarity Day (which could be marginally successful) is an example.

attachment

Political action is center of AFGE strategy

Political action at the local level is the focus of the strategy program adopted by the 400-plus AFGE local leaders who attended the Memorial weekend strategy conference held in Washington, D.C. The full text of the plan (reproduced in the June edition of *The Government Standard*) was endorsed in the regular meeting of the union's 19-member National Executive Council the day after the strategy session ended.

Here are highlights of the Action Program:

- The political action capability of AFGE will be built in congressional districts through formal political action committees at every level of the union.
- A public education campaign will be devised to give citizens a clear picture of the impact of proposed Administration budget cuts.
- The union will join and form coalitions to fight budget cuts.
- Union actions will follow a program of gradually escalating militant confrontations starting during the month of June and culminating in the early Fall.

The Action Program contains a calendar of activities, including:

June: Educate AFGE local members on the program itself.

July: Key selected sites in the Washington, D.C.

area will be picked out for demonstrations. Supportive demonstrations will be held in various other AFGE districts to inform other communities, involve local allies, and provide AFGE members unable to come to Washington with an opportunity to participate.

July and August: Face-to-face lobbying, through congressional breakfasts and other meetings with members of Congress.

September: National Day of Protest, involving the maximum number of AFGE members in conjunction with the Budget Coalition of the AFL-CIO and other allied organizations.

October: Membership vote on options for direct action protests if the threats to public service continue.

In their closing comments, the strategy conference participants stressed that success depends on full participation by AFGE's rank and file:

"We believe this program represents a necessary recognition by AFGE of the need to strengthen and enlarge our efforts in the area of political and direct action. We make these recommendations with the knowledge that they cannot succeed without the complete and continuing involvement of every AFGE member."

Even though the public debate in Washington has turned from the general topic of the federal budget to the murkier issue of a tax cut, there has been no relief for federal workers and retirees from the squeeze.

Tax cut:

President Reagan and his advisors are attempting to paint everyone who opposes *their* tax cut as "traitors" to the budget mandate. Certainly, large corporations (about 1,700 of the richest in the nation) will hang with the Reagan plan because they stand to receive about 80 percent of the tax reductions generated by the Reagan plan. Then too, among the biggest gainers are the oil, petrochemical and utility industries. Oil companies alone will pick up more than \$70 billion in additional cash over the next ten years under the plan. People who live on dividends and stocks (unearned income) will also appreciate the plan.

Losers (traitors?) are the common working people in the nation. Most individuals earning less than \$20,000 a year would pay higher taxes under the plan if it is fully implemented. The poorest among us, those earning less than \$10,000 a year, would end up paying 28 percent more in taxes.

Democrats in Congress are pushing for a more reasonable income tax re-

Issues

duction incorporating the concepts of credits for social security and public employee contributions; establishment of an economic revitalization board with labor and management representation and aid to small corporations and firms which are labor intensive (a job creating feature).

Budget cuts:

The Senate and the House approved the first budget resolution in mid-May imposing severe budget cuts that President Reagan had requested. This means that unless authorizing committees come up with alternative cost saving plans—or if (and this is highly unlikely unless Congress does a complete turnaround)—the House and Senate both ignore their own instructions to themselves and reject the cuts in the second budget resolution vote around mid-August—big losers will be—

Retirees—who will not receive another cost-of-living adjustment to their annuities until Mar. 1982.

Federal workers on injury compensation—who will suffer from scheduled changes in the Federal Employees' Compensation Act which will impose income taxes on compensation pay-

ments; require a three-day waiting period before their pay is continued (losing three days of income); have their continuation of pay provide only 80 percent rather than 100 percent of regular earnings; and lose compensation payments altogether at age 65; in addition to losing their own twice-annual cost-of-living adjustments.

Agency closures and rifts and more contracting-out—Whole agencies, including the Community Services Administration, CETA and the Consumer Product Safety Commission and Public Health Service Hospitals are scheduled to shut down. Direct job losses and indirect service cuts will affect millions of Americans. Additionally major portions of programs serving the poor, veterans, students, the elderly, minorities, the unemployed and others are part of the budget cuts.

In a move to juggle the federal books, more contracting-out is planned in VA, the Department of Defense and the General Services Administration with guard service, food preparation and laundry and dietetic services topping the list for study.

Action: Even if you have already done so, contact your members of Congress again with an urgent message to change this course and reassert a humane and sensible budget for 1981.

Federal workers still targeted in bill imposing 'offset'

Although the Reagan Administration seems to have backed off the harshest proposals to cut Social Security benefits, it still persists with a provision to knock out earned Social Security benefits for federal employees. That proposal also has the support of some Democrats.

The so-called "offset" provision is alive and kicking in H.R. 3207, the measure sponsored by House Ways and Means Committee Chairman J. J. Pickle (D-Tex) and supported by the Administration. That part of the bill

FAIR urges POCS to preserve COLA

FAIR, the Fund for Assuring an Independent Retirement, is continuing its fight against the proposed merger of the federal retirement system with Social Security. John E. Cosgrove, chairman of the coalition representing 26 groups including AFGE, recently testified before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee on the threat public employees face from proposals for universal mandatory Social Security coverage. Asserting that such a proposal unfairly discriminates against federal employees, Cosgrove called on Congress to keep its promise to public workers who paid money into the system expecting certain benefits when they retire. Cosgrove also asked the Committee to recommend that the current COLA arrangement be maintained to protect federal workers and federal retirees from further erosion of their benefits.

Job protection for guard technicians

AFGE is contacting members of Congress in support of HR 1463, a bill to allow guard technicians who have been separated from the National Guard to retain their civilian jobs provided they can perform the required duties and have 10 or more years of service.

National President Ken Blaylock is sending a letter, expressing AFGE's position to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service of the U.S. House of Representatives.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to:

COFEPE, Suite 501
1325 Mass. Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005



COFEPE'S POLITICAL ACTION ISSN: 0198-6260 is the official publication of the American Federation of Government Employees' Committee on Federal Employee Political Education. *POLITICAL ACTION* is published biweekly when Congress is in session. Contribution of \$15 a year qualifies members for receipt of this publication. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. Jeanette Abrams, managing editor.

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

would eliminate one dollar of Social Security benefits owed to retired federal workers for every dollar of civil service annuities they receive.

In a "dear colleague" letter circulated by FAIR, the retirement coalition of 26 groups including AFGE, members of Congress were alerted to the "pernicious" aspects of the proposed offset.

Signed by FAIR's Executive Director, John Cosgrove the letter goes on to express concern for active workers and retirees who "have relied on Social Security benefits to supplement their income in retirement."

Cosgrove chided proponents of the measure which would confiscate these "earned benefits" for their "tendency to forget that retirees who receive Social Security benefits have worked for and contributed toward such benefits for at least the period required by law . . ."

FAIR also is critical of the adjustment formula proposed in the bill which "redirects the Social Security system away from its primary social adequacy objective and does so only with respect to a specific target group," civil service workers.

Attack on FEHB knocked cold

When John Ashbrook (R-III) added his traditional attack on the federal employee health benefit program with language outlawing payment for abortions, he probably thought he would see a replay of last year, with funding for federal agencies held up while the issue was debated.

Ashbrook inserted language into H.R. 3512, a bill to extend supplemental appropriations for most government agencies after the continuing resolutions expired on June 5.

Ashbrook's plan was knocked cold after members of the conference committee considering the bill agreed to accept the Senate version of the bill which deleted his amendment.

AFGE lobbyists did a lot of home work on the issue and circulated a persuasive position paper pointing out that the amendment would have outlawed all payment for abortions, even where the life of the mother is endangered by pregnancy; and including treatments prescribed for complications arising from the pregnancy.

VA cuts restored at least for now

Congress has the tacit approval of the Reagan Administration to act to restore money for 6,800 VA jobs and continued operation of over 70 VA offices. Joe Young, editor of the Federal Employees' News Digest, reports that Reagan Administration officials said they have no objections to expected action by Congress to put the money back.

House report lambasts contractors

AFGE has been successful in getting an important part of its defense message across to the House Armed Services Committee. A report issued by the committee on the Department of Defense authorization bill agrees with AFGE's stand on the necessity of beefing-up the federal civilian work force at DoD installations across the country and curtailing contractors.

According to the report, the shortage of civilian personnel is one of the Army's most critical readiness problems because it interferes with unit cohesiveness and disrupts training cycles. Every day approximately 28,000 soldiers are removed from their units to perform essential duties that could be done more efficiently by civilians, the report notes.

For the Department of Navy, the committee has recommended that \$12-million be spent for an increase of 300 civilian workers at Navy supply centers. It also calls for the hiring of an additional 122 civilians for the administration of Commercial Industrial Type Activities.

In line with AFGE legislative positions, the defense bill, if passed, would call for a ceiling for civilian personnel of 1,031,900—7,000 more than requested by the Reagan Administration. The result would be an overall increase of 38,900 civilian workers for fiscal 1982.

Dealing with another issue of major importance to AFGE members, the House Armed Services Committee rejected proposals calling for the contracting-out of entire military medical facilities. According to the committee there's no evidence that such a move would result in a significant cost savings for DoD.

Give to COFEPE

AFL-CIO reports on 96th Congress

The AFL-CIO Department of Legislation has issued a booklet which portrays labor's legislative activities on Capitol Hill during 1979-80.

"The Peoples Lobby — An AFL-CIO Report on the 96th Congress" replaces "Labor Looks at Congress." It features a new format including a two-year summary of lobbying efforts and the voting record of members of Congress on major labor issues.

Copies of this publication are available for \$1.00 each; \$90 for 100 copies. Checks should be made payable to AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer and sent to: Department of Information, AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

At last, a bill we can support

The troubled auto industry is getting some moral support and legislative assistance from AFGE on Capitol Hill. AFGE is actively supporting a bill (H.R. 3375) aimed at helping the auto industry by establishing within the National Aeronautics and Space Administration a comprehensive program of research and development.

Local 2182, representing NASA research employees at the Lewis center in Ohio, has been actively lobbying for the introduction and passage of this bill for several years.

The "National Automotive Research Act of 1981" would make NASA the lead agency in America's attempt to develop an automobile that is capable of competing with Japanese imports. Under NASA's guidance, government laboratories, private industry and educational institutions would conduct tests on increased fuel efficiency, safety, reliability, decreased dependence on foreign oil, reductions in adverse environmental effects, and on other problems

Extending the deadline on spouse offsets

In a separate measure, Rep. J. J. Pickle (D-Tex) has offered a plan to add another five-year grace period for those spouses of Social Security beneficiaries who would stand to lose their claim to spouse benefits if current law goes into effect as scheduled on Dec. 1, 1982. The Pickle bill extends the deadline to Dec. 1, 1987.

OPM-AFGE join forces opposing medicare switch

The Office of Personnel Management is siding with AFGE in opposition to a proposal currently pending in the House Ways and Means Committee to require that federal employees health plans assume the primary cost of medicare funding.

OPM, which keeps the records on such things, recently pointed out to Rep. Andrew Jacobs (D-Ind)—sponsor of the proposal—that the effect of the move would be to increase the average premium on health insurance policies by 21 percent. But—more dramatically—it would hit hardest on those plans with high concentrations of federal retirees where premiums could be expected to increase by more than 70 percent.

Noting another irony, OPM pointed out that the proposal represents another cost increase from one branch of government to another, since government picks up more than half the premium payments of employees.

confronting the automotive industry.

Under the bill, NASA would be appropriated \$25,000,000 for fiscal 1982 to carry the mission.

Hoyer sworn in June 3

Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md) is the newest member of Congress. He was sworn in by House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill during ceremonies in the Capitol on June 3.

AFGE was a key supporter in Hoyer's victory, providing radio time and volunteer workers for both his primary challenge and in the special general election on May 19.

THE PRESIDENT'S
TAX PLAN WAS NOT
DESIGNED TO...



BRING ABOUT
SOCIAL CHANGE



IT WILL BRING
ECONOMIC CHANGE
FOR THE WEALTHY



THE REST OF YOU WILL
GET SPARE CHANGE



WASSERMAN '81

Who really pays? Not the big boys

Did you know that 14 big corporations with combined earnings of \$3.5 billion paid **no** federal taxes (1978 figures)? That there are millionaires who pay **no** taxes?

You and other workers pay **your** fair share. But (1978 figures):

- 30 corporations with combined earnings of \$14.5 billion paid less than 10 percent;

- 10 of the largest banks paid only 6.3 percent on \$20 billion earnings (a far lower rate than the average working person pays);

- 145 firms from the Fortune 500 paid an effective tax rate of only 18.6 percent (the statutory rate is 46 percent).

Okay, you say, so some businesses fudge a little on taxes. But not everybody's favorites, the oil companies.

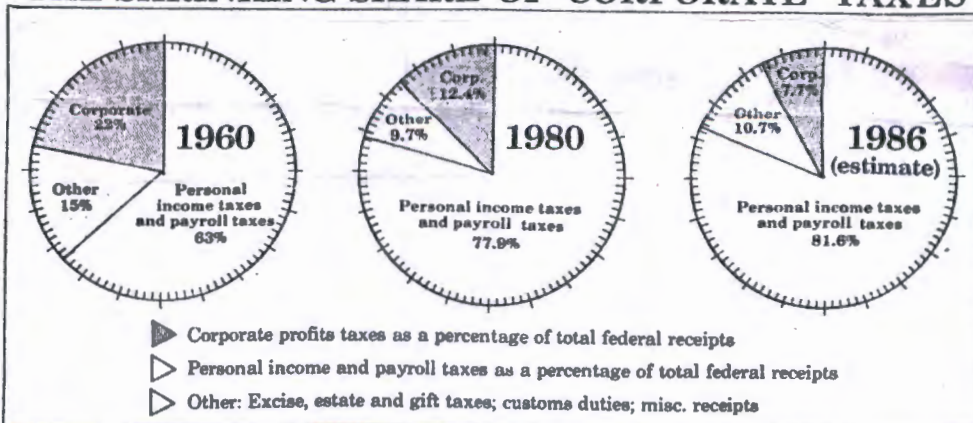
Sorry . . . wrong again! Here's the tax some of the oil companies were paying on worldwide earnings (1978 figures) while you were paying full rate:

- Exxon 11.4 percent on \$8 billion
- Texaco 6.1 on \$1.5 billion
- Gulf 1.8 on \$2 billion
- Atlantic Richfield 5.5 on \$1.3 billion
- Marathon 5.2 on \$717 million
- Standard (Ohio) 1.5 on \$594 million

Now with all this tax-dodging (all

legal, too), you'd think President Reagan might say: Hey, we can balance the budget (that is, after all, this Administration's Holy Grail) and end inflation by tightening up on tax loopholes. Then we won't have to cut off food stamps for the hungry, reduce unemployment comp, mess up OSHA, slash health and education programs.

THE SHRINKING SHARE OF CORPORATE TAXES



SOURCES: Economic Report of the President, January 1981 & FY82 Budget Revisions, OMB, March 1981

In the bitter wake of the May 7 Democratic defeat in the House, two leading liberals expressed concern for the long term consequences of the so-called "Reagan Economic Recovery Plan."

Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz): "I think, a year from now when it's obvious the medicine isn't working, interest rates are up, the economy is sluggish and energy prices are raised again, Reagan will be about where Jimmy Carter was."

Rep. Norman D. Hicks (D-Wash): "Now the Republicans take the responsibility for what happens to prices, interest rates, jobs and housing starts. I think in six months, we can show people we offered a very conservative, cautious, constructive program and that Reagan's was the radical alternative."

AFL-CIO / NY jobs coalition seeks AFGE support

The Western New York Labor Coalition For Jobs, a broad-based labor organization, has become a focal point for the AFL-CIO's proposed rally to protest Reagan Administration cutbacks in worker protection and social programs.

In support of a national march on Washington, D.C., called for by the AFL-CIO, the job coalition said, "We are hopeful that the entire labor movement will join forces to bring about a clear and powerful demonstration of

AFGE's D.C. lobby sets target bills

AFGE is lobbying the District of Columbia's City Council on a number of legislative proposals affecting union members who work in the D.C. metropolitan area. Among the legislative priorities are:

Outside Employment for Police Officers (Bill 4-107)—The legislation, currently before the D.C. Council's Judiciary Committee, would allow police officers to obtain outside employment as security guards. AFGE is working toward amending the bill to include correctional officers who are under similar restrictions. Such an amendment would have a beneficial impact on AFGE Local 1550.

Employee Training (Bill 4-173)—AFGE is actively supporting the legislation that would create and operate training programs for D.C. government employees. AFGE is also requesting that it be given representation on a 21-member advisory board that would oversee the establishment of the training programs. The bill is under con-

sideration by the D.C. Council's Government Operations Committee.

Residency (Bill 4-153)—This legislation, also before the Government Operations Committee, would require the District to give preferential treatment to D.C. residents in hiring workers. AFGE has actively supported the bill and it is likely to pass.

Merit Personnel Act Task Force Implementation Act (Bill 4-49)—The bill has been tabled by the Government Operations Committee. It seeks the reestablishment of a task force to implement amendments to the Merit Personnel Act. AFGE is studying the legislation and will support it only if it is appointed to the task force.

Other bills of interest to D.C. employees are: Occupational Safety and Health Act, Anti-Sexual Discrimination Act, Child and Day Care Act, Priority Contracting-Out Act, and Redistricting Procedure Act.

Safety Commission cuts would curtail services

Louis L. Abramsky, president of the Joint National Council of Consumer Product Safety Commission Locals and AFGE Local 3477, testifying before the Committee on Appropriations, Sub Committee on HUD and Independent Agencies, opposed the Administration's budget cuts on the Commission.

He charged that "the budget requests would drastically curtail both the size and scope of the CPSC's activities." Included in the cuts would be a 40 percent reduction in the number of non-managerial field staff; a 15 percent reduction in non-managerial headquarters staff and the elimination of three field laboratories.

Abramsky stated that one of the reasons the Commission is criticized for not dealing effectively with the industries it regulates is the lack of field experience of some high level managers in Washington. He urged that, at a minimum, the field staff should be maintained at current levels.

The elimination of the three field laboratories would religate the Commission to a "reactive rather than active position."

In conclusion, Abramsky said, . . . vast numbers of new and untested products are entering the market place everyday. Without a strong and effective Consumer Product Safety Commission to monitor these products, the consumers of this nation would be left to the mercies of the business communities to protect them from hazardous consumption.

Alaska Council seeks COLA aid

Helen Giroux, a representative of the Anchorage, Alaska Council of AFGE Locals made a visit to Washington, D.C. to testify before a Senate subcommittee about a unique problem faced by federal workers in her state. Giroux discussed with Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) the inadequacy of the cost-of-living allowance program as it is administered in Alaska, leaving government workers there with salaries far below those of their private sector counterparts.

A major factor in the complicated problem facing AFGE members in Alaska is the use of differing methodology by three government agencies that are responsible for establishing cost-of-living allowances. Another problem is that the established maximum allowances do not reflect the unique employment and housing conditions of the state's federal workforce.

AFGE supports the subcommittee's proposal to call upon OPM for the creation of a demonstration project in Alaska that would attempt to alleviate the problem. AFGE is asking that cost-of-living allowances for the state be based upon the true cost and salary levels in the state, not on the standards of communities thousands of miles away.

our resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder in the face of concerned attacks upon our organizations and members."

The group has called for reinstatement of extended unemployment benefits, extension of trade adjustment assistance, improved state unemployment insurance benefits, job creation projects, a shorter work week and expansion of affirmative action programs.

In advance of the march on Washington, D.C., the coalition is asking workers, all across the country, to write letters to members of Congress and to sign petitions in support of the group's program. The coalition will then form a caravan carrying the letters and petitions, and take them to Congress.

AFGE activists interested in the efforts of the job coalition should contact: The Western New York Labor Coalition For Jobs, c/o USWA Local 593, Military Road, Buffalo, New York 14207; (716) 873-4361.

AFGE calls for immigration policy

AFGE, in a public statement issued in late May, has criticized the Reagan Administration for its failure to come up with an immigration policy to guide the dwindling ranks of immigration and border patrol personnel charged with enforcing the nation's confused immigration laws.

In the hopper

CONSULTANT CONTROL: Sen. David Pryor (D-Ark), with co-sponsors Sens. James Sasser (D-Tenn), Thomas Eagleton (D-Mo), Charles H. Percy (R-Ill) and others. S. 719 would amend and clarify authority for appointment of consultants and provide guidelines concerning the award of contracts for procurement of consulting and management services.

They said it . . .

Rep. William D. Ford (D-Mich), on the Reagan Budget proposals:

"Thanks to Mr. Reagan's skill, the people are confused. They simply do not understand that the cuts are going to be in areas that affect almost everyone but the rich. When they find out, the shock will be painful. And it may be too late."

Richmond Times-Dispatch

JOHN STEWART BRYAN III, Publisher

JOHN L. LEARD, Executive Editor

ALF GOODYKOONITZ, Managing Editor

EDWARD GRIMSLEY, Editor of the Editorial Page

Saturday, January 24, 1981

A Loyal Bureaucracy?

As President Reagan seeks to make good on his promise of deep cuts in the federal bureaucracy, he will run into especially bitter resistance from the targets of the cutbacks. This is to be expected not simply because of the threatened jobholders' obvious self-interest but also on account of intense ideological opposition to Mr. Reagan's domestic and foreign policies from labor union leaders representing federal employees. Moreover, there is reason for concern that a confrontation between Mr. Reagan and the bureaucracy over the size of the work force could be exploited by radical labor leaders who might wish to disrupt the implementation of particular administration policies, foreign or domestic.

Consider the formidable role of the American Federation of Government Employees, an AFL-CIO member union. AFGE represents about 650,000 federal employees in collective bargaining agreements, including a majority of the civilian employees of the Department of Defense; many employees of key foreign affairs agencies, including the State Department and the International Communications Agency (the latter of which produces the Voice of America broadcasts); and hundreds of thousands of the federal workers charged with implementing domestic policies.

Historically AFGE has been of the George Meany school of anti-communist, anti-radical laborite doctrine and practice. But in 1979, a devotee of the extreme left, Jane McMichael, was named as AFGE's director of legislation and political affairs, the union's most powerful official not elected by the rank and file. Ms. McMichael has been closely associated with the Institute for Policy Studies, an influential, far-left "think tank." The very week of George Meany's funeral last January, she traveled with International Association of Machinists president William Winpisinger to Cuba for a discussion of undisclosed content with Raoul Castro, right-hand man to his brother, Fidel, one of the world's leading sponsors of terrorism.

After Ronald Reagan's election, Ms. McMichael publicly warned

that bureaucrats under her influence may not take retrenchment orders like good soldiers. "Public employees are not as passive as they used to be," she declared. "Making government change is going to be more difficult than it was four years ago, or 10 years ago."

This confrontational posture of a leader of the enormously powerful AFGE in itself is a considerable challenge to the new administration's ability to carry out the business it is constitutionally charged or enabled to perform. When one considers the increasing influence of the far left upon AFGE, the gravity of that challenge must be perceived as amplified.

The challenge cannot be overcome with timidity. The systematic threats that collective bargaining units among federal workers could pose to national security must be evaluated and confronted, regardless of the intense political pressure that the existing union powers may be able to impose. Loyalty to the Constitution, which is required of all elected officials and of the higher-ranking appointive officials through oaths of office, formerly was required of and ascertained concerning all federal employees through the Civil Service employment questionnaire. Appropriate loyalty questions, which in 1976 the Civil Service Commission dropped from federal employment forms, ought to be reinstated.

The threat of labor radicalism in the federal bureaucracy probably best could be minimized if President Reagan would give it his personal attention. It is a potentially daunting challenge, but if anyone has the credentials to meet it, that man is Ronald Reagan. Mr. Reagan probably never would have become politically active if it had not been for a far-left scheme to undermine the integrity of his industry and to engage it in subversive propaganda against the American government. Mr. Reagan was a leader in halting that scheme then, and in those days, government employees and other taxpayers alike ought to note, he was not a representative of industrial management. He was the elected president of an international, AFL-affiliated labor union.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
Affiliated with AFL-CIO

1325 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20005

2

MEMORANDUM: 1/Leadership Conference

DATE: April 24, 1981

TO: AFGE Leadership

FROM: Kenneth T. Blaylock
National President



SUBJECT: Strategy Conference

Regardless of its outcome, the 1981 federal budget debate holds sweeping and dramatic implications for all American citizens into the next generation. This is especially true for we federal employees who will suffer the same losses as other citizens in terms of reduced levels of government service; at the same time, we are expected to absorb more than 15 percent of the \$40 billion first year cost of the Reagan budget cuts right out of our pockets. Translated, it means loss of jobs, reduction in pay, and additional workloads or contracting-out.

That means we have a dual responsibility to see to it that we act to shape this budget to blunt the negative proposals affecting us as citizens and as employees of government. If you need any reminder of the urgency of the situation, just look at the headlines in your daily paper today.

Even though the conditions which have led to this budget confrontation have been developing for years, I am convinced that as a union we cannot successfully face this challenge without developing radically different and new tactics.

Therefore, on Friday, May 22, at 9:00 a.m., I am convening a meeting unprecedented in AFGE's history. This Strategy Conference was formulated by a committee of vice presidents working in conjunction with your national officers. It will not be a business-as-usual session. Those who expect socializing and speeches will probably be better off not attending.

AFGE Leadership
April 24, 1981
Page 2

(Local officials attending this session should observe all requirements for notifying their memberships of any expenditures made on behalf of their locals. However, it is not necessary to hold special elections for delegates to the meeting).

The agenda for the Strategy Conference was developed to identify and refine new strategies for AFGE. Those who attend will be expected to contribute ideas and proposals to help AFGE's members overcome the obstacles created by the hostile political picture facing federal workers. We also intend to set new long-range approaches for AFGE's future course.

Because of the emergency nature of this meeting and the short time frame, we were only able to reserve a block of 500 rooms at the Sheraton Hotel between May 21 and 24. Those rooms, as well as material for distribution will be available to those attending the conference on a first-come, first-served basis. The Hotel's address and telephone number are listed below:

Sheraton Hotel
2660 Woodley Road at
Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

(202) 328-2000

All participants must register between 2:00 - 6:00 p.m., on Thursday, May 21 in the Hotel Convention Registration area. Identification will be provided which will also permit participation in a reception planned for May 21 from 5:30 - 7:00 p.m.

I have enclosed a tentative agenda, along with hotel registration cards. If you have any questions on this conference, I urge you to contact my office at either of the following telephone numbers:

(202) 789-8900

(202) 789-8902

AFGE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
FOR
APPROPRIATE ACTION
Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C.
May 21 - 24, 1981

THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY
	9:00am - 10:30am PLENARY SESSION NP Blaylock Guest Speaker -10:30 - 10:45--Break-- Workshops by Agency (13) with catered lunch - 12:45 ----- Break	9:00am Workshops 1. Organizing for Direct Action 2. Political Action for Confrontation Politics 3. PR to meet/defeat the Budget Crisis 4. Law and Confrontation Politics 5. Bargaining Tactics for Worker's Security 12:00 Noon----- LUNCH	9:00am PLENARY SESSION NP Blaylock Guest Speaker Agency Reports PLAN OF ACTION VOTING SPECIAL ADJOURNMENT ACTIVITIES
1:00 pm r Registration 1:00 - 5:00pm -----5:30 pm-- Reception -----7:00 pm-- Rap Sessions with Staff	1:00 - 5:00pm Overview Workshops with Instructor's rotating between each 1. Organizing around Direct Action 2. Political Action for Confrontation Politics 3. PR to meet/defeat the Budget Crisis 4. Law and Confrontation Politics 5. Bargaining Tactics for Worker's Security 6:00pm Agency Meetings Planning session	1:00 - 4:30pm Workshops Continued With Instructor's 1 & 3 Rotating ----- BREAK ----- 7:00pm DISTRICT Organization and Planning session (15)	

Feb. 3, 1981

(3)

Memo To: Jeannette Abrams
Managing editor; Political Action Newsletter

From : Bernard Demczuk *BD*
Organizer and Political Action Coordinator; AFGZ Council 211

Subject: AFGZ Council 211 Political Action in D.C.

Introduction: A couple of weeks ago your lyrics from the Christmas carole parody were reprinted in an article by Thomas Lippman of the Washington Post entitled; "District Budget Crisis Increases its Misery Index." The theme of that article is becoming truer by the week. I've been organizing in D.C. for 5 years and I've never seen it so bad for the poor and low salaried workers. I do not believe matters are going to improve for quite sometime. I believe the AFGZ membership in the District must become seriously involved in the District's political process if we hope to simply slow down, and perhaps turn around, this "increasing misery index" assaulting our membership. This brief report points to the beginnings of this process.

X Note: Below is the process that AFGZ Council 211 Political Action has begun. This is not official AFGZ Legislation and Political Affairs policy. AFGZ Leg. and Pol. Affairs at this time does not have "official" policy for the D.C. Workers. However, there seems to be loose agreement (unspoken) between the 14th District and the National Office that the ideas below are moving in the proper direction.

AFGZ Council 211 in the District represents 10,000 city workers. We are presently facing another 200 layoffs of AFGZ members in Dept.s of REcreation, General, Human and Environmental Services. These layoffs will occur sometime this spring and/or this summer.

In addition, our members in Transportation, Znvironmental, Human, General Services, Corrections and Housing and Community Developemnt are facing contracting-out of jobs. We do not know the specifics of who, what or when, but we do know the city has plans of contracting-out hundreds of jobs in 1981-82.

In addition, Mayor Barry states that city employees may be facing zero percent pay raise in 1981 (or at least that is what his FY '82 budget proposal to City Council called for). At the same time, inflation is topping 15%.

In addition, due to the residency requirement, laidoff employees who have been rehired in another department in D.C. are forced to move into the District after 180 days or forfeit their new job. With houses costing an average of \$112,000.00 and a two bedroom apartment averaging 500.00 dollars a month, it is virtually impossible for a worker to move into a relatively stable neighborhood.

In addition, child and day care costs are skyrocketing. Many of our city workers are single parents. Child and Day Care costs are becoming major burdens on working parents or the single parent.

In addition, CETA employees are being blatantly used as cheap wage labor in the District. Theoretically, a CETA employee is to be picked up as a permanent

employee after his/her 18 month training period. But in D.C., rather than promote the CETA employee to a job at higher pay, he/she is fired and replaced by another 18 month CETA employee.

In addition, and perhaps most critical for the D.C. community as a whole, all of these adverse working conditions are forcing morale among the city workforce to drop to depths never before touched. Besides the cutbacks in social services and layoffs of workers who provide those direct services, this lowered morale adversely impacts on the remaining social services to the community. As a stark example, I was talking with D.C. Fire Dept. ambulance drivers (AFGE 3721) the other day and they told me that they do not rush to accidents anymore because the ambulances are in serious need of maintenance. With the layoffs, the city is cutting back on maintenance service to city vehicles.

In short, as the budget crisis continues and deepens, our members (and community folk) are experiencing significant increases in misery. Council 211 believes this crisis is as much political as it is economic. Certain professional groups and classes of people are not affected by the budget crisis. It's the low salaried workers and poorer citizens (racial minorities) that are most hurt by the cutbacks and layoffs. The Mayor's call for "equal sacrifice" by all sectors of the D.C. community is a sham. Last Saturday's business section of the Post listed corporation after corporation in D.C. that had made record profits in 1980.

AFGE Council 211's political agenda for 1981-82 will be geared up to expose the above injustices and work to change the inequities we face. We are going to lobby City Council for quality low-cost child and day care, adequate pay-raises, an end to layoffs and contracting-out and to change the residency requirement for rehired laidoff employees, and demands that CETA employees know their rights and are provided all possible opportunities (under the CETA law) to find employment in the District before they are terminated (the law is very helpful here but it is not followed).

In addition, Council 211 will be joining other unions and community based organization to testify and lobby Congress not to cut any social programs at appropriation hearings and to grant D.C. its full formula based federal payment.

In addition, Council 211 will be testifying at City Council hearings on the Accumulated Operating Deficit Act of 1981 which calls for taxes to be raised over the next 6 years to delete the 215 million dollar deficit now facing the District. Some of the taxes seem agreeable, some not. Hearings on Feb. 13.

In addition, Council 211 will be joining other unions and C.B.O.s in launching a spring offensive against the budget crisis. We will continue to mount political pressure on the Mayor and City Council to end the layoffs and contracting-out. This political pressure may come in the form of lobbying, letter-writing, phone calling, press conferences, demonstrations/protests, etc.

In addition, we are now setting the seeds to engage our council in electoral politics for 1982. Six council seats are up and the Mayor's Office. We will begin voter registration, voter education on the issues, identify those politicians who are

our friends and those who are our enemies, educate our membership about these candidates records and mobilize our people to the polls in coordination with other unions and C.B.O.s.

In short, D.C. AFGE members have never before engaged themselves in such political activities but the "politica" of the budget crisis has forced the issue and our activism. Hopefully, we will be relatively successful in an almost no-win situation. But the old maxim remains as true today as it was 100 years ago; "The squeaky wheel gets the grease." or as we say today; "The people united will never be defeated." The problem is, we've never been united in the District. This is the task in front of us.

Thank you for taking a continued interest in our problems, Jeannette. You have been very supportive and helpful. We need it.

cc: MacIntyre
McMichael
Council 211 President, Thomas

news release

• The American Federation of Government Employees (AFL-CIO) •

Contact:

AFGE Public Relations Dept.
202/737-8700

1325 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: October 9, 1980

COMPLAINT FILED AGAINST MERIT SYSTEM PROTECTION BOARD
CITING RUTH PROKOP FOR PROHIBITED PERSONNEL PRACTICES

In an unprecedented legal move, the American Federation of Government Employees (AFL-CIO) and the Government Accountability Project have filed a complaint against Ruth Prokop, Chairwoman of the Merit Systems Protection Board, citing her with "prohibited personnel practices." PS

The joint complaint was lodged with the Office of Special Counsel (OSC) of the Merit System Protection Board, yesterday. The Office of Special Counsel is an independent watchdog agency set up by the Civil Service Reform Act to protect whistleblowers and federal merit systems against improper management pressure and reprisal.

The formal complaint alleges encroachment on the Special Counsel's independence because of a set of letters sent by Prokop to Acting Special Counsel Mary O. Eastwood in which Prokop advised that the Board--not the Special Counsel--would henceforth be responsible for personnel and budgetary matters.

AFGE and GAP charge that by those letters Prokop "has taken actions which will result in significant and inappropriate changes in the duties and responsibilities of employees in covered positions within the Office of Special Counsel..."

The union and GAP contend that independence from the MSPB is vital to maintaining the effectiveness and credibility of the OSC. They cite the fact that the Office of Special Counsel had its budget cut by \$2 million in the month of September, forcing it to detail 82 of its 119 employees for that 30-day period.

Although citing the head of the MSPB for infractions against the specific provisions of the Civil Service Reform Act is unprecedented, attorneys for AFGE and GAP note that the Special

Counsel has authority to request a stay of any personnel action. MSPB is not exempt from any provisions of the Civil Service Reform Act, they note.

In its two years of operation, the Board has generally granted Special Counsel requests for initial 15-day stays of personnel actions to give the OSC time to conduct an inquiry into complaints. Following that 15-day period, the OSC has authority to request additional stays to protect employees from reprisals while proceedings are conducted.

AFGE is the largest union representing Federal workers, with representation rights for more than 750,000 federal workers in the U.S. and overseas. GAP is a non-profit public interest organization, assisting government whistleblowers. Since passage of CSRA, GAP has been monitoring performance of MSPB and bringing cases before it.

For More Information Contact: James Rosa, AFGE General Counsel
737-8700

or

Louis Clark and Tom Devine
Government Accountability Project
234-9382 or 667-7904



D.C. Coalition Against Reagan-Barry Budget Cuts

A Labor-Community Alliance

April 10, 1981

Dear Friend and Supporter,

Like you, we are becoming more outraged as we feel the impact of the federal and city budget cuts...which keep coming. Like you, we are determined to fight these devastating attacks on our quality of life.

On March 20, a group of people representing labor, church, women, youth, and community organizations came together to form the D.C. Coalition Against the Reagan-Barry Budget Cuts. We are organizing a protest march and rally, Saturday, May 2. You have probably seen the leaflets. This is the first citywide protest against the budget cuts, and, will have national significance. We are issuing a call for a national protest in Washington, D.C., on July 18.

The political leadership in the District, on Capitol Hill, and in the White House have clearly shown which interests they defend. Both President Reagan and Mayor Barry claim we must all sacrifice equally during this economic crisis. But, 99% of the budget cuts are aimed at the poor and working people, particularly Blacks and other minorities. Less than 1% will affect the wealthy, large businesses, and the Board of Trade. The drastic increases in military spending are coming at the expense of vital social services and the layoffs of thousands of workers.

Organize with us for May 2 to stop the budget cuts. We need not only your endorsement and marching feet, but, also your active outreach and material support. Please fill out the appropriate areas on the enclosed leaflet and return it to us.

We have stayed too quiet and too divided for too long. Now is the time to come together, organize, and resist the budget cuts. Because the cuts are so widespread, our resistance must be widespread.

1

736 6th Street N.W. • Washington, DC 20001 • (202) 347-2905

City-Wide Unity Demonstration Against Reagan-Barry Budget Cuts



Join Us!

Join us Saturday, May 2. This just struggle is in the proud tradition of the American people who have always fought hard for a decent standard of living, democracy, peace, and equality among races and sexes.

Join our coalition. Organize for May 2.

In Solidarity,

Jerry Hackney, President, Local 1975, AFGE
Clarence Lusane, National Tenants Union, Exec. Board*
Dwight Bowman, President, National Capitol Area Council, AFGE
Joslyn Williams, Greater Wash. Central Labor Council*
Jim Moran, City Council, Alexandria, Va.*
Bernard Demczuk, Legislative Rep., AFGE*
Niani Kilkenny, National Anti-Racist Organizing Committee, D.C. Chapt.
Larry Weston, Deputy Exec. Director, Metro. Wash. Planning and Housing Assoc.*
Loretta Ross, Rape Crisis Center
Hulbert James, Center for Third World Organizing
Rev. Mamie Williams, Pastor, Calvary United Methodist Church
Joe Cook, President, Local 41, AFGE
Kathy Lipscomb, Community and housing activist
Joe Davis, Gray Panthers
Susanne Cepeda, Adelanta*
Joey Sims, Young People's Lobby for Jobs
James Parks, Commissioner, ANC, Ward 7D
Phyllis Jones, People's Anti-War Mobilization, D.C. Chapt.
Walteen Grady, Women for Racial and Economic Equality
Roscoe Grant, labor organizer, AFGE*
Maurice Jackson, Coalition for Human Dignity
Tim Siegel, Shelterforce*
Jerry White, Bridge, Inc.

*For identification only

STOP THE BUDGET CUTS

CITY-WIDE UNITY DEMONSTRATION AGAINST REAGAN-BARRY BUDGET CUTS

- Money for jobs and people, not the Pentagon and profits
- Cut the rich, not the workers and the poor
- Black and white unite to stop racist violence

A LABOR COMMUNITY ALLIANCE



ASSEMBLE: 10 a.m. District Bldg.—14th & E Sts., NW

MARCH: To the White House and back to the District Bldg.

WEAR RED RIBBONS FOR ATLANTA CHILDREN

- ★ **Stop All Social Service Cuts:** full funding for CETA, food stamps, medicaid, housing
- ★ **Demand Full Employment:** no layoffs
- ★ **Stop Racist Violence**
- ★ **Stop Gov't Attacks on Civil Liberties**
- ★ **Statehood for D.C.**
- ★ **Decent Pay Raise for city & federal employees**
- ★ **Cut Military Spending:** U.S. out of El Salvador

ORGANIZE NATIONAL MARCH ON WASH. AGAINST BUDGET CUTS—JULY 18

Join Our City-Wide May 2 Unity March

☐ My organization would like to endorse May 2.

☐ I would like to organize for May 2.

☐ Here is my donation of \$ _____ to help with May 2)
(Make checks payable to: Coalition Against Reagan-Barry Cuts)

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

Phone _____

Clip and return to:

D.C. Coalition Against Reagan-Barry Budget Cuts
736 6th ST., N.W. • Wash, D.C. 20001 • 202-347-2905



By Manuel Rocca — The Washington Post

PROTEST — About 100 people, led by Communist Workers Party members, held a 45-minute rally at the District Building at 14th Street NW, then marched to White House yesterday to protest President Reagan's budget cuts.



Would you rather
beg this man for
a pay raise....

or
Help your union
win one?

The D.C. personnel-law provides that the Mayor must negotiate with the legal representatives of city workers. However, if there are no representatives, the Mayor can set the pay raise. **The Mayor Sets the Pay Raise.**

Who do you trust?

AFGE took the Mayor to court to win the right to bargain. We're now preparing for those bargaining sessions. With your AFGE membership, we'll be strong enough to win a solid contract, with a decent pay raise for you and your family, and with fringe benefits and working conditions that will guarantee your right to dignity on the job.

The American Federation of Government Employees (A-F-G-E)
3020 New Hampshire Avenue
Hyattsville, Md. 20783
434-1000

SAVE YOUR PAY

JOIN

AFGE

TODAY



American Federation of Government Employees President Kenneth Blaylock, who also serves as president of PED, testifies in opposition to legislation in the Senate which would reduce the twice-yearly cost-of-living adjustment for federal and postal retirees. Not shown is PED Legislative Director John Cosgrove, who presented the Department's statement opposing the measure, sponsored by Republican Ted Stevens of Alaska.

ditions of federal employment," they said. "This reinforces protections of federal workers against arbitrary action by the President," they added.

Throughout the two-year court challenge against the imposition of federal employee parking fees, AFGE has stressed that many federal workers in metropolitan areas did not enjoy free parking before Carter ordered the fees.

On the other hand, the pay-for-parking-order severely punished those who worked in areas where parking was ample and had been free for everyone. Large military installations and other federal facilities which were located for their remote characteristics were prime examples of areas where the paid-parking-order posed a particular hardship for federal workers.

Blaylock Announces Reorganization

PED is undergoing a major internal restructuring in response to the new directions set by the Department's Executive Board, announced PED President Kenneth Blaylock.

A ten-member Steering Committee, comprised of five unions representing federal/postal and state/local interests, will be created to provide policy guidance between meetings of the PED Executive Board.

Blaylock has requested that only principal officers participate in the Steering Committee sessions. Unions appointed to the panel include:

American Federation of Government Employees; Service Employees International Union; American Postal Workers Union; American Federation of Teachers; Laborers International Union; Amalgamated Transit Union; International Federation of Professional & Technical Engineers; International Union of Operating Engineers; National Association of Letter Carriers; International Association of Fire Fighters.

In addition, two working subcommittees of federal/postal unions and state/local unions will be formed to make recommendations on policy actions by the Steering Committee.

The subcommittees will engage in on-going meetings to develop programs affecting their respective constituencies. Blaylock emphasized that the Steering Committee will make the final determinations on issues to present for the approval of the full Executive Board.

In Public Service (ISSN 0161-9330)

Published Monthly by AFL-CIO Public Employee Department

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President
American Federation of
Government Employees

John Leyden
Executive Director

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Roosevelt Watts
Transport Workers Union of America

Kenneth R. Moore
United Transportation Union

William Boarman
International Typographical Union

James Joy, Jr.
Utility Workers Union of America

Captain Robert Lowen
International Organization of Masters,
Mates and Pilots—ILA

Ande Abbott
International Brotherhood of
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders,
Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers

Editor—Michael Grace
Director of Public Relations

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Wash Star

Mr. Blaylock's Threat

FRI
MAY 7-81

The maximum leader of the largest of the federal employee unions is threatening an "open confrontation" with the Reagan administration over its plans to slice a bit into the compensation of those who work for the government. The confrontation might take the form of "wildcat walkouts."

"Threatening" is, we think, a precise way of describing the fulminations of Mr. Kenneth Blaylock, president of the American Federation of Government Employees. A major-league unionist cannot be so declarative, perhaps, or so candid. Strikes by federal workers are illegal. So Mr. Blaylock assumes a tone of forecasting, of merely reading the tea leaves.

"You are going to see more open confrontation," he said. "Militancy is increasing . . . what will happen will happen." Mr. Blaylock's coy phrasing thus permits him to assume a posture which, presumably, absolves him from charges of fomenting or abetting illegal actions.

This is not Great Britain and Mr. Blaylock is not president of a National Trades Union Council. Indeed, we suppose that the vast majority of federal employees have more sense, and more respect for the law and their commitments of duty, than he is exhibiting. Even his threat that unionists could "bring this government to a halt just by working by the rules" should not find great receptivity

among conscientious federal employees.

The high-octane haranguing that the head of the AFGE is indulging in is quite different from lobbying against President Reagan's proposals, both as they affect federal employees or for the social programs favored by much of the trade union movement.

We don't happen to think that the president's proposals on federal pay are all that radical. He is asking those employees to assume a share of the burden that is crucial if this economy is to have a chance of recovery. Ending the expensive practice of giving retired federal workers two annual cost-of-living increases, instead of a single adjustment — as with Social Security annuitants, for example — is hardly punitive. Neither does it strike us as awful to include federal fringe benefits in computations to arrive at the principle of pay comparability for federal employees.

But specifics aside, Mr. Blaylock has delivered himself of a challenge that the administration must be ready to accept should it come to that. If, as the union leader predicts/envisions/anticipates, there are wildcat strikes among federal workers, they should be treated as the severe breaches of legality they are. Many of those in unemployment lines doubtless would be eager to take over the jobs thus forfeited — and might appreciate them more than the incumbents.

political affairs

Theoretical Journal of the Communist Party, USA

Vol. LX, No. 1

January 1981

Gus Hall

The New Political Reality:
Analysis and Perspective

1

Ted Pearson

Illinois—Growing Voter Independence

13

Joelle Fishman

Connecticut Third CD—
Ballot Status Retained

16

Rick Nagin

Ohio—CP Senate Vote Grows

21

Maurice Jackson

D.C.—Municipal Elections and the Statehood
Question

25

Peggy Goldman Frankie

Michigan—Ballot Access Victory

28

Roque Ristorucci

Puerto Rico's Elections—
Halting the Statehood Drive

31

Daniel Spector

New Aspects of the Youth Question

35

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From the Editors to You . . .

Once again you, our readers and supporters, have made our annual holiday fund appeal a real success. Here are the initial responses to the appeal which thus far has netted over \$3,000 and 30 gift subscriptions.

J. Sheridan, \$15; J. Lamb, Okla., \$20; M. Allen, Ca., \$10; P. & R. Bruns, Mn., \$7.50; V. Faranda, N.J., \$10; M. Russity, Ark., \$20; A Gary steelworker, \$20; H. & A. Johnson, Mn., \$10; M. Schutz, NY, \$50; I. Kuschke, Ark., \$5; A. Levin, Ca., \$10; W. Binkley, N.C., \$5;

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S. Katz, NY, \$5; T. Walsh, NY, \$5; A.W., NY, \$15; R.D., Ca., \$25; G. Kowal, NY, \$100; A.W., NY, \$15; K. Kaleida, Pa., \$5; J. Gilden, D.C., \$10; ZK. Nelson, Ca., \$25; G. Ryall, Ca., \$25; J. & S. Schreiber, NJ, \$10; G. Green, Ca., \$10; J. Speight, Ca., \$20; M. & M. Miller, Ca., \$25;

S. Yelich, Ca., \$25; C. Lutz, Ca., \$25; E. Spiegel, Mi., \$5; B. Deleon, R.I., \$25; K. Front, Ca., \$25; M. & H. Shoiket, NJ, \$10; I. Kohn, NY, \$10; F. Landry, Ma., \$10; F. Keller, Ca., \$10; M. Schrafer, Az., \$10; N. Matiatos, NY, \$50; Anonymous Friend, \$5; Tarpinian-Howley, Ma., \$5;

E. Rand, NY, \$10; O. Salz, R.I., \$5; North Carolina Trade Unionist, \$10; A. Ehrlich, NJ, \$10; D. Shaporo, Ca., \$5; J. Hicks, Ky, \$25; S. & S. Davis, Mo., \$10; P. Raymond, Ca., \$10; E. Olsen, Fla., \$100; F. Greco, Ill., \$25; E. Loughboro, Ca., \$25; B. Polin, Ca., \$50; L. & W. Parry, Wa., \$25;

F. Lasse, Or., \$10; H. Hemmingson, Mn., \$10; E. Vassiliades, NJ, \$10; E. & V. George, Wa., \$5; R. Dickson, Ohio, \$5; J. & V. Fisher, Ma., \$5; A. Devine, Ma., \$5; E. Zwolinski, Ca., \$10; I. Fierstein, NY, \$10; A. Yuruir, In., \$5; V.M. & D.L., Ca., \$5; M. Shapiro, Ca. \$10.

A. Lima, Ca., \$15; J. Simkin, NY, \$10; M. Nikitas, NY, \$5; A. Simon, NJ, \$10; C. Legg, Wa., \$10; S. Eisenscher, Ill., \$10; G. Shenkar, Mi., \$20; V. Cole, Ca., \$20; J. Stabell, Pa., \$10; J. Kriegler, NY, \$10; R. Brown, NY \$25; M. Carl, Ca., \$10; J. Nahem, NY, \$25; J. Solomon, NY, \$10;

M. & S. Zeitlin, Pa., \$10; C. Vail, Ca., \$25; K. Lindemann, Ill., \$10; R. Klonsky, Ca., \$25; M. Alexanian, Ma., \$10; S. Kugler, Ca., \$10; R.P., Ca., \$25; J. Hecker, Ca., \$15; D.M. & J.V., Pa., \$25; M. & F. Blair, Wi., \$25; M. Kardash, \$15.

D.C.—Municipal Elections and the Statehood Question

MAURICE JACKSON

Although D.C. is the 15th largest city in the nation and the nation's capital, it is confronted with great problems:

- Ninety per cent of D.C.'s unemployed are Black and the Black unemployment rate is over 17 per cent, for Black and Latino youth 75-80 per cent.
- D.C. has among the highest infant mortality rates in the nation.
- D.C. has the lowest life expectancy for Blacks in the entire nation (Black males, 58.5 years; Black females 68.3 years).
- The average cost of a new home is \$119,000, for the shell.
- 100,000 people, mostly Black and Latino, have been forced out in the last decade and the Metropolitan Board of Trade has introduced a plan, "Year 2000," to drive out another 100,000 by 1999—to be accomplished by driving up rents, condominium conversions, etc.
- Hospital costs rise yearly 50 per cent more in D.C. than they do nationally; the average cost of a hospital room per day is \$350, \$700 per day for intensive care. The tuberculosis rate is 4 times the national average.
- 147 corporations list profits of over \$1 million but have paid no taxes to D.C. since 1976. And 51 per cent of the land in D.C. is used by the federal government but is exempt from taxes.
- D.C. is also the home of many national organizations which pay no taxes but who receive services at the expense of D.C. taxpayers, who pay taxes of more than \$2,000 per capita, \$491 above the national average. The \$300 million Congress allocates to D.C. is just not adequate compensation.

These conditions and the need for someone to speak out about them in all-embracing terms mandated our putting forth a candidate. How-

Maurice Jackson is the district organizer of the D.C.-Va. district, CPUSA.

ever, D.C.'s citizens, who were "granted" the right to vote in presidential elections in 1961, can only run and elect candidates for municipal posts. In the race for City Council there were 6 candidates for two at-large seats: John Ray, incumbent Democrat; Jerry Moore, incumbent Republican; Charles Cassell, Statehood; Charlotte Holmes, Independent; Joel Garner, Independent; and Glen White, Socialist Workers Party. We discussed the value of running an independent candidate for City Council, analyzed our relationships with broad forces—housing activists, trade unionists, community folk, church men and women—and concluded that we could make an important contribution. This author had the honor of being chosen as the candidate. We set several campaign goals:

—to present an independent candidate, but not hide the Party;

—to develop a broad support committee which would call the shots and be composed of public and transit workers, mass leaders, etc.;

—to develop a program for local needs, correct in principle and appealing to a majority of voters;

—to stress the class angle by defending the interests of the majority while demonstrating that big business is opposed to the people's interests on every issue;

—to incorporate in the program the major legislative demands of the local labor movement, all of which coincided with our own;

—to appeal especially to public workers (the largest category in D.C.) and to the members and leaders of public workers' unions;

—to make special efforts to work with transit and municipal workers, both of whom are experiencing acute attacks on their wage standards;

—to stress the Party's support for building an independent political coalition, with labor at its core. Such a coalition could determine the election of candidates by endorsing and campaigning for them and presenting its own independent candi-

dates. Such a coalition is seen as a precursor of a local people's party;

—to stress the issue of statehood for D.C..

We issued 50,000 pieces of material, including 3,000 posters. We were endorsed by an impressive array of people, among them the Rev. Ben Chavis, George B. Murphy, Jr., Black and Latino community activists and trade unionists. We were also supported by a large number of public workers in the city, some of whom worked on the campaign committee and gave special attention to the issues concerning public workers.

Public workers in D.C. are struggling for a 9.1 per cent pay raise (the mayor is only offering 5.5 per cent) and during this time there were several demonstrations outside City Hall on this question. Ours was the only campaign to support the demands of these workers.

While media bias prevented much of the public from knowing who the candidates were, many community and civic groups did hold candidates' forums. We participated in several, including those sponsored by tenants' organizations, student unions, the Elks Club, church groups and most notably the public workers' forum sponsored by Council 211 of the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE).

It is no exaggeration to say that we were the best-received in the forums, even when the audience was pro-Democratic. Outbursts of applause to my remarks were common and I was the only candidate to receive a standing ovation at the AFGE forum. Council 211 of the AFGE represents 9,000 city workers. These same city workers are presently struggling for a pay increase that the mayor refuses to give, claiming that no money is available. Both incumbents supported the mayor's view. At the forum I was able to project not only our support for their struggle, but was also able to indicate exactly where the funds could come from: 1) elimination of waste and mismanagement in D.C. city government and 2) collection of all corporate back taxes.

Channel 4, the NBC affiliate, covered the forum and captured the highlights of the debate for the 11 P.M. news. The segment they aired showed my speech, the audience's standing ovation and then ended with a shot of the incumbents, Ray and

Moore, squirming in their seats.

After the forum the majority of the AFGE Council 211 leaders and members present voiced support for my candidacy. On election day they organized pollsters to distribute our campaign literature.

Conclusion

Our campaign was unlike the incumbents' particularly in amounts of campaign funds, publicity and approach. But what we lacked in funds was made up in innovativeness and hard work. The People Before Profits mass rally, featuring Angela Davis, myself and the Reverend Ben Chavis was a tremendous affair that drew 600 people.

In assessing our campaign we concluded that the decision to run an independent candidate for City Council and to build a broad-based campaign around such a candidacy was correct. This was a broadly-based campaign, with a people's candidate who was also a Communist. Our approach throughout was aimed at developing a mass approach on the issues and to developing mass ties.

In this independent campaign the Party won great respect from those who worked in this effort because the Party was involved not as a force which would "run" the campaign, but as a partner of other participating forces. The Party clubs were an integral part of all aspects of the electioneering.

On November 4 nearly 5 per cent of the votes cast for City Council in the District of Columbia went to our candidacy—8,300. And in my home precinct I received over 21 per cent of the vote.

Historically D.C. voters have cast a significant number of ballots for independents. The 1980 presidential election was no exception. While Carter outpolled Reagan 124,376 to 14,971, the combined totals of Anderson, Commoner and Clark surpass the vote for Reagan. The Party's presidential ticket of Gus Hall and Angela Davis also showed an increase over the 1976 vote of 59 per cent; the total rose from 219 in '76 to 350 in 1980.

We view our campaign as a big victory for the people of D.C., as well as for the Party. The task before us now is to build a broad people's coalition, led by labor, to take on those issues raised in the campaign. This task goes hand-in-hand with building the Party.

515005 BOSTON CHURCH. Firefighters 121
chester section of Boston. The 71-year-old church was

F.B.I. Agent Says Cuba Officials At U.N. Instructed Weathermen

By ROBERT PEAR

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 24 — A Federal Bureau of Investigation agent who followed the activities of the Weather Underground organization in the early 1970's testified today that some members of the militant antiwar group "received instructions" from intelligence officers attached to Cuba's mission to the United Nations.

The agent, James L. Vermeersch, was called as a witness for the Federal Government, but much of his testimony appeared to buttress the arguments of the two defendants, W. Mark Felt and Edward S. Miller, who were top officials of the bureau at the time. Mr. Felt and Mr. Miller are being tried in Federal District Court here on a felony charge of conspiring to violate the constitutional rights of citizens by authorizing Federal agents to break into homes without search warrants.

The break-ins were designed to find clues to the location of fugitive members of the Weather Underground, which had taken responsibility for bombings at the Pentagon, the United States Capitol and elsewhere. Defense attorneys have contended that the break-ins were part of a legitimate intelligence-gathering operation.

Mr. Vermeersch, a lawyer who is now the legal adviser in the bureau's St. Louis office, offered the first public disclosure of many of the points contained in a stipulation, or agreement, between the Government and the defendants that was de-

In response to questions posed by Mark D. Cummings, a lawyer for Mr. Felt, Mr. Vermeersch testified that "Cuban intelligence officers were attached to the Cuban Mission to the United Nations and that at least some of the Weatherman fugitives and support personnel received instructions from the Cuban mission."

Mr. Vermeersch described the Cuban mission as "a contact point for the Weatherman organization," and he said that the first secretary of the mission in the early 1970's was known to be a Cuban intelligence officer.

Mr. Vermeersch, who said that he had participated in 15 to 20 break-ins without search warrants, asserted that the Weatherman organization had "more contacts abroad" and received more direction from abroad than the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. Vermeersch insisted, under questioning by the chief prosecutor, John W. Nields Jr., that the searches conducted by the F.B.I. in the early 1970's without search warrants were legal. But he acknowledged that the evidence could never be introduced in court because, he said, it was "tainted." Mr. Nields said that the evidence was contaminated because the searches were illegal.

Mr. Vermeersch said he was aware that one of the leading Weatherman fugitives, Bernardine Dohrn, met in Cuba with representatives of the Vietcong in 1968 and 1969 and traveled to Algeria about 1970 to meet with representatives



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THE PROGRESSIVE ALLIANCE AND THE I.P.S.

Under the umbrella of the Democratic Party primary election campaign, with Kennedy challenging Carter, the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) has been able to successfully infiltrate the top levels of major labor unions, consumer groups and farmer organizations. Whether Kennedy wins or loses, the Institute for Policy Studies wins.

The Institute for Policy Studies was founded in 1963 by former Kennedy Administration junior officials of the National Security Council and State Department, Richard J. Barnet and Marcus Raskin, and is an internationally active Marxist think tank pressing for a revolutionary world and United States. IPS's programs include lobbying and gaining influence in Congress through seminars and contacts with staff aides and legislators in order to influence U.S. foreign and defense policies along lines favorable to the Soviet camp and the multitude of Soviet-backed terrorist "national liberation" movements in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America. IPS's domestic policies have focussed on coordinating the efforts of state and local New Left officials in developing Marxist "alternative" programs and institutions; and in breaking down the two-party system.

The mastermind behind this operation is Marcus Raskin who, working with such women's groups as the National Organization for Women, has been able to place left-wing radical ideologues (primarily women) into leading staff positions in the labor movement.

Raskin began his operations several years ago by concentrating an attack on the oil companies and establishing the so-called "Citizens Labor Energy Coalition." This coalition, backed financially by William Winpisinger, recruited primarily women backing the Equal Rights Amendment and males who were members of the socialist-leaning

limited to building a coalition of groups whose leaders were already left-wing radicals. His major breakthrough came last year when the previously conservative and patriotic American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) brought Jane McMichael in as its Director of Legislation and Political Affairs. AFGE represents more than 750,000 Federal employees.

A leading person in the Americans for Democratic Action, McMichael's role was to reorient the legislative and political activity of AFGE into left-wing directions, both in domestic and foreign policy. AFGE represents more than 65% of the employees of the Department of Defense and the Army, Navy and Air Force Departments. Many of these employees are women and minorities and McMichael's task was to organize them in support of the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion and lowering of qualification standards for professional positions so that women and minorities could move up.

AFGE also represents major components in the foreign affairs agencies, particularly the International Communications Agency (ICA), where it speaks for all employees. The Voice of America is part of ICA; its most recently appointed director is Mary Bitterman, a known activist in women's liberation affairs.

Under Marcus Raskin's guidance, the various left-wing or left-wing-infiltrated groups transformed the Progressive Alliance into a coordinating committee for left-wing operations. Its program is to develop a wide base beneath the elected leadership of the Federal, State, County and Municipal governments who are willing, on call, to oppose the democratic procedures supported by the American people, including strikes and work stoppages in government departments. The Progressive Alliance opposes military build-up, for the draft and tax reform. It

launching were Bella Abzug; former Congressman Donald Fraser, now executive director of Members of Congress for Peace through Law (MCPL); Eleanor Smeal, National Organization for Women (NOW); Ed Garvey, National Football League Players Association; Marc Raskin, IPS; Lee Webb, IPS National Conference for Alternative State and Local Public Policies (NCASLPP); Len Ball, AFSCME; Marjorie Phylff, Democratic Agenda; Bob Thompson, IAM; and Chris Dolberg, Low Income Housing Coalition.

According to UAW sources, the PA was to raise some \$250,000 in its first year to hire a staff in Washington and to coordinate activities across the country. The PA's first major activity was centered on the 1980 Federal Budget, and it was to begin in March 1979 either with a mass demonstration in Washington accompanied by coordinated budget protests across the country, or by flooding Capitol Hill with hundreds of lobbyists.

Obviously the January 15th date was chosen by Douglas Fraser to coincide with both the opening of the 96th Congress and with legislative conferences in Washington of a number of major trade unions including the UAW, AFSCME, and the IAM.

Working together, the left wing of organized labor was able to exert considerable influence on the House Democratic Caucus, securing a 90% success in placing their favored Congressmen on committees in order to, in Douglas Fraser's words, *"make the White House quit listening to the rhetoric of the dollar traders and start listening to the voices of the people."*

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has precluded open support for Castro by Raskin and McMichael. Instead, McMichael arranged to have herself appointed to travel throughout the country on behalf of an organization known as FAIR, Foundation For Assuring An Independent Retirement. This is primarily a coalition of organizations of retired Federal employees and unions of Federal State, County and Municipal employees who are opposed to merging their retirement systems with Social Security. Although the purposes of FAIR are limited, McMichael has been authorized to speak in its name throughout the country. She has used its funds to travel widely, supporting Kennedy and the policies of the Progressive Alliance, particularly those being

which Jane McMichael serves, Raskin directed the attention of the meeting to the need to "alter the current political system of government in America." The Progressive Alliance is particularly unhappy about the recent developments in Cuba, and the refugee movement and has sought in every way to distract attention from it to other areas.

McMichael's commitment to detente and to Kennedy is so great that when she heard of the fiasco in Iran when Carter attempted a helicopter rescue of the hostages, she exploded in exclamations of joy that this would lead to Kennedy's nomination.

As principal advisor to Ken Blaylock, AFGE President, she has funneled thousands of dollars of money donated by AFGE members into the campaigns of left-wing politicians. To help Kennedy in the Indiana primary, she persuaded Blaylock to authorize raising the AFGE contribution to Birch Bayh to \$2,500, a sum greater than AFGE had ever authorized before and a sum depleting prospective political contributions to long-standing legislative supporters of AFGE.

Part of Ken Blaylock's anti-Cuban policy stems from his fears that unless he relies on Jane McMichael and her ties to the radical elements he will not be reelected President of AFGE, a job paying nearly \$70,000 per year, and will have to go back to his Federal job which pays less than \$15,000 per year.

The major importance of the AFGE role in the Progressive Alliance is its relationship to the Federal bureaucracy, particularly to the military departments and the foreign affairs agencies--State, AID and ICA (with its control of Voice of America).

It should be noted that the State Department criticized the popular and private Cuban rescue mission. This is because of the role of Pat Derian and the Human Rights Bureau, which is instrumental in the setting of foreign policy and the expenditure of funds for relief operations.

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From April 14 through June 9, 1980, the Washington School, a fee-generating project of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) provided a series of courses at prices that range from \$75 to \$125.

Judging by the rates per session, the elite of the IPS instructors were Paul Warnke, Maurice Rosenblatt and Senator Mark Hatfield (R-OR). This trio provided three two-week sessions on diplomacy, lobbying [Rosenblatt is the founder of the National Committee for an Effective Congress (NCEC)] and legislating. (May 13 to June 17, Tuesdays, 7:30 to 10:00).

Joining this prestigious group were Congressman D&D Ronald Dellums (D-CA), described as "*the only acknowledged social-democrat in the House of Representatives*;" and IPS leaders Marcus Raskin, its aging co-founder, and IPS's current director, Robert L. Borosage, Raskin's protege who reached that position via the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) and the Center for National Security Studies (CNSS). The Dellums-Raskin-Borosage seminar series, entitled "*Political Paths in the 1980s*," is described in part as discussing "*the current stalemate in the liberal coalition, the necessity and possibility of building a new progressive coalition which turns away from National Security Keynesianism and towards a new ideology predicated on human rights, political participation and equitable redistribution*." (April 16 to May 21, Wednesdays, 7:30 to 10:00).

Most of the speakers were priced at about \$25 per three hour session. For less than \$10 an hour, Scott Armstrong of the *Washington Post* led discussions on the U.S. Supreme Court during the period 1969 to 1976, with the basic "text" for his course being the book he co-authored with the *Washington Post's* Watergate star reporter Robert Woodward, *The Brethren*.

On the same evening (Thursday, 7:30 to 10:00), Karen DeYoung, Deputy Foreign Editor of the *Washington Post*, provided insights into the role of U.S. correspondents overseas which were particularly interesting in light of her experiences covering the FSLN revolution in Nicaragua.

And its insights into the methods of the *Washington Post's* star reporters at home and abroad are of insufficient interest, Arthur Macy Cox examined based, based on his long career as a Soviet specialist in the State Department and CIA,

were Gar Alperovitz, Jeff Faux, Chuck Rawlings and Karl Frieden of the National Center for Economic Alternatives (NCEA) (formerly the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives); Giovanni Berlinguer, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy (CPI), member of the Italian Parliament and brother of PCI secretary-general Enrico Berlinguer; Ivanhoe Donaldson, a top organizer for the militant Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the 1960's and long-time IPS fellow who is now General Assistant to the Mayor of Washington, DC; Isabel Letelier, widow of the murdered Chilean KGB agent, Orlando Letelier; and James Zogby, national chairman of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC).

Other instructors include Pat Dowell (*Film and Sexual Politics*); Walter Hopps (*Twentieth Century American Art*); Michael Moffitt (*The International Economic Order*); and Jeremy Rifkin (*Paradigm Shift*) involving discussion of the themes "*from monopoly capitalism to economic democracy; from a centralized political republic to decentralized steady-state communities*."

The diverse range of subjects covered by IPS in this spring session of the Washington School is a product of the organization's decision to continue developing a middle-level influence network in Washington, DC. Next on the agenda, according to IPS fellow Jeffrey Stein, writing in *The Progressive*, is a "*'Progressive Club' in Washington—a place to eat, talk, throw around some dissident ideas*."

NOTE: Writing in the April 1980 issue of *The Progressive*, Jeffrey Stein gushes about how "*the other day*" he poked around *** and uncovered another part of the emerging underground *** the office of Marcus Raskin *** the Institute for Policy Studies."

Obviously Stein's use of the term "*the other day*" is highly flexible since in 1977 Jeffrey Hall Stein, a former U.S. Army Intelligence Officer in Vietnam, was an IPS associate fellow and an organizer of the IPS conference of U.S. and Japanese parliamentarians on Korea. More recently, in an article on anti-Castro Cuban groups in the *Village Voice* (3/10/80), Stein boasted of his contacts in Havana with the Cuban DGI, with whom, presumably, he is less dis-oriented as to time.

Other members of the IPS school faculty not assigned classes this spring include James

Solberg Ladd, Saul Landau, John Marks, Prexy Nesbitt, Michael Parenti, Charles Peters, Barbara Raskin, Earl Ravenal and Bereket Selassie. Lynn Liotta coordinated registration.

It is noted that Taylor Branch is co-authoring former Assistant U.S. Attorney Eugene Propper's movie and book on the killing of KGB agent Letelier; TNI director Saul Landau and former *Washington Post* reporter John Dinges are writing their own book on Letelier; while Michael Moffitt and Letelier's son Chris are reportedly disgusted with the exploitation.

When the Kennedy campaign was announced last year, the Alliance began developing a program to make Castro popular. As part of this program, it arranged a trip to Cuba led by Winpisinger. Among the passengers on Winpisinger's plane was Jane McMichael, who was meeting with Raoul Castro on the very same day that George Meaney, the former president of the AFL-CIO, was being buried.

About sixty representatives of one hundred unions and organizations of the left met on January 15, 1979, for a breakfast meeting at the Capitol Hilton hotel in Washington, DC, to formally launch the Progressive Alliance (PA).

The PA, which currently is using office space donated by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) at 1625 L Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036 (202, 452-4800), is an outgrowth of the Fraser Assembly, a meeting held in Detroit that was called by United Auto Workers president Douglas Fraser to organize a new political alliance.

While the sixty representatives and observers drank their orange juice and coffee and ate their sausage and scrambled eggs, they elected their convenor, UAW president Fraser, as chairman; agreed, with a minimum number of changes, to a grandiose statement, "*Toward a Progressive Alliance*," and nominated a steering committee of ten. Those invited to become members of the PA steering committee were William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists (IAM); Jules Bernstein, Laborers Union International; Rafe Pomerance, Friends of the Earth (FOR); William Lucy, AFSCME and Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU); Leon Sull, Americans for Democratic Action (ADA); Ellen Berman; Milly Jeffrey, National Women's Policy Organization (NWPO); Dorothy Height, National Association of Negro Women (NANW);

Progressive Alliance," was written by Marcus Raskin, now a "senior fellow" at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and a long-time instigator of "third party" left political moves who has had a significant influence on the People's Party, National Conference for New Politics (NCNP), Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and the 1976 Democratic Party platform. Working with Raskin on the statement were the UAW's Don Steelman and Steve Schlossberg.

In its call for "new agendas" and an "alliance of working people, minorities, women, the middle class, family farmers, environmentalists, senior citizens, the poor, the handicapped, educators, students, clergy and lay activists, consumers, and all those committed to human dignity, economic justice, and peace," the Progressive Alliance sets out the following goals:

"We will mobilize and fight for economic programs that provide full employment and stabilize prices, particularly in the cost of the basic necessities of life. ***

"We seek to protect the right of working people to organize and struggle as unionists to win security, dignity and their fair share of the wealth their labor creates. We demand the right of the poor, the unemployed, and others discriminated against in society to win that same security, dignity and personal well being. We advocate an end to the corporate domination that has created the massive inequities in distribution of income and wealth.

"We hope for policies that promote world peace and support a rational defense policy and the absence of excessive military spending. *** We seek ways of delivering health care as a basic right. ***

**** We believe in the importance of government as the vehicle through which the collective will of the people can be channeled to do what each of us as individuals cannot. We understand that many human needs can be met only by public and social services and we want a politics that responds to those human needs, even when society suffers from less rapid growth and economic setbacks."

PA tactics will include organizing "inside and outside the political parties," holding "citizen hearings," sponsoring demonstrations, underwriting "independent research and publications," and a totally non-exclusionary policy of collaboration with "all who seek to apply

ORIGINAL

TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Meeting of the National Executive Council

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Washington, D. C.
December 14, 1981

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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
Meeting of the National Executive Council

- - -

Thursday, December 11, 1980

10:10 a.m.

PRESENT:

KENNETH T. BLAYLOCK, National President
JOSEPH D. GLEASON, Executive Vice President
NICHOLAS J. NOLAN, National Secretary-Treasurer

NATIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS:

ROYAL L. SIMS
KENNETH C. WALSH
VIRGEL W. MILLER
DANIEL J. KEARNEY
CHARLES W. CARTER
SAMMY L. PENINGTON
BOBBY L. HARNAGE
GLEN J. PETERSON

JAMES H. LYNCH
ALLEN H. KAPLAN
WALTER F. PETERS
EDWARD KARALIS
MORTEN J. DAVIS
DONALD M. MacINTYRE
RALPH G. FITCH
BARBARA HUTCHINSON

ALSO PRESENT:

JAMES ROSA
BERNARD ZWINAK
GREGORY KENEFICK
JANE McMICHAEL

Clyde M. Webber Board Room
1325 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

MR. WALSH: That's right. But I do agree that we should -- my secretary always knows where I'm at, so I like what you said.

PRESIDENT BLAYLOCK: Okay. The motion was withdrawn. Was the second withdrawn?

MR. DAVIS: Yes.

PRESIDENT BLAYLOCK: Okay. Do we need a motion, or is it an understanding that this is just a policy we're going to all abide by and try to live with? Okay?

Okay, Vice President Kaplan is next. I'm not sure, Al, but I think some of these were caught up in that Legislative Committee report, and some of them maybe weren't.

MR. KAPLAN: I'll take them one by one, then.

These are a series of four resolutions that came out of a meeting we had in our district. The first one is for a tactically prepared membership, attachment 14. I'll read the "Resolved": "That AFGE conduct a detailed, scientific, membership-wide, direct action and tactics survey to properly assess membership readiness; and be it further resolved that AFGE conduct district-by-district direct action and tactical seminars, workshops, and speaking tours to acquaint the membership with various tactical approaches and opinions as public sector workers."

If there's a second, I'll speak on it.

MR. PETERS: I'll second it.

MR. KEARNEY: What attachment is that, Al?

MR. KAPLAN: Attachment 14.

One of the problems we consistently face over the years is that when an issue comes up like the one on appropriations did a couple of days ago, none of us are really in a position to say what our membership is ready to do. We have talked about gauging the membership, and we did a token type of survey, I think, during the last year.

But what we feel is necessary is to go into more depth and to educate the membership as to the options that are available, and get some feedback on what they are prepared to do, should the need arise. That's the basic thrust of this motion.

PRESIDENT BLAYLOCK: Okay, a comment on this for your information; I totally agree with the thrust of the motion. As a result of this item that came in -- you know, the Public Employee Department just had their planning conference for next year and I got a chance to talk to Bob Poley, who is president of PATCO. They presently have a team of, I think, three of their people in their headquarters office, and they are using organizers in the field. They are now

conducting a series of these types of seminars and workshops around the country; a very detailed, planned program, because they were looking very much for the possibility of a strike around their negotiations that are coming up sometime in the summer.

In order to prepare their locals and their organization to make sure what they did was effective, they developed a very planned program. In fact, they brought in some consultants to help them develop the program. I have asked Bob if he would be willing to sit down with a couple of our people and give us the benefit of what they're doing, and he indicated he would be more than glad to.

Okay, any further discussion on the motion?

(No response.)

PRESIDENT BLAYLOCK: No further discussion. Those in favor of the motion, let it be known by saying "aye."

(A chorus of "ayes.")

PRESIDENT BLAYLOCK: Opposed, "no."

(No response.)

PRESIDENT BLAYLOCK: The "ayes" have it, and the motion carried unanimously.

MR. KAPLAN: The next one is attachment 15. The "Resolves" are: "That AFGE seek to consolidate and strengthen

MR. PETERSON: Okay, no problem.

PRESIDENT BLAYLOCK: Any further questions or comments?

(No response.)

PRESIDENT BLAYLOCK: Hearing none, those in favor of the resolution, let it be known by saying "aye."

(A chorus of "ayes.")

PRESIDENT BLAYLOCK: Opposed, "no."

(No response.)

PRESIDENT BLAYLOCK: The resolution carried unanimously.

MR. KAPLAN: Attachment 16: "That AFGE will establish liaison with progressive research and development organizations, such as the Institute for Policy Studies, to assist AFGE in developing detailed, specific, reasonable alternatives to Administration and Congressional tax, budget, organizational, and contracting out proposals."

If there's a second, I'll talk on this.

MR. DAVIS: Second.

MR. KAPLAN: Again, this one is, I think, something that we've done, in part, to my understanding. This would place us on record, though, to continue those efforts. There is a research capability, particularly in D.C., of organizations

that either are working or could work on issues that we're concerned with, like the pension and Social Security merger, pay reform, and other issues. And I think it would be to our benefit to have them linked with us, or be able to draw on them as a matter of policy.

PRESIDENT BLAYLOCK: Yes, we're already into several of those. For instance, I sit on the Council for Research at the Wharton School of Economics, University of Pennsylvania. I serve as a member of the Aspen Institute. Most of them are economic-type think tanks, really, from a broad spectrum of the society.

MR. KAPLAN: We're not talking about the Heritage Foundation.

PRESIDENT BLAYLOCK: I'm glad you're not.

MR. KAPLAN: This leaves the discretion to the national office in terms of what you want.

PRESIDENT BLAYLOCK: Okay. Is there further discussion or debate?

(No response.)

PRESIDENT BLAYLOCK: If not, is there opposition?

(No response.)

PRESIDENT BLAYLOCK: No opposition; the motion carried unanimously.

'Spring offensive' against the Klan

Guardian Staff Correspondent

Washington, D.C.

More than 500 third world and white activists met here Jan. 30-31 to launch a "spring offensive" to counter the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and the general upsurge in racism.

The principal demands of the spring offensive are: that the Reagan administration and all levels of the government declare a national state of emergency concerning the rise of the Klan and racist violence, and that all federal, state and local governments enforce laws against murder and assault and enforce existing "anti-Klan statutes" which have been on the books since Reconstruction.

The meeting, held on the campus of Howard University, was the second conference of the National Anti-Klan Network (NAKN), a loose coalition of civil rights, left, trade union, religious, antiracist and feminist organizations founded in 1979.

Activists came to the conference painfully aware of the alarming growth of the KKK and racist violence since NAKN held its first major conference in December 1979 in Atlanta. That meeting, organized a month after the KKK murders of five antiracist activists in Greensboro, N.C., launched a national march against the KKK Feb. 2, 1980, that drew 7000 people.

"At that time," said the NAKN conference call, "we sounded an alarm, noting that racism and reaction were on the move again, and that the Klan and similar groups were their shock troops. We noted that racist ideology provides the underpinning for right-wing assaults on all our people—labor, women, the poor—and indeed, on all the democratic rights that are basic to a humane society. Events since then have proved us tragically correct," the call continued. "The Klan is marching again all over our country."

Most of the politically diverse forces here demonstrated awareness of the potential of the antiracist movement and the need to develop strategies to turn back the racist tide.

"We have come together from different races, sexes, political and religious beliefs, and different classes; we have come as Blacks, whites, men and women, gays and straights, communists and Christians, to demonstrate unity against the common enemy," said Rev. Lucius Walker, NAKN executive committee member and director of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizations (IFCO).

Participants, who came from every region of the U.S., reflected the broad character of the NAKN. Labor organizations represented were the National Education Association, the all-Black National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, and the United Steelworkers of America, among many others. Among left groups were the Communist Workers Party, Socialist Workers Party, Workers World Party, Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) and the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). Noticeably few members of the Organizing Committee for an Ideological Center, a Marxist-Leninist party-building group, were present. A number of

participants were connected with the party-building "rectification" movement centered around the journal Line of March. The Guardian also sent representatives.

In addition, legal and antiracist groups included the Center for Constitutional Rights, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, Dykes Against Racism Everywhere, the National Antiracist Organizing Committee, Those United to Fight Fascism, the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice (SOC) and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression. Among the civil rights, church-affiliated and feminist groups at the conference were the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), IFCO, the United Church of Christ, Feminist Women's Health Network and the National Organization for Women.

The spring offensive will employ three main tactics to press NAKN's demands. They are: a mass movement backing congressional hearings around the country probing government collusion with the KKK and racist violence; a week of antiracist mass protests; a national lobby in Washington, D.C., and local lobbying to bring attention to the urgent danger of racist violence.

The spring offensive proposal emphasized that it will be "aimed at making government/klan complicity" a major focus of the campaign.

'RESERVOIR OF ANTIRACIST SENTIMENT'

Anne Braden, SOC chairperson and a NAKN executive committee member, told the Guardian that the rise of racism and the KKK is "laying the groundwork for fascism in this country." But, she added, "there is a great reservoir of antiracist sentiment among whites and Blacks that can defeat this threat."

Braden also stressed that, while demanding congressional hearings and other reforms, the NAKN has "no illusions" about the real nature of the state. "Congressional hearings and the like will not be a solution," she said. "But it is important to demand and win concessions from the government."

The NAKN executive committee proposal was adopted by a majority of the conference participants. At the same time, they soundly defeated a counterproposal put forward by the Trotskyist RSL. This counterproposal criticized the NAKN statement, saying that the demand for congressional hearings on the Klan "sowed illusions" in the minds of the people about the true nature of the government. RSL also said that the NAKN proposal leads the people away from mass forms of struggle.

Other activists however pointed out that the spring offensive would not abandon mass struggles, adding that exposure of the KKK through congressional hearings could aid the movement.

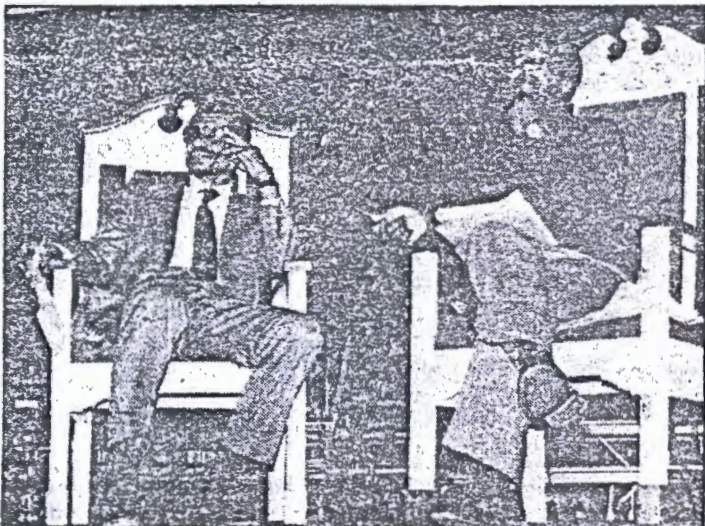
The NAKN executive committee was sharply criticized by many progressives, however, because discussion of the spring-offensive was not originally included on the conference agenda. Some participants felt that in many ways this reflected a general lack of democracy prevalent at the conference and a weak commitment of some forces to the mass mobilization aspect of the proposal. It was only after pressure from some activists and executive committee members that time for debating the campaign was allowed.

Workshops focused on topics such as police violence/government complicity; feminist response to the Klan; role of the church in the struggle against the Klan, and the role of labor against the Klan.

In addition to the workshops, antiracist activists gave reports to the plenary sessions on their various activities. Reports were made from Buffalo, N.Y., North Carolina, Mississippi, California, Ohio and other regions. Some of the major speakers at the conference were SOC's Braden, IFCO's Walker, SCLC's Rev. C.T. Vivian, Prof. Arthur Kinoy of the People's Alliance and Native American anti-Klan activist Ken Chastain.

While recognizing the incorrect position represented by the RSL, many leftists at the conference noted the political limitations of a demand for congressional hearings and called upon left forces to actively participate in the spring offensive in order to push the campaign in an activist, mass direction. As one activist from New York City said: "We have to, as the campaign proceeds, make sure we get the most effective results, not see the legalistic approach as the end result, but only the beginning of a more activist campaign to defeat the Klan and the right."

For more information: NAKN, 348 Convent Avenue, New York



Guardian photo by Frank Elton

Rev. C. T. Vivian (left) and Lucius Walker at National Anti-Klan

Francis J. McNamara

The Terrorism 'Report' That Didn't Exist

Saul Landau of the Institute for Policy Studies claimed ("Perspectives," March 26) that in 1980 a "Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to International Activity" had published a report about "myriad illegal and violent activities" carried out in this country, with the concurrence of the U.S. government, by foreign intelligence agencies. He further stated that the Senate report indicated that some of these agencies, which the United States had helped create through the CIA, were "leading practitioners of terrorism."

Landau's assertion of the existence and content of this official government document was designed to lend credibility to the central theme of his column—namely, that the priority given to combating international terrorism by the Reagan administration could be

The writer was formerly staff director of the House Un-American Activities Committee and executive secretary of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

a "double-edged sword" because the United States, in the name of national security, had itself promoted international terrorism.

Checks with the Senate reveal that no report of the type he described was published in 1980 and no committee with the name he gave existed. The official evidence cited as supporting his thesis is thus nonexistent.

The facts are as follows: In a project not formally considered or approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (though Chairman John Sparkman gave Sen. George McGovern approval for it), two staffers, Michael Glennon and John Ritch, interviewed persons unknown about activities of foreign intelligence agencies in the United States. No hearings were held; no one was interrogated under oath, though the interviews were recorded. In January 1979 Glennon alone drafted a document, based on the interviews, that was not intended for publication, purporting to relate the operations of certain foreign intelligence services in this country. Later, while at the State Department for "clearance and

correction," according to Ritch, it was leaked. The Post, on Aug. 9, 1979, made its contents the major page-one story and, before and after that date, published at least eight Jack Anderson columns based on it.

Saul Landau on April 2 told me he had seen a copy of the "full" report before an abridged version was published in 1980 with, he claimed, the "best parts" left out. This time he had a new

Taking Exception

name for the committee involved—the subcommittee to investigate the acts of foreign intelligence services in the United States. According to Senate officials, no such committee existed in 1980. Landau also told me the committee had held hearings in 1979, which it had not, and that the "facts" in the report had been affirmed by the Justice and State departments. In fact, State Department spokesman Tom Reston emphasized on Aug. 9 that the document was merely a

"draft," not a "final report," and said "we don't regard the conclusions of this draft report as accurate... we have fundamental disagreements with some of the facts and findings... we categorically deny that charge," and added that the department deplored the leak and had communicated its disagreements with the report to the Senate committee. Justice Department spokesmen also challenged the report's accuracy.

Later that same day Landau wrote to me that, although he had seen a typeset copy of the report that was "scheduled for publication" (which it was not), he had subsequently discovered that "it was not in fact published... for a variety of reasons."

So now we know from Landau himself that the official report that made up his key "evidence" of U.S. support for terrorism was nothing but a draft paper prepared by a Senate staffer, a paper criticized and challenged not only by State and Justice spokesmen, but by then White House spokesman Jody Powell as well.

[Editor's note: Landau says that he learned, from Francis McNamara, only

after publication of his Post article that what he had thought was a Senate report on the way to official publication had not in fact been published. He says he stands by the substance of his article.]

Informed Americans are aware that with their congressional and White House approval, the U.S. military and CIA have provided training for the forces of many other nations in counterinsurgency and guerrilla warfare and in intelligence organization and operations, as is completely proper, to help them defeat revolutionary Marxist movements attempting to impose totalitarian rule on unwilling victims. That, however, is a far cry from training them "in the crafts of terrorism."

When the U.S. Army trained American men for the Rangers in World War II and for the Special Forces in Vietnam, it did not become responsible for the few aberrational and criminal veterans who later used the knowledge and skills thus acquired to kill or maim their fellow citizens. Similarly, the United States is not responsible for—because it cannot control—what any foreign nation does with

military forces or intelligence agencies it has assisted. It incurs no blame if those wielding power should use them for other than legitimate defense purposes.

Thus, even if Landau had produced evidence that some foreign intelligence agencies that had received U.S. help in the past were now actually "leading practitioners of terrorism" (his column contained none), his logic would be completely faulty in blaming this country for this.

The United States, working through the United Nations and bilaterally and multilaterally with many nations, has taken numerous steps to halt the spread of terrorism. Despite these efforts, it has grown alarmingly. Something more must be done.

Landau has in the past espoused positions of Castro who, intelligence services and scholars agree, is one of the world's leading promoters and exporters of terrorism. He is disturbed by the Reagan policy, which is a threat to the principal weapon Castro has been using in his efforts to take over all of Central America.

The Post should not have lent a hand to his citation of a spurious report to support his anti-U.S. message.

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July 1980

America the Enemy

Profile of a Revolutionary
Think Tank

Rael Jean Isaac

Ethics and Public Policy Center • Washington, D.C.

This reprint is one of a series published by the Ethics and Public Policy Center. These reprints make available to a wider audience essays that offer thoughtful perspectives on issues of domestic and foreign policy. Like original Center studies, the reprinted essays are written by authors who recognize the validity of fundamental Western values and attempt to combine moral reasoning with empirical analysis. The authors alone are responsible for the views expressed.

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Ernest W. Lefever, Director
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America the Enemy

Profile of a Revolutionary
Think Tank

Rael Jean Isaac

Ethics and Public Policy Center • Washington, D.C.

Foreword

WASHINGTON, D.C., IS DOTTED with dozens of tax-exempt public policy centers. By law and in the eyes of the Internal Revenue Service, these educational organizations are chartered to serve the public good. They engage in a varied program of research, publication, and conferences. The two largest are the Brookings Institution, founded in 1927, and the American Enterprise Institute, established in 1943.

Most of these centers fall within the broad American value consensus and operate openly. The major exception is the Institute for Policy Studies, established in 1963. On the surface the IPS looks like other centers with similar names, but according to the analysis reprinted here it is the hub of a revolutionary political network. The declared aim of its multi-faceted program—both overt and covert—is not less than the radical transformation of America's basic intellectual, religious, economic, and political institutions.

IPS writers see contemporary America as the enemy, the brutal exploiter, the oppressor, the tyrant, both at home and abroad. Only revolutionary action, including "guerrilla politics," will transform America into what it should become. Among other things this means the unilateral disarmament of our military and intelligence services, the destruction of the capitalist system and particularly the multinational corporation, and the drastic reorientation of our schools and universities.

No such demands are made for the transformation of the Soviet Union. The Kremlin, according to Richard Barnet, an IPS co-founder, has succeeded in establishing "substantive" freedoms for its peoples (medical care, jobs, housing), whereas in the United States we

have only hollow "procedural" rights (speech, press, assembly). IPS writers criticize U.S. foreign policy at every turn. The occasional Soviet lapses from grace in the international sphere—such as support for the genocidal Pol Pot regime in Cambodia—are laid at the door of an aggressive America.

The key role of the IPS in the coalition attacking the Central Intelligence Agency is discussed in *The CIA and the American Ethic: An Unfinished Debate*, published by the Ethics and Public Policy Center in 1980.

The IPS story—which includes support for Third World terrorists, the employment of Orlando Letelier, who received funds from Cuban intelligence, the revealing of names and addresses of CIA officers abroad, and much more—is told here in a carefully researched article by Rael Jean Isaac. Dr. Isaac received her Ph.D. in political sociology from the City University of New York and has taught at Brooklyn College. She is the author of *Israel Divided*, published in 1976 by the Johns Hopkins University Press.

The Ethics and Public Policy Center is reprinting this profile of a dynamic and influential public policy organization as a service to American citizens and others interested in the pressures that bear on Washington policy-makers. As in all Center publications, the selection of facts and the views expressed are the responsibility of the author.

ERNEST W. LEFEVER, *President*
Ethics and Public Policy Center

July 1980

America the Enemy: Profile of a Revolutionary Think Tank

RAEL JEAN ISAAC

An unusual organization has been edging into prominence for some years. Its members — “Fellows” — have published many articles in *The New York Times*, and have appeared on television: *The Times* identifies the organization only as “a research organization based in Washington, D.C.,” while Jim Lehrer, on Channel 13, the “educational channel” of New York City, refers to it as a “liberal research outfit.”

Moreover a new novel, *The Spike*, has just appeared, written by two well-known commentators on world affairs, Arnaud de Borchgrave and Robert Moss, which is widely assumed to be based on this same organization. In the novel it is the channel through which the Soviet Union hopes to take over the United States.

Plainly, this “liberal research outfit” would seem to deserve some attention. What, in fact, is the Institute for Policy Studies?

Though the subject of a 1971 article in *Esquire*, a two-part series in *Barron's* in 1976, and a 1978 article in *The New York Post*, the Institute has received remarkably little attention in the major media, which, however, frequently publish the writings of its Fellows.¹ Yet the Institute represents an unprecedented success story: the achievement of the New Left, after its supposed demise, in shaping United States policy.

The Institute for Policy Studies was founded almost 20 years ago by Marcus Raskin and Richard Barnet, who were to remain its directors for 15 years. The two men had met while attending a White House/State Department disarmament conference on April 14, 1961. Raskin was on the staff of the National Security Council as an aide to McGeorge Bundy, and Barnet was Deputy Director for Political Research of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Barnet noticed Raskin's alienation — his contempt for and hostility toward “the whole military-industrial establishment sitting there at one table.” As Barnet later told an interviewer: “Marc and I both grimaced at the same moment — and knew we didn't belong here.” Within two years Barnet and Raskin had put together the necessary funding, personnel, and programming: the Institute began work in 1963.

But the roots of IPS go back earlier. While Barnet's prior activities gave no hint of the path he was to take

(Harvard Law School, graduate studies at Harvard and Princeton, a stint at a respected Boston law firm before entering government), on coming to Washington in 1959 as a legislative assistant to the then freshman Wisconsin Democratic Congressman Robert Kastenmeier, Raskin had organized the “Liberal Project.”

These were the Eisenhower years, when the major criticism of the Presidency was that its incumbent spent too much time on the golf course. While in retrospect they seem golden years, scarcely rich soil for the appearance of a Congressional protest movement, a small group of Congressmen, most of them first elected in 1958, felt that American policy was coasting on the outworn ideas of the New Deal and did not take into account a radically changed post-war world. James Roosevelt, one of the leaders of the group, spoke of a breakdown in “the transmission belt of ideas between intellectuals and politicians.” The model the Congressmen had in mind for the “Liberal Project” was the English Fabian Society, which provided the ideas (and to a considerable extent the personnel) for the Labor Party in England in the first decades of the century.

The Liberal Project died when five of the dozen Congressmen who made it up lost their seats in 1960. Its chief legacy was a volume called *The Liberal Papers*, edited by James Roosevelt, presenting the new perspective it was hoped would provide a foundation for policy.

Though the tone of the *Liberal Papers* is calm, civilized, and rational, and — in sharp contrast to what was to become the Institute for Policy Studies — the good faith of United States policy-makers is not impugned, an analysis of it points to themes that were to be fundamental for IPS: the need for total disarmament; the abandonment of existing alliances; the need to encourage revolutionary change in the underdeveloped world. Several contributors to the *Liberal Papers* were to play a part in IPS. David Riesman (with Barnet and Raskin) was one of the three trustees listed in the certificate of incorporation in November, 1962; Michael MacCoby and Arthur Waskow were to become Fellows of the Institute.

The distinguishing marks of IPS have been its choice of audience, its methods, and its ideas. To begin with the least imaginative of these — the ideas — they have been endlessly restated in the voluminous writings of the IPS

founders and Fellows, some of them published directly by the Institute, some by mainstream publishing houses. Perhaps the best source is the writings of Marcus Raskin, described by IPS colleagues as "one of this country's most able political thinkers and theorists" and "one of America's leading political scientists and political philosophers."

Raskin describes the United States as an imperialist country ("The American imperium . . . is now viewed as the world's primary enemy by the poor and the young") whose inhabitants themselves are colonized.² Within our Colonized Society (these as well as all subsequent capital letters are Raskin's) there are "four overlapping Colonies" each of which "hollows out man and objectifies him for the purpose of running the Colony." The most important Colony, the one that maintains the others, is the Violence Colony, whose rulers, specialists in the techniques of violence, use "the rest of society as their hostage." A primary tool of the Violence Colony is the university, which is "the fundamental shield and terrorizing instrument of the state."

Cowed by the Violence Colony, people in the Plantation Colony "work at meaningless and unreal jobs to obtain things that they are led to want" but which do not satisfy "human needs." In the Channeling Colony (known by less profound minds as the educational system) people are "broken" into "accepting authority structures. Its inmates learn to become bored, user-used and hollowed out." People are lulled into passive acceptance of the other colonies by the Dream Colony, which "provides a surrogate of action and passion for the colonized, replacing their own actions and passions, which could stem from human feeling."

Raskin explains how the small elite that colonizes the mass of American citizens enforces the external empire. The turning point, says Raskin, came in 1940, when the United States gave up its status as one of several great powers "to reach for the brass ring: world hegemony." While war with "great powers" would be avoided after 1945, "fighting continuous war in the lands of the poor and wretched was acceptable, and to some extent was the way the ruling elite thought American dominance would be maintained." Eventually, a President's day would be "spent in activities that were more criminal than political, from plotting wars to buying foreign government officials." As the elite saw it, war for the public "would be a sport, a diversion at most. . . . The droning of everyday life would be relieved with the purpose and determination of the leaders."³

In Raskin's books the political leadership of the United States becomes a cabal of evil-doers, a replica of the Nazi leadership — to be dealt with in a similar way. "Decolonization" can only be accomplished if the "national-security state is dismantled." The only incentive for leaders to avoid imperial adventures is to know they will be held personally responsible. Citing the Nuremberg Laws, Raskin provides his own model law "for

demilitarizing American society." Crimes include "threatening and provoking other nations and lands with U.S. or third-party military and paramilitary forces," and even "developing a militarist economy." Those found guilty would be liable to discharge from the Civil Service or, if their offense was severe, confiscation of property and custodial imprisonment for seven years "at socially useful work."

Once the Violence Colony is eliminated, decolonization of other social sectors will become possible. The Plantation Colony will be replaced by workers operating their own industries established with government taxes. One presumes that those, like Raskin, who know what human needs *really* are will decide what is produced by them. The Channeling Colony will be overcome when records are destroyed, grades and tests abolished, and "free inquiry" put in its place. The Dream Colony will be replaced by a television that is used "to build continuous new relationships between people in an associative, democratic way."

There is not much danger that a dismantled Violence Colony will be resurrected because in the "Reconstructed Society" all decisions will be made in face to face local meetings. These meetings will choose whether, for example, a MIRV missile is desired over a new community center. Workers will control their own taxes until the end of the year and then decide to what authority they wish to give them. National budgets will be voted in local assemblies. In short, the "Reconstructed Society" is an anarchist-syndicalist federation of autonomous cooperatives. Since present human imperfection is wholly attributable to the colonizing agents, in Raskin's utopia there will be no hierarchy, no coercion, no real organization beyond the local level.

The flood of writings by IPS Fellows neither add to nor contradict Raskin's outpourings. The United States is evil. IPS Fellows Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau explain⁴ how Americans have celebrated a terrible past. "Racism" against every minority group is the real history of the United States. The democratic institutions of the United States are worthless. Elections, says IPS Fellow Michael Parenti,⁵ are only a symbol and voting "less an exercise than a surrender of sovereignty." A favorite IPS theme, it is echoed by, among others, Arthur Waskow, who calls elections "an elaborate way of collecting power from the people and handing it over to someone else." IPS Fellows are enthusiastic about Third World terrorist and revolutionary movements and the states that embody them; many of these of course, have dispensed with elections altogether.

While the Soviet Union is not always defended as flawless, the United States is consistently portrayed as the aggressor in U.S.-Soviet relations. Parenti puts "totalitarian" in quotes, suggesting this is a false label applied to the Soviet Union. Richard Barnet contrasts

"substantive" and "procedural" freedoms. We have the "procedural" freedoms (speech, the press, assembly) while the Soviet Union has the more solid-sounding "substantive" freedoms (medical care, jobs, housing). Barnet asserts on his own authority that he is sure that Soviet citizens, if given the choice between the two, would select their "substantive" freedom. What IPS Fellows never concede is that the Soviet Union poses any threat to the United States. Soviet behavior is invariably defined as "defensive" in nature.⁶

Although IPS is normally classified as a movement of the radical Left, it works readily with individuals and movements of the radical Right, and could easily move wholly in that direction. Karl Hess, a founding editor of *National Review* and a one-time speechwriter for Barry Goldwater, found that IPS corresponded to his own "right wing anarchist libertarian" philosophy. IPS staffers fill the pages of *Inquiry*, the chief journal of the Libertarian movement, and IPS and the Libertarian Cato Institute have undertaken a joint project to "study the military, financial and political implications of a strictly non-interventionist United States foreign policy."

What IPS is really concerned about is assuring United States withdrawal of support from "reactionary" regimes world-wide. Once that is done, IPS is quite confident in the ability of "progressive" forces (backed presumably by the "progressive" arms of Cuba, the Soviet Union, etc.) to achieve victory. Although IPS, with its goal of some sort of decentralized communal socialism is more strictly in the anarchist tradition than the Libertarians with their belief in the free market, the two make common cause in calling for an end to U.S. intelligence services and for unilateral U.S. disarmament.

The radical Right orientation in IPS thought is visible in a book by IPS Fellow Earl Ravenal,⁷ who argues for "nonintervention." He contrasts this with appeasement, which he accurately observes, is a form of intervention. United States policy toward Israel, says Ravenal, is a policy of appeasement. Israel is pressured to make concessions to the Arab states — at present to relinquish the West Bank to some form of Arab rule. American aid and promises of future support are predicated on these concessions. Yet ironically, Ravenal notes, appeasement produces a more dependent ally in a position of less strength, more dependent than ever on a less reliable guarantor. Ravenal's solution is withdrawal. Countries to which the United States has made commitments will have to seek the best deal they can with their adversaries.

What of powers that might seek to advance as the United States withdraws? Ravenal says airily that we will have "to let our adversaries have their season of mischief in the world." The process of disengagement will not end until the United States has found "a new, obvi-

ously defensible security frontier." Europe? Canada? Mexico? The borders of the U.S.? Ravenal does not define what an "obviously defensible" frontier would be.

The strength of IPS has, indeed, been much less in its ideas than in its methods. IPS combined theory and action in what Raskin called "the project" and the "social invention." As Arthur Waskow, a founding Fellow who remained at the Institute until a wage dispute led him and a number of other long-time Fellows to begin a rival Policy Resource Center in 1977, described this approach:

The Institute is not just an ordinary research center because it's committed to the idea that to develop social theory one must be involved in social action and in social experiment. And therefore, the Institute stands on the bare edge of custom in the United States as to what an educational research institution is, as against what a political institution is.⁸

In IPS the distinction between research and political action virtually disappears. We shall show that the genius of IPS has been the use of all the political techniques whose legitimacy it denied and sought to eliminate from the arsenal of government. Major targets of IPS have been government intelligence agencies for their spying, covert actions, and subversion; the corporation, especially the multinational corporation; and U.S. "imperialism."

IPS can fairly be described as an enormous intelligence operation practicing both covert action and subversion. It is itself an adaptation of the multinational corporation, and serves as an "imperial" nerve center, with endless subsidiary operations that in turn influence and shape a whole series of ostensibly independent groups.

The most imaginative of the IPS intelligence operations is the so-called Government Accountability Project (GAP). The Government Accountability Project encourages government employees to expose wrongdoing in their agencies. It calls this "whistleblowing" and provides a whistleblower's hot line directly to IPS. A three-day Conference on Whistleblowing held in Washington in June, 1977, featured a number of participants whose remarks centered on such areas as pilferage, bribery, discrimination, and conflict of interest, but IPS staffers at the conference made it clear that *their* primary area of interest was intelligence operations and Defense Department activities.⁹ To underscore the point they planned a special conference on whistleblowing in the national security agencies. IPS urges federal employees to push (through their unions) for the establishment of a written, guaranteed, and legislated right "to blow the whistle." IPS has provided model legislation to encourage and protect whistleblowers by, among other provisions, forcing the government to pay a whistleblower's

legal fees, give him paid leaves of absence during litigation, and punish supervisors for harassment.

Another major information-gathering operation of IPS is directed against the large corporation. And while monitoring the large corporation for abuses has an appealing ring, it must be remembered that the purpose of IPS is not to force the corporation to live up to a high standard of behavior but, as IPS freely admits, to abolish it. One of the early projects was a 1970 study of "industrial security" in 500 corporations, most of them with government defense contracts. The corporations were asked, "as a starting point," to give information about the "person or persons in charge of your security program." According to Raskin, some 200 corporations cooperated in the study.¹⁰

Another project is the Counter-Information Services of the Transnational Institute (the international arm of IPS). Information that IPS describes as "closely guarded behind boardroom doors or barred in secret files" is unveiled in a series of "anti-Reports" focussing upon, for example, the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation, General Electric, British Leyland, Unilever, etc.¹¹ The Corporate Data Exchange is a more ambitious project. Started in 1975, it is designed to investigate corporate control and economic concentration in all the major industries. Revealing the principal stockholders and investments of companies, the Exchange is useful in economic warfare campaigns in the name of "human rights" against countries targeted for "progressive" revolution.¹²

The Transnational Institute also has a Multinational Monitoring Project that is "developing an international network of researchers who investigate the operations of different multinational corporations . . . analyzing their impact upon development abroad and economic dislocation at home." Similarly, the Institute for Southern Studies, an IPS subsidiary established in 1970, is directed against the "exploitation" of regional workers by major corporations and according to its own literature "is systematically collecting, evaluating and disseminating data on the operations of over 400 corporations in the South."¹³ As part of its Militarism and Disarmament Project, IPS "monitors" U.S. arms sales and transfers.

Spying on the spies, or more elegantly, the exposure and nullification of Western intelligence operations is an important part of IPS concerns. In 1971, IPS began its own Internal Security Project to study the intelligence agencies. When, around the same time, disenchanting military intelligence officers from Vietnam Veterans Against the War joined together to provide the basis for what was to become *Counterspy*, IPS made its facilities available to them. The key figure in *Counterspy* was to be CIA defector Philip Agee. *Counterspy*'s revelations of the identity of CIA agents around the world was followed by the murder of one of them, Richard Welch, in Athens. IPS co-director Marcus Raskin was on the advisory board of the Organizing Committee for the

Fifth Estate which published *Counterspy*.

Agee, in the British edition of his book, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, wrote of the debt he owed to the Cuban government and to three people who had provided him with information. One of the three was Michael Locker,¹⁴ who became the director of IPS/Transnational Institute's Corporate Data Exchange and a member of the IPS Ad Hoc Working Group on Latin America. (Agee now lives in Cuba, having been deported from both England and Holland for contacts with Soviet intelligence.)^{*}

IPS has also sought to discredit the intelligence agencies. It has made two films on defectors, one on former CIA officer John Stockwell revealing, in the words of IPS, "heretofore unknown information about CIA practices and policies,"¹⁵ and another on former FBI agent Robert Wall, which has the additional merit of describing an FBI investigation of the Institute. A number of IPS Fellows took part in "A teach-in on Techno-Tyranny" in 1975 at the University of Michigan focussing on alleged "political assassination" and "police repression" in the United States.¹⁶

The projects described above involve covert action by IPS as well as simple intelligence gathering. Government employees were not informed that the Government Accountability Project (GAP) was an IPS project operating from the ground floor of the IPS building at 1901 Q Street. The brochure distributed by IPS to government employees states that the Government Accountability Project is the work of a "public interest group to help restore confidence in the federal system." A typical IPS handout for the project has a red, white, and blue cover with an American flag. Government employees are made to believe that they engage in patriotic acts, preventing abuses in their agencies, not that they contribute toward bringing down what IPS likes to call the "national-security state." And while the Project's literature states that GAP "works directly with journalists" it does not mention that this builds up the influence of IPS Fellows with newsmen — making them a source of valuable "leaks" — to whom favors are due in return.

The Corporate Data Exchange also involves IPS in "covert action." The Corporate Data Exchange, in the literature it sends out describes itself as "an independent tax-exempt research organization."¹⁷ Actually it is a project of IPS's Transnational Institute and is listed as such in Transnational Institute material.

IPS activity on behalf of the PLO deserves to be characterized as yet another "covert operation." Since blatant identification with the PLO might be embarrassing to some IPS funders, support is given indirectly. MERIP, the Middle East Research and Information Project, founded in 1971, supports the major Middle East terror groups.¹⁸ IPS Fellows Joe Stork and Fred Halliday are editors of *MERIP Reports* and MERIP has repeatedly used IPS facilities for its meetings. IPS Fel-

low Eqbal Ahmad has engaged in fund-raising efforts for MERIP.¹⁹ The Institute for Policy Studies' Cambridge offshoot offered courses on the Middle East taught by MERIP staffers: the catalogue description stated that "research will be oriented towards eventual publication in *MERIP Reports*."

A number of IPS Fellows have been featured speakers at the conventions of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates and suggested speakers of the Organization of Arab Students in the U.S. and Canada.²⁰ IPS Fellows attend PLO conferences: in November, 1976, IPS Fellow Joe Stork spoke at the "International Symposium on Zionism as a Racist Phenomenon" in Baghdad. Eqbal Ahmad is listed as a sponsor of the PLO support group, the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. An internal IPS memo sent on February 11, 1976 by IPS Fellow Saul Landau proposed a series of discussions among "friendly" members of Congress, such as James Abourezk and Anthony Mofett, members of the PLO, Jewish "doves," IPS people, and Arab-Americans not in Congress.²¹

The advantages of covert operations are obvious. On the one hand, potentially embarrassing affiliations can be concealed, and on the other, supposedly independent groups, publications, news services, etc. can echo the IPS line while it appears to the public that they are being exposed to information, issues, and opinions developed by independent organizations.

Mother Jones, a glossy West Coast magazine which fills the gap left by the passing of *Ramparts*, poses as an independent journal. In the February-March, 1977 issue the magazine raises the question, "Who's Behind Mother Jones?" The reply is lengthy and virtuous, "no banks, no corporations," but there is no mention of the Institute for Policy Studies. *Mother Jones* asserts that it is published by a nonprofit foundation, the Foundation for National Progress. The magazine's readers have no way of knowing that the Foundation for National Progress is a project of IPS. This can be ascertained from the Foundation's financial statements, but these are not, of course, distributed to readers of *Mother Jones*. In an April, 1977 article *Mother Jones* endorsed its own candidates for high position in the Carter administration. It offered IPS co-director Richard Barnet as the ideal Secretary of State and Gar Alperovitz of the IPS offshoot, the Cambridge Institute, as the ideal director of the Office of Management and the Budget. Again, readers did not realize this was simple self-aggrandizement by the Institute.

The Internal Revenue Service prohibits a substantial part of the activities of a publicly supported organization from going for "propaganda." To help circumvent possible problems, *Mother Jones*, which relies on IPS writers and echoes all IPS themes, is defined as a journal of the Foundation for National Progress. One does not

subscribe to *Mother Jones* but becomes a member of the Foundation, entitling one to the Foundation's publication.

The subversion of IRS requirements is also apparent in IPS transferring of foundation funds. The Stern Fund, a long-time IPS supporter, gave IPS \$30,000 in 1976 earmarked for the IPS project, the National Committee for Alternative State and Local Public Policies. One of the most successful of IPS projects, it brings together elected city and state officials to consider "alternative" legislation at the local level (government control of utilities, government ownership of banks, "community control" of business, etc.). According to the Internal Revenue Code the Stern Foundation must certify that it did not pay any monies to "attempt to influence legislation" or "communicate with any other government official or employee who may participate in formulation of legislation."²²

Again, the Pacific Alliance of the Foundation for National Progress produces anti-nuclear energy materials and wrote and coordinated an anti-nuclear ballot initiative for California. This activity, too, would appear to be prohibited by the IRS code, which says that no publicly supported charity can "attempt to influence any national, state or local legislation" or "participate or intervene in any political campaign."²³

The combination of "covert action" with "subversion" is also apparent in the operations of the Pacific News Service. This masquerades as an "independent, non-profit source of news and analysis." Brochures do mention that the Service is a project of the Bay Area Institute — but not that the Bay Area Institute is a subsidiary of the Institute for Policy Studies. Although the Service is a propaganda vehicle, and should not be eligible for foundation funds, it is able to offer lower rates than rival news services that pay taxes. It has become attractive to editors of major papers, especially now that it has become more sophisticated, dropping repetitive tell-tale phrases like "fascist regimes," "U.S. imperialism," etc. that marred earlier writing.

But perhaps the most impressive project for what certainly can be described as "subversion" has been David Cortright's study for IPS of insurgent movements in the armed forces. Active in the so-called GI Movement of protest against the Vietnam War, Cortright was brought to IPS where he engaged in a study of the army for several years. In a report on his IPS-sponsored trip to an anti-NATO Congress in Holland, Cortright professed to be encouraged by a rank and file opposition to military service in all the "highly capitalized nations." Cortright asserts that "democratization and resistance inside the army represent our best hope for preventing war and restraining aggressive State power." Although the specific grievances of soldiers (more money, long hair, better conditions) might seem "reformist" demands, Cortright points out that "to gain mass support" they must be addressed. Furthermore, Cortright notes,

even such marginal issues can produce radical change for they have implications for the relations of power within the ranks and thus can undermine military discipline. Cortright concludes that the effort to achieve a mass soldier organization within the American armed forces should be considered, for it could have the effect of "crippling military effectiveness."²⁴

The Institute for Policy Studies has in fact, created its own empire — its own version of the "multinational corporation." Just as multinationals developed because they found that rational economic organization required operation across national lines, so IPS established the Transnational Institute because it recognized, in its own words, "that the social and political problems of the United States . . . are in fact part of larger global problems."²⁵ More prosaically, IPS found a foreign-based operation a more convenient way to establish working contacts with a host of international "liberation" groups, among them the PLO.

In *Race and Class*, the Transnational Institute's journal "for Black and Third World Liberation," Eqbal Ahmad, in a memorial tribute, describes his close relationship with PLO leader Rashed Hussein who, writes Ahmad, "was clearer than many of us on the dangers Israel represented for the future." One of Rashed Hussein's plans that Ahmad praises was to embark on a massive funeral march from Amman to Jerusalem to bring the body of the ex-Mufti Hajj Amin al-Husseini "home" for burial.²⁶ (The ex-Mufti was the notorious fomentor of terror who spent World War II in Germany urging Hitler to murder the Jews faster.)

Although only a fraction of IPS projects have been mentioned here, the empire is much broader than even a complete listing would suggest. Other groups that seem independent of IPS are in fact linked with it through a network of interlocking directorates of a complexity and multiplicity most multinationals would envy.²⁷ Even more important, IPS serves as the nerve center of what is known as "the Movement," the coalition of groups advocating radical change in American society that developed out of the civil rights movement, the New and Old Left, and the anti-war movement; it now finds itself coalescing in the anti-nuclear energy campaign.

Were it not for the rise of the New Left, which emerged almost simultaneously with IPS, IPS might have had little more impact than the Liberal Project. Although Barnett, Raskin, Maccoby, Waskow, and Alperovitz, the key early IPS figures, were ten years older than the new student radicals, they had anticipated many of their concerns. Others they quickly adopted as their own. IPS, partly through its student intern programs, partly through the leadership role its Fellows took in the anti-war movement, partly through being an ongoing presence for a movement that was amorphous

and prone to split when it organized, played a major role for the New Left.

At first IPS involvement with the New Left and the anti-war movement seemed to have derailed the Institute. Most of its original audience of policy-makers was lost as IPS became increasingly militant and its leading Fellows were arrested. But once the war was over, IPS was greatly strengthened. IPS now had a new credibility among policy-makers for, with the war lost, those who had opposed it early appeared vindicated. The "extreme" nature of IPS Fellows' opposition (a trip to North Vietnam, disruptive demonstrations) was forgotten. And IPS had a wider audience now. While the New Left disappeared from public consciousness after the war, its adherents did not disappear. Many became government officials at various levels and were responsive to IPS efforts to bring down the system through the system. They flocked to the annual National Conferences on Alternative State and Local Public Policies. "Graduates" of the New Left constitute much of the broader IPS public and subscribe to the various IPS journals.

The rise of new protest movements, many of them deriving inspiration from the old, has also enhanced the importance of IPS. Many of the new groups are primarily concerned with a single issue — peace groups, consumer groups, anti-nuclear groups, groups of dissatisfied minorities from gays to American Indians, groups seeking the "liberation" of one of a number of foreign lands from "Palestine" to El Salvador. IPS is able to supply what Fellow Gar Alperovitz calls the "conscious political vision" essential to set the "partial" goals in an overall ideological context.

For IPS, the nuclear energy issue is now crucial, an equivalent of the Vietnam War in its ability to mobilize masses. From the standpoint of IPS, nuclear energy is a "reformist" issue, like long hair and higher pay in the army, but like those issues it has the potential for creating structural changes (e.g., retarding growth) that do concern IPS.

It has been part of the "conscious political vision" of IPS that, in Raskin's words, "this country and modern nations run on ideas to a large extent" and "on the political level, you have to develop a sense that there are groups within the organized political structure — Congress or the Executive — who are interested in such ideas. Otherwise no real political transformation can occur."²⁸

IPS's experiences in its years on the "outside" had strengthened this view among its Fellows. The demonstration at the Democratic National Convention in 1968 strengthened the IPS conviction that its original course had been correct. After the demonstrations at the convention, which he helped to plan, Waskow wrote: "The lesson of Chicago is guerrilla politics — not guerrilla war. . . . Our armies of the night need new recruits — to

get them we must invent a political course of action, not street tactics."²⁹

Initial access to policy-makers was, of course, not difficult because IPS founders had all played a role in government. Shortly after its founding, IPS, in the fall of 1963, held a "Seminar on National Security and Disarmament" to which White House and State Department officials, Congressmen, and their leading staff members were invited. It exemplified the pattern of "information gathering" that was the IPS hallmark. The seminar studied the structure and operations of the U.S. defense system; its Congressional, Defense Department, and defense industry interactions; and how and by whom policies were formulated and decisions implemented down the chain of command. In the words of the IPS prospectus, the seminar was designed to find "the loci and levers of change in the present system," i.e., the pressure points to bring it down. The information was provided by the government aides and officials who participated as well as by other officials with whom they established contacts for IPS.

Seminars held by IPS for Congressmen in 1965 on "The New Era of American Policy and Statecraft," according to John Rees, were seminal in the formation of Members of Congress for Peace through Law (MCPL).³⁰ During the period of IPS disfavor on Capitol Hill, MCPL in many respects carried forward the kinds of policies IPS would have favored. MCPL coordinated votes against appropriations for the Vietnamese War and against aid to the South Vietnamese government. From small beginnings, the MCPL has developed into a body of 188 members of the House and Senate that acts as a lobby to limit defense spending; it has opposed all the major new weapons development proposals. Individual members of the MCPL have been in the forefront of the effort to hobble the intelligence agencies.³¹ The MCPL also serves as a "human rights" lobby. The human rights problems examined are primarily those of countries allied with or friendly to the U.S.

Perhaps the most dramatic instance of renewed IPS influence on Capitol Hill is the "alternative budget." In 1975, John Conyers (Dem.-Mich.), one of the most stalwart IPS supporters on the Hill, in the name of 47 members of Congress, almost all of them members of the MCPL, invited IPS to prepare a study of the (Ford) budget. IPS produced a 120-page study. The following year, 55 members of Congress asked IPS "to extend its excellent analysis of the Budget to include concrete proposals on how federal spending should be redirected."³² The Alternative Budget, now called the Basic Needs Budget, has become an IPS institution. IPS's National Priorities Project is now active in developing strategy for the Transfer Amendment that would mandate the spending of billions of dollars to be cut from the defense budget for programs that "meet human needs." The Amendment has wide support among the Members of Congress for Peace through Law.

The human rights campaign of the Carter administration has proved an enormous boon to IPS. In its campaigns on Capitol Hill, IPS has concentrated upon Chile and South Korea, the first because a "progressive" regime (that of Salvador Allende) was toppled by a "reactionary" regime (that of Augusto Pinochet); the second because it represents the most direct United States commitment remaining outside Europe. IPS has successfully mobilized support from its Congressional admirers. Representative Tom Harkin (Dem.-Iowa) called a Capitol Hill news conference in April, 1978, at which IPS's Howard Wachtel and Isabel Letelier presented a "new" report (it had already been given seven months earlier at a U.N. hearing) on loans from private banks to the Chilean government. In response to these revelations, Representative Henry Reuss (Dem.-Wis.), chairman of the House Banking Committee, sent telegrams to six of the major banks cited in the report urging them to "give the American people a full public explanation of why they are keeping a pariah nation afloat."³³

IPS held a "Conference of Japanese and U.S. Parliamentarians on Korean Problems" in September, 1977, under Congressional sponsorship in the Cannon Office Building. In his keynote speech, George McGovern called for a "new" policy in Korea based on detachment of the United States from South Korea because of its human rights violations. The United States and North Korea together, said McGovern, could effect a "peaceful resolution" of the conflict. Subsequent speakers dwelt at length on South Korean human rights violations and "corruption" in the relations between both Korea and the United States, and Korea and Japan. Since IPS had structured the conference, there was little opportunity to examine what the human rights situation was in North Korea.

IPS also was one of the sponsors of a Capitol Hill conference on Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, and Uruguay entitled "U.S. Latin American Policy and Human Rights" in September, 1977. That the Institute for Policy Studies should have become a moral arbiter on human rights for Congressmen must surely rank as a macabre joke, for it excuses the most repressive states on the Left and the most vicious terror organizations.

IPS has had a major impact in the weakening of U.S. intelligence capabilities. The Church committee hearings on intelligence abuses in 1975-76 were influenced by the long-standing campaign of IPS and related groups against the intelligence agencies. At present, the Center for National Security Studies, to which IPS is closely related (its previous head, Robert Borosage, a former Fellow and long-time trustee of IPS, is now IPS director), has assumed a leading role in the battle for further restricting the powers of both the FBI and CIA, already severely restricted in the current proposed

charters being considered by Congress. At a January, 1980, hearing on an Intelligence Identities Protection Act that would make it a criminal offense to disclose the names of U.S. intelligence agents operating abroad, Morton Halperin of the Center testified that this would be an unconscionable violation of "freedom of speech." The director of the CIA testified that unless disclosure was penalized, the agency would find it impossible to operate.³⁴

Another indication of the extent of IPS influence on policy-making is that the Institute's "policy experts" have become Establishment experts. IPS-Transnational Institute established in 1976 an Ad Hoc Working Committee on Latin America headed by Roberta Salper, who in 1973 had served as a member of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, a Castroite group calling for immediate liberation of Puerto Rico from U.S. "imperialism."³⁵ Of the other six members of the group, four were also staff or consultants to the privately funded (Ford and Rockefeller Brothers) Commission on United States-Latin American Relations, better known as the Linowitz Commission. Not surprisingly, the two groups came up with similar policy recommendations. The IPS study was released after the Linowitz one and was designed to increase support for it. Since many of the recommendations were adopted by the administration, one assumes that the IPS document, known among IPS staff as "Son of Linowitz," did not hurt the parent.

In a remarkable irony, IPS has become mentor to Congress on the American democratic process it despises. "The Program of Political Transition" of IPS in 1978 directed an ongoing seminar on the Democratic Party, "its composition, direction, and the role of progressives within it" for Congressmen and their staff.³⁶

In Congress then, IPS has concentrated its efforts on undermining support for the defense budget (in the name of "human needs"), making it impossible for the intelligence agencies to function (in the name of "freedom of speech") and denying the legitimacy of governments allied with or friendly to the United States (in the name of "human rights"). Since the ability of the United States to maintain itself as a great power rests on its defense forces, its intelligence services, and its allies, IPS has concentrated upon the crucial areas in its campaign to destroy the United States as what IPS calls "the Violence Colony."

IPS has won financial support to match its increased influence. Beginning with a budget of under \$200,000 contributed by a variety of liberal foundations, IPS now has a budget of over \$1 million. This does not include many of its projects which bring in an additional million a year.

By far the most important donor in the last decade has been the Samuel Rubin Foundation. The President of the Rubin Foundation is radical lawyer Peter Weiss, married to Rubin's daughter Cora Weiss, also an officer

of the Foundation and a radical activist. Peter Weiss is chairman of the board of the Institute for Policy Studies. In 1974, the Rubin Foundation gave \$1,200,000 to the Transnational Institute and, while that was the high point of funding, it has since given between \$400,000 to \$500,000 a year to IPS. Since substantial funds have gone separately to IPS projects, the Rubin Foundation's contribution is even larger than it appears to be. (For example, in 1974 the Rubin Foundation also gave \$62,500 to IPS's Health Policy Advisory Center, \$20,000 to the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives, etc.³⁷) Since large sums have also gone to the Fund for Tomorrow, another Peter and Cora Weiss-controlled foundation, which in turn siphons more money to IPS, the Rubin Foundation contribution indeed mounts up. Over \$2 million went to IPS from the now defunct DJB Foundation, whose founder, Daniel J. Bernstein, said the chief enemy of mankind was "the injustice of governments and of the United States government in particular."

IPS Fellows are encouraged to find their own sources of support for specific projects to supplement monies raised by the Institute. A consistent source of this kind of support has been the Louis Rabinowitz Foundation. The Rabinowitz Foundation, like IPS, has displayed interest in the armed forces, and financed the National Lawyers Guild South East Asia Military Project, which according to a Congressional study "Organized Subversion in the Armed Forces" was engaged in efforts to foster disobedience within the army in the Pacific area.³⁸

An internal Transnational Institute memo dated September 9, 1976, discovered by police in the briefcase of its then director Orlando Letelier following his murder (of which, more shortly), suggests another source for IPS funds. The memo mentioned the difficulties the Institute would face if it accepted money from foreign governments while continuing to maintain financial independence from the U.S. government. The memo suggested that a way around the problem could be found if such funds were used indirectly to fund jointly sponsored conferences or by funding facilities, travel, etc. by direct purchase so that they did not enter the books. To what extent such practices have been employed by IPS must be unknown — if used, they do not appear on the books.

We have already noted that many of the leading figures of IPS were originally government officials in responsible positions who left the government because of disillusionment with prevailing policy assumptions. Under the Carter administration, there has been a reverse movement as individuals linked to IPS, its subsidiaries, and closely related groups, have moved into government, especially into the National Security Council, the Department of State (not surprisingly they

are attracted to the "human rights" sector), and ACTION, which controls various social action programs. It was presumably to this new cadre that Senator Moynihan referred when he urged President Carter to demonstrate his seriousness about adopting a more realistic policy toward Soviet expansion by dismissing those of his appointees who held the reverse perspective and now implemented policy.

The return of IPS to government is a symptom of the Institute's greatest triumph: winning a broadly accepted legitimacy. The Institute has established cooperative programs with leading universities, including Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies* and Antioch College among others. IPS has offered a Ph.D. program in conjunction with Union Graduate School of Yellow Springs, Ohio. IPS now runs its own "Washington School" offering courses by present and former Congressmen, Institute Fellows, and government bureaucrats. Courses are also offered by such luminaries as James Zogby, director of the PLO support group, the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. (It is yet another indication of IPS influence on Capitol Hill that John Conyers sent out a letter on March 20, 1980 to his Congressional colleagues enclosing the IPS catalogue and asking that they share it with their staff.)

IPS Fellows have produced a veritable avalanche of publications. While "progressive" journals are of course open to them, mainstream publications like *Harpers* and *Atlantic* and reputable daily papers have published the essays of IPS Fellows. *The New Yorker* magazine ran a three-part series on "The World's Resources" by Richard Barnet in March and April, 1980.

The most disturbing indication of IPS's increased legitimacy among opinion-makers as well as policy-makers is that IPS has practically become an institutional columnist for *The New York Times*. While the frequency of its use of IPS varies, in the three-month period between March 1 and June 1, 1979, *The New York Times* published an article by Peter Weiss (March 2), five articles by Eqbal Ahmad (March 28, April 15, April 25, May 13, May 23), an article by Fred Halliday (May 18), and an article co-authored by Marcus Raskin (June 1). A major article by Richard Barnet appeared in *The Times Magazine* on April 1.

IPS Fellows use their *Times* space to undermine support for every U.S. ally in the Third World and to glorify terrorist groups and countries that have gone over to the Soviet bloc, while blaming untoward Soviet actions on American provocation. Peter Weiss casts the blame for the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, and the genocidal mania of the Pol Pot regime on the United States. Eqbal Ahmad portrays the United States as the villain heading the "pusher's list" of arms suppliers, "hooking" Third World countries on arms partly through training programs for foreign students. In another column Ahmad praises the Polisario, the West Saharan "liberation"

movement backed by "democratic" Algeria.

Fred Halliday in an essay on Afghanistan, then in the Soviet orbit but not yet invaded by the Soviet Union, praised the Soviet-backed regime. Those waging a guerilla war against it he accused of being feudal remnants whose income from smuggling had been cut or who opposed the emancipation of women. After the Soviet invasion, in the IPS journal *In These Times* (January 16-22, 1980) Halliday blamed the invasion on Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. In *The New York Times* (March 4, 1980), he confined himself to warning against U.S. aid to those fighting the Soviet takeover. He concluded his article by asserting that U.S. interests did not lie in turning the clock back in Afghanistan; instead, the U.S. should "exert its influence upon Israel to bring about an acceptable solution of the Arab-Israel dispute," since the Muslims did not really care what happened to Afghanistan but were concerned about "Palestine."

Since *The Times* identifies the Institute simply as "a research organization in Washington, D.C." (when it identifies it at all), the reader is in no position to know that he is the object of a sophisticated propaganda barrage with the complicity of a newspaper whose integrity he trusts.³⁹

The activities of the Institute inevitably raise serious questions of motivation. IPS has consistently advocated policies that accord with the Soviet line, whether the issue is disarmament (for the West), abolition of nuclear power (for the West), support for Soviet-linked revolutionary groups, apologetics for Soviet expansion, etc. Brian Crozier, director of the London Institute for the Study of Conflict, says bluntly that IPS is the "perfect intellectual front for Soviet activities which would be resisted if they were to originate openly from the KGB."⁴⁰

The personnel of the Institute do little to ease suspicion. While IPS may not have known that Orlando Letelier was using his position as Director of the Transnational Institute as a "cover" for his activities as an (unregistered) agent receiving payments from Cuba, the Institute's reaction on learning of Letelier's "Cuban connection" was not to dissociate itself from him but to make him a hero and a martyr.⁴¹

Letelier had been ambassador to Washington under the Allende regime and, later, Foreign Minister. Arrested by the new regime, he was eventually released and worked for IPS until he was killed in September, 1976 (along with IPS staff member Roni Moffitt) by a bomb detonated under the seat of his car. Agents of Chilean intelligence have been convicted of the crime. Correspondence found in Letelier's briefcase between Letelier and Beatrice Allende, wife of the second in command of the Cuban secret police (in turn wholly controlled by the Soviet KGB), revealed that Letelier had received a lump sum followed by monthly pay-

*There has been no formal cooperation between IPS and the Johns Hopkins School. — Ed.

ments from Cuba and that his strategy was to present "an apolitical character, oriented exclusively to the problems of human rights."

What is perhaps most interesting about the Letelier case is the "news management" of the incident. The long-cultivated IPS relationship with the media paid off. While the *Washington Post* published an initial column by Evans and Novak detailing the story, it suppressed their second column and substituted an IPS coverup story. Reed Irvine, director of *Accuracy in Media*, summarized the contents of the documents and described the *Post* coverup in a full page ad which he sought to place in the *Post*. When the *Post* refused to print it, Irvine took the ad first to the *Washington Star* and then to *The New York Times*, which refused to print the ad without deletions Irvine would not make. It refused to print the story of the Letelier documents on the grounds it did not find them of "news interest."⁴² The *Washington Post*, a voracious consumer of "leaks," had the effrontery to publish an editorial on April 14, 1977, denouncing the leak of the Letelier documents.

To this date, although the *Times* continues to print stories on the Letelier murder, it has refused to breathe a word about the contents of the briefcase. Yet the killing of the agent of one foreign country by the agents of another is a rather different story from the wanton murder of a liberal exiled diplomat dedicated to human rights.⁴³

Upon Letelier's death, IPS made Tariq Ali head of the Transnational Institute. Ali is a leader of the British section of the Trotskyite Fourth International, which maintains contact with terrorist groups world-wide. A long-time promoter of the PLO, Ali has been barred from entering the United States, France, India, Japan, Turkey, Thailand, Hong Kong, and Bolivia. Ali is quoted by *Newsweek* (Jan. 14, 1974) as saying: "We are dedicated to achieving socialism all over the world and not through peaceful revolution." IPS appointed as head of the Holland office of the Transnational Institute another revolutionary, Basker Vashee, who doubled as representative of the Zimbabwean African People's Union and as director of WISE, World Information Service on Energy, which dispenses advice to opponents of atomic energy. WISE praised the March, 1979, bombing of a reactor in Spain by Basque terrorists.

Most of those trained as lawyers at IPS are members of the National Lawyers Guild. Since it was established with the aid of the Comintern in 1936,⁴⁴ the Guild has expanded to include radicals of various stripes. It remains, however, affiliated with the Soviet-controlled International Association of Democratic Lawyers.⁴⁵

And yet, intent to promote the interests of foreign powers does not have to be assumed to explain what IPS does. If we take seriously Raskin's assumptions, the Soviet Union, scarcely an anarchist's paradise, is no better than the United States. (It may have a slight edge

in its failure to produce as much of the things people do not "really need.") The problem is that for IPS to have any hope of moving forward toward building the "reconstructed" society, it must allay fears about the Soviet Union, since if the Soviet Union were building up its own national-security system, we would need intelligence agencies, an army, advanced technology, etc.

IPS is forced, accordingly, to explain aggressive Soviet behavior by the Soviets' perception of threat from the United States. In the IPS analysis, unilateral U.S. disarmament and acceptance of Soviet actions in Africa, Asia, Europe, or Latin America actually enhance United States security. By easing Soviet fears, such acceptance reduces the likelihood of further *seemingly* aggressive Soviet moves. Dismantling the national-security state thus becomes the best security option, ensuring the possibility of peaceful utopian collectivism in the land mass now organized as the United States.

But there may be another explanation for the carelessness of IPS concerning the background — and present actions — of its Fellows. In the perspective of IPS Fellows, they are oppressed by a brutal, criminal, and senseless empire, the United States of America. A colonized people has the right to rebel against imperial power. All laws are the laws of empire, hence unworthy of respect. Once alienation has reached that point, treason becomes meaningless. The colonized will cooperate with those who can help to free them, even if the colonized may recognize that the aid is given to achieve goals that may not be their own.

The success of IPS is frightening. In a free society fringe groups of all sorts can and do appear. If a group revives Kropotkin and argues, to use the words of IPS Fellow Karl Hess, that "there should be only the villages and then the world as units of political and social organization — nothing in between, such as nations,"⁴⁶ a free society can listen and — one would expect at this stage of human experience — smile tolerantly. What is frightening is the way in which the political elite of this country has confronted the challenge laid down by IPS, which has made no secret that its target is dismantling *all* American institutions, economic, political, social, and cultural.

Surely in retrospect one of the most remarkable features of the 1970s will be that an organization with such a target could convince a significant number of American legislators to pursue legislation designed to advance it; that supporters of the IPS perspective could move into key positions in the government bureaucracy; that IPS could become the source of trusted "experts" whose input into policy was seen as serving the public interest; and that "Establishment" media could regard IPS as a source of a significant perspective on public policy.

The success of the Institute for Policy Studies reveals

far less about the Institute than it does about United States leadership in the political realm, in the universities, and in the powerful fourth estate of journalism. There is a lack of trained intelligence within this leadership — or the puerile fantasies of IPS would never have been accorded serious attention. There is a lack of faith — one suspects even elementary knowledge of — traditional American values and their intellectual un-

derpinnings.

IPS is supremely self-confident in the nostrums that it offers. It confronts a leadership without faith in itself or in its traditions. The real lesson of IPS is the extent to which that faith has been lost — and thus how intensely vulnerable this society has become to what a speaker at an IPS conference on March 18, 1980 proudly called "our own political wreckers groups." ■

Notes

1. By far the best coverage is to be found in the *Information Digest*, a newsletter put out since 1968 by John Rees, to whom I acknowledge my indebtedness.
2. *Being and Doing*, Random House, 1971.
3. *Washington Plans an Aggressive War*, Random House, 1971; also, *Notes on the Old System: To Transform American Politics*, David McKay, 1974.
4. *To Serve the Devil*, Random House, 1971: two vols.
5. *Democracy for the Few*, St. Martin's Press, 1977.
6. *The Giants*, Simon & Schuster, 1977.
7. *Never Again: Learning from America's Foreign Policy Failures*, Temple University Press, 1978.
8. Quoted from an article by Arthur Waskow in *New University Thought*, Spring, 1968 in Institution Analysis #2, "The Institute for Policy Studies," Heritage Foundation, May, 1977, p. 4.
9. *Information Digest*, July 1, 1977.
10. *Ibid.*, Oct. 9, 1970.
11. IPS-Transnational Institute *The Link*, Jan./Feb., 1976, p. 6.
12. IPS is also closely associated with the North American Congress on Latin America. Established by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and described by SDS leader Carl Davidson as the "intelligence gathering arm" of the New Left, it collects and disseminates information on corporate targets doing business in Latin America. The incorporators of the Corporate Data Exchange include three people associated with the North American Congress on Latin America.
13. Quoted in Institution Analysis #9, "The New Left in Government: From Protest to Policy Making," Heritage Foundation, p. 17.
14. Philip Agee, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, Penguin Books, 1975.
15. Institute for Policy Studies Catalog, Fall, 1979.
16. *Congressional Record*, Oct. 6, 1975, E 5251.
17. Corporate Data Exchange promotional letter dated August 17, 1977.
18. MERIP's main problem has been whether it should identify with any particular one of the warring groups within the Arab terrorist movement, and it resolved this by identifying with the revolution as a whole, but not any faction within it. Thus an issue of *MERIP Reports* that carried an interview with George Hawatmeh, a leader of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, noted: "While MERIP is not aligned with any particular Palestinian organization, we think it is important to provide information about the positions espoused by the different groups."
19. In a "Dear Friends" letter dated October 4, 1972, Ahmad appealed for funds to further MERIP's "struggle for progress and justice in the Middle East," and praised MERIP's "honest reporting" and "even-handed judgment."
20. These include Joe Stork, Paul Jacobs, Eqbal Ahmad, Marcus Raskin, and Tariq Ali (prior to his being barred from the U.S.).
21. Joseph Shattan, "Why Breira?" *Commentary*, April, 1977.
22. IRS Form 990-PF, Part V, 14 (a) (1).
23. IRS Form 990, Part IV, 1.

24. IPS-Transnational Institute, *The Link*, Feb. 1975.
25. Institution Analysis #2, "The Institute for Policy Studies," P. 29.
26. Eqbal Ahmad, "Memorial for an Exile: Rashed Hussein," *Race and Class*, Vol. XX, No. 3, Winter, 1979, pp. 289-93.
27. Enumeration would severely tax the reader but a single example can be offered to give an idea of the web's complexity. The California Public Policy Center, which is closely related to Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy, is apparently independent of IPS. However, Fred Brantman, director of the California Public Policy Center, is also a paid Fellow of IPS's Foundation for National Progress and Derek Shearer, another Fellow of the Foundation for National Progress and a member of the steering committee of IPS's National Committee for Alternative State and Local Public Policies is a staff economist for the California Public Policy Center and an organizer for the conferences of the Campaign for Economic Democracy.
28. David Kelley, "For Socialist Alternatives," *Barron's*, August 23, 1976, p. 5.
29. *Information Digest*, Oct. 9, 1970.
30. *Information Digest*, Supplement to issue dated Dec. 30, 1977.
31. Currently no less than eight committees of Congress — the armed services, foreign relations, appropriations, and intelligence committees of both Houses — must be informed of every major CIA operation. That comprises around 400 people, including the staffs of these committees. Given the probability of leaks, this means there can be no such operations.
32. Letter from John Conyers Jr. to Marcus Raskin dated February 26, 1976.
33. *Information Digest*, April 21, 1978.
34. *Ibid.*, February 8, 1980.
35. Institution Analysis #2, "The Institute for Policy Studies," op. cit., p. 21.
36. *Information Digest*, April 21, 1978.
37. Rubin Foundation Financial Report, Foundation Center, 888 Seventh Avenue, New York City.
38. Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate 94th Congress, First session, Part 1, The U.S. Navy, Sept. 25, 1975. U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1976, pp. 12-17. See also Financial Report of the Louis Rabinowitz Foundation for 1971, Foundation Center.
39. For a fuller account of *The Times* Op Ed page and IPS see Rael Jean Isaac, "The Times Op-Ed Page: mouthpiece for Institute of leftist 'liberalism,'" *The Jewish Week*, June 24, 1979, p. 44.
40. Brian Crozier, "Power and National Sovereignty," *National Review*, February 2, 1979.
41. The Institute established memorial "human rights" awards given annually in honor of Letelier and Moffitt.
42. On the Letelier documents see Accuracy in Media's *AIM Report*, January, 1977, Part I; March, 1977, Part I; April, 1977, Part I; April, 1977, Part II; May, 1977, Part I; May, 1977, Part II; July, 1977, Part II. See also *Information Digest*, April 22, 1977 and the *Congressional*

Record, December 20, 1979, E 6287.

43. This writer, following a long article in *The New York Times* in October, 1979, on Letelier and the effort to extradite from Chile individuals wanted in connection with his murder, sent a letter to the editor mentioning the contents of the briefcase as a factor that might help to explain why he had been murdered. The letter was not published. An answer came from George Palmer, Assistant to the Executive Editor of *The Times*, saying that *The Times* had kept readers fully informed of the "significant elements of the Orlando Letelier case." The letter went on to acknowledge the existence of the documents and said that while "they might have" indicated that Mr. Letelier "had some contact with Cuban authorities" *The Times* did not believe they "established that he had been a paid agent of Cuban

intelligence." But what is interesting about this is that while *The Times* could have summarized the documents for its readers allowing them to form their own conclusions, instead it has simply refused to mention them, providing an excellent example of what Reed Irvine calls "The Pinsky Principle": if the facts in a story conflict with a reporter's political predilections, he doesn't bend or twist the facts, he just doesn't write the story.

44. Staff Study for House Internal Security Committee on Revolutionary Activity Directed toward the Administration of Penal or Correctional Systems, Part III, Government Printing Office, 1973, p. 130.

45. Institution Analysis #12, "The Anti-Defense Lobby: Part III," The Heritage Foundation, p. 13.

46. *Bulletin of Alliance for Neighborhood Government*.

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PRELIMINARY INQUIRY REGARDING FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS
TO OUTSIDE POLITICAL GROUPS BY BOARDS AND AGENCIES OF
THE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, 1977 - 1979.

by
David Jessup
April 7, 1980

INTRODUCTION

Most Methodist church-goers would react with disbelief, even anger, to be told that a significant portion of their weekly offerings were being siphoned off to groups supporting the Palestine Liberation Organization, the governments of Cuba and Vietnam, the pro-Soviet totalitarian movements of Latin America, Asia and Africa, and several violence-prone fringe groups in this country.

Before such a claim can be dismissed out of hand, however, some hard questions need to be answered regarding the amount of support, both financial and in-kind, that is flowing to outside political groups from several boards and agencies of the United Methodist Church. The establishment of a "Committee on Accountability" to seek such answers is the principle recommendation of a preliminary analysis of a list of organizations receiving Methodist Church grants during the period 1977-1979. The "Committee on Accountability" Proposal has been submitted as a petition to the 1980 General Conference.

Note: This particular petition did not pass during the 1980 General Conference. No Committee on Accountability will be formed, but greater access to information about the spending habits of boards and agencies was gained. The General Conference did move to make records of receipts and expenditures of boards and agencies available to annual conferences and local church administrative boards upon request. (See May/June 1980 issue of Good News, page I-31.)

The lists of organizations receiving church financial contributions were made available to me by the Women's Division, the World Division, the National Division (partial list) and the United Methodist Committee on Relief, of the Board of Global Ministries. The Board of Church and Society provided me with a list of coalition groups without mentioning contributions. The Church office for the United Nations referred me to the Board of Church and Society. Copies of this correspondence are attached in the Appendix.

My interest in the political orientation of the Methodist Church began when my wife and I started to attend services at Marvin Memorial Methodist Church in 1977 not long after moving to the Washington, D.C. area from the West Coast. My wife is a family nurse practitioner whose grandfather was a Methodist minister. I am employed by the AFL-CIO. We had been active in the Peace Corps in Peru, and in the civil rights and farm worker movements in California, and we were interested in becoming involved in church related projects such as refugee assistance. When my children brought home Sunday school appeals for wheat shipments to the government of Vietnam, and the controversy over Methodist support for the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe became public, I was troubled, but not persuaded that these projects represented anything more than minor aberrations from a more consistent tradition of Methodist support for democratic values. After several visits to the Methodist Building near the U.S. Capitol, and several months of research on the political orientation of groups receiving church funds, I am no longer so certain.

The information presented in this report represents a preliminary inquiry for a much more extensive study that is needed to identify other, and potentially much larger, contributions in the form of in-kind services: office space, printing and solicitation of articles, payments to "consultants," the purchase and distribution of outside groups literature, staff time, travel and participation in conferences and seminars, and the use of church facilities and name for outside organizational activities. Although many examples of these in-kind contributions are presented here, a more systematic overview

can only be obtained through the efforts of a formal committee with access to church agency files and staff. It may be that when such in-kind services are considered, the dollar total for Methodist contributions to outside political groups will soar from the approximately \$442,000 in direct grants analyzed here to a figure approaching several million.

The questions raised in this preliminary inquiry are disturbing indeed for those who have devoted substantial amounts of their resources to the growth and development of the Methodist Church. It may turn out, after new sources of information become available, and old sources are checked for accuracy, that plausible explanations can be given for the pattern of political contributions that is suggested by this document.

In pursuing such explanations, it is perhaps inevitable that charges of witch-hunting and "McCarthyism" will be raised, but that is not the spirit in which this inquiry is made. No one is calling for government investigations to determine the identity of alleged individual "Communists," nor is there any intention of stifling the civil liberties of church staff members, or even of limiting political activity on the part of church boards and agencies. I, for one, hope that at least some official church effort will be expended on questions of human rights, democratic freedoms, and economic and social betterment, over and above the more fundamental church mission of religious persuasion.

The fundamental question posed concerns the direction of political activity, and whether the membership has any say in determining that direction at the all-important level of staff and funding decisions. In other words, it is a question of accountability. It is the same question that was faced by the labor movement of the 1930's, when many trade unionists had to reach an internal decision over the question of whether their organizations would represent their own aspirations or those of the defenders of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

The nine million members of the United Methodist Church, organized into 30,000 local churches, have managed to create one of the largest private bureaucracies in the country, with hundreds of employees, several massive office buildings, and a national and regional budget that approaches 200 million dollars a year. There is no doubt that much good has been wrought by this bureaucracy and that Methodists should continue to support it. Methodists should also continue to scrutinize it, lest their generosity be transformed into the financial underpinning of a political movement that might, in the end, destroy it altogether.

David Jessup
Silver Spring, Maryland
April 7, 1980

ORGANIZATIONS DEALING WITH CUBA AND LATIN AMERICA

In the struggle against economic oppression and political tyranny that occupies much of Latin America, two forces have long contended for popular support: the democratic left, represented by many Christian and social democratic parties, free trade unions, and the democratic governments of Venezuela, Costa Rica and Colombia, on the one hand, and the totalitarian left, represented by Cuba and the movements it supports, on the other.

Judging from their financial contributions, statements and actions, several agencies of the Methodist Church seem to be favoring the totalitarian option.

The Womens Division and the World Division of the Board of Global Ministries gave \$31,651 over a two year period to five pro-Cuban organizations: the Cuba Resource Center, the Chile Legislative Center, the North American Congress on Latin America, the Washington Office on Latin America (located in the Methodist Building in Washington, D.C.) and the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee. An additional \$4,650 was given to five other organizations for which no information is available: the Cuban Christians for Justice and Freedom, the Dominican Republic Task Force, the Latin American Studies Project, the New York Circus Center for Social Justice, and the Organization for Christian Action on Argentina. In addition, the United Methodist Committee on Relief (UMCOR) made a grant of \$15,000 to something called "Operation Reunification Cuba" at its October 1979 meeting.

In addition to grants, several church agencies frequently pass resolutions in support of Cuban objectives, and publish "resources" that extoll the Cuban Revolution. For example, the Board of Global Ministries voted to "express solidarity" with a group of Latin American church leaders, headed by the Rector of the Evangelical Theological Seminary in Cuba, who stated, in an "Open Letter to North American Christians," that "we are trapped in the same system--with the exception of Cuba--in which one finds committed fabulous interests of financial groups which dominate the life of your country and the creole oligarchies of our Latin American Nations."/1

As another example, a Methodist Service Center Catalogue recommends as a "resource" an attractive series of pamphlets on "People and Systems," which compares the countries of Cuba, China, Tanzania, Canada, and the U.S. The contrast between a virtuous, humanistic Cuba and a reactionary, imperialist United States is so extreme that readers of the pamphlet series will be hard pressed to explain why the direction of refugee flow between the two countries is so overwhelmingly from the former to the latter. It is not known how much the pamphlet series cost to produce.

Further support for Cuban objectives has been expressed in the form of travel, exchange tours, and participation in Cuban-sponsored international conferences. The political purpose of these events, as well as the transformation of the Cuban "church" into an extension of the state apparatus, is well expressed in the following excerpt:

Progressive influences are, nevertheless, apparent in the curriculums of the Catholic Seminary of San Carlos in Havana and the Protestant Seminary in Matanzas. Marxism is being studied at both and there is more emphasis on pastoral preparation than previously.

Alternatives for the Cuban Christian and Jewish communities are being explored through conferences such as the Jornadas Camilo Torres held

annually since 1971, and in foreign exchanges. Taking their name and inspiration from the Columbian priest turned guerrilla, the Jornadas are opportunities for Cubans and non-Cubans, clergy and laity alike, to gather and discuss the role of religion in a rapidly changing world. They deal with the liberation of people from oppressive political, economic, and social systems and dialogue between Christians and Marxists. Such exchanges have increased in recent years as Cuban churchpeople have traveled abroad to international meetings. Foreign religious leaders and also some U.S. churchpeople, sponsored since 1971 by the Cuba Resource Center, have visited Cuba and traveled widely and freely to meet with Cuban churchpeople./2 (Emphasis mine)

As a result of one recent trip to Cuba, a prominent Methodist expressed admiration for Cuba's training of youth to serve as revolutionary cadre for the various Soviet-backed regimes in Africa. According to some news reports, the youth, some as young as eleven years old, were taken to Cuba against their parents' will. This "amazing experiment" according to Paul McCleary, Chairperson of Church World Service and Associate General Secretary of the United Methodist Board of Global Ministries, will result in the return of "some 10,000 highly trained and disciplined leaders (who) will be a decisive force in the future direction of their Nation."/3

It is reported that McCleary also participated in the November 2-4, 1979, National Conference on Cuba at the Riverside Church in New York, during which speakers promoted U.S.-Cuban trade, Puerto Rican independence, and normalizations of relations. Other conference participants included the Cuban Ambassador to the U.N., Congressman Ronald Dellums, attorney for the Cuban government and National Lawyers Guild activist Leonard Boudin, attorney William Kunstler of the Center for Constitutional Rights, and Lennox Hinds of the National Conference of Black Lawyers and the Soviet-controlled Internal Association of Democratic Lawyers./4

The Cuban Resource Center (CRC)

The promotion of the virtues of Cuban society and of Castro's attempts to export his revolution to other parts of the world with Soviet backing appears to be the primary purpose of this organization, along with ending the U.S. trade embargo and extending diplomatic recognition.

Center coordinator Mary Lou Suhor contrasts the "exploitation" of pre-Castro Cuba with the "new dignity" and "more human existence" of the people under communism. She criticizes the "heavy handed U.S. attitude of possessiveness" toward Cuba, while praising the help of the Soviet Union, without which "Cuba could not have grown in domestic stability or international prestige." Citing approvingly Castro's success in exporting the Cuban model abroad, she concludes:

Internationally, the island-nation has gained in status, has been adopted as a symbol of revolutionary hope and courage by the Third World, and has the long term support of a country (the USSR) which does not seek economic domination in the form of trade agreements./5

Other writers for the Cuba Resource Center describe a virtual paradise for workers and women:

...the promise made by the Cuban Revolution to guarantee every person a decent standard of living; is being fulfilled.... Cubans have realized the value of hard work within the context of a revolutionary process of which they are and feel an intimate part. Work is not alienated; it has been made human./6

Women at the service of man was being replaced by relationships between partners struggling together for a new society./7

The Women's Division gave \$250/year to the CRC in 1977-1978. The World Division provided \$16,000 in 1978. The Women's Division also published an article by Mary Lou Suhor, entitled "Cuba's New Family Code" in a March, 1976 resource booklet entitled Never the Same Again.

The Chile Legislative Center (CLC)

The 1976 Washington, D.C. bomb blast that prematurely ended the life of Chilean exile Orlando Letelier, also blew the cover off the origins of the Chile Legislative Center. According to the papers found in Letelier's briefcase and published in the Congressional Record on June 23, 1977, Letelier set up the CLC during a time in which he was receiving \$1,000 a month from Cuba and working closely with the Cuban secret service, the DGI. In a letter to Beatriz Allende Fernandez, the daughter of the late Salvador Allende and the wife of a high ranking DGI official in Cuba, Letelier stated: "we have set up a Chile Legislative Center office which is dedicated exclusively to Congressional matters."/3

At that time, the CLC was listed in the phone book as being located at 120 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C., next door to the Methodist Building. It has since relocated. The CLC has lobbied vigorously for legislation sponsored by Senator Edward M. Kennedy and Congressman Michael Harrington to cut off military and economic aid to Chile. The Center Director is the Rev. Charles Briody, whose name is found on an ad paid for by the U.S. Peace Council in the June 24, 1979, issue of the New York Times, attacking Joan Baez for her criticism of human rights abuses in Vietnam, and claiming that "Vietnam now enjoys human rights as it has never known in history." (See appendix)

The Women's Division gave \$250.00 to the CLC in 1977.

The North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA)

Another letter found in Orlando Letelier's briefcase was an appeal for funds from Elizabeth Farnsworth representing the North American Congress on Latin America.

Often self-described as the Research arm of the movement, NACLA attempts to publicize the futility of democratic reforms in Latin America and the need for revolutionary change. In its manual on "How to Interview the Ruling Class and its Agents," NACLA claims that "research is a weapon" intended to "change the existing power relations in capitalist society."/9

NACLA was founded by Brady Tyson, a former Methodist minister who, as an aide to Andrew Young in the State Department, was reprimanded by the Carter Administration for his misrepresentation of U.S. policy on Chile at a U.N. conference./10

Another person associated with NACLA is John Gerassi, author of many books on Cuba, including Ven ceremos, the Speeches and Writings of Che Guevara.

NACLA members were also given credit by CIA defector Philip Agee for providing documentation used in his two books on the CIA, and repeated in his testimony before the Tribunal Against Imperialism at the Havana World Youth Festival in 1978./11

The long time director of NACLA, Fred Goff, is the son of Mrs. James Goff, who is active in the overseas service of the Presbyterian Church, and contributor to the Women's Division's response magazine./12

More recently NACLA appears as a sponsor of the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, along with the U.S. Peace Council, the National Lawyers Guild, and other Soviet-connected groups, whose brochure calls for support of the Sandinist National Liberation Front./13

The Women's Division gave \$500 per year to NACLA in 1977 and 1978. The World Division gave \$2,000 in 1978 and \$6,000 in 1979 to NACLA.

Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA)

In its publication Latin America Update, the Washington Office on Latin America regularly condemns human rights violations in all Latin American dictatorships except Cuba, and blames the U.S. for most of the difficulties. The September-October 1979 issue cited with approval the resolutions adopted at the Havana "non-aligned" summit, calling for U.S. withdrawal from military bases in Cuba and Puerto Rico, an end to Puerto Rico's "colonial" status, and a termination of the U.S. economic embargo of Cuba:

In supporting these resolutions, and in their actions at the summit, the Latin American members thus asserted a major claim to independence from the United States and a desire to link themselves more closely to the non-aligned third world./14

From WOLA's office in the Methodist Building at 110 Maryland Avenue, N.E., in Washington, D.C., there has been much recent activity on behalf of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. A coalition including the U.S. Peace Council, the National Lawyers Guild, Isabel Letelier and Abe Feinglass, a long time pro-Soviet labor activist, held a conference on Nicaragua in February of 1979 and a protest demonstration at the International Monetary Fund (IMF) later in April. According to the Washington Post, four demonstrators were arrested during the demonstration, which was designed to stop an IMF loan to Nicaragua while the Somoza dictatorship was still in power./15

Kay Stubbs, director of WOLA, was a participant in the 37th National Lawyers Guild Convention in San Francisco, February 15-19, 1979./16

The Women's Division gave \$500 to WOLA in 1978, and the World Division paid \$5,101 to WOLA in 1979.

Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (PRSC)

In spite of repeated popular votes and public opinion polls indicating that the

people of Puerto Rico overwhelmingly favor ties with the United States, small groups of Puerto Rican activists continue to press for "decolonization." Perhaps because of their lack of popular support, the more radical of the pro-independence groups have resorted to terror, bombings and assassinations, while their cause is pursued at the diplomatic level in the United Nations by representatives of Cuba and the Soviet Union.

The Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee was formed in 1974 as the outgrowth of a defense committee for Carlos Feliciano, an accused terrorist bomber for the Puerto Rican National Independence Movement. After reorganizing itself in 1977 to jettison its more radical fringe connected with the Weather Underground Organization, the PRSC continues to champion the "political prisoners" of the Puerto Rican armed struggle. The PRSC is closely connected with the Castro backed Puerto Rican Socialist Party, (PSP), with which it co-sponsored an October 30, 1977 White House demonstration against a grand jury investigation of the alleged terrorist activities of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN). The PRSC is closely associated with the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, whose leaders make it clear that "independence" means the creation of another Cuba:

Cuba and Puerto Rico are sister nations. In our joint struggle we think of San Juan as the former tyrannical Saigon of the Caribbean and of Havana as our Hanoi. That portion of our homeland that begins in Havana is free and socialist. That portion which begins in San Juan will also be free and socialist./17

The Women's Division gave \$100 in 1977 and \$200 in 1978 to the PRSC. The Board of Church and Society and the National Division of the Board of Global Ministries passed resolutions in support of the Cuba-sponsored U.N. resolutions calling for the "de-colonization" of Puerto Rico.

- /1 Minutes of Board of Global Ministries, 10/29/76.
- /2 Crahan, Margaret E. "Religion: Cuba." Cuba: People-Question.
New York Friendship press page 20, 1975.
- /3 McCleary, Paul, "Report on Visit to Cuba for Church World Service,"
Sept. 23-29, 1979.
- /4 Information Digest, Nov. 9, 1979.
- /5 Suhor, Mary Lou. "Introducing Cuba: People Questions."
In: Cuba: People-Question. New York Friendship Press.
pages 3-5, 1975.
- /6 Maurer, Robert. "Work:Cuba," Cuba: People-Question, page 22.
- /7 Hageman, Alice. "Women:Cuba," Cuba: People Question, page 28.
- /8 Congressional Record, June 23, 1977, page H6439.
- /9 NACLA Report, Vol. VII No. 1, Box 57, Cathedral Station,
New York, New York 10025.
- /10 John M. Gosco. "Young's Team: Former Rebels are now U.S. Diplomats."
Washington Post, August 14, 1977.
- /11 House Select Committee on Intelligence, Hearings, Jan. 27 and 30, 1978,
Nomination of Ambassador Frank C. Carlucci, page 66.
- /12 Women's Division, Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church.
Never the Same Again. March, 1976.
- /13 Undated brochure published by the National Network in Solidarity
with the Nicaraguan People. 1322 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.
- /14 "The Havana Non-Aligned Summit and Latin America." Latin-America Update,
Sept.-Oct. 1979. Washington, D.C. Washington Office on Latin America.
- /15 "60 Demonstrate at IMF over Loan to Nicaragua. Washington Post,
April 26, 1979.
- /16 Information Digest, May 4, 1979.
- /17 Information Digest, February 23, 1979, and August 24, 1979.

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED ABOUT DISARMAMENT, PEACE,
AND THE SOVIET UNION

Most Methodists would agree that real disarmament is a worthwhile goal, and that creating a world in which military expenditures can be reduced is an important priority. In reviewing the statements of organizations receiving Methodist funds, however, questions are raised about the one-sidedness of disarmament appeals. The arms programs of the U.S. are strongly condemned and protested against, while those of the Soviet Union are rationalized or defended.

Four organizations that received a total of \$25,500 over a two-year period from the Women's Division and the World Division are noteworthy in this regard: The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP), the Center for International Policy (CIP), the Fund for Peace (FFP), and Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC). An additional \$12,600 was given to seven other "peace" related organizations for which no information was available at the time of this writing: Americans for SALT, the Religious Committee on SALT, World Conference on Religion and Peace, National Action Research on the Military Industrial Complex, (American Friends Service Committee), the Seattle Religious Peace Action Coalition, and David Dellinger's Seven Days magazine.

Other types of assistance, in the form of endorsements and the printing and distribution of articles, has been given by the Boards of Church and Society and Global Ministries to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Women's Strike for Peace, the Institute for Policy Studies, Mobilization for Survival, and William Sloane Coffin's Riverside Church Disarmament Program.

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP)

Established in 1976 to continue the Washington lobbying work of the Coalition to Stop Funding the War, the CNFMP has campaigned against the B-1 Bomber, the Cruise Missile, the Trident Submarine, the Neutron Bomb, the U.S. presence in Korea, Angola, and the Panama Canal Zone, and virtually every other defense program of the United States.

In its "Disarmament Action Guide," the CNFMP blames the U.S. for taking the initiative in the arms race, while excusing the Soviet Union for being forced to catch up:

The Soviet Union suffered more than 20 million deaths in World War II, along with unprecedented devastation of its land and economy. The present generation of Soviet leaders, who experienced those horrors, are not likely to trust to the good intentions of a powerful armed rival, especially one that insists on pressing for an advantage in the arms race. Nor will Soviet leaders respond lightly to military threats from NATO to their west, and Turkey, Iran and China to their south. The Soviet Union--unlike the U.S.--is literally surrounded by hostile powers and unreliable allies...the next time you hear exaggerated stories about Soviet intentions and "worst case" scenarios, think about how frightening the world must look to a Soviet military planner--faced with an economically and technologically superior adversary (the U.S.) which perpetually pushes for an advantage in the arms race, which has intervened militarily or through its intelligence agencies in Indochina, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Iran, to name but a few; which maintains a vast global military

network of military bases in Europe, Turkey, Korea, the Philippines, Okinawa and Japan; and which has never even pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons./1

In addition to Methodist churchgoers' money, financial support for the Coalition was given by 200 participants at a Fund Raiser honoring Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden on September 26, 1979, at the Coalition's headquarters next door to the Washington, D.C. Methodist Building. According to newspaper accounts, Fonda was picketed by about fifty Vietnamese boat people to protest her refusal to join with Joan Baez in condemning human rights violations in Vietnam./2

Although the Coalition is not tax exempt because of its lobbying activities, contributors to the Fonda fund raiser were given the option of making their donations tax exempt by giving through the "Youth Project - Budget Priorities Project." On other fund raising appeals, the tax exempt option was provided by the Methodist Church Board of Church and Society,/3 a procedure which might be indelicately described as laundering.

Besides two boards of the United Methodist Church, sponsoring organizations of the CNFMP and its Working Groups include the Institute for Policy Studies, the Chile Legislative Center, Counterspy, The Transnational Institute, the Campaign for Political Rights, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Women's Strike for Peace (both associated with the pro-soviet Women's International Democratic Federation), the National Center to Slash Military Spending (run by veteran Communist Party activist, Pauline Rosen),/4 the National Lawyers Guild (affiliated with the Soviet-dominated International Federation of Democratic Lawyers), and two unions expelled from the AFL-CIO as Communist party fronts, the United Electrical Workers and the west coast International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union of Harry Bridges.

The Women's Division gave \$15,300 in 1977, and \$6,500 in 1978, to the CNFMP.

Cent. for International Policy, Fund for Peace (CIP-FFP)

Peggy Billings of the Women's Division is on the Board of Advisors for the CIP, which generally takes the same positions on foreign policy issues as the CNFMP. The CIP is part of the Fund for Peace complex supported largely by General Motors heir Stewart Mott. The CIP's Indochina Project, headquartered within the Methodist Building in Washington, generally supports the Vietnamese Government's viewpoint regarding the catastrophic events unfolding in Southeast Asia./5

The Women's Division gave \$250 in 1977 and \$750 in 1978 to the CIP-FFP.

The Riverside Church Disarmament Program

Although no funds were reported given to this group by the two agencies that provided information about grants, Methodist bodies are listed as endorsers of the Program's seminars./6

As pastor of the Riverside Church, William Sloane Coffin, Jr. has gained notoriety over the years for his outspoken condemnation of U.S. "war criminals" in Vietnam,/7 his sponsorship of Soviet Government representatives at church disarmament seminars,/8 and his recent attack on President Carter's proposal for Economic Sanctions on Iran as being "highly reminiscent of Lyndon Johnson's bombing of North Vietnam."/9

Reporting on a recent trip to the Soviet Union, Coffin claimed that the "Soviet Threat is largely a figment of our imagination." The Soviet nuclear buildup, according to Coffin, is only a "desperate striving for parity with the U.S.," which it needs because it is "threatened by a hostile Europe, China and Japan (sic), as well as the U.S." Furthermore, their establishment of buffer states in Europe after World War II was an effort to "protect their borders where they felt threatened by West Germany."/10

The Director of the Disarmament Program is Cora Weiss, who organized the victorious celebration of Vietnam's admission to the U.N. in New York in 1977, after nearly a decade of close work with Hanoi officials in mobilizing U.S. support for their successful war effort./11 Millions of dollars of Methodist money was raised by Cora Weiss for shipment of materials to Vietnam after the War, as detailed in another section of this report.

The U.S. Peace Council

Publications of the United Methodist Church Board of Church and Society and Board of Global Ministries frequently reprint articles from and recommend working with organizations like the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the American Friends Service Committee, SANE, and Women's Strike for Peace./12

Leading representatives of these and other organizations discussed in this report appeared in a June 24, 1979, ad in the New York Times attacking Joan Baez for her criticism of human rights violations in Vietnam. The ad was sponsored by the U.S. Peace Council, the American affiliate of the largest Moscow run front group, the World Peace Council (WPC). The ad, as well as a list of sponsors of the November 1979 conference of the U.S. Peace Council, is reproduced in the Appendix.

According to the Communist Party Newspaper, the Daily World, several American activists had been "working for years to establish local committees, organize delegations from the U.S. to international meetings of the World Peace Council, and distribute information about the Peace Council to activists in the United States."/13

Resolutions adopted at the U.S. Peace Council conference called for U.S. disarmament in the name of peace, and, paradoxically, for support of armed liberation struggle also in the name of peace. In perfect Orwellian logic, WPC president Romesh Chandra defended this approach:

People ask me, you are a peace movement. Why do you support the armed struggles in Nicaragua, Palestine, Vietnam. And I reply, "The armed struggle in these countries is the peace movement."/14

At the conclusion of the Conference, a demonstration at the White House was called to protest the introduction by NATO of new perishing missiles in Europe. (See leaflet in appendix.) No protests have been mounted against a new generation of Soviet missiles that promoted the NATO response. A similar demonstration, rally and teach-in was held earlier in the year (October 28-29) to hear speeches from a World Peace Council delegation led by Werner Rumpel, secretary-general of the East German Peace Council. An active participant in the event, according to one observer, was Peggy Billings of the Women's Division./15

There is no evidence in the materials gathered so far that Methodist funds are flowing directly to the U.S. Peace Council, although travel expenditures may be involved when Methodist Church staff participate in USPC activities and in International conferences of other Soviet-controlled groups like the World Christian Conference./16

One troubling note, however, is the appearance of the name Owen Brooks, Executive Secretary of the Delta Ministry, on the U.S. Peace Council sponsors list. The Women's Division gave \$15,500 to this organization in 1978.

The Problem of Human Rights

Several of the organizations discussed in this section claim to be defenders of human rights, but only in societies burdened with right-wing dictatorships. In part this double-standard results from a redefinition of human rights by the United Nations as a result of the Soviet Union and its allies. The new definition emphasizes "economic and social rights" at the expense of democratic and organizational rights, such as freedom of expression, dissent and assembly.

According to the CNFMP,

most often, we think of human rights as being limited to traditional civil liberties--freedom of speech, protection from torture, due process of law, etc. But it is becoming clearer all the time that enforcement of a far broader spectrum of rights is necessary to achieve these political rights--for example, the rights of everyone to food, shelter, employment, health care and education./17

Thus, most of the organizations funded by the Boards of Global Ministries and Church and Society, as well as the boards themselves, continuously pass resolutions condemning human rights violations in Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, Chile, and dozens of other authoritarian dictatorships, while, demanding U.S. government aid for Vietnam, Angola, Cuba, China, Mozambique, or the new Nicaragua. Occasionally slaps are taken at the Soviet Union or Cambodia, especially after the Vietnamese invasion of that hapless country, but the rhetoric is mild compared to that dished out for U.S. allies, as shown by the following excerpt from a 1979 World Division report:

Human rights were another concern of the division. As civil war engulfed Nicaragua the division called for sanctions against the Somoza government. While the former government of Kampuchea (Cambodia) retained control of that troubled country, the division urged prayers and assistance to refugees./18

Another example of the human rights double standard is found in the demands of an organization called Clergy and Laity Concerned.

Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC)

This organization was one of the most strident of the anti-Vietnam war groups. Several of its leading members signed the U.S. Peace Council ad attacking Joan Baez for her criticism of human rights violations in Vietnam. CALC continues to campaign and demonstrate against American support for "repressive dictatorships," while simultaneously trying to "persuade the U.S. government that it is obliged to repair the damage it inflicted" by giving "reconstruction aid" to Vietnam./19

The Women's Division gave CALC \$500 per year in 1977-1978. The World Division provided \$1,700 in 1979.

- /1 Disarmament Action Guide, 1979. CNFMP, Washington, D.C., page 7.
- /2 Trescott, Jacqueline. "Fonda's Garden Party", Washington Post September 27, 1979.
- /3 Legislative Update, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, Spring, 1976.
- /4 Congressional Record, 7/27/77, page E-4895.
- /5 Hiebert, Linda G. "The Roots of Uprootedness." Sojourners Magazine, September 1979
- /6 "Cost of Arms Race is the topic of March 9 Interfaith Seminar". United Methodist Reporter. Feb. 29, 1980.
- /7 William Sloane Coffin, Jr., Once to Every Man, New York: Atheneum Press. 1979. p. 78.
- /8 Yuri S. Kapralov. "Detente and Disarmament - U.S.S.R." Peace in Search of Makers. Valley Forge, Judson Press. 1979. (Remarks made at Reverse the Arms Race Convention at Riverside Church, Dec. 4-5, 1978.)
- /9 Ari L. Goldman. "Clergyman Bound for Iran Attacks Carter Call for Economic Sanctions." New York Times, Dec. 24, 1979.
- /10 Disarming Notes. November 1979. Riverside Church Disarmament Program.
- /11 Lee Lescaze. "Another Hurrah for Hanoi." Washington Post, September 36, 1977.
- /12 Board of Church and Society, United Methodist Church. Engage/Social Action Forum - 44. "Disarmament: A Life and Death Issue". September 1978, and Women's Division, Board of Global Ministries, Never the Same Again. March 1976.
- /13 Daily World November 1, 1979.
- /14 Information Digest, Nov. 23, 1979.
- /15 Information Digest, Nov. 9, 1979.
- /16 CIA Report on Soviet Propaganda Operations, pp. 606-608.
- /17 Human Rights Action Guide, 1978. Coalition for a New Foreign and Military policy, Washington, D.C.
- /18 Ellen Clark, "World Division." New World Outlook, April 1979. p. 34.
- /19 CALC Brochure, 1976.

ORGANIZATIONS DEALING WITH GOVERNMENT INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITIES

Revelations about CIA and FBI abuses have raised understandable concerns about insuring full protection for political activities appropriate to a democratic society. Several organizations funded by the Women's Division of the Board of Global Ministries; however, appear to question the basis of legitimate intelligence activity designed to protect U.S. institutions from terrorist acts and foreign penetration.

In 1977 and 1978, the Women's Division gave \$1800 to four such organizations: The Center for Constitutional Rights, the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, the Grand Jury Project of the National Lawyers Guild, and the National Black Lawyers Committee, which is located at the same address as the National Conference of Black Lawyers. The last three organizations are rather openly connected with the Soviet-controlled International Association of Democratic Lawyers and the Communist Party, U.S.A., and are frequently discussed in the pages of the Communist Party newspaper, the Daily World. Samples are included in the Appendix.

According to testimony presented to the House Select Committee on Intelligence during the confirmation hearings of Ambassador Frank C. Carlucci as Deputy Director of the CIA on January 27 and 38, 1978, the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) is:

a Communist Party, U.S.A. legal front group formed with the assistance of the Comintern, remains under the control of the Communist Party and its younger Castroite supporters./1

The International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL) is described in another publication of the House Select Committee on Intelligence as one of the 13 major world Communist Front groups, faithfully following the Moscow lead on all major issues from the Stalin-Tito confrontation to the invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia to the current Sino-Soviet dispute./2 A description of the major Soviet-backed front groups is included in the Appendix.

The Center for Constitutional Rights

Among the several prominent attorneys from the NLG who established the CCR to defend "political prisoners" in the West are William Kunstler, Peter Weiss, William Schapp and Ramsey Clark.

Weiss is the husband of Cora Weiss, the pro-Hanoi activist and daughter of the late Samuel Ruten, the Faberge manufacturer who created the Rubin Foundation, the chief financial backer of the New Left's Think Tank, the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS). Weiss is president of the IPS, and active in many PLO causes./3

Kunstler became famous as the defender of the Chicago-seven, and as the leader of the attack on Joan Baez for her newspaper ad condemning human rights violations in Vietnam. In 1975, Kunstler, Weiss and Ramsey Clark were denied permission by the West German Government to join the defense team of the terrorist Baader-Meinhoff gang, although Kunstler was later able to give legal assistance to a fugitive member of the gang who was apprehended at the U.S. Canadian border on July 16, 1978./4

Schapp made an appearance with Philip Agee at a Havana press conference associated with the World Youth Festival tribunal on imperialism, and along with Agee is co-editor of the Covert Action Information Bulletin./5

The Center for Constitutional Rights has also been involved in the legal defense of American Indian Activist Leonard Peltier, who was convicted for the murder of two FBI Agents in 1975 at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, and of the alleged accomplices of an escaped bomber for the Puerto Rican FALN, William Morales. The CCR has endorsed the May 6, 1979 Anti-Nuclear demonstration in Washington, and the November, 1979, Anti-Klan march in Greensboro, North Carolina. Leading CCR members signed the U.S. Peace Council's anti-Joan Baez ad and sponsored the U.S. Peace Council's founding convention./6

The Women's Division gave \$200 per year to the CCR in 1977 and 1978, and Peggy Billings is on the CCR Board of Trustees.

The National Lawyer's Guild, Grand Jury Project

The Grand Jury Project is a creation of the NLG which provides legal and organizational support to accused fugitive terrorists. One such fugitive, Carlos Alberto Torres of the Puerto Rican FALN was recently apprehended for his alleged part in a New York bombing and murder in 1977, since which time he has been on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted List. Another FALN bomber who was apprehended when a bomb apparently exploded in his hands on July 12, 1978, William Morales, was a member of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs./7

At its 37th National Convention in San Francisco, February 15-19, 1979, the NLG held workshops on gay rights, political asylum, the Weber Case, "Facism and the First Amendment," Native American Struggles, and Abortion/Sterilization Abuse./8

Daily World stories about the National Lawyers Guild are included in the Appendix.

Perhaps the most famous of the NLG attorneys is Charles Garry of San Francisco, whose involvement with the Jonestown Cult was well-documented in the press.

Another NLG spinoff, the Campaign to Stop Government Spying, now called the Campaign for Political Rights, is set up to "end covert operations abroad and end political spying and political harrassment in the United States." It includes among its sponsors the CCR, Counterspy, the Grand Jury Project, the National Alliance against Racist and Political Repression (co-chaired by Rev. Ben Chavis and Angela Davis),/9. The National Committee against Repressive Legislation, the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the NLG, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Department of Law, Justice and Community Relations of the Board of Church and Society of the United Methodist Church. (see CPR letter in Appendix) The staff person for the last-named sponsoring organization, John Adams, was recently asked to resign from his position because of his active involvement with the terrorists holding the American hostages in Iran./10

Note: Mr. Jessup asked Good News to make the following correction as this reprint of the original document was being prepared: John Adams was not discharged from his position but did resign briefly.

The National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL)

NCBL's National Director, Lennox Hinds, is the permanent representative to the U.N. for the Soviet-controlled International Association of Democratic Lawyers, according to the Daily World./11

The IADL has organized a number of commissions of Inquiry in support of Soviet propaganda themes, including American war crimes in Vietnam and the crimes of the Chilean junta. A description of the IADL is included in the Appendix.

Established by several NLG attorneys as the legal support arm of the black revolution, the NCBL has defended Angela Davis, H. Rap Brown, Bobby Seale, the Black Panther Party, the Attica Prison rioters, and Puerto Rican militant Carlos Feliciano. The NCBL has recently launched a campaign on behalf of "political prisoners and victims of racial oppression in the U.S." /12

The Women's Division gave \$150 to the NCBL in 1977. The National Division gave an unknown amount to an organization called the "National Black Lawyers Committee" headquartered at the same address as the NCBL.

- /1 House Select Committee on Intelligence, Hearings.
Ambassador Frank C. Carlucci. Jan. 27 and 30, 1978. page 62
- /2 House Select Committee on Intelligence, CIA Report on Soviet Propaganda Operations. from April 20, 1978 Hearing.
- /3 Gershman, Carl. "New Left-New Face." Freedom at Issue, 50.
March-April, 1979. p. 3.
- /4 Information Digest, July 28, 1978.
- /5 Wheeler, Tim. "CIA Legal Crimes," Daily World, 2/13/1980 p.3.
- /6 Information Digest, June 29, 1979.
- /7 Information Digest, July 14, 1978.
- /8 Information Digest, May 4, 1979.
- /9 Daily World, March 11, 1980, and March 18, 1980.
- /10 "UMC Official returns from Iran, Quits."
United Methodist Reporter, 3/7/80.
- /11 "Rights Lawyer Assails Government," Daily World
March 8, 1980.
- /12 Information Digest, Nov. 10, 1978, Feb. 22, 1980.

ORGANIZATIONS DEALING WITH THE MIDDLE EAST

Although giving the appearance of even-handedness by calling for "recognition of the right to self-determination of both Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs," the 1976 General Conference Resolution on the Middle East directs most of its criticism at Israel and the U.S.; for "arrests, tortures and expulsions" of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories," for "resettlement of Jews on land from which Arabs have been evicted;" and for ignoring the "aspirations to statehood of the Palestinian Arabs, thus heightening their frustrations and militancy." No mention is made of PLO terror and intransigence, or of the role of the Soviet Union, or of the possibility that the Palestinian people might like to have a say in determining whether the P.L.O. is their "sole representative," rather than having it so proclaimed by the Methodist Church./1

No resolution has been passed on Iran, but Methodists have been prominent among those clergy whose self-appointed mission it has been to defend the "just grievances" of the Iranian "students" while calling on the U.S. to "confess and repent" of its sins in Iran. Notable among these is Bishop Dale White who, along with three other religious pilgrims to Tehran, told an incredulous Robert MacNeil and Jim Lehrer on their January 4, 1980, PBS News broadcast that the Ayatollah was "a very devout, pious, well educated and highly moral individual," whose hatred for the Shah was understandable, that the "students" had good reason not to release the hostages prior to a U.S. confession, and that the "students" were correct in threatening to put one of the American hostages on trial for his "war crimes" in Vietnam./2

In a "Call to Repentance," two other Methodist Bishops, James K. Matthews and Ralph T. Alton, have taken self-debasement and guilt to new levels: we are called upon to emulate the confession of the German Church after World War II for the crimes of Nazism./3

Meanwhile, United Methodist staff have been busy employing Church facilities to assist the Iranian and Palestinian causes. The Reverend John Adams of the Board of Church and Society is operating a "hostage mail exchange service," sanctioned by the "students" in Tehran and sponsored by the International Indian Treaty Council led by John Thomas./4 At the Methodist Church Center for the U.N., space has been made available for John Kelly of Counter-Spy and Egbal Ahmed of the Institute for Policy Studies to hold a March 14, 1979 press conference to expose alleged CIA personnel in Iran, and for Ramsey Clark, David Dellinger and Don Luce to hold an August 27, 1979 press conference to report on their meeting with Yassir Arafat during a trip to Lebanon to investigate the Israeli "devastation" of Southern Lebanon./5

For the first press conference, the "contact person" was listed as Donald Will, who is on the staff of the Methodist Church Center for the U.N./6 His views on the Middle East go considerably beyond the limits of the General Conference Resolution by condemning the camp David Accord and supporting the underlying motive for creating a "transitional" Palestinian state on the West bank:

Coupled with the return of the (Palestinian) refugees, this state would allow the Palestinian people to struggle alongside progressive Israelis for the creation of a democratic state in the whole of Palestine./7

As indicated by its grants of \$2,300 to four outside organizations, the Women's Division abandons the policy of recognition of the state of Israel altogether, in

direct contradiction of the General Council Policy Statement. The four organizations receiving funds are the Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP), the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC), the Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC), and the Middle East Resource Center (MERC).

Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP)

Mincing no words, the introduction to the September, 1979 issue of MERIP Reports explains that "no proposal for the partition of Palestine has ever been accepted by any number of Palestinians," because such proposals have always had the intention of securing and legitimizing the "Zionist presence" in Palestine. To accept Israel, in this view, would betray the Palestinian cause. No mere nationalists, the MERIP "collective" emphasizes the need for "leftist" forces within the PLO to "prevent the dominance of the Palestinian bourgeoisie."/8

On Iran, MERIP is considered close to the Moscow-backed Tudeh Communist Party by other leftists commenting on the group./9 MERIP is a spinoff of the Institute For Policy Studies, Washington's New Left Think Tank.

The Women's Division gave MERIP \$500 in 1979, and a copy of MERIP Report No. 75-76 along with a variety of other materials, is included in the Methodist Resource packet, "Middle East Mosaic," which is distributed widely to church study groups.

Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC)

Sponsors of the PHRC include Eqbal Ahmad of the Institute for Policy Studies/Transnational Institute, Stokeley Carmichael, Norm Chomsky, David Dellinger, Congressman Walter Fauntroy, Don Luce, the SCLC's Joseph Lowrey, long-time pro-Soviet activists Pete Seeger and Jack O'Dell, and the United Methodist Church's Don Will.

A statement by Kareem Khalaf in the PHRC Bulletin No. 12, included in the Methodist Resource packet, calls for recognition of the PLO and the establishment of a Palestinian state as a transitional goal.

Organizational sponsors of the PHRC include the Association of Arab American University Graduates, the National Association of Arab Americans, the New American Movement (Eurocommunist in Outlook), Operation Push, and La Raza Unida./10

Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC) and Middle East Resource Center (MERC)

Directed by Sheila Ryan, formerly of the Weather Underground Organization, the PSC and its resource center are designed to support the PLO and its activities in the U.S./11

An excerpt from the PSC publication, Palestine, included in the Methodist middle east resource packet, contains an interview with Mai Sayegh of the General Union of Palestinian Women, formed by the PLO.

The Women's Division gave \$250 to the PSC in 1979, and \$500 per year to MERC in 1978 and 1979.

Organizational Activities

The several organizations funded by the Women's Division have collaborated in a number of activities in support of the PLO cause. The most recent was the demonstration against Anwar Sadat's visit to Washington, in which demonstrators shouted anti-Sadat and pro-PLO slogans./12

In April of last year, during the period in which the McGovern Amendment was interpreted by the U.S. State Department as allowing the issuing of visas for PLO officials, the PARC, MERC, the Middle East Institute, the Palestine Information office, and MERIP were all scheduled for visits by Shafiq el-Hout, the head of the PLO office in Lebanon. El-Hout cancelled his visit to return to Lebanon for official business./13 His visit caused such a stir that the McGovern Amendment was repealed.

- /1 Board of Church and Society, United Methodist Church.
"The Middle East". General Conference Resolution, 1976
Washington, D.C.
- /2 WNET TV Thirteen. "Iran--Unofficial Clergy" MacNeil Lechner Report,
January 4, 1980. Library #115. New York.
- /3 Bishop James K. Matthews. "A call for Repentance and Prayer for Iran
and the U.S."
- /4 Press Release, International Indian Treaty Council and Board of Church
and Society, United Methodist Church.
"Hostage Mail Exchange Service."
- /5 Press Release, Church Center for the U.N. "Ramsey Clark and Others
Call for End to Israeli Raids on Lebanon."
- /6 Information Digest, September 7, 1979.
- /7 Donald Will. Of Life and Hope. Chapter I.
- /8 Peter Johnson. "The PLO at the Crossroads, an Introduction."
MERIP Reports No. 80, September 1979. Pages 3-4.
- /9 Linda Heiden. "Response" MERIP Report No. 75/76. March-April, 1979.
Pages 39-40.
- /10 Lists obtained from Organizational letterhead.
- /11 Information Digest, August 25, 1978, and June 1978.
- /12 Action Memorandum, Palestine Congress of North America, March 24, 1980.
- /13 Information Digest. April 6, 1979, April 20, 1979.

ORGANIZATIONS DEALING WITH ASIAN AFFAIRS

In the aftermath of the long struggle over the Vietnam War, the uneasy coexistence between the pacifist and the pro-Hanoi wings of the American "peace" movement has dissolved into bitter factionalism. Those whose primary concern was to insure Hanoi's victory have staunchly defended the new regime's policies and condemned the efforts of Joan Baez and other former anti-war activists to call attention to human rights violations in Vietnam.

The organizations financed by the Methodist Church, as well as many Church leaders, have placed themselves firmly in the camp of the "Hanoi Hawks." Working in close cooperation with Vietnamese government officials, they have carried out an extensive lobbying drive to extend diplomatic recognition and "reparations" to the new regime; they have spent millions of dollars of churchgoers' money to send food, steel tubing, railroad and agricultural equipment to Vietnamese government ministries including those in charge of the "New Economic Zones;" they have mounted vast "informational" campaigns to defend, rationalize, even praise, the implementation of totalitarianism in Vietnam that has resulted in the tragic flight of the boat people; they have used the occasion of their frequent trips to Vietnam to report back to their constituents the false news that religion is alive and well in that unfortunate country.

One searches in vain through the vast Methodist literature on "human rights" to find any whisper of criticism of Hanoi. One finds some recent mention of the genocidal holocaust in Cambodia, but only after such criticism became legitimized by the propaganda line of the Hanoi government.

Dr. Paul McCleary, the Methodist leader who directs the annual disbursement of millions of dollars of disaster relief funds by the National Council of Church's Church World Service, has been especially active in promoting the cause of the new Vietnam. At a September 24, 1977, seminar organized to celebrate the admission of Vietnam to the United Nations and to attack "U.S. imperialism" for its refusal to grant reconstruction aid, McCleary was one of the speakers, as well as Vietnamese government representative Dihn Ba Thi./1 Earlier, on January 30, 1977, McCleary signed a New York Times ad that characterized the inmates of Vietnam's Gulag education camps as "collaborationists" of the former regime, and stated that "the present suffering of the Vietnamese people is largely a consequence of the war itself for which the United States bears a continuing responsibility." The ad, organized by Communist Party activist, Corliss Lamont, was also signed by Bishop James Armstrong, Richard Barnett of the Institute for Policy Studies, and a number of other new left and old left activists./2

In rebutting the accounts of repression in Vietnam by countless refugees, Dr. McCleary offered these astonishing thoughts in testimony before Congress:

The Vietnamese government has provided the means (re-education camps) by which these former officers can be reconstituted back into society as full citizens, while members of American society, either draft dodgers or deserters, have not yet found that means to become full participants back in U.S. society....As a churchperson, I would have to identify with the Vietnamese as those who have chosen the better way to heal the wounds of war./3

It is not known whether Dr. McCleary found any American draft evaders who sought to return across the Canadian border on the condition that they be allowed placement in a Vietnamese-style re-education camp.

From 1975 to 1978, at least 5 million dollars worth of aid was mobilized by McCleary's Church World Service organization for shipments of food, materials and equipment to Vietnam. The Methodist share was sizeable. The CWS brochure that describes these grants also describes conditions in Vietnam in words that would cause even the most hardened of agitprop veterans to blush:

Vietnam today is a nation of dedicated people, hard at work, and enthusiastically building a new society from the rubble of war.

In Vietnam at present, the Catholic people work in common towards socialism and revolutionary government. You must not be misled into thinking that we have given up our religion.

It would bring a lump to your throat to see them cooperating and working together./4

One of the editors of the brochure, then employed as a "consultant" by CWS, is a person whose name is associated time and again with the projects of the totalitarian left: Cora Weiss.

Blessed with remarkable organizational ability, along with the financial backing of her late father's legacy, the Samuel Rubin Foundation, Cora Rubin Weiss is one of the most formidable figures on the current American left. During the Vietnam War she had served as a vital link between the pro-Hanoi section of the U.S. "peace" movement and the Communist leaders of North Vietnam. After the fall of Saigon in April, 1975, Cora Weiss helped the victors launch a new organization, Friendshipment, which has been the recipient of large amounts of Methodist Church members' money./5

Friendshipment

According to an account in the independent Communist newspaper, The Guardian, Friendshipment was launched at an October 2, 1975, press conference in New York City, featuring Nguyen Van Luu, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam's Permanent Observer to the U.N. The purpose of the new organization, said spokesperson Cora Weiss, was to mobilize reconstruction aid for Vietnam and to lobby Congress to extend diplomatic recognition, trade relations, and approval for U.N. admission to the new regime. "I'm ashamed of my government," added Dr. Benjamin Spock at the press conference, "for not honoring its solemn commitments to help reconstruct Vietnam" as agreed to in the 1973 Paris Accords./6

Friendshipment's sponsors, in addition to the Methodist Board of Global Ministries - Women's Division, World Division, and UMCOR - include the Castroite Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Women's Strike for Peace (affiliated with the Soviet-dominated Women's International Democratic Federation), the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Indochina Resource Center (see below), Arthur Kinoy's radical Mass Party Organizing Committee, and two overtly pro-Communist groups, the National Lawyers Guild and the Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs./7

A Friendshipment brochure prepared by Bill and Peggy Herod while on the staff of Church World Service presents the Hanoi version of Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea in December of 1978, blaming the war on U.S.-China hostility./8 Other materials dis-

tributed by Friendshipment and Church World Service have attributed the massive exodus of Indochinese refugees to bad weather, economic difficulties brought on by U.S. belligerence, the hostile actions of China, the allure of U.S. materialism for the old Saigon "collaborationists," and the devastation of the countryside by the U.S. war machine./9 They do not explain why so few refugees were generated by earlier periods of drought and starvation, nor do they explain why, during the War itself, when all the bombs and napalm and defoliants were actually falling, so few Vietnamese chose to leave their homeland. According to the refugees own accounts, the exodus is occasioned by the imposition of a totalitarian rule so extreme that all organizations in society, including the churches, are penetrated and controlled by the Party apparatus, and the very sustenance of life itself, rice (including that shipped in by Western churches), is used as a mechanism of social control. But the refugee side of the story is not reported in these church-funded brochures.

The Women's Division gave \$810 to Friendshipment in 1977, although earlier contributions in 6 figures were apparently made by UMCOR and CWS. There has also been considerable in-kind Methodist staff support for Friendshipment. Doug Hostetter, currently with the Methodist office for the U.N., was listed as the Treasurer of Friendshipment's precursor, the Bach Mai Hospital Fund./10 Pat Patterson, on the Board of Global Ministries staff, has served on several Friendshipment committees and was part of a Friendshipment delegation to Hanoi that held a press conference on May 9, 1977. Ms. Patterson gushed:

The Vietnamese explained their re-education process as a way to make people ready for a new society. As a Christian I was particularly moved by this. I have never seen nor heard people taking reconciliation so seriously./11

Indochina Resource Center

Perhaps the most indefensible of all the grants listed in this report is that given to the Indochina Resource Center. The publications of this organization, at least up until the time of the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, have unapologetically defended the policies of one of the most murderous regimes in all history--the Pol Pot death camp of "Democratic Kampuchea." Time and again, with an uncanny penchant for denying even the most obvious of realities, the Indochina Resource Center and its coordinator from 1974 through 1976, Gareth Porter, have unconvincingly tried to explain away such events as the Hue Massacre, the deaths caused by the North Vietnamese collectivization program, and even the ravages of Cambodian starvation ("the food problem in Cambodia has in fact been solved")./12

Gareth Porter's defense of Pol Pot in a 1977 Congressional hearing so offended Congressman Stephen Solarz, (himself a long-time antiwar liberal), that Solarz compared Porter to those writers who denied Hitler's killing of 6 million jews, and labeled his testimony as "contemptible."/13

The Women's Division donated \$550 to the Indochina Resource Center in 1977.

Other Donations

Time has not permitted the gathering of information on several other Asia-related recipients of Methodist largesse. In view of the pattern of support for totalitarian movements that is indicated in this report, however, such organizations bear careful scrutiny, especially the two receiving the largest amounts of money: Friends of the

Filipino People (\$40,000 from the World Division and \$2,550 from the Women's Division), and N.A. Coalition for Human Rights in Korea (\$55,185 from the World Division and \$3,090 from the Women's Division). The question to be asked is: do these organizations favor the emergence of truly democratic rights in their respective countries, or do they seek to replace authoritarian dictatorships with even more oppressive totalitarian regimes?

Other organizations that received a total of \$6,465 over a two-year period include the Southeast Asia and Pacific Studies Center, an orphanage in Vietnam, the National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty, the U.S.-China Friendship Association, the National Committee on Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen, the Association of Korean Christian Scholars, the Chol Soo Lee Defense Fund, the Church Coalition on Human Rights in the Philippines, the Bombay Industrial League, and the Asian and Pacific Islands Women's Caucus.

- /1 Le Thi Anh, "Admission of Vietnam to the United Nations."
Vietnam News, October 20, 1977.
- /2 New York Times, January 30, 1977.
- /3 U.S. House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee on
International Organizations of the Committee on International
Relations. "Human Rights in Vietnam." June 21, 1977. Pages 61-62.
- /4 Church World Service. CWS Sailed a Ship of Wheat to Vietnam.
New York, 1978.
- /5 Congressional Record. July 25, 1977. Page E4809.
- /6 Abe Weisburd, "Peoples' Aid to Vietnam." The Guardian,
October 15, 1975.
- /7 Friendshipment letterhead, dated October 17, 1977.
- /8 Friendshipment. "The SinoVietnamese Conflict and U.S. Policy."
Undated brochure prepared by Bill and Peggy Herod. Dorchester, Mass.
- /9 Church World Service. "CWS and Indochina Today, and Update."
Undated brochure. New York.
- /10 Ad in The Guardian, May 7, 1975, Page 9.
- /11 Congressional Record. July 25, 1977. Page E4811.
- /12 Gareth Porter and G. C. Hildebrand. "From Starvation to Self
Sufficiency in Cambodia." Indochina Chronicle, February-March 1976,
Page 9, Indochina Resource Center.
- /13 U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on International Organizations
of the International Relations Committee, Human Rights in Cambodia.
Hearings, May 3, 1977. Page 34.

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED ABOUT AFRICA

Perhaps the most widely publicized and controversial financial contribution by the Methodist Church to an outside political organization was that given to the Rhodesian (now Zimbabwe) Patriotic Front by the World Division, both directly and through the World Council of Church's Programme to Combat Racism. In 1978, the World Division more than balanced its \$1,000 grant to Robert Mugabe's ZANU with a \$3,800 grant to Bishop Muzorewa's group, but during the crucial period of testing for Muzorewa's internal settlement in 1979, the Division gave \$4,000 to ZANU and nothing to the Bishop. The Women's Division gave \$400 to the Patriotic Front in 1978.

The Zimbabwean Methodist Church, of which Muzorewa was the leader, expressed anger and hurt upon hearing of the grant:

We just can't understand why the American Church sides with our enemies. Doesn't it seem strange to you that our brothers and sisters...would support people who want to close our churches?/1

World Division staffer Isaac Bivins at first made a grudging apology for the grant, then, after Muzorewa's defeat in the elections, criticized the Bishop for "losing the vision of his true mission" and called into question his continued functioning as the head of the church./2

It may be premature for Church leaders to cite the Zimbabwean election results as vindication for their grants to the Patriotic Front, however. The final chapter in the Zimbabwean struggle has yet to be written. The question for Africans is whether the victorious Mugabe will attempt to institute a totalitarian state as advocated in his organization's platform, or whether he will assent to the development of a multi-racial, pluralist society in which democratic freedoms are protected. The question for Methodists is whether our American Church will help or hinder the democratization process.

A quick review of other Africa-related organizations to which Church agencies have made grants is not especially encouraging in this regard. The African National Congress (ANC), which received \$5,000 from the World Division in 1978, appears to be especially dependent upon the Soviet Union for its support and ideology. The American Committee on Africa (ACOA) and the Washington Office on Africa (WOA) (the latter located in the Methodist Washington, D.C. building) seem concerned about "repression" only when it is directed by whites against blacks, judging from a cursory review of their literature, while African regimes based on the Soviet-Cuban model of repressing everyone equally, without regard to race, seem to have gained their approval.

The ACOA received \$5,000 from the Women's Division and \$4,000 from the World Division in 1977-1979, while the WOA received \$3,500 from the Women's Division in 1977-78. Twenty other organizations received approximately \$38,500 over a two-year period from the two Divisions: Africa News, the Southern Africa Committee, the South Africa Freedom Committee, Trans-Africa, Eritreans for Liberation, African Survival Committee, Committee to oppose Loans to South Africa, International Freedom Mobilization, Pan African Congress, Pan African Skills, South Africa Freedom Day Coalition, Soweto Childrens Group, South African Christian Council Refugee Program, S. W. Africa National Union, Zimbabwe African Women, Coalition of Concerned Black Americans, Commission for Racial Justice, MeHarry Medical Society Program, and the International Defense and Aid Fund.

It is to be hoped that these organizations are using Methodist money to struggle against racism and against any new form of colonialism brought to Africa by the Soviet Union and its Cuban mercenaries. Unfortunately, the Southern African countries most tied to the Soviets - Angola, Guinea Bissau, and Mozambique - are precisely the ones singled out in Methodist resolutions as deserving of U.S. economic aid./3 The 1976 Petition from the Board of Global Ministries notes that "nowhere in all of Africa has there emerged a socialist state that can accurately be described as a satellite or colony of a major communist power."/4 To issue such a statement at a time when Cuban military might was beginning to impose totalitarian solutions in country after country belies an ideological bias that is frightening in its import.

/1 "Anger, Hurt Expressed at Mission Board Actions." United Methodist Reporter, May 1, 1979.

/2 "Mission Board News." United Methodist Reporter, April 4, 1979.
"Leaders Conflict on View of Muzorewa," United Methodist Reporter, March 28, 1980.

/3 Board of Church and Society, United Methodist Church.
General Conference Resolution of 1976 on "Southern Africa."
Washington, D.C.

/4 Board of Global Ministries. Petition from the World Division to the 1976 General Conference. New York. March 1976.

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH INTERNAL U.S. PROBLEMS

A consistent theme found in much of the Methodist literature reviewed here is the evil nature of American society. One booklet in an educational series accuses the United States of "colonial wars and apartheid, imperialist aggressions and foreign occupation, and the policy of force and exploitation and economic plunder."/1

In light of this attitude, a separate analysis needs to be made of the large number of Methodist-financed domestic organizations dealing with issues like women's rights, discrimination against blacks and hispanics, native American concerns, corporate abuses, energy problems and family concerns. Some organizations on the list are recognizable as long-standing groups with legitimate concerns about improving society, like the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Others deserve close scrutiny. Among them are the Delta Ministry, whose director's name appears on the list of sponsors of the U.S. Peace Council; the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, whose director, Lucius Walker, after being fired from the National Council of Churches' staff for misappropriation of funds, was instrumental in organizing the Greensboro anti-Klan march in coalition with all manner of leftist, and often downright bizzare, groups; the American Committee on Equality in Sports and Society, whose leader, Richard E. Lapchick, is listed as a sponsor of the Paul Robeson Dinner organized from the New York Communist Party's headquarters; the American Indian Movement and its "Longest Walk" Project, whose leaders have been cooperating with Soviet efforts to publicize the "plight of American political prisoners;" Bella Abzug's new organization, A Woman's Place; the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, which criticizes American corporations for investing in repressive societies, but not for selling technology to the Soviet Union; and the Coalition for the Whole Gospel, which, as an unofficial Methodist caucus group, shouldn't be receiving funds under any circumstances.

These seven organizations received a total of \$123,000 in 2 years from the Women's Division and the World Division.

Finally, it should be noted that various projects of the National Council of Churches were funded by the Women's Division in the amount of \$90,950 over a 2-1/2 year period, an amount that is probably dwarfed by grants to the NCC from other agencies of the church.

Based upon occasional stories in the press, it is easy to speculate that an analysis of the political orientation of NCC programs, one bureaucratic step removed from our own Church, will reveal an even more flagrant misuse of funds that may link together churchgoers of many denominations as victims of an enormous political swindle.

/1 Else M. Adjali and Carolyn D. McIntyre. "Liberation as an Aim of the Church's Educational Work." Division of Education, Board of Discipleship, United Methodist Church. Nashville, Tenn. 1975.

APPENDIX

Available Upon Request

David Jessup
Silver Springs, Maryland