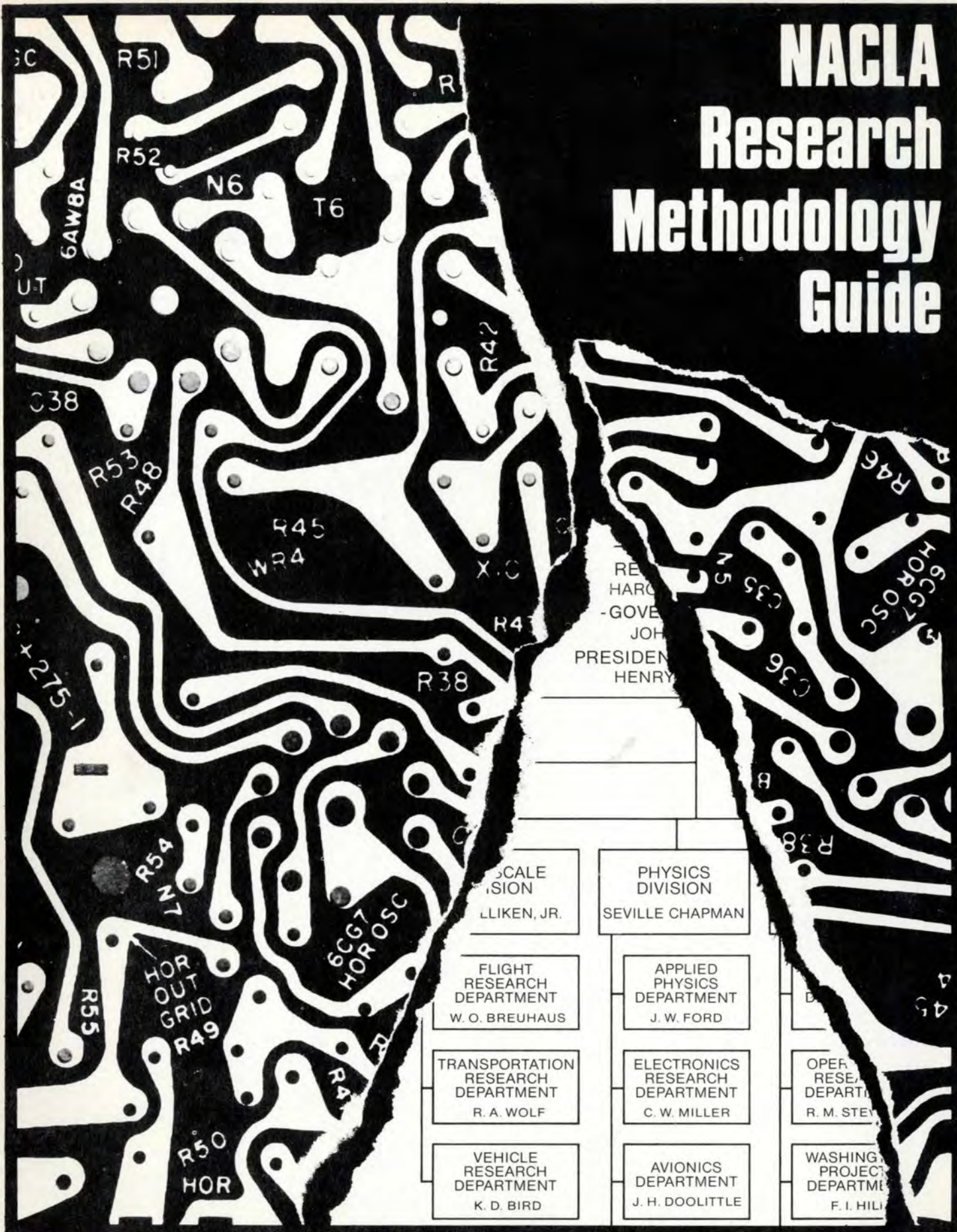


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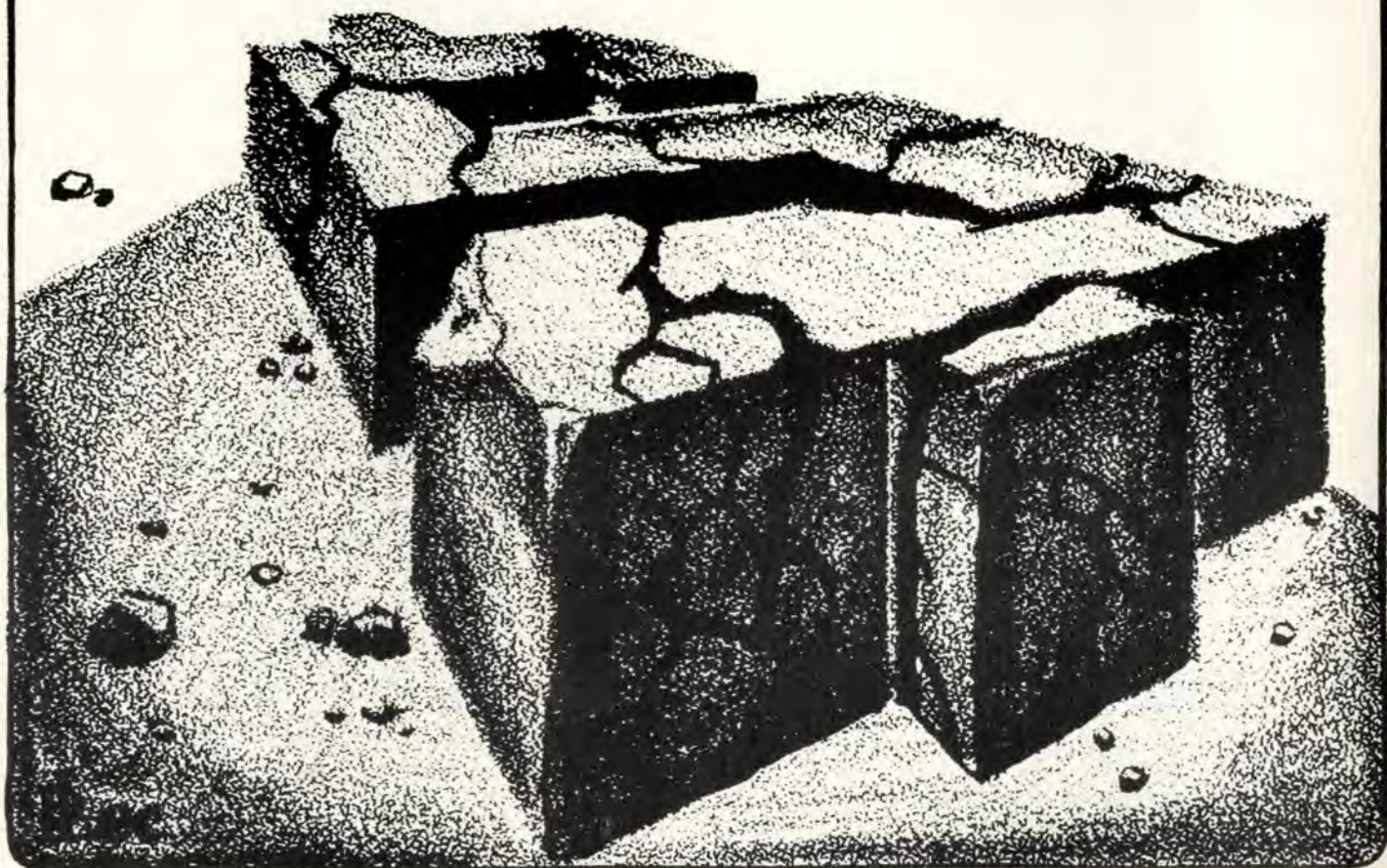
# NACLA Research Methodology Guide





"What if the machinery were reversed? What if the habits, problems, secrets and unconscious motivations of the wealthy and powerful were daily scrutinized by a thousand systematic researchers, were hourly pried into, analyzed and cross referenced, tabulated and published in a hundred inexpensive mass circulation journals and written so that even the fifteen-year-old high school drop-out could understand it and predict the actions of his landlord, manipulate and control him?"

—Martin Nicolaus, Remarks at the American Sociological Association Convention, 1968.



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Second Printing 1971 - Library of Congress Catalogue Card No.: 76-15255

Additional copies available from:

NACLA, P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Park Station, New York, N.Y. 10025

and

NACLA, P.O. Box 226, Berkeley, Calif. 94701

Single copies: \$1.00 plus 25¢ postage

Bulk orders: 10-49 copies, 75¢ each; 50 or more copies, 60¢ each

**Payment must accompany all single orders.**

Due to a lack of funds, this edition is printed on newsprint.

Drawings from Liberation News Service and Prensa Latina; design: M. Klare



# NACLA Research Methodology Guide

Prepared by the staff of The North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA)

## contents:

INTRODUCTION / TEN THESES ON POWER STRUCTURE RESEARCH .....	2
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## chapter 1

PERSONALITIES & ELITES .....	5
POLITICAL PARTIES .....	10

## chapter 2

CORPORATIONS .....	13
THE MEDIA INDUSTRY .....	19
LABOR ORGANIZATIONS .....	21

## chapter 3

THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX & THE UNIVERSITIES .....	25
THE POLICE .....	38

## chapter 4

THE CHURCH .....	41
THE HEALTH INDUSTRY .....	49

## chapter 5

IMPERIALISM & THE THIRD WORLD—RESEARCHING UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES .....	53
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# Introduction...

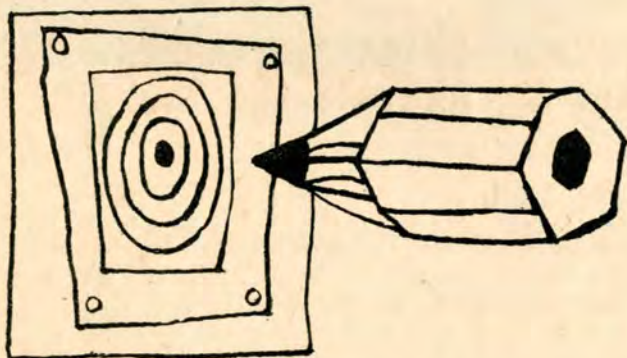
America today is the most powerful nation in the world, and the center of a mercantile empire encompassing most of the "Free World". The United States is called a democracy—and yet any serious study of decision-making in this country would reveal that a handful of wealthy families and their allies in the top circles of corporate and fiscal management make all the essential decisions which determine the fate of this country and, in turn, of the world. We begin to comprehend the dynamics of this system when we observe the way in which the problems that confront our society are resolved by those in power.

When a shift in Vietnam policy was imminent in 1968, a small group of men got together to map out the new strategy; in this group were John J. McCloy, Dean Acheson, George Ball, Abe Fortas, and Cyrus Vance—men who, through their law firms and corporate directorships, serve some of the most powerful interests in America. This select group of "crisis managers" has met on other occasions, to plan foreign interventions or to contain domestic violence. Such gatherings are not exceptions to the normal functioning of our policy-making apparatus, but rather an integral part of a rational and complex system that allows for communication and coordination among the powerful—while systematically keeping the rest of us at bay, isolating and exploiting us in the name of "the democratic process."

Americans do not readily acknowledge that this country is run by so few. But until we confront this reality and take steps to change it we will never have control over our own lives. This brings us to the reasons for engaging power-structure research. Those without power can benefit from such research by:

(1) identifying the people and institutions which make our lives and the lives of so many others intolerable. We are all alienated from the mainstream of our society by its dehumanizing aspects. To overcome that alienation, we must understand it. In the context of the system of capitalism that brutalizes us, separates us, and forces us to be competitive, power-structure research documents the monopolization of power in a few hands and thus the need for sweeping change.

(2) locating weak points in the system. Knowledge of such points gives us the leverage to challenge the system effectively with the means at our disposal. Sometimes even an apparently insignificant weakness can be effectively exploited. The public image of a corporation, for instance, can be important to its continued prosperity—investment, government contracts, employee recruiting, etc., can all be affected by a change in this image. Thus even though militant anti-napalm demonstrators were painted in a negative image by the mass media, Dow Chemical's image also suffered as a result of these demonstrations, and the





company has had difficulty attracting high-caliber employees. Similarly, research into the Chase Manhattan Bank's investments in South Africa exposed aspects of the bank that were not generally known and thus affected Chase's operations around the world. Women's actions at CBS, attacking the male-dominated nature of the media, and numerous exposes by angry stockholders and consumers groups have served to weaken the capitalist cement.

(3) suggesting a strategy for resistance. To move strategically, we must know the opponent. The Army's terminology for such a plan is "order of battle"—we must know what resources the enemy has, what the contingencies are, what countermoves we can expect to our actions, etc. It is necessary, in other words, to take the information available about power in this society, and turn it against that power in ways which weaken its stranglehold upon us. Seen in this light, research is an instrument of our liberation.

(4) propelling ourselves and others into a higher consciousness of where the nodes of power lie and how they function. For a strategy of liberation to be successful, we must reach others outside the movement in addition to developing our own consciousness. Power research that illuminates the decisions and institutions which affect peoples' lives can turn many heads around. Such research demonstrates that the institutions, the relationships, and the contradictions of the existing system are inalterable fixtures of that system; such research, therefore, indicates the futility of patchwork reform.

To guarantee the maximum effectiveness of our research efforts, we must constantly re-examine the kind of

research that is being done by asking ourselves: what the crucial subject areas are; what format will have the most impact; how much of what kind of information is required to make a point without saturating or confusing our audience. In this process, we must also examine some popular preconceptions concerning research . . . we have been socialized to believe that only a select few are competent enough to engage in serious research (the cult of "expertise"), and that it requires a musty, academic orientation (removed from everyday life and pragmatic considerations) which separates information into airtight compartments ("economics," "sociology," "political science," etc.) so that the key connections cannot be made. If, in our efforts to study an elitist, hierarchical system, we establish a similar structure, we will have failed to create a revolutionary alternative. We must destroy the old perimeters of research and the mystique about who can conduct it. By creating research collectives, we can overcome our isolation and benefit from each other's accumulated experience. Moreover, by pooling resources, we can accomplish more than the sum of our individual efforts.

We should not be afraid to begin research on subjects which are unfamiliar to us. The object of this guide is to suggest some of the steps that can be taken in studying the individuals and institutions that constitute the U.S. power structure. The references listed below are not sacrosanct—each new research project will uncover new sources of information. By cataloging some of the standard sources, however, we seek to break down some of the mystique surrounding research and to affirm that a systematic pursuit of data will almost always yield valuable results.

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# Ten Theses On Power Structure Research:

**1**

The very complexity of modern technological society compels the U.S. power structure to produce a continuous flow of accurate data on every aspect of human endeavor. It is safe to assume, therefore, that the information needed for an investigation of any segment of U.S. society is available somewhere, in some form.

**2**

For every component of U.S. society, there exists an **Information Infrastructure (I/I)** designed to produce the data required for the successful performance of that component. This infrastructure will ordinarily consist of government agencies, university research centers, professional organizations, trade associations, special libraries, and companies which publish trade books and periodicals.



**3** The first task of the researcher is to identify the I/I in his field. The quickest way to do this is to locate the trade journals and newspapers which service this field.\* These publications usually report on the activities of the other parts of the I/I (or carry their advertising). Several standard reference books should also be used to identify the I/I.\*\*

**4** Having identified the I/I, the next task is to insert oneself into its regular operations. This ordinarily involves subscribing to trade publications, joining professional organizations, attending trade shows and conferences, etc. Successful penetration of the I/I in any field will normally provide the researcher with access to most of the information sources used by this component of society.

**5** In all dealings with the I/I, it is necessary to project oneself as a legitimate member of the Corporate State—always remember that as a citizen of these United States, you are **entitled** to have the information you request. Credibility of this sort is achieved through a variety of techniques, including: use of printed stationery; the pretense that a letter has been typed by a secretary; aggressive telephone-calling; etc.

**6** In every large organization, there is someone who has jurisdiction over each kind of activity and/or each area of knowledge. Before requesting specialized information from an organization, therefore, the researcher should identify the specific person responsible for that kind of data, and address her/him directly. Pinpointing the right person for a specific request is a good way to establish credibility in the field, and will usually speed up response time from the organization.

**7** Every field of activity has its unique jargon—a knowledge of which is required for any extended conversation with people in this field. Examination of trade publications, and contact with friends in the field, will usually provide one with a working knowledge of this jargon. Mastery of professional jargon is also one sure way of establishing one's credibility in this field.

**8** Every subgroup in the population recognizes certain stereotypes of “correct” dress and behavior for people within its sphere of operations. The more one conforms to these stereotypes, at least superficially, the easier it will be to overcome initial obstacles in obtaining information. While individualistic dress and hair styles may be an appropriate way to establish one's autonomy within an organization, they are not appropriate for a researcher who seeks to penetrate a group to which he does not belong. Oppressive or not, short hair and neat clothes will usually evoke a better response from Establishment organizations than long hair and informal dress. Similarly, when talking to workers and GI's, work clothes will be more appropriate than a jacket and tie.

**9** After all published sources of information on a subject have been exhausted, it is essential to make direct contact with knowledgeable people inside the field you are investigating. Interviews, informal conversations, and even telephone conversations are important techniques for developing a “feel” for a subject, and for understanding the ideology of people in the field. Access to newspaper or magazine credentials will be particularly helpful in this regard. Most people, and most organizations, do not want the public to believe that they are secretive and remote; if you have trouble getting an interview, try to have someone with Establishment credentials make a fuss about secrecy, as this will sometimes succeed in softening up the resistance.

**10** When engaging in power structure research, always seek to work “with the grain” instead of against it. If an old friend of relative has joined an Establishment organization, do not be embarrassed to seek their help, (even if you disagree with their politics). If someone you know owns stock in the corporation under investigation, try to employ their proxy to attend stockholders' meetings and to obtain other benefits. If anyone in the research team has some claim (legitimate or otherwise) to Establishment credentials, these should be used to the fullest advantage; most Americans have inordinate respect for white collar professionals (especially lawyers, doctors, librarians, and college teachers) and will be particularly cooperative in answering their requests for information. A friendly professor, who will let you use his letterhead when writing for information, is a particularly valuable ally and should be enlisted on the project. Always take advantage of all opportunities to advance your knowledge of a subject.

\*The STANDARD GUIDE TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE lists magazines and journals by subject matter.

\*\*These books include: UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION MANUAL, ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ASSOCIATIONS, RESEARCH CENTERS DIRECTORY, FOUNDATION DIRECTORY, DIRECTORY OF SPECIAL LIBRARIES AND INFORMATION CENTERS, DIRECTORY OF NATIONAL TRADE AND PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.



chapter 1:

# PERSONALITIES & ELITES/ POLITICAL PARTIES





# Personalities and Elites

Compiled by G. William Domhoff  
—with assistance from Allan Hunter and Sonne Lemke

The following is a fairly comprehensive summary of sources for generating material on members of the American upper (governing) class—"fairly comprehensive" because we are always finding new ways to develop such information, and this pamphlet should not lull researchers into discontinuing such a search. It is not the final word.

In general, we have relied on a few references for most of our information on the corporate rich who are our upper class, going to other sources if we want to try to find every last person in a given business or law firm, or if we want great detail. No one volume is perfect for all purposes, for certain information is often lacking. The sources, with comments on them and suggestions for using them, are listed under the following headings:

- A. BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES
- B. BUSINESSMEN AND FINANCIERS
- C. LAWYERS
- D. POLITICAL LEADERS
- E. FOUNDATION TRUSTEES
- F. ACADEMICIANS AND SCHOLARS
- G. HISTORICAL SOURCES
- H. LOCAL POWER ELITES
- I. REFERENCES ON REFERENCES

## A. GENERAL BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

The single most valuable source in all types of "power structure" research is WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA, which contains a great deal of information on most of the people it lists. Often to be used in close connection with it in order to find people who have recently died, or to check the quarry's parents, are the volumes of WHO WAS WHO IN AMERICA. (However, Who Was Who gives very cryptic biographies, so the researcher will often have to revert to the last Who's Who which listed the person as alive once date of death has been established.)

Usually less productive, but still to be kept in mind in detailed studies, are various regional, state, and world Who's Who's. Several are listed below, but the reference in the References on References section of this pamphlet should be checked if you are making a detailed search of some state or area not on the list:

- WHO'S WHO IN THE EAST
- WHO'S WHO IN THE MIDWEST
- WHO'S WHO IN THE SOUTH AND SOUTHWEST
- WHO'S WHO IN THE WEST
- WHO'S WHO IN OREGON AND THE WESTERN STATES
- MEN AND WOMEN OF HAWAII
- INTERNATIONAL WHO'S WHO (often worthwhile)
- WORLD BIOGRAPHY
- OUTSTANDING YOUNG MEN OF AMERICA (use only if desperate; has lots of Jaycees and other middle-level people)
- WHO'S WHO's also exist for California, Minnesota, New York City and State, North Dakota, South Dakota, Tennessee.

There are also volumes that have considerable detail on the people they list. First, CURRENT BIOGRAPHY, which has long sketches on various types of "elite" persons from 1942 to the present. We usually turn to it in hopes of further detail, but on occasion it turns up someone not found in WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA. Consult its cumulative indexes. Second, for detail, there is the BIOGRAPHY INDEX, which from 1947 to the present lists references to all biographical information on persons that appears in books or a large list of periodicals. It is useful for finding those not found elsewhere and for getting great detail on a person. Third, the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature also lists biographical articles, but since the coverage of the Biography Index is more comprehensive, the Reader's Guide should be used only for people prior to 1947. Fourth, THE NEW YORK TIMES INDEX is a goldmine on names (and on subjects of interest to power structure research). Fifth, when searching for detail, there are two "historical" sources that are kept somewhat up to date with new volumes—the DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY and the NATIONAL CYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. The National Cyclopaedia is 49 volumes with 52,000 entries, and is often more useful than the better-known Dictionary of American Biography.

So much for general biographical volumes that have great detail. Turning to a final general resource, there are various "social registers" and "blue books" for several major cities. They often list the schools, clubs, and voluntary association memberships of "leading families," but never list information on business connections or foundation and university trusteeships. These books are sometimes useful in establishing the social class of the person being studied. Along with certain private schools and gentleman's clubs, they are important as "social indicators" of the American upper class.

The most important of these blue books is the SOCIAL REGISTER, published by the Social Register Association, 381 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10016, in yearly editions for New York, Washington, Philadelphia-Wilmington, Chicago, Boston, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati-Dayton, San Francisco, Baltimore, and Buffalo. The Social Register Association also publishes a SOCIAL REGISTER LOCATER, which contains the name and home city for each person listed in the 12 city editions. The city editions of the Social Register contain name, address, wife's maiden name, college attended, and social clubs.

We were also able to obtain "blue books" for Los Angeles (Los Angeles BLUE BOOK, Box 1500, Beverly Hills), for Southern California (SOUTHWEST BLUE BOOK, 3418 North Broadway, Los Angeles), for Denver (DENVER SOCIAL RECORD, 2880 South High Street), and for Miami (SOCIAL REGISTER OF GREATER MIAMI, 1830 West 24th Street, Sunset Island No. 3, Miami Beach). All are very useful. Such bluebooks also exist for Detroit, Houston, New Orleans, and Seattle, but copies are apparently not for sale—we had to get ours from libraries and underground newspapers. All contain helpful "social" information about clubs and schools.

The sources mentioned to this point are for locating upper-class people in general. They are usually the most valuable sources for all types of power structure research. We now turn to more specialized resources.

## Specialized Sources—Women

The one best source on women is WHO'S WHO OF AMERICAN WOMEN. There is also a "middle-class" book, OUTSTANDING YOUNG WOMEN OF AMERICA, which has



not been very helpful. For rich girls there is a **DEBUTANTE REGISTER**, which purports to list the names and addresses of all deb's for the given year, but is probably not worth the expense (\$40). Girls who pay the money to list their picture in the front of the book also include their schools, sororities, and clubs underneath the picture.

#### Specialized Sources—Ethnic Groups

There are also various ethnic Who's Who. One of the most valuable is **WHO'S WHO IN WORLD JEWRY**, which has 1955 and 1965 editions. There is also a **WHO'S WHO OF AMERICAN JEWS, 1936-38**. The other ethnic volumes are:

**AMERICAN CATHOLIC WHO'S WHO** (in several editions)  
**WHO'S WHO IN COLORED AMERICA**  
**SCOTT'S BLUE BOOK** (Black People)  
**ITALIAN AMERICAN WHO'S WHO**  
**WHO'S WHO IN POLISH AMERICA**

#### Specialized Sources—Celebrities

The one best book here is Cleveland Amory's **CELEBRITY REGISTER**, which often has interesting tidbits on important members of the upper class ("they" are celebrities, too, among other things).

#### Summary on Biographical Sources

As can be seen, there are a great many potential sources. Many more can be found in the reference books to be noted in a separate section, **References on References**. In general, though, it's **Who's Who in America**, **Who's Who in World Jewry**, **Who's Who of American Women**, **Current Biography**, and the **Biography Index** that will be the most productive among general sources. However, some of the volumes yet to be discussed under other headings are sometimes even better than several of these.

### B. BUSINESSMEN AND FINANCIERS

Since big businessmen are one of the major concerns of power structure research (they being the heart of the upper class, the providers for the playboys and clotheshorses), references in this section are often as valuable as general sources. There are two or three key volumes, and many, many minor ones.

The most important business source is **Poor's REGISTER OF CORPORATIONS, DIRECTORS, AND EXECUTIVES**, which lists alphabetically about 27,000 banks and industrials (along with their directors, officers, and a little business information), as well as alphabetically listing in the back most of the directors and executives contained in the earlier section, along with their date of birth, college, and (usually but not always) other directorships. It is very useful when you only want to look at a person business-wise, or as a second-best source when a person is not in a general or business Who's Who. Poor's also puts out a **SECURITY DEALERS OF NORTH AMERICA**, on stock dealers and investment bankers.

Overlapping Poor's in large measure are the various **Moody's** manuals, which include:

**MOODY'S BANKING AND FINANCE**  
**MOODY'S INDUSTRIALS**  
**MOODY'S UTILITIES**  
**MOODY'S TRANSPORTS**

Another source, which is better for business data than for information on individuals, is the **Dun and Broadstreet** set of publications:

**MILLION DOLLAR DIRECTORY** (has a section on top management)  
**MIDDLE MARKET DIRECTORY** (lists companies worth ½ to 1 million, but has no section on management)  
**DIRECTORY OF SHOPPING CENTERS** (lists owners and developers and leasers)

Finally, under business and finance, there are many specialized Who's Whos, the first two of which are particularly useful (the others are worth exploring for specific questions).

**WHO'S WHO IN COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY** (often the second or third source we turn to after **Who's Who in America**).  
**WHO'S WHO IN BANKING** (very useful)  
**RAND MCNALLY'S INTERNATIONAL BANKER'S REGISTER**  
**WHO'S WHO IN INSURANCE**  
**WHO'S WHO IN RAILROADING IN NORTH AMERICA**  
**WHO'S WHO IN ADVERTISING**  
**WHO'S WHO IN PUBLIC RELATIONS**  
**WHO'S WHO IN PUBLISHING**  
**WHO'S WHO IN PUBLIC UTILITIES, 1942**  
**WHO'S WHO IN AVIATION AND ASTRONAUTICS**  
**WHO'S WHO IN ENGINEERING, 1922-54**  
**SHIPPING WORLD YEARBOOK AND WHO'S WHO** (biographies of leaders in the marine and allied industries)  
**WHO'S WHO IN ATOMS, 1959**

### C. LAWYERS

Corporate lawyers are as important as businessmen and financiers in the upper class scheme of things, but they are harder to research because the basic reference volumes on them provide no overall alphabetical listings for the whole country. Instead, lawyers are usually indexed by city or state, which makes general searches quite time-consuming if only the name is known. One exception to this is **WHO'S WHO IN LAW, 1937**, which had at its publication only a 50% overlap in its entries with **Who's Who in America**.

The one best source on lawyers is **MARTINDALE-HUBELL LAW DIRECTORY**, which lists lawyers by states, cities, and law firms, and tells the educational background of each lawyer. Sometimes (hardly ever, actually) the person's net worth is estimated, and very often the corporate clients of the big law firms are listed (but the New York firms no longer list "representative clients").

Since most judges are lawyers, the **DIRECTORY OF AMERICAN JUDGES** may be helpful for some investigations. **THE LAWYER'S DIRECTORY** and the **American Bar Association DIRECTORY** do not go beyond (or match) **Martindale-Hubell**. There is a 1957 volume on **WOMEN LAWYERS IN THE U.S.** which is pretty good, and older volumes on **EMINENT JUDGES AND LAWYERS OF THE AMERICAN BAR (1932, 1951)** and **EMINENT JUDGES AND LAWYERS OF THE NORTHWEST (1843-1955)**.



In summary, there is no one ideal resource on lawyers. We have had our best success by using Martindale-Hubbell in conjunction with Poor's Register and Who's Who in America. To study one large corporate law firm with these three reference sources is to have an immediate impact on one's perception of the American power structure.

#### D. POLITICAL LEADERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

The one best starting point here is WHO'S WHO IN AMERICAN POLITICS, which lists party officials as well as elected and appointed members of the government. Also very useful are the volumes of the CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY, which give not-quite-enough information on Congressmen, court officials, foreign diplomats, members of departments and agencies, governors, and members of the press who frequent the House and the Senate. Somewhat more information is available on Senators and Representatives in BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS, 1774-1961.

There is an INTERNATIONAL YEARBOOK AND STATESMEN'S WHO'S WHO that is not bad, as well as a State Department BIOGRAPHICAL REGISTER, which lists only birth date, educational background, and career history for people in such agencies as State, Peace Corps, USIA, AID, and the Foreign Service.

For earlier days, there is a WHO'S WHO IN THE NATION'S CAPITOL, 1921-38, and there is the DIRECTORY OF AMERICAN JUDGES mentioned in the previous section. Needless to say, many political people can be found via sources noted in earlier sections. The important ones tend to be members of the upper class, or high-level, high-salaried employees in businesses, law firms, foundations, and institutes controlled by members of the upper class.

#### E. FOUNDATION OFFICERS AND TRUSTEES

The FOUNDATION DIRECTORY gives the officers and trustees and donors for most foundations. It lists names alphabetically in the back. No background information on people, but a very valuable book. For example, it can be checked against social registers or businessmen references such as Poor's Register when nothing can be found in any of the Who's Who's. The study of a big foundation's trustees and officers is almost as revealing as the study of a large law firm.

#### F. CULTURAL WORKMEN

The pivotal role of "experts" and intellectuals as advisers and philosophers for the higher circles has become a research topic of some little interest. The following volumes may be of use in scholarly forays into universities and other outposts of these cultural workmen:

AMERICAN MEN OF SCIENCE  
 DIRECTORY OF AMERICAN SCHOLARS  
 LEADERS IN AMERICAN SCIENCE  
 WHO'S WHO IN AMERICAN ART  
 WHO'S WHO IN AMERICAN EDUCATION  
 CONTEMPORARY AUTHORS (very useful)

PRESIDENTS AND DEANS OF AMERICAN  
 COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES  
 BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN  
 ARCHITECTURE  
 AMERICAN MEN OF MEDICINE  
 ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION DIRECTORY OF  
 FELLOWSHIP AWARDS FOR THE YEARS  
 1917-1950

These may be supplemented by directories published by the various professional associations, such as the American Political Science Association.

#### G. LOCAL POWER ELITES

We have done little on cities per se, so have not gone beyond Robert K. Lamb's excellent HOW TO RESEARCH YOUR OWN HOMETOWN, which was written in 1952 for new businessmen and such like, but is now distributed by several New Left organizations. It tell us, among other things, how to utilize Planning Commission surveys and studies, Chamber of Commerce information, and Polk's City Directory. Another good thing to remember is that the tax assessor's office will have all the names of all landowners on file, often listing on one card all the holdings of the biggest owners.

POLK'S CITY DIRECTORY, developed for businessmen, is the general name for many, many individual city directories put out by this company. From our point of view, the most important information these directories give is the address, occupation and business ownership (if any) of every person in the telephone book (which, for example, makes it possible to use a map to quickly pinpoint the professional and executive neighborhoods of the town). Another section tells whether or not the person owns the home in which he lives. These directories are not available in many libraries (too expensive, not enough call for them).

#### H. HISTORICAL STUDIES

There are several very good volumes for "historical" studies—"historical" meaning anything pre-World War II. (Our interests usually do not extend past the last quarter of the 19th century, which saw the rise of a national upper class, but it is certainly possible to trace some of the institutions and local branches of this upper class much, much further back into American history.) Before listing these sources, let it be recalled that Who's Who in America, the Social Register, and many of the other references in earlier sections have editions that carry them back many years (the SOCIAL REGISTER began in 1888, for example, and used to publish for more than the present 14 cities). Other sources:

DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. A multi-volume work periodically brought up to date, containing good sketches of Americans from the 1600's through the 1950's.

NATIONAL CYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. Similar to the first reference, and also kept up to date. Does not necessarily overlap the first as to names in it. Very useful.



**WHO WAS WHO IN AMERICA.** Very useful for our purposes. Sometimes have to hunt in an older Who's Who for more information on the person as WHO WAS WHO biographies are often shorter.

**GUIDE TO AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.** For the years 1607-1938, this tells of books and articles on leading Americans. Has subject index (pp. 503-504) by occupation (e.g., business, government, industry, law) as well as by name (page 507ff). More recent biographies should be searched for under the person's name in the subject index of the library catalogue or in Reader's Guide or Biography Index.

Louis Kaplan's **BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN AUTOBIOGRAPHIES.** As complete a listing of such autobiographies through 1945 as is ever likely to be compiled. Slightly annotated. Lists persons alphabetically. Also has a subject index where you can find out which autobiographies are about financiers, bankers, industrials, clergymen (Episcopal), lawyers, and other groups that might relate to studies of the upper class in a given area or era. For more recent autobiographies, use library catalogues and Biography Index.

**NEW YORK TIMES INDEX.** Tells of New York Times profiles and obituaries, along with other reportage in this official Establishment source.

**A WOMAN OF THE CENTURY.** Compiled by Mary Livermore and Francis Willard, this is a large volume of very complete sketches on a great many women of the 19th century.

**WHO'S WHO IN AMERICAN WOMEN, 1914-15.** I found this very informative in one study.

**READER'S GUIDE TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE.** The best substitute for the BIOGRAPHY INDEX prior to 1947.

There are also certain older Who's Who's. Check library catalogues when you do specific studies. For example, there are Who's Who in the Confederacy, and Who's Who's for Railroading (1885-1946), Finance, Banking and Insurance (1911-25), Government (1930), Journalism (1925-28), American Jewry (1936-38), the Clergy (1935), the Nation's Capitol (1921-38), Women of California (1922), Association Executives (1935), and California (1928-29, 1939-40).

We have also looked under "notable" and under the name of specific cities to find such sources as:

NOTABLE MEN OF ATLANTA AND GEORGIA, 1913  
NOTABLE MEN OF ILLINOIS, 1912  
NOTABLE MEN OF THE WEST, 1902  
NOTABLE NEW YORKERS of 1896-98

Some books catalogued under "clubs" in the library will list club memberships:

THE CLUBS OF NEW YORK, 1873, By Francis Fairfield  
CLUB WOMEN OF NEW YORK, 1904, 1906-07, 1910-11  
THE CLUBS OF BOSTON, 1891

CLUB MEMBERS OF NEW YORK, 1940, By Frieda Everett

## I. REFERENCES ON REFERENCES

There are several books to turn to that have information on where to look for biographical information on specific topics. The best and most recent is BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARIES: AN INTERNATIONAL GUIDE (1967, Gale Research Co., 1400 Book Tower, Detroit; cost: \$20.00). Others are:

**GUIDE TO AMERICAN DIRECTORIES** (describes business directories, among others. Useful.)

**GUIDE TO REFERENCE BOOKS** (has sections on biography and business. Useful.)

**ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ASSOCIATIONS** (lists 12,000 associations, giving addresses, chief officers, number and type of members, program and activities.)

**BUSINESS INFORMATION: HOW TO FIND AND USE IT, 1955** (needs to be updated.)

## ADDENDA: BOOKS ON ELITES

In compiling biographies of important personalities, it is sometimes useful to consult the indexes of books on the American upper class that have been published in the past decade. These books often furnish anecdotes and other details which help identify family, business, and other power relationships which do not always appear in conventional reference sources.

Baltzel, E. Digby. **AN AMERICAN BUSINESS ARISTOCRACY** (Glencoe, Free Press, 1958). By the same author: **THE PROTESTANT ESTABLISHMENT** (Glencoe, Free Press, 1964).

Birmingham, Stephen. **OUR CROWD: THE GREAT JEWISH FAMILIES OF NEW YORK** (New York, Harper & Row, 1967).

Domhoff, William. **WHO RULES AMERICA?** (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1967).

Fleming, D.F. **THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR** (Garden City, Doubleday, 1961).

Hess, Stephen. **AMERICAN POLITICAL DYNASTIES** (Garden City, Doubleday, 1966).

Lundberg, Ferdinand. **THE RICH AND THE SUPER RICH** (New York, Lyle Stuart, 1967). See also the author's earlier work, **AMERICA'S SIXTY FAMILIES** (Halcyon House, 1940).

Perlo, Victor. **THE EMPIRE OF HIGH FINANCE** (New York, International Publishers, 1967).

Smoot, Dan. **THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT** (Americanist Library, 1962); this is a right-wing study of the role played by "East Coast Establishment" groups like the Foreign Policy Association, Committee for Economic Development, Council for Foreign Relations, etc., in the making of American foreign policy.

Wise, David, and Ross, Thomas B. **THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT** (New York, Random House, 1963); the classic study of the CIA. By the same authors: **THE ESPIONAGE ESTABLISHMENT** (New York, Random House, 1967).



# Political Parties

*Any methodology for research on the American power structure would be incomplete without a section on the Republican and Democratic Parties. In 1968, prior to the Democratic National Convention, Lee Webb prepared a research guide for actions against the Democratic Party entitled "How to Expose and Fight the Democratic Party in Your Community." The original guide is now out of print, but as it was quite complete — and applicable to the Republican as well as Democratic Party — it has been reproduced below.*

## A. THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY STRUCTURE

The Democratic Party in each state is a creature of state legislation and statute. As a result, its structure and constituent bodies vary state by state. A state's statutes on elections and parties may be obtained from the state's Secretary of State. Outlining the structure of the Democratic Party, its officers, time and place of meetings, is well worth the few bucks it costs. In addition, parties are required to file with the Secretary of State a copy of their constitution and rules of procedure. They are available for inspection in the Secretary of State's office.

Although each state's statutes are unique, let me sketch out a rough outline of Democratic Party structure.

### 1. City/County Democratic Committee:

The City/County Democratic Committee is the "official voice" of the Democratic Party, the meeting ground for powerful local politicians. Depending on the state, its members might be chosen by a) directly elected precinct or election district delegates, b) as a self-perpetuating corporation, it might choose its own new members, or c) a special yearly "convention" of all Democrats in the area might elect it. In any case, participation in the official local structures of the party seldom includes more than the politicians themselves.

In smaller towns the Democratic Committee behaves more like a men's club than a tough broker of political fortunes. Lacking the patronage of a large city government the Democratic Committee maintains little discipline. Open primaries are the result. Unity is mandatory for backing the national ticket. Since every member of the local committee aims at a career in state or federal elective office, the City/County Democratic Committee always backs the national Democratic ticket to the hilt.

In larger cities, a strong party tradition and control over the city payroll and contracts builds a City/County Committee whose members are deadly serious professional politicians. Many hold powerful positions in the state or city government as well. Their political power molds a monolithic political machine which brooks little opposition, and destroys what is left by payoff, intimidation, or death.

These City/County Committee members are the backbone of the Democratic Party machine in your city. Below them, in every neighborhood, are the precinct captains or precinct committee members who do the party leg-work in exchange for a patronage job, or a chance to rub shoulders with the powerful people at the yearly party banquet. Largely shielded from public view, the precinct captains and committeemen are the soldiers of the Democratic Party.

### 2. State Democratic Committee:

The most powerful Democratic politicians in the state make up the official state "voice" of the Democratic Party. Elected by the city/county committees, the State Democratic Committee is both the liaison with the national Committee and the coordinator of state Party affairs. Each state committee employs a full-time staff between elections, headed by an executive director. Committee members and the staff maintain relations with local party organizations, businessmen, labor leaders, minority groups, and important contributors. A Finance Committee usually is appointed to raise funds for the state and national party organization.

### 3. State Democratic Conventions:

In the years of state or national elections, the state Democratic committee organizes and runs a state convention. Under state laws, party conventions must adopt a platform, nominate their slate of candidates, and (depending on the state) elect the next state Democratic Committee and the delegates to the National Convention. In addition, the convention, or occasionally the state committee, elects the national committeeman, and the national committeewoman. They will be the state's two members on the Democratic National Committee.

Being a temporary body with a constantly changing membership, the convention rarely challenges the decisions of the state committee. Except in nominations for state and local offices, the state committee runs the state's party affairs. In addition, the National Committee members elected by the convention are usually the state committee's nominees.

Finally, the national committeeman in most cases is the most powerful politician on the state committee. He represents the national party within the state, as well as controlling federal patronage.

### 4. Delegates to National Democratic Conventions:

The election of delegates to the National Convention dominates the affairs of the state committee in a Presidential election year. Intense personal rivalry within the committee, and among important Democratic figures in the state, for the delegate and alternative positions must be handled graciously. The fight for the desirable delegate slots — a chance to be on television and all that — has wrecked more than a few state parties.

In states holding presidential primaries, the state committee presents an official slate. Rival slates are sometimes put forward by dissident groups. Although technically the state's Democratic voters make the choice, the state committee's slate rarely loses. In states without primaries the committee's control of delegate selection is complete. Depending on the state, delegates are selected either by the state committee or the state convention. A useful publication called NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES INCLUDING THE MANNER OF SELECTING DELEGATES TO NATIONAL POLITICAL CONVENTIONS is prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, and distributed by the Office of the Secretary of the Senate. It has compiled the statutes of each state governing the election of National



Convention Delegates. (Get a copy through the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, for \$0.75.)

Since the delegates to the Democratic Convention personally nominate the party's presidential candidate, and they include labor leaders, prominent contributors, state officials, big businessmen, as well as state politicians, these delegates, once selected, should be first-priority targets of your research and exposure.

#### 5. State Party Structure:

Another key ingredient of state party affairs are the ad hoc campaign committees. Committees such as Rockefeller for Governor, Lindsay for Mayor, Belsky for City Council, etc., are cooperating (though independent) parts of formal party structure. Frequently, these campaign committees attract more open support from businessmen, personal friends, politicians, etc., than formal party affairs do. Links between successful candidates and financial contributors can be discovered through these financial records of their campaign committees (see section below).

### B. CHALLENGES

The plans for the Mass Action at the Democratic National Convention included challenging the credentials of all "official" party delegations, including in some cases alternative delegations. Although claiming to represent the blacks, workers, Spanish-speaking, etc., these same groups are systematically excluded, either by conscious design or by an intentionally undemocratic party structure. In every state, however, Democratic Party organizations at every level, accustomed to protection of anonymity, constantly violate state election statutes, their own party constitutions, and by-laws.

To aid credential challenges from your state, read (with a lawyer) the state party statutes carefully, as well as the party's constitution and by-laws. The local Democrats may be reluctant to part with a copy of their supposedly public constitution. The threat of legal action may force them to be more helpful.

A close reading of the statutes, party constitution, and by-laws will tell you what to look for in your "radical research." Did state committeemen and delegates to party conventions meet the residence, age, and party membership requirements? Were anti-war Democrats excluded from party meetings? Do Democratic party officials have blatant conflicts of interest? Were behind-the-scene deals made that rendered convention or primary votes meaningless? Were all state and party by-law requirements met? These are only a few of the technical violations, which when taken together may aid a legal suit challenging the legality of state or local Democratic Party structures or aid a delegate challenge at the Democratic Convention itself.

### C. OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT RECORDS – FEDERAL

All financial records of campaign committees dealing with congressional or presidential campaigns must be deposited with the Office of the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress. Enforcement is strict, and the files merit attention. CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY WEEKLY REPORT (CQ) transcribes and publishes the relevant files. Available in most

libraries, the 150-page report on 1966 Political Campaign Contributions and Expenditures was published in the August 11, 1967 issue. 1967 campaign contributions are listed in the July 5, 1968 issue. For preceding years the issues are: 1965–Dec. 2, 1966; 1964–Jan. 21, 1966; 1963–July 3, 1964; 1961/62–July 26, 1963; 1960–June 20, 1961. By breaking down contributions into \$10,000, and \$5000 donors and the recipient Representatives and Senators by state, they have performed a valuable service.

Another useful source of information on campaign financing is the Citizen's Research Foundation, 245 Nassau St., Princeton, N.J. 08540. Write them for a list of the studies they have published on the financing of national campaigns and selected state campaigns. This firm does the basic research and compilations on campaign receipts that appear in the CQ issues identified above.

Biographies of Congressmen, Congressional committee assignments, and staff members of important Federal agencies, are contained in the CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY, 90th Congress, 2nd Session, 1968 (available for \$3.50 from the Government Printing Office). New editions of the Congressional Directory are published periodically. Much of the same material, with additional data on Congressional and committee staff, is provided in the privately published CONGRESSIONAL STAFF DIRECTORY. The Government Printing Office's free Price List No. 54, POLITICAL SCIENCE, lists additional government documents on the Congress, government agencies, Federal employees, and voting.

### D. OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT RECORDS – STATE

The state's Secretary of State, in most cases, oversees the activities of political parties, enforces state statutes dealing with political parties and elections, and regulates campaign finances. A trip to the secretary of State's office should get you both a copy of the state's statutes regulating elections and party organization, and a chance to look at information that parties are required to deposit with the Secretary of State. His staff should be able to give you a file including the dates, times and places of future party meetings, as well as a copy of the party constitution and the by-laws of its constituent groups. The Secretary of State's office will always be the second line of attack if calls or visits to the party's offices fail to produce the required data.

As with national campaigns, many states require that contributions and expenditures of campaign committees and party organizations be filed with the Secretary of State. Such files are open to the public, and a good supply of note cards and pencils will be required to transcribe the abundant data on party contributors, key campaign workers, addresses and affiliations.

A "State Legislative Manual" or "Blue Book" (or "Red Book," etc.) published by all states can be purchased at the Secretary of State's office for a few dollars. Such basic state reference books contain election statistics, biographies of key state officials, an outline of the responsibilities of state agencies, and other useful information.

Other state records may merit inspection. All states require licensing of certain businesses and professional activities — including, in many cases — liquor salesmen, restaurants and night clubs, plumbers, contractors, funeral homes, etc. Applications for such licenses, which contain varying degrees of information, are usually open to the public. All contracts



awarded by state agencies — whether with construction firms, auto leasing agencies, or individual consultants — are part of the public record. Tracking down lucrative contracts and licenses awarded to prominent Democratic or Republican politicians often leads to interesting results. The state's libraries and archives contain transcripts of legislative committee hearings, attorney-generals' reports, auditors' reports, transcripts of special investigating committees and commissions, etc. Such records should be searched for useful information.

#### E. OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT RECORDS — COUNTY

As one of the leftovers from our former colonial masters — the British — the county courts administer the bulk of the state judicial systems. As a result, its records include land titles, liens, mortgages; birth, marriage and divorce records; estates and wills; and the proceedings of criminal and civil court actions. Its Magistrates Courts, District Courts, Domestic Relations, Family, Divorce, Criminal, and Juvenile archives are overflowing with the transcripts, evidence, dispositions, and judgements of past cases.

Information on a Democratic official, unavailable from any other source, may be sitting in these dusty files. A friendly lawyer, familiar with the ins and outs of criminal, civil, and family law as practiced on the local level would be your best guide to these court records.

Newspapers' City Editors have always said that good political and criminal reporting begins in the files of the County Court House.

#### F. TOWN AND CITY RECORDS

A Municipal Research Bureau/library occupies an undistinguished suite of offices in most City Halls. One of a series of reforms pushed by the Progressives at the turn of the century, its purpose was to remedy the scandalous lack of informed city officials, which the Progressives believed was at the heart of the "shame of the cities," by pulling all information necessary for efficient local government together in one accessible room. The Municipal Library catalogues and stores the records of all City agencies; maintains a collection of books, pamphlets, and reports on urban affairs; and performs requested research services for city officials. From the agency records found in such a library, contracts and other activities of Democratic city officials may stimulate a search that will lead you to the agency itself seeking additional records.

Urban renewal is second only to city contracts as the source of oil to grease the political machine. The Redevelopment Administration (or Dept. of Urban Renewal) records can be looked over at the Municipal Research Bureau/library or an independent library maintained by the agency itself.

#### G. REPUBLICANS

Republican party officials or public officials are frequently reluctant to spill the beans on their Democratic counterparts. Honor among thieves is a tactical part of the two-party system. However, a good interviewer, again "writing a research paper," can loosen the tongue of any politician. The disgruntled or defeated Republican is a better talker than a secure Republican enjoying his detente with the Democrats.

#### H. CIVIC OR 'GOOD GOVERNMENT' GROUPS

Civic Leagues, supported by prominent Republicans whose hobby is fiscal integrity and tight budgets, ferret out Democratic corruption with a vengeance. Its Staff Director will be glad to talk with you about the work of the Civic League, and his long familiarity with local politics. Aided by his investigators' reports, he may be quite helpful to your work.

The League of Women Voters, along with COPE (the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO) can supply you with the voting records of local and state candidates. These will be a necessity in your attempts to dramatize the hypocrisy of local politicians.

#### I. TRADE AND PRIVATE ASSOCIATIONS

Businessmen, lobbyists, and the staff members of trade associations know the inside dope on politicians and party officials as well as anyone. Getting them to open up to you will be hard. However, it may be to their political interest to drop some tips your way, if they think you are a political force. Additionally, talk to the enemies of the Democrats you are investigating; a politician's enemy, particularly his victim, is more likely to help than a friend or ally.

#### J. REPORTERS

The single best source on city or state politics is a newspaper reporter, especially the older reporters who have covered the city beat for a few years and in the process learned where the skeletons are buried. Best sources are the investigatory reporters, always looking for the scandal, always suspicious, and certainly cynical. To get a start, the byline of newspaper articles you clipped will give you a name. Call his office; and don't avoid the crime or society reporters, either. They know things that might make the whole puzzle fit together. The political columnists might help you in clearing up your questions about factions, and disagreements in the party, but will be uneasy about "corruption." More likely than not, their personal friendship with Democratic/Republican politicians is close.

#### K. POLITICIANS

If you are a good listener, Democratic/Republican Party and public officials will enjoy talking with you about themselves. Proud of their prominence in political affairs, they will talk your ear off about their friendship with the President and other powerful men in the Party. A direct approach to the person you are after may be more effective and save you valuable time than the "round-about" way.

Liberal Democrats, though a tough tribe to describe, overhear cloak-room stories and cocktail party gossip. Corruption and machine politics are the abiding enemy of many of them. In some instances, liberal Democrats may become willing partners with you in "radical research." Their own intuition and address book may be the beginning of a successful quest.



# chapter 2: **CORPORATIONS/ LABOR**





# Corporations

Compiled by Michael Locker

Corporations are the very basis of power in the United States. As the modern unit of capitalist enterprise (private ownership), they control roughly two-thirds of the national wealth and make the key decisions that affect every aspect of our lives (from the products we buy, the prices we pay, to the air we breathe and the conditions of work). All the U.S. ruling class fortunes are ultimately situated in corporate stock and their ability to wield power is channeled primarily through corporate connections (e.g. Rockefeller used the vast network of the Chase Manhattan Bank to line up support in the 1968 Republican presidential nomination contest). Wherever one starts studying U.S. power they end up investigating corporations.

It would be impossible to run a capitalist system so vast and complex without accurate, up-to-date information. Too much secrecy would be dysfunctional since profitable decisions about investment and production have to be made with some knowledge about possible "competition", cost, legislation, etc. Consequently, a tremendous amount of information on U.S. corporations, produced primarily for businessmen and investors, is readily available. The first place to look is the business library, probably the best endowed in most universities (rich graduates make large contributions) and therefore the best organized. All the sources listed in this section can be found in most business libraries and to use them you don't have to be a business student or businessman. Just ask for what you need and if there are any questions just mention the "economics paper" you're writing for a course.

The questions you will want to know about a corporation are probably the same ones a good investor would ask, so the information will be organized in very usable form. The crucial thing is to follow up on as many leads as possible; you'll be amazed how many connections will spring from one fact as the outward layers give way to the real inner workings (i.e. ownership, buyers and sellers, markets, plant locations, financial arrangements, etc.).

There are three fundamental questions you may be asking when researching a corporation: (1) who are the officers and directors and what are their interlocking directorates, (2) who owns and controls the corporations, and (3) what is involved in their production/selling of goods/services and financial structure?

## A. DIRECTORS, OFFICERS AND INTERLOCKING RELATIONS

All corporations have officers (those who carry on day-to-day activities) and directors (those who represent the stockowners, hire or fire the officers and make the basic decisions). If the corporation is "publicly owned" (a legal term usually meaning the corporation's stock is traded by more than fifty individuals), the officers and directors can be easily found in one of several sources. The corporation must issue an ANNUAL REPORT to its stockholders and if the firm's stock is traded on any stock exchange (e.g., the New York Stock Exchange), the report will be widely available (it serves to attract investors). The report, which usually can be acquired free directly from the corporation (or from state or federal agencies—see below) or found in the business library, contains a list of the current officers and directors, plus a description of the year's activity, product line or services, usually a list of plants and subsidiaries, stock performance,

balance sheet of earnings, income and expenditures over the last few years, transfer agent and stock registrar and, at times, the corporations's law firm.

To better understand the contents of an annual report see HOW TO READ A FINANCIAL REPORT (available free from Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith, 70 Pine Street, New York, N.Y. 10005) and Stuart Chase, HOW TO READ AN ANNUAL REPORT (free from Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, Room 1626, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10020).

Several business information companies publish very expensive annual directories found in most business libraries. These serve as a quick reference for locating an up-to-date list of officers and directors plus other basic facts (e.g. number of employees, head office address, principal products, and standard industrial classification). They include:

**POOR'S REGISTER OF CORPORATIONS, DIRECTORS AND EXECUTIVES.** Lists alphabetically over 30,000 large and middle-sized companies in all industries. Includes 260,000 brief individual biographies with major positions on most corporations.

**DUN & BRADSTREET MILLION DOLLAR DIRECTORY.** Lists alphabetically, geographically and by product classification corporations in all industries with net worth over one million dollars. Section on individuals is very poor.

**DUN & BRADSTREET MIDDLE MARKET DIRECTORY.** Same as above for corporations with net worth under one million dollars. Therefore the only good source for many hard-to-find smaller firms.

If the corporation cannot be found in one of these—either because the corporation is too small or privately held—then you must check the state records of incorporation (every corporation, public or private, is chartered inside one state and files papers within every state it operates). Such records are usually found in the state capital and can be acquired by mail from the office of the Secretary of State or the Attorney General. They include a current list of officers and directors, as well as all the other information found in an annual report.

With these sources and more biographical information from directories listed in the PERSONALITIES section, you can piece together the interlocking directorates of a given corporation. This in turn gives some indication of its real interests and points of control. For an analysis of corporation directors and their function see J.M. Juran and K. Loudon, THE CORPORATE DIRECTOR (1966); for a discussion of interlocking directorates, which the anti-trust laws prohibit when they inhibit "free trade", see INTERLOCKS IN CORPORATE MANAGEMENT, A Staff Report to the Antitrust Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives (1965, available from the Government Printing Office (GPO), Washington, D.C. 20402, for \$0.65).

## B. STOCK OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL

The directors of a public corporation, while representing all the stockowners, are really elected by those holding large blocks of stock. A relatively small percentage of the total stock (as low as two or three percent) can constitute a



controlling block if the rest is dispersed among many small owners who remain unconnected (except through management) and therefore uncoordinated in their voting power. Thus by selling a small amount of stock to a large number of buyers, an individual, family or interest group can accumulate badly needed capital from the "public" while maintaining control over the corporation. As the need for expansion capital has increased, more corporations have turned to this mechanism, reducing the number of firms under absolute control (i.e. ownership of 51 percent or more of the stock by one holder).

For an explanation of various financial terms (types of securities, agreements, corporations, etc.) see:

HOW TO READ THE FINANCIAL NEWS. Norman Stabler (Harper and Row paperback, 1966, \$0.95)  
STOCK OWNERSHIP AND THE CONTROL OF CORPORATIONS. Don Villarejo (see below for details)  
SENIOR SECURITIES. Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith (free from Merrill Lynch, 70 Pine St., New York, N.Y. 10005)

The researcher trying to discover who controls the stock of a corporation begins with the following sources:

#### 1. Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)

This U.S. government regulatory agency—founded in 1934 to bring order to the chaotic security markets—supervises all public bond and stock offerings and requires corporations making such offerings to periodically file several forms on all aspects of their financial operations. For a listing of all filing corporations see the Commission's DIRECTORY OF COMPANIES FILING ANNUAL REPORTS WITH THE SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION (annual, available from the GPO for \$1.50). File records are available at several SEC libraries (see below).

Federal laws require that individuals or institutions file a report every time they buy or sell stock in a corporation in which they are insiders—either directors, officers or major stockholders (10 percent or more of the total stock). The reports are condensed and issued monthly by the SEC in OFFICIAL SUMMARY OF SECURITY TRANSACTIONS AND HOLDINGS (available from the GPO, \$6.00 for a year's subscription or \$0.50 an issue) which is organized alphabetically by corporation name. Thus by going back through this source one can find the amount of stock held by any insider in a specific public corporation (the SEC includes "beneficial" holdings or holdings in trust for immediate family members in their definition of holdings).

Federal laws also require a corporation to file a complete financial PROSPECTUS every time they make a public bond or stock offering. Such prospectuses, put together by an investment house, are by far the best available analysis of a corporation, containing detailed information on the nature of the corporation's business, history, financial condition, competition, union relations, law firm, etc. It conveniently lists each director and officer with their stockholdings in the corporation and other major business activities. Moreover, all the investment houses underwriting the offering (i.e. guaranteeing the sale of the issue of securities at a stated price) are listed according to their share of the total offering. You can acquire these prospectuses from the corporation's investment house (especially if you can find someone with an account in a brokerage firm or someone who owns stock in the corporation), from the corporation directly if you can convince them

you are interested in buying their stock, or at the main SEC libraries in Washington, D.C., New York, Chicago and San Francisco. Regional SEC libraries in Atlanta, Boston, Denver, Fort Worth and Seattle maintain files only on corporations in their regions.

Finally, SEC regulations require all directors up for election to make public their salaries and holdings in the corporation to every voting stockholder. This appears in a PROXY STATEMENT sent to stockholders, most of whom fail to appear at the annual meeting, and who, therefore, turn over their votes to management through the proxy. Proxies can also be found at the SEC libraries as well as in business libraries.

#### 2. Other Federal and State Regulatory Agencies

Specific industries are regulated by federal and state agencies, some of which collect information on stock ownership and make it public. The FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSIONS (FCC) requires all corporations licensed to utilize the air waves or an interstate cable system to file a report annually listing the stock held by the officers, directors and anyone holding one percent or more of the corporation's total stock (see the special section on MEDIA CORPORATIONS at the end of this chapter on how to acquire the data). For electric and gas utility companies, the FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION gathers the same data which is available in their Washington, D.C. office. Several states have regulatory agencies that perform the same function in terms of collecting data on stock ownership (contact the office of the Secretary of State or Attorney General for details). For instance, the New York State Supt. of Insurance annually issues an ANNUAL REPORT TO THE NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATURE (available at 123 Williams St., New York, N.Y. 10038) that lists all insurance companies operating in the State with their assets.

#### 3. Private Investment Guides

The most important and widely available is the VALUE LINE INVESTMENT SURVEY (published by Arnold Bernard & Co. of New York) which summarizes the SEC material in very convenient form.

#### 4. Major Studies

Between 1939 and 1941 the Temporary National Economic Committee (TNEC) issued several mammoth reports on CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER that made public for the first time details about stock control in almost every important corporation. Despite the fact the study was done thirty years ago, the data for many of the firms is quite contemporary (see your library for a copy). More recently, Ferdinand Lundberg released a major work entitled THE RICH AND THE SUPER-RICH: A STUDY IN THE POWER OF MONEY TODAY (1968, paperback edition by Bantam, 1969, \$1.95) that is full of data though short on theory (moreover, the index is terrible). Lundberg's earlier study, AMERICA'S SIXTY FAMILIES (1940), is also quite valuable for checking out specific corporations. Victor Perlo produced a valuable work in 1955, THE EMPIRE OF HIGH FINANCE (available from International Publishers, New York, New York, for \$5.00) which discusses stock control in several major corporations and extends the work done in the prewar study of the National Resources Committee, STRUCTURE OF THE



AMERICAN ECONOMY (1939) on financial interest groups (i.e. financial centers grouped around specific families, banking houses and/or a geographical location that control several other financial and non-financial corporations). It would also be worthwhile to check out Don Villarejo, STOCK OWNERSHIP AND THE CONTROL OF CORPORATIONS, originally published in New University Thought (1961 and 1962) and now available from REP (Box 561-A, Detroit, Michigan 48323 for \$0.35) or New England Free Press (791 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass. 02118, same price).

House and Senate committees have issued extremely useful studies over the last ten years. In particular, Congressman Wright Patman (D-Texas), Chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, has produced several staff reports on the holding and ownership of bank stocks. If you are looking into the stock control of a bank be sure to see:

TWENTY LARGEST STOCKHOLDERS OF RECORD IN MEMBER BANKS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM, Vols. 1-5 (1964)

CHAIN BANKING: STOCKHOLDER AND LOAN LINKS OF 200 LARGEST MEMBER BANKS (1963)

BANK STOCK OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL (1966)  
CONTROL OF COMMERCIAL BANKS AND INTERLOCKS AMONG FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS (1967)

ACQUISITIONS, CHANGES IN CONTROL AND BANK STOCK LOANS OF INSURED BANKS (1967)

BANK HOLDING COMPANIES: SCOPE OF OPERATIONS AND STOCK OWNERSHIP (1963)

BANK HOLDING COMPANY ACT AMENDMENTS (1969)

THE GROWTH OF UNREGISTERED BANK HOLDING COMPANIES - PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS (1969)

The first three reports are no longer in print and must be found in the library while the others are still available from the Committee or the GPO.

The data in Patman's reports is particularly valuable because in modern monopoly capitalism stock control is increasingly held within banks and other financial corporations. In fact, one can assume that a substantial portion of the stock of any corporation is held by one or more financial firms. According to a recent study (*New York Times*, 1/3/70), institutional investors (which include financial firms like commercial banks, mutual funds, insurance companies, and investment companies as well as non-profit corporations such as universities, foundations and religious organizations) owned directly 20 percent of the outstanding common stock in 1968 (valued at \$188.5 billion). Their ownership is increasing at such a rate that by 1975 it will amount to 31 percent of the outstanding common shares. Moreover, much of the stock owned by individuals or groups is held in trust and therefore is largely controlled by the same financial corporations (e.g., a bank manages the stock and usually votes it at the annual meetings, turning over most of the financial benefit to the owner). The financial institution, without owning a large amount of stock, gains control over stock votes, thereby selecting its slate of directors and officers. This, in turn, permits the financial institution to implement policies most complementary to its over-all strategy—coordination of production and finance among controlled corporations to maximize profits. For an explanation of this mechanism see Daniel J. Baum and Ned B. Stiles, THE SILENT PARTNERS: INSTITUTIONAL INVESTORS AND CORPORATE CON-

TROL (Syracuse University Press, 1965, \$5.95) and Arnold S. Saffer, A STUDY OF INSTITUTIONAL INVESTORS (1970, available from the New York Stock Exchange, 11 Wall St., New York, N.Y. 10005).

Thus, in researching the stock control of a corporation you must investigate the stock portfolios of financial firms, starting with those that have interlocking directorates or financial dealings with the corporation. Laws require mutual funds and investment companies to make their portfolio public. Their holdings can be scrutinized by securing an annual report or by looking in MOODY'S BANKING AND FINANCE MANUAL (annual, available in the library) or GUDIE TO INVESTMENT COMPANY PORTFOLIOS (quarterly, published by Vickers Associates, Inc. and available in the library). THE CORPORATE FINANCING DIRECTORY (semi-annually from Dealer's Digest Publishing Co., 150 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10036, \$4.00) will tell you what financial firms (including investment bankers) underwrote specific offerings for a given corporation.

In most states insurance companies and pension funds are also required to make their investment portfolio public. For instance, in New York State, the Superintendent of Insurance of the New York State Insurance Department (123 Williams St., N.Y., N.Y. 10038) publishes an ANNUAL REPORT TO THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE which lists all insurance companies licensed to operate in the state with a complete breakdown of their stock and bond holdings. Check your own state government for specifics in other locations.

The ultra-secret and extremely powerful operations of commercial bank trust departments were recently opened to public scrutiny by Congressman Patman. In 1968 his Committee on Banking and Currency released a massive two volume staff Report on COMMERCIAL BANKS AND THEIR TRUST ACTIVITIES: EMERGING INFLUENCE ON THE AMERICAN ECONOMY (available from the GPO; Vol. I, \$7.50 and Vol. II, \$5.50). For the first time the specific corporate stock held (but not owned) by the big banks (in trust mostly for extremely rich upper class clients) is listed by bank and by corporation (the report uncovers holdings of five percent or more in specific corporations). The number of interlocking directorates between these banks and corporations is also provided.

Non-profit institutional investors also own large blocks of stock in corporations. Universities and colleges are increasingly putting their endowments into corporation stock (much of it represented on the Board of Trustees by corporation directors) and in some cases a list of such holdings is available (see GUIDE TO RESEARCHING INSTITUTIONAL PORTFOLIOS and MOVEMENT GUIDE TO STOCKHOLDERS MEETINGS issued by NARMIC, c/o AFSC, 160 North 15 Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102). Churches also own large blocks of stock (see CHURCH section for details). Foundations are the most significant non-profit stockholders since many were created simply to perpetuate family control of corporations by avoiding tax and inheritance laws (see David Horowitz and David Kolodney, "The Foundations", RAM-PARTS, April and May, 1969). Their stock assets are a matter of public record and can be acquired through an annual report, files at the Foundation Library Center (New York City and Washington, D.C.) or from the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) Form 990-A, on file for public scrutiny at the IRS district office where the foundations are located. For a large list of foundations (as well as other non-profit organizations) filing public IRS tax returns (with their city of incorporation and filing), consult Internal Revenue Service, CUMULATIVE LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS DESCRIBED IN SECTION 170 (C) OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954 (available



from the GPO for \$3.00). In addition, see the studies by Wright Patman's Select Committee on Small Business, **TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS AND CHARITABLE TRUSTS: THEIR IMPACT ON OUR ECONOMY** (Vols. 1-6, 1962-1968). Hearings on foundations held by the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee in 1969 also contain useful information.

### 5. Court Records

Anti-trust suits, stock suits and power struggles often produce hard-to-get data on ownership in the form of federal and state court records. In addition, the wills of wealthy individuals, which include their stock ownership, are filed in special courts in many locations (e.g. in New York City the Probate Court handles such matters). Check with a lawyer to find out how to gain access to these documents.

### 6. Business Journal Articles and Corporation Histories

Many business magazines, when they write up specific corporations, include information on stockownership. See especially:

FORTUNE (monthly)  
BUSINESS WEEK (weekly)  
FORBES (bi-weekly)  
BARRON'S WEEKLY

All major magazines (120) are indexed in the **BUSINESS PERIODICALS INDEX** (monthly since 1958 by H.W. Wilson & Co.); entitled **INDUSTRIAL ARTS INDEX** (from 1913-1957), **FUNK AND SCOTT'S INDEX OF CORPORATIONS AND INDUSTRIES** (see library; includes broker's reports); and more specialized trade journals and newsletters can be found in the **STANDARD PERIODICAL DIRECTORY** (annual, see library). Specific firms or individuals should also be checked in the **NEW YORK TIMES INDEX** and the **WALL STREET JOURNAL INDEX** (available in the library). In addition, if you know a reporter or journalism student, you might gain access to newspaper or magazine **MORGUES** where old clips are usually arranged by corporation and individual.

Extended corporate histories (official or unofficial) and biographies on leading tycoons can be found in the library card catalogue; chapters of books are indexed in **ESSAY AND GENERAL LITERATURE INDEX** (annual since 1900; H.W. Wilson & Co.); and long biographies are located in **BIOGRAPHIC INDEX** (quarterly with four-year cumulative volume since 1937; H.W. Wilson & Co.).

### C. PRODUCTION AND FINANCIAL STRUCTURE

Besides information on directors/officers and stock ownership, there are several other common questions related to production/distribution and financial structure. Three basic directories centralize and up-date much of this information in convenient form for large- to medium-sized public firms, including data on domestic and foreign subsidiaries and affiliates, plant locations, product lines, and long-term balance sheet (i.e., sales, revenue, assets, etc.). They also contain excellent information on the history, stock and debt structure, directors and officers, transfer agent and registrar (the last two are technical functions that give large commercial banks a strategic position vis-a-vis knowledge of a corporation's owners

and shift in stock ownership). These sources are expensive and, therefore, should be used in the library.

**MOODY'S MANUALS.** Separate volumes issued annually for four sectors: **INDUSTRIALS**, **UTILITIES**, **TRANSPORTATION** and **BANKING AND FINANCE**. Semi-weekly news items up-date the annual volumes.

**STANDARD AND POOR'S CORPORATION RECORDS.** Six volumes issued annually and up-dated daily with news items.

**STUDLEY SHUPERT'S ANALYSIS OF CORPORATE SECURITIES.** Annual with up-datings.

Highly specialized directories for several industries can be consulted for information on corporations not found in these three sources. For example,

**THE INSURANCE ALMANAC.** (Annual, Underwriting Printing and Publishing Co., New York, N.Y.)

**POLK'S BANK DIRECTORY.** (Annual, R.L. Polk & Co., New York and Detroit)

**DIRECTORY OF STEEL FOUNDRIES.** (Biennially, Steel Founders Society of America, Cleveland, Ohio)

**THE PETROLEUM REGISTER.** (Annual, Mona Balmer, New York, N.Y.)

**RUBBER RED BOOK.** (Biennially, Palmerton Publishing Co., New York, N.Y.)

Special directories are also available according to geographical location (city, state or region). For a complete list of specialized directories, by industry and geographical location, see:

**GUIDE TO AMERICAN DIRECTORIES.** Ed. Bernard Klein (7th edition, 1968, B. Klein & Co., New York, N.Y.)

**CATALOG OF CITY, COUNTY AND STATE DIRECTORIES.** Association of North American Directory Publishers (issued periodically. Write the Association, 551 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.)

**GUIDE TO LISTINGS OF MANUFACTURERS.** Chamber of Commerce of The United States (issued periodically. Write the Chamber, 1615 H St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006)

**MARKETING INFORMATION GUIDE.** U.S. Dept. of Commerce (monthly periodical, available from the GPO for \$4.50 a year). Lists new directories by industry.

To uncover what plants exist in a given location or all the corporations producing a given product, see:

**FORTUNE'S PLANT AND PRODUCT DIRECTORY OF THE 1,000 LARGEST INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS.** (1960 and 1964 editions, Time Inc., New York, N.Y.; expensive). Lists plant by county, product and SIC numbers (see below).

**THOMAS' REGISTER OF AMERICAN MANUFACTURERS.** (Annual, Thomas Publishing Co., New York, N.Y.). More than 70,000 products are listed.

**MACRAE'S BLUE BOOK.** (Annual, MacRae's Blue Book Co., Chicago). Includes product trade names.

A **STANDARD INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION (SIC)** system is utilized by many business sources to code corporations according to industry and product lines. The code



permits a standard comparison between firms and quickly reveals all the corporations producing a specific product. For a full explanation (with definitions) of the SIC system see the Office of Statistical Standards, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of The President, **STANDARD INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION MANUAL** (1957 with revisions, available from the Bureau of the Budget, Washington, D.C.). Several directories listed above, including Poor's Register of Corporations, Directors and Officers, Dun & Bradstreet Million Dollar Directory, and the SEC's Directory of Companies Filing Annual Reports, contain a list of SIC numbers, code corporations according to their SIC industry and product classifications, and list corporations by SIC classification.

The SIC system is important because it helps place a specific corporation within the context of a particular industry. It is essential to investigate the corporation's industry context (i.e. competitors, suppliers of resources, size and concentration, buyers, market structure) in order to understand its operations and controlling forces. The basic sources for this research are:

#### STANDARD AND POOR'S INDUSTRY SURVEYS.

(Annual with three or four up-datings and a monthly Trends and Projection section: expensive). Reports on 44 leading industries, plus a summary of Canadian industries, together with over 1,000 of their constituent companies.

#### STUDLEY SHUPERT'S INDUSTRY COMPOSITES.

(Annual with up-datings). Reports on 21 basic industries.

Special studies on concentration, mergers and acquisitions in several industries (e.g., drugs, automobiles) have been conducted by the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee (first under the chairmanship of Senator Estes Kefauver and now under Senator Philip Hart). See the book by Kefauver, **IN A FEW HANDS: MONOPOLY POWER IN AMERICA** (Penguin Paperback, 1965) and the library card catalogue for details. Also see David Lynch, **THE CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER** (1946, Columbia University Press, New York) for a summary of the pre-war TNEC studies (see above). One Report issued by Hart's Committee, **CONCENTRATION RATIOS IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY**, 1963 (available from the GPO for \$0.75) tabulates the degree of concentration within each SIC category. The Federal Trade Commission has also issued several reports of great value on concentration as well as on mergers and acquisitions. The latter is also reported by W.T. Grimm & Co., a financial consulting concern located in Chicago, in their annual reports and the journal, **MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS**.

Corporations are also ranked by sales, assets, profits, etc. on a periodic basis in two publications:

**THE FORTUNE DIRECTORY.** (Annual in the June 15th issue of Fortune). Lists the 500 largest U.S. industrials by sales and the 50 largest U.S. commercial banking, life insurance, merchandising, transportation and utility companies.

**FORBES ANNUAL REPORT ON AMERICAN INDUSTRY.** (Annual in the January 1st issue of Forbes). Lists the largest corporations by several yardsticks together and by 25 major industry groups.

For corporation ranks in the past and a historical analysis of changes and size concentration, see A.D.H. Kaplan, **BIG**

**ENTERPRISE IN A COMPETITIVE SYSTEM** (revised edition, 1964, The Brookings Institution) and Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, **HEARINGS ON ECONOMIC CONCENTRATION: PART 5A** (1967, available from the GPO for \$1.25).

Primary commodities are the basic resources used in most industrial production. Special sources on agricultural and mineral commodities, including statistical data, are:

**COMMODITY YEAR BOOK.** (Annual, Commodity Research Bureau, 140 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10005, \$15). Complete description of market, production, use, sources and statistics.

**SOURCES OF COMMODITY PRICES.** Pearl Wasserman, compiler (1959, Special Libraries Association, New York, N.Y.). Covers the sources of commodity prices on the U.S. national and local markets. Lists periodicals that provide regular price information.

**TRENDS IN NATIONAL RESOURCE COMMODITIES.** By N. Potter and F.T.J. Christy (1962, published for Resources for the Future by Johns Hopkins Press). Tables of statistics from 1870 to 1957 provide data on price, output, consumption, employment.

**RAW MATERIALS: A STUDY OF AMERICAN POLICY.** By Percy W. Bidwell (1958, published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper & Row). Relates national security policy to lead, zinc, copper, nickel, iron, steel, wool, rubber and oil.

Trade journals and newsletters, organized by industry and commodity, are listed in the Standard Periodical Directory and business indexes (see above). Write to the various trade associations (there is one for every industry) if you need more information and check the **APPLIED SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY INDEX** (monthly with quarterly, semiannual and annual cumulations, H.W. Wilson Company, New York, N.Y.) for reports on production developments.

#### D. OTHER BUSINESS INFORMATION SOURCES

For a complete annotated list of business sources and suggestions on methodology, see:

**SOURCES OF BUSINESS INFORMATION.** By Edwin T. Coman, Jr. (revised editions, 1964 and 1970, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles). By far the best overall source; worth acquiring if you plan to do a lot of research.

**HOW TO USE THE BUSINESS LIBRARY, WITH SOURCES OF BUSINESS INFORMATION.** By H. Webster Johnson (3rd edition, 1964, South Western Publishing Co., Cincinnati, Ohio). Organized by type of publication (handbooks, yearbooks, pamphlets, directories, etc.) and sources (foundations, government, technical and trade, etc.).

**GUIDE TO SPECIAL ISSUES AND INDEXES OF PERIODICALS.** Special Libraries Association (1962, New York, N.Y.) Designed to facilitate the location of specialized data and statistics in trade, technical and consumer journals. A detailed subject index makes it very useful.

The Special Libraries Association (31 East 10th St., New York, N.Y. 10003) periodically publishes directories which are



quite helpful. They include SPECIAL LIBRARIES DIRECTORY and SPECIAL LIBRARIES OF GREATER NEW YORK (both up-dated regularly). In addition, consult SUBJECT COLLECTIONS: A GUIDE TO SPECIAL BOOK COLLECTIONS AND SUBJECT EMPHASIS REPORTED BY UNIVERSITY, COLLEGE, PUBLIC AND SPECIAL LIBRARIES IN THE U.S. AND CANADA (R.R. Bowker & Co.,

New York, N.Y., up-dated regularly).

For information on business firms relevant to anti-corporate campaigns (around such issues as pollution, Vietnam, militarism, racism, etc.) see ECONOMIC PRIORITIES REPORT, published monthly by the Council On Economic Priorities, 1028 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 (subscription price, \$6.00 per year for students).

# The Media Industry

Compiled by Jon Frappier

## I. INTRODUCTION

The mass media functions on several levels in the United States. The media serves capitalism through the constant advertising of products. Promoting consumption was a major incentive for the development of mass communication in the U.S. The mass media, like the educational system in the U.S., has been important in socializing people to the capitalist ideology and providing a life style which conforms with that system. The process of socializing people to capitalism, imperialism and racism occurs not only through news and public affairs programming and reporting but also through entertainment, whose primary purpose is to distract people from their real problems and frustrations.

Two excellent general works on the media are: THE FIRST FREEDOM (1), which contains a thoroughly documented overview of the mass media in the United States, and MASS COMMUNICATIONS AND AMERICAN EMPIRE (2), which examines the overseas empire of U.S. media corporations.

Since most media enterprises are run by corporations, see sources noted above in the section on corporations (especially Moody's Industrial Manual and Standard & Poor's Corporation Records). Another basic source on media ownership and control is the OWNERSHIP REPORT which the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) requires all licensees to file. The Report indicates the stock holdings of all directors and officers of the corporation, and anyone else controlling one percent or more of the stock. These documents are open to public inspection, and are filed in the main office of the corporation and in the FCC headquarters in Washington, D.C. (3).

Information on the local media complex is available from several sources. For television stations, consult the TELEVISION FACTBOOK (12), which contains a breakdown of TV stations by state and city. Each station listing in the Factbook includes information on ownership, management, power output, size of audience, advertising revenue, and the location of the station's transmitters and studios. Radio stations are listed in BROADCASTING YEARBOOK (16). For data on magazines, newspapers, and book publishers, consult EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS YEARBOOK (4) and WORKING PRESS OF THE NATION (5).

The U.S. media empire, led by the three major networks (ABC, CBS, NBC), are building a formidable communications empire abroad. For information on the overseas operations of U.S. media corporations, see TELEVISION: A WORLD VIEW (10), and the series from the NACLA Newsletter on the "U.S. Media Empire / Latin America" (20), and "U.S. Advertising Empire / Latin America" (29).

The FCC maintains a set of general guidelines which broadcasting stations must follow in order to have their

licenses renewed. The failure of some stations to follow these guidelines has prompted several community groups to challenge the re-licensing of the stations. For information on these challenges and the procedures involved, see TELEVISION TODAY: THE END OF COMMUNICATION AND DEATH OF COMMUNITY (15).

## II. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### A. General Sources:

- (1) THE FIRST FREEDOM, by Bryce Rucker (Southern Illinois University Press, 1969).
- (2) MASS COMMUNICATIONS AND AMERICAN EMPIRE, Herbert I. Schiller (Augustus Kelley, 1969).
- (3) Federal Communications Commission (FCC), 1919 M Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20554 (telephone: 212-655-4000). FCC publications include: FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSIONS REPORTS, a weekly compilation of FCC decisions, reports, statements of policy, etc. (available from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, for \$14.00 per year); FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION RULES AND REGULATIONS, a ten volume subscription service (available from the GPO; price varies); and the annual STATISTICS OF THE COMMUNICATIONS COMMON CARRIERS (available from the GPO; price varies with year).

### B. Newspapers and Journalism:

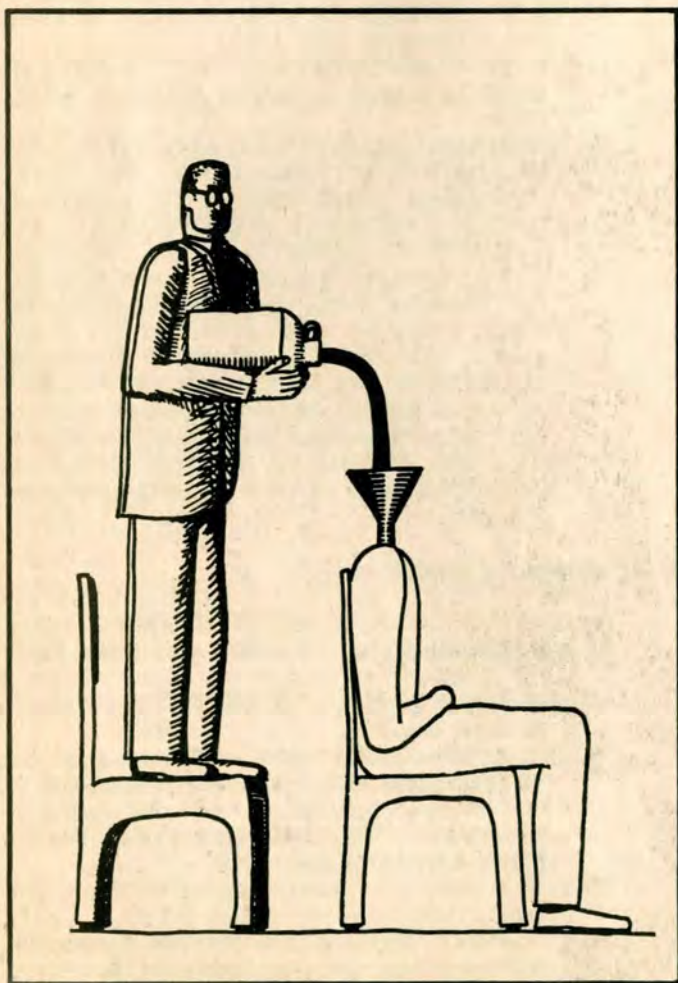
- (4) EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS YEARBOOK, Editor and Publisher Co., 850 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022.
- (5) THE WORKING PRESS OF THE NATION (3 vols.), published annually.
- (6) THE FAILING NEWSPAPER ACT, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, July, 1967-April, 1968.
- (7) THE PRESS, A.J. Liebling (Ballantine Books, New York).
- (8) COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW (quarterly), 602 Journalism, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027 (\$6.00 per year).
- (9) JOURNALISM QUARTERLY, Association for Education in Journalism, 111 Murphy Hall,



University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.  
55455 (\$8.00 per year).

#### C. Television and Radio:

- (10) TELEVISION: A WORLD VIEW, Wilson P. Dizard (Syracuse University Press, 1966).
- (11) TELEVISION DIGEST WITH CONSUMER ELECTRONICS (weekly), Television Digest, Inc., 2025 Eye St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 (\$108.00 per year; indexed annually by company and topic).
- (12) TELEVISION FACTBOOK (annual, 2 vols.), Television Digest, Inc., 2025 Eye St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.
- (13) TELEVISION AGE (biweekly), 1270 Ave. of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10020 (\$9.00 per year).
- (14) INTERNATIONAL TELEVISION ALMANAC (annual), Quigley Publishing Co., 1270 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10020 (\$9.00).



- (15) TELEVISION TODAY: THE END OF COMMUNICATION AND THE DEATH OF COMMUNITY, Ralph Stavins (Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C., 1969).
- (16) BROADCASTING YEARBOOK (annual), Broadcasting-Telecasting Building, 1735 De Sales St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 (\$11.50).
- (17) BROADCASTING (weekly), Broadcasting-Telecasting Building, 1735 De Sales St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 (\$10.00 per year).
- (18) TELEVISION (monthly), Television Magazine Corp., 1735 De Sales St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 (\$5.00 per year).
- (19) VARIETY (weekly), 154 West 54th St., New York, N.Y. 10019 (\$20.00 per year).
- (20) "U.S. Media Empire / Latin America," NACLA NEWSLETTER, vol. II, no. 9 (Jan., 1969).

#### D. Advertising:

- (21) WHO'S WHO IN ADVERTISING.
- (22) WHO'S WHO IN PUBLIC RELATIONS.
- (23) ADVERTISING AGE (weekly), 740 Rush St., Chicago, Ill. 60611 (\$8.00 per year.)
- (24) MARKETING/COMMUNICATIONS (weekly), 106 Boston Post Rd., Waterford, Conn. 06385 (\$10.00 per year).
- (25) MEDIA/SCOPE (monthly), 750 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017 (\$20.00 per year).
- (26) PRINTERS INK (semi-monthly), Decker Communications, Inc., 501 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022 (\$8.00 per year).
- (27) STANDARD DIRECTORY OF ADVERTISERS: AGENCY DIRECTORY (tri-annual), National Register Publishing Co., 147 W. 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10036 (\$15.00).
- (28) SPOT TELEVISION ADVERTISING EXPENDITURES REPORT (quarterly, plus an annual addition), Television Bureau of Advertising, 1 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10020 (free).
- (29) "U.S. Advertising Empire / Latin America," NACLA NEWSLETTER, vol. III, no. 4 (July/Aug., 1969).

#### E. Insurgent Media Groups and Publications:

- PAC-O-LIES, New York Media Project, c/o apt. 4, 318 West 101 St., New York, New York 10025.
- WOMEN'S MONTHLY, P.O. Box 1692, New York, N.Y. 10001.
- CHICAGO JOURNALISM REVIEW, 11 East Hubbard St., Chicago, Ill. 60611.
- BALL AND CHAIN, Black Journalists, P.O. Box 9001, Berkeley, Calif. 94701.
- New People Media Project, P.O. Box 4356, Sather Gate Station, Berkeley, Calif. 94704.
- Black Efforts for Soul in Television, 1015 No. Carolina Ave. S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.
- Citizen's Communications Center, Suite 103, 1816 Jefferson Pl. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.



# Labor Organizations

Compiled by Paul Booth

## A. GENERAL INFORMATION ON UNIONS

Organizers who seek hard data on labor are generally looking for one of two kinds of political intelligence: data on the shape and structure of trade unionism, or on the economic facts of working class life. Roughly speaking, this is the division between tactical and strategic intelligence. Trade union research departments, the Bureau of Labor Statistics(1), and other governmental agencies such as state labor departments(2), the Federal Women's Bureau(1), the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission(3) et al., deal in the second kind of information; no one deals in the first kind. This section of the guide will make an attempt to describe resources for tactical research.

### 1. Formal Sources of Information on Unions:

Symbolic of the general difficulty in finding out anything accurate and systematic about unions and collective bargaining is the difficulties encountered when researching the most basic and obvious questions—how many union members there are, what unions do they belong to, what is the breakdown according to race, sex, wage rates, etc. The only source on this question is a biennial survey, the DIRECTORY OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES(4), conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), generally published when the information is three years old and relying without any cross-checking on the replies, usually guesses, of international union secretary-treasurers. The only moderately reliable thing about this directory is the listing of each union's address and officers. Even the figure of total membership isn't too trustworthy, because it is about ten percent higher than the parallel figures reported by the AFL-CIO, based on the percapita dues paid by the affiliated internationals. AFL-CIO statistics are published in the Officer's Reports to the biennial AFL-CIO conventions, and are printed in the bound convention proceedings(5). The only occasions when union leaders reveal hard data about their own organizations (and they may well inflate or deflate the facts to suit the occasion) are in answering the four page BLS questionnaire and the similar questionnaires of the eight or nine state labor departments, in making per capita payments to the AFL-CIO and in reporting to their own union conventions. The bound proceedings of each union, and of the state AFL-CIO central bodies, are reliable sources, although locals, city labor councils, union regions, etc. rarely publish proceedings.

It is the secretary treasurer of the union who is concerned with hard facts—dues, local unions chartered, remittances to central bodies, contract expirations, investing the union's cash. In some cases (Meatcutters and Clothing Workers are the largest examples) this kind of intelligence helps the secretary-treasurer dwarf the President in power. And his particular concern in terms of reporting, especially since the Senate Subcommittee on Permanent Investigations(6) began hearings in the fifties, is with money. Financial reports of every union body, from the smallest local to the AFL-CIO, are filed annually or semi-annually with the Bureau of Labor Management Relations(7). These reports list assets and income statements, name the paid staff and their salaries, report on pension and welfare funds as well as local

union funds, and sometimes identify the companies with which the local bargains or give the numbers of local members, but these are not required. That concludes the formal sources, and the researcher has to begin to rely on his or her wits.

### 2. Local Union Research:

To make a survey of the formal union and bargaining situation in a particular area, you want to know at least:

- Which unions are big and which are powerful.
- Which unions have either a militant tradition or internal characteristics that make militancy possible.
- When contracts expire and what they contain.
- How democratic the unions are.
- Which labor leaders wield broad influence.
- How the unions are tied into the system, through politics and industrial statesmanship.

As only a few states have labor departments, and of these only the largest and most labor-oriented publish any of this material, the basic sources are improvisational in character. They include:

- a) The central labor body, its staff (if talkative), publications, proceedings for state AFL-CIOs, and records.
- b) The labor reporter for local newspapers, if there is one.
- c) The Chamber of Commerce's list of major employers, from which, at least in the manufacturing sector, some guesses about unions can be made.
- d) The labor relations school and or labor education extension at the state university, its talkative or sympathetic professors, and its libraries.
- e) The regional office of the Department of Labor(1), its library, and the regional office of the National Labor Relations Board(8).
- f) Oldtimers in the union and the plants.

These are listed in descending order of overview; as you get down on the list people have accurate perceptions of only part of the picture. (The place to start, of course, is the yellow pages of the telephone directory, under "Labor Organizations.") Where none of these resources is willing or available, the best bet is to go through the previous three years of the local paper for mentions of contracts settled or strikes; this reflects the typical three-year terms of most collective bargaining agreements.

The labor movement is a patchwork; unions vary from one extreme to another in terms of centralization and local autonomy, narrow craft outfits and helter-skelter amalgams that resemble general workers unions, straight business operations and unions with active steward systems, etc. Collective bargaining relationships, on the formal level at least, also vary widely, with the major types being:

- The craft agreement between one union and many local firms.
  - The single plant agreement between the local and the firm.
  - The local unit operating under the terms of a national contract, or in some cases a national pattern.
- Each of these types could be subdivided many times. Almost every area has at least the following examples:
- At least a few construction crafts.
  - A variety of single plant agreements, large and small.



—Telephone, postal, railroad, over-the-road trucking and other workers who are operating under a national pattern.

And there will be a majority of unorganized workers in almost every region, as the American work force is only 24 percent organized.

### 3. Contracts:

There is no central source which lists the outstanding union contracts, either union by union, or employer by employer. That is, there is no law requiring these instruments to be filed in any particular public office. As a courtesy, new contracts or reports of them are often sent to the Labor Department regional offices, which may put them together in a little library, and to the state labor departments which make some use of them. CURRENT WAGE DEVELOPMENTS(9), a monthly published by BLS, lists the terms of all major contract settlements of which BLS is aware, and by major they mean involving over a thousand employees. New York and California BLS regional offices publish similar monthlies, using an even finer definition of "major." Lists of major contract expiration dates, of health and welfare provisions, etc., all of which are published in separate series by BLS, also appear in fairly complete summary every month in MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW(9) which is by far the most useful U.S. government statistical publication on the labor force in terms of the many series it summarizes.

There is one outstanding private service which summarizes contract terms: the Bureau of National Affairs (BNA) in Washington, D.C. BNA, basically an employers' service, publishes DAILY LABOR REPORT (DLR), a 15-40 page offset publication which is sent to subscribers air special each weekday for a cool \$400 a year(10). Every two weeks DLR summarizes every contract settlement involving over 50 workers of which it has information; many contracts are reprinted in full; trends in negotiated settlement are computed. Although far from exhaustive, BNA research is far superior to Labor Department research, and personnel departments rely more heavily on it, as do trade union research departments. But the Labor Department is stronger in the area of internal union affairs. Because of the effectiveness of BNA, other business research arms do little week to week labor research. Commerce Clearing House(11) competes with BNA only in the labor law area, reporting on arbitration awards, National Labor Relations Board and court decisions. Here again, BNA is as good if not better. And it also has specialized services such as WHITE COLLAR REPORT, RETAIL LABOR REPORT, etc., that go beyond DLR in specialized analysis. The National Industrial Conference Board (12), McGraw Hill Economics Department(13), and other business research outfits only do labor research in the most aggregate of terms. BNA material is available to university and other library subscribers, but very few spend the large amount for the daily reports, and even some international unions don't buy it. If you can find it, you can't beat it for usefulness.

Both the AFL-CIO and its Industrial Union Department (IUD) research departments publish some contract analyses and summaries; of special note is the IUD's HUNDRED NATIONAL CONTRACTS ANALYSIS published annually except when they are broke(14). Most of the work of these outfits and their parallels in the individual unions is for internal consumption only. Of particular importance is research work done by unions, IUD, and the AFL-CIO on coordinated bargaining which gives details and an overview for

whole companies, across union organizational lines. IUD has published dozens of company studies, including detailed contract comparisons, but they are not available to the public; all the members of the particular coordinated bargaining committee (which includes the local union officer as well as headquarters staff) have copies however.

One other source of information worth mentioning is the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). The Board conducts representation elections, and its free monthly summary of elections is available from their information office in Washington(8). The regional offices of the Board have full back files on elections, raids, etc., for the employers in that region; although in past years a great deal of union recognition was achieved without recourse to the Board, this is diminishing. To supplement the NLRB, be sure to check out the reports of your state labor board, if you happen to be on one of the handful of states that have one(2). NLRB does not, or course, cover farm workers, voluntary hospitals and universities, other non-profit agencies and government employment. This last is a healthy sector of union activity. The Civil Service Commission which regulates Federal labor relations, publishes some aggregate data but not very much(15).

### 4. Political Activities:

The political activities of the labor movement are usually reported openly in the union newspapers; ordinarily, the only variable is the depth of commitment of unions to the Democratic Party. CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY(16) reports of campaign contributions are a good place to look, since labor is primarily concerned with congressional elections.

### 5. International Activities:

The role of U.S. labor in international affairs is an area where secrecy is carefully maintained. The AFL-CIO International Department does publish a monthly, FREE TRADE UNION NEWS(5), but this is basically a propaganda journal and not very informative. Two recent books, George Morris' THE CIA AND AMERICAN LABOR(17), and Ron Radosh's AMERICAN LABOR AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY(18), summarize most of the information that has been uncovered on this subject to date. For a remarkably candid and revealing account of the activities of a key U.S. "labor ambassador" in Latin America, see Serafino Romualdi's book, PRESIDENTS AND PEONS(19).

The Labor Department's Bureau of International Labor Affairs, located at Department Headquarters in Washington, D.C., publishes assorted directories and reports on international labor. The Department also publishes two monthly magazines, LABOR DEVELOPMENTS ABROAD and INTERNATIONAL LABOR(22).

One of the principal instruments of U.S. government/CIA/corporate penetration and manipulation of foreign labor movements (especially in Latin America) is the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). AIFLD publishes a monthly AIFLD REPORT(20), and will supply additional material upon request. For additional information on U.S. involvement in Latin American labor, see the report on Labor Policies and Programs incorporated into the SURVEY OF THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS, Compilation of Studies and Hearings of the Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs of the Senate Committee on



Foreign Relations, April 29, 1969 (available from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, for \$3.50).

#### 6. Labor News:

The labor press is comprised mainly of house organs and throwaways, although a meticulous reading of labor newspapers will sometimes turn up information of major importance. For a list of such publications, consult the appropriate section of the STANDARD PERIODICAL DIRECTORY (available in the reference section of most libraries), and the INTERNATIONAL LABOR PRESS ASSOCIATION DIRECTORY OF MEMBER PUBLICATIONS(21). The American Federation of Teachers newspaper, THE AMERICAN TEACHER, should be examined as an example of outstanding union reporting.

The coverage of trade union struggles in the papers of the Left (DAILY WORLD, GUARDIAN, MILITANT, CHALLENGE) is usually pretty romantic and (except possibly in the Daily World), skimpy and selective. A reliable source of labor news is the WALL STREET JOURNAL, which on Tuesdays ordinarily contains a feature on labor. BUSINESS WEEK has two interesting features on labor each week and these are usually informative. To check out past coverage of labor events, use Business Week and MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW(9).

#### 7. Basic Source Books:

- Barbash, Jack. AMERICAN UNIONS—STRUCTURE, GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS (Random House).  
 Chernish, William. COALITION BARGAINING (University of Pennsylvania Press).  
 Foner, Philip. HISTORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES (International Publishers), in four volumes.  
 Galenson, Walter (Ed.). Trade Unions Monograph Series (John Wiley & Sons), about a dozen studies of individual unions.  
 Mills, C. Wright. NEW MEN OF POWER (Thomas Kelly).  
 Peck, Sidney. RANK-AND-FILE LEADER (College & University Press).  
 Preis, Art. LABOR'S GIANT STEP—A LEFT-WING HISTORY OF THE CIO (Merit Publishers).  
 Taft, Philip. HISTORY OF THE A.F. of L. (semi-official history), in two volumes.

#### B. INFORMATION SOURCES

1. The Department of Labor headquarters is located at: Fourteenth Street and Constitution Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20210 (telephone: 202/961-2024). Labor Dept. Regional Offices, which supply publications of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Federal Women's Bureau, are located at:

Boston, Mass. 02110: 18 Oliver St.  
 New York, N.Y. 10001: 341 Ninth Ave.  
 Chambersburg, Pa. 17201: Wolf Ave. & Commerce St.  
 Philadelphia, Pa. 19107: 9th & Chestnut Streets.  
 Atlanta, Ga. 30309: 1371 Peachtree St. NW  
 Miami, Fla. 33130: 51 SW First Ave.  
 Nashville, Tenn. 37203: 801 Broad St.

Cleveland, Ohio 44114: 1365 Ontario St.  
 Chicago, Ill. 60604: 219 Dearborn St.  
 Kansas City, Mo. 64106: 911 Walnut St.  
 Dallas, Texas 75202: 1114 Commerce St.  
 Los Angeles, Calif. 90012: 300 N. Los Angeles St.  
 San Francisco, Calif. 94102: 450 Golden Gate Ave.  
 Seattle, Wash. 98104: 506 Second Ave.

2. States with state labor laws are: Colorado, Connecticut, Hawaii, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Wisconsin, Puerto Rico. Of these, all but Kansas, Minnesota and Oregon have a state labor relations board or labor relations court. States requiring unions to register are: Alabama, Connecticut, Florida, Kansas, Massachusetts, New York, North Dakota, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Virginia, and Puerto Rico.
3. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission headquarters: 1800 G Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20506 (telephone: 202/343-9231). Regional Offices are listed in the U.S. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION MANUAL, available for \$3.00 from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.
4. DIRECTORY OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LABOR UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES: available for \$1.00 from BLS—see (1) above. The 1968 edition should be ready in June 1970.
5. AFL-CIO headquarters: 815 16th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006. To obtain the report of an individual union, it is necessary to write to the union headquarters directly.
6. Senate Subcommittee on Permanent Investigations: this committee held hearings on union corruption and racketeering in the 1950s, and its reports are available in any good library.
7. Bureau of Labor Management Relations: contact through the Department of Labor and its regional offices—see (1) above. The complete file of reports is stored in Bethesda, Md.; copies of them can be xeroxed at the Department's Washington, D.C. headquarters. The regional offices have limited selection of reports.
8. National Labor Relations Board headquarters: 1717 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20570 (telephone: 202/393-3111). Regional offices are listed in the U.S. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION MANUAL—see (3) above.
9. MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW: available from Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) regional offices and the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 (subscription rate: \$9.00 per year). CURRENT WAGE DEVELOPMENTS: available from the BLS.
10. Bureau of National Affairs: 1231 25th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.
11. Commerce Clearing House: 4025 W. Peterson Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60646.
12. National Industrial Conference Board: 845 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. (telephone: 212/759-0999).
13. McGraw Hill Economics Department: 330 West 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10036 (telephone: 212/971-3333).
14. Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO: 815 16th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006 (telephone: 202/393-5581).
15. U.S. Civil Service Commission headquarters: 1900 E. Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20415 (telephone: 202/343-1100).



16. Congressional Quarterly (CQ) publishes a WEEKLY REPORT and the CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY ALMANAC (annual), both of which are well indexed. CQ's offices are located at: 1735 K Street NW, Washington, D. C. 20006.
  17. THE CIA AND AMERICAN LABOR (New York: International Publishers, 1967).
  18. AMERICAN LABOR AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY (New York: Random House, 1970).
  19. PRESIDENTS AND PEONS (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1967).
  20. American Institute for Free Labor Development: 1925 K Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006.
  21. International Labor Press Association: 815 16th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006 (Directory published biennially and sold for \$2.00).
  22. LABOR DEVELOPMENTS ABROAD, published monthly by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Dept of Labor. Subscription rate: \$2.75 per year. Available from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, and Labor Dept. regional offices—see (1) above. INTERNATIONAL LABOR, published bi-monthly by the Bureau of International Affairs of the Labor Dept., Washington, D.C. 20210.
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chapter 3:

# THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX & THE UNIVERSITIES/ THE POLICE





# The Military-Industrial Complex & The Universities

Compiled by Michael Klare

## PART I: RESEARCH GUIDE .....

### Categories of information:

- A. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AGENCIES AND BASES .....
- B. DEFENSE POSTURE AND STRATEGY .....
- C. MILITARY THINK-TANKS AND MILITARY ASSOCIATIONS .....
- D. MILITARY PUBLICATIONS AND TECHNICAL REPORTS .....
- E. WEAPONS SYSTEMS .....
- F. MILITARY CONTRACT AWARDS .....
- G. MILITARY RESEARCH CONTRACTS .....
- H. IDENTIFYING LOCAL WAR CONTRACTORS .....
- I. INVESTIGATING MILITARY PROJECTS ON CAMPUS .....
- J. SCIENCE, RESEARCH AND THE GOVERNMENT .....
- K. NASA, ATOMIC ENERGY, CIVIL DEFENSE .....
- L. WHERE TO GO FOR MORE INFORMATION .....

## PART II: BIBLIOGRAPHY .....

## Part I: Research Guide

Note: numbers in parantheses refer to bibliographic entries which follow in Part II.

### A. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AGENCIES AND BASES

#### 1. Agencies:

All major Department of Defense (DoD) agencies are identified and described briefly in the *United States Government Organization Manual* (95), published annually. The Manual also identifies the principal military and civilian officers in charge of the various agencies. DoD libraries, laboratories and information centers are described in the *Directory of Information Resources in the United States: Federal Government* (36). Organizational charts of major DoD agencies and commands, providing names of key officers, are available on a subscription basis from the U.S. Organization

*Acknowledgments: NACLA wishes to thank the following people for their help in preparing this section: Eric Prokosch, the staff of National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex (NARMIC), Len Rodberg and Derek Shearer of the National Security Research Project, and Mary Hays Weik of the Committee to End Radiological Hazards.*

Chart Service (99). DoD agencies concerned with research, development and procurement are described in the *DMS Market Intelligence Report on Agencies, Facilities and Laboratories* (31). Telephone numbers of all DoD agencies and key personnel are listed in the *Department of Defense Telephone Directory* (34).

Most military agencies distribute brochures describing their major activities and functions, intended for use by military recruiters, vocational guidance counselors, college placement offices, etc. These are usually available upon request from the DoD agency itself, or from military recruiting offices (these can be located by looking in the telephone book under United States Government and then the particular

#### Abbreviations:

AEC	= Atomic Energy Commission
DOD	= Department of Defense
FY	= Fiscal Year
GPO	= Government Printing Office
NASA	= National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NSF	= National Science Foundation
R&D	= Research and Development



service). Most libraries have a vocational or career section where such documents are stored.

Descriptions of individual DoD agencies frequently appear as feature articles in the military periodicals (see section 4 of category B, Military Posture, for a list of these publications); especially useful in this regard are: *Armed Forces Management* (8), *Data* (29), and *Defense Industry Bulletin* (30).

## 2. Bases:

All Army bases in the U.S. are listed in *United States Army Installations and Major Activities in the Continental United States* (94). All Air Force bases and agencies in the U.S. are listed and described briefly in the annual "Almanac Issue" of *Air Force and Space Digest* (2), usually published in the fall. A list of Navy and Marine Corps bases, "Navy and Marine Corps Activities in the United States," is available upon request from the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Dept. of the Navy, Washington, D.C. 20350. All Army, Navy and Air Force installations in the U.S. are listed in the *U.S. Military and Government Installation Directory Service* (97). DoD bases both within and outside the U.S. are discussed in the annual hearings on Military Construction Authorizations (see section on Hearings in category B, Defense Posture).

## 3. Books on the military services:

Among books on the U.S. military, attention should be called to the "Praeger Library of U.S. Government Departments and Agencies" (74), published by Frederick A. Praeger (111 Fourth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003). Titles in this series include: *The Department of Defense*, by C. W. Borklund; *The United States Navy*, by Capt. Daniel J. Carrison; *The United States Marine Corps*, by Col. James A. Donovan, Jr.; *The United States Air Force*, by Brig. Gen. Monro MacCloskey; and *The United States Army*, by Lt. Col. Vernon Pizer. Each volume in the series contains a short history of the Service and a general description of its organization. Praeger also publishes *A Guide to National Defense*, by Lt. Col. Patrick W. Powers, which provides an overview of the national security establishment.

# B. DEFENSE POSTURE AND STRATEGY

## 1. DoD Annual Reports:

A general description of the status of U.S. military forces and planned weapons acquisitions appears in the annual posture statement of the Secretary of Defense, which is usually reproduced in the hearings on Department of Defense Appropriations and Military Procurement Authorizations (see section No. 2, below). At the beginning of 1969, the then Secretary of Defense, Clark Clifford, issued his posture statement, *The 1970 Defense Budget and Defense Program for Fiscal Years 1970-74* (33), which describes the strategic world environment from the Pentagon's point of view, and identifies the major weapons systems which the DoD seeks to acquire in the coming five years. The Defense Department also issues an *Annual Report* (32), the most recent of which is dated 1966.

## 2. Hearings:

A basic source of information on U.S. military strategy and weapons development is the annual series of Congressional hearings on the DoD budget. The hearings are usually held in the spring, and the transcripts published in the fall. These documents are available from the Congressional committees

involved, from local Congressmen and Senators, and from the Government Printing Office; they are also stored in Government Depository Libraries (usually the largest municipal or university library in each state) which are listed in the *Monthly Catalog of United States Government Publications* (61).

Four sets of budget hearings are held each year: hearings before the Senate and House Armed Services Committee on military authorizations, and hearings before subcommittees of the Senate and House Appropriations Committee on military appropriations. The precise titles are: *Department of Defense Appropriations for Fiscal Year 19\*\**, *Hearings Before the Department of Defense Subcommittee of the House (Senate) Committee on Appropriations*; and *Military Procurement Authorizations for Fiscal Year 19\*\**, *Hearings Before the House (Senate) Armed Services Committee*. Hearings on military construction appropriations are held separately; these are identified as *Military Construction Authorization Fiscal Year 19\*\**, *Hearings Before the Committee on Armed Services and Subcommittee on Military Construction of the Senate (House) Committee on Appropriations*.

The hearings consist of budget statements and testimony by DoD officials, followed by questioning from the committee members. Although these reports contain a cursory index, it is usually necessary to hunt for information on specific weapons or policies. The most valuable reports are the volumes on Procurement and Research & Development of the House Appropriations subcommittee hearings.

Debate before the full House and Senate on the DoD budget is recorded in the *Congressional Record* (27); this is a particularly valuable source of information since many Congressmen insert documentary material on the military to supplement their spoken remarks.

Special hearings on various military matters are sometimes called by Congressional committees, particularly the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate and House Committees on Government Operations. For a complete list of all such documents, consult the *Monthly Catalog of United States Government Publications* (61).

## 3. U.S. military treaties:

The complete text of all collective defense treaties to which the U.S. is a signatory appear in *Collective Defense Treaties* (23), compiled by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. In past years, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee under the chairmanship of Sen. J. W. Fulbright has held hearings on various aspects of U.S. treaty commitments to foreign powers. For a list of these hearings, consult the *Monthly Catalog of United States Government Publications* (61).

## 4. Articles on military strategy and posture:

Articles on U.S. military strategy and the status of military forces appear regularly in many newspapers and magazines, particularly *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and *U.S. News and World Report*. Longer articles, often written by military personnel, frequently appear in the military journals, including: *Air Force and Space Digest* (2), *Airman* (4), *Armed Forces Journal* (7), *Army* (9), *Army Digest* (10), *Army Research and Development Newsmagazine* (12), *Aviation Week and Space Technology* (20), *Data* (29), *Defense Industry Bulletin* (30), *Marine Corps Gazette* (57), *Navy* (67), and *Ordnance* (73).



A number of publications are concerned primarily with questions of tactics and strategy; these include: *Adelphi Papers* (1), *Air University Review* (6), *Army Quarterly and Defense Journal* (11), *Military Review* (60), *Naval War College Review* (66), *Royal United Service Journal* (84), and *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings* (98).

#### 5. Books:

Several publishing firms specialize in books on military affairs, and will send price lists on request; among the most prominent firms in this field are Frederick A. Praeger (111 Fourth Ave., N.Y. N.Y. 10003) and Stackpole Books (Cameron and Kelker Streets, Harrisburg, Pa. 17105).

### C. MILITARY THINK-TANKS AND MILITARY ASSOCIATIONS

#### 1. Military Think-Tanks:

Several non-profit research organizations, or "think-tanks," publish reports on U.S. military strategy and related subjects, usually under contract to the Department of Defense. Among the most active organizations of this sort are: The RAND Corporation, the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA), The Hudson Institute, and the Stanford Research Institute (SRI). Most of the major military think-tanks are described in NACLA's *The University-Military Complex* (100).

Non-classified strategic studies commissioned by the U.S. Government are sold through the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, and are listed in the U.S. *Government Research and Development Reports* (96). Classified studies are listed in the *Technical Abstract Bulletin* (93). RAND memoranda are also listed in *Selected RAND Abstracts* (91), and can be ordered directly from RAND (1700 Main St., Santa Monica, Calif. 90406); RAND documents are also stored in selected "depository" libraries (usually the largest municipal and/or university library in each state). IDA and Hudson reports are usually listed in their annual reports, which are available upon request (IDA, 400 Army-Navy Drive, Arlington, Va. 22202; Hudson Institute, Quaker Ridge Rd., Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y. 10520). SRI will send upon request a catalog of Stanford Research Institute Publications Available for Distribution (write: Publications Dept., SRI, Menlo Park, Calif. 94025).

#### 2. Military Associations:

There are a number of private, non-profit organizations concerned with military affairs to which the public may belong. These organizations are pro-military in their orientation, and maintain close ties with the Armed Services. Each of the organizations publishes a journal and holds annual meetings for members. These journals are particularly interesting because they are much more forthright in discussing U.S. military affairs than the public relations officers of the Services themselves. The annual meetings are equally interesting; usually held in the fall and in the Washington, D.C. area, they often include appearances by leading military officials, and feature briefings by industrial representatives on new weapons systems. The military associations include:

a. The American Ordnance Association (AOA, Union Trust Bldg., 740 15th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005), organized in 1909 to promote "military preparedness" (i.e., increased defense spending), is an important lobby for military contractors. The AOA publishes *Ordnance*, a bimonthly

journal, and *The Common Defense*, a monthly Washington newsletter (both publications sent free to members—annual fee: \$7.00).

b. The Association of the United States Army (AUSA, 1529 18th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006), publishes *Army* (sent free to members—annual fee: \$6.00).

c. The Air Force Association (AFA, 1750 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006) publishes *Air Force and Space Digest* (sent free to members—annual fee: \$7.00).

d. The Navy League of the United States (818 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006) publishes *NAVY: The Magazine of Seapower* (subscription rate: \$3.00 per year).

e. The Marine Corps Association (Box 115, Marine Corps Base, Quantico, Va. 22134) publishes the *Marine Corps Gazette* (sent free to members—annual fee: \$5.00).

### D. MILITARY PUBLICATIONS AND TECHNICAL REPORTS

#### 1. DoD Publications:

Specialized reports and publications issued by the Defense Department and the four Armed Services and available to the public are listed, by subject, in the *Price Lists of Government Publications*, available free from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. The following Price Lists are of particular interest (order by number): *Army*, No. 19; *Navy*, No. 19 (includes Marine Corp publications); *Air Force*, No. 79; *Defense*, No. 85.

#### 2. Military periodicals:

Military periodicals published by the U.S. government are listed in the Government Printing Office's *Price List No. 36, Government Periodicals and Subscription Services*, available free from the GPO. Most military periodicals published in the U.S. are indexed in the *Air University Library Index of Military Periodicals* (5), available in large libraries. The *Standard Guide to Periodical Literature*, available in the reference section of most libraries, has a list of military periodicals. Most of the important military periodicals are listed in the bibliography which follows these notes on research procedures.

#### 3. Military manuals:

Technical information on specific weapons systems, military tactics and military regulations is contained in *Army*, *Navy*, *Air Force* and *Marine Corps* field manuals, technical manuals and training manuals. These manuals, if not classified, are listed in the *Monthly Catalog of United States Government Publications* (61), and are available from the Government Printing Office or the public information staff of the respective Services (see *Where to Go for More Information*, below). These manuals are also stored in the Government Depository Libraries, identified in the *Monthly Catalog*. One manual which is particularly useful as a reference is the *Dictionary of United States Military Terms for Joint Usage* (38).

Among the manuals of particular interest are: *Army ROTC Manual ROTCM-145-30, Individual Weapons and Marksmanship* (Sept., 1966); *Army Technical Manual TM-9-1325-200, Bombs and Bomb Components* (April, 1966); *Army Materiel Command Pamphlet 700-3-3, Logistics: Complete Round Charts, Artillery Ammunition* (Dec., 1967);



Army Field Manual FM 3-10, Employment of Chemical and Biological Agents (March, 1966); Army Technical Manual TM 3-215, Military Chemistry and Chemical Agents (Dec., 1963); Army Technical Manual FM 3-216, Military Biology and Biological Agents (March, 1964).

## E. WEAPONS SYSTEMS

The annual posture statement of the Secretary of Defense (see above, category B, Defense Posture) contains general descriptions of all the major weapons systems included in the Pentagon's budget request. In 1969, the Democratic Study Group of the House of Representatives published a Fact Book on the FY 1970 Defense Budget (41), which contains a critique of the Pentagon's proposals for weapons acquisition. Descriptions of present and proposed U.S. weapons systems are discussed in the hearings on the DoD budget (see section on Hearings in category B, Defense Posture) and described thoroughly in the various military manuals (see section on Military Manuals immediately above).

In general, the best sources of information on new weapons systems are the military periodicals (see section 4 of category B above for a list of these publications). The two weekly magazines, *Armed Forces Journal* (7) and *Aviation Week and Space Technology* (20) are particularly useful when following debate on the acquisition of new weapons systems. *Aviation Week* publishes an annual "Forecast Issue," usually in the spring, which includes specifications directory of all U.S. aircraft, missiles and helicopters. *Air Force and Space Digest* (2) publishes an annual "Almanac Issue," usually in the fall, that describes most Air Force planes and missiles. Each issue of *Ordnance* (73) contains sections on Air Armament, Missiles and Astronautics, Underwater Ordnance, Chemical-Biological Defense, and Weapons Technology.

Chemical, biological, incendiary and antipersonnel weapons used by the U.S. are described in *The Weapons of Counterinsurgency* (101). Other sources of interest are: *The Military Balance* (58), which contains an inventory of the strategic weapons possessed by each of the major military powers; and *Jane's Fighting Ships* (55) and *Jane's Aircraft* (54), which contain detailed descriptions of all ships and planes in the world.

## F. MILITARY CONTRACT AWARDS

### 1. Daily announcements:

Defense Department contract awards are announced daily in press releases issued by the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs (OASD/PA) in the Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20301 (telephone numbers: for information, 202-0X-7-5131; for copies of press releases, 202-0X-7-3189). These press releases are usually published in the *Wall Street Journal*. (The contract awards announced in the *Wall Street Journal* are indexed by company name in the annual *Wall Street Journal Index*, available in most large libraries.) DoD contracts are also included in the list of government contract awards which appears in *Commerce Business Daily* (24).

### 2. Monthly announcements:

Cumulative monthly lists of all DoD contracts over \$1 million appear in *Defense Industry Bulletin* (30). All Army contracts over \$1 million are listed monthly in *Army Research and Development Newsmagazine* (12).

### 3. Annual contract lists:

An annual cumulative list of all DoD production contracts appears in the *Government Contracts Directory* (47). Contract awards for specific weapons systems and those awarded by specific DoD agencies are listed in the *DMS Market Intelligence Reports* (31), published annually on a subscription basis. The total value of all contracts awarded to the 100 largest DoD contractors is reported annually in the Pentagon's computation of *100 Companies and Their Subsidiaries Listed According to Net Value of Military Prime Contract Awards* (25), available from the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs (see No. 1 above), and published in *Defense Industry Bulletin* (30).

### 4. Other contract lists:

For a list of contracts for the production of antipersonnel, incendiary and chemical weapons, see NARMIC's *Local Research/Action Guide No. 1, Weapons for Counterinsurgency* (101). For NASA and Atomic Energy Commission contracts, see category K below.

### 5. The military-industrial complex—general information:

A number of recent books and studies are concerned with the economics of military contracting, including: Richard J. Barnet's *The Economy of Death* (New York: Atheneum, 1969); Ralph E. Lapp's *The Weapons Culture* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1968); Clarence H. Danhof's *Government Contracting and Technological Change* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1968); and Hitch's and McKeen's *The Economics of Defense in the Nuclear Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Harvard University Press, 1969). Also useful is *Congressional Quarterly's* special report, *The Military-Industrial Complex* (59). Among the recent hearings devoted to this subject are *Government Procurement and Contracting* (48) held by a subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations. For a list of publications of the Defense Contract Audit Agency (DCAA), the agency responsible for overseeing all DoD contracts, write for DCAA Index of Publications Available to the Public, DCAA, Cameron Station, Alexandria, Va. 22314.

## G. MILITARY RESEARCH CONTRACTS

### 1. Contract announcements:

Research and development (R&D) contracts are included in the sources noted in the preceding section; in addition, the following sources are useful: *R&F Contracts Monthly* (78) contains a monthly cumulative list of R&D contracts; the *R&D Directory* (79) contains an annual cumulative list of R&D contract awards. Both of these sources are cross-indexed by company (or non-profit organization) and by the DoD agency monitoring the project. The total value of all DoD contracts awarded to the 500 largest R&D contractors is provided in *500 Contractors Listed According to Net Value of Military Prime Contract Awards for Research, Development, Test and Evaluation Work* (28).

### 2. Project descriptions:

Non-classified Pentagon-financed research projects are described in the *U.S. Government Research and Development Reports* (96), and classified projects are described in the *Technical Abstract Bulletin* (93); these biweekly publications contain abstracts (capsule summaries) of research reports submitted to the Department of Defense. Abstracts of research



reports sponsored by the Air Force are published annually in Air Force Research Resumes (3). RAND Corporation reports are described in Selected RAND Abstracts (91).

Pentagon-sponsored research projects are often discussed at length during the hearings on the defense budget, and this testimony is often an excellent source of information (see section on Hearings under category B, Defense Posture). Most useful is the volume on Research and Development of the hearings before the House Appropriations Committee Subcommittee.

The various Defense Marketing Service (DMS) Market Intelligence Reports (31), published by McGraw-Hill, contain much detailed information on military R&D; these reports are sold mainly to corporations, investment firms, and a few universities.

The research agencies of the military Services each publish journals which contain information on the status of current research projects; the Army Research Office publishes Army Research and Development Newsmagazine (12); the Office of Naval Research publishes Naval Research Review (65); and the Office of Aerospace Research (OAR) publishes OAR Research Review (71).

## H. IDENTIFYING LOCAL WAR CONTRACTORS

There are a number of procedures which can be used to identify local war contractors. The Records Management Branch of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Administration (OASD/A) will supply, for a small charge, a list of all DoD procurement contracts in a given state; the list shows, for each city in the state, the name of the contractor and the total amount of contracts awarded in the current fiscal year. A price list of these tables can be obtained by writing: Records Management Branch, Correspondence and Directives Division, OASD(A), The Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20301. Government Data Publications, Inc. sells a Government Production Prime Contractors Directory (49), which lists DoD contractors by postal ZIP code. The local offices of the Defense Contract Administration Services Region (or District) will provide, upon request, a list of Department of Defense prime contractors in its jurisdiction, identifying the products manufactured by each contractor. These offices, located in most large cities, can be found by looking in the telephone book under United States Government, Department of Defense, Defense Supply Agency.

Firms which specialize in research and development can be identified by a number of sources. Industrial Research Laboratories of the United States (51) and The Research Centers Directory (82) are two library reference books that contain geographic indexes of R&D firms. Many states publish similar directories, which are listed in the Guide to American Directories, found in most libraries; the Commerce Dept. of New York State, for instance, will supply upon request the Directory of Industrial Research Laboratories in New York State (35). A number of city and state chambers of commerce have published similar directories.

Most government agencies will be helpful in answering questions concerning defense contracts as long as the intent does not appear too sinister. The offices of Defense Supply Agency and Small Business Administration, located in most large cities, will usually indicate if a specific company in their jurisdiction has received military contracts. The contract awarding agency within the DoD will also answer specific

questions upon request; most Army ammunition contracts, for instance, are awarded by the Army Materiel Command, Joliet, Ill.

## I. INVESTIGATING MILITARY PROJECTS ON CAMPUS

The sources listed in category F and G, Military Contract Awards and Military Research Contracts, all include university contracts. Since military work at universities is mostly limited to research, the sources in category G should be consulted first; the R&D Directory (79) is particularly useful in this regard. NACLA's The University-Military Complex (100) lists DoD-sponsored university research on chemical and biological warfare and on foreign affairs. For sources on NASA and Atomic Energy Commission contracts, see category K below. Procedures which can be followed in an investigation of military work at universities are described below.

### 1. Research centers:

Most military contracts awarded to universities are held by semi-autonomous research centers and research foundations. A complete list of these centers, cross-indexed by university, can be found in The Research Centers Directory (82), available in the reference section of most large libraries. Most university-based research centers are also listed in Industrial Research Laboratories in the United States (51). Both of these directories describe the primary field of research of each center, identify the principal officers, and provide other useful information. Research centers primarily devoted to military research are also described in NACLA's The University-Military Complex (100).

Most of the larger research centers publish annual reports and/or publicity newsletters, which describe their current research activities and often indicate source of financing. These publications are usually supplied on request, but sometimes a good way to get them is to say you're interested in working there upon graduation. Direct contact with members of the staff, or interviews arranged through the campus newspaper, will often elicit useful information on these centers not available from other sources.

### 2. Individual, group and departmental research projects:

Military contracts held by individual professors, research teams, or academic departments are frequently difficult to investigate because the sums of money involved are relatively small (and thus do not appear in some of the sources noted above) and because university administrations are often uncooperative in providing necessary information. The U.S. Government Research and Development Reports (96) and Technical Abstract Bulletin (93) are both cross-indexed by university and principal investigator, and thus should be consulted early in an investigation. Most universities publish a list of research contracts held by the faculty, or will permit people to examine such a list on request (these lists are usually kept in the projects-and-grants office of the university, the research office, or its equivalent). Sometimes it is necessary to undertake an anti-secrecy campaign to force the university to make these records public. While such lists usually omit much information, knowledge of any particulars (i.e., faculty name, project title, DoD contract number) can be used to obtain additional information when checked against the data obtained from the R&D Directory, U.S. Government



Research and Development Reports, and Technical Abstract Bulletin.

Projects conducted by a university department are often described in departmental minutes, which can usually be examined by a sympathetic faculty member. Some departments publish annual reports, research progress reports, or similar documents, which should also be examined. Most large universities publish staff newsletters and/or research newsletters which announce contract awards and describe current research projects; material of this sort is usually available from the university news office or contract-and-grant office. Some university libraries also maintain special collections devoted to the university's history, which often contain useful information (materials like departmental records, minutes of trustees' meetings, back issues of newsletters and annual reports). Reporters from the campus newspaper often have access to university records and other materials not available to the public, and should be recruited for investigations of this sort; campus reporters can also arrange interviews with research personnel and thereby obtain information not available in printed sources.

### 3. Investigating university personnel:

It is sometimes important to investigate the background of key individuals in order to establish a pattern of cooperation with the military. Most universities will provide journalists (or campus reporters) with biographies of faculty and administrators; these documents are usually available from the university news office or publicity office. Research centers and academic departments will also provide such information. Who's Who in America, and other standard biographical dictionaries, are also useful in compiling biographies. Certain specialized "Who's Whos," available in the reference section of most libraries, are also very useful; in particular, one should consult American Men of Science, Who's Who in Engineering, American Men of Medicine, Who's Who in American Education, Presidents and Deans of American Colleges and Universities, Directory of American Scholars, and Who's Who in Space. Most of these sources will indicate if an individual is a consultant to the government or an officer of a corporation or other organization. Members of the various military advisory committees (Defense Science board, etc.) are identified in NACLA's *The University-Military Complex* (100).

### 4. Project THEMIS:

In 1967 the Dept. of Defense established Project THEMIS to exploit research talents at the smaller universities; for a description of this project, write for Project THEMIS: A Program to Strengthen the Nation's Academic Institutions from the Office of Defense Research and Engineering (ODRE), the Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20301. All THEMIS projects completed through December, 1968 are described in DDC Report No. 587, *Report on Themis Project*, available from ODRE. Fiscal year 1969 THEMIS projects are listed in NACLA's *The University-Military Complex* (100).

### 5. Research statistics:

The National Science Foundation (NSF) has published a series of statistical surveys on government-sponsored research activities; these include: *Dynamics of Academic Science* (39), *Federal Support to Universities and Colleges, Fiscal Years 1963-66* (44), and *Federal Support to Universities and Colleges, Fiscal Year 1967(44)*. The two-volume series on *Federal Support to Universities and Colleges* contains tables

indicating the total amounts of Federal spending, by agency, at the 100 largest university recipients of Federal aid. The DoD's table of 500 Contractors Listed According to Net Value of Prime Contract Awards for Research, Development, Test and Evaluation Work (28), published annually, indicates the total value of DoD contracts at universities with substantial military research work. General statistics on the proportion of research funds to general university revenues are provided in *Financial Statistics of Institutions of Higher Education* (45), compiled by the National Center for Educational Statistics of the U.S. Office of Education.

### 6. University-military relationships—general information:

Several books and studies are worth consulting when organizing a campaign against university-conducted military research. Books on the subject include James Ridgeway's *The Closed Corporation* (New York: Random House, 1968; also in paperback) and two studies published by Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C., *The Effects of Federal Programs on Higher Education* (1962) by Harold Orlans and *The Role of the Federal Government in Financing Higher Education* (1961) by Alice M. Rivlin. NACLA's *The University-Military Complex* (100) also contains valuable background information. A study commissioned by the American Assembly of Columbia University, *The Federal Government and Higher Education* (43), contains several essays on this subject and includes a description of all Federal programs in the area of higher education. The Stanford Research Institute's "R&D Study Series" (92) includes a report on *The Role of the University in Defense R&D* which contains useful information.

In 1965, a subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations held a series of hearings on *Conflicts Between the Federal Research Programs and the Nation's Goals for Higher Education* (26), which elicited considerable information, in the form of statistics and testimony, from government and university officials.

## J. SCIENCE, RESEARCH, AND THE GOVERNMENT

In the past few years, government (especially military) sponsorship of scientific research has become a major issue in the scientific and academic communities. Information sources on this subject are described below.

### 1. Bibliographies:

The Government Department of the University of Indiana has published *Science, Technology and Public Policy: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography* (87) under the sponsorship of the National Science Foundation. The Battelle Memorial Institute of Columbus, Ohio publishes a bimonthly journal of bibliographic entries, *Science Policy Bulletin* (86). The Subcommittee on Government Research of the Senate Committee on Government Operations has published *An Inventory of Congressional Concern With Research and Development* (52), which lists Congressional documents issued by the 88th and 89th Congresses, and the 1st Session of the 90th Congress.

### 2. Periodicals:

A number of scientific periodicals have given special emphasis to this subject, including: *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (21), *Science* (85), and *Scientific Research* (90).



### 3. Statistics:

The National Science Foundation (NSF) has published many volumes of statistics and analysis on government expenditures for research and development; for a complete list, see Government Printing Office Price List No. 31, Education, available free from the GPO. Among the most valuable titles are: Federal Funds for Research, Development, and Other Scientific Activities (42); the series on Research and Development in Industry (81); Scientific Activities of Nonprofit Institutions (88); and R&D Activities in State Government Agencies (80).

### 4. SRI's R&D Studies Series:

The Stanford Research Institute (SRI) holds a contract from the Director of Defense Research and Engineering to produce a series of studies on the "structure and dynamics of the R&D industry," known as the R&D Study Series (92). Publications in this series include: An Exploratory Study of the Structure and Dynamics of the R&D Industry (1964); The Economic Impact of Defense R&D Expenditures: In Terms of Value Added and Employment Generated (1966); The Structure and Dynamics of Exploratory Development in Defense R&D Industry (1966); and The Role of the University in Defense R&D (1966).

## K. NASA, ATOMIC ENERGY, CIVIL DEFENSE

### 1. NASA:

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) publishes a Semi-Annual Report to Congress (63) describing major programs. The NASA budget is discussed in hearings before the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences on NASA Authorization for Fiscal Year 19\*\* (62). For more information on NASA, contact: Office of Public Affairs, NASA, 600 Maryland Ave. SW, Washington, D.C. 20546 (phone: 963-5302).

NASA's Office of Grants and Research Contracts publishes an annual list of Grants and Research Contracts. Research reports commissioned by NASA are abstracted and indexed in Scientific and Technical Aerospace Reports (89), available in most university libraries. Other NASA publications are listed in Government Printing Office Price List No. 79, Space, available from the GPO.

### 2. Atomic Energy and the AEC:

The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) publishes an annual report on Major Activities in the Atomic Energy Programs (16), which describes AEC programs and operations, lists AEC costs incurred by universities and industrial contractors, and contains other basic data. The AEC also publishes an annual Financial Report (15), which contains more detailed information on AEC contracts and expenses. The AEC's budget is discussed in hearings before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy on AEC Authorizing Legislation, Fiscal Year 19\*\* (14). AEC annual reports and further information are available from: Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D.C. 20545 (phone: 301-973-1000).

AEC publications are listed in Government Printing Office Price List No. 84, Atomic Energy and Civil Defense, available free from the GPO. Other useful publications, including a Directory of Reactors (37), are issued by the International Atomic Energy Agency of the United Nations. The Committee To End Radiological Hazards, Box 148, 150 Christopher St., New York, N.Y. 10014, has published a series

of reports for the laymen on dangers arising from U.S. atomic energy programs (price list available on request).

Information concerning the atomic energy policies of the U.S. government is contained in: Atomic Energy Act of 1946 and Amendments (13), Atomic Energy Legislation Through the 90th Congress, 1st Session (19), Atomic Energy Commission Rules and Regulations (18), and Atomic Energy Commission Reports: Opinions and Decisions of the Atomic Energy Commission (17). For a history of the AEC, see the Pennsylvania State University Press series (50), which includes: The New World 1939-1946 and Atomic Shield 1947/52.

AEC research programs are described in an annual report on Fundamental Nuclear Energy Research (46). Research reports commissioned by the AEC are abstracted and indexed in Nuclear Science Abstracts (70), available in most university libraries. A number of quarterly journals on nuclear technology are published by the AEC, including: Isotopes and Radiation Technology (53), Reactor and Fuel-Processing Technology (76), and Reactor Materials (77).

The military uses of atomic energy are described in a number of AEC publications, including: Effects of Nuclear Weapons (40), Naval Nuclear Propulsion Program (64), and Principles of Guided Missiles and Nuclear Weapons (75).

Industrial applications of atomic energy are described in an annual AEC report on The Nuclear Industry (68). Also useful in this regard are various hearings and reports issued by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, including: Nuclear Power Economics (69) and Licensing and Regulation of Nuclear Reactors (56). See also: Civilian Nuclear Power (22).

### 3. Civil Defense:

The Office of Civil Defense publishes an Annual Report (72) describing major activities. Publications on Civil Defense are listed in Government Printing Office Price List No. 84, Atomic Energy and Civil Defense, available free from the GPO.

## L. WHERE TO GO FOR MORE INFORMATION

Listed below are several agencies, military and non-military, that are prepared to answer requests for information from the public. In general, the military services are cooperative in answering such requests. It is helpful to address such questions to the specific military agency concerned (e.g., questions concerning Army research activities should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary of the Army for Research and Development); most military agencies are described in the United States Government Organization Manual (95) and their telephone numbers listed in the Department of Defense Telephone Directory (34). General questions can be addressed to the following:

### 1. Inside the Military:

a. Department of Defense: Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs (OASD/PA), The Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20301 (phone numbers: for information, 202-OX-7-5131; for copies of DoD press releases, 202-OX-7-3189). Will answer questions pertaining to DoD affairs, and supply copies of DoD press releases.

b. Department of the Army: Staff Management Division, Office of the Chief of Staff, Department of the Army, The Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20310 (phone: OX-5-6700, ext. 78841). Will answer questions pertaining to Dept. of the Army



affairs. The Office of the Chief of Information, Dept. of the Army, The Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20310, will also answer questions from the public. The Army also maintains Public Affairs offices in several large cities, listed in the telephone book under United States Government, Department of the Army.

c. Air Force: Directorate of Administration, Dept. of the Air Force, The Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20330 (phone: 202-OX-5-2246) will answer questions pertaining to Air Force affairs. The Office of the Director of Information, The Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20330 will also answer questions.

d. Navy: Administrative Office, Navy Department, Main Navy Building, 18th Street and Constitution Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20360 (phone: OX-6-2221) will answer questions pertaining to Navy affairs. The Office of Information, Navy Department, Washington, D.C. 20350 will also answer questions.

e. Marine Corps: The Commandant of the Marine Corps, Navy Department, Washington, D.C. 20380 (phone: OX-4-2500) will answer questions pertaining to Marine Corps affairs.

## 2. Outside the Military:

a. Movement research centers: a number of independent research centers have been set up to assist groups opposing the military-industrial complex, and will answer questions from the public. These include National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex (NARMIC), 160 N. 15th St.,

Philadelphia, Pa. 19102 (phone: 215-LO-3-9372), and the National Security Research Project, P.O. Box 11004, Washington, D.C. 20008 (phone: 202-234-9382).

b. Military associations: the various pro-military associations are usually willing to answer questions from their members, usually by directing people to the appropriate military agency. For a list of those associations, with addresses and membership information, see category C, Military Associations.

## 3. Libraries:

a. The Army Library, located on the first floor of the Pentagon, is open to the public and contains most of the periodicals, directories, manuals, etc. described above. (It is suggested that users of this library dress neatly.)

b. The Library of Congress, 10 1st St., S.E., Washington, D.C., is open to the public and contains many of the periodicals, directories, etc., described below.

c. Municipal, state and university libraries: most of the larger public libraries store the basic military journals and publications. Often these will be located in specialized collections—science, engineering, etc. A number of libraries have been designated Government Depository Libraries, and receive copies of all non-classified military manuals and Congressional hearings. A list of these libraries appears in the Monthly Catalog of United States Government Publications (61).

# Part II: Bibliography

Note: U.S. Government Printing Office (GPO) orders should be sent to: Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. GPO prices are subject to revision; to be sure of price, write for the appropriate GPO Price Lists.

1. **Adelphi Papers.** Published irregularly by the Institute for Strategic Studies (18, Adam St., London WC2, United Kingdom). Available from the Institute for 75¢ each or on a subscription basis for \$6.75 per year (price includes copy of *The Military Balance*). For a list of recent papers in this series, write the Institute.
2. **Air Force and Space Digest.** Monthly journal of the Air Force Association (1750 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006). Subscription included with annual membership fee of \$7.00.
3. **Air Force Research Resumes.** Published annually by the Office of Aerospace Research. Available from the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Springfield, Va. 22151.
4. **Airman.** Official monthly magazine of the U.S. Air Force. Available from the GPO. Subscription rate: \$4.00 per year.
5. **Air University Library Index of Military Periodicals.** Published quarterly by the Air University Library, Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala. Sent to libraries on an exchange basis.
6. **Air University Review.** Published bimonthly by the Air University Library. Available for \$4.50 per year from Air University Book Dept., Maxwell AFB, Ala. 36112.
7. **Armed Forces Journal.** Published weekly by Army and Navy Journal, Inc. (1710 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009). Subscription rate: \$10.00 per year.
8. **Armed Forces Management.** Published monthly by American Aviation Publications (1156 15th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005). Subscription rate: \$12 per year.
9. **Army.** Monthly journal of the Association of the U. S. Army (1529 18th St. N.W., Washington D.C. 20006). Subscription included with annual membership fee of \$6.00.
10. **Army Digest.** Published monthly by the Department of the Army. Available from the GPO. Subscription rate: \$3.50 per year.
11. **Army Quarterly and Defense Journal.** Published monthly by W. Cloves & Sons, Ltd. (Dorland House, 14 & 16 Lower Regent St., London S.W.1, United Kingdom).
12. **Army Research and Development Newsmagazine.** Published monthly by the Army Research Office. Available from the GPO. Subscription rate: \$2.25 per year.
13. **Atomic Energy Act of 1946 and Amendments, Aug. 1, 1946—Oct. 13, 1966.** Available for 65¢ from the GPO.



14. AEC Authorizing Legislation, Fiscal Year 1969. Hearings Before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, 90th Cong., 2d sess., 1968. In two parts; pt. 1 available from the GPO for \$2.75.
15. Atomic Energy Commission, 1969 Financial Report. Available for 65¢ from the GPO.
16. Atomic Energy Commission, Major Activities in Atomic Energy Programs, 1968 Annual Report. Available for \$1.75 from the GPO.
17. Atomic Energy Commission Reports; Opinions and Decisions of Atomic Energy Commission with Selected Orders. Available from the GPO. Vol. 1, 1956-61, \$3.75; vol. 2, 1962-64, \$3.50; vol. 3, 1965-67, \$2.50.
18. Atomic Energy Commission Rules and Regulations. Available on a subscription basis from the GPO for \$7.00. Subscription includes accumulated regulations through Jan. 1966, plus all amendments for an indefinite period.
19. Atomic Energy Legislation Through the 90th Congress, 2d Sess., Dec. 1968. Report issued by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Available for \$1.50 from the GPO.
20. Aviation Week and Space Technology. Published weekly by McGraw-Hill Publications. Subscription rate: \$10.00 per year (address for subscriptions: Aviation Week, P.O. Box 430, Hightstown, N.J. 08520). Subscriptions must be requested on company or organization letterhead.
21. Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. Published monthly by the Educational Foundation for Nuclear Science (1100 E. 58th St., Chicago, Ill. 60637). Subscription rate: \$6.00 per year.
22. Civilian Nuclear Power, A Report to the President, 1962. Available for 45¢ from the GPO. Appendices (55¢) and 1967 supplement (40¢) also available.
23. Collective Defense Treaties. Published 1969 by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Available for \$2.50 from the GPO.
24. Commerce Business Daily. Published weekdays by the U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Available from the GPO. Subscription rate: \$15.00 per year.
25. 100 Companies and Their Subsidiaries Listed According to Net Value of Military Prime Contract Awards. Published annually by the Directorate for Statistical Services of the Office of the Secretary of Defense. Available upon request from the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, The Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20301.
26. Conflicts Between the Federal Research Programs and the Nation's Goals for Higher Education, Hearings before the Research and Technical Programs Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, 89th Cong., 1st Sess., June 14, 15 and 17, 1965. See also the compendium of "Responses from the Academic and Other Interested Communities" to the Subcommittee's inquiry (Aug., 1965), and the 18th Report of the Committee on Government Operations (Oct. 13, 1965)—both of these documents bear the same title as the Hearings.
27. Congressional Record. Published daily while Congress is in session. Available from the Government Printing Office. Subscription rate: \$1.50 per month. A limited number of free subscriptions available from local Congressmen.
28. 500 Contractors Listed According to Net Value of Military Prime Contract Awards for Research, Development, Test and Evaluation Work. Published annually by the Directorate for Statistical Services of the Office of the Secretary of Defense. Availability: same as No. 25.
29. Data on Defense and Civil Systems. Published monthly by Queensmith Associates, Inc. (West Building, Washington National Airport, Washington, D.C. 20001). Subscription rate: \$12 per year.
30. Defense Industry Bulletin. Published monthly by the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs (OASD/PA). Subscription is free if requested on company or organization letterhead. Address for subscriptions: Editor, Defense Industry Bulletin, OASD/PA, The Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20301.
31. DMS Market Intelligence Reports. Published by the Defense Marketing Service (DMS), a subscription service of McGraw-Hill Publications (DMS, Inc., 100 Northfield St., Greenwich, Conn. 06830). Subscription price includes basic directory, monthly revisions, and consultation services. Total DMS service costs \$2140 per year; individual services (each \$300) include: Missiles and Spacecraft; Military Aircraft; Electronic Systems; Ships/Vehicles/Ordnance; Agencies, Facilities and Laboratories.
32. Department of Defense Annual Report. Available from the GPO. Price varies; most recent available, 1966, costs \$1.75.
33. The 1970 Defense Budget and Defense Program for Fiscal Years 1970-74, Statement by Secretary of Defense Clark M. Clifford, Jan. 15, 1969. Available for \$1.75 from the GPO.
34. Department of Defense Telephone Directory. Published quarterly. Available on a subscription basis from the GPO. Subscription rate: \$10.00 per year; single issues, \$2.50.
35. Directory of Industrial Research Laboratories in New York State. Published by the Dept. of Commerce, State of New York, Albany, N.Y. (Available on request.)
36. Directory of Information Resources in the United States: Federal Government. Compiled by the National Referral Center for Science and Technology of the Library of Congress. Available for \$2.75 from the GPO.
37. Directory of Reactors: Power, Research and Training Reactors Around the World. Published by the International Atomic Energy Agency of the United Nations, New York, N.Y.
38. Dictionary of United States Military Terms for Joint Usage. Published by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Available for \$2.00 from the GPO.
39. Dynamics of Academic Science, A Degree Profile of Academic Science and Technology and the Contribution of Federal Funds for Academic Science to Universities and Colleges. Published 1967 by the NSF. Available for 60¢ from the GPO.
40. Effects of Nuclear Weapons. Published 1964 by the AEC. Available for \$3.00 from the GPO.



41. **Fact Book on the FY 1970 Defense Budget.** Published 1969 by the Democratic Study Group, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515. (Available upon request.)
42. **Federal Funds for Research, Development, and Other Scientific Activities.** Published by the NSF. Available from the GPO. Vol. 13, FY 1963-65, \$1.25; vol. 15, FY 1965-67, \$1.25; vol. 16, 1966-68, \$1.25.
43. **The Federal Government and Higher Education.** Prepared by the American Assembly of Columbia University. Published by Prentice-Hall, Inc. (A Spectrum Book, 1960, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.).
44. **Federal Support to Universities and Colleges.** Published by the NSF. Available from the GPO. Fiscal Years 1963-66, 70¢; Fiscal Year 1967, \$1.00.
45. **Financial Statistics of Institutions of Higher Education, Current Funds Revenues and Expenditures, 1965-66.** Published by the National Center for Educational Statistics of the Office of Education. Available for 70¢ from the GPO.
46. **Fundamental Nuclear Energy Research.** Published annually by the AEC. Available from the GPO. Price varies: 1964, \$2.00; 1965, \$2.25; 1966, \$2.50; 1967, \$2.50; 1968, \$4.25.
47. **Government Contracts Directory.** Published by Government Data Publications, Inc. (422 Washington Building, Washington, D.C. 20005). Comprises three volumes: an Awardee Directory (list of contracts held by DoD contractors); an Agency Directory (contracts listed by awarding agency within the government); and a Product Directory (contracts listed by type of product). All three volumes cost \$99.50; each volume is also available singly.
48. **Government Procurement and Contracting.** Hearings before a Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., 1969.
49. **Government Production Prime Contractors Directory.** Published by Government Data Publications, Inc. (422 Washington Building, Washington, D.C. 20005). List of DoD contractors in Postal ZIP Code order. Price: \$15.00.
50. **History of the Atomic Energy Commission.** Published by the Pennsylvania State University Press (University Park, Pa.). Vol. 1, *The New World 1939/1946*, by Oscar E. Anderson, Jr. and Richard G. Hewlett; Vol. 2 *Atomic Shield 1946/1952*, by Richard G. Hewlett and Francis Duncan.
51. **Industrial Research Laboratories of the United States.** Edited by William W. Buchanan and published by Bowker Associates, Washington, D.C.
52. **Inventory of Congressional Concern with Research and Development, A Bibliography Prepared for the Subcommittee on Government Research of the Senate Committee on Government Operations.** In two volumes: 88th and 89th Congresses (issued Dec. 15, 1966), and 90th Cong., 1st Sess. (issued Sept. 23, 1968).
53. **Isotopes and Radiation Technology.** A quarterly technical progress review published by the AEC. Available from the GPO. Subscription rate: \$2.50 per year.
54. **Jane's Aircraft.** Published in Great Britain; agent in the U.S.: Charles E. Thorp, 175 Greenwich Ave., Greenwich, Conn. 06830. Price \$49.50.
55. **Jane's Fighting Ships.** Availability: same as No. 54. Price \$49.50.
56. **Licensing and Regulation of Nuclear Reactors, Hearings Before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, 90th Cong., 1st Sess., 1967.** Available from the GPO. Part 1, \$1.75; Part 2, \$1.25.
57. **Marine Corps Gazette.** Monthly journal of the Marine Corps Association (Box 1775, Marine Corps Base, Quantico, Va. 22134). Subscription included with annual membership fee of \$5.00.
58. **The Military Balance.** Published annually by the Institute for Strategic Studies (18, Adam St., London W.C.2, United Kingdom). Sold separately for \$2.00, or by subscription with the *Adelphi Papers* (1) for \$6.75 per year.
59. **The Military-Industrial Complex.** Special report of Congressional Quarterly (1735 K St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006). Price: \$2.50.
60. **Military Review.** Monthly journal of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College. Subscription rate: \$4.00 per year (address for subscriptions: Book Dept., U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kas. 66027).
61. **Monthly Catalog of United States Government Publications.** Published and distributed by the GPO. Subscription rate: \$4.50 per year.
62. **NASA Authorization for Fiscal Year 1969, Hearings Before the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, U.S. Senate, 90th Cong., 2d Sess., 1968.** Available from the GPO. Part 1, \$1.00; Part 2, \$1.50; Part 3, \$1.25.
63. **National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Semi-Annual Report to Congress.** Available from the GPO. Price varies; most recent available, the 15th, is \$1.00.
64. **Naval Nuclear Propulsion Program, 1967-68, Hearings Before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, 90th Cong., 1st and 2d. Sess., Mar. 16, 1967 and Feb. 8, 1968.** Available for \$1.50 from the GPO.
65. **Naval Research Reviews.** Published monthly by the Office of Naval Research. Available from the GPO. Subscription rate: \$1.75 per year.
66. **Naval War College Review.** Monthly journal of the U.S. Naval War College. Available upon request to authorized persons (address requests to Naval War College, Newport, R.I. 02844).
67. **Navy: The Magazine of Seapower.** Monthly journal of the Navy League of the United States (818 18th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006). Subscription rate: \$3.00 per year.
68. **Nuclear Industry, 1968.** Published by the AEC. Available for \$2.00 from the GPO.
69. **Nuclear Power Economics, 1962-67.** A report of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, 1968. Available for \$1.00 from the GPO.
70. **Nuclear Science Abstracts.** Published semi-monthly by the AEC. Available from the GPO. Subscription rate: \$42.00 per year. Quarterly, annual, and cumulative indexes also published.
71. **OAR Research Review.** Published monthly by the Office of Aerospace Research. Available from the GPO. Subscription rate: \$3.00 per year.



72. **Office of Civil Defense Annual Report.** Available from the GPO. Price varies; most recent available, 1967, 55¢.
73. **Ordnance.** Bi-monthly journal of the American Ordnance Association (Union Trust Bldg., 740 15th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005). Subscription included with annual membership fee of \$7.00.
74. **Praeger Library of U.S. Government Departments and Agencies.** Published by Frederick A. Praeger (111 Fourth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003). Series includes: *The Department of Defense*, by C.W. Borklund; *The United States Navy*, by Capt. Daniel J. Carrison; *The United States Marine Corps*, by Col. James A. Donovan, Jr.; *The United States Air Force*, by Brig. Gen. Monro MacCloskey; and *The United States Army*, by Lt. Col. Vernon Pizer.
75. **Principles of Guided Missiles and Nuclear Weapons.** Available for \$2.00 from the GPO.
76. **Reactor and Fuel-Processing Technology.** A quarterly technical progress review published by the AEC. Available from the GPO. Subscription rate: \$2.50 per year.
77. **Reactor Materials.** A quarterly technical progress review published by the AEC. Available from the GPO. Subscription rate: \$2.50 per year.
78. **R&D Contracts Monthly.** Published by Government Data Publications, Inc. (422 Washington Building, Washington, D.C. 20005). Subscription rate: \$24.00 per year.
79. **R&D Directory.** Published annually by Government Data Publications, Inc. (422 Washington Building, Washington, D.C. 20005). Price: \$15.00.
80. **Research and Development Activities in State Government Agencies, Fiscal Years 1964-65.** Published by the NSF. Available for 45¢ from the GPO.
81. **Research and Development in Industry, 1965; Basic Research, Applied Research and Development in American Industry, 1965, a Final Report on a Survey of R&D Funds, 1965, and R&D Scientists and Engineers, Jan. 1966.** Published 1967 by the NSF. Available for 65¢ from the GPO.
82. **Research Centers Directory, 2nd Ed., 1966.** Edited by A.M. Palmer and A.T. Kruzas; published by Gale Research Co., Detroit, Mich. A periodic supplement, *New Research Centers*, is also available.
83. **Resources for Scientific Activities at Universities and Colleges, 1964; A Preliminary Report of a Survey of 1964 Expenditures and Jan. 1965 Employment in the Sciences and Engineering.** Published 1966 by the NSF. Available for 20¢ from the GPO.
84. **Royal United Service Journal.** Published quarterly by the Royal United Service Institution (Whitehall, London SW1, United Kingdom).
85. **Science.** Published weekly by the American Association for the Advancement of Science (1515 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005). Subscription included in annual membership fee of \$12.00.
86. **Science Policy Bulletin.** Published bimonthly by the Battelle Memorial Institute (505 King Ave., Columbus, Ohio 43201). Available upon request.
87. **Science, Technology and Public Policy: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography.** Edited by Lynton K. Caldwell and published 1969 by the Department of Government, University of Indiana (Bloomington, Ind.) Available upon request.
88. **Scientific Activities of Non-Profit Institutions, 1964 Expenditures and Jan. 1965 Manpower.** Published 1967 by the NSF. Available for 60¢ from the GPO.
89. **Scientific and Technical Aerospace Reports.** Published semi-monthly by NASA. Available from the GPO. Subscription rate: \$54.00 per year. Quarterly and annual cumulative indexes also available.
90. **Scientific Research.** Published semimonthly by McGraw-Hill Publications (330 West 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10036). Subscription rate: \$20.00 per year; applications must indicate organizational affiliation and position (limited to scientific fields).
91. **Selected RAND Abstracts.** Published quarterly by the RAND Corporation (1700 Main St., Santa Monica, Calif. 90406). Subscription rate: \$15.00 per year; annual cumulative edition, \$5.00.
92. **Stanford Research Institute R&D Studies Series.** Each report available for \$5.50 from Publications Dept., SRI, Menlo Park, Calif. 94025. Titles include: *An Exploratory Study of the Structure and Dynamics of the R&D Industry* (1964); *The Structure and Dynamics of the Defense R&D Industry: The Los Angeles and Boston Complexes* (1965); *The Economic Impact of Defense R&D Expenditures: In Terms of Value Added and Employment Generated* (1966); *The Structure and Dynamics of Research and Exploratory Development in Defense R&D Industry* (1966); *The Role of the University in Defense R&D* (1966).
93. **Technical Abstract Bulletin.** Published semimonthly by the Defense Documentation Center, U.S. Dept. of Defense, Alexandria, Va. This publication was given a "Confidential" security classification in Sept. 1967, and is now available only to authorized persons. Earlier issues are available in some college libraries.
94. **U.S. Army Installations and Major Activities in the Continental United States.** Published by the Department of the Army. Available for 25¢ from the GPO.
95. **U.S. Government Organization Manual.** Published annually by the General Services Administration. Available for \$3.00 from the GPO.
96. **U.S. Government Research and Development Reports.** Published semimonthly by the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Springfield, Va. 22151. Available in most libraries.
97. **U.S. Military and Government Installation Directory Service.** Published by the U.S. Organization Chart Service (P.O. Box 15175, San Diego, Calif. 92115). Subscription price of \$60.00 per year includes basic directory plus three quarterly revisions.
98. **U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings.** Monthly journal of the U.S. Naval Institute (Annapolis, Md. 21402). Subscription rate: \$8.50 per year.
99. **U.S. Organization Chart Service.** Published by U.S. Organization Chart Service (P.O. Box 15175, San Diego, Calif. 92115). Subscription price of \$225.00 includes basic directory plus three quarterly revisions.
100. **The University-Military Complex: A Directory and Related Documents.** Published 1969 by NACLA (P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10025). Price: \$1.25.
101. **The Weapons of Counterinsurgency: Chemical/Biological, Anti-Personnel, Incendiary.** Published by National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex (160 N. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102). Price: \$1.00.



# The Military-Industrial Complex / Addenda:

## A. Department of Defense Agencies and Bases:

DATA Publications (West Building, National Airport, Washington, D.C. 20001) publishes organizational charts of most Defense agencies, and lists of Army, Navy, and Air Force installations. The firm also sells, for \$7.00, an annotated bibliography of DEFENSE INFO SOURCES, listing standard sources of information on the military (principally periodicals).

## B. Defense Posture and Strategy:

Secretary Laird's 1970 posture statement, FISCAL YEAR 1971 DEFENSE PROGRAM AND BUDGET (Feb. 20, 1970), is now available from the GPO for \$1.50.

The Institute for Strategic Studies (18 Adam St., London W.C. 2, England) has published an international list of research centers on military policy, the SURVEY OF STRATEGIC STUDIES. For each center, the survey indicates primary fields of research, size of staff, primary sources of income, and publications. Published as ADELPHI PAPERS No. 64 (Jan., 1970), and available from the Institute for 75¢.

## F. Military Contract Awards:

Frost & Sullivan, Inc. (106 Fulton St., New York, N.Y. 10038; telephone: 212/233-1080) will supply a complete list of all Defense Dept. contracts awarded to any specific firm for a fee of \$60. The company will also supply computer readouts of contracts organized by locality, awarding agency, program or project, etc., for varying prices.

## J. Science, Research and the Government:

The MIT Press (50 Ames St., Cambridge, Mass. 02142) has published a special pricelist of books on Science, Technology, and Society, which can be obtained by writing the publisher.

The Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments of the House Foreign Affairs Committee has published an annotated bibliography, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND AMERICAN DIPLOMACY (March, 1970), as part of an extended study of the interactions of science and technology with United States foreign policy.

Praeger Publishers (111 Fourth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003), is publishing a series of studies on "Conversion of Industry from a Military to Civilian Economy," under the editorship of Seymour Melman. For a complete list of titles, write the publisher.

A committee known as the Science and Public Policy Studies Group (Rm. E53-418, MIT, Cambridge, Mass. 02139), has begun publication of a newsletter devoted to questions of science and government policy.

## K. NASA:

NASA university contracts are listed in NASA'S UNIVERSITY PROGRAM—QUARTERLY REPORT OF ACTIVE GRANTS AND RESEARCH CONTRACTS. Available on request from the Office of University Affairs, NASA, Washington, D.C. 20546.

## M. Selective Service System and the Draft:

For basic information on Selective Service and the draft, write: Office of Public Information, Selective Service System, National Headquarters, 1724 F Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20435 (telephone: 202/343-1100). A useful introduction is THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM—ITS CONCEPT, HISTORY AND OPERATION, available from the GPO for 30¢.

Several studies have been made of the Selective Service System and possible alternatives; documents available to the public include: REVIEW OF THE ADMINISTRATION AND OPERATION OF THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM, Hearings Before the House Committee on Armed Services (Washington, D.C., June 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, and 30, 1966); REPORT OF THE TASK FORCE ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM (Washington, D.C., 1967), available from the GPO for 60¢; IN PURSUIT OF EQUITY: WHO SERVES WHEN NOT ALL SERVE?, Report of the National Advisory Committee on Selective Service (Washington, D.C., 1967), available from the GPO for \$1.50.

For a discussion of the proposed all-volunteer army, see the REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON AN ALL-VOLUNTEER ARMED FORCE (Washington, D.C. 1970), available from the GPO for \$1.25.

## N. Arms Control & Disarmament:

The U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA, Dept. of State Building, Washington, D.C. 20451; telephone: 202/655-4000) will supply, upon request, a list of ACDA publications. For information on the ACDA itself, request the ACDA ANNUAL REPORT TO CONGRESS. ACDA also publishes an annual compilation of DOCUMENTS ON DISARMAMENT (available from the GPO: price varies with year; most recent, 1968, \$3.75). For bibliographic data, consult: ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT—A QUARTERLY BIBLIOGRAPHY WITH ABSTRACTS AND ANNOTATIONS (available from the GPO for \$2.50 per year).





# The Police

## A. U.S. GOVERNMENT LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

Major Federal law enforcement agencies are identified and described in the annual UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION MANUAL, available for \$3.00 from the U.S. Government Printing Office (GPO), Washington, D.C. 20402. For more information on particular agencies, write to the agencies directly.

1. U.S. Department of Justice, Constitution Ave. and 10th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20530. Will supply, upon request, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE: FUNCTION AND ORGANIZATION, which describes major Justice Dept. agencies. U.S. Attorneys and U.S. Marshals, and Justice Dept. field offices, are identified in the U.S. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION MANUAL. Texts of the Attorney General's statements, and other information, are available from the Department's Office of Public Information.

2. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 9th St. and Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20535. Will supply, upon request, the FBI ANNUAL REPORT, the FBI 1970 APPROPRIATION, and other descriptive materials. FBI field divisions are identified in the U.S. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION MANUAL.

The FBI annually publishes CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES—UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS, which contains basic statistical data on the distribution of crime by city, state, region, etc. (available for \$1.50 from the GPO).

3. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), 633 Indiana Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20530. Will supply, upon request, the LEAA FIRST ANNUAL REPORT, and a list of LEAA Publications (most of which will be sent upon request). For information on LEAA's research arm, the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, write for A NATIONAL PROGRAM OF RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TEST, AND EVALUATION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE (\$1.50 from the GPO). Contracts awarded by LEAA's predecessor organization, the Law Enforcement Assistance Office, are listed in LEAA GRANTS AND AWARDS, FISCAL 1966-1968, available from LEAA.

## B. OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Hearings, reports and other documents issued by U.S. government organizations are listed in the MONTHLY CATALOG OF UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS (available in libraries or on a subscription basis from the GPO; indexed annually). Agencies with a particular interest in police operations are:

### 1. Presidential Commissions:

a. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. Final report, THE CHALLENGE OF CRIME IN A FREE SOCIETY, is available for \$2.25 from the GPO and in an Avon paperback edition. The Commission's Task Force Reports are sold by the GPO: CORRECTIONS (\$1.25); THE COURTS (\$1.00); CRIME AND ITS IMPACT (\$1.25); DRUNKENNESS (\$0.65); JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND YOUTH CRIME (\$2.00); NARCOTICS AND DRUG ABUSE (\$1.00); ORGANIZED CRIME (\$0.65); THE POLICE (\$1.50); SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (\$1.25). The GPO also sells the research studies and field

surveys prepared for the Commission; these include: STUDIES IN CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT IN MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREAS (2 vols; \$3.50 the set); THE POLICE IN THE COMMUNITY (2 vols; \$2.75 the set); NATIONAL SURVEY OF POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS (\$2.00).

b. National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Reports available from the GPO include: VIOLENCE IN AMERICA—Historical and Comparative Perspectives (2 vols.; \$2.75 per set); THE POLITICS OF PROTEST—Violent Aspects of Protest and Confrontation (\$1.25); PROGRESS REPORT of the Commission, 1969 (\$0.50); MIAMI REPORT (\$0.50); SHUT IT DOWN! A COLLEGE IN CRISIS—San Francisco State College (\$1.00); SHOOT-OUT IN CLEVELAND (\$0.75); ASSASSINATION AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE (\$2.50); LAW AND ORDER RECONSIDERED (\$2.50). The Commission's report on VIOLENT CRIME is available in a paperback edition from Geo. Braziller. The Final Report of the Commission, TO ESTABLISH JUSTICE, INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY, and the Walker report, RIGHTS IN CONFLICT, are available in Bantam paperback editions.

### 2. Congressional Committees:

a. Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Senate Committee on Government Operations. Has published a series of Hearings on RIOTS, CIVIL & CRIMINAL DISORDERS since 1967. Available upon request from the Subcommittee.

b. House Committee on Un-American Activities (now the Committee on Internal Security). Has published a series of hearings on SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING, and on SUBVERSIVE INVOLVEMENT IN DISRUPTION OF THE 1968 DEMOCRATIC PARTY NATIONAL CONVENTION. Available upon request from the Committee, the GPO, and local Congressmen.

c. Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures, Senate Committee on the Judiciary. Has published a series of Hearings on MEASURES RELATED TO ORGANIZED CRIME and CONTROLLING CRIME THROUGH MORE EFFECTIVE LAW ENFORCEMENT. Available upon request from the Subcommittee.

### 3. Other agencies:

Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 330 Independence Ave. S.W., Washington, D.C. 20201. Publishes the JUVENILE DELINQUENCY REPORTER, and other publications related to juvenile delinquency.

## C. STATE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

### 1. State Agencies:

Most states publish an annual yearbook or legislative manual which identifies state law enforcement agencies and names their officers. New York State, for instance, publishes an annual MANUAL FOR THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK. A commercial publisher, the Williams Press of Albany, N.Y., publishes the annual NEW YORK RED BOOK, which contains similar data. These and other state documents are available in the reference section of



most libraries. The agencies listed in these yearbooks should be written directly for annual reports, etc.

In order to receive funds under the Omnibus Safe Streets Act of 1968, each state was required to establish a "state criminal justice planning agency" to develop a "master plan" for statewide law enforcement programs. These planning agencies are listed in the LEAA ANNUAL REPORT (see above). For copies of the master plans, write the state agencies directly. The New York State Office of Crime Control Planning (250 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10007) will supply, upon request, a PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LAW ENFORCEMENT PLANNING SYSTEM FOR THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

## 2. Local agencies:

Most townships, counties and cities publish annual reports, yearbooks or manuals which identify local law enforcement agencies and name their officers. Some cities also publish daily or weekly newspapers which print basic data on police promotions and city budget and contract transactions (see, for example, the CITY RECORD, Official Journal of the City of New York).

Some large police departments also publish their own annual reports (see, for example, the ANNUAL REPORT of the New York City Police Department). Many police departments also publish magazines; the New York Police Department publishes SPRING 3100 (available for \$3.75 per year from the Dept. at 400 Broome St., New York, N.Y. 10013) and the Chicago Police Department publishes CHICAGO POLICE STAR. These reports and periodicals are usually available in municipal libraries. Most large police agencies also maintain public affairs or community relations offices which supply general information and literature upon request.

The policemen in many departments have organized benevolent associations or other fraternal organizations. Some of these groups publish newsletters or magazines, and other literature. In New York City, the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (250 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10007) publishes a magazine, NEW YORK'S FINEST.

The National Police Chiefs and Sheriffs Information Bureau (Association of Commerce Building, 828 N. Broadway, Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202), publishes the NATIONAL DIRECTORY OF LAW ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATORS which lists police chiefs, sheriffs, district attorneys, etc. (available for \$9.50).

## D. NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS

### 1. Professional Organizations:

a. International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), 1319 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. The IACP is the most important professional organization in the area of law enforcement. Publishes POLICE CHIEF (monthly; subscription rate: \$7.50 per year), the leading publication in the field, and THE POLICE YEARBOOK—Papers and Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the IACP. The "Directory Issue" of Police Chief (usually the October issue) lists all IACP members and contains a directory of firms which manufacture police weapons and supplies. The IACP is usually prompt in answering questions for specific information concerning police operations. IACP's Professional Standards

Division publishes many manuals on police organization and methods; these are usually stored in libraries of police academies and schools. For a complete list of these publications, write IACP directly.

b. American Society for Industrial Security, 404 NADA Building, Washington, D.C. 20006. Represents private security organizations. Publishes INDUSTRIAL SECURITY (monthly; subscription rate: \$6.00 per year).

c. Military Police Association, Inc., Box 7500, Ft. Gordon, Ga. 30905. A private organization open to public membership. Publishes MILITARY POLICE JOURNAL (monthly; included with annual dues of \$5.00).

d. Other professional organizations which publish materials related to law enforcement: The International City Management Association (ICMA), 1140 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 839 17th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006; International Association of Police Professors (IAPP), Paul B. Weston, Secy-Treas., 6000 Jay St., Sacramento, Calif. 95819.

### 2. Universities and Citizens' Groups:

a. Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass. 02154. Publishes RIOT DATA REVIEW (available on request), and other studies of urban violence in the U.S.

b. National Center on Police and Community Relations, School of Police Administration and Public Safety, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. Publishes bibliographies and other materials on police-community relations (see Bibliography section, below).

c. National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD), 44 East 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10010. The major national citizens' organization concerned with crime and delinquency. NCCD has a national headquarters in New York City; Regional Offices in Homewood, Ill., Austin, Tex., and San Francisco; 20 State Council Offices; a Washington Bureau; and a Research Center in Davis, Calif. For addresses of NCCD offices and other basic information, write the national office. NCCD publishes many reports and other literature on crime and law enforcement (see Bibliography section, below), and maintains a library in New York which is open to the public.

## E. BOOKS, PERIODICALS, BIBLIOGRAPHIES

### 1. Police Textbooks:

A number of publishers specialize in police textbooks, and will supply pricelists upon requests. These include: Charles C. Thomas (301-327 East Lawrence Ave., Springfield, Ill. 62703); McGraw-Hill Book Co. (Technical and Vocational Education Division, 330 West 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10036); and Arco Publishing Co. (219 Park Ave. So., New York, N.Y. 10003).

### 2. Periodicals:

The periodicals listed below are excellent sources of information on current concept of police administration and procedures. Many also contain advertisements from companies which sell weapons and other supplies to police agencies. Most of these periodicals are available in large public libraries, and in libraries which service police academies and schools.



FBI LAW ENFORCEMENT JOURNAL (sent free to law enforcement agencies and university libraries).

INDUSTRIAL SECURITY (American Society for Industrial Security, 404 NADA Building, Washington, D.C. 20006; \$6.00 per year).

JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW, CRIMINOLOGY & POLICE SCIENCE (Northwestern University School of Law, 357 E. Chicago Ave., Chicago, Ill.).

LAW & ORDER (72 West 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10036; \$4.00 per year).

MILITARY POLICE JOURNAL (Military Police Assn., Box 7500, Ft. Gordon, Ga. 30905; \$5.00 per year).

POLICE (Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 301-327 E. Lawrence Ave., Springfield, Ill. 62703; \$9.50 per year).

POLICE CHIEF (Int'l Assn. of Chiefs of Police, 1319 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; \$7.50 per year).

SECURITY WORLD (monthly), Security World Publishing Co., 2639 So. La Cienega, Los Angeles, Calif. 90034 (subscriptions \$8.00 per year to "qualified people in security work.")

### 3. Indexes and Bibliographies:

Articles on police science and criminology are indexed in EXCERPTA CRIMINOLOGICA and the INDEX TO LEGAL PUBLICATIONS, available in the reference sections of law libraries.

Books, reports and articles on police science, criminology, and related subjects are listed in the following bibliographies: INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY ON CRIME & DELINQUENCY (published by the Information Center on Crime and Delinquency of the National Institute of Mental Health); LAW ENFORCEMENT: A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY (Scarecrow Press, Metuchen, N.J., 1968); A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF POLICE ADMINISTRATION, PUBLIC SAFETY & CRIMINOLOGY TO JULY 1, 1965 (Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, Springfield, Ill., 1967); BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR RESEARCH IN POLICE SCIENCE (Erie County Technical Institute, Buffalo, N.Y.); A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS (School of Police Administration and Public Safety, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich., 1966; SUPPLEMENT issued 1967); the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (44 East 23rd St., N.Y., N.Y. 10010) will supply, upon request, an excellent SELECTED READING LIST ON DELINQUENCY AND CRIME.

### F. POLICE EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

Police schools and programs are identified in the LAW ENFORCEMENT EDUCATION DIRECTORY, published annually by the Int'l Assn. of Chiefs of Police and available upon request. Most standard directories of colleges and universities identify degree programs in police science and criminology.

Data on police education and training in the U.S. is compiled in EDUCATION, TRAINING & MANPOWER IN CORRECTIONS AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, published in 1966 in four volumes by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development of the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare. This agency also published EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE—A DIRECTORY OF PROGRAMS IN UNIVERSITIES (available for \$0.70 from the GPO).

Capitol Press (P.O. Box 68, Glendale, Md. 20769) sells a LAW ENFORCEMENT TRAINING MATERIALS DIRECTORY, listing books, manuals, movies, etc.

### G. SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, STRATEGY

Several sources are particularly useful for research on police science and technology, and on strategies for riot control, community surveillance, etc. These topics are frequently discussed in the police periodicals (POLICE, POLICE CHIEF, LAW AND ORDER), which should be scanned regularly for new information. The Task Force report on SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (\$1.25 from the GPO) provides an overview of current government thinking in this area.

The International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), publishes many reports and manuals of relevance to this subject. Of particular interest are: GUIDELINES FOR CIVIL DISORDER & MOBILIZATION PLANNING, by R. Dean Smith and Richard W. Kobetz (1968), and POLICE CHEMICAL AGENTS MANUAL, by Thompson Crockett (1970). These publications are available for sale from IACP (1319 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036) and are filed in libraries of colleges and universities which have programs in police science or criminology.

The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) distributes copies of reports prepared by contractors under the Omnibus Safe Streets Act of 1968 and predecessor legislation. These reports are available free to the public—write LEAA (633 Indiana Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20530) for the LEAA List of Publications. Of particular interest are: Grant No. 198, PROJECT SKY KNIGHT: A Demonstration in Aerial Surveillance and Crime Control; Grant No. 153, REPORTS, RECORDS AND COMMUNICATIONS IN THE BOSTON POLICE DEPARTMENT: A System Improvement Study; Grant No. 207, DETECTION OF POTENTIAL COMMUNITY VIOLENCE.

The Illinois Institute of Technology Research Institute (IITRI) maintains a Law Enforcement Science & Technology Center, which holds an Annual Symposium on Law Enforcement Science & Technology. The Symposium brings together most professionals in this field for discussions on "the state of the art." The Proceedings of the Symposium are an excellent source of information on current work in this field. LAW ENFORCEMENT SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY II (1968) can be purchased for \$10.00 from IITRI (P.O. Box 4963, Chicago, Ill. 60680); LAW ENFORCEMENT SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY I (1967) is available for \$35.00 from the Management Development Center (148 E. Lancaster Ave., Wayne, Pa. 19087). The third volume will be available from IITRI in the summer of 1970.

In the area of crowd and riot control, one book stands out as the basic manual on this subject: Col. Rex Applegate's RIOT CONTROL (Stackpole Books, Cameron & Kelker Streets, Harrisburg, Pa., 1969). Applegate's book, which can be purchased for \$10.00, contains detailed information on chemical munitions and spray devices, on riot formations, etc. Less detailed, but also valuable, is Army Field Manual FM 19-15, CIVIL DISTURBANCES AND DISASTERS (1968), available for \$1.00 from the GPO.



chapter 4:

# THE CHURCH/ THE HEALTH INDUSTRY





# The Church

Compiled by Maggie de Vries, Rick Edwards, and Ron Phillips.

Organized religion has long played, and continues to play, an important role in U.S. affairs, in an uncritical alliance with the dominant values and interests of the society. For three reasons, it is essential to comprehend the social function of the church.

(1) The church propagates an ideology which tends to shore up the established interests. Professional and lay businessmen sitting on important church boards are evidence of the interlocking control of religious institutions by benefactors who hold key positions in the power structure. Such control results in the churches' ideological support of secular values. It also creates a condition whereby the churches' styles of worship and variety of mission programs do not seriously challenge or undermine the established interests and values of society. The propagation of a system of justifications for the established order may appear where a congregation is exhorted to obey the established authorities as "ordained by God," to embrace the value of private ownership of property as a divinely granted right, or to contribute funds to a program which supports the status quo rather than to one which challenges its hypocrisies. In the 19th Century, religious leaders actively identified the American nation as the "New Jerusalem," the place where God hoped to establish his earthly kingdom. The ideology of "manifest destiny" was fully and repeatedly endorsed by the churches. In consequence, where there is a U.S. military base or a war, there are chaplains in uniform; where some part of the world is under American hegemony there is a missionary from the U.S.; in the impoverished ghettos of the mother country there are church-supported community centers. These are just a few of the outlets for propagation of the ideology which accommodates the dominant power structure of the society.

(2) The churches are also dedicated to their own institutional aggrandizement and property interests. American religious institutions have assets estimated at over 100 billion dollars. Where do massive amounts of money move in ecclesiastical channels? A sizeable portion represents stock investments which local churches or national agencies hold. These stock portfolios are reviewed by investment committees in the church bodies and managed by bank trust departments. Churches invest in all the well-known corporations covering the entire range of industrial production. They are thus linked to the profit-making enterprises in their national and international domains. The churches justify these holdings by claiming that their mission programs would die without the support coming from investment returns. Churches also invest in construction of buildings for worship centers and other church-related facilities, such as summer camps, retreat and conference centers, schools and universities, etc. Loan funds exist for such investments with earnings usually around the prime rate of interest. The churches' involvement with programs designed to deal with the injustices of the society further reveals their disposition toward self-interest. Funds are created for "economic development," housing projects, and the like, but the amounts are insubstantial in comparison with the resources and facilities the churches maintain for themselves. Moreover, religious agencies maintain control of decision-making or establish funding criteria for such programs which gear the size of contributions to the degree of control which can be exercised. At the same time, they advertise their social responsibility and relevance.

(3) A further reason why it is important to know how and where the churches function is the matter of strategy. The churches are vulnerable to criticism because they pose as the conscience and faith of the society. The churches are often more reactionary precisely because of their vulnerability in this respect. What is important is that the exposure of contradictions inherent in the churches' social role advances the exposure of the contradictions of the society as a whole. American University in Washington, D.C., for example, was founded by the Methodists in 1891. The university today can boast accreditation and prestige made possible through Methodist benevolences. Some Methodists, however, who sit on the board of directors of American University also are directors of CRESS (Center for Research in Social Systems), an agency which has held numerous important contracts with the Department of Defense for Third World counterinsurgency studies, stateside riot control, army handbooks on particular countries, and other projects related to the world-wide maintenance of U.S. hegemony. The interlocking relationship at American University testifies to the ideological orientation of the American churches.

A culture's religion is rooted in the history of that culture. The Christian religion especially is worldly—functioning according to the dominant interests of a society at any given time. The pattern of church operations suggested above contributes to the economic, political, and cultural oppression of human beings. Researching religious institutions therefore is of great importance in order to shed light on the contradictions they amplify in the society and its history. To expose the contradictions in a society's religion is a strategic beginning to a broader challenge of the values and institutions of the society.

## A. GENERAL REFERENCES

### 1. MASTER DIRECTORIES AND HANDBOOKS:

AMERICAN JEWISH YEARBOOK, edited by Morris Fine et. al., covers civic, political, communal, demographic, and international issues and events. Contains a directory of agencies and organizations; necrologies. Published by the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Publication Society of America. To obtain a copy, write the Jewish Publication Society, 347 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

ASSOCIATED CHURCH PRESS DIRECTORY. Lists 200 U.S. Protestant and Orthodox periodicals. Published biennially by the Associated Church Press, 875 North Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. 60610. Price, \$1.00.

AMERICAN SYNAGOGUE DIRECTORY. Covers 4,500 U.S. and Canadian congregations and social service agencies, 8,000 rabbis, synagogue presidents, and Jewish community leaders. Frenkel Mailing Service, 24 Rutgers St., New York, N.Y. 10002. Price, \$8.00.

CATHOLIC PRESS DIRECTORY. Lists 600 Catholic newspapers and magazines in the U.S., Canada and the West Indies, with name of executive to contact. Published annually in July by the Catholic Press Association of the U.S., 432 Park Ave. South, New York, N.Y. 10016. Price, \$5.00.

DIRECTORY OF NORTH AMERICAN PROTESTANT MINISTRIES OVERSEAS. Eighth edition in 1968, published by the Missionary Research Library, Inc., in cooperation with the Missions Advanced Research and Communications Center (MARCC). Based on the agencies' replies to written inquiries,



it lists countries in which they operate, some accounting of personnel and institutions maintained abroad. Financial data not structured for parallel analysis, however. Over 400 agencies listed. Copies may be obtained from Mrs. Mary Adamson, National Council of Churches, Department of Overseas Ministries, Room 678, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027. Telephone 212/870-2178. Price, \$2.50.

**DIRECTORY OF PROTESTANT CHURCH-RELATED HOSPITALS OUTSIDE EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA**, 1963. Describes each mission hospital, number of staff, statistics, means of support, what agency related to, and additional services offered (medical education, etc.). Published by Missionary Research Library, Inc. For copies write Mrs. Mary Adamson at address given in preceding paragraph. Price, \$3.00.

**ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MODERN CHRISTIAN MISSIONS**, 1967, edited by Dr. Burton Goddard and others. Gives historical background, description of work and personalities of the various agencies. Thomas Nelson & Sons, Publisher, Copewood and Davis Streets, Camden, N.J. 08103. Price, \$25.00.

**ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION**, 1945, by Vergilius Ferm. Dated but useful background and bibliographies about denominations, issues, theological matters. Littlefield, Adams & Company, 81 Adams Drive, Totowa, N.J. 07512. Price (paperback), \$3.45.

**HANDBOOK OF DENOMINATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES**, 1965, by Frank Spencer Meade, 4th edition. Brief histories and descriptions of some 250 American denominations, comparison of doctrines and forms of governance. Abingdon Press, 201 Eighth Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37202. Price, \$2.95.

**OFFICIAL CATHOLIC DIRECTORY**, annual, published in May, data as of January 1 for preceding year. Contains information on personnel, institutions, with statistics for all U.S. dioceses, including related schools, parishes, and religious orders. Lists every town with one resident priest or institution, and includes foreign missions of the U.S. church, as well as Cuba, Canada, Ireland, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Oceania, Bermuda, Mexico, and the Philippines. P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 12 Barclay St., New York, N.Y. 10007.

**OXFORD DICTIONARY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH**, edited by F.L. Cross, 1957. Includes bibliographical references, but only limited coverage of contemporary U.S. figures and issues, e.g. no articles on church-state conflict nor on church and taxation. Published by Oxford University Press, London and New York.

**YEARBOOK OF AMERICAN CHURCHES**, edited by Lauris B. Whitman. Published yearly by the National Council of Churches (NCC), 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027. Price, \$7.95. Contains basic data on the 35 member denominations of the NCC, including names of the executives of each church and of the NCC, with job descriptions and addresses. Membership statistics are better than those given by U.S. Bureau of the Census reports, and organized for easy comparison of denominations. Latest volume is No. 37, for 1969.

For a directory describing church mission activities abroad, see the volume entitled **U.S. NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS, VOLUNTARY AGENCIES, MISSIONS AND FOUNDATIONS PARTICIPATING IN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE ABROAD**, published in 1964 (with a 1965 supplement). This directory was produced by the Technical Assistance Information Clearing House of the American Council of

Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc., 44 East 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10010, under contract with AID.

To locate other potentially useful directories (e.g. **DIRECTORY OF AFFILIATED SYNAGOGUES AND INSTITUTIONS**, **DIRECTORY OF DIOCESAN AGENCIES OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES IN THE U.S. AND CANADA**, the **BOSTON CATHOLIC DIRECTORY**, etc.) consult listings under "Religion" in the **GUIDE TO AMERICAN DIRECTORIES**, edited by Bernard Klein and others, and published by McGraw-Hill. This guide is now in its 6th edition (1965), and describes itself as the place to find the major business directories of the U.S., "covering all Industrial, Professional, and Mercantile categories," including religion. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 330 West 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10036. Price, \$25.00. (Available in most library reference sections.)

## 2. BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND INDEXES:

**CATHOLIC PERIODICAL AND LITERATURE INDEX**, biennial since 1967-1968, when it replaced the **CATHOLIC PERIODICAL INDEX** and the **GUIDE TO CATHOLIC LITERATURE**. It is "... an annotated author-title-subject bibliography of books by Catholics and other authors of interest to Catholics, plus a cumulative author-subject index to a list of 123 Catholic periodicals." Published by the Catholic Library Association, 461 W. Lancaster Ave., Haverford, Pa. 19041.

**CHRISTIAN PERIODICAL INDEX**, an annual which was initiated in 1956, is a subject index to 28 journals of a fundamentalist protestant slant. Published by the Christian Libraries Fellowship, it is edited by Ruth G. Butler and others.

**GUIDE TO CATHOLIC LITERATURE**, mentioned above as defunct, was begun in 1888, and from 1940 until 1968 appeared quadrennially. Annotated international bibliography of books and pamphlets chiefly by Catholic authors on constitution, doctrine, discipline, liturgy, history and literature of the church.

**INDEX TO JEWISH PERIODICALS** is prepared annually by Miriam Leikind and others, contains an author-subject index to selected American and Anglo-Jewish journals of general and scholarly interest. Published by the College of Jewish Studies Press, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.

**INDEX TO RELIGIOUS PERIODICAL LITERATURE** is an author-subject index to 127 theological and religious journals and periodicals, U.S. and foreign, Catholic and Protestant. This is biennial and very useful, giving good coverage to U.S. church issues such as tax-exemption, schools, and revolution. Published by McCormick Theological Seminary Library, 800 West Belden Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, 60614.

**READER'S GUIDE TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE** is of course the standard reference of this type; it is a yearly with monthly supplements, and contains extensive references under "churches," specific denominations, or related issues, such as "taxation." Publisher is the H.W. Wilson Co., 950 University Avenue, Bronx, N.Y. 10452.

Also important as a reference in this area is the **STANDARD PERIODICAL DIRECTORY** which lists some 1600 journals, newspapers, and magazines under the heading of "Religious & Theological." These are all in the U.S. and Canada. Published by Oxbidge Publishing Co., Inc., 420 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017.



## 3. NEWS SERVICES

**ECUMENICAL PRESS SERVICE** is a good preliminary source on church affairs internationally; published weekly from Geneva headquarters under authority of the World Council of Churches and other world Christian agencies. Covers church activities by three classification systems: country, organization (agency or denomination), or substantive matter (e.g. economic development). An index is published semi-annually.

The **INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS** is prepared and published in London by the Commission of World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches. Contains area surveys, book reviews, and current events of church missions. Liberal. Can be obtained for \$4.00 a year from Philip Potter, International Review of Missions, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

**LATIN AMERICA PRESS** is published in Lima, Peru by the Marvknoll Fathers, and covers Latin American events from church perspective. Sometimes contains useful information. Different price for institutional and individual subscribers. Write to Apartado Aereo 5594, Lima, Peru.

**RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE** covers domestic and international news, and is the only daily interreligious news service in the world. Was founded in the 30's and is sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Not indexed. Has four staff writers and correspondents all over the world, and 800 client periodicals. The office at 43 West 57th St., New York, N.Y. 10019, telephone 212/688-7094, has a morgue and library open to the public.

## 4. SPECIALIZED LIBRARIES

There are many specialized libraries in the U.S. relating to church affairs. Some of them may be located through the following directories: **SUBJECT COLLECTIONS** is a guide to special book collections and subject emphases as reported by university, college, public and special libraries in the U.S. and Canada. Has listings on specific denominations and problem areas, e.g. missions. Third edition, 1967. Published by R.R. Bowker Co., 1180 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10036. Price, \$20.95. Edited by Ash and Lorenz.

**DIRECTORY OF SPECIAL LIBRARIES AND INFORMATION CENTERS**, edited by Anthony T. Kruzas, contains more limited listings on the church in the U.S. and Canada. Published in 1963 by the Gale Research Co., The Book Tower, Detroit 26, Michigan. Price, \$25.00.

Also important is the **DIRECTORY: SPECIAL LIBRARIES OF GREATER NEW YORK**, edited by George H. Ginader and others. It lists 35 religious libraries in the New York metropolitan area. Eleventh edition, 1967. Published by the Special Libraries Association, New York Chapter.

The radical researcher can usually assume that the following will have libraries relating to the church and occasionally revealing something of its social, political, and economic power:

- Every Seminary
- Colleges (particularly church-related ones)
- Large churches
- Area executive offices for denominations
- Denominational headquarters
- Offices of church agencies, for example, the National Council of Churches' Latin America Department, or the United Methodist Board of Education.

Morgue and library of Religious News Service (see above).

## 5. IMPORTANT CHURCH BODIES:

Also important as information sources are the major national and international groupings of churches, as well as a number of specialized institutes and agencies. Among the most important are the following:

**AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**, 165 E. 56th St., New York, N.Y. 10022, telephone 212/751-4000.

**CENTRO INTERCULTURAL DE DOCUMENTACION (CIDOC)**, Apartado 479, Cuernavaca, Mexico, telephone 2-45-90. CIDOC, founded by North American Catholic clergyman Ivan Illich, operates an expensive but useful documentation service on the church in Latin America.

**CHURCH WORLD SERVICE**, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027, telephone 212/870-2061.

**I-DOC**, Via S. Maria Dell' Anima 30, 00187 Rome, Italy, telephone 65.68.332. Originally a dependency of the Second Vatican Council, I-DOC now operates as an ecumenical clearing house for documents, books, research projects, dossiers, and symposia. Working in seven languages and thirty-two countries, the agency includes Protestant and Orthodox groups as well as Catholic.

**INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES**, 15 Park Row, New York, N.Y., telephone 212/349-0935. This is a grouping of fundamentalist and conservative religious bodies founded by Carl McIntire.

**NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS**, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, telephone 202/659-6600. This is the comprehensive national organization of the Catholic Church in the U.S.

**NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.**, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027, telephone 212/870-2200. This is a theologically and politically liberal grouping of 35 mainline black and white Protestant and Orthodox denominations in the U.S.A.

**WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, U.S. CONFERENCE**, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027, telephone 212/870-2533. This is the U.S. branch of the World Council of Churches which is based in Geneva, Switzerland. It represents mainline Protestant, Orthodox, and Anglican churches throughout the world.

## 6. SEMINARIES:

See the **DIRECTORY OF THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS**, a biennial publication last appearing in 1968; short listing for every accredited theological school in the U.S. and Canada, giving size of faculty and student body, courses offered, degrees offered, size of library, costs and admissions requirements. Edited by Aute L. Carr, and published by the accrediting agency itself, the American Association of Theological Schools, 534 Third National Building, Dayton, Ohio.

Other sources: Seminary catalogs will contain a brief history, usually some statement about finances, a list of endowed chairs and scholarships, names of the board of trustees, etc.

The fund-raising office (or "office of development") is the locus of some extremely important information, but appropriate cover usually must be maintained. Usually an older person who talks about having some money which he wants to leave the school can get answers to especially interesting questions.



Some seminary libraries catalogue old financial records. Researching these is a very valuable procedure, which can be initiated very quietly if you start asking about very old records, then work progressively closer to the present.

Occasionally, interesting B.D. theses have been done on seminaries, and particularly their histories. Check the library of the offending institution for these, and follow up their bibliographies.

## 7. WHO'S WHO'S:

There is a wealth of often untapped information contained in the great variety of ecclesiastical "Who's Who" publications. Such sources often provide the keys to interlocking relationships between Church and civic or economic institutions. The following list includes some of the most important ones.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC WHO'S WHO, published biennially by Walter Romig Publisher, 979 Lakepointe Road, Grosse Pointe, Michigan 48230. Latest edition is 1968-1969, volume 18. Contains biographies with geographical index and necrology.

BIOGRAPHICAL DIRECTORY OF NEGRO MINISTERS, by Ethel L. Williams, was published by the The Scarecrow Press, New York and London, in 1965. Contains biographies of black ministers.

BIOGRAPHICAL DIRECTORY OF PASTORS OF THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH, by Jensen, Giving, and Linder, published by the Augsburg Publishing House in Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1962. Price, \$10.00. Contains biographies and pictures of ALC ministers.

CLERICAL DIRECTORY OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, published every three years by The Church Hymnal Corporation for the Church Pension Fund. Last edition (1968) contains biographies of all American Episcopal ministers with pictures.

DICTIONARY OF CATHOLIC BIOGRAPHY, prepared by John J. Delaney and James Edward Tobin, and published by Doubleday and Co., Garden City, N.Y. Last edition, 1961. An international collection, including biographies of many saints of the Church. Contains 15,000 entries, none of living persons.

MISSIONARY BIOGRAPHY: AN INITIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY, published in 1965 by the Missionary Research Library, Inc., 3041 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10027. Price, \$2.00. Contains 2155 entries by 1300 different authors, editors, or compilers, in 151 pages.

WHO WAS WHO IN CHURCH HISTORY, by Elgin S. Moyer, was published by the Moody Press in Chicago, Ill., in 1962. Has biographies of 1700 Christians (none living) up through 1960.

WHO'S WHO IN THE METHODIST CHURCH, by editors of WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA, A.N. Marquis Co., and the Council of Secretaries of the Methodist Church; published by Abingdon Press, New York and Nashville, 1966. Contains biographies of Methodist ministers and laymen, but does not include the Evangelical United Brethren, part of the United Methodist Church since 1968.

WHO'S WHO IN THE PROTESTANT CLERGY, published by Nygaard Associates, Murray and Gee, Culver City, California, 1957, is a dated collection of biographical sketches of protestant ministers.

WHO'S WHO IN WORLD JEWRY, edited by Harry Schneidman and Itzhak J. Carmin. Published by Who's Who

in World Jewry, Inc., P.O. Box 209, White Plains, N.Y., in 1955. Although dated, this work includes a directory of over 700 Jewish organizations and institutions around the world.

Other sources for church-related biographical material are: individual churches for their ministers; church publishing houses for ministers who write books; newspaper morgues; national agency offices (e.g. a Board of Missions for someone who works for it); seminary alumni offices; other standard Who's Who references.

## 8. STATISTICS:

CHURCHES AND CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES. Published by the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., Bureau of Research and Survey, 1956-1958. Best available statistical survey on NCC's member denominations, but quite dated. The Bureau will try to be helpful if more up to date information is required. Write the NCC, Department of Research, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027, or call 212/870-2561.

PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN LATIN AMERICA: A STATISTICAL SURVEY, edited by Clyde W. Taylor and Wade T. Coggins, 1961. Published by the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association, 1405 G. Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005. It is dated and of sometimes doubtful validity, but it covers sects and institutions not elsewhere covered.

RELIGIOUS BODIES, U.S. Bureau of the Census. Published in 1906, 1916, 1926, and 1936; no full report since that year, but very complete data for the period covered.

Other sources: Many of the directories listed under item A above contain useful statistical data. See also POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS published every ten years by the Bureau of the Census, where abbreviated statistics on church membership may be found. In addition, almost all denominations have an office of Stewardship or Development (fund-raising) which has better statistics than any that are published; such offices are generally not helpful unless you can make your request for information plausible.

## 9. BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING:

Alfred Balk, THE RELIGION BUSINESS. Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1968. Price, \$3.00. Discusses impact on the national economy of the churches' tax-exempt status. Author exaggerates the business acumen of the religious establishment, but is probably fairly accurate about the scope of church holdings.

Edward Digby Baltzell, THE PROTESTANT ESTABLISHMENT: ARISTOCRACY AND CASTE IN AMERICA. New York: Random House Vintage, 1964. Price, \$1.95. Author describes the preeminently protestant corporate aristocracy and its exclusive world. Baltzell is a convinced adherent of the "aristocratic" system, but urges that it be opened to include minority groups.

Paul Blanshard, AMERICAN FREEDOM AND CATHOLIC POWER, revised edition. Boston: Beacon Press, 1958. Price, \$4.50. Discusses Catholic politics and power structure, basically still valid though dated by some developments since the Second Vatican Council.

Jerome Davis, "An Interlocking Control of Religion," Chapter XIX of CAPITALISM AND ITS CULTURE. New York: Farrar and Reinhart, Inc., 1935. See also by the same author BUSINESS AND THE CHURCH.



Leslie Dewart, *THE CHURCH AND REVOLUTION: THE LESSON OF CUBA*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1968. Price, \$5.50.

Martin A. Larson and C. Stanley Lowell, *THE CHURCHES: THEIR RICHES, REVENUES, AND IMMUNITIES*. Washington, D.C.: Robert B. Luce, Inc., 1969. Price, \$18.60. A carefully researched factual study of tax exemption and the growth of church property in 14 major U.S. cities — Buffalo, Washington, Baltimore, Denver, Richmond, Boston, Hartford, Providence, St. Louis, Portland, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, St. Paul, Minneapolis. Larson and Lowell analyze the sources of church wealth, whose total in this country they put at \$170 billion.

Martin A. Larson, *THE GREAT TAX FRAUD: HOW THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FAVORS THE RICH AND EXPLOITS THE POOR*. New York: Devin-Adair, 1968. Price, \$5.95. Discusses church tax exemptions, citing interesting examples.

Kenneth Scott Latourette, *THE HISTORY OF THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY*, seven volumes. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1937-1945. See especially volumes 4-7, which have extensive bibliography and notes relevant to fusion of missionary and imperial interests.

Gerhard Lensky, *THE RELIGIOUS FACTOR, A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF RELIGION'S IMPACT ON POLITICS, ECONOMICS, AND FAMILY LIFE*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1961. Lensky's work is an important contribution to a framework for understanding religion's role in American society.

Nino Lo Bello, *THE VATICAN EMPIRE*. New York: Trident Press, 1969. Price, \$4.95. New York *Times* reviewer Robert Doty accused author of inflating figures and exaggerating the extent of Vatican corruption to sustain his thesis that the Vatican rates among top economic powers in Italy and the world. The book is important in any case. Catholic church bodies are notoriously secretive about their financial affairs, rarely if ever publishing financial statements of any kind. Such studies as Lo Bello's thus require an almost paleontological reconstruction from poor data.

J. Lloyd Mecham, *CHURCH AND STATE IN LATIN AMERICA*, revised edition. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1969. Price, \$3.45.

Missions Advanced Research and Communications Center (Edward L. Gruman and Edward R. Dayton), pamphlets entitled *ANALYSIS OF MISSIONS RESEARCH* (1965), *USING THE SYSTEMS APPROACH FOR MISSIONS* (1967), *A STATEWIDE SALARY SURVEY OF CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATIONS* (1968), *THE CHURCH AND THE COMPUTER* (1968). The Center, known also as MARCC, is somewhere described as a "pioneer in the application of business and science technology to the task of the church." Write for information and publications to MARCC, 919 West Huntington Drive, Monrovia, Calif.,

H. Richard Niebuhr, *THE KINGDOM OF GOD IN AMERICA*. New York: Harper and Row Torchbook. Price, \$1.60. By the same author, *THE SOCIAL SOURCES OF DENOMINATIONALISM*. Magnolia, Mass.: Peter Smith, Publisher. Price, \$4.25.

J.W. Pratt, *EXPANSIONISTS OF 1898: THE ACQUISITION OF HAWAII AND THE SPANISH ISLANDS*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964. Discusses the missionary and religious factors in commercial and political expansion. Price, \$2.45.

John H. Sinclair, *PROTESTANTISM IN LATIN AMERICA: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE*. Austin, Texas: Hispanic-American Institute, 1967. An annotated bibliography of 2,000 references in English, Spanish, and Portuguese. Includes a general bibliography on protestantism. May be obtained from the Hispanic-American Institute, 100 East 27th St., Austin, Texas 78705. Prices, \$2.00 rustic, \$2.50 hard cover.

Richard H. Tawney, *RELIGION AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM*. Magnolia, Mass.: Peter Smith, Publisher. Price, \$4.25. Also published in Mentor paperback, \$0.95.

Adrian Tigotte, *VATICAN VERSUS MANKIND* (pamphlet). London: Pioneer Press. Write Pioneer Press, 103 Borough High St., London, S.E. 1.

P. Varg, *MISSIONARIES, CHINESE, AND DIPLOMATS; THE AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARY MOVEMENT IN CHINA, 1890-1952*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958. A historical case study from a pro-church point of view. Provocative, shows interweaving of religion and private and governmental American interests.

Max Weber, *THE PROTESTANT ETHIC AND THE SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM*, translated by Talcott Parsons. New York: Scribner, 1958. A classic of the social sciences. Paperback price, \$1.45.

J. Milton Yinger, *RELIGION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER: A STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1946.

Another important resource which bears investigation are the reports of the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Small Business, Wright Patman, Chairman. The committee has held hearings on the tax status of foundations, and has touched on the churches at a number of points. These reports may be obtained from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, or by writing the committee staff.

## B. STUDYING AN INDIVIDUAL DENOMINATION

Religious institutions in the United States are not uniform. There are some 350 different denominations in American Protestantism, to say nothing of the Roman Catholic Church and the various groupings of the Jewish faith. It would be impossible to provide guidelines for the study of each of these institutions. It is however, feasible to provide a model of what sort of structures and resources one might expect in any one denomination. Therefore the following guide to researching the United Methodist Church, the United States' largest Protestant denomination, should be seen as suggestive of an approach to the other principal protestant churches, which do differ, however, in many respects from the Methodist structure.

### 1. GENERAL SOURCES:

*GENERAL MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL CONFERENCES*. Published yearly by the Section of Records and Statistics, United Methodist Church, 1200 Davis St., Evanston, Illinois 60201, for 182 consecutive years, this volume contains basic statistical records for the United Methodist Church. The *MINUTES* record facts and statistics such as names of local churches, pastors, membership, church school attendance, value of church physical plants, parsonages, equipment and other holdings. Recapitulation tables are given for each annual



conference (primary unit of United Methodist organization), jurisdiction (regional grouping of conferences) and for the General Conference, which represents the whole body of American Methodism. In addition there are maps, names and addresses of officers, and lists of military chaplains and missionaries.

**UNITED METHODIST DIRECTORY** consists of names and addresses of bishops, officers, and members of boards, agencies, commissions and committees of the denomination. Also included are staff members of each board and agency, church publications, annual conference or area papers and bulletins, and interdenominational agencies on which United Methodists serve. This directory, which is indexed by name and by organization, should be of great value as you attempt to familiarize yourself with United Methodist structures and personnel. The latest issue was in 1969, produced by the General Board of Publications of the denomination.

**QUADRENNIAL REPORTS.** Published every four years, this volume contains the reports of various boards, councils, commissions, and committees to the General Conference which meets at four-year intervals. These interpretive reports provide data necessary to describe the organization, resources and mission of a particular agency. These compilations of relevant names, projects, figures, activities, and practices of the denomination are an invaluable introduction to various aspects of church operations. Last issue was 1968, issued under the authority of the Commission on Entertainment, The Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, Tenn.

**GENERAL CONFERENCE JOURNALS.** Also valuable for historical reference, these volumes contain the resolutions, policies, and other actions approved by the quadrennial General Conference.

**DAILY CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE.** Published every four years during General Conference, this news publication follows the events and proceedings of the meeting. It carries the full text of plenary sessions and important secondary meetings as well as statements, resolutions and actions of all scheduled meetings of the Conference. It is a good source for obtaining information in discussions and debates over lively issues (including their own administrative and business practices, such as employment policies of the Methodist Publishing House), personalities, and the general interests of the United Methodist Church.

**THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE.** This weekly official journal of the United Methodist Church, published by the Methodist Publishing House in Nashville, Tennessee, is a good indicator of what items and issues are of interest to the church constituency it serves, as well as an important source for historical research.

**ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL ON WORLD SERVICE AND FINANCE.** This council and the funds it administers (e.g. the World Service Fund) are major sources for the financing of national church structures. The Council receives dollars contributed in local churches and annual conferences (as their primary "benevolent" responsibility) and disburses them to meet the minimum needs of the denomination's general agencies. Included in the report are officer and committee lists, securities and trusts administered by the Council, statistics on receipts and disbursements for each fund (e.g. World Service, One Great Hour of Sharing, Advance Specials), and recapitulation tables where one can quickly learn how much money moves through church structures and where. A variety of other types of information is provided, such as bishops' salaries, for example. Published by the

Council on World Service and Finance, 1200 Davis Street, Evanston, Illinois, 60201, R. Bryan Brawman, General Secretary and Treasurer.

**THE BOOK OF DISCIPLINE.** Updated and published every four years following General Conference meetings. This basic law book of the United Methodist Church sets forth regulations governing structures and administrative procedures of the denomination's boards, agencies, local churches, clergy, annual conferences, and property. It also presents the official theology, social creed, and other articles of faith and mission of the United Methodist Church. The DISCIPLINE is important to determine the lines of authority, areas of responsibility and overall structure of the denomination, which is complex and sophisticated. Lines of interdependence and autonomy reflect efforts to reserve rights to a higher or central authority only when necessary.

**WHO'S WHO IN THE METHODIST CHURCH** has been mentioned above. This reference work provides background, achievements, and affiliations of prominent Methodists; such biographical sketches can often be checked against other Who's Who volumes. Treated in this volume are ministers as well as lay Methodists prominent in government, scholarship, the professions, philanthropy, and leading Methodists outside the U.S.A. Other, earlier volumes which may prove useful are **THE METHODIST WHO'S WHO** (1913), **WHO'S WHO IN AMERICAN METHODISM** (1916), **WHO'S WHO IN METHODISM** (1933), **WHO'S WHO IN PAN-METHODISM** (1940-1941), **WHO'S WHO IN METHODISM** (1952), and **PROMINENT PERSONALITIES IN AMERICAN METHODISM** (1945). It may be necessary also to consult the various editions of **WHO'S WHO IN AMERICAN WOMEN** (latest was the third edition, 1964-1965).

**MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL OF BISHOPS.** The bishops are responsible for setting the goals of the United Methodist Church. The Council of Bishops meets annually, recording its proceedings in the MINUTES, which should be carefully scrutinized. They are not public, however, and it may be a neat trick to get to see them.

## 2. LOCAL AND CONFERENCE LEVEL SOURCES:

Researching the church at the conference and local levels is quite important in order to describe the thrust of church programs and the character of its leadership, in particular areas, where the grass-roots strength is found. The following information sources are the most import in this undertaking:

**ANNUAL CONFERENCE JOURNAL AND YEAR-BOOK.** Such journals, published by each and every annual conference of the denomination, are a useful starting point for research. Usually information in them consists of the name of the presiding bishop, other officers, secretary, district superintendents (who supervise a number of local churches grouped together in districts, of which an annual conference will contain several), ministers, the various conference boards, agencies, committees and members, and their respective reports. The conference treasurer reports assets, income, and expenditures with financial statements from each of the districts. Usually also the investment portfolios of the unit's various funds and endowments are noted, showing amount and kind of stock, where invested, market and book values, and per cent return.

**CONFERENCE MINUTES** may be consulted for more complete information on a particular item.



The person who has the most extensive knowledge of what's going on in any district and its local churches is the DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT (D.S.). He is the bishop's aide, a member of the bishop's cabinet, and represents the bishop in supervising the affairs of the various local churches. Once initial research has been completed, materials from the D.S.'s office and personal interviews will be necessary.

There are many Methodist-founded and -supported educational institutions in this country and all over the world, usually under the sponsorship of an annual conference. The United Methodist Church's Board of Education operates in an advisory capacity to the educational institutions, counselling them regarding curriculum, but offering no significant dollar assistance. To research a college you must begin with the annual conference which sponsors it. This datum may be obtained by consulting the ANNUAL YEARBOOK OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION which provides a state by state breakdown of Methodist institutions as well as a chart with all United Methodist-related educational institutions reporting endowments, worth of buildings and property, etc.

Studying the local church. The responsible agency at the local congregation level is the Administrative Board. It is divided into sections, such as the Committee on Finance which regulates the budget, and the Board of Trustees which is responsible for the property. While the Administrative Board meets monthly, the Charge Conference is the annual occasion on which the board brings matters concerning the operation of the church before the congregation for discussion and vote. Reports made in such meetings are probably accessible in one form or another.

If you are unable to obtain information through church members or officers regarding property holdings, alternative methods can be pursued. For local church land holdings, check the local Tax Assessor's plot records and maps; sometimes the names of tax-exempt (church) landholders are on the plot anyway. When such plots are not designated as to owner, it is usually fairly easy to find out which are public (parks and schools), the remaining ones then can be assumed to be held by various churches. Learning to whom they do belong requires a title search, for which it would be good to enlist the cooperation of a law student.

Generally local church budgets (although not financial records) are available to members of the congregation. Discrepancies between giving and income show how much comes from investments. Usually during the year in which a church received a sizable gift of stock, it will be noted on the budget. For older congregations the search must go back at least to 1900 to obtain any idea of the size of the church's portfolio. In many cases mismanagement has resulted in the loss of money, and some budgets are in such a mess that no sense can be made out of them. Inside help makes this job a good deal easier.

### 3. NATIONAL AGENCY SOURCES:

There are several influential national boards and agencies of the United Methodist Church. A shining example is the Board of Missions, which is responsible for all overseas and some domestic operations of the denomination. All national boards and agencies issue annual journals and yearbooks. But one may obtain initial orientation by consulting the QUADRENNIAL REPORTS mentioned above.

ANNUAL JOURNALS and YEARBOOKS include reports from the annual meetings of boards and agencies,

which are a fertile source; also included are all executive officers, staff, managers and directors, committees and committee members. Reports from divisions, committees and research projects are included. Financial statements, a report from the treasurer, income and expenditures, and general budget allocations are outlined. Favorite projects are highlighted. One should note any national Investment Funds administered.

Publications of national boards are important. Among these are weekly journals, promotional and educational literature, booklets listing projects, papers, and reports.

The major boards of the United Methodist Church to which the above suggestions are applicable are the following: BOARD OF MISSIONS, BOARD OF PUBLICATIONS, BOARD OF EDUCATION, BOARD OF PENSIONS, BOARD OF HOSPITALS AND HOMES, and the COMMISSION ON CHAPLAINS.

### 4. OTHER SOURCES:

A good portion of records on the denomination's activities is published or available on request. Agencies, committees, boards and the like on a local, national or international level should be able to provide information through such channels as the following:

**BUDGETS AND APPROPRIATIONS.** Allocations for specific projects and expenditures are usually available either separately or as part of a TREASURER'S REPORT. These reports should be reviewed before requesting the most recent budgetary or financial statement (which can often be an IBM read-out docket or similar forms).

**MINUTES AND FILES.** These are information sources to which access may often be obtained through friendly staff, executives or committee personnel. Names, agencies, and concerns are noted in minutes which, though often sketchy, can be filled out by reviewing minutes of staff preparations before general committee meetings and also by considering what actions were taken subsequent to directives noted in the minutes. Files on a particular project, area, or program, are usually fairly complete from the beginning up to the stage at which you decide to look into it.

**PAPERS AND REPORTS.** Church agencies issue reports within their own department on which discussion and policy decisions may be based. Sometimes there is a research and survey department whose reports can be quite informative.

**PROPERTY TRANSACTIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION.** Getting concrete information on church assets from the local to the international levels is tedious indeed. One can look for corporations, foundations, investment funds, portfolios, trusts, securities, annuities, etc., on all levels. There are boards of trustees responsible for the financial interests of the church on the local, district, annual conference, general conference, board, and institutional (colleges and seminaries) levels. The appropriate journal must be consulted for names, initial statements on finances, etc. The minutes and reports of the investment committee of boards and agencies should be consulted regarding receipt and sale of property. Transactions of church extension departments should likewise be reviewed.

**INTERVIEWS** are a most important technique of information gathering. Those persons in lower-ranking positions are less aware of what they serve, but are usually willing to share all they know. As you get closer to the top, however, there is more awareness of role and of the value of information. An



information base must therefore be built before interviewing executives or key staff people.

### C. DEVELOPMENT OF METHODOLOGY

The formation of the NACLA Research Methodology Guide in all areas is a continuing process. The foregoing material is the result of trial and error experimentation by persons actually involved in research on religious institutions

in the United States. It is offered in the hopes that others will find a relevant and useful guide to further work. We welcome any and all suggestions for the improvement and expansion of the methodology for church research. Especially important is the development of a research model for the Roman Catholic Church, whose procedures are obscured by secrecy and simply poor management practices far more than those of the major Protestant denominations. Please share your experience with us.

# The Health Industry

Compiled by Health Policy Advisory Committee (HEALTH-PAC)

## A. TYPES OF HEALTH INSTITUTIONS

The researcher of the health industry will be dealing primarily with six types of institutions:

1. Hospitals, nursing homes and medical schools. These may be governmentally operated, "voluntary" (non-profit), or "proprietary" (profit-making).
2. Local associations and unions, such as state, county or city medical societies, nurses associations, hospital associations, unions representing hospital workers (these include: local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers Union; Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Workers Union; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Building Service Employees Union; and the Teamsters). In some areas the Nurses Association also acts essentially as a union.
3. Insurance and financing organizations. These include Blue Cross, commercial companies such as Aetna, local prepaid group practice organizations such as Kaiser and HIP, etc.
4. Philanthropic organizations. In the larger cities hospitals often raise money together through a United Hospital Fund or similar fund drive; local Community Chests may also serve this function. Also under this heading are local Catholic Charities, Jewish Philanthropies, etc.
5. Planning agencies. Local and federal laws provide for regional planning agencies with greater or lesser degrees of power. These may be part of the State Department of Health, but are more frequently set up as an independent Health and Hospital Planning Council (or similar name). For a start, inquire at the Hill-Burton agency, the agency that administers Hill-Burton (federal) funds for hospital construction or for the agency set up under the federal Comprehensive Health Planning Act.
6. Governmental Agencies. City and state departments of health, social welfare, or hospitals.

The institutions listed above are interconnected in various patterns. Two types to be on the lookout for are:

1. "Empires". A major hospital or medical school may have a series of formal and informal connections to a wide variety of other hospitals, clinics, community health centers, etc., forming an "empire" which essentially controls delivery of health services, funding of health institutions, etc. in a given area.
2. Areawide Combines. Major local voluntary hospitals, the local Blue Cross, the philanthropies, and the local

comprehensive planning agencies are likely to have interlocking directorates and policies.

## B. THE PROFIT-MAKING SECTOR OF THE HEALTH INDUSTRY

### 1. The Drug Industry:

#### a. General References:

- Morton Mintz, *By Prescription Only*  
Estes Kefauver, *In a Few Hands, Monopoly Power in America*  
U.S. Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare (HEW), *2nd Interim Report of Task Force on Prescription Drugs*, and background papers: *The Drug Makers and the Drug Distributors*; *The Drug Prescribers*; and *The Drug Users*.  
U.S. Senate, Subcommittee of Antitrust and Monopoly of the Committee on the Judiciary, *Report on Administered Prices of Drugs, 1961* (The Kefauver Report) and *Competitive Problems in the Drug Industry, 1967 et. seq.* (the Nelson Committee Reports).

#### b. Trade Associations:

Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, 1155 15th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005

#### c. Trade Journals (primarily oriented towards the pharmacist but worth checking):

- Drug Topics*, 330 West 34th St. N.Y., N.Y. 10001  
*American Druggist*, 224 West 57th St., N.Y. N.Y. 10019  
*Weekly Pharmacy Reports*, 1152 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20004  
*Drug Research Reports*, same as above  
*Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association Newsletter*, 1155 15th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.  
*Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association Commentaries*, same as above

### 2. The Financing Sector:

Financing is done by the Government—Medicaid and Medicare—by private companies, such as Aetna and Equitable Life, and by the non-profit Blue Cross and Blue Shield. The latter are largely an instrument of the hospitals.

Blue Cross and private companies are regulated by the state governments. Rate increases for Blue Cross generally require public hearings, the records of which the public may



acquire. Other financial information may be on file with the state insurance or health departments.

#### a. General References:

H & A Somers, *Doctors, Patients and Health Insurance*, 1962, and *Medicare and the Hospitals*, 1967  
Health Insurance Institute (see below), *Sourcebook of Health Insurance Data* (annual).  
Eugene Feingold, *Medicaid: Policy and Politics*, 1968  
L. Reed, "Private Health Insurance in the U.S.," *Social Security Bulletin*, Feb. 1969  
*Health PAC Bulletin*, June and Sept. 1969

#### b. Trade Associations:

Blue Cross Association, 840 N. Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois, 60611  
Health Insurance Institute, 227 Park Ave., NY, NY 10017  
Group Health Association of America, 1321 14th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20005  
Local Blue Cross and other local health insurance plans

#### 3. Hospital Supplies

The hospital journals have frequent articles and lists of new products. Also worth checking are aerospace and electronics corporation news sources since both these sectors are moving into hospital supplies.

#### a. General References:

*Electronics for Hospital Patient Care*, U.S. Government Printing Office  
*Technology and Manpower in the Health Service Industry*, U.S. Government Printing Office.

#### 4. Hospitals and Nursing Homes for Profit

Watch out for the growth of chains of profit-making hospitals and nursing homes.

#### a. General References:

*Modern Hospital* articles, March 1969  
*Barron's* articles, Feb. 10 and 24, 1969

### C. OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### 1. General Background Reading:

Roul Tunley, *The American Health Scandal*  
*Milbank Quarterly*, Jan. 1968, Part 2, "Dimensions and Determinants of Health Policy"  
National Commission on Community Health Services, *Health is a Community Affair*  
U.S. Dept. of Labor, *Technology and Manpower in the Health Services Industry*  
U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, *Education in the Allied Health Professions*  
W.F. Berry and J.C. Daugherty, "A Closer Look at Rising Medical Costs," *Monthly Labor Review*, Nov. 1, 1968  
*Health Care in America*, Parts I and II, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization of the Committee on Government Operations, U.S. Senate, 90th Congress, 2nd Session. These April 1968 hearings cover a wide range of topics and have good data.  
*Fortune*, January 1970, several articles on "Our Ailing

Medical System" give the corporate liberal point of view.

#### 2. Radical Perspectives:

The *Health PAC Bulletin* (see below for address and rates) covers the health scene from a radical perspective. Several issues are of particular interest to health researchers:

Medical "Empires," Dec. 1968 and April 1969  
Medicaid, June 1969  
Community Health Insurance Centers, May 1969  
"Comprehensive Health Planning," July-Aug. 1969  
Blue Cross, Sept. 1969  
Medical Industrial Complex (the profit-making sector of the medical world), Nov. 1969  
National Health Insurance and Hospital Costs, Jan. 1970  
"Power Structure of a Medical Center," *AIM Newsletter*, March 1969 (AIM, 241 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 06510)

#### 3. Directories and Indexes:

*Who's Who in American Medicine*  
*Hospital Literature Index*, (quarterly) also gives the address of journals covered.

#### 4. Periodicals:

*Hospitals*, (biweekly), 840 N. Lakeshore Dr., Chicago, Illinois, 60611. The journal of the American Hospital Association. Contains monthly statistics and articles on hospital-related topics. The annual August 1 "guide" issue contains extensive statistics on individual hospitals as well as the hospital system.  
*Hospital Topics* (monthly), 2737 W. Peterson Ave., Chicago, Illinois, 60645  
*Hospital Progress* (monthly), journal of the Catholic Hospital Association, 1438 S. Grand Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63104  
*Modern Hospital* (monthly) 1050 Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Ill. 60654  
*Modern Nursing Home*, (monthly), same as above.  
*Nursing Homes*, 4015 West 56th St., Minneapolis, Minn. 55435  
*American Medical News* (an AMA weekly) 535 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. 60610. This and the following two references contain technical, legislative and conference news, features, etc.  
*Medical Tribune* (twice weekly) 120 E. 56th St., NY, NY 10022.  
*Medical World News* (weekly) 299 Park Ave., NY, NY 10017  
*American Public Health Association Washington Newsletter* (a \$40/year weekly) 1740 Broadway, N.Y. N.Y. This and the following two references contain up-to-date legislative information and discussion of policy directions.  
*Washington Report on Medicine and Health* (a \$60/year weekly), National Press Building, Washington D.C. 20004  
*UAW Washington Report*, available from United Auto Workers' Washington office, 1126 16th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.  
*Health PAC Bulletin* (monthly, \$5/year for students, 50¢



for single issues), 17 Murray Street, NY, NY 10007. A radical publication on health issues.

#### 5. Libraries and Trade Associations:

Local Blue Cross, Areawide Health and Hospital Planning Council, or philanthropic organizations may have specialized libraries containing general material as well as detailed local statistical and financial material.

American Medical Association, 535 N. Dearborn, Chicago, Ill. 60610

American Dental Association, 211 E. Chicago Ave., Chicago, Ill.

American Hospital Association, 850 N. Lake Shore Dr., Chicago, Ill. 60611. Represents the voluntary hospitals and is more liberal on medical care and social issues.

American Nurses Association, 10 Columbus Circle, NY, NY 10019

Blue Cross Association, 840 N. Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill. 60611. The combine of all local Blue Cross plans.

#### 6. On State and Local Legislation & Policy:

State departments of Health, Labor and Social Welfare  
Local Health Departments

State or local AFL-CIO

Local Community Chest or other philanthropic organizations

State legislature committees on health

#### 7. For National Statistics (additional sources):

a. On manpower: *Technology and Manpower in the Health Services Industry*, *Education in the Allied Health Professions*, *Health Manpower Sourcebook* (annual), and *Health Manpower, 1966-67*. All the above are available from the U.S. Government Printing Office.

b. On utilization and financing: *Medical Care Financing and Utilization*, and (*ditto*), *Revisions*, U.S. Govt. Printing Office. Also see reference below.

c. On costs: *National Health Expenditures*, *Social Security Bulletin*, every January. A one year sub to the *Social Security Bulletin* cost \$4 via the U.S. Govt. Printing Office or the Social Security Administration.

#### 8. Radical Health Organizations:

Student Health Organization, 970 E. 58th St., Chicago, Ill.

Medical Committee for Human Rights, 1520 Naudain St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19146

Health PAC, 17 Murray St., NY, NY 10007





**notes:**



chapter 5:

# IMPERIALISM & THE THIRD WORLD





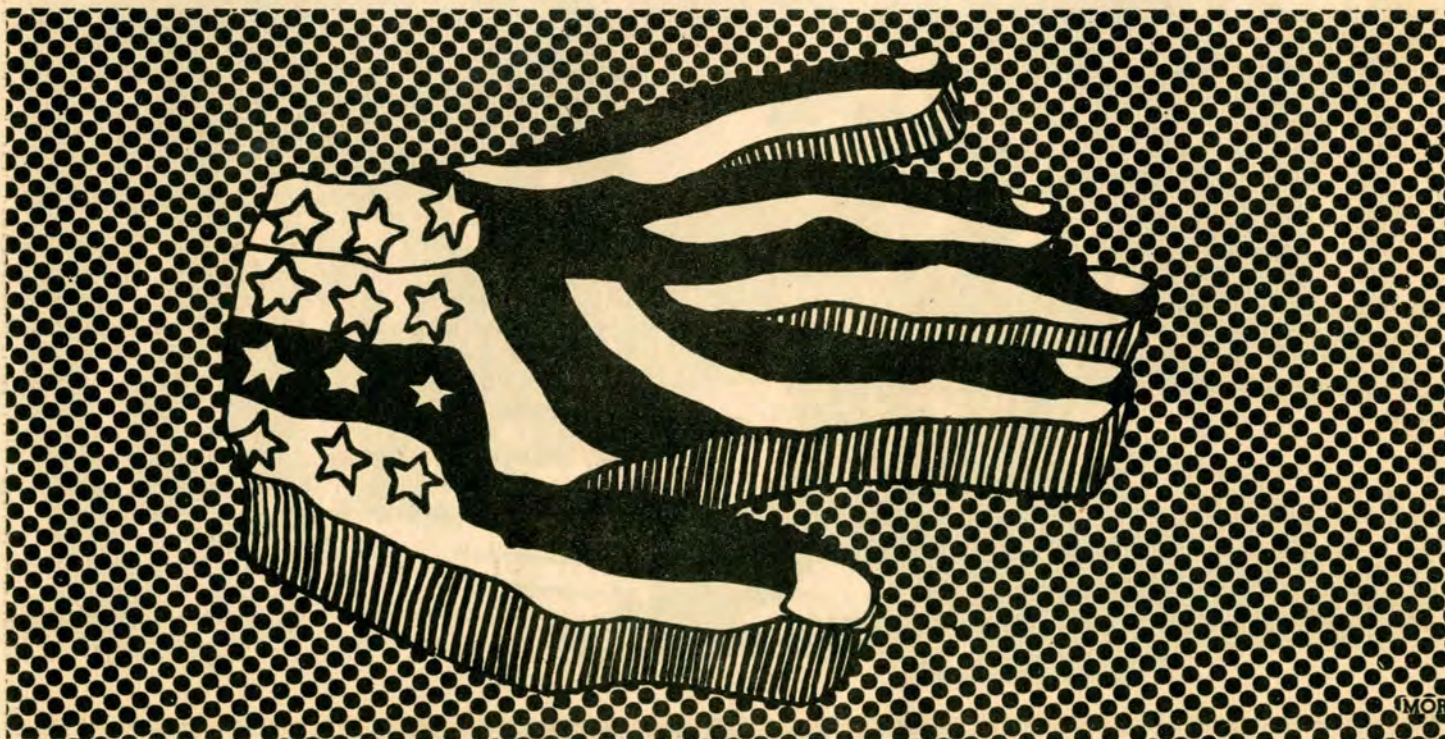
# Imperialism & The Third World

## —Researching Underdeveloped Countries

Compiled by the Africa Research Group

### CONTENTS:

A. GENERAL STATISTICAL INFORMATION .....	55
B. YEARBOOKS AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS .....	56
C. IN-COUNTRY SOURCES .....	56
D. FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES .....	57
E. BANKING AND FINANCE .....	59
F. BILATERAL LOANS AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE .....	60
G. MULTILATERAL LOANS AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE .....	61
H. U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE .....	63
I. NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES .....	64
J. THE FOREIGN MILITARY, U.S. MILITARY AID, ARMS SALES .....	65
K. WHO'S WHO'S .....	66
L. FOREIGN AFFAIRS RESEARCH IN THE U.S. ....	66
M. FOREIGN PERIODICALS .....	68
N. PUBLICATIONS OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA .....	68
O. RADICAL RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS, PERIODICALS AND STUDIES .....	68





*"Facts mean all things which exist objectively; truth means their inner connections, that is, the laws governing them."*

—Mao

## INTRODUCTION

Research on any country generally begins in the card files on the country in the library. There one quickly learns that the cards are stacked against anyone trying to connect the facts. That is, everything is carefully classified in such a way that each country resembles a segregated society where certain kinds of facts are not allowed to mingle with others. It is our job to integrate information about current events and social conditions with an understanding of the economic power that, in large part, determines those events and conditions.

The first priority in putting together a coherent country analysis is to determine which facts are missing from the files. The sources listed below should help to fill the major gaps, though in most cases they only help to identify the tip of the iceberg. Identification of the missing links is often the most difficult phase of country research because of the sea of irrelevant facts one must wade through. There is, however, one fairly simple rule of thumb which will compensate for the fundamental bias running through every capitalist card file. That rule is based on the fact that most Third World countries have been dominated by relatively few companies throughout their history. During the mercantilist period (from 1500 to 1800), the world was plundered by the great chartered companies. Today, the same areas are dominated by relatively few giant corporations, mostly with headquarters in New York. The country study, therefore, should begin with an analysis of the companies which hold dominant positions in the national economy.

The company approach is an essential tool for combating the numbers game played by the economists. Their data is usually presented in aggregate figures, which is their way of protecting the "privacy" (i.e., inaccessibility) of the corporations. One must not be mesmerized by statistics even though many of the volumes cited in this guide are statistical sources. The total amount of foreign investment in a country is less significant nowadays than the actual organization of the country market by a specific company or companies. The highest priority should be placed on analysis of the strategy and structure of the firms themselves. This provides the key to understanding the logic of all the other "institution building" being undertaken by satellite agencies ranging from the Ford Foundation to the local TV stations.

The company approach to country research provides an essential sense of reality to the fight for revolutionary change by focusing on real economic power as opposed to statistical abstracts about exports and imports, GNP, major resources, new industry and the like. Such an analysis also provides a concrete perspective for overcoming capitalist corporate power. Not only is this emphasis important in maximizing the

involvement of the researcher and minimizing his or her tendency to become simply an intellectual tourist, but the documented information itself is crucial to those struggling against U.S. penetration and control in the country being studied.

## A. GENERAL STATISTICAL INFORMATION

The most readily accessible sources of general statistical information on countries are the following publications available in most libraries or through the Sales Section, United Nations, New York, N.Y. 10017.

1. STATISTICAL YEAR BOOK, UN Statistical Office, New York (annual since 1949). Comprehensive annual world survey with current and comparative statistics by country on population, manpower, production (by industry sectors), trade, balance of payments, wages and prices, national income and social statistics.
2. DEMOGRAPHIC YEAR BOOK, UN Statistical Office, New York (annual since 1949). Data on natality, mortality, life expectation, nuptiality, divorce, and international migration and travel.
3. YEARBOOK OF LABOUR STATISTICS, International Labor Office, Geneva (annual since 1936). Covers employment, hours of work, wages, consumer price indices, industrial accidents, industrial disputes, etc.; valuable for comparative historical data during past fifty years.
4. YEARBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE STATISTICS, UN Statistical Office, New York (annual since 1950). Statistical tables on each country with historical summary of exports and imports since 1930; imports and exports by commodity for the last four years and pattern of trade with principal countries.
5. STATISTICAL YEARBOOK OF UNESCO, Office of Statistics, UNESCO, Paris (annual). Covers such subjects as literacy, education, culture and mass media; annex shows amount contributed to UNESCO by member countries.

The above statistical sources are supplemented by the following UN publications:

6. WORLD ECONOMIC SURVEY, UN Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs, New York (annual since 1948). Comprehensive review and analysis of world economic trends and conditions; since 1955 each survey has included a study of some particular problem in the field of economic development. The Survey is supplemented by the following regional surveys: ECONOMIC SURVEY FOR LATIN AMERICA, Economic Commission for Latin America, Santiago, Chile (annual); ECONOMIC SURVEY OF AFRICA, Economic Commission for Africa, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (irregularly); ECONOMIC SURVEY OF ASIA AND THE FAR EAST, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, Bangkok, Thailand (annual since 1948). The surveys are valuable



sources of comparative data on countries and analysis of trends. The regional surveys are supplemented by the bi-annual Economic Bulletin for Africa, the quarterly Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East and the bi-annual Economic Bulletin for Latin America.

Basic statistical information on international monetary indicators can be obtained from the following publications of the International Monetary Fund (IMF):

7. **BALANCE OF PAYMENTS YEARBOOK**, International Monetary Fund, Washington, D.C. (annual since 1948). Comparative and analytical data on balance of payments of member countries; looseleaf service updates information for each country.
8. **INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL STATISTICS**, International Monetary Fund, Washington, D.C. (monthly). Country by country statistics on a wide range of economic indicators.

There are worldwide directories for each major industry sector which provide useful aggregate data. Samples:

9. **PETROLEUM FACTS AND FIGURES: 1967**, American Petroleum Institute, 1271 Ave. of Americas, New York, N.Y., 10020. Contains complete aggregate statistics on many aspects of the petroleum industry both at home and abroad; some information provided on a country basis (refining capacity, price of gasoline, crude oil reserves, etc.); does not contain information on specific firms.

Each country normally has its own statistical services provided by a central bureau of statistics or through various ministries. The primary source of statistical information about a country is the latest census conducted by the government of the country itself. Census data and local government statistics are often difficult to work with because of their completeness. Where available they should be consulted at later stages of research when the researcher knows what he is looking for. Samples of these sources include:

- BOLETIN ESTADISTICO (monthly), Banco Central del Paraguay, Asuncion, Paraguay.
- BOLETIN ESTATISTICO (quarterly), Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
- BULLETIN OF STATISTICS (quarterly), National Statistical Office, Bangkok, Thailand.

## B. YEARBOOKS AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS

- THE STATESMAN'S YEARBOOK, 1969-70, ed. by S.H. Steinberg and John Paxton, Macmillan, London (annual). A one-volume encyclopedia of all nations with capsule information on political institutions, economic activities, etc.; contains useful statistical and historical data.
- THE EUROPA YEARBOOK, Europa Publications Ltd., London, 1969. (Annual). Two volume survey and directory providing basic information on all countries, including details of the constitution, government, political parties, legal systems, religions, media, universities and sectors of the economy; Vol. I gives detailed descriptions of all

international organizations. See also the more specialized regional volumes: The Far East and Australia and The Middle East and North Africa which include useful biographic sketches among other items.

- AFRICA CONTEMPORARY RECORD, ed. by Colin Legum and John Drysdale, Africa Research Ltd., London, 1969. Contains twelve articles on current issues, country by country reviews surveying major economic, political and social developments, and a section on documents.
- ANNUAIRE DU L'AFRIQUE DU NORD 1967, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1968. Extremely detailed and comprehensive one volume survey with articles, chronologies, documents, bibliographies and sections on specific countries.

## C. IN-COUNTRY SOURCES

### 1. Handbooks and directories:

Two books for identifying reference sources of this type are: INTERNATIONAL REFERENCE HANDBOOK OF SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS, DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION, MARKETING AND ADVERTISING CHANNELS, ed. by J.L. Angel (World Trade Academy Press, New York, 1965), and the EXECUTIVE GUIDE TO INFORMATION SOURCES (Gale Research Co., Detroit). Examples of such reference books include:

- WEST AFRICAN DIRECTORY 1967-68, Thomas Skinner and Co.
- NIGERIA YEARBOOK 1969, Daily Times Press Ltd., Lagos, Nigeria
- DIRECTORIO GENERAL DE LA REPUBLICA MEXICANA, Confederacion de Camaras Nacionales de Comercio y Industria, Mexico, D.F.
- ANNUAIRE DE LA REPUBLIQUE DEMOCRATIQUE DU CONGO, L'agence de Publicite Congolaise, Kinshasa, Congo, 1965.

### 2. Research centers:

There is often a research center (sometimes financed by U.S. foundations) specializing in domestic economic and social studies associated with the country's leading university. Such centers usually publish a journal containing scholarly papers analyzing various aspects of the country's social and economic life. These institutions can be located through the CATALOGUE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS, published by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris, 1968. Samples of these journals include:

- NIGERIAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STUDIES, published by the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, Ibadan, Nigeria.
- ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PAPERS, Institute of Economic and Social Research at Lovanium University, Kinshasa, Congo.

### 3. Embassy and other government bulletins:

Embassies of foreign countries in the U.S. often distribute, free of charge, information bulletins which are sometimes useful. These publications include: GHANA NEWS (available from the Ghana Embassy 2460 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009); BRAZILIAN BULLETIN (free from the Brazil-



ian Embassy, Washington, D.C.); COLOMBIA TODAY (free from the Colombia Information Service, Colombia Center, 140 E. 57th St., New York, N.Y. 10022).

#### D. FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

1. U.S. BUSINESS INVESTMENTS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES, Samuel Pizer and Frederick Cutler, Office of Business Economics, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C., 1960. A comprehensive census of U.S. investments overseas with information on size and ownership of assets, earnings, income remittances, etc; particularly valuable for historical data showing 1929-1959 investments broken down by country and region; does not list companies or deal with specific firms.
2. DIRECTORY OF AMERICAN FIRMS OPERATING IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES, World Trade Academy Press, New York, 1966. Covers some 2300 U.S. companies with 7500 foreign affiliates; lists companies alphabetically and geographically; no information about the company other than address and name of executive; makes no distinction between subsidiaries, affiliates and branches.
3. AMERICAN FIRMS, SUBSIDIARIES AND AFFILIATES, available for each country from the Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of International Commerce, Washington, D.C. 20230, for \$1.00. "Trade lists" identifying U.S. firms in foreign countries; contains address, brief description of operations and name of parent company.
4. SURVEY OF CURRENT BUSINESS, Dept. of Commerce, Washington, D.C. (monthly). Devotes one issue per year (usually August or September) to a survey of U.S. foreign investments; a basic source for aggregate figures on investments, broken down by country and industry; includes information on earnings.
5. ANNUAL REPORTS or Statistical Bulletins of the Central Banks or monetary authorities of the country in question. These publications generally provide information on capital flows broken down by country of origin; balance of payments statements by the same institutions usually show aggregate inflows and outflows of capital; see the list of Central Banks under Banking and Finance section below.
6. RESOURCES SURVEY OF LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Dept. of State, Washington, D.C., 1965. Provides useful description of U.S. corporations operating in this area; however, it does not make estimates of value of these investments.



7. The External Financing of Economic Development, International Flow of Long Term Capital and Official Donations, 1963-1967, UN Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs, New York, 1969. Analyzes the volume and nature of external financing including private foreign investment; aggregate approach limits its usefulness for identifying investment flows to specific countries; no information on companies. See also earlier volumes in the same series: The International Flow of Private Capital, 1956-1958, UN Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs, New York, 1959; The International Flow of Long Term Capital and Official Donations, 1962-1966, New York, 1968.
8. EXTERNAL FINANCING IN LATIN AMERICA, UN Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs, New York, 1965. This is an extremely comprehensive survey of all aspects of external financing; valuable historical data and information on investments other than U.S. See also: Foreign Capital in Latin America, UN, New York, 1955.
9. MASTER DIRECTORY FOR LATIN AMERICA, Martin Sable, available from the Latin American Center, University of California at Los Angeles.
10. MINERALS YEAR BOOK, Vol. IV, Area Reports: International, Bureau of Mines, U.S. Dept. of Interior, available from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. (annual). Good source for basic information on mineral industries in all countries; material organized by country, includes information on scale of production, trade patterns, operating companies, history, etc.
11. WHO OWNS WHOM, 2 Vols., United Kingdom Edition and Continental Edition, Roskill and Co. Ltd., London, 1968. Directory useful only for identifying parent, affiliate and subsidiary companies in various countries; only gives the company's address and its relationship to parent company.
12. BEERMAN'S FINANCIAL YEAR BOOK OF EUROPE—1968, R. Beerman (Publishers) Ltd., London, 1968. Concise information on 800 companies including their subsidiaries overseas; indexed by country of domicile, type of company and alphabetically. See also: Beerman's Financial Year Book of Southern Africa, which covers South Africa, Rhodesia, Zambia and Malawi.
13. SOCIETES ET ORGANISMES PUBLICS ET PRIVES 1962, La Documentation Africaine, 57 Ave. d'Iena, Paris 16, France. An excellent source for information on some 1000 companies in France and former French colonies; profiles include lists of principal shareholders, affiliates, names of directors, etc; also has a biographical section; information on professional organizations, Chambers of Commerce; material organized by country with index by company, organization or names; in French. See also: Les 500 Premieres Societes d'Afrique Noire, La Documentation Africaine, Paris, 1969. A study of the 500 most important companies in French-speaking African countries; in French.

#### Congressional hearings:

Congressional hearings on foreign investment are held periodically and are valuable sources of information on U.S. activities in foreign countries. The items cited below are samples of these documents, which can be located in the



## MONTHLY CATALOG OF U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS.

PRIVATE INVESTMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA, Report of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Economic Relationships, Joint Economic Committee of Congress, 1964.

THE INVOLVEMENT OF U.S. PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 90th Cong., 1st Sess., 1968.

## Company histories:

There are a number of case studies or company histories which provide useful information on the activities of private companies in various countries. These may be located by looking under the company's name in the library card catalogue. Samples include: AMERICAN BUSINESS ABROAD: FORD ON SIX CONTINENTS, Mira and Frank Ernest Hill, Detroit, 1964; THE HISTORY OF UNILEVER, Charles Wilson, London, 1954.

Under the title UNITED STATES BUSINESS PERFORMANCE ABROAD, the National Planning Association of Washington, D.C., published a series of 11 case studies of U.S. overseas investment. These studies include: SEARS ROEBUCK DE MEXICO, R. Wood and V. Keyser; THE FIRESTONE OPERATIONS IN LIBERIA, W. Chatfield Taylor; CASA GRACE IN PERU, E.W. Burgess, 1954; THE PHILIPPINE LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, J. Lindman, 1955; THE CREOLE PETROLEUM CORPORATION IN VENEZUELA, W. Chatfield Taylor, 1955; STANVAC IN INDONESIA, M.I.T. Center for International Studies, 1957; THE UNITED FRUIT COMPANY IN LATIN AMERICA, Stacy May and Galo Plaza, 1958; TWA'S SERVICES TO ETHIOPIA, T. Geiger, 1959; THE GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY IN BRAZIL, T. Geiger, 1961; ALUMINUM LIMITED IN INDIA, Subbiah Kannappan, 1962; AGRIFOR AND U.S. PLYWOOD IN THE CONGO, T. Geiger, 1965.

## Special country studies:

For some countries there may be a special study dealing extensively with foreign investment. These are invaluable, but hard to come by, and require extensive investigation of the library card file. Some samples:

WHO CONTROLS INDUSTRY IN KENYA?, Report of a Working Party, National Christian Council of Kenya, East Africa Publishing House, P.O. Box 30571, Nairobi, Kenya, 1968.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN INDIA, Michael Kidron, Oxford University Press, London, 1965.

LES TRUSTS AU CONGO, Pierre Joye and Rosine Lewin, Brussels, 1961.

"A Special Report on American Investment in the South African Economy," Special Issue of AFRICA TODAY, Jan. 1966, available from the American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y.

## Business periodicals and trade literature:

These publications are key sources for both current and historical information about the activities of private companies in foreign countries. They provide information which is

frequently not collected systematically except in company histories. The best indexes for locating articles from these sources are FUNK & SCOTT'S INTERNATIONAL (from about 1960 on) and the BUSINESS PERIODICALS INDEX which can normally be found at your library. Where available, indexes published by the periodicals themselves should be consulted. The following lists those publications which are particularly useful for researching overseas activities of American companies.

BUSINESS INTERNATIONAL (weekly)  
 BUSINESS EUROPE (weekly)  
 BUSINESS LATIN AMERICA (weekly)  
 THE GALLATIN LETTER  
 BARRON'S (weekly)  
 BUSINESS ABROAD (monthly)  
 BUSINESS WEEK (weekly)  
 CARIBBEAN REPORT (monthly)  
 COLUMBIA JOURNAL OF WORLD BUSINESS  
 FINANCIAL TIMES (London; daily)  
 HARVARD BUSINESS REVIEW (bimonthly)  
 LATIN AMERICAN REPORT (monthly; defunct since 1969, but back issues useful)  
 NOTICIAS (weekly)  
 OIL & GAS JOURNAL  
 SOUTHERN AFRICA FINANCIAL MAIL (weekly)  
 TIMES OF THE AMERICAS (weekly)  
 VISION (monthly; in Spanish)  
 VISION LETTER (bi-weekly)  
 WALL STREET JOURNAL (daily)

## U.S. Government publications:

There are several very handy government publications that provide information on both foreign investment and general economic conditions in countries. Useful indexes for identifying those publications which are currently available are the following price lists available from the U.S. Government Printing Office in Washington, D.C.: Government Periodicals and Subscription Services (PL 36), Publications Relating to Foreign Countries (PL 65) and the Semi-annual Checklist of Dept. of Commerce Publications. The following are samples of the most useful publications for country research:

1. OVERSEAS BUSINESS REPORTS, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of International Commerce, Washington, D.C. A series published by country containing up-to-date information on the economies of specific countries; also covers topics like patent and trademark regulations, investment laws, etc.; revised frequently. See also: FOREIGN ECONOMIC TRENDS, Dept. of Commerce commercial reports from U.S. embassies abroad, available on a subscription basis (\$15 per year) immediately on receipt from abroad.
2. INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE, Bureau of International Commerce, Dept. of Commerce, Washington, D.C., weekly for \$16 per year. Deals mainly with trade yet periodically contains useful country studies covering general economic conditions; monitors trade missions, official delegations, etc., from the U.S. abroad; indexed by country and subject semi-annually.
3. MARKET SURVEY FOR U.S. PRODUCTS IN THE IVORY COAST, supplement to International Commerce, 1966, available for 65¢ from the Dept. of Commerce, Washington, D.C. Published for selected



countries with useful information on how a country's market looks to the mother country.

#### Bibliographies:

- A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS, Charles F. Stewart and George B. Simmons, Columbia University Press, New York, 1964.
- THE DEVELOPING NATIONS: A GUIDE TO INFORMATION SOURCES, Eloise G. ReQua and Jane Statham, Gale Research Co., Detroit, 1965.
- INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS AND FOREIGN TRADE: A GUIDE TO INFORMATION SOURCES, Lora Jeanne Wheeler, Gale Research Co., Detroit, 1968.
- CASES AND OTHER MATERIALS FOR THE TEACHING OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: BIBLIOGRAPHY, Harvard Business School, Cambridge, 3 vols., Latin America (1966), South and Southeast Asia (1968), and Africa and the Middle East (1969).

#### E. BANKING AND FINANCE

1. INTERNATIONAL BANKER'S DIRECTORY, Rand McNally Co., Chicago, 1969. Useful mainly for identifying banks operating in particular countries; provides address, names of principal officers, size of capital, reserves and deposits.
2. "The Financial Network," Chapter 3, THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM, Harry Magdoff, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1969. The best short introduction to the way financial institutions exploit countries; particularly good for its analysis of U.S. banking overseas.
3. EXTERNAL, MEDIUM AND LONG-TERM PUBLIC DEBT: PAST AND PROJECTED AMOUNTS OF OUTSTANDING TRANSACTIONS AND PAYMENTS: 1956-1976, Report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington, D.C., 1967. Data summarizing the debt statistics for 16 developed and 92 underdeveloped countries.
4. THE BANKER, a monthly periodical published in London. An excellent source of short articles on banking in specific countries.

#### Historical studies:

There are two types of historical studies: those dealing with the history of private banks and those treating the monetary system as a whole. Normally the former are more helpful since they enable one to penetrate more easily the balance sheet approach or technical language of finance usually found in studies of the monetary system. Below are samples of both types:

- FINANCE AND BANKING IN THAILAND: A STUDY OF THE COMMERCIAL SYSTEM, 1888-1963, P. Sithi-Amnum, Thai Watassna Panich, Bangkok, 1964.
- THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS OF THE STANDARD BANK, James A. Henry, Oxford University Press, New York, 1963.
- MONEY AND BANKING IN BRITISH COLONIAL AFRICA, W.T. Newlyn and D.C. Rowan, Oxford University Press, London, 1954.
- THE STERLING AREA IN THE POST WAR WORLD,

Philip W. Bell, Oxford University Press, London, 1958.

THE STERLING-DOLLAR DIPLOMACY, Richard N. Gardiner, Oxford University Press, 1967.

#### Bulletins and reviews:

There are a variety of bulletins and reviews published by financial institutions themselves which occasionally contain useful information.

Bulletins and reviews are published by the various Federal Reserve Banks in the United States with articles on overseas banking by U.S. banks. These publications include: BUSINESS CONDITIONS (Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago); BUSINESS REVIEW (Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia); BULLETIN of the New York Federal Reserve Bank; FEDERAL RESERVE BULLETIN, available from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, for \$6.00 per year.

Private banks publish monthly economic letters or reviews which deal either with general economic conditions or their own activities. Examples include: STANDARD BANK REVIEW (Standard Bank of London); FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW (Bank of London and South America); MONTHLY ECONOMIC LETTER (First National City Bank of New York); WORLD BUSINESS (Chase Manhattan Bank of New York).

Central Banks of each country publish bulletins and reviews which often contain valuable summaries of economic conditions. The following is a list of selected publications of this type with the addresses of the Central Banks:

#### ASIA

- BULLETIN (monthly), Central Bank of Ceylon, Dept. of Economic Research, Colombo, Ceylon.
- ECONOMIC REVIEW (bimonthly), Bank of China, No. 15 Chugsan Road N., Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China.
- BULLETIN (monthly), Reserve Bank of India, F.O. Box 1036, Bombay, India.
- MONTHLY STATISTICAL REVIEW, Bank of Korea, Seoul, Korea.
- BULLETIN (monthly), State Bank of Pakistan, Box 246, Karachi, Pakistan.
- STATISTICAL BULLETIN (quarterly), Central Bank of the Philippines, Manila, Philippines.
- MONTHLY REPORT, Bank of Thailand, GPO 154, Bangkok, Thailand.

#### LATIN AMERICA

- BOLETIN ESTADISTICO (monthly), Banco Central de la Republica Argentina, Reconquista 266/78, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- DESENVOLVIMENTO and CONJUNTURA (monthly), Banco da Republica, Rio de Janeiro, D.F. Brazil.
- BOLETIN MENSUAL (monthly), Banco Central de Chile, Santiago, Chile.
- REVISTA (monthly), Banco de la Republica, Bogota, Colombia.
- REVISTA (monthly), Banco Central de Costa Rica, San Jose, Costa Rica.
- BOLETIN DEL BANCO CENTRAL DEL ECUADOR (irregular), Banco Central del Ecuador, Quito, Ecuador, S.A.



- INFORME ECONOMICO (quarterly), Banco de Guatemala, Guatemala, C.A.
- REVISTA TRIMESTRAL (quarterly), Banco Central de Honduras, Tegucigalpa, Honduras.
- REVIEW OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF MEXICO (monthly), Banco Central de Mexico, Mexico D.F., Mexico.
- BOLETIN DEL BANCO CENTRAL DE RESERVA DEL PERU (monthly), Banco Central de Reserva del Peru, Lima, Peru.
- REVISTA (quarterly), Banco de la Republica Oriental del Uruguay, Montevideo, Uruguay.
- BOLETIN MENSUAL (monthly), Banco Central de Venezuela, Caracas, Venezuela.

#### AFRICA and the MIDDLE EAST

- BULLETINS MENSUELS (monthly), Banque Centrale des Etats de l'Afrique Equatoriale et du Cameroun, 29, rue du Colisse, Paris 8, France.
- BULLETINS MENSUELS (monthly), Banque Centrale des Etats de l'Afrique, de l'Ouest, 29, rue du Colisee, Paris 8, France.
- Banque Nationale du Congo, Boulevard Leopold II, Kinshasa, Congo.
- BULLETIN (quarterly), Central Bank of Cyprus, P.O. Box 1087, Nicosia, Cyprus.
- BULLETINO (quarterly), Banca Nazionale Somalia, Mogadischu, Somalia.
- QUARTERLY BULLETIN, National Bank of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- ECONOMIC BULLETIN (quarterly), National Bank of Egypt, Cairo, United Arab Republic.
- BULLETIN (bimonthly), Bank Markazi, Teheran, Iran.
- ECONOMIC BULLETIN (bimonthly), Bank of Libya, Tripoli, Libya.
- Central Bank of Nigeria, Lagos, Nigeria.
- ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL BULLETIN (quarterly), Bank of Sudan, Khartoum, Sudan.
- Bank of Zambia, Lusaka, Zambia.

#### F. BILATERAL LOANS AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

1. U.S. OVERSEAS LOANS AND GRANTS AND ASSISTANCE FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: AUTHORIZATIONS, July 1, 1945 — July 30, 1967, Statistics and Reports Division, Agency for International Development (AID), Dept. of State, Washington, D.C. 20523. Complete tables showing cumulative total of foreign aid, both military and economic, for each country; data broken down by category (loans, grants, military, etc.); separate tables show aggregate amounts of technical assistance from international organizations by country, with cumulative totals.
2. CURRENT TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE SERVICE CONTRACTS, Contract Services Division of A.I.D., Dept. of State, Washington, D.C. (semi-annual). Listed alphabetically by country and region, with an index of contractors; does not include contracts made by borrowers under development loan agreements. (See number 4 below for the latter.)
3. FOREIGN GRANTS AND CREDITS BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, Office of Business Economics, Dept. of Commerce, Washington, D.C. (quarterly).

Statistical summary of U.S. foreign assistance with annual cumulations.

4. FISCAL YEAR PROJECTS, BY COUNTRY AND FIELD OF ACTIVITY, Statistics and Reports Division, A.I.D., Dept. of State, Washington, D.C. (annual). Statistical tables showing aid committed to each country including Development Loans; organized by country, field of activity and category of funds appropriated.
5. CATALOG OF INVESTMENT INFORMATION AND OPPORTUNITIES, Index, Office of Private Resources, A.I.D., Dept. of State, Washington, D.C. (semi-annual). Lists well over a thousand reports made by A.I.D., development banks, international organizations and private research institutions on economic and social conditions, market analysis, feasibility studies, etc., in 120 developing countries; listings by region and country, with index of industry classifications; actual reports available for \$3.00 are invaluable for insights into guts of business research being carried out under guise of technical assistance.
6. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF FINANCIAL FLOWS TO LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES—1966-1967, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Paris, 1969. The most comprehensive source for statistical information on official bilateral and multi-lateral financial flows; data organized by recipient countries and donors; OECD countries covered: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom and the United States. See also previous volumes for 1960-64 (Paris, 1966), 1965 (Paris, 1967), and 1956-59 (Paris, 1961).

#### Congressional hearings:

Congressional hearings are key sources of information on bilateral assistance programs of the United States Government. Such hearings are listed and indexed in the MONTHLY CATALOG OF U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS. Significant examples include:

HEARINGS ON THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1969, Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. These hearings are held annually and contain voluminous data on the allocations proposed for each country, and discussion of past programs.

UNITED STATES FOREIGN AID IN ACTION: A CASE STUDY (Chile), Subcommittee on Foreign Aid Expenditures of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, submitted by Senator Ernest Gruening, June 28, 1968, Washington, D.C.

SURVEY OF THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS, Hearings before the Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, February 27 — March 6, 1968, Washington, D.C.

#### Readings on bilateral assistance:

"Pakistan: The Burden of U.S. Aid," Hamza Alavi and Amir Khusro, NEW UNIVERSITY THOUGHT, Autumn, 1962, available for 20¢ from the New England Free Press (791 Tremont St., Boston, Mass. 02118). An excellent



case study of how the exploitative mechanisms of U.S. aid function in one country; provides a model for approaching this subject elsewhere.

"Foreign Aid, Intervention and Influence," David A. Baldwin, *WORLD POLITICS*, April 1969. Important for its candid appraisal of the function of technical assistance and preview of what's to come in terms of a rationalization of intervention.

"Exploitation or Aid?: U.S.-Brazil Economic Relations," Andre Gunder Frank, *The NATION*, Nov. 16, 1963, available for 10¢ from the New England Free Press.

## G. MULTILATERAL LOANS AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

The United Nations and World Bank are the major arteries of multilateral assistance. Their influence and organizational structure is extremely difficult to research owing to the high degree of specialization among the agencies administering multilateral aid. There are relatively few points from which to get an overview compiled on a country basis. The best guide or organization manual on the structure of the UN system is entitled *ASSISTANCE FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AVAILABLE FROM THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM*, which can be obtained for \$1.50 from the UN, Sales Section, New York, N.Y. 10017 (Sales No. E.69.I.23, 1969). The guide's summary of key sources of information on UN assistance operations, reprinted here, is quite good and can save you much frustration with the maze of UN documentation.

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) is the key agency coordinating the UN system. The Annual

Reports of UNDP provide summary data compiled on a country basis which enable one to identify projects and the specialized agencies responsible for executing them. There are three documents of recent origin which are extremely valuable in researching multilateral assistance through the UN system.

1. *REPORT OF UNDP ACTIVITIES 1959-1968*, Paul G. Hoffman, Administrator of the UNDP, New York, 1969 (UNDP Document No. DP/L 104). This 96 page report gives a detailed account of UNDP programs for 1968 and a general review of UNDP activities over the ten year period; at this time not available to the public.
2. *UNDP PROJECT DESCRIPTIONS*, available on a subscription basis for \$65 per year from UNDP, United Nations Sales Section, New York, N.Y. 10017 (semi-annual). New service began in January 1969; provides five page summaries of projects including expert services, contracts and equipment needed for project; available in some libraries.
3. *CAPACITY REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM*, Sir Robert Jackson, United Nations, Geneva, 1969, 2 Vols. Extremely important and controversial report commissioned by the UNDP to review structure of the UN system; contains voluminous information on the entire multilateral system and its functioning since 1945; provides important recommendations for reorganizing the UN system.

Further information on specific projects can be obtained by writing directly to the specialized agencies themselves. The following list contains the addresses of the major agencies:

**FAO**  
Food and Agriculture Organization  
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla  
Rome, Italy

**IBRD**  
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development  
1818 H Street, NW  
Washington 25, D. C.

**UNESCO**  
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization  
UNESCO House  
Place de Fontenoy  
Paris 7e, France

**IDA**  
International Development Association  
1818 H Street, NW  
Washington 25, D. C.

**ILO**  
International Labour Organisation  
154 Rue de Lausanne  
Geneva, Switzerland

**IMF**  
International Monetary Fund  
19th and H Streets, NW  
Washington 25, D. C.

**IMCO**  
Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization  
Chancery House, Chancery Lane  
London, W. C. 2, England

**ICAO**  
International Civil Aviation Organization  
International Aviation Building  
1080 University Street  
Montreal 3, Quebec, Canada

**IAEA**  
International Atomic Energy Agency  
Kaerntnerring 11  
Vienna 1, Austria

**IFC**  
International Finance Corporation  
1818 H Street, NW  
Washington 25, D. C.

**UPU**  
Universal Postal Union  
Schosshaldenstrasse 46  
Berne 15, Switzerland

**ITU**  
International Telecommunication Union  
Place des Nations  
Geneva, Switzerland

**WHO**  
World Health Organization  
Palais des Nations  
Geneva, Switzerland

**WMO**  
World Meteorological Organization  
Avenue Giuseppe Motta  
Geneva, Switzerland

**GATT**  
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade  
GATT Secretariat  
Villa le Chêne  
Geneva 10, Switzerland



# GUIDE TO REPORTS ON ASSISTANCE OPERATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM

Information on the criteria for the granting of assistance for economic and social development from the organizations of the United Nations system and on the procedures that should be followed in requesting such assistance has been given above. The present annex is intended as a guide for readers interested in knowing the amount of assistance actually provided by the organizations in the United Nations system, the forms it has taken, the subjects it has covered and the countries or regions it has benefited. The relevant reports are referred to below in three groups.

## (a) Reports on technical assistance

The main source of information on technical assistance activities of the United Nations system is the documentation for the June sessions of the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme.

An annual report to the Governing Council gives *inter alia* statistical data on the assistance provided under UNDP by all the participating and executing agencies, with breakdowns by country and region, and details of UNDP/SF projects. The tables also give details of experts provided, showing numbers, nationalities and countries of assignment, and of fellowships, showing the number of fellows, their nationality and the countries in which they are studying. The report covering 1968 was issued in May 1969 (DP/L.104 and Add.1-7 and Annex).

The total expenditure, by country, on technical assistance activities financed from the regular budgets of the organizations of the United Nations system is also shown in this report.

The Governing Council also receives a separate report on the regular programme of the United Nations, which includes extensive statistical data. The report in this series covering 1968 was issued in April-May 1969 (DP/RP.7 and Add.1-3).<sup>a</sup>

Fuller information on the regular programmes of the other organizations, as well as on some of their activities under UNDP, may be found in annual reports issued by the various organizations; the most recent in the series are listed below:

ILO	I.L.O. Technical Co-operation Programmes in 1967 (document G.B.173/O.P./2/4 of November 1968)
FAO	Report of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations to the Economic and Social Council at its forty-seventh session (FAO, Rome, document IAL: ECOSOC/47, 24 March 1969)

<sup>a</sup> This report covers the regular programme activities of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs and of UNCTAD. Those of UNIDO are covered in reports on the organization's activities to the Industrial Development Board. The UNIDO report for 1968 was issued in January 1969 (ID/B/43); an addendum deals with the programme of special industrial services (ID/B/43/Add.1).

## (c) Reports of the World Bank Group and IMF

The loans granted by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the credits granted by the International Development Association are reported in the World Bank/International Development Association annual reports. These reports also provide information on the technical assistance activities of the Bank. The *Annual Report* issued in 1968 covered the period 1 July 1967 to 30 June 1968.

UNESCO	<i>Report of the Director General on the Activities of the Organization in 1968</i> (Paris, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1969)
WHO	<i>The Work of WHO, 1968: Annual Report of the Director-General to the World Health Assembly and to the United Nations</i> , Official Records of the World Health Organization, No. 172 (Geneva, World Health Organization, 1969)
ICAO	<i>Report to the Economic and Social Council on the Activities of the International Telecommunication Union in 1968</i> (Geneva, International Telecommunication Union, 1969)
UPU	<i>Report on the Work of the Union, 1968</i> (Berne, Universal Postal Union, 1969)
ITU	<i>Report to the Economic and Social Council on the Activities of the International Telecommunication Union in 1968</i> (Geneva, International Telecommunication Union, 1969)
WMO	<i>Annual Report of the World Meteorological Organization, 1968</i> (WMO-No. 241.RP.80) (Geneva, Secretariat of the World Meteorological Organization, 1969)
IMCO	Annual report of the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization, 1969 (submitted to the Economic and Social Council at its forty-seventh session under cover of document E/4657) [covers the year ending 1 April 1969]
IAEA	The provision of technical assistance by the Agency with special reference to 1967: report by the Director General (document GC(XII)/INF/100 of 13 August 1968)

## (b) Reports of UNHCR, UNICEF and WFP

The assistance activities of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees are described in the annual reports of the High Commissioner to the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly. The report covering 1968 appears in document A/7612 (*Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 12*).

The assistance activities of the United Nations Children's Fund are described in the annual reports of the Executive Director to the Executive Board. The report covering 1968, "General progress report of the Executive Director", was issued in March 1969 (E/ICEF/586 and Add.1-9).

Information on the activities of the World Food Programme may be found in the reports of the sessions of the United Nations/FAO Intergovernmental Committee of the World Food Programme. The report on the fifteenth session (5-13 May 1969) was issued under the symbol WFP/IGC: 15/23.

The investment activities of the International Finance Corporation are described in the Corporation's annual reports; the *Annual Report* issued in 1968 covered the period 1 July 1967 to 30 June 1968.

The assistance activities of the International Monetary Fund are described in the annual reports of the Executive Directors, covering the fiscal year ending 30 April. For the most recent report, see International Monetary Fund, *Annual Report, 1968* (Washington, D.C., 1968).



### Periodicals and reports of International Agencies:

The specialized agencies of the United Nations issue their own reports on their activities. A list of these publications may be obtained by writing to the agency. The agencies may also make available catalogues or indexes of official reports and technical studies written by their field personnel. This is often one way to identify firms or foreign experts hired by specialized agencies to carry out studies. Most agencies also publish regular newsletters describing their current activities. These are usually available free. Samples include:

- PRE-INVESTMENT NEWS (monthly from UNDP)
- UNESCO NEWSLETTER (monthly)
- UNIDO NEWSLETTER (monthly)
- INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL NEWS SURVEY (weekly from IMF)
- WORLD BANK NEWS RELEASES (available from International Bank for Reconstruction and Development)

### Catalogs of UN publications:

The United Nations publishes the following reference catalogs and bulletins which are essential for identifying and ordering its publications:

1. UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS 1945-1963, A REFERENCE CATALOGUE, United Nations, New York, 1964. Lists all UN publications issued since the founding of the organization; classified according to subject and geographic region; no country index; supplemented by annual editions.
2. UNITED NATIONS OFFICIAL RECORDS, A REFERENCE CATALOGUE. Complete listing of all the official records by session and/or year of the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council and of the International Law, Atomic Energy and Disarmament Commissions.
3. PERIODICALS AND RECURRENT PUBLICATIONS. Guide to UN periodicals, yearbooks, surveys, bulletins and reviews.
4. CURRENT PUBLICATIONS, A SUPPLEMENT TO THE MONTHLY SALES BULLETIN. Selected publications grouped by subject matter or regional interest.
5. MONTHLY SALES BULLETIN. Lists all new publications with details of major titles.

### Non-UN sources on multilateral assistance:

1. GLOBAL DIRECTORY OF DEVELOPMENT FINANCE INSTITUTIONS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, J.D. Nyhart and Edmond F. Janssens, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Paris, 1967. Valuable source; identifies 340 institutions and 8 major international or bilateral sources of development finance; gives names of officers, organization and juridical status, operations, etc.; for most institutions includes a profit and loss statement plus a recent balance sheet; information listed alphabetically by country.
2. THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, 1945-1965, J. Keith Horsefield et. al., International Monetary Fund, Washington, D.C., 1969. Three volume history of IMF written by past and present members of the Fund staff; valuable documentation.

3. PUBLIC MONEY SOURCES FOR OVERSEAS TRADE AND INVESTMENT, J.E. Loomis, Bureau of National Affairs, Washington, D.C. 1962. Describes activities of Export-Import Bank, A.I.D., the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation, the International Development Association, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Cooley Loan Program and the Investment Guaranty Program.
4. PARTNERS IN DEVELOPMENT, Lester B. Pearson, Praeger, New York, 1969. Report of the Commission on International Development written under auspices of the World Bank and reviewing development strategy for imperialism in the 1970's.

### Addresses of other international aid organizations:

- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 2 rue Andre Pascal, Paris 16<sup>e</sup>, France.
- Asian Development Bank, Ayala Ave., Makati Rizal, Philippines.
- Export-Import Bank of Washington, 811 Vermont Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.
- Inter-American Development Bank, 808 17th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20577.
- African Development Bank, Tunis, Tunisia.
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), International Development Association (IDA), and the International Finance Corporation (IFC), all at 1818 H St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20025.
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), 19th and H Streets N.W.,

### H. U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

In many underdeveloped countries, the U.S. Embassy exercises as much or more power than the native government. Sources of information which identify overseas U.S. personnel and describe State Dept. operations include the following:

1. BIOGRAPHIC REGISTER, Department of State, U.S. Foreign Service, U.S. Mission to the United Nations, Agency for International Development, Peace Corps, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Foreign Agricultural Services, 1968 (available from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, for \$3.50). Biographies of officers of agencies named. Revised annually.
2. FOREIGN SERVICE LIST, including field staffs of U.S. Missions to International Organizations, Agency for International Development, U.S. Information Agency, and U.S. Department of Agriculture (issued three times a year; available on subscription basis from the Government Printing Office for \$3.50 per year; single issues \$1.25). Lists embassies, legations, missions, consulates, and U.S. diplomatic representatives in foreign countries at their respective posts, with their titles, category, and diplomatic status.
3. KEY OFFICERS OF FOREIGN SERVICE POSTS, GUIDE FOR BUSINESSMEN (quarterly; available on subscription basis from the Government Printing Office for \$1.00 per year; single issues 35¢). Lists key officers at Foreign Service posts — chiefs of missions, and senior officers of political, economic, commercial, and consular sections of the post.



4. DEPARTMENT OF STATE NEWSLETTER (monthly; available from the Government Printing Office for \$4.50 per year). Describes State Department activities, decisions affecting Foreign Service personnel, diplomatic affairs, etc. Contains biographies of recent Foreign Service appointees.
5. DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN (weekly; available from the Government Printing Office for \$16.00 per year). Contains articles on U.S. foreign policy, texts of policy statements by the President and Secretary of State, announcements of Foreign Service appointments, etc.

#### Hearings:

A basic source of information on U.S. foreign operations are the hearings published by various Congressional committees, and in particular the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and House Foreign Affairs Committee. To identify these documents, consult the MONTHLY CATALOG OF U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS.

#### I. NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

1. UNITED STATES NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS, VOLUNTARY AGENCIES, MISSIONS AND FOUNDATIONS PARTICIPATING IN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE ABROAD, Technical Assistance Information Clearing House (TAICH), 200 Park Ave. So., New York, N.Y. 10003 (1964 edition available for \$2.50). This directory contains profiles of approximately 242 agencies; information provided includes legal title, address, staff, date of founding, aims, activities, technical assistance, resources and geographic areas of operation; programs listed by country with alphabetical index of organizations. See also the 1965 Supplement edited by Binnie Schroyer, which contains profiles of 497 organizations.
2. LATIN AMERICAN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS OF UNITED STATES NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS, 1967 Directory, edited by Jane M. Meskill, available for \$3.00 from TAICH, same address as listed in No. 1. Profiles of 277 organizations with more complete program information than listed in volumes mentioned above.
3. AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS INTERESTED IN ASIA: A REFERENCE DIRECTORY, edited by Ward Morehouse, The Asia Society, 112 East 64th St., New York, N.Y. 10021; 1961. Dated, but useful for background information; profiles of nearly 1000 universities, religious and educational organizations, foundations, museums, and libraries, scientific and professional societies, etc. Agencies listed alphabetically with short descriptions of their activities relating to Asia.
4. AFRICAN PROGRAMS OF UNITED STATES ORGANIZATIONS: A SELECTIVE DIRECTORY, Jacqueline S. Mithun, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Dept. of State, Washington, D.C., 1965. Available for \$1 from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. An updating of three earlier reports produced in 1958, 1960 and 1961. Profile information including brief description of current programs of 724 non-government organizations and institutions — colleges, universities, missionary groups, non-profit organizations and so on. Includes a list of business enterprises with their address, executives and countries of operation.
5. INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL, CULTURAL AND RELATED ACTIVITIES FOR AFRICAN COUNTRIES SOUTH OF THE SAHARA, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Dept. of State, Washington, D.C., 1961, 319 pp. Extensive and extremely useful survey of activities under the auspices of US government agencies, private groups, African governments, United Nations and its specialized agencies. Rather detailed description of country programs plus a list of American companies doing business in Africa. Series was discontinued but this volume should be consulted where available even though it is dated.
6. THE INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES: AN INVENTORY ANALYSIS, The Institute of Advanced Projects, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii (in cooperation with the International Program at Michigan State University), 1966, 2nd edition. Analysis and summary of international program trends, with short description of each university's programs listed by countries or regions under broad subject headings. See also first edition published in 1958.
7. A.I.D. FINANCED UNIVERSITY CONTRACTS, Available free from Contracts Services Division, Agency for International Development, Dept. of State, Washington, D.C. 20523. Mainly useful for identifying contracts, size of grants, etc.; lists contract number and university administering the grant, counterpart institution in the country, purpose of contract (but no description), time frame, amount in dollars, action officer and campus coordinator.
8. YEARBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, ed. Eyvind S. Tew, Union of International Associations, 1 rue aux Laines, Brussels 1, Belgium, 1968-69. Provides profile information on 741 different organizations throughout the world, primarily non-governmental though it includes many inter-governmental organizations; only includes agencies whose budgets come from at least three countries which means many US organizations are excluded; editions since 1967-68 have classified and geographical listings, dictionary, cross referencing of abbreviations, keywords and key officers. Latest edition contains tables on multi-national business enterprises with affiliates in ten or more countries, plus a list of institutions, centers and schools of international affairs by country.
9. DEVELOPMENT AID OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS OECD-ICVA, ed. Edwin Eggins, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA), 1965; available through the OECD Publications Center, Suite 1305, 1750 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. Good source book for identifying agencies outside the United States although the latter are included as well; format provides profile information on organizations listed alphabetically and by country.
10. DIRECTORY OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL EUROPEAN ORGANIZATIONS OFFERING ASSISTANCE IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, Centre for Labour and Social Studies, 20 Via Zucchelli, Rome, Italy, 1964.



Relatively small survey with profiles of European organizations only; material organized by European country and indexed by subject or type organizations.

11. **GUIDE TO FRENCH INSTITUTIONS ACTIVE IN THE FIELD OF DEVELOPMENT**, OECD-Development Centre, Paris, 1966. Contains profiles of 257 institutions and organizations, both public and private; rather extensive coverage of French agencies, indexed by activity and country of operation with an alphabetical list of institutions.
12. **ANNUAIRE DES ENTREPRISES D'OUTRE-MER**, Rene Moreux et Cie., 190 Bd. Haussmann, Paris 8, France, 1968. Profile information on European and British official agencies, professional associations, technical assistance institutions; particularly useful for French-speaking countries and territories overseas; includes material on trade unions, international agencies, banking institutions and a list of firms by country with addresses; indexed alphabetically by organization, firm and trade names; in French.
13. **DEVELOPMENT GUIDE: A DIRECTORY OF DEVELOPMENT FACILITIES PROVIDED BY NON-COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN BRITAIN**, Overseas Development Institute, George Allen and Unwin, 1962, London. Profiles of 198 organizations listed alphabetically, with a brief description of their activities in developing countries.
14. **CATALOGUE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH INSTITUTES AND PROGRAMS**, OECD-Development Centre, Paris, 1968. Profiles of 125 institutes in 48 countries, including 59 in Africa, Latin America and the Middle East; also contains some information on international agencies; good source for locating specialized information centers; material organized by country with analytical index of research projects.
15. **PHILANTHROPIC FOUNDATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA**, ed. Ann Stromberg, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1968. Very brief profiles of 364 foundations based in Latin America; some information on finances, though it frequently does not provide names of donors as it claims to; material organized by country.

#### J. THE FOREIGN MILITARY, U.S. MILITARY AID, AND ARMS SALES

##### Directories and handbooks:

1. **THE MILITARY BALANCE**, available annually for \$2.00 from the Institute for Strategic Studies, 18 Adam St., London W.C. 2, England. The best source for concise data on comparative strengths of the armed forces in most countries of the world; contains a country-by-country estimate of military manpower, force levels, major weapons capabilities (tanks, planes, ships, missiles), defense expenditures, etc. **THE STRATEGIC SURVEY**, also published annually by the Institute, reviews significant developments in strategic policy, doctrine and weapons throughout the world.
2. **ADELPHI PAPERS**, published irregularly by the Institute for Strategic Studies (address above). A series of monographs of international military and strategic developments, which supplement and add detail to the

sources in No. 1. The PAPERS are available on a subscription basis for \$6.75 per year (price includes *The Military Balance*), or singly for 75¢ each. Selected titles include:

- ARMY AND NATION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**, by M.J.V. Bell, 1965.
- THE ARMED FORCES OF AFRICAN STATES**, by David Wood, 1967.
- ARMED FORCES IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA**, by David Wood, 1967.
- ARMS TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, 1945-65**, by John L. Sutton and Geoffrey Kemp, 1966.
3. **BRASSEY'S ANNUAL**, MacMillan Co., New York, published annually. A yearbook of international armed forces covering the armies, navies and air forces of the world.
4. **SIPRI YEARBOOK OF WORLD ARMAMENTS AND DISARMAMENT 1968/69**, published by the International Institute for Peace and Conflict Research (SIPRI), Sveavagen 166, 113 46, Stockholm, Sweden (available from the Humanities Press, New York). A detailed compendium of data on world military expenditures, arms sales, nuclear tests, deployment of strategic weapons, chemical and biological warfare programs, etc.
5. **WORLD MILITARY EXPENDITURES, 1967-68**, published annually by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and available from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Country-by-country breakdown of military expenditures, military assistance, armed forces manpower, and comparative data.
6. **JANE'S FIGHTING SHIPS** and **JANE'S AIRCRAFT**, published annually, agent in the U.S.: Charles E. Thorp, 175 Greenwich Ave., Greenwich, Conn. 06830; price: \$49.50 each. The authoritative country-by-country survey of military aircraft and naval vessels.
7. **U.S. ARMY AREA HANDBOOK FOR [country]**, Center for Research in Social Systems (CRESS), formerly Special Operations Research Office (SORO), The American University, Washington, D.C.; available (when unclassified) from the U.S. Government Printing Office. Each handbook contains extensive background information on the particular country, including information on the native military and police. Recent editions of the handbooks are available for the following countries: Algeria, Angola, Burma, Cambodia, Cyprus, Dominican Republic, Japan, Korea, Laos, Malaysia and Singapore, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sudan, Syria, Tanzania, Thailand, U.A.R., and Venezuela. For prices, consult U.S. Government Printing Office Price List No. 65, Publications Relating to Foreign Countries.
8. **MILITARY ASSISTANCE FACTS**, May 1969, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs), The Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20301. A country-by-country compilation of U.S. Military Assistance Program expenditures. See also: **INFORMATION AND GUIDANCE ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND GRANT AID AND FOREIGN MILITARY SALES**, 11th Ed., 1968, Directorate of Military Assistance, Deputy Chief of Staff (Systems and Logistics), Headquarters, U.S. Air Force, Washington, D.C. 20330. An explanation of various military aid programs and how they operate.



## Hearings:

Congressional hearings are an important source of information on U.S. military operations abroad, and on military assistance programs to foreign armed forces. Relevant material can be located through the MONTHLY CATALOG OF U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS. Of particular interest are hearings by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, House Foreign Affairs Committee, and House Armed Services Committee. Sample documents include:

"The Latin American Military," hearings and report incorporated in SURVEY OF THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS, Compilation of Studies and Hearings of the Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, April 29, 1969.

UNITED STATES MILITARY POLICIES AND PROGRAMS IN LATIN AMERICA, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, June 24 and July 8, 1969.

ARMS SALES AND FOREIGN POLICY, Staff Study of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Jan. 25, 1967.

WORLDWIDE MILITARY COMMITMENTS, Hearings before the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee, August 25 & 30, 1966.

COLLECTIVE DEFENSE TREATIES, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1969. Contains texts of all bilateral and multilateral defense agreements to which the U.S. is committed.

## Periodicals:

Among the best sources of information on the foreign military are the service journals, newspapers and yearbooks published by military organizations. These are often difficult to identify and obtain in the U.S.; only the largest libraries are likely to receive very many such publications. Some are available, however, in the Army Library in the Pentagon, which is open to the public. Schools of international affairs are also likely to receive some. Samples include: GHANA ARMED FORCES MAGAZINE, LA VOIX DE L'ARMEE CONGOLAISE, INDIAN ARMED FORCES YEARBOOK.

Many U.S. and British military periodicals contain articles on foreign military affairs, particularly THE MILITARY REVIEW. For a checklist of these publications, see section B of the chapter on The Military-Industrial Complex in this Research Guide.

## Other Sources:

Several of the foreign affairs research centers identified below publish reports on foreign military affairs, and their publications lists should be consulted for such materials. The RAND Corporation publishes LATIN AMERICAN DEFENSE EXPENDITURES, 1938-1965, by Joseph E. Loftus (1968). For insights into the international arms business, see George Thayer's recent book, THE WAR BUSINESS (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1969).

## K. WHO'S WHO'S

Many countries publish some kind of "who's who"

giving biographies of leading native personalities. These are usually stored in the reference section of a library (look under "who's who" in the card catalog). These publications include:

INTERNATIONAL WHO'S WHO, 1969-70, Europa Publications, Ltd., 18 Bedford Sq., London W.C.1, England, 1969; published annually since 1935.

WHO'S WHO IN THE ARAB WORLD 1967-1968, Les Editions Publitex, P.O. Box 5936, Beirut, Lebanon; published every other year.

THE ASIA WHO'S WHO, Pan Asia Newspaper Alliance, 6 Duddell St., Hong Kong; 3rd edition, 1960.

THE TIMES OF INDIA DIRECTORY AND YEARBOOK: INCLUDING WHO'S WHO, The Times of India Press, Bombay, 1968.

THE PHILIPPINES WHO'S WHO, ed. Isidro L. Retizos and D.H. Soriano, Capitol Publishing House, Inc., 105 Rocas Ave., Q.C., Philippines, 1957.

QUIEN ES QUIEN EN LA ARGENTINA, Editorial Kraft, Moreno 82, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1968; in Spanish.

QUEM E QUEM NO BRASIL, Sociedade Brasileira de Expansao Commercial, Caixa Postal 4760, Sao Paulo, Brasil; in Portuguese.

WHO'S WHO IN EAST AFRICA 1965-66, Marco Publishers (Africa) Ltd., P.O. Box 5837, Nairobi, Kenya.

WHO'S WHO OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, 1966, ed. P.J. Gibson, Combined Publishers Ltd., P.O. Box 8620, Johannesburg, S.A.

WHO'S WHO IN NIGERIA, Daily Times, Nigerian Printing and Publishing Company Ltd., first edition, 1956.

AFRIKA BIOGRAPHIEN, Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung, Verlagfur Literatur und Zeitgeschehen GmbH, Hannover, 1967; excellent source in German.

PERSONALITES PUBLIQUES DE L'AFRIQUE DE L'OUEST 1968, EDIAFRIC, 57 Avenue d'Iena, Paris 16, France; in French.

POLITICAL AFRICA: A WHO'S WHO OF PERSONALITIES AND PARTIES, Ronald Segal, Stevens and Sons Ltd., London, 1961.

THE NEW AFRICANS, ed. Sidney Taylor, Paul Hamlyn Ltd., London, 1967; the best source in English for current biographies of African leaders.

REPERTOIRE DE L'ADMINISTRATION AFRICAINE 1969, EDIAFRIC, La Documentation Africaine, 57 Ave. d'Iena, Paris 16, France.

## L. FOREIGN AFFAIRS RESEARCH IN THE U.S.

## Directories:

1. FOREIGN AFFAIRS RESEARCH: A DIRECTORY OF GOVERNMENTAL RESOURCES, Office of External Research, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520, 1969 (available for 55¢ from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402). Describes the foreign affairs research programs and special libraries supported by U.S. Government agencies.

2. RESEARCH CENTERS ON THE DEVELOPING AREAS, External Research Staff, Dept. of State, 1964 (out of print). Describes research programs on underdeveloped countries supported by non-government institutions. Useful if a copy can be located in the library.



3. UNIVERSITY CENTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS RESEARCH: A DIRECTORY, Office of External Research, Dept. of State, 1968 (available for \$1.00 from the Government Printing Office). Describes research programs of university-based foreign affairs research centers.
4. LANGUAGE AND AREA STUDY PROGRAMS IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES, External Research Staff, Dept. of State, 1964 (out of print). Describes research and training programs of university-based language and area study programs financed under the National Defense Education Act.
5. SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA ARCHIVES IN THE U.S., Council of Social Science Data Archives, 605 West 115th St., New York, N.Y. 10025. Identifies social science data bases in the U.S.
6. INTERCOM, published six times a year by the Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017 (subscription: \$5.00 per year). Each issue describes current government and non-government research programs concerned with a specific topic or geographic area (i.e., Disarmament, Latin America, Africa, etc.).

#### Research inventories:

7. FOREIGN AFFAIRS RESEARCH DOCUMENTATION CENTER PAPERS AVAILABLE, published monthly by the Office of External Research, Dept. of State (free upon request). Contains abstracts of research papers received by the Foreign Affairs Research Documentation Center of the Dept. of State.
8. EXTERNAL RESEARCH LISTS OF CURRENT SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH BY PRIVATE SCHOLARS AND ACADEMIC CENTERS, Office of External Research, Dept. of State; published annually until 1968, when replaced by item 7. Contains descriptions of research projects being performed by individuals and institutions (included in this series: USSR and Eastern Europe; Asia; Western Europe, Great Britain and Canada; Middle East; Africa; American Republics; International Affairs).
9. AID-FINANCED UNIVERSITY CONTRACTS, issued quarterly by Contracts Services Division, Agency for International Development (AID), Dept. of State, Washington, D.C. 20523 (free upon request). Lists AID university contracts by region and country.
10. THE UNIVERSITY-MILITARY COMPLEX, North American Congress on Latin America, 1969 (available from NACLA for \$1.25). Contains an "Inventory of Government-Sponsored Foreign Affairs Research," which lists research contracts awarded by the Departments of State and Defense to non-government organizations.
11. LATIN AMERICAN RESEARCH REVIEW, published three times a year by the Latin American Research Review Board (available on a subscription basis for \$6.00 per year from the University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, Texas, 78712). Contains inventories of current U.S. research on Latin America; each issue devoted to institutions in a different geographic area of the U.S.

#### Hearings:

Both the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and House Foreign Affairs Committee have investigated govern-

ment-sponsored foreign affairs programs. Useful documents resulting from these studies include:

BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY, Report No. 4 with Part IX of the Hearings on Winning the Cold War: the U.S. Ideological Offensive, Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Jan. 25, 1966.

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT SPONSORED FOREIGN AFFAIRS RESEARCH, Hearings before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, May 9 and 28, 1968.

#### Foreign affairs research centers:

Several non-profit and university-based research centers are particularly active in the field of foreign affairs research, and receive the bulk of government research contracts awarded for this purpose. These institutions are listed below.

Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Publishes an Annual Report and list of publications (free on request).

Center for Research in Social Systems (CRESS), 5010 Wisconsin Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016. Publishes a Work Program for each fiscal year (available from the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Springfield, Va. 22151).

Columbia University, School of International Affairs, New York, N.Y. 10027. Will supply upon request a Report on Publications.

Harvard University, Center for International Affairs, Cambridge, Mass. 02138. Publishes an Annual Report (free on request).

Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, Stanford, Calif. 94305. Publishes an Annual Report and list of publications (free on request).

MIT Center for International Studies, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Publishes annually a Research Report and Publications List (free on request).

Princeton University, Center for International Studies, Princeton, N.J. 08540. Will supply a list of publications.

RAND Corporation, 1700 Main St., Santa Monica, Calif. 90406. Publishes a quarterly list of Selected RAND Abstracts (annual subscription: \$15.00; annual cumulative index, \$5.00). Will supply assorted Bibliographies of selected RAND publications upon request.

#### Other sources:

The U.S. Government's Foreign Area Coordination Group publishes a bi-monthly newsletter on research topics, FAR HORIZONS (available for \$1.00 per year from the Government Printing Office). On May 1, 1969, Sen. J.W. Fulbright introduced a useful list of Pentagon-sponsored foreign policy research into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (pp. S4418-23); this list was reprinted in the NACLA NEWSLETTER, Vol. III, No. 4 (July/Aug., 1969).

Books of interest include: Gene M. Lyons and Louis Morton, SCHOOLS FOR STRATEGY (Praeger, New York, 1965); and THE UNIVERSITY LOOKS ABROAD, Approaches to World Affairs at Six American Universities, a Report of Education and World Affairs (Walker and Co., New York, 1965).



## M. FOREIGN PERIODICALS:

Listed below are foreign periodicals that are particularly useful for research on foreign investment and economic activities. Most university libraries will have at least some of them; the best selection is likely to be available in business and international affairs libraries.

LE MONDE (5, rue des Italiens, 75 Paris 9<sup>e</sup>, France). Daily in French; a weekly selection is available in English for \$20 per year.

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW (412 Marina House, Hong Kong). Excellent weekly covering South and Southeast Asia.

FINANCIAL TIMES (London, England). Particularly good coverage of business news on worldwide basis; daily.

WEST AFRICA (Overseas Newspapers Ltd., Cromwell House, Fulwood Place, London W.C. 1, England). Essential for keeping tabs on Africa news; weekly in English for \$13 by sea and \$21 by air.

PROBLEMES AFRICAINS (BP 2, Brussels 22, Belgium). The least expensive weekly anthology of world press, mainly in French with some English; \$25/year by air; indexed annually.

ASIA LETTER (Box 3477, Sheungwan Post Office, Hong Kong). \$100 per year weekly newsletter with "insider" information on Asian affairs.

AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL (5/33 Rutland Gate, London S.W. 7, England). Bi-weekly, a good buy at \$25/year for business intelligence and insider analysis of the political scene.

MARCHE TROPICAUX (190 Bd. Haussmann, Paris 8<sup>e</sup>, France). Weekly in French with very thorough coverage of African economies, particularly French-speaking; \$90/year.

LE MONITEUR AFRICAIN (BP 1877, Dakar, Senegal). Weekly in French edited by a Frenchman with good eye for details on business side; \$40/year by air.

QUARTERLY ECONOMIC REVIEW (Economist Intelligence Unit, London, England). Published quarterly in regional or country editions with good data and lousy analysis.

AFRO-ASIAN ECONOMIC REVIEW (Cairo Chamber of Commerce, Midan El Falaky, PO Box 507, Cairo, U.A.R.). Offbeat, with some interesting coverage of trade relations between third world and big powers, in English.

SOUTHERN AFRICA FINANCIAL MAIL (Johannesburg, South Africa). Basic source of business information on South African economy, weekly.

AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN (Africa Research Ltd., 1 Parliament St., Exeter, England). Monthly, published in three series for \$105 per year; an excellent anthology (condensed) of world press; well indexed.

JEUNE AFRIQUE (Paris, France). Weekly news magazine in French, once radical now turning touristic, still useful for local news.

LATIN AMERICA (Latin American Newsletters, 69 Cannon St., London, E.C. 4, England). 8,000 word weekly newsletter, indexed quarterly with good coverage of current news, \$50 per year by air.

INTERNATIONAL DEFENCE AND AID FUND INFORMATION SERVICE (104-5 Newgate St., London, E.C. 1, England). Quarterly, useful survey of current events, plus special reports, statistical information and specific coverage of South Africa developments.

## N. PUBLICATIONS OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA

## South Africa:

African National Congress (ANC): SECHABA (49 Rathbone St., London W.1, England); SPOTLIGHT ON SOUTH AFRICA (Box 2239, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania); MAYIBUYE (Box 1791, Lusaka, Zambia).

Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC): AZANIA NEWS (Box 2412, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania).

## Rhodesia:

Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU): ZIMBABWE NEWS (Box 2331, Lusaka, Zambia).

Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU): ZIMBABWE REVIEW (Box 1657, Lusaka, Zambia).

## Portuguese Guinea (Guinea-Bissau):

African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC): PAIGC (Box 298, Conakry, Republic of Guinea).

## Mozambique:

Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO): MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION (Box 15274, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania).

Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique (COREMO): VALIANT HERO (Box 1493, Lusaka, Zambia).

## Angola:

Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA, Box 20793, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania).

## Southwest Africa (Namibia):

South West African People's Organization (SWAPO): NAMIB TODAY (Box 2603, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania); SWAPO INFORMATION BULLETIN (c/o Gottfried Geingob, 657 W. 161st St., apt. 3F, New York, N.Y. 10032).

## O. RADICAL RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS, PERIODICALS, AND STUDIES

## 1. Research organizations:

These organizations publish newsletters, pamphlets, reports, etc. on the penetration of the Third World by the advanced industrial nations of the West (and, of course, the U.S. in particular). They will supply a literature list on request.

North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Park Station, New York, N.Y. 10025. and P.O. Box 226, Berkeley, Calif., 94701. Publishes the monthly NACLA NEWSLETTER (subscription: \$5.00 per year).

Africa Research Group (ARG), P.O. Box 213, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

Pacific Studies Center (PSC), 1963 University Ave., East Palo Alto, Calif. 94301. Publishes the monthly PACIFIC RESEARCH AND WORLD EMPIRE TELEGRAM (subscription: \$5.00 per year).



Southern Africa Committee, Room 752, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027. Publishes the SOUTHERN AFRICA NEWSLETTER.

Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL), P.O. Box 4224, Havana, Cuba. Publishes TRICONTINENTAL (bimonthly; subscription: \$3.60 per year).

National Action/Research on the Military/Industrial Complex (NARMIC), 160 North 15th St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19102. Publishes pamphlets on military and police activities.

Committee of Returned Volunteers (CRV), 840 West Oakdale Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60657. Publishes the CRV NEWSLETTER and 2, 3, MANY...

## 2. Selected periodicals:

NEW WORLD (quarterly), Box 221, Kingston, Jamaica.  
PUNTO FINAL (weekly, in Spanish), Union Central 1010, Oficina 1108, Santiago, Chile.

MARCHA (weekly, in Spanish), Casilla de Correos No. 1702, Montevideo, Uruguay.

AFRICASIA (biweekly, in French), 32 Rue Washington, Paris 8<sup>e</sup>, France.

## 3. Samples of radical Third World studies:

Arrighi, Giovanni. "The Political Economy of Rhodesia," NEW LEFT REVIEW, No. 39, Sept./Oct., 1966.

Bettelheim, Charles, INDIA INDEPENDENT, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1968.

Fitch, Bob and Oppenheimer, Mary, GHANA: END OF AN ILLUSION, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1966.

Frank, Andre Gunder, CAPITALISM AND UNDER-DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1967.

Petrus, James and Zeitlin, Maurice, ed., LATIN AMERICA: REFORM OR REVOLUTION?, Fawcett Publications, Inc., New York, 1968.

## ADDENDA: FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS OF NACLA

Available from NACLA (address above):

### YANKEE GO HOME

A general pamphlet dealing with the history and culture of Latin America and the consequent forms of U.S. domination of the area - military, cultural, political and economic. Designed to give a sense of who Latin Americans are, the pamphlet will include songs, short essays by Latin Americans and many graphics.

### MEXICO: A STUDY OF DOMINATION AND REPRESSION

Revised and updated edition of a NACLA pamphlet first published during the Mexican student movement

### MEXICO: A STUDY OF DOMINATION AND REPRESSION

A revised and updated edition of a NACLA pamphlet first published during the Mexican student movement of 1968. The new pamphlet will include eyewitness and analytical accounts of the student uprisings, government repression, and the movement which has developed around the struggle to free political prisoners. New in this edition are articles on the role of women in society and in revolutionary struggle in Mexico, the decline of land reform and a new analysis of U.S. penetration of the Mexican economy. A list of U.S. corporations, non-profit organizations, universities and lobbyists involved in Mexico is also included together with several shorter pieces of great interest. Single copies: \$1 plus 25¢ postage; bulk rates (postage extra): 10-49 copies, 75¢ each; 50 or more copies, 60¢ each.

Available from the Africa Research Group (address above):

### AFRICAN STUDIES IN AMERICA - THE EXTENDED FAMILY

Describes how the African studies industry in major American universities has been developed over the past 15 years by a coordinated network of foundations, government agencies, big corporations, and establishment scholars, in response to continued American expansion in Africa. Single copies: 50¢.

### INTERNATIONAL DEPENDENCY - HOW AMERICA UNDERDEVELOPS THE WORLD

A critical analysis of the efforts of America's international corporate elite to develop multilateral solutions for increasing U.S. penetration of the Third World. Single copies: \$1.00.



# NACLA Newsletter

Each month the NACLA NEWSLETTER contains a chapter in the story of U.S. domination in Latin America - naming names, corporations, foundations, lobbies, government agencies, universities, etc. These feature articles are accompanied by reprints and translations of important articles, book reviews, and significant research documents. Minimum contribution for subscription (ten issues): \$5.00 U.S. dollars, \$5.50 Canadian dollars, \$6.00 other foreign; institutions: \$10.00.

## Additional NACLA Literature...

### THE UNIVERSITY-MILITARY-POLICE COMPLEX

The most comprehensive tabulation in print of military and police research on U.S. campuses. Contains an introductory essay by Michael Klare, descriptions of some 40 military research organizations, and inventories of campus-based research on chemical and biological warfare, foreign affairs, and law enforcement. All documents are cross-indexed to expedite the correlation of data. (New edition available June 1970.) Single copies: \$1 plus 25¢ postage; bulk rates (postage extra): 10-49 copies, 75¢ each; 50 or more copies, 60¢ each.

### SUBLIMINAL WARFARE - THE ROLE OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

An analysis of how agencies of cultural imperialism service U.S. corporate and military domination of the Third World. Includes charts, tables and graphs on U.S. foundations, government organizations and universities active in Latin American Affairs, plus a study of social science research and counterinsurgency, and one on the politics of cultural exchange (the Institute for International Education). Single copies: 75¢ plus 25¢ postage; bulk orders (postage extra): 10-49 copies, 60¢ each; 50 or more copies, 40¢ each.

### WHO RULES COLUMBIA?

Originally published in June 1968, following the historic Columbia University student strike, this analysis of the Columbia power structure has served as the model for dozens of institutional studies. Describes the nature of Columbia's ties with the CIA, the Institute for Defense Analyses, the Department of Defense, etc., and presents a documented analysis of the corporate, financial and real estate interests which govern the university. New edition includes original text plus additional documents, and fold-out chart of Columbia's ruling elite. Single copies: 75¢ plus 25¢ postage; bulk rates (postage extra): 10-49 copies, 60¢ each; 50 or more copies, 40¢ each.

### THE ROCKEFELLER EMPIRE / LATIN AMERICA

A special reprint of two NACLA Newsletters cataloging the Rockefeller family's holdings and operations in Latin America--including oil companies, estates, banks, resorts, "non profit" front organizations, etc. Also includes a description of Nelson Rockefeller's entourage during his 1969 fact-finding mission in Latin America. Single copies: 50¢ plus 15¢ postage. Bulk rates (add postage): 10-49 copies, 35¢ each; 50 or more copies, 30¢ each.



### THE HANNA INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

The story of four midwest family dynasties that built an industrial and financial empire comprising Hanna Mining Company, National Steel, Consolidated Coal, and the Chrysler Corporation, and how members of these four families -- the Hannas, Weirs, Humphreys and loves -- were major financial backers of the Taft and Goldwater campaigns. Also tells how Hanna Mining secured a concession to mine Brazil's richest iron ore deposit after the 1964 coup. Single copies: 35¢ plus 10¢ postage; bulk rates (postage extra): 10-49 copies, 25¢ each; 50-99 copies, 20¢ each; 100 or more copies, 15¢ each.

### THE GREAT SOUTH ASIAN WAR: U.S. IMPERIAL STRATEGY IN ASIA

A reprint of two articles by Mike Klare on U.S. military policy in the Pacific-Indian Ocean area: "The Great South Asian War," from the NDATION, and "U.S. 'Basing Arrangements' in Asia," from COMMONWEAL. An analysis of the role of Vietnam in U.S. global strategy. Single copies: 35¢ plus 10¢ postage; bulk rates (postage extra): 10-49 copies, 25¢ each; 50-99 copies, 20¢ each; 100 or more copies, 15¢ each.

### U.S. MILITARY AND POLICE OPERATIONS IN THE THIRD WORLD

Contains articles and documents from the NACLA NEWSLETTER on U.S. military forces abroad, AID-Office of Public Safety police assistance programs in Latin America, U.S. bases in the Third World and other relevant statistical data. Also includes material on the mercenarization of third world armies and a list of U.S. military interventions abroad since 1789. Single copies: 50¢ plus 15¢ postage; bulk rates (postage extra): 10 or more copies, 30¢ each.

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