

Labor's Cold Warrior-II

Lovestone Now at Odds With Free Trade Unions

12/31/65
Second of a Series

By Dan Kurzman

Washington Post Staff Writer

During an executive committee meeting in Miami last March, AFL-CIO president George Meany launched an unusually vitriolic attack on the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

The ICFTU, Meany snorted, was an "ineffective bureaucracy right down to the fairies."

His remark provoked a wave of outrage from labor leaders abroad and from American trade unionists who oppose the foreign policies of Meany and his adviser on foreign affairs—Jay Lovestone.

The ICFTU contains many of the non-Communist world's most important labor federations. And last July, when some 300 representatives from more than 90 countries met in Amsterdam for an ICFTU conference, the atmosphere was thick with anti-AFL-CIO feeling.

Ironically, Lovestone helped to establish the ICFTU, which became a bulwark against international commu-



Associated Press

IRVING BROWN

... European agent

nism. It was, in fact, this achievement that gave Lovestone the advantage he needed to become the nearly uncontested voice of U.S. labor abroad.

Here is how it happened:

After World War II, the See **LOVESTONE, A7, Col. 4**

then independent CIO helped to form the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), which included Communist unions. The AFL, partly because of Lovestone's advice, boycotted the organization, warning that the Reds would soon dominate it.

Also Winning Sympathy

The AFL proved to be right. While the CIO found it difficult struggling against a Communist program geared to smash the Marshall Plan, the AFL was independently helping to make the Marshall Plan a success and winning the sympathies of the underdeveloped world as well.

Lovestone's principal agent in Europe was Irving Brown. A chubby, engaging man with masterful diplomatic talents, he first met Lovestone in 1932 when the latter, then a disident Communist, spoke before Brown's Socialist club at

New York University. He soon became a Lovestonite — supporter of Lovestone's anti-Stalinist but nonetheless Marxist political faction.

After the war, when Lovestone had become a staunch anti-Communist, Brown persuaded some labor groups to split away from Communist-controlled labor federations in France and Italy, thereby preventing the success of general strikes that might have severely threatened the vast U.S. aid program. He supplied such European unions with money, typewriters, technical help, and encouragement to resist Communist takeovers.

Brown also arranged for the use of strongarm men to meet the strongarm efforts of the Communists to prevent the unloading of ships crammed with Marshall Plan goods.

Support Offered

Meanwhile, Lovestone threw the AFL's support to nationalist forces in the underdeveloped world who were fighting colonialism and then local Communists. Harry Goldberg, an old Lovestonite, traveled throughout India and Indonesia offering support to free unions. Richard Deverall helped to set up a free labor movement in Japan.

Thus, in 1949, when the CIO withdrew from the WFTU and joined the AFL in forming the ICFTU as a competitive organization, Lovestone was in command with the AFL enjoying the goodwill of free labor everywhere.

Lovestone's tactics, which in many respects were Stalinist tactics in reverse, had proved extremely fruitful. In fact, they helped save Western Europe from Communist domination. It was only after Stalin died in 1954 that Lovestone came into conflict with the world free labor movement, which was anxious for peace and tranquility. For while Soviet policy gradually moved toward "peaceful coexistence," Lovestone's didn't.

He has since indicated many times that he is opposed to a relaxation of cold war tensions unless the Communists agree to such unlikely concessions as the democratic reunification of Germany or the tearing down of the Berlin wall.

He has challenged the U.S. Government's policy of building "bridges" to Eastern Europe through increased trade

and cultural relations. He has said that Russia and Communist China differ only over the means of burying the West. He has informally opposed wheat shipments to Russia.

Currently at Odds

Meany is currently at odds with the ICFTU over the organism's failure to finance the strengthening of free unions in the underdeveloped countries.

Meany and Lovestone are pushing for pragmatic, American-style unionism with emphasis on anti-communism, collective bargaining, and independence from government and political parties.

Most European unions, on the other hand, are linked to some political party and feel that it is the role of governments, not unions, to give large-scale aid to needy groups.

The governments in the underdeveloped nations themselves are, for their part, no longer anxious as they once were for the AFL-CIO to organize and support unions at home. They want to be able to control their domestic unions in some degree, and they are afraid that too much outside influence will involve these unions in the cold war.

In recent months, almost a dozen African unions that had been affiliated with the ICFTU have withdrawn and joined a neutralist federation.

Much of the Afro-Asian world's good-will toward U.S. labor evaporated in 1955 when Meany publicly linked India's late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru with Yugoslav President Tito, calling them "aides and allies of communism." United Auto Workers Presi-

dent Walter P. Reuther later flew to India in an effort to patch things up.

Opposition to Lovestone's policies is evident not only within the ICFTU but also in the CIO segment of the U.S. labor Federation.

Reuther is reluctant to oppose Lovestone publicly and thereby risk a collapse of the AFL-CIO merger on international matters. These, he feels, are secondary to domestic issues. Reuther also has no desire to damage his chances for a shot at the Federation presidency when Meany eventually steps down.

Nevertheless, Reuther voted with the majority against Meany at the Amsterdam conference on the relatively minor question of which of two competing Tunisian labor delegations should be seated.

He again stood up to Meany and Lovestone at the AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco early this month. Lovestone vigorously called for a "step-up" of U.S. anti-communism activities in Vietnam, but finally, after insistence by Reuther, agreed to a resolution saying it is up to President Johnson to decide on military needs.

CIO and European trade union leaders are also concerned at reports that Lovestone maintains close ties with the Central Intelligence Agency. This, they feel, damages the AFL-CIO's credibility as an independent labor movement.

Denies Association

Lovestone, who with his labor contacts everywhere is regarded as one of this country's principal repositories of cold war intelligence information, denies that he has any association with the CIA. He maintains that if he does obtain information bearing on national security he naturally, as a good American, makes such reports available to the Government.

Another aspect of Lovestone's reported involvement with U.S. Government activities that is especially irksome to CIO and foreign labor leaders is his influence over U.S. labor attaches stationed in embassies abroad.

Viewed as Key Man

Some responsible union sources say that labor attaches, particularly in such key places as London, Paris, Rome, and Brussels, always get Lovestone's stamp of

approval. In some cases, after they take over, they remain in constant contact with him, the sources said.

Complaints are also voiced that if an attache is mistrusted by Lovestone, an assistant attache is often around to report on his activities. One South American country conceded he had been reluctant to meet with anti-American and leftist labor elements for fear that Lovestone might find out and object.

In 1964, an AFL-CIO employe went to Yugoslavia on a vacation trip, and his arrival, according to one source, was promptly reported to Lovestone by a U.S. Embassy official. When the traveler, on his return to Washington, applied for a job as labor attache, he reportedly had to submit to questioning by Lovestone on his political views.

NEXT: Lovestone's Latin operations.