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ABSTRACT

THE U.S. LABOR ATTACHE: EXPECTATIONS AND REALITY

by Joseph R. Fiszman

This is a study of the goals, organization, and operation of a specialized program of the United States Government in the area of international relations. Established in 1943, the labor attaché program functions under the auspices of the State Department and within the framework of the U.S. Foreign Service. In addition to the State Department and the Foreign Service, other official and nonofficial groups have an interest in the program. Of major importance among these is the U.S. Labor Department and the American labor movement. The former's interest grows from its position as member (along with the Departments of State, Agriculture, and Commerce) on the Board of the unified Foreign Service, as well as from its "specialized" activities in the area of labor affairs; the latter's involvement derives from its general interest in labor problems. Each of these groups attached different expectations and values, though, to the program and perceived different characteristics as being the most suitable for its personnel. In stating their personnel expectations, each group projected its own group "personality" in its vision of the "ideal"-type labor attaché.

The study is based on a literature which contains the labor attaché reports of the Departments of State, Labor, and Commerce, and appointments and appointments (c) statements of the academies of the findings which emerge from persons in government which elicited a high level of interest with foreign trade and 1957 to 1959--and the unions; (f) a study of the attachés and assistants from 1943 to 1957, the analysis of the various backgrounds in the transfers, and Certain aspects of the aspects characterizing the international relations of Service. Similarly the agricultural attachés

The study is based upon (a) available official and nonofficial literature which contains statements of group expectations relative to the labor attaché program; (b) interviews with officials in the Departments of State, Labor, and other government agencies, as well as with elected and appointed officials of the American trade union movement; (c) statements and testimonies secured from labor attachés who spent the academic year 1958-59 on detail in the United States; (d) the findings which emerged from a questionnaire mailed to knowledgeable persons in government as well as in private interest groups and which elicited a high response rate (68%); (e) informal interviews conducted with foreign trade unionists in this country--during the period 1957 to 1959--under the auspices of the U.S. government or the trade unions; (f) a detailed social background analysis of all U.S. labor attachés and assistant labor attachés who served in the program from 1943 to 1957, the period for which complete data were available; (g) an analysis of the career patterns followed by labor attachés from various backgrounds in terms of longevity in the program, assignments, transfers, and final job disposition.

Certain aspects of the labor attaché program were compared with aspects characterizing another specialized U.S. program in the area of international relations--namely, that of the Foreign Agricultural Service. Similarly, the social backgrounds and career patterns of U.S. agricultural attachés were analyzed and compared with those

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The major findings of this study, however, are as follows:

1. Each group interested and involved in the program indeed projected into the "ideal" labor attaché type its own collective group personality.

2. The type envisioned by the group immediately in charge of and responsible for the program (i. e., the State Department and the Foreign Service) dominates its ranks.

3. Persons recruited from sources other than the State Department and the Foreign Service assimilate in time the values and styles of the dominant group for reasons of personal career and for greater effectiveness within the diplomatic "team." Such accommodativeness, however, does not necessarily mean that the achievement of the program's goals are thereby facilitated.

4. The American trade union movement envisioned in the labor attaché program a vehicle for its participation in U.S. decision-making in the area of foreign affairs. However, because the personnel

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drawn to the program from the trade unions tends to assimilate into the prevalent State Department/Foreign Service bureaucracy (as stated in 3 above) with a concomitant weakening of their trade union points of reference, the influence of organized labor diminishes accordingly. It is suggested, furthermore, that even were the labor attachés of labor movement background more persistent in their labor-movement-related points of reference the results, as far as the trade unions are concerned, would not be very different (a) because of some of the intrinsic weaknesses of the program--its conception, administration, and operation--and (b) because the American labor movement had no suggestions to make in the area of foreign affairs which would differ substantively in great measure from those generally advanced by the government.

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THE U. S. LABOR ATTACHÉ
EXPECTATIONS AND REALITY

By

Joseph R. Fiszman

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

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Department of Political Science

1964

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Acknowledgment is made to the University of Oregon for making possible the use of its data processing facilities. Last but not least, thanks are due to Mrs. Rae Noto Fiszman without whose prodding and actual work (editing, typing and proofreading) this project would never have been completed. Despite this wide array of assistance, the author alone is responsible for any errors which might have unintentionally penetrated these pages.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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This is a study of a United States program in the broad area of international politics but specifically focused on labor. As are other programs in the field of international relations the U.S. labor attachedé program, too, is essentially an effort in intercultural communication. The aim of this particular program is twofold: (a) to bring to American foreign policy-makers an awareness of the values, desires, and aspirations of foreign labor elites, of the conditions in which foreign labor lives and the conditions in which their organizations function, and (b) to transmit to foreign labor publics the "message" of America in order to create among them a favorable attitude towards the United States.

It becomes increasingly evident that the overwhelming task of U. S. foreign policy is to win the contest with international Communism, and specifically with the countries officially committed to that ideology. Although the United States has been engaged in this combat since the end of World War I--with a lull during the period of World

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¹ Joseph R. Fisz
Semi-colonial Political
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War II when the United States and the Soviet Union were in alliance against a common enemy--this Cold War contest was renewed at the end of the Second World War with the defeat of that common enemy and the emergence of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. as the two dominant powers in the international arena.

The Soviet Union, from its birth and for years afterwards isolated from diplomatic and economic relations with many governments of the world, sought to win allies over the heads of these governments by appealing to various organizations and groups, primarily those associated with the working class or purporting to speak for that class. The end of World War II saw the spread of Soviet political and military influence over Eastern Europe and the Balkan states, and the rise of Communism in other parts of the world. In 1949 the Chinese Communists came to power on the mainland and the appeal of Communism--as presented by the Chinese Communists--became coupled with slogans appealing to national and racial grievances deeply felt in colonial or semicolonial areas of the globe, freshly emergent into formal independence or striving for independence.¹

Although in the interwar period labor parties committed in some degree to a Socialist ideology had already assumed governmental

¹ Joseph R. Fiszman, "The Appeal of Maoism in Pre-industrial, Semicolonial Political Cultures," Political Science Quarterly, LXXIV (March, 1959), p. 71-88.

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authority for various periods of time in some European countries as well as in Australia and New Zealand, this trend became especially pronounced after World War II. Parties with differing perceptions of the Socialist ideology came into governmental office alone or in coalition with other groups within society. In the newly emerged nations of Africa and Asia, particularly, organized labor came to be recognized as a tangible power factor in domestic politics, however weak the organizations, however poorly organized and fragmented. In many of the new countries trade unions were among the few native organizational structures tolerated by colonial administrators in the past to a greater or lesser degree, and these organizations were utilized by a young, Western-educated and politically oriented intelligentsia as vehicles for expression. In many of these societies trade unions served as schools of political education and leadership training, so that with the coming of freedom from colonial domination their cadres were ready to assume governmental authority, as they frequently did. In countries where organized labor groups or their leaders failed to assume formal power, they nevertheless constituted an effective opposition waiting in the wings for official authority to fall into their hands.

In the Cold War contest between East and West, between the Western powers led by the United States on the one hand, and international Communism led by the Soviet Union (and Communist China)

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on the other, winning the sympathies of organized and Left-oriented, but ideologically perhaps not too deeply committed, labor thus became a major objective.

The American approach towards winning the "friendship" of foreign labor assumed two distinct forms: nongovernmental and governmental. American trade union organizations undertook to aid the United States in the battle against international Communism by representing the "democratic" (but essentially, American) point of view to various labor groups in different parts of the world or at gatherings of organized international labor; and the U.S. government began its attempt to communicate its message to foreign labor circles through various labor-directed propaganda efforts conceived by the United States Information Agency, but primarily through the establishment of the labor attaché program. Often the official and "private" U.S. effort to win foreign labor groups to the American point of view assumed aspects of a joint operation. Thus, for example, immediately after World War II representatives of American trade unions went into Germany, Italy, France, Greece, and also into Japan in order to assist in the rebuilding of "sympathetic" trade union organizations in these countries. In this endeavor American labor representatives worked independently and/or through the offices of military governments which were established on American-occupied territories of the defeated Axis countries. Most U.S. military

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governments had special labor advisory departments. Moreover, since many German and Austrian labor leaders spent the years of Nazi and Fascist rule in exile in the United States, often dependent upon the assistance of the American labor movement, their return to their home countries was now facilitated, and once in their homelands they maintained their links with American labor organizations. American labor leaders, furthermore, were incorporated as "public members" into delegations to some United Nations conferences and, particularly, to the meetings of the International Labor Organization, a United Nations' specialized agency with headquarters in Geneva--a remaining organization of the League of Nations under whose auspices it was originally created. The ILO's charter calls for representation by each member-country of delegations composed of spokesmen from government, the trade unions, and employer organizations. Persons drawn from the American labor movement also became involved in the administration of U.S. foreign aid programs. And, finally, American labor leaders took an interest (and were invited to do so) in the shaping of the U.S. labor attaché program. Obviously, involvement of the American labor movement in U.S. foreign policy marked a departure from labor's erstwhile isolationism and from its position calling for the protection of American labor and of the American economy from foreign competition. It also reflected a sense of organized American labor's integration into the American political

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system, an acceptance on its part--with few exceptions--of the basic assumptions guiding the United States in the field of international politics. It further signified the increased importance of the American labor movement--since the days of the New Deal--as a political factor commanding recognition by official policy-makers. The importance of international labor in the consideration of foreign policy alternatives has already been mentioned.

This study, although it will touch upon the independent effort of American labor organizations in this field of international relations, will be primarily concerned with the official attempt of the government--specifically, the U.S. labor attaché program. In so doing, exploration will be made of the often conflicting interests, values, and aims associated with that program by official and private groups, including the American labor movement, and how these came to bear on the administration of the program and its personnel policies.

II

Professor Harold D. Lasswell describes the major avenues through which a nation tries to achieve its objectives as deals, goods, force, and ideas.² The first of these is the road of diplomatic

²As restated by Howland H. Sargeant, "Information and Cultural Representation Overseas," The Representation of the United States Abroad, The American Assembly, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 68.

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In modern times this method of attaining a nation's political objectives in the sphere of international politics has been given such designations as "psychological warfare" or "political warfare," practiced both in times of war and relative peace. Some students of this aspect of international relations would, in fact, include in it "all activities designed to influence the minds and behavior of foreign

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³ William E. Dawson,
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⁴ "The Strategy of
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target groups, whether in times of peace or war."³ An official British paper on the subject expresses it in even more concrete operational terms when it states that "for practical purposes, the principal weapon of political warfare may be described as the combined operation of diplomacy and propaganda."⁴

The particular aspect of international relations with which this study is concerned--the U.S. labor attaché program--falls clearly into the area of "political warfare" in that it combines both functions of a diplomatic nature as well as functions of a "persuasive" character. The targets of the U.S. labor attaché's influence attempt are labor groups in foreign countries. Although his work involves the gathering of socio-economic data relative to foreign conditions (e. g., conditions of work, labor-management laws, cost-of-living information, etc.) which could be described (and are so described officially) as "nonpolitical" and "technical," his primary goal is political indeed. Moreover, if some of his "technical" functions are considered as aspects of intelligence, the labor attaché can even more completely be considered a "political warfare officer"

³William E. Daugherty and Morris Janowitz, A Psychological Warfare Casebook, Operations Research Office, Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1958), p. 11.

⁴"The Strategy of Political Warfare," official statement, Government of Great Britain, in Wilbur Schramm, Four Working Papers on Propaganda Theory (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955), p. 67

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⁵ W. H. Lawrence
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since intelligence does constitute one of the cornerstones of "psychological" or "political" warfare. Furthermore, some of his other activities involve "political intelligence" as well. The U.S. labor attaché may thus be considered part diplomat (since he deals with foreign government labor officials as well as with members of foreign labor movements), part propagandist, and part intelligence gatherer. He is often described as a "shirtsleeve diplomat."

The importance of an effort such as his--the winning of foreign labor groups many of whom were traditionally oriented towards the Left--was emphasized in 1958 by then Vice President Richard M. Nixon, in a speech before the National Press Club in Washington after his return from an eventful and violence-ridden tour through several Latin American countries, when he said that it is the task of the United States to convince workers and students that the "United States does not favor dictators or making the rich richer."⁵

The question which emerges then is: How can a society such as that of the United States, committed as it is to the economic principles of free enterprise and the traditions of bourgeois liberalism and which in the past has supported the status quo, successfully compete with the U.S.S.R. and Communist China in appealing to international labor?

⁵W.H. Lawrence, "Nixon Urges U.S. Reassure Latins: Says Students and Workers Should Be Shown Nation Opposes Dictatorships," The New York Times, May 22, 1958.

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And especially in areas newly emerged from Western colonialism or where the labor movement gained strength much because of inequities generated by the status quo and which it challenged successfully--how can the United States effectively compete with the Soviet Union and Communist China, countries which are at least ideologically committed to upset the existing order in such areas? And, furthermore, is an official U.S. program such as that of the labor attachés the proper vehicle for such contest, and if so, what type of person, of what background, is best suited for the job? The groups which the U. S. labor attaché program aims to reach are, after all, traditional targets of Communist propaganda.

Professor Lasswell writes: "The end of ideological policy is favorable attitudes; the most distinctive means are symbols."⁶ Some of the symbols used by Vice President Nixon in the aforementioned speech (e.g., the rich getting richer, the poor getting poorer) are quite new to the official American political, and especially foreign Policy, vocabulary but represent old props in the political lexicon of the Left, Communist as well as non-Communist. It is believed by many that precisely through a common set of symbols (a common language) can the U.S. labor attaché reach his target's "heart and

⁶Harold D. Lasswell, "Policy and the Intelligence Function," Propaganda in War and Crisis: Materials for American Policy, ed. Daniel Lerner, (New York: George W. Steward, Inc., 1951),p. 60.

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How is this to be accomplished? What personnel elements at the service of the U.S. government are most adequately equipped--in terms of background, training, and attitudes--for the likely accomplishment of these goals?

Due to obvious research difficulties this study does not answer --nor is this its intention--this most fascinating of questions which emerges in connection with the problem. Rather, it focuses upon the perception of various groups interested in the labor attaché program as to who in the United States could "best" facilitate goal accomplishment, and in what manner. It is further the purpose of this study to determine how these various perceptions and expectations are accommodated in the actual administration of the program.

III

The objectives established for this study are then as follows:

1. To describe the operation, functions, and administration of the U.S. labor attaché program--i. e., organizational responsibilities, scope, formally stated as well as implied duties, formal as well as informal working arrangements, conditions in the field, stated as well as implied goals of the program.

2. To determine the expectations that the various official and

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3. To determine the various group perceptions regarding the personnel of the labor attaché program--to establish the "type" each of the groups involved felt would be most beneficial to the program and to learn which particular groups' personnel perceptions were met to a greater or lesser extent.

At the outset two related hypotheses were formulated:

1. Each group interested and involved in the labor attaché Program tended in its perception of the "ideal" labor attaché type (in terms of social background, including education, training, professional skills, as well as in terms of social identifications and values) to Project its own "group personality."

2. The "type" envisioned as most desirable for the job of labor attaché by the group immediately in charge of and responsible for the operation of the labor attaché program tends to be the most dominant among the personnel engaged for the program.

The above hypotheses assume, of course, that groups give birth to particular social types reflective of their own group beliefs, values, loyalties, and styles. Emile Durkheim, for example, maintains that while individuals of common interests seek association with each other, the "association" itself in turn shapes the individual's

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values, beliefs, and style.⁷ Some groups, obviously, command greater loyalty than others and the various degrees of loyalty are determined by how disciplined, how homogeneous a group is, how successfully it manages to "socialize" its members and followers into its own system of values, mores, and beliefs. The success of a group in shaping its "type" depends upon the extent to which it is capable of meeting the individual member's varied needs, the extent to which he seeks favors and rewards from it. Such rewards need not necessarily be material in character--such as monetary prizes, advancement in position or in payscale--it may also be rewards of a more symbolic nature (such as letters of commendation, oral praise, bestowal of some insignia or title). It may finally be wholly spiritual (the expectation of heaven, the sense of having performed a good deed, personal satisfaction in having performed a task well, etc.). Groups committed to a total ideology, as well as closely knit corporate groups which try to regulate their member's daily activities, leave their stamp on the individual associated with them. From the moment the individual enters the group and accepts its basic goals and premises, he must also accept its rules of behavior, its code, and it is these rules, the code, the prevalent group style, rather than the formal

⁷ Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952), pp. 14-15.

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ideology and official goal themselves, which give rise to the group personality--and the individual, now subject to it, must adjust to it and assimilate if he is to continue in membership. The individual's actions become oriented to the group--criteria for his behavior is the thought of how the group might judge him, whether it will approve or disapprove. If initially his purpose in joining the group was geared more to the material or spiritual rewards the group offers, the pervasive, overwhelming need to be liked displaces in primacy the first motivation--and it is the group and his fellow group members to whom he looks for approval. When in need he begins to turn to the group for assistance and help thus deepening his dependence on the particular collectivity.

The fact that the private and governmental groups involved in shaping the labor attaché program are bureaucratized in various degrees, does not mean that the above-mentioned patterns of group-individual relationships are any weaker than in groups of informal structure which are more oriented towards the individual member and "warmer" in interpersonal relationships and general atmosphere. As Robert Presthus writes of the group-oriented, upward-mobile types in the big, bureaucratic organization:

[They] personify organizational values. The true "bureaucratic personality," they accept the organization's latent goals of power, growth, and survival. They define and express its values to the outside world. Although other members may reject its collective values, the upward-

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If in the organization tied together by the availability of material rewards (such as a business enterprise or a government agency with authority to promote or demote) only the upward-mobiles succumb to the prevailing code and come to depend on it for their existential sustenance (while the noncommitted look upon it only as a source of income), the organization which offers rewards of spiritual nature only is likely to command a deeper loyalty from most if not all of its members simply because their motives for joining were idealistic and voluntary to begin with. For example, the intellectual employed in a labor organization does not work only--nor even primarily--for monetary remuneration. In many cases he could command greater financial reward for his skills on the open market were he not identified with the labor movement. The people of nonworkingclass background who were drawn to the movement in its early, struggling days

. . . were imbued with a certain amount of social idealism and saw the labor movement as a struggling, pioneering,

⁸ Robert Presthus, The Organizational Society: An Analysis and a Theory (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 131.

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But even later as labor organizations have grown in size, have become bureaucratized, professionalized, and have assumed many of the characteristics of the other institutions of society (including business organizations), its staff--although more cynical than the early pioneers--looks upon the movement as something more than a source of income. They become enwrapped in its patterns, live off its particular ethos, and although often dissatisfied with their job, they bear the stamp of the organization.

It is in these terms that each group--governmental and private (including the trade union movement)--saw in the "ideal" labor attaché a projection of its own personality. Each of these groups, feeling that its perception of the labor attaché program is the "right" one--in terms of functions and goals--could see only "its own men" performing the job at optimum effectiveness.

IV

The following research procedures were followed in the course of this study:

⁹ Mark Starr, "More Than a Paycheck," The House of Labor: Internal Operations of American Unions, ed. J. B. S. Hardman and Maurice F. Neufeld (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1951), p. 498.

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1. The first task was to trace the background, origin, as well as details of organization of the U.S. labor attaché program. This was accomplished on the basis of available literature, official statements, legislative and executive mandates, intradepartmental studies, intra- and interdepartmental memoranda, research papers by officials and private citizens, and similar documents. These were supplemented by interviews with informants in the U.S. State Department, U.S. Labor Department, in organizations of the American labor movement, as well as with others who were personally involved in the formation and early steps of the program.

2. Determination of the expectations relative to the U.S. labor attaché program, selection of personnel, and especially the perceptions held by various interested groups regarding the "ideal" labor attaché type were established on the basis of published statements emanating from such sources as the State Department, Labor Department, the American labor movement, as well as other groups associated with the program in one way or another (including organizations of the American business community). These documents gave evidence of what the normative expectations of these groups were (or still are) and also of what they perceive the actual, existing conditions of the program to be. Such statements also gave indication of how these groups perceived their own role and contribution to the program. Here, too, public evidence was supplemented by interviews

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with leaders and officials of the American labor movement who at one time or another were involved in the program or generally active in the field of international labor affairs, as well as with officials in government directly concerned with these matters.

3. Data on the social backgrounds of all U.S. labor attachés and assistant labor attachés for the period 1943-1957 were gathered, ordered, and analyzed. The labor attaché program was initiated in 1943 and full data on all labor attachés in the program were available for the period. While all available personal background data were sought and analyzed, special effort was made to trace evidences of labor movement identification. Labor movement identification is defined here as any sort of organizational or professional association with an organization of the American labor movement (i.e., trade unions, auxiliary committees and leagues, labor press, labor education in a union, some other labor-oriented organization, or even in an academically based center for labor or adult education, etc.).

The roster of U.S. labor attachés and assistant labor attachés was first compiled on the basis of current lists supplied by the Office of International Labor Affairs (since 1960, renamed Bureau of International Labor Affairs) of the U.S. Department of Labor. Late personnel additions as well as exits from the program were gathered from the current issues of the monthly O.I.L.A. Memorandum (since 1960, International Labor). Biographical data as well as

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information on rank, pay-grade, appointments, and transfers were obtained from the appropriate annual or bi-annual volumes of The Biographic Register published by the Department of State. This publication contains personal data on all officers of the State Department, the Foreign Service, U.S. Mission to the United Nations, foreign economic aid organizations, U.S. Information Agency, the Foreign Agricultural Service, as well as some other agencies active in international affairs. Data obtained from this source was checked against information gathered from other sources for possible errors, omissions, or contradictions. The most frequently used supplementary sources were the special Biographic Register of U.S. labor attachés issued sporadically by the Labor Department and the aforementioned O.I.L.A. Memorandum (International Labor). In the course of checking social background data of labor attachés in State Department and Labor Department sources, certain differences in the treatment given to data of an individual officer's background by the State Department publication as compared to that given by the Labor Department publication became apparent. Thus, the background data provided by the Labor Department spotlighted any association an individual labor attaché may have had with a labor organization regardless of how minor in character or of how short a duration. On the other hand, State Department sources emphasized such prestige features as academic degrees held, military rank, previous government

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employment, etc. In some cases the State Department's Biographic Register overlooked prior associations with the labor movement, especially if these were of short duration or "minor" in character. Although prior to entering the labor attaché program several persons were employed by the Jewish Labor Committee, for some reason the "Jewish" was omitted from most personal background releases emanating from either the State Department or Labor Department but, instead, such employment was recorded as being with "labor unions" or "labor committees."¹⁰

Although the available background data provided certain clues as to the religious, ethnic, or racial background of some labor attachés, such information was not available for the entire universe. For this reason the social backgrounds of labor attachés were not analyzed from this, admittedly, important perspective.

¹⁰ The Jewish Labor Committee is not a union but a social service and action organization operating within the labor movement. During World War II it aided trade union leaders in exile from occupied Europe. After World War II it assisted in the resettlement of Socialists and trade unionists who refused to return to their Communist dominated homelands in Eastern Europe. Gradually it shifted its focus to such diversified tasks as aid to war orphans, assistance to Israel, combatting antisemitism in American labor, antidiscrimination education in general. It is also active in lobbying for a liberalized immigration law, the repeal of Taft-Hartley, exposing manifestations of antisemitism in the USSR, etc. It is supported primarily by trade unions whose membership or leadership is predominantly of Jewish origin, and by the Workmen's Circle, a Jewish fraternal insurance organization with some Socialist beginnings.

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4. A roster of persons "knowledgeable" about the labor attaché program was compiled from names suggested by experts in the field of international labor affairs, as well as from names encountered in the literature on this particular subject. All persons on the roster were U.S. citizens and rather prominent in their respective fields of activity. The roster included both private citizens and officials of the U.S. government (State Department, U.S. Information Agency, International Cooperation Administration--presently, Agency for International Development--and others) who were directly concerned with the U.S. labor attaché program. Among the private citizens were both elected and appointed officials of the American trade union movement who had a manifest interest in international affairs (by virtue of activity in special foreign affairs departments or committees, or because they have spoken or written on the subject, have served as delegates to international conferences as union representatives abroad, as public members of Foreign Service boards, etc.); elected and appointed officials of organizations of American business and industry (such as the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce) who had expressed opinions in public on the subject, and/or have served as employers' delegates or delegation advisors to conferences of the ILO in Geneva, or who in some other capacity have demonstrated awareness of the problem under investigation; journalists who have written on the subject; members

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of university or college faculties who, in the course of their professional activities as teachers or researchers both in this country as well as abroad, have come in contact with the labor attaché program. Not a few of the persons served in the past as labor attachés themselves or as labor advisors in some of the government agencies dealing with foreign labor affairs.

A questionnaire was designed and, after a pretest and subsequent revision, mailed to the 140 "knowledgeables" whose names appeared on the final list. This questionnaire (Appendix I) is divided into four parts, each designed to elicit different kinds of information. The first part sought to establish the respondent's personal background as well as the degree of his knowledge of the labor attaché program. The second tested the respondent's perception of the social backgrounds of the labor attachés actually serving in the program--this was sought in order to compare later the perceptions of the "knowledgeables" with the social background patterns of the labor attachés which were established on the basis of official documentary evidence. The third portion of the questionnaire was designed to extract information about the actual operation of the labor attaché program, and the fourth and last section sought to obtain general opinions about the program--i. e., opinions related to its success or its lack of success, and conditions leading to either contingency.

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the stationary of the Labor and Industrial Relations Center (presently, School of Labor and Industrial Relations) of Michigan State University. After an interim of one month had elapsed from the mailing of the questionnaire, a follow-up postal card was forwarded to all persons on the list of knowledgeable since the identities of those who had responded within that month could not have been determined--all responses, as requested, were anonymous. In one way or another 90% responded to the query--however, only 68% of the 140 persons on the list returned completed questionnaires.¹¹ These 68% (95 of the original 140) are referred to in the text as the "panel of knowledgeable."

What are their characteristics? What are some of their attributes which would qualify them as "knowledgeables" on the U.S. labor attaché program?

Among the responding knowledgeable were 90 (94.7%) males and 5 (5.3%) females. The majority (70.5%) fell within the 36-55 age bracket (8.4% were between the ages of 20 and 35; 33.7% between 36 and 45 years; 36.8% between 46 and 55 years; 16.8% were 56 years of age or over; the ages of 3.3% of the respondents were not known).

¹¹ Of the 140 questionnaires mailed out to "knowledgeable" persons on the roster, 95 returned completed questionnaires. However, as indicated above, many more were heard from--thus 31 of the persons on the list informed us that they could not respond for a variety of reasons, such as lack of adequate information, illness, travel, etc.

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In other words, in terms of age the group of responding knowledgeable was within the range generally considered the peak of professional activity and career achievement. In terms of occupation they fall into the following categories: Department of State/Foreign Service officials, 6.3%; Department of Labor, 9.5%; other U.S. government agencies, 8.4%; labor movement officials, 35.8%; university-college faculty, 28.4%; business and professions, 11.6%.

Within the large group of individuals affiliated with the American labor movement (34 persons), 29.4% were elected officials, 61.8% were appointed staff members, and 8.8% fell into some other category (elected/appointed, consultants, etc.). Of those not in government service at the time of response, 67.6% of the labor movement panelists, 74.1% of the academicians, and 72.7% of the business-professions group had all been at some time in the past in the service of the U.S. government (other than military)--in other words, 53.7% of the total panel who were not government officials had served as such at some prior time. Only 18.9% of all "knowledgeables" never at any time held any federal position (excluding service in the armed forces). Of those who did serve in the past as civilian officials with the U.S. government, most were employed with war agencies or as consultants and advisors to military governments, followed by service in the State Department or Foreign Service and the Labor Department, U.S. foreign aid and information agencies, etc. Most of their service ranged from one year to five.

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Members of the panel who in the past served in the federal government (but who were in private life at the time of responding to the questionnaire) had worked for the government in a variety of capacities: as noncivil service fulltime appointees (22.1%), as expert - consultants (18.9%), as U.S. delegates to official international conferences (10.5%), as members of advisory or examining boards and panels (8.4%), as civil service employees (7.4%), etc. Among them, 4.2% served in the past as Foreign Service officers and 3.2% as labor attachés.

As a group they were unusually well traveled and as far as the labor attaché program was concerned, 47.4% rated themselves as "very familiar" with labor attaché goals and 34.7% stated a "fair familiarity" with these goals. Only 15.8% of the "knowledgeables" thought that their familiarity with the U.S. labor attaché's goals is "slight" and 2.1% claimed nonfamiliarity with this aspect of the program. Since familiarity with the operation of the U.S. labor attaché program required some knowledge of the activities of labor attachés in the field, a smaller percentage of the panel members claimed great familiarity with the operation than with the goals of the program. Yet, 33.7% were able to rate themselves as "very familiar" with the operation, 30.5% as "fairly familiar," and another 30.5% as only "slightly familiar"; only 5.3% maintained that they are not familiar at all with the operation of the labor attaché

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As already indicated, the panel members were unusually well and widely traveled and, indeed, 75.8% of them developed their familiarity with the labor attaché program both in the United States and abroad; 16.8% obtained their knowledge only through overseas activities, and only 4.2% in the United States alone. Only 2.1% of the panel members did not personally know any present or former labor attachés while 38.9% claimed personal acquaintance with between 1 and 5 present or former labor attachés (24.2% admitted

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to knowing between 6 and 10 labor attachés, 18.9% between 11 and 20, 5.3% between 21 and 30, 1.1% between 31 and 50, 4.2% claimed to know personally "all" or "practically all" labor attachés, while 5.3% simply admitted to knowing personally "several" labor attachés.)

The 95 respondents were thus mature in age, well traveled, holding "responsible" positions inside and outside of government, and very or at least fairly familiar with a specialized and generally not well known program of the U.S. government in the area of foreign affairs.

5. Personal and informal interviews were conducted with officials in the Departments of State and Labor as well as in the U.S. Information Agency directly connected with the labor attaché program. Although informal in nature, the questions followed an established pattern and were aimed primarily at eliciting information about the functioning of the program. Since it was impossible to reach all labor attachés--much because of objections voiced by some officials in the Departments of State and Labor--written questions were submitted to labor attachés who found themselves in this country between assignments during the academic year 1958-59, for midcareer training, or on detail in the State Department or some other government agency. All those who were approached in this manner responded rather willingly and some supplemented their answers to the specific questions with lengthy personal statements (Appendix II).

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6. Informal personal interviews were conducted over a number of years (1956-59) with foreign trade unionists who came to this country under the auspices of the U.S. government or the AFL-CIO. Some of these interviews were conducted with the aid of interpreters.

Again, although informal in nature, the line of questioning followed a consistent pattern. The purpose of these interviews was to elicit impressions and opinions about the operation of the U.S. labor attaché program in the field--as seen by foreign trade unionists--and to get some idea how much they, the targets of the U.S. labor attaché's influence-attempt, know about the labor attachés in their area and how they feel about them and their activities. Because of the unsystematic character of these interviews and the limitations of the sample, such interviews are used here only as illustrations and as sources of some background data. Among those interviewed were trade union officials from Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Chile, Denmark, El Salvador, Great Britain, Honduras, India, Japan, Malaya and Singapore, Morocco, Pakistan, Peru, Sweden, as well as government labor officials from Brazil and Hong Kong (i.e., officials from Labor Ministry, Labor Bureau, etc.).

7. Since it was deemed advisable to compare some aspects of the labor attaché program with those of another specialized U.S. government program in the area of foreign affairs, data were collected on the Foreign Agricultural Service. Unlike the labor attaché

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program which is administered by the Department of State and the Foreign Service, the agricultural attaché program, since 1954, operates under the jurisdiction of a specialized U.S. agency, the Department of Agriculture. Thus, while similar in some respects the two attaché programs are dissimilar in other, rather crucial, areas, including that of administration, lines of responsibility, etc. Data on the functioning of the Foreign Agricultural Service were obtained from available literature, including government documents. These were supplemented with informative interviews with officials in the Departments of State and Agriculture. A roster of agricultural attachés was obtained from the latter Department, and the names so obtained were checked against The Biographic Register for social background data of the agricultural attaché universe. Similarly, information obtained from the Agricultural Department regarding post locations, appointments, and transfers were checked against data contained in The Register.

As is often the case, this project too was not free from difficulties encountered along the various research paths. The official nature of the subject under investigation made the difficulties and obstacles encountered quite severe at times. Since these may have a bearing on the general problem of empirical research in as sensitive an area as that of foreign policy, special discussion of these difficulties seems to be in order. The interested reader is referred to Appendix III for a discussion of these matters.

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CHAPTER II

LABOR AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Changing Diplomatic Patterns

In recent decades the process of international relations has undergone radical changes. These changes are perhaps most conspicuous in the "diplomatic phase" of international relations, irksome as this may be to the advocates of diplomatic professionalism, believers in "closed door" and "silent" diplomacy.

Without indulging in the merits or demerits of these changes, the remainder of this study is directly concerned with the implications of one element manifested in the changed diplomatic patterns. Whereas in the past diplomatic missions conducted their activities on a "government-to-government" basis, diplomats today broaden the fields of their labors in order to influence and win the sympathies of nongovernmental as well as governmental elites of the societies to which they are accredited. This tendency is especially pronounced since the time when power was assumed in certain countries by groups and parties committed to a political ideology transcending state boundaries in influence. The offensive of diplomats and emissaries

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A clear example of change, of nontraditional diplomatic activity, is the behavior manifested by post-Stalinist Soviet diplomats (as distinguished from nondiplomatic emissaries of the U.S.S.R. who never confined themselves to activities in official American government circles). The objective of the activities of such recent Soviet ambassadors to this country as Georgi N. Zaroubin, Mikhail ("Call me Mike," "Smiling Mike") A. Menshikov, Anatoly Fyodorovich Dobrynin was (and is) obviously aimed at influencing what is popularly known as "public opinion," at winning the ear even of elements which often are quite removed from the sources of foreign policy decisions, or even of those in opposition to the administration in Washington. To that end, Soviet diplomats accept invitations to appear before various private audiences, to foster cultural exchanges which would reach a broad public, and to appeal to a variety of groups in society some of which may be openly hostile to the Soviet Union. In 1957, for example, the then Soviet Ambassador Zaroubin approached the U.S. Department of State in regard to the possibility of arranging exchanges between trade union delegations of both countries--a proposal which was rejected offhand by George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial

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Organizations, on the grounds of (a) American labor's "long-standing opposition to having any relations with Soviet labor unions," and (b) because the approach was made not directly to the AFL-CIO but through the U.S. government which" in America . . . cannot speak for labor, nor give it any orders."¹

Similarly, however, United States diplomats abroad attempt to widen their activities to circles which often are removed from their respective governments, or are in opposition to them. From these opposition sources may come the leadership of future governments; from these oppositionist elites may emerge the future decision-makers if their influence even now does not bear to some degree, directly or indirectly, upon the decision-making process within their political systems. Activities such as these, aimed at winning sympathy for the official U.S. point of view, for the American political culture, economic system, goals and values, aimed at winning acceptance and understanding for the foreign policies of the United States, are concentrated especially in areas populated by what is generally described as "uncommitted peoples" where competing ideologies and forces come into play (even though their governments may officially follow the broad policies mapped out by one or another

¹"Soviet Bid Meets Rebuff by Meany," The New York Times, October 31, 1957.

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of the great powers). The labor sector of the societies to which the new diplomats are accredited is given special attention. In many countries of Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa the leadership of organized labor appears to be committed--even if not officially--to a political movement whose ultimate goal is the assumption of power. Unlike the leadership of our own trade union movement, who view their organizations as one of many groups in a pluralistic society devoted to a specialized function, labor leaders of the foreign political systems view their own organizations as a socio-political force more than one of purely economic pressure. Some foreign labor leaders frankly look upon trade union organizations as adjuncts to a party or ideological camp. And dependent upon degree of integration of the labor movement in the given political system, dependent upon the degree to which the workers of a given society manage to assimilate the prevailing and generally accepted all-societal values, is the proportionate tendency to retreat into a political "subculture" abundant with values of its own. Where the movement's integration in the political system is low and where the worker's chance to assimilate and identify himself with the all-societal values are less, the subculture of labor will become proportionately restricted, proportionately self-sufficient, as well as proportionately militant. From these "alienated" circles, however, may emerge future influential political elites, and the more deeply the labor movement in such a society is subculture-rooted the more radical will be the program of its elite.

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Although the phenomenon was noticeable in certain countries between both world wars, the period immediately following World War II saw the emergence of political parties based upon an organized trade union movement reaching for power independently or in coalition with other parties and groups. In many of the countries liberated after years of enemy occupation or after generations of colonial rule, where the workers lacked unified or coherent political direction, the Communists stepped in to win labor's sympathies and to a large extent were successful. A counteroffensive appeared to be necessary. The anti-Communist offensive when it came was spearheaded by political labor leaders of the non-Communist Left which nolens volens, through force of circumstance, became allied with the various instrumentalities of the American government (such as aid agencies, propaganda organizations, exchange programs, etc.) which after the war found itself in a power struggle with the Soviet Union. If, however, the anti-Communist struggle forced the non-Communist labor elite and the Americans into a (not always intentional) alliance, many foreign labor leaders nevertheless remained wary of their new political "partners," imbued as they were with the values of their own militant anticapitalist past (as to the Communists so to many Socialists Wall Street is still a symbol of evil and until not long ago the Sacco-Vanzetti

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case was still a lively issue exemplifying to them the nature of American justice and the forces behind it). Thus, the task was left to American diplomats abroad to ease the discomfort and perhaps win the sympathies of these labor elements for the American point of view; a task for which our Foreign Service, as is frankly admitted, was not quite equipped. In the circles of Foreign Service officers and State Department officials, the legend is still alive of Ambassador David R. Francis who, after a mass demonstration in front of the Petrograd embassy in 1916 protesting the trial of Tom Mooney (accused of throwing a bomb at a patriotic parade in San Francisco), frantically wired Washington: "Who is this Tom Mooney?"² Similarly--and this seems to be borne out by quite a few observers--the rise of the Labour Party to power in Britain in 1945 caught the American diplomatic team in London by surprise since none of its regular members had foreseen the Labour victory and none of its "traditional" diplomatic practitioners was even faintly acquainted personally with members of the victorious party or the trade union movement. The only effective contact between American diplomats in London and the new government leaders was the Mission's labor attaché (the first such officer in our Foreign Service, assigned only shortly before).³

² J. Rives Childs, American Foreign Service (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1948), p. 104.

³ Seymour J. Rubin, "American Diplomacy: The Case for 'Amateurism,'" The Yale Review, XLV (March, 1956), p. 236; "Labor Salesmen for U.S.," Business Week (Jan. 26, 1952), p. 44.

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American Labor and Foreign Affairs

Simultaneous with the growing importance of the labor element abroad was the growing prominence of the organized trade union movement in the United States as an economic and socio-political factor. Although not tied to a single party or a single ideological program, American trade unionists nevertheless had to interest themselves, in one form or another, to different degrees, in foreign problems. It should be remembered that at the beginning of the century, upon returning from a visit to Europe, Samuel Gompers, founder of the American Federation of Labor, echoing the then prevalent isolationist mood in the United States, exclaimed: "The Old World is not our world. Its social problems, its economic philosophies, its current political questions are not linked up with America."⁴ However, subsequent world events drew the United States out of its isolation and "linked" the "worlds" together. Interest and even involvement in world affairs came to U.S. labor leaders through a variety of immediate reasons. To some it was because of a concern with the effects of tariff policies, foreign aid, immigration; to others it was a result of

⁴Samuel Gompers, Labor in Europe and America (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1910), p. 286. Mr. Gompers sensed abroad a mistrust toward Americans and encountered "grievances against American trade-unionism." He dismissed the suspicions and the charges as either "unfounded" or inventions of "political and book-worm Socialists" both in the United States and in Europe. Ibid., p. 195, ff.

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U.S. membership in the International Labor Organization in which each country is represented by a delegation consisting of labor, management, and government representatives; many became interested in the "world" because of concern with the ramifications foreign competition has on the domestic market, upon conditions in their own industries and crafts. To many American labor leaders interest in foreign politics went hand-in-hand with a rather loose, vague, not quite crystallized, sentimental-political attachment to a "cause." Among the latter were trade union leaders who came to this country either already seasoned in foreign labor movements (e.g., Sidney Hillman, David Dubinsky), or who grew up in the United States in an atmosphere which carried over the socio-political values of a foreign labor movement (the Reuther brothers, for example), or, finally, leaders of unions whose founders were immigrants or whose membership was recruited from immigrant milieus where concern for events in the "Old World" often surpassed concern for domestic happenings. This latter condition was especially pronounced in pockets of recent immigration, not yet "at home" in the United States but which through labor organization managed to link up with the American labor movement. Some of the first American foreign aid programs were conceived in such milieus--People's Relief Committees to aid labor institutions in occupied Europe of World War I, assistance to "comrades" who suffered from police persecution or natural disaster.

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These were pockets which grieved over the "betrayal" of internationalism on the part of the German Social Democracy when the latter supported the Kaiser's war machinery.⁵ Years later these were the elements which stretched out a helping hand to exiles from Nazism and to the labor undergrounds during World War II.⁶

Thus, although the American trade union movement is manifestly apolitical, manifestly devoted to a specialized function within a pluralistic society, many of its leaders perhaps unconsciously operate with phrases and symbols which in "feeling" as well as "social tone" are not far removed from the phrases and symbols of the politically oriented non-American workers. It is perhaps significant that one of the sacred symbols of the organized international labor movement, the First of May celebration, had its origin in this country as a day devoted to the demand for an eight-hour workday--a purely economic demand--only to be transformed by European workers into a day

⁵ Melech Epstein, Jewish Labor in U.S.A.: 1914-1952: An Industrial, Political and Cultural History of the Jewish Labor Movement (New York: Trade Union Sponsoring Committee, 1953), pp. 58, 69, 80, ff.

⁶ See Lewis J. Edinger (German Exile Politics: The Social Democratic Executive Committee in the Nazi Era [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956], pp. 213, 229) for examples of American labor movement assistance to German Social Democrats. There were examples of even more extended help to Austrian, Belgian, French labor leaders, as well as to labor leaders of German and Soviet occupied territories of Eastern Europe during World War II. After World War II assistance to foreign labor leaders in political stress was rendered on a wider movement basis rather than being restricted to certain elements within the American labor movement (such as the Jewish Labor Committee, etc.).

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⁷"What They Say" (1930), p. 36.

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manifesting international workers' solidarity (until the Nazis perverted its meaning). Latently, the American trade union movement, therefore, was emotionally prepared when the time was ripe to demand a voice in foreign policy decisions along with other interest groups in society. The manner in which such demand was voiced varied in intensity between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, but the expression of each of these organizations had unmistakable political undertones.

American Labor and U.S. Foreign Policy

The demands of the American Federation of Labor for participation in the formulation and execution of foreign policy were generally more moderate, although from time to time declarations of this organization were not distinguishable from the usually more radical demands of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Moreover, certain leaders of the AF of L such as Al Hayes,⁷ President of the International Association of Machinists, and David Dubinsky,⁸ President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, consistently maintained a position similar to that of the CIO leaders.

Generally, however, the AF of L emphasized its desire to cooperate with specialized government agencies active in the field of

⁷"What They Say," The American Federationist, LVIII (Jan. 1951), p. 36.

⁸"What They Say," ibid., (June, 1951), p. 32.

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international affairs (such as economic aid organizations,⁹ cultural exchange, information, etc.), thereby making clear that it did not aspire to sending its spokesmen into the major directing and foreign policy-making bodies, or to have its people delegated as official diplomatic representatives abroad. Quite to the contrary, adhering to the Gompers tradition, the AF of L carefully stressed the "integrity" of the union movement, the necessity for maintaining a position in international affairs "independent" and "distinct" from that of the government.¹⁰ The AF of L was clearly satisfied with the role of an

⁹ Labor expressed a special interest in working with U.S. foreign aid agencies, both at home and abroad. It felt that it has a special contribution to make in this field, since the very Act of International Development (Point IV program) provided that "participating countries shall be encouraged to establish fair labor standards of wages and working conditions and management-labor relations." The Mutual Security Act, approved October 10, 1951, which has as its purpose the authorizing of "military, economic, and technical assistance to friendly countries," contains the declaration that it is "the policy of the Congress . . . to encourage, where suitable, the development and strengthening of the free labor union movements as the collective bargaining agencies of labor within such countries." As cited, John A. Fitch, "Labor's Expanding Horizon," The Survey (New York), LXXXVIII (April, 1952), p. 155.

¹⁰ Although careful to emphasize its status of independence from government, the AF of L under Gompers was quite eager to contribute its share to President Wilson's efforts during World War I. American labor leaders traveled abroad at government expense to win the sympathies of "trade union and socialist organizations of Europe" for American policies. Significantly, the first mission in which the AF of L participated, in the person of James Duncan, its first vice-president, was sent in 1917 to Russia to "stave off a separate peace by Russia" and to help Kerensky "hold the line." Characteristically perhaps, Duncan was very much impressed by the company in which

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outside pressure group, one of the many interested in the pursuit of a "democratic" foreign policy. Its 1952 foreign policy resolution maintained:

In all these international activities, labor cannot make its full contribution, either at home or abroad--unless it plays a completely independent and distinct role, apart from the government. Though we consider this independent role as a must, we do not exclude cooperation with and help to our government and its various agencies in furtherance of some specific policy or objective with which we are in agreement.¹¹

In a sense the tone of the above differed from that which colored a previous expression on the same subject. During the 1948 midwinter

he traveled (which included Elihu Root), by the courtesies which he, a worker, was accorded. Among the "niceties" he experienced was a trip on the personal train of the former Czar, a speech he made at the Duma, conferences with members of the Russian Cabinet and with members of the Moscow Workmen's and Soldier's Council. "Duncan made naive speeches in Russia on the methods and achievements of the AF of L, unaware of the effects of these speeches upon the revolutionary minds of his audiences." (Lewis L. Lorwin, The American Federation of Labor: History, Policies, and Prospects [Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1933], pp. 153-54.) Other labor delegations were sent by the U.S. government at that time to Great Britain and France. Gompers himself went on a semi-official tour over Europe in 1918 during which he was welcomed and guided by American diplomatic missions abroad, and during which he was received by heads of state, including royalty (e.g., the King of Belgium). (Ibid.) One wonders what effect this tour might have had on the minds of European workers who at this period were at the crest of their revolutionary zeal, so much so that British workers criticized their own leaders (e.g., Ramsay MacDonald) for being more impressed by the "establishment" than by their own labor followers.

¹¹ American Federation of Labor, Labor Omnia Vincit: Report of the Proceedings of the Seventy-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor (New York, Sept. 15-23, 1952), pp. 117-18.

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meeting in Miami, the Federation's Executive Council declared:

The American Federation of Labor has maintained close fraternal relationships with the free trade union movements of Europe We know from personal contacts that these free trade union movements can be mobilized into a powerful force for constructive collaboration with the recovery program. That kind of collaboration is vital and invaluable in such an undertaking. It cannot be obtained by official representatives of the State Department operating at high diplomatic levels. We trust that we will be given the opportunity to be of service.¹²

It is quite possible that what the AF of L leaders had in mind even then was limited cooperation in the accomplishment of specialized tasks, although the statement strongly implies that where traditional diplomatic representation abroad would generally fail, trade unionists would succeed. In tone at least this declaration was not distinguishable from the CIO foreign policy resolutions of the same period--until the merger of 1955. In 1950, for example, the CIO convention announced:

The CIO strongly believes that our nation will directly benefit by the appointment of men and women trained in the ranks of labor to influential positions in the planning, policy and operational divisions of the State Department. . . .

The American labor movement has channels of communication and relationships in foreign countries, the use of which is essential to the successful prosecution of a democratic American foreign policy.

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¹²The American Federationist, LV (Feb., 1948), p. 6.

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The most serious defect in American foreign policy is the absence of American labor from its highest councils. In almost every nation, organized labor is playing an increasingly important part in economic and political affairs. . . .¹³

This resolution, as many other CIO resolutions on international affairs, as well as the public utterances of CIO leaders actively interested in international relations (e.g., Philip Murray, Walter Reuther, Jacob Potofsky, Victor Reuther), made it obvious that the organization aspired to extend its participation in foreign policy further than mere cooperation in the administration of the Marshall Plan. In fact, CIO leaders demanded participation on the level of policy planning and operation, including a demand that diplomatic representatives of ambassadorial rank, drawn from the American trade union movement, be sent to countries with governments of a political labor movement orientation. This sentiment was expressed most sharply perhaps by Walter Reuther:

I say the State Department ought to learn some of the lessons of life, they ought to begin to have less and less striped pants and stuffed-shirt diplomacy, and begin to get the kind of people into the State Department who understand the problems of the peoples of the world. And when they need an ambassador for the Court of St. James in London do they say, "Here is a labor government that understands the people, and then pick

¹³ Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), Proceedings 1950: Twelfth Constitutional Convention (Chicago, Nov. 20-24, 1950), pp. 293-94.

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somebody who understands those things?" No, they pick Gifford, from A. T. & T., a man whom we had to fight because he thinks the future of America and the world lies somewhere back beyond Calvin Coolidge in 1928. Those kind of people cannot inspire the confidence of the people in the world who have got to be shock troops in the defense of freedom.¹⁴

Reuther's position was reinforced by the authority of the late CIO President, Philip Murray, who repeated the demand for labor's participation in the "highest" American foreign policy-making councils.¹⁵

As previously mentioned many AF of L leaders assumed a similar position. Said Al Hayes:

To fulfill its inherent responsibilities to American workers and to America as a whole, labor should be representing working-class interests at every point in the diplomatic or world controversy. Working-class interests are at the forefront of all other interests. Russia makes its appeal in its drive for world domination directly and exclusively to the working class.¹⁶

American Labor's Activities Abroad

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¹⁴Ibid., pp. 298-99.

¹⁵Philip Murray, Report to the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Thirteenth Constitutional Convention (New York, Nov. 5-9, 1951), p. 57.

¹⁶"What They Say," The American Federationist, LVIII (Jan., 1951), p. 36.

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audiences incorporated in an official governmental scheme, both the AF of L and the CIO proceeded on their own. Both organizations established foreign affairs departments with fulltime staffs. Emissaries of organized labor, both of the AF of L and the CIO, went out to the various corners of the post-World War II world--to England and France, to Germany and Italy, to India and Indonesia; one even reached the shores of Formosa after the Chinese Nationalist Government established quarters there.¹⁷ Often the paths of the representatives of the two American labor organizations crisscrossed; often the two departments competed with each other for access to and influence among labor leaders abroad. Along with the "ambassadors from the U.S. labor movement" went a flood of financial assistance, organizing advice, literature to combat Communism, to help explain American labor abroad, and to answer "fantastic rumors about the status of Negroes in America," etc.¹⁸ A film, "With These Hands," produced by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was shown in "eleven foreign countries."¹⁹ The field representatives reported regularly to their home offices about developments abroad, kept up their contacts, appeared at foreign labor gatherings and generally tried to behave not only as representatives of American organized

¹⁷Fitch, The Survey, LXXXVIII, pp. 153-54.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Epstein, p. 345.

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labor but as "unofficial representatives of the American people" as well.²⁰ Reports John A. Fitch:

Perhaps the most immediately practical service was rendered in France two years ago [1950] by Irving Brown [AFL representative in Europe; member of Machinists Union]. When American shipments of munitions to European ports began, Communists started a formidable movement to induce the dock workers to refuse to unload the ships, or to dump their cargoes into the harbors. Brown had a great deal to do with stirring up the counter activity that rendered the Communist effort utterly futile.²¹

Another American labor (AF of L) representative, Richard Deverall, had opened offices in Bombay, an occasion which was welcomed by the oppositionist Hind Mazdoor Sabha whose organ, Hind Mazdoor, referred to Deverall as "labour ambassador."²² Mr. Deverall apparently managed to associate himself closely both with the Bombay Mazdoors, as well as with the government-oriented leaders of the INTUC (Indian National Trade Union Congress). The latter, unlike the socialist-oriented HMS, were generally more critical of the United States and American labor, especially the AF of L, because of American impatience with Nehru's policies of neutrality in the Cold War. However, Mr. Deverall developed quite an intensive publishing activity while in India and managed to steer a happy middle

²⁰ Fitch, The Survey, LXXXVIII, p. 154.

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²² Hind Mazdoor, I (Oct., 1949), p. 14.

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course, to pay homage to the Congress Party, to HMS, and to the United States, all at the same time--official AF of L policies towards Nehru and the Congress Party notwithstanding. He writes:

I am honored and privileged to represent the American Federation of Labor at this moment in India. . . . Although the work of one man among the 340,000,000 inhabitants of India may seem terribly insignificant, the fact remains that the basic principles of trade unionism as expounded by the great leaders of American labor closely parallel the labor teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, who in his early days was the really great labor leader of India. The democratic trade union know-how which the A.F. of L. is disseminating in India is being eagerly studied by both peasant and trade union leaders. And believing as we do that ideas have legs, I am sure that within a few years the concepts and practices that made American labor strong will be developed in India. This development will be in accordance with the patterns and customs of the Indian people, but the basic principles will be preserved.²³

American Labor: Unity and Conflict

In 1955 the two major components of the American labor movement, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, merged into a single organization preserving both original names for reasons of sentiment and organizational politics. The first foreign policy declaration of the merged federation seems to be in general a compromise between the positions previously held by both labor organizations.²⁴ This resolution limits itself to rather

²³ Richard Deverall, "Spotlight Asia: India Advancing Toward a Bright Era," The American Federationist, LVII (Feb., 1950), p. 32.

²⁴ American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, First Constitutional Convention: 1955: Proceedings (New York, Dec. 5-8, 1955), pp. -101-04.

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generalized statements on overall, as well as specific, foreign affairs issues, and omits any demand for U.S. labor participation. It is interesting to note, though, that the section of the resolution dealing with European integration recommends participation of "free trade unions of the cooperating countries" in the policy-making bodies of such projects as the Iron and Steel Community, etc. Thus, the old CIO position continues but is limited to American trade union leaders' European counterparts, who are recognized by-and-large to have political ambitions.

Although merged and although agreeing on common general principles, some organizational strains nevertheless developed between the two established foreign affairs departments of the two labor federations. Each of these initially attempted to continue its own "shop" and operations in the field--and these attempts were fostered by the staffs and abetted by the differences as to principles and policies which soon developed between the leader of the old CIO (now the Industrial Union Department of the merged federation), Walter Reuther, on the one hand, and George Meany of the old AF of L (and now president of the merged organization), on the other. Both the organizational strains and the policy differences perpetuated only the dissimilarities in orientation, as well as style of work of the pre-merger days. An organizational compromise was not reached until late 1957 (i. e., two years after the merger) during a meeting of the

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Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO in Atlantic City. Suspicious of Jay Lovestone, the former American Communist leader turned active anti-Communist who served as Executive Secretary of the AF of L Free Trade Union Committee, the CIO leaders forced the dissolution of that Committee and the absorption of its staff into the framework of the old CIO International Affairs Department to be headed up by a new "compromise" staff member. In other words, the top policy-making figures of both foreign affairs committees were to be replaced in the reorganization. Simultaneously, it was agreed that the old AF of L representative in Europe, Irving Brown, would continue in the same post, but as representative of the merged federation and with the added authority of Executive Secretary of the AFL-CIO delegation to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and alternate for George Meany or Walter Reuther when neither of these two top federation leaders could attend ICFTU sessions.²⁵

Although differences in the foreign affairs orientations of the two major components of the AFL-CIO were more subtle in nature, a compromise in this area was harder to reach. The political differences between George Meany of the AF of L and Walter Reuther of the CIO came into rather sharp expression on such issues as how

²⁵ Stanley Levey, "Labor Reshapes Foreign Policies," The New York Times, Dec. 9, 1957.

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to deal with the Nationalist Chinese or Asian neutrals in the Cold War. For example, on December 13, 1955, K. P. Tripathi, the General Secretary of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, was a guest at a luncheon in New York arranged by the National Religion and Labor Foundation. Mr. Meany chose this occasion to criticize Prime Minister Nehru of India for having entertained not long before that date Nikita S. Krushchev of the USSR and Wladyslaw Gomulka of Poland, accusing Nehru of not being "neutral" but rather an aid and ally "in fact and effect of Communism." Tripathi later retaliated with some sharp comments to the press and wrote an angry letter to Meany--the first in a rather lively exchange between the two labor leaders.²⁶ In his reply to Tripathi's protest, Meany again asserted that regardless of Prime Minister Nehru's intentions his "policies have, in effect, helped the Moscow-Peking Axis and the Communist dictatorship." Tripathi's hint that Meany's remarks may "affect international relations of our labour movement," the American labor leader interpreted as meaning that the INTUC would "withdraw from the ICFTU and join with Mao Tse-tung's labour front which is an integral part of the WFTU"--a step he now tried to prevent. In response, Tripathi not so delicately hinted at a lack of diplomacy on the part of Meany:

²⁶ See exchange of letters between George Meany and K. P. Tripathi in The Indian Worker, March 26, 1956, pp. 5, 9, 11.

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I may . . . tell you that it is not our national practice to invite guests to a dinner and then launch upon an attack on them or their leaders where the guests cannot reply out of a sense of propriety. . . . We do not indulge in personal criticism of individuals. Indeed we avoid criticising a country as such though we might criticise the policy of a Government. We avoid to take advantage of a situation where our criticism could not be replied to. We think that it is not fair democracy to take unfair advantage of a situation in which a reply is prevented or is not possible.

You have suggested in your letter that should differences arise . . . we should seek to resolve them in a forthright and friendly manner. It might mean that I have not done so. That is not true. It is rather you who without discussing these differences in a forthright and friendly manner with me launched upon a unilateral attack in a speech at a dinner where you knew I could not contradict. I, on the contrary, tried to discuss it in a friendly manner in the ICFTU meeting but I was ruled out. . . .

So far as India's policy is concerned, everybody knows that our Constitution and our methods are democratic and we work for peace. In our area of peace we include every country. We appreciate and realise the force and logic behind your theory of negotiating from a "position of strength." We also realise that the maximum possibilities of this are an armed neutrality. On the horns of this, mankind at best may live on the "brink of war." After the development of the atom bomb, this has become a terrible prospect. Therefore, we are out to explore further possibilities of avoiding war, if need be, by bypassing the position of strength to the position of equality and mutual respect. . . . In pursuance of our efforts, we do not feel the necessity of abusing you in the name of democracy or otherwise.²⁷

Significantly, very shortly after this exchange of letters,

Walter Reuther, former president of the CIO and presently first vice-president of the AFL-CIO visited India--a visit looked upon askance

²⁷Ibid., p. 11.

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by Meany. Reuther was received by Tripathi, and in his public speeches attacked international alliances born out of military necessities only, and "emphatically" disagreed with Meany's criticism of Nehru while at the same time defending the former's right as a "free American" to "express his opinions in any form he liked."²⁸ During his tour, Reuther further urged competitive co-existence of the United States and the U.S.S.R. so that each of these great powers may have "an opportunity in terms of peace-time values to demonstrate its worth."²⁹

Somehow the merged American labor federation continued on a united course of foreign activities: exchange visits, fraternal delegations and representatives stationed abroad. An especially active program was developed for Latin America and Africa. In the latter area the AFL-CIO was compelled to channel its activities through the facilities of the ICFTU, curtailing somewhat its own independent work. With the aid of the International Confederation's "International Solidarity Fund"--but primarily with AFL-CIO contributions--a

²⁸ Ibid., April 9, 1956.

²⁹ Ibid., April 16, 1956. It is worth noting that on one occasion Mr. Reuther was questioned rather critically on the subject of John Foster Dulles, then Secretary of State. Rather than becoming insulted as one can surmise Mr. Meany would have been, or Tripathi if foreigners had criticized a leader of his own country, Reuther joined in the criticism.

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school for the training of labor officials in Africa was established.³⁰ Simultaneously, individual unions continued with their own activities abroad. Among these were the establishment of American-supported recreation facilities in Israel and Italy--programs developed by labor organizations of Jewish or Italian membership or organizations in which Jews or Italians once predominated and which, although now of changed ethnic and racial composition, nevertheless continued under Jewish or Italian leadership respectively. Other labor organizations also accelerated their foreign activities--among them the Marine Trade Department, a unit composed of AFL-CIO affiliated maritime and related unions. An international division of the Department was established and, as with any joint venture within the fold of the merged federation, its birth was not without pain and friction between the representatives of the old CIO and the old AF of L, in this case the leaders of the International Longshoreman's Union and the Seafarers' International Union (formerly of the AF of L), on the one hand, and the leaders of the National Maritime Union (CIO), on the other. Maritime "missionaries," however, went out into the field --to Yokohama, the Caribbean, Antwerp, Eastern Mediterranean ports, and Puerto Rico--to "improve working conditions of foreign

³⁰ Stanley Levey, "A. F. L. - C. I. O. Votes Foreign Aid Funds," The New York Times, Dec. 10, 1957; see also editorial, "American Labor Abroad," ibid., June 2, 1962.

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seamen"³¹ --whose wages threatened to undermine the pay scales of American seamen on international sealanes. Generally, the aid of American labor, especially in the realm of financial assistance and training, was centered on the labor movements of the economically underdeveloped countries, primarily in Latin America and Africa.

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The concern of American trade unionists for international affairs prompted Dean Acheson in his role as then Acting Secretary of State to remark to a group of trade unionists:

Time was when your unions' interests were confined almost exclusively to wages, hours, and conditions of work of your own members. Frequently this interest was limited to a small geographical area or to a segment of a single industry. Limited interests were accompanied by limited influence.³²

However, neither active interest nor the clamor of the CIO group and of individual AF of L leaders for increased participation in the area of foreign policy brought about seats for American trade union leaders in policy-making councils nor did they produce

³¹ George Horne, "Sea Unions Begin 'Missionary' Plan," ibid., Feb. 25, 1962.

³² Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary, "Labor and International Affairs," address delivered before the Inter-Union Institute for Labor and Democracy (Philadelphia, Pa., Sept. 22, 1945), The Department of State Bulletin, XIII (Sept. 30, 1945), p. 467.

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immediate ambassadorial posts. Their advice, nevertheless, in foreign policy matters was institutionalized and they were given recognition as a group involved in foreign affairs in the form of the Trade Union Advisory Committee for International Affairs which was charged with transmitting, through the good offices of the Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs, labor's point of view to the government's many interdepartmental committees concerned with international problems. Labor leaders also gained membership on the President's Advisory Board of Point IV and in the operative organs of the Economic Cooperation Administration and of successive U.S. aid organizations (Mutual Security Agency, Foreign Operations Administration, International Cooperation Administration, Agency for International Development).

The successes of Communism in several countries, but especially the radical turn taken by the Castro revolution in Cuba and the subsequent popularity of "Castroism" among Latin American trade unionists, brought about a demand for labor specialists to counter the communist or procommunist drive. John P. McNight, Assistant Director of the United States Information Agency, for example, in appealing to the U.S. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee for the restoration of funds denied to the Agency by the House, pointed out the need for additional labor information officers, especially in Latin America, in order to "'counter Castro's drive' to infiltrate Latin

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unions with communism."³³ The need to improve the image of the United States among labor publics was not limited to Latin America alone, however. In many areas of the world the rising cost of living outstripped the sense of prosperity and, looking for ready scapegoats, many foreign labor leaders tended to blame the presence of American personnel in the area for the plight of native workers. Thus, while American foreign aid in many cases helped to improve local conditions, the spectacle of wellpaid, wellhoused and generally privileged U.S. aid technicians served as a shocking example of existing inequities in this world for which rich America, despite its assistance, was to blame. For example, the president of the Tata Workers' Union and Member of Parliament, Michael John, addressed a mass meeting in the steel center of India, Bari Maidan, in the following words:

Prices of commodities in the market were soaring high, so much so that workmen could not make their both ends meet. This state of affairs was caused particularly by the influx of the large number of "fat-salaried American technicians" and other personnel engaged in the construction work of the expansion scheme of the Tatas. Soaring prices and abnormal increase in the cost of living[are] causing the greatest concern.³⁴

³³ The New York Times, June 27, 1961.

³⁴ The Indian Worker, Aug. 15, 1957, p. 13.

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There was thus a need for assistance in counteracting anti-Americanism, to launch an anti-Communist offensive in the circles where the Communists were trying to succeed. American labor officials, including the second- and third-line activists--many of whom left the shop and did not work at their particular trades but instead hung on to various union jobs--felt that they may be called upon to serve abroad or at home in the gigantic foreign relations effort. And many were called to service, recommended by the first-line union leaders. Former union organizers, activists, militants, or just the faithful--eager for a change of scenery--found themselves abroad on the payroll of U.S. aid organizations or with the USIA, or acting at home as guides to foreign trade unionists on U.S. government-sponsored visits, introducing them to the "American way of life." Most of the new recruits to this effort in international goodwill lacked the necessary language skills, many had only a minimum of formal education. Some brought to their jobs the prejudices of their limited environment. Expecting the increased need for such personnel in 1954, Everett M. Kassalow, then Chief Labor Advisor in the Washington Office of the Foreign Operations Administration, addressed a memorandum to John Meskimen, then Director of the Office of Labor Affairs, FOA, outlining the need for and the difficulties connected with a training school for American

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trade unionists for foreign service.³⁵ Something of the intellectual level of the projected student body and of the nature of possible future assignments can be gleaned from the following narrative in the Kassalow Memorandum:

This will be a relatively difficult type of subject matter to teach, and it should be kept on a rather practical level. This being the case, almost inevitably the teaching will have to be done by those who have been and in most cases still are in the middle of this field. For example, it would be very valuable for the trainees in such a school to be told precisely how the labor advisor helped to work out the trade-union and labor crisis in a country such as Greece during the critical period five or six years ago.³⁶

It was further recommended, taking into consideration the background of the prospective students, that the subject matter should not be "too academic" and that the training period should not exceed "three to four months." "Even this," adds Mr. Kassalow, "would involve some problems of ability to 'sit it out!'"³⁷

Despite the doubts expressed above regarding the ability of

³⁵Memorandum from Everett M. Kassalow to John Meskimen, "Progress Report on the Question of a Training School for American Trade Unionists for Foreign Service," unpublished, July 28, 1954.

³⁶Ibid., p. 2. The above was used as an argument in favor of locating such a school in the Washington, D.C., area where government labor specialists, as well as "the mature experience of AFL and CIO specialists in the international labor field, can be more easily and readily tapped."

³⁷Ibid., p. 3.

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American trade unionists to absorb academic subjects in preparation for service abroad, however, several colleges and universities nevertheless were quick to be of service in the training, offering their facilities and the "unique" resources of their own respective geographic locations (e. g., a "powerful" local labor movement, a "vast" foreign population, foreign students on the campus, diversified industry, many foreign consulates, etc.). One such proposal to establish a school for trade union service abroad starts out by positing the need for such a school in the following words:

During the past decade and more, the American labor movement has been in the forefront of the international struggle to win peace and freedom; for easing the burden of poverty, of disease, of illiteracy, in large areas of the world. It has been a chief contributor to the fight against totalitarian aggression and penetration.

This is a natural development in keeping with the role the United States is playing and will continue to play increasingly as the strongest member of the nations allied in the struggle to resist Communist aggression.

Trade unionists who have been assigned to this foreign work have done an excellent job, even though in many cases they have been handicapped by lack of specialized training in language, in foreign culture, in depth of understanding of our own history and problems.³⁸

The authors of the proposal expressed the belief that training would increase "enormously" the quality of service that labor

³⁸"Roosevelt College's Proposal to Set Up a School for Labor Service Abroad," n. d., unpublished document.

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Whatever the training received by American trade unionists prior to service abroad, their preparation for such service was often found to be wanting by some rather sympathetic observers of their performance in several of the agencies of the U.S. government functioning abroad.³⁹

Whatever the difficulties encountered on the path of gaining access to decision-making positions in the areas of U.S. foreign policy, as well as to top positions in the agencies charged with policy execution, in time U.S. labor leaders could show some tangible results in the achievement of these goals. As indicated, American trade unionists man posts in Washington as well as in the field for the various U.S. aid agencies, including the Agency for International Development. For some time now labor leaders are represented in American

³⁹See, for example, John P. Windmuller, "Labor: A Partner in American Foreign Policy?". The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCL (Nov., 1963), pp. 104-14. Professor Windmuller remarks that "the image of the labor movement has generally suffered . . . certainly among government officials who quickly perceive the shortcomings of their new colleagues from labor and among members of the public here and abroad who come in contact with them." Ibid., p. 113. The above judgment by Professor Windmuller is on the bulk of U.S. trade unionists in the various services abroad. The performance of U.S. labor attachés of American labor movement background in comparison with the performance of labor attachés of nonlabor background is specifically discussed later in this study. Professor Windmuller, it should be added, is one of the "knowledgeables" from whom judgment of such performance was sought for the purposes of this study.

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delegations to conferences of the International Labor Organization. More recently, trade unionists were also included in the U.S. delegations to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and in 1957 George Meany, president of the merged labor organization, was appointed by President Eisenhower to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations' General Assembly. And, finally, in 1962, President Kennedy appointed William C. Doherty, Sr., upon his retirement as president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, AFL-CIO, as Ambassador to newly independent Jamaica. This was the first such appointment to an ambassadorship of a person directly from the American labor movement--a recognition demanded, it will be recalled, by Walter Reuther in the past, a recognition of a status previously reserved to retired generals and wealthy businessmen friendly to the administration in power and desirous of the honor.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ According to information supplied to this author by John T. Doherty, son of Ambassador Doherty, President Kennedy congratulated Mr. Doherty, Sr., on his retirement after so many years of faithful service to the American labor movement, and said on that occasion that soon the American people would call upon him for further service--the ambassadorship was the result. Mr. Doherty is not, to be sure, the first ambassador of U.S. labor movement background but the first appointed to such post directly from labor and with an immediately preceding labor position. Two labor attachés of U.S. labor movement background were eventually appointed to ambassadorships, a development which took place also under the Kennedy administration. They came to these posts through the U.S. labor attaché program and the Foreign Service.

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The process of growing acceptance of the labor factor at home coupled with the importance of the labor element abroad also found expression in the establishment of the labor attaché program in 1943.⁴¹

⁴¹The connection between these developments and the establishment of the U.S. labor attaché program was acknowledged by Daniel Goot, then Special Assistant for Labor Affairs to the Under Secretary of State, in an interview with this author, January 3, 1957, Washington, D.C. Generally, Mr. Goot tried to deny a direct link between U.S. labor and the program ("You should avoid the implication that the U.S. labor attaché program is a trade union program."). According to Mr. Goot, the U.S. labor attaché program was primarily in response to labor developments abroad (e.g., labor governments in some countries, strong labor opposition in others, the Cold War, and the contest over labor in underdeveloped areas, etc.). Mr. Goot pointed out, though, that the interest of U.S. labor abroad paralleled the interest of the U. S. government, but he was careful to assert that "even if labor in the U.S. would have been arrested in its growth we still would have to have labor attachés simply because of the importance of labor abroad."

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CHAPTER III

THE LABOR ATTACHE PROGRAM: BACKGROUND AND FUNCTIONS

The U.S. Labor Department and the Unified Foreign Service

In 1927 Congress authorized the creation of a Foreign Commerce Service and in 1930 of a Foreign Agricultural Service. The officers of these specialized services, the commercial attachés and agricultural attachés, although assigned by the State Department to U.S. diplomatic missions abroad, were primarily responsible to the foreign affairs sections of their respective specialized departments (U.S. Departments of Commerce and Agriculture). That is, although the State Department could veto formally a prospective candidate, once abroad he was free from the supervision and control of the Chief of Mission. Such a situation obviously could produce complications and in a sense diminished the authority of the ambassador in the field. At the base of such arrangement lay the conception of the State Department as a policy-making agency as contrasted to the other agencies which were viewed only as "operational" in the field of international affairs. As the Hoover report pointed out years later,

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however, the very activity in the area of international affairs involves policy-making decisions to a varied degree.¹

Cognizant of these problems President Roosevelt, armed with the mandate given him by the Reorganization Act, undertook to consolidate the above two specialized foreign services into the general Foreign Service. Thus, the concept of a unified Foreign Service was born, a concept which received Congressional blessing in the Foreign Service Act of 1946.² However, the formal unification of the Foreign Service did not quite solve the problem of coordination in the field, especially the role of the ambassador as coordinator of this country's activities in the area of his assignment. Although nominally Chief of Mission, the ambassador was often bypassed by representatives of the various agencies of the U.S. government. Moreover, the representatives abroad of the Treasury Department and the attachés of the

¹Harvey H. Bundy and James Grafton Rogers, The Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Affairs: A Report with Recommendations Prepared for the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Hoover Commission, Task Force Report on Foreign Affairs: Appendix II (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1949), pp. 71-72.

²U.S., Congress, House, Foreign Service Act of 1946, Public Law 724, 79th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1946, H.R. 6967. See also The Foreign Service Act of 1946 (Public Law 724, 79th Congress) as Amended to October 17, 1960, Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1960.

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various armed services never came under the even formal jurisdiction of the unified Foreign Service.³

Be it as it may, at the time of the creation of the unified Foreign Service, in order to protect the interests of the specialized agencies involved (Commerce and Agriculture), the Act created the Board of the Foreign Service in which, in addition to the State Department, the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor were also represented.

The Labor Department, although interested in certain specialized aspects of the international relations field (such as U.S. participation in the ILO, labor policy formulation for the occupied areas in Europe and Asia after the war, etc.), was a newcomer to the Foreign Service. As a matter of fact, when the State Department assigned a labor attaché in 1943 for the first time and in 1944 founded a division of Labor Relations (Office of Economic Affairs), the Labor Department was not even consulted.⁴ It is quite likely, as was suggested to this author by one knowledgeable informant, that the U.S. Labor

³U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Government Operations, The Ambassador and the Problem of Coordination, 88th Cong., 1st Sess. A Study submitted by the Subcommittee on National Security Staffing and Operations to the Committee on Government Operations, 1963, pp. 4-5, ff.

⁴Sidney Sober, "U.S. Government Organization for the Conduct of International Labor Relations," unpublished paper submitted to the Economics Department of Northwestern University and to the Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, in conjunction with an assignment for advanced study in economics (June, 1953), p. 2.

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Department was drawn into the Board of the unified Foreign Service at the insistence of the other specialized agencies in order to strengthen their own position vis-a-vis the State Department.⁵

Once in the situation of co-administrator of the unified Foreign Service, however, it was natural that the Labor Department should take a special interest in the operation of the labor attaché program, especially with respect to gathering specialized foreign information as well as in the selection of personnel.

While the concept of a unified Foreign Service apparently solved some problems it created others. As the previously mentioned Hoover report on foreign affairs points out:

The whole process appears to be one of bargain and compromise which is highly unsatisfactory to the Foreign Service and the State Department and which, at the same time, fails to meet the real needs of the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce and Labor.⁶

Specialists vs. Generalists in the Foreign Service

The newly created problems were of varied nature. Just as the belief is prevalent among professional military officers that a

⁵ Interview with James Taylor, Chief, Foreign Service Division, Office of International Labor Affairs, U.S. Labor Dept., Wash., D.C., Dec. 24, 1956.

⁶ Bundy and Rogers, p. 112.

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graduate of a service academy is capable or at least should be capable of performing any duty assigned to him, no matter how specialized, a similar belief exists within the State Department and within the career Foreign Service corps in regard to the professional diplomatic generalists. It is suggested that such a belief in the capacity of the individual member is part and parcel of the diplomatic esprit de corps. In the State Department while a certain area specialization is encouraged, a tendency existed to dismiss all matters of economics, labor relations, finances, agriculture, and even social legislature as "technical" and thus of secondary importance.⁷ Existence of such attitude was reflected in a lengthy exchange between Harold F. Linder, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, and Representative Robert L. F. Sikes in the 1953 hearings before the Subcommittee on Appropriations (for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce) in which Representative Sikes tried to force Mr. Linder to specify the types of experiences and expertise training necessary for the performance of specialized "technical" jobs abroad. The Assistant Secretary expressed the view in effect that since the "specialist" is not in a policy-making position in the broad area of his specialization

⁷ See discussion of this in the Hoover Commission's Task Force Report on Foreign Affairs, p. 119; and in Seymour J. Rubin, "American Diplomacy: The Case for 'Amateurism,'" The Yale Review, XLV (March, 1956), p. 326.

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(agricultural economics, labor, etc.), he would accept for foreign service purposes a man who has proved competent in any type of business (provided he meets the Department's requirements in all other respects) even though the candidate's experience may have no relation to the particular specialized assignment.⁸ At the same time, moreover, it should be borne in mind that Mr. Linder spoke on behalf of the very functional offices of the State Department concerned with specialized functions (economics, information, intelligence) which are in conflict, and compete for status and recognition within the Department, with the even more generalized geographic offices led by Foreign Service officers.⁹

The upshot of the arrangements which resulted from the 1946 Foreign Service Act was that the specialized departments (Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor) began to show dissatisfaction with the quality of the "technical" information in which they were interested which they received from the field. Complaints were voiced by these agencies that their specialized needs are serviced by officers of the Foreign Service Reserve or the Foreign Service Staff--"stepchildren"

⁸ U.S., Congress, House, Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, Department of State, Appropriations for 1954, 83rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1953, pp. 52-53.

⁹ Lincoln Gordon, "The Development of United States Representation Overseas," The Representation of the United States Abroad, The American Assembly, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University (New York, June, 1956), p. 19.

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¹⁰ Ibid.

¹² Walter
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of the Foreign Service, inferior with regard to pay and advancement opportunities vis-a-vis the elitist career-oriented FSO.¹⁰ At the same time, the specialized officers began to complain that:

. . . the domination of embassies by Foreign Service political officers placed the more specialized officers at a disadvantage, in living and working conditions, in prestige, and generally in full acceptance as part of the government team abroad.¹¹

Perhaps of more serious nature (since it relates to policy as well as to status) is the following complaint made by a former labor attaché:

Identification with a labor division stamps a man as "labor minded" and his views tend to be discounted accordingly in controversial matters where "labor thinking" really matters.¹²

Of the labor attachés and labor advisors in the State Department (themselves former labor attachés or between field assignments) whom this author interviewed in person, about half agreed with the above statement while the other half disagreed. Those who disagreed with Galenson's statement, however, based their judgment on personal experiences alone (rather than generalizing about the situation as a

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Walter Galenson, "The Foreign Policy Role of American Trade Unions," unpublished paper presented at a meeting of the American Political Science Association (Wash., D. C.: Sept. 12, 1953), p. 9.

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whole) and emphasized the importance of close personal relations among the members of the "team." For example:

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As I explained, at a small post, the officer responsible for labor matters is almost inevitably a member of a small compact team. Questions arising are considered more or less by an informal consensus. The labor officer has no trouble offering his comments.¹³

Or:

I disagree with Galenson emphatically, based upon my own experience. Of course, Galenson was in the game early. In both Rome and Oslo [posts in which the respondent served] -- after the initial period -- the labor function was treated as most significant. In Oslo, I operated way above my rank, because of the importance assigned to the job by the Deputy Chief of Mission and the Ambassador. I have no doubt that you will find some report differently. I have been told by others of the difficulties which they had. I also suspect, but do not know it as a fact, that the labor people have relatively little influence in Washington where it counts the most. . . . ECA labor division at one time pulled fairly much weight in Washington in the early days of the Marshall Plan, but a large part of this was ruined because of the poor people sent into ECA by the labor movement. Most of them were castoffs, political hasbeens.¹⁴

The interviews with those who generally agreed with Walter Galenson's statement relative to the status of the "labor-minded" officer within the team took turns such as follows:

¹³ Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., Dec. 15, 1958.

¹⁴ Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., Dec. 18, 1958.

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- Q. Can the labor attaché in his reports express freely his own views, or, are these sifted through the censorship, so to speak, of the regular Foreign Service officers, the generalists?
- A. Many labor attachés run counter to the Counsellor. There are often difficulties.
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- Q. How does the Mission team generally look upon the labor attaché program? How do the regular Foreign Service officers treat the labor attaché and particularly the labor attaché who came to the Service directly from the labor movement?
- A. The status of the labor attaché on the embassy staff is largely a personal matter. It depends on the individual and the Mission personnel. However, other factors as well are determinant of the status of the labor attaché. For example, the political parties in Belgium--Socialist, Catholic, and others--have strong labor bases. Thus, you may say that the status of the labor attaché within the embassy depends to a great extent also on the strength of the labor movement in the country.¹⁵

It would seem that this particular labor attaché who agreed in general terms with Galenson's statement regarding the inferior position of the labor-minded Foreign Service officer disagrees with him on the most essential point--i. e., the belief that the labor attaché's views are "discounted" where it "really matters," e. g., a situation as in Belgium where labor constitutes a political force to be reckoned with. However, despite this disagreement the same respondent stated, in response to another question relative to the matter of "status and acceptance of the labor attaché by the team," that:

¹⁵Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D. C., Dec. 17, 1958.

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The views of the labor attache are often warped by the Political Officer in the report. This is especially striking in colonial countries. Many regular officers upon arrival to such a country quickly acquire the frame of reference of old colonial hands--or, alternatively, become alcoholics.¹⁶

Or note excerpts from the following interview with a labor attaché stationed at the time at the State Department in Washington who similarly generally agreed with Galenson:

Q. Walter Galenson wrote that the labor attaché is being ignored when labor matters are under consideration. In addition, most labor attachés who came to the Foreign Service from outside the State Department or the regular Foreign Service recruitment process seem to differ from the general type in social background and so on. How does this affect the personal relationships within the Mission? Does the labor attaché of non-Foreign Service/State Department background feel out of place? Is he readily accepted into the "club"?

A. Foreign Service officers if of liberal orientation would treat the labor attaché all right. Conservative Foreign Service officers, on the other hand, ignore him. Sometimes they would invite him to a party but only if the party takes place outside--not in their own house.

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Q. In your opinion, on the basis of what criteria does the Mission team form its judgment about the labor attaché and the labor program? Do personal qualifications of the labor attaché play any role?

A. Yes, but this is seldom revealed. Even if the labor attaché is inept the rest of the team would not know about it--because they consider his functions and interests too specialized. . . .

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¹⁶ This particular respondent had experience in Africa as well as Europe; personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., Dec. 17, 1958.

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- Q. Walter Galenson in a paper read before a Political Science Convention said that the labor sections are ignored when crucial labor matters are under consideration. Do you agree with him?
- A. Galenson is right. The labor sector is ignored when it comes to important labor decisions. For example, a U.S.-Canadian commission met recently on a Great Lakes conference. Some sort of maritime dispute. I found out personally about the conference and although never sent to it went nevertheless. Quite by accident. Pat Conroy, the Canadian labor attaché, was absent, and when I asked the Canadians how come he wasn't there--the issue is, after all, one of Conroy's concerns--the Canadians told me that they had no intention of consulting their labor attaché. And here a labor matter was under consideration.¹⁷

Although it is not clear whether the last statement concerns Canadian attitudes towards labor, it does, however, reflect a general judgment on the way labor is treated both by the United States and Canada (note: "The labor sector is ignored . . . I found out personally about the conference . . . never sent to it."). Thus, most--even those who disagree with Galenson on the basis of their own experiences in the field--seem to agree with him insofar as his general statement regarding low respect for "labor-mindedness." Moreover, it is rather significant that among the interviewed those who agreed with Galenson most emphatically were of labor background while those whose personal experience did not allow them to agree were not of American labor movement background.

¹⁷ Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., Dec. 18, 1958.

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Such conditions--conditions of individual as well as group status frustrations when encountered by agricultural attachés abroad--contributed to the passing of the Agricultural Act of 1954 which, in a sense, rehabilitated the concept of independent specialized attaches responsible to and under the administration of a specialized executive department, though it is limited only to foreign agricultural representation. In this accomplishment the Department of Agriculture was aided by powerful farm interests in American politics. Instead of functioning under the instructions of the State Department, the agricultural attaché is now active "in accordance with instructions of the Secretary of Agriculture" and only in "coordination with other representatives of the United States Government in each country, under the leadership of the Chief of the United States Diplomatic Mission."¹⁸ However, the retransfer of the foreign agricultural attaché service to the Agriculture Department, while taking care of one "thorn" in the U.S. foreign affairs machinery created others in the process because it added to the proliferation of "special agencies and

¹⁸Section 602, (d), Agricultural Act of 1954.

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representatives, and military bases and missions" after World War II which, in totality, led "to a serious decline in ambassadorial authority."¹⁹

In some respect, however, present arrangements with regard to the agricultural attachés constitute, in a sense, a compromise between the erstwhile attaché concept and the concept in use prior to the Agricultural Act of 1954. While under the original attaché concept, the Agricultural Foreign Service officer was free from ambassadorial supervision and the 1946-1954 arrangements made him fully subordinate to the Chief of Mission, the present provision clearly stipulates that the agricultural attaché "works under the leadership of the chief of mission and acts as the latter's adviser on agricultural matters."²⁰

Agricultural Attachés and Labor Attachés: Two Different Concepts

Voices to extend similar arrangements to the "foreign labor service" (if the term may be used) remained unheeded largely because of the feeling prevalent in the State Department that the functions

¹⁹"The Ambassador's Authority," editorial, New York Times, Western Edition, Aug. 15, 1963. See also, U.S., Senate, Committee on Government Operations, The Ambassador and the Problem of Coordination, 88th Cong., 1st Sess.

²⁰The American Agricultural Attaché, State Dept. Publication No. 6422, Department and Foreign Service Series 61 (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Jan., 1957), p. 7.

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of the labor attaché, however specialized, are nevertheless of a political nature and of greater import in the policy-making process than that of the more technical-oriented agricultural attachés. Echoing such feelings, Daniel Goot, Special Assistant for Labor Affairs to Under Secretary Murphey, told this author in 1957:

The agricultural attachés used to be part of the Foreign Officers staff--but now they work under a legislative mandate given to the Department of Agriculture. They are attachés in the proper sense of the word: they do report on matters of agricultural economy, on crops, on matters of import and export. The labor attaché, on the other hand, is an officer whose functions are primarily of political importance--and he is therefore appointed by the State Department--in agreement with or in consultation with the Labor Department.²¹

Labor attachés and assistant labor attachés who were questioned on the subject during the academic year, 1958-59, substantially amplified what seems to be the dominant feeling within the State Department and the Foreign Service regarding a separate labor attaché organization²²--since their written responses agreed substantially with those of others active in these organizations. Writes one labor attaché:

²¹Personal interview, Wash., D.C., Jan. 3, 1957.

²²Written questions were submitted to a number of labor attachés, labor reporting officers of the Foreign Service, labor advisors on temporary duty in this country who could not be reached in person. The question, one of 25, reads as follows: "Do you think that the establishment of a special Foreign Labor Service (similar to the FAS) would enhance the program? If you think a special Foreign Labor Service is not feasible, why not?" See Appendix II.

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Definitely not. Separate FAS [Foreign Agricultural Service] adds, rather than removes, problems. Communication, coordination, relations in the field, personnel, etc., would be more, not less, complicated. Overseas, the U.S. government is viewed as an entity--foreigners don't distinguish between labor, agriculture, foreign aid, information services, etc. A coordinated approach is vital. Getting coordination of interests which are not always wholly identical is a problem, but we need to work on our problems toward, not away from coordination.²³

And another labor attaché amplifies on this as follows:

I am opposed to the establishment of a separate service. More can be accomplished through the State Dept. At this juncture, a special labor group would not be adequately financed. It would aggravate many people in the Embassys--as happens in the case of agricultural attachés. A labor attaché is useful only insofar as he can work with the Embassy. Don't give him a special position which would divorce him from those with whom he must work.²⁴

However, rather significantly, in the same response sheet but in answer to a question relative to the perception "friendly" foreign trade unionists have of the U.S. labor attaché (i.e., "Do they see him as a representative of the U.S. government? A diplomat? A fellow trade unionist? Just a "good Joe"?), the same officer responded:

²³From written responses to questions submitted during academic year, 1958-59.

²⁴From written responses to questions submitted during academic year, 1958-59.

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Friendly trade unionists view the labor attaché as being all the things you list, plus that of a spy. After a time you sort out the ones with whom you can work; the suspicions of some are quieted. With some you will always be an official; with others you are accepted as a trade unionist. It is not easy--and mistakes can be made which will discredit you and/or the Embassy. In most Embassy jobs, the official position is an asset in accomplishing the job. The labor attaché does his in spite of being an official. The people with whom it is a pleasure to deal are those who accept you as a friend, but who are sophisticated enough to make use of the official position to accomplish mutually desired goals.²⁵

It would appear, then, that although often a handicap with "friendly" foreign labor people, the official position and integration into the official State Department/Foreign Service family helps in the accomplishment of certain tasks, adds a certain prestige, and it is really up to the individual attaché to reconcile the two styles--that of labor and that of the world of diplomacy and officialdom.

The Labor Attaché: Goals and Functions

What then are the broad goals and objectives of the labor attaché program and what are the functions?

Henry Hauck, Labor Counsellor at the French Embassy in London, describes the functions of labor attachés and the general motives for their appointment as follows:

²⁵ From written responses to questions submitted during academic year, 1958-59.

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Some States which have large numbers of nationals abroad require the labour attaché to look after those settled in the country to which he is accredited. Other States, for which the questions of immigration or emigration are particularly important, instruct their labour attachés to follow these problems with special attention. Again, a State which has introduced economic and social methods different from those of other countries may wish its labour attachés to aim first of all at explaining to the workers of those other countries the meaning and value of the experiments it has made. But though there are substantial differences between the general policies which decided the establishment of labour attachés' posts, it may be said that in all countries the functions of labour attachés are essentially connected with information--more exactly, with two-way information. A labour attaché must first of all inform his own Government regarding the social policy of the country to which he has been sent, its legislation on labour matters and social security, and developments and tendencies among workers' and employers' organisations; at the same time, he must be able, by means of the documents and knowledge at his disposal and of the contacts he has established, to inform the governmental services and other organisations of the country to which he is accredited regarding his own country's social policy, social legislation and employers' and workers' movements.²⁶

In regard to the goals of the United States' labor attaché program, specifically, we find general statements in the organs of the State Department, Labor Department, the American trade union

²⁶ Henry Hauck, "Labour Attaches," International Labour Review (Geneva), LVIII (Aug., 1948), pp. 3-4. The following countries are among those which maintain labor attaché posts and programs as part of their foreign service organization: Argentina, Austria, Canada, Egypt, Finland, France, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, The Netherlands, United Kingdom, United States, West Germany. Some of these attachés are also known as social attachés, workers' attachés, etc. Ibid., pp. 1, 3. Also, "Ernennung von Labour-attachés," Auslandsnachrichten des DGB, VII (Oktober-Dezember, 1956), pp. 14, 15.

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movement, as well as by outside observers, ranging from one extreme to the other of the political spectrum. Broadly, all these statements agree that the labor attaché must be intimately acquainted with the labor movement of the country to which he is assigned so as (a) to be able to bring reliable information not only relative to foreign economic conditions but also relative to the "political and economic causes" which inspire the foreign workers, to what arouses their confidence or opposition, or "how they organize for economic and political action",²⁷ i. e., information, which would mirror eventual reactions of foreign labor publics to various American foreign policy moves which in turn would hopefully aid our own policy-makers in the formulation of intelligent policies in regard to the given areas; (b) to disseminate information in the opposite direction, i. e., among persons and publics abroad, with the general aim of "convincing them that the battle for freedom is theirs as much as ours."²⁸ As Martin Durkin, the late Secretary of Labor and trade union leader, says:

²⁷ Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary, "Labor and International Affairs," address delivered before the Inter-Union Institute for Labor Democracy (Philadelphia, Sept. 22, 1945), Department of State Bulletin, XIII (Sept. 30, 1945), p. 468.

²⁸ Martin P. Durkin, "The Labor Attaché," Foreign Service Journal, XXX (Sept., 1953), p. 28.

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. . . to thwart Communism's attempts to subvert workers groups, and to develop a better and more sympathetic understanding of U.S. foreign policy objectives on the part of workers everywhere.²⁹

That is, their goal is to win the sympathies of foreign workers for United States foreign policies and political objectives, and to extract at least an understanding for American values--aims which, if successfully achieved, will hopefully aid the United States in combating its international adversaries. Although interrelated, the second goal--that of political influence and propaganda--because of its tactical importance may very well be the more important goal indeed. That this may be so is evidenced by a statement in the CIO World Affairs Bulletin:

The labor attaché's primary task is to win friends for America among workers abroad and to gather information from labor sources.³⁰

²⁹ Ibid., p. 63. Although Mr. Durkin's statement may give the impression that labor attachés are stationed "everywhere" or at least wherever there are U.S. diplomatic posts, a majority of such posts do not have labor attachés on the staff. As a Foreign Service officer informed this author: "An important thing to keep in mind, I think, is that most posts do not have a labor attaché. Full-time labor reporting officers are also scarce. Commonly, an FSO, like myself with some reasonable experience or background in these areas, serves as a combined economic (or sometimes, political) and labor reporting officer." Personal communication, March 17, 1959.

³⁰ "The United States Labor Attaché Program," CIO World Affairs Bulletin, I, (May, 1952), p. 2.

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This goal of influence-attempt is interpreted by a pro-Communist commentator as an attempt at disrupting the international labor movement.³¹

Thus, accordingly, the functions of the labor attaché are in the nature of information and propaganda on the one hand, and of economic, social, and political intelligence on the other. On the basis of the sources quoted herein as well as others, the functions of the labor attache seem to be as follows:

1. Reporting on all matters pertaining to labor in foreign countries which might influence the United States' international relations.³²

2. Gathering data concerning the "attitudes, activities, and interests of the labor force of other countries . . . How and under what conditions the people work, how productive they are, what wages they receive, what levels of living they enjoy, to what standards of living they aspire."³³

3. Supplying American trade unionists with "factual material which they need in the fight against Communism."³⁴

³¹Victor Perlo, American Imperialism (New York: International Publishers, 1951), p. 235.

³²Otis E. Mulliken, "The Department's Division of Labor Relations," The Department of State Bulletin, XI (Aug. 13, 1944), p. 166.

³³Acheson, Department of State Bulletin, XIII, p. 468. Italics mine.

³⁴Durkin, Foreign Service Journal, XXX, p. 61.

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4. Maintaining direct contact with key trade unionists in the area of post assignment.³⁵

5. Serving as the principal expert on labor affairs in U. S. diplomatic missions abroad and at the same time being able to answer questions which foreign trade unionists may have about the American labor movement, social legislation, economy, etc.³⁶

6. "To counteract anti-American propaganda."³⁷

7. "To supply information which will aid the free trade unions in their struggle" against Communism, Fascism, and "other undemocratic elements."³⁸

The emphasis, thus, seems to be on the political aspects of international labor affairs. In addition, one may add the following functions as enumerated in an official "description of duties" sheet composed on the basis of general function-directives concerning the labor attaché program.

A. Assisting in programs of technical aid and cultural exchanges in the field of labor.

B. Assisting trade union delegations and other United States citizens abroad concerned with labor matters.

³⁵"The United States Labor Attaché Program," CIO World Affairs Bulletin, I, p. 2.

³⁶Durkin, Foreign Service Journal, XXX, p. 28. ³⁷Ibid.

³⁸U. S. Labor Department, The American Workers' Fact Book: 1956, (Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1956), p. 398.

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C. Advising interested U.S. officials on problems relating to labor needs and manpower utilization in the area of assignment.

D. Advising military procurement officers concerning labor and manpower conditions in connection with contracts for the offshore procurement program.

One can note that even the seemingly technical aspects of the labor attaché's job have political undertones and implications. For example: selecting ports which are free from Communist domination or from the influence of other anti-American elements which may obstruct the receipt of armaments and other goods from the United States by its allies.³⁹ To wit:

In the Carribean, a group of union dock workers refused to unload a shipment of marble from an American company as a demonstration against "Yankee imperialism," so the attaché talked to labor people he worked with, and they got the men to unload the ship.⁴⁰

That labor attachés are often called upon to perform sensitive political assignments, sometimes outside of their own area of accreditation, is also illustrated by the following episode narrated by Henry Hauck, the French Labor Counsellor:

³⁹"Labor Salesmen for U.S.," Business Week, Jan. 26, 1952, p. 54.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 46.

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The most remarkable instance is that of Greece, where the acute tensions in trade union affairs has for two years been contributing to the political confusion. Although both the United States and the United Kingdom have labour attachés in Greece, the latter country sent its Rome labour attaché, Mr. W. H. Braine, to Athens in 1946 on a special mission of conciliation between the different trade union parties; and in 1947 Mr. Sam Berger, United States labour attaché in London, also went on mission to the Greek capital.⁴¹

That projects of political nature directly related to the task of influencing foreign labor audiences, rather than to merely gathering economic data or performing specialized technical tasks, are of primary concern to the labor attaché is evidenced from various other utterances. At one of the seminars on Comparative Labor Movements meeting periodically in Washington under the chairmanship of E. M. Kassalow, Research Director of the Industrial Union Department of

⁴¹Hauck, International Labour Review, LVIII, pp. 6-7. Samuel David Berger was the first known U.S. labor attaché. After his tour of duty in London he spent over two years (July, 1950-Feb., 1953) at the State Department in Washington from where he left to assume the post of Counsellor at the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo. While in Tokyo he apparently had some difficulties with Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, then visiting the Japanese capital, as a result of which Mr. Nixon allegedly demanded that Mr. Berger be "fired." Instead, he was re-assigned as Consul to Wellington where he stayed four years and from there he went to Athens in the same capacity. Under the Kennedy administration, Mr. Berger was appointed Ambassador to Korea--the second Foreign Service Officer with a labor attaché background to achieve the rank of ambassador under the administration of President Kennedy. The first is Ben S. Stephansky who was appointed Ambassador to Bolivia. (Personnel data from U.S. Dept. of State, The Biographic Register: 1963: Revised as of June 30, 1962.)

The Nixon incident was narrated to this author in the course of a personal interview with an official of the State Department who asked to have his identity withheld. It was corroborated, though, by several other informants interviewed in the course of research for this study.

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the AFL-CIO, and usually attended by labor advisors from the State Department, intellectuals of the Labor Department directly concerned with foreign labor affairs, experts on international relations on the staff of the AFL-CIO, U.S. labor attachés between assignments or reporting in Washington, "friendly" academicians from the Washington area or visiting the capital and concerned with international labor problems, and sometimes "friendly" labor attachés from foreign countries, one of the lecturers stated that:

There are "vacuums" in the underdeveloped countries not only in terms of power politics but in terms of ideas. This is particularly true in the labor field. If we don't provide the unions with a rationale and orientation, the Communists will.⁴²

In the discussion following, the question arose, of course, as to how, with what kind of ideas, should the "vacuums" be filled. One of the discussants, Mr. Arnold Lloyd Zempel, then Executive Director of the Office of International Labor Affairs (in 1960 renamed Bureau of International Labor Affairs) of the Labor Department and subsequently a labor attaché (since 1960) in Brussels and Luxembourg, stated that "essentially we seek to export Western Cultural ideas."⁴³

⁴²James D. Hoover, "Should American Trade Unionism Be Exported?", unpublished paper delivered at the Research Seminar on Comparative Labor Movements (supported by Ford Foundation), mimeographed (Wash., D.C., Dec. 15, 1959), p. 9.

⁴³Ibid., discussion, p. 14.

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At an earlier interview with this author, an informant who had extensive experience both in government as a labor affairs expert and in the U.S. labor movement, said that:

The labor attaché program is primarily political in nature. The job of the labor attaché is one of reporting, gathering intelligence--in conjunction often with the CIA [Central Intelligence Agency] --i.e., some of his reports go to the CIA. The labor attaché is supposed to be an expert on the radical wing of the political labor movement--at least in Europe he is supposed to be that.⁴⁴

That part of his work may have "undercover" or intelligence implication, even to the extent of linking the labor attaché to the Central Intelligence Agency of the U.S. government, was intimated to this author by numerous respondents questioned. In fact, such a connection is made legally possible by Title III, Part B of the Foreign Service Act of 1946 which spells out the duties of officers and employees of the Foreign Service:

The officers and employees of the Service shall, under such regulations as the President may prescribe, perform duties and functions in behalf of any Government agency or any other establishment of the Government requiring their services . . . , but the absence of such regulations shall not preclude officers and employees of the Service from acting for and on behalf of any such Government agency or establishment whenever it shall, through the Department, request their services.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., Dec. 4, 1957.

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As far as the Labor Department is concerned, however, it defines the functions of the labor attachés "mainly as . . . reporting and information."⁴⁶ On the other hand, another high Labor Department official, Morris (Murray) Weisz of the Bureau of Labor Statistics maintains that "there is no clearly perceived task orientation. Much is left to the personality, ability, and interests of the individual labor attaché"⁴⁷--a view expressed also by several other officials interviewed who are immediately concerned with the program. For example, a labor attaché, and at the time of the interview a labor advisor at the State Department, answered questions on functions of the program and the duties of the individual officer as follows:

Much is left to the discretion and interests of the individual labor attaché. In the operation of the labor attaché program you come across every range of man. Thus, you may have the officer who is interested primarily in political matters and will cover every phase of Socialist Party activity--and then you have the man whose work has no or very little relationship to political problems. It depends largely on the personality of the individual labor attaché. I, for example, was very political. I visited the Dutch Labor Party office every week and was even thought of by many as a member of the Party--something which could have hurt me and was often quite embarrassing. My successor, on the other hand, the man who came after me, was wholly apolitical.

⁴⁶Personal interview with James Taylor, Chief, Foreign Service Division, OILA, Labor Dept., Wash., D.C., Dec. 24, 1956.

⁴⁷Personal interview, Wash., D.C., Dec. 15, 1958.

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- Q. It is my understanding that the program is primarily "political" in nature--and I was given to understand that this is precisely the reason why the State Department attaches so much importance to it.
- A. Although the State Department expects the Labor Attaché to be primarily political--the generalists in the field sometimes fear competition on that score and may want him to be merely a trade union specialist, just a technician, and to cover the technical aspects of the local labor movement --wages, organization, social security, labor laws, etc. [Name withheld], after a long fight with the generalists, managed to cover the Labor Party. Now, however, a modus vivendi was reached in that post: a new man will cover the trade unions only and another man, a generalist, will cover the Labor Party. They will operate from adjoining offices though.⁴⁸

The "political" tasks which would require the labor attaché to mingle with labor people so that he may be thought of as "one of them" might be embarrassing to the more sensitive among the labor attachés, especially if they do not have an intellectual identification with labor, a sentimental attachment to it. One U. S. labor attaché who requested that his name be withheld told this author:

A British labor attaché, a typical Tory, told me once that he considers himself and all the rest of us dishonest. We pose as labor people, gain the confidence of trade unionists and then report to our respective governments what we heard and what we say. [Name withheld], for example, is being invited frequently to board meetings of the Socialist Party--they tell him all sorts of confidential things. Actually they deceive themselves because he turns around and reports everything to us.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., Dec. 18, 1958.

⁴⁹ Personal interview, Wash., D.C., Jan. 12, 1958.

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Nevertheless, if one should attempt to consider the functions of the labor attachés in the light of Harold D. Lasswell's categories of modes by which a nation strives to achieve its objectives in international relations--the modes being those of deals (diplomatic negotiations), goods (the use of economic resources), force (or the threat of force), and ideas--then the labor attaché's activities would primarily come under the fourth category. Thus, although required to report to the Labor Department, particularly when information in their possession concerns matters of technical development, legislation, and labor conditions, their role is first of all one of political nature and import. This distinction becomes even clearer when the labor attaché program is compared with the goals and functions of the agricultural attaché program.

Labor, Agriculture, and Foreign Service Representation

The agricultural attaché abroad represents the interests of "United States agriculture" rather than the specific agricultural and foreign interests of the U.S. government itself. On the other hand, nowhere is it alleged that the labor attaché abroad represents the interests of American labor--it is quite clearly stated instead that he is active only in the field of labor, and this distinction in regard to the labor attaché is carefully emphasized at all times. Mr. Daniel Goot, the interview with whom was already cited in this chapter, states

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this condition relative to the labor attaché program in the following terms:

- Q. Did the growth of organized labor in the United States contribute toward the creation of the program?
- A. Even if labor in the United States would have been arrested in its growth we still would have to have labor attachés simply because of the importance of labor abroad.
- Q. What role did the increased involvement of U.S. labor in foreign affairs play here?
- A. U.S. labor's interest abroad paralleled the interest of the United States government. Just as we have political officers reporting on political parties abroad we have a need for labor officers reporting on trade unions abroad--as a governmental responsibility.
- Q. What is the connection, if any, between the U.S. trade unions and the program?
- A. You should avoid the implication that the U.S. labor attaché program is a trade union program. British labor attachés, for example, are not drawn from British trade unions at all. Ours are more so--but not because they happen to be good trade unionists but because they happen to be well-versed in trade union affairs.
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- Q. If the trade unions should come up with a candidate--would they approach the Labor Department about it--or can they come to the State Department directly?
- A. In the past they went through the Labor Department simply because the Labor Department was more responsive to their wishes--however, nothing prevents the trade unions from coming directly to the State Department. In fact, the State Department sometimes makes inquiries of trade unionists about particular candidates.
- Q. Under what circumstances would the State Department consult American trade unions regarding a candidacy or an opening?
- A. If a man should come to us from the trade union movement, the State Department would ask the responsible persons within the trade union movement for an opinion about this man. However, bear in mind that a trade union background is not a necessity. [Name withheld], for example, came from industry--since it is important to be able to interpret management's view in a labor context. A labor attaché has

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to inspire confidence in foreign management circles as well as in foreign labor and government circles--it all depends on the conditions in a country.

- Q. What then are the precise functions of the program?
- A. Although a labor attaché cannot be anti-labor you cannot overlook his relations with government and management circles. He is actually not an attaché at all--in the sense of an attaché being merely attached to the embassy. The labor attaché is an integral part of the diplomatic mission. He is a labor officer rather than an attaché--attaché, that is, in the sense that the agricultural attaché is a member of the Agriculture Department and only attached to the foreign mission. The labor attaché, on the other hand, is not a Labor Department official attached to the foreign mission.⁵⁰

In the already cited article by Durkin, it is stated that despite the cooperation of the labor attaché with American trade union officials active abroad in the mutual effort "to strengthen non-Communist labor organizations," a demarcation line separating the labor attaché "who is a government official" from the trade unionist "whose principle responsibility is to his labor organization" is constantly maintained. In contrast it is pointed out that the agricultural attaché is the agent abroad of the Foreign Agricultural Service and of "American agriculture."⁵¹ The agricultural attaché merges his obligations to the

⁵⁰ Personal interview, Wash., D.C., Jan. 3, 1957.

⁵¹ Robert C. Tetro, Asst. Administrator, FAS, U.S. Dept. of Agri., "The Role of the Agricultural Attaché in Promoting Foreign Trade," address before the American Farm Economics Assoc., mimeographed (Lake Junaluska, N.C., Aug. 30, 1957), p. 3. The same point was also made during the 1958 hearings, U.S., Congress, House, Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Department of Agriculture and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1959, 85th Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 933-35.

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government and the domestic farm interests by considering on the one hand his "chief responsibility" to be that of promoting abroad the interests of American agriculture, while on the other hand he advances "as far as possible" the applicable decisions, programs, and policies of the government affecting American farmers.⁵²

Moreover, a State Department pamphlet on the agricultural attaché program opens with the statement that "the agricultural attaché has been called the eyes and ears of the American farmer abroad."⁵³ However, the pamphlet goes on to qualify this description by stating that, apt as it may be, it is "not all-inclusive" since it overlooks the obligations which the agricultural attaché has towards the U.S. government.

Thus, while the labor attaché's activities may perhaps influence the American worker and trade unionist in an indirect and remote manner (as, for that matter, all diplomatic as well as other activities in the international field may influence all members of a society in the long run), nevertheless he is not the representative abroad of the American worker or trade unionist but of the government alone.

⁵²Tetro, "The Role of the Agricultural Attaché. . .," p. 3.

⁵³The American Agricultural Attaché, State Dept. Publication 6422, p. 1.

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In fact, as James D. Hoover maintains, some "governmental labor officials" under the influence of anthropology and the ideas of "cultural relativism," are quite opposed to the promotion of American labor practices abroad and others may have all kinds of apprehensions on that score. Socialists or "ex-Socialists" among them find it "distasteful to speak of the trade union movement" preferring to "speak of the labor movement, a three-armed monster with a political arm, a cooperative arm, and a trade union arm." Still others, although generally friendly to American labor, are "not likely to promote American unionism abroad very vigorously" because they are "uncertain as to just what it is and also as to whether . . . [they] approve of it." And finally there are, in Mr. Hoover's view, those among the official "labor people" abroad who:

. . . might be called the ordinary newspaper reader, that is, the person whose knowledge of American labor is confined to what he reads in the daily papers, and particularly in their editorial pages. (Such types do occasionally land, through the wheel of fate or the rotation of the Foreign Service, in government labor jobs.) When the newspaper reader thinks of American labor, he thinks of the teamsters, Harry Bridges, and the steel strike.⁵⁴

No such confusion resulting from conflicting pulls and hauls exist apparently in the Foreign Agricultural Service. Among the

⁵⁴Hoover, p. 5.

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agricultural attaché's functions is, to be sure, the usual task of reporting--with the important qualification, however, that he reports on foreign agricultural developments (such as a foreign government's agricultural policies) as these may affect the American farmer and his business opportunities abroad. His major function, though, seems to be one of promoting, protecting, and creating foreign markets for American agricultural producers. This would, of course, involve activities aimed at removal of trade barriers and restrictions against U. S. exports. The function of "representation" is one of the few which has any clear and pure political implication since it requires of the agricultural attaché the creation of a climate of goodwill, as well as of "understanding and acceptance of American agricultural policy among our customers abroad!"⁵⁵ The agricultural attaché's function (related to his technical skills and experience) of counseling members of the diplomatic mission as to the economic and political advisability of certain programs under consideration is also of political nature.⁵⁶ Such advice is most often sought in regard to specialized intergovernmental agreements, trade fairs, exchanges, etc. His public relations activities include making addresses and exhibiting films.

⁵⁵The American Agricultural Attaché, p. 2.

⁵⁶Tetro, "The Role of the Agricultural Attaché . . .," p. 14.

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In contrast to the above, the labor attaché's goals and functions are clearly of a more complex nature. The task would call for a person in possession of specialized skills mingled with political sophistication. His success may be aided or obstructed by the degree to which he possesses these qualifications and by other personality characteristics, as well as by a set of objective conditions comprised of the nature of the prevailing American objectives and policies, the character of the political labor movement abroad with which he must deal, and the degree of compatibility between these two factors. The success or failure of the labor attaché's job will be influenced further by the perception his colleagues within the U.S. diplomatic mission, the Foreign Service generalists, have of his role and the importance they attach to it--the degree to which he is accepted as a member of the "team." The special role of the labor attaché within the mission, the nature of his work, rank and pay-grade, in addition to the aforementioned views of the other Foreign Service officers, may very well contribute to the creation of an outgroup feeling in the labor officer, giving birth to status anxiety. This, of course, may vary from post to post depending to a large extent upon the personal characteristics of the labor officer concerned, his social background, value orientation, and source from which he was recruited into the Foreign Service. These (problems of social background, career-patterns, "type," etc.) are the issues with which this study is next concerned.

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CHAPTER IV

GROUP EXPECTATIONS AS TO LABOR ATTACHE "TYPE"

Since the labor attaché program operates within the area of international relations, with special emphasis on international labor affairs, it is only natural that the groups, governmental as well as nongovernmental, which have an interest in the problems of these areas, should have had a priori conceptions not only in regard to the goals and functions of the program but also in regard to the types of officers executing the program.

The objective of this chapter, therefore, is to determine the expectations as to the type of labor attaché as expressed by the various groups interested in the program (U.S. Departments of State and Labor, American trade unions, and others). For a determination of the various group expectations, we reach first for a number of normative statements found in the official publications of these groups--in the form of official group expression or in the form of opinions voiced by their recognized spokesmen.

American Trade Unions

U.S. trade union leaders envision the "ideal" U.S. labor attaché as follows:

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A person with a "strong labor background" and orientation;

A person with a "profound knowledge" of the American labor movement;

A person in possession of personal characteristics which would enable him to win "the confidence of foreign workers as well as government labor experts;"¹

A person with the understanding of the international labor movement;²

A person with firsthand knowledge of the "aims and aspirations of free labor," who understands the "language" free labor speaks throughout the world;³

A person knowledgeable in the fields of economics and politics;

A person with the ability to become integrated into the (embassy) "team."⁴

From the above emerges the picture of one who stems from an American union background and who at the same time is familiar with

¹"The United States Labor Attaché Program," CIO World Affairs Bulletin, I, (May, 1952), p. 2.

²American Federation of Labor, Labor Omnia Vincit: Report of the Proceedings of the Seventy-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor (New York, Sept. 15-23, 1952), pp. 117-18.

³David Dubinsky, "What They Say," The American Federationist, LVIII (June, 1951), p. 32.

⁴CIO World Affairs Bulletin, I (May, 1952), p. 2.

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the "language" of the international labor movement, and who possesses the skills, training (in politics and economics) as well as personality to operate simultaneously on the level of diplomacy (as member of the embassy team) and on a direct trade union level, dealing with the labor elite as well as rank-and-file union members.

David Dubinsky clearly has trade unionists in mind as is indicated in his statement calling for a special Assistant Secretary of State to deal with "world labor affairs"--this post to be given to a "competent, authoritative trade unionist."⁵ This wish for a special Assistant Secretary of State for Labor Affairs was never granted. When President Kennedy assumed office he appointed George L-P Weaver, a Negro CIO official who made a record for himself as American trade union representative to a number of Latin American countries, as Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs. It is doubtful, however, whether this arrangement, given the limitations of the office, could satisfy the hopes voiced by David Dubinsky.⁶

That trade unionists should fill the labor attaché post (or any other post dealing in international labor affairs, for that matter) is

⁵ Dubinsky, American Federationist, LVIII, p. 32.

⁶ Immediately preceding Mr. Weaver in the post of Asst. Sec. of Labor for International Labor Affairs were George C. Lodge, son of Amb. Henry Cabot Lodge, and J. Ernest Wilkins, a prominent layman in the Methodist Church. Both Lodge and Wilkins were Eisenhower appointees and served under Sec. of Labor James P. Mitchell.

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also emphasized in the 1950 CIO Convention foreign affairs resolution which states that "our American unions can provide such experts from their ranks." In the opinion of American trade unionists, labor background and orientation seem to be prerequisites for effectiveness in the field of international labor affairs--an effectiveness which would result in the acceptance of the labor attaché (with a labor orientation) in the "'fraternity which stretches across frontiers,' the world labor movement." On the other hand, according to the same sources the professional qualifications (i. e., training in economics and politics) are necessary (a) to fulfill the function of interpreting the economic implications of various labor developments and (b) for purposes of understanding and interpreting political situations. Everett M. Kassalow, director of research for the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, expresses his preference for a Foreign Service officer who combines both the requirement of a labor background and political skills in the following words:

Generally . . . I would say that the labor attachés are politically more astute than the run of the mill Foreign Service generalists, the regulars.

Q. What do you mean by "astute"?

A. Well, if he comes of some sort of labor background, especially if he ever was a "Yipsel" [Young People's Socialist League], he has some familiarity with the international labor movement to begin with. It is a matter of feeling. Of course, his acceptance is largely determined by the views held by the foreign trade unionists, the foreign labor people, with regard to the United States and the American trade union movement.

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Q. In other words, you think that in an advantageous situation a labor attaché with some sort of labor identification would have better chances for success than one without such identification?

A. Precisely. He would manage to narrow the gap somewhat.

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It might be somewhat difficult to find persons in the American trade union movement, however--especially among rank-and-file members and even among the lower and middle echelon of trade union officials (stewards, local officers, business agents, even international representatives) --who in addition to the necessary "domestic" labor background also possess the hoped for foreign experiences as well as the "academic" (formal or informal) qualifications envisioned. The type proposed by trade union leaders, therefore, seems to be limited to those groups of trade unionists who either have achieved high leadership status (and are thus unlikely to leave their positions for an overseas government post of that kind) or to the somewhat larger pool of "professionals" (education directors, researchers, economic analysts, labor journalists, legislative representatives) within or on the fringes of the American trade union movement who may or may not have formal union membership but who possess a broad labor background (if not always in a trade union proper then

⁷ Personal interview, Everett M. Kassalow, Solidarity House, Detroit, Mich., Nov. 4, 1957.

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within the American labor movement's political and nonpolitical auxiliary organizations). Professor John P. Windmuller characterizes such persons as having an "intellectual connection" (or identification) with the American trade Union movement.⁸

U. S. Labor Department

The expectations from this source are similar to those voiced by the trade union movement although nowhere is it made explicit that Labor Department officials have in mind only persons with distinct labor movement identification to fill the post of labor attaché. James Taylor, Chief of the Foreign Service Division of the Office of International Labor Affairs, U.S. Labor Department,⁹ seems to sum up the Labor Department's position in response to a direct question on this problem in the following manner:

- Q. Is there a difference of views between the Department of Labor and the Department of State as to the ideal type of labor attache? From what kind of background, in your view, should he be recruited?
- A. The Labor Department would like to see more trade union and labor people on the jobs. However, we do not consider this problem as being too serious. The Labor Department although labor oriented has very few people of

⁸ John P. Windmuller, American Labor and the International Labor Movement: 1940 to 1953, Cornell International Industrial and Labor Relations Reports, No. 2, Institute of International Industrial and Labor Relations (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1954), pp. xii-xiii.

⁹ The office was later renamed Office of International Personnel and Management and the title "Chief was changed to "Director." Mr. Taylor was in charge of the office before and after the change of name.

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Logically, once the important qualification as to the necessity of a labor movement background (the trade union position) is omitted but the requirement that he have experience "in labor" is retained, the candidate envisioned by the Labor Department to fill a labor attaché post may very well come from U.S. government agencies dealing in labor affairs, the U.S. Labor Department included. The type then envisioned by the Labor Department possesses the following qualifications:

"Profound knowledge" of the American labor movement;

Similarly "profound knowledge" of the foreign trade union movement;

Ability to meet "labor leaders, trade union officials, and rank-and-file members on their own ground."¹¹

The American Workers' Fact Book for 1956 adds:

Our labor attachés have . . . often been referred to as "shirt-sleeve diplomats," who represent the ordinary American man-in-the-street to the ordinary man-in-the-street of the foreign countries.¹²

¹⁰ Personal interview, Wash., D.C., Dec. 24, 1956.

¹¹ U.S. Labor Dept., The American Workers' Fact Book: 1956, (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1956), pp. 398-99.

¹² Ibid.

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In the already cited Durkin article, written while he was Secretary of Labor in the Eisenhower administration, the labor attaché is envisioned as a person capable of authoritative discussion on American labor due to "firsthand experience" with it.¹³ In addition, Durkin visualizes a person with "thorough knowledge" in labor economics, statistics, labor-management relations, union administration and political science--since "outside of the United States political and economic activities of labor are strongly interwoven."¹⁴

The distinction between the position taken in the matter by U. S. Labor Department officials and American trade unionists is that while the latter emphasize "labor identification" the former merely stress intimate knowledge of the labor movement and labor affairs. However, as do trade union spokesmen, so official Labor Department sources assume that intimacy with the American labor movement (in addition to the personal and "academic" qualifications) entails simultaneous knowledge of the "language" of the international labor movement--a condition which would result, so it is suggested, in the foreign labor movement's acceptance of the U.S. labor attaché, the possibility for his establishment of intimate understanding not only with foreign trade union leaders but with foreign rank-and-file union

¹³ Martin P. Durkin (Sec. of Labor), "The Labor Attaché," Foreign Service Journal, XXX (Sept., 1953), p. 28.

¹⁴ Ibid.

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Yet when the Labor Department joined the State Department in locating suitable candidates for labor attaché positions, somehow knowledge of the "language" of international labor became less of a condition and instead "technical" expertise in labor affairs was stressed, economic training rather than skills in political analysis, in addition to the usual, nonlabor related requirements. For example, the last Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs in the Eisenhower administration, George C. Lodge, issued a memorandum (circa 1958-59) of limited circulation which clearly neglects the conditions put forth by the trade union movement and stresses those conditions seen as vital by the Labor Department and, finally, seems to take some cues in the area of "suitability" of candidates from the State Department. It also acknowledges its own auxiliary role in the recruitment process. To wit:

From time to time the State Department appoints from outside the Foreign Service a few exceptionally well-qualified individuals to serve as Labor Attachés in the Foreign Service Embassies abroad. State looks to the Department of Labor for suggestions of qualified candidates and maintains a roster of such individuals. When a specific vacancy develops, this is one of the recruitment sources used by the State Department.

In general, the candidates who are most suitable are individuals between 35 and 40 years of age who are willing to accept salaries in the vicinity of \$8,000 per annum; who have sufficient academic background (preferably including economics training) to do competent analytical reporting; who have had

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a practical exposure to the American labor scene (in the American labor movement, government-labor agencies, industry, the academic world, or a combination of these); who are willing and, from a family standpoint, able to accept employment in underdeveloped areas of the world (most of the opportunities will be in Africa, South Asia and the Middle East); who have a genuine interest and background in international affairs; who have foreign language qualifications or appropriate overseas experience.

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Since it is anticipated that only a very few Labor Attaché appointments will be made in the foreseeable future and since the Department of Labor does not have staff facilities for the processing of a large volume of applications, it is requested that broad-side publicity not be used in connection with Labor Attaché recruitment. It is hoped, however, that unusually well-qualified candidates will be called to our attention.¹⁵

It may perhaps be argued that the need to speak the "language" of international labor (rather than a foreign language) became less acute with the shift of emphasis from Europe to the "underdeveloped areas of the world" (Africa, South Asia, and the Middle East) where trade unionism is less developed organizationally and where, as James Hoover pointed out, ideological vacuums exist--i. e., where the ideological and organizational traditions of international labor are less entrenched than in the industrially more developed areas of the world, and especially Europe, Australia, New Zealand, or certain countries of Latin America. Perhaps the Labor Department

¹⁵ George C. Lodge, Asst. Sec. for International Affairs, "Memorandum on Overseas Employment Opportunities from the U. S. Department of Labor," mimeographed, n. d.

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perceived the present need for these underdeveloped areas more in technical terms, or perhaps it joined with those who believed that labor in industrially underdeveloped areas can still be molded in whatever image one chooses. The latter assumption may grow out of a belief that the problems in these areas are of economic underdevelopment, are related to the satisfaction of racial and national grievances rather than of class grievances. And under these conditions what is needed are labor attachés not of Young People's Socialist League background who, in the words of Kassalow, "have some familiarity with the international labor movement" but rather labor attachés are needed with some training in economics and some "practical exposure" to the American patterns of labor-management relations (preferably derived, as far as the Labor Department is concerned, through activity in the American trade union movement and/or government agencies concerned with labor matters but, alternatively, through work in industry or "the academic world").

U. S. State Department

The expectations advanced by the State Department are at variance from those of the two previous groups. Characteristically though, the State Department also envisions a type representative of its own organizational orientation, a preference for a type in tune with its own institutional personality. The preference here is for a political generalist with a particular, however not too refined,

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specialization. The emphasis is on the usual formal qualifications and on "objectivity"--an objectivity which if strictly maintained by the labor officer would require official, diplomatic aloofness rather than the identification with the labor movement emphasized by the American trade unions or the intimate knowledge of labor stressed by the U.S. Labor Department. If identification at all, the State Department expects that it be with the official point of view of the American government. A report on the personnel needed for American service abroad in foreign affairs, prepared by the Committee on Foreign Affairs Personnel--a Committee which was formed late in 1961 at the request of Secretary of State Dean Rusk under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and which, despite the inclusion of several social scientists (among them political scientists) on its staff, bears very much the stamp of the State Department --has this to say about the qualified virtues of the "generalists," a term, it claims, which is often misunderstood and maligned:

It is important to be clear about the need for seeking out and developing persons who are not only expert in a particular phase or aspect of foreign affairs work, but also possess a breadth of understanding of the objectives and instruments of foreign policy. The professional man in foreign affairs cannot be concerned only with his own field of competence. He must understand and appreciate the role of the other professional fields; he must relate the specific to the general, the part to the whole. Additionally, he should, if he is to assume major responsibilities, develop the happy faculty of grasping essentials

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and applying his knowledge and skills effectively within and across a range of disciplines. This is the sense in which the Committee considers the term "generalist" useful today.¹⁶

What kinds of changes does the Committee suggest in terms of personnel qualifications so that the United States may be better equipped to cope with situations created by a polarized and ideologized world in which it is necessary to sway the loyalties of masses? What are the "ideal" Foreign Service personnel qualifications it envisions? While in the past, the diplomat traditionally was required to be an observer, reporter, intelligence gatherer and "quiet" negotiator, in the changing world he is presently expected to have "zeal for creative accomplishment." Moreover, the ideal Foreign Service officer is expected to have "deep understanding" of American culture, the ability to "communicate effectively across cultural barriers" (which presumably includes foreign language skills as well as a "sympathetic understanding of other peoples and their cultural heritages"), adaptability and flexibility ("the capacity to adjust . . . to

¹⁶ Committee on Foreign Affairs Personnel, Personnel for the New Diplomacy (Washington, Dec., 1962), pp. 48-49. Christian A. Herter, former Sec. of State, served as chairman of the Committee. The staff of the Committee was headed by Prof. Frederick C. Mosher and Arthur G. Jones, a FSO. The professional staff included among others Fordyce W. Luikart, Nathan Maccoby, Everett W. Reimer, Robert E. Elder, Arthur W. Macmahon, William P. Maddox, Wallace S. Sayre, Edward W. Weidner.

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new environments and associations" including alterations, changes in policy directions).¹⁷ The Committee on Foreign Affairs Personnel is ready to admit that:

. . . the Department of State has not yet modified its personnel policies and operations to the extent necessary to achieve the objectives advocated by the Wriston Committee with respect to specialization. While the Department's effectuation of the integration program [i.e., the program to integrate the State Department personnel and the Foreign Service] undoubtedly strengthened the specialized capacities of the career Foreign Service, at least temporarily, the net effect has been to weaken the depth and continuity of specialized competences in Washington. Furthermore, the nature of the personnel system has encouraged many of those integrated into the Foreign Service Officers Corps to flee from their specializations.¹⁸

In other words, although an awareness exists of the need for specialized skills and for a coordination of such skills with an alertness to "ends and means" and to the "whole picture," the prevalent trends within the State Department and the Foreign Service are such that they perpetuate old "generalist" patterns, old familiar styles. What, though, in the view of the Committee are the "specialized fields" needed for effective foreign service (in addition to broad general competence)? And here we find that, again, the skills expected are traditional in nature with no special emphasis placed on skills to deal actively with emergent elites, with the rising socio-political

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 49-50.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 55.

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forces, including labor, clamoring for power in various parts of the world. Instead, the committee expects an increased need for specialized knowledge in the following fields: economics, general social science (especially for those areas in the social sciences which equip their practitioners to "deal with the problems of social and political development in the newer nations"), management politico-military, international organization affairs, intelligence.¹⁹

Dean Acheson, while Secretary of State, spoke of the necessity for trained specialization (in which he probably included the relatively slight specialized training gained while in the Foreign Service) or "substantial background in the field of labor." These are conditions quite unlike those of the trade union movement and the Labor Department, however, which both wish for intellectual affinity with or, at

¹⁹ Ibid. It is significant that while social scientists trained in empirical research and scientific analysis are employed by the various divisions of the State Department in Washington (e.g., the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, special studies groups, etc.) and the trend seems to be for increased employment of such persons, the bulk of State Department/Foreign Service research and analysis seems to bear the stamp of traditional and history-oriented training. In conversations with State Department/Foreign Service officers in the past one discerned scepticism if not outright hostility towards newer, behavioral, social science methods--an attitude which has only recently changed towards cool toleration. Reports coming from missions in the field, in particular, still reflect traditional academic training in the social sciences and humanities. Hardly, if ever, do generalists in the field engage in empirical research or modern scientific analysis. The recommendation to emphasize newer social science may indeed reflect the contribution of the social scientists on the Committee, their contribution to a report which on the whole gives the impression of acquiescing to prevailing State Department styles, despite its sometimes critical tone.

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least, intimate knowledge of, the labor movement on the part of labor attachés. And it is, of course, quite unlike the condition posited by the trade unions that future labor attachés have some background of organizational affiliation with the American labor movement. Background in the "field of labor" may include all background types in the broad area of labor, labor economics, and even labor-management relations, and thus is far from synonymous with the union demand for "strong labor background"--"labor" here meaning "belonging" and identification. While one who worked as management consultant, private company personnel director before joining the Service, or as an academician (who may or may not have intellectual identification with the labor movement) may qualify for the post of labor attaché under the first condition (favored by the State Department and reluctantly acquiesced to by the Labor Department), the second condition (favored by the trade unions and some personnel of the Labor Department) would exclude those in management service and would accept the academician only with qualifications. This difference becomes even more pronounced by Acheson's emphasis on the formal qualifications for the job:

Training in "objective" observation;

Knowledge of the language (in a strictly philological sense) of the country of assignment;

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Ability to view with "sympathetic understanding" the problems on hand.²⁰

Of the above specifications, that which comes closest to the expectations of the trade unions and the Labor Department is that the candidate be capable of viewing the problems on hand with "sympathetic understanding"--a noncommittal requirement, one which may manifest itself only after post assignment and which, it is worthwhile to note, is limited to "problems" which the labor attaché must deal with abroad rather than to people (the workers).

That the question regarding the merits or demerits of "labor background" constitutes a point of difference between the groups interested in the labor attaché program was made clear to this author by a State Department official, active in the field of international labor affairs, who declared in an interview that "a bona fide trade unionist may get too involved with the foreign trade union movement. We are not there to organize trade unions." At the same time this official placed stress on political sophistication, on the ability of the labor attaché to distinguish between socialists and communists, on a more

²⁰ Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary, "Labor and International Affairs," address delivered before the Inter-Union Institute for labor and Democracy (Philadelphia, Sept. 22, 1945), Department of State Bulletin, XIII (Sept. 30, 1945), pp. 468-69.

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or less academically acquired knowledge of (as opposed to a familiarity with) the radical political movements of the Left, the political labor movements. He added: "The fact that a man is a good sheetmetal worker or business agent does not necessarily qualify him for the job of labor attaché"²¹--and in this one respect he was actually in agreement with the trade unionists who do not have sheetmetal workers or business agents in mind either when envisioning the "ideal type."

Therefore, what the State Department hopes for is another Foreign Service generalist whose labor "specialty" is only incidental to his broader interests in the political, economic and social conditions of the country to which he is assigned--and whose interest in labor is that of an observer attempting to determine in general terms the extent to which these conditions affect the working population of a given society. These qualifications take priority over expertise knowledge of union techniques, proceedings, organization, etc.--and under no circumstances should interest in "labor matters" be confused with "identification." Writes a labor attaché, one who reached the labor attaché program via the regular Foreign Service:

Thus, paradoxically, the Foreign Service "labor specialist" must be initially, continue to be after prior experience or training in that field, essentially a generalist concerned with

²¹ Personal interview with Daniel Goot, Dept. of State, Wash., D.C., Jan. 3, 1957.

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virtually the entire range of interests and activities of the working population as a whole.²²

However, another labor attaché, one who prior to joining the labor attaché program served on the staff of a trade union organization, had this to say about the "ideal" labor attaché type:

If you get the combination of a trade unionist--if you can get a trade unionist who can also follow government policies--you have a good combination. The trouble, however, is that the door is shut on trade unionists. Many good people, trade unionists, would like to join the program but they are being discouraged, humiliated, shoved around, given evasive answers. And the trade unions do not support them either. [AFL-CIO President] Meany feels that since he is critical of the [Eisenhower] administration it would not be proper for him to ask for favors or exercise pressure on personnel selection. In addition, the old-time generalists in the Foreign Service and the Department do not want people with a labor background.

- Q. How do the various labor attachés--those who come from the State Department or the Foreign Service, and those who come from the Labor Department or some other government agency, and, finally, those who come from the labor movement--how do they each perceive the "ideal" labor attaché type?
- A. We once had a bull session about who will make an ideal labor attaché. The result was that each one of those present pointed to himself as the ideal. S. [name withheld] prefers the academic labor educator . . . H. [name withheld] wants a bureaucrat--so does G. [name withheld]. I personally prefer a man with a labor background.²³

²²John C. Fuess, "My Two Years in Labor," Foreign Service Journal, XXX (June, 1953), p. 21

²³Personal interview, name withheld on request, Wash., D.C., Dec. 17, 1958.

Within the State Department/Foreign Service, thus, especially among those active in the labor attaché program, there is a divergence of views on the "ideal" labor attaché type--with each group looking for the precise reflection of its own group personality--just as in the formally stated qualifications for the job each of the participating agencies is seeking in the individual some reflection of itself.

A former labor attaché who "made good" in the State Department/Foreign Service hierarchy (in that he achieved the rank of ambassador --once the Democrats returned to office in 1961--the rank aspired to by all career Foreign Service officers), in following the pattern, points to himself and his own background and career as "ideal" in the following testimony:

My own background and experience may be pertinent, for they have a bearing on my views. . . . My work during 21 years has thus been in the political, diplomatic, and economic aid fields, as both a specialist and generalist. Before entering the Foreign Service I did undergraduate and graduate work in labor problems, economics, and history at the University of Wisconsin and the London School of Economics; worked with the Rochester (N. Y.) Civic Committee on Unemployment; directed a training center for trade union officials in Chicago; taught trade union problems for five summers in the School for Workers in Industry of the University of Wisconsin; spent nearly a year in England studying the British labor movement, a year in New York as director of the statistics department of a large social service agency . . . , and a year and a half in Government service working on problems of manpower mobilization.

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Although there are exceptions, in general an officer who brings to the Foreign Service a broad liberal education with a solid grounding in economics and a variety of experience has an advantage over those who enter the Foreign Service directly from the university with little or no economics training or

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experience in other fields of work. . . . A promising officer can develop his knowledge of history, law, politics and diplomacy by reading on his own time. But economics is a more technical discipline requiring university training; and knowledge of economic aid and development programs requires actual grappling with the problems.

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Mature judgment in foreign affairs . . . comes only with long and varied experience in the Foreign Service. . . .

It is not whether a man is a generalist or specialist that brings him to the top, but whether he has capacity, breadth, interest, and initiative--what we call "flair." I have known agricultural, commercial, labor, and treasury attachés who do a fine routine job in their special fields to which no one can take exception. But the specialist with "flair" can make a contribution to the work of an embassy that goes far beyond his field. . . . He can use his specialty to illuminate for the benefit of the embassy all manner of political, economic, and social problems

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Conversely, the senior generalist who is familiar with all problems but has failed to develop a deep and critical grasp of any of the major fields will lack the self-confidence required to make independent judgments, evaluations, and decisions that he is called on to make week in and week out in a variety of fields. In these days the senior generalist working abroad must have a sufficiently extensive knowledge of economics, labor, agriculture, aid programs, and Communist history, doctrine, and methods--to cite some of the most important areas--or he will be at great disadvantage in dealing with the complicated problems which confront most embassies.²⁴

The views expressed by Ambassador Berger seem to find corroboration from Oliver Peterson, a former labor attaché in Stockholm

²⁴Memorandum by Hon. Samuel D. Berger, United States Ambassador to the Republic of Korea to the Senate Subcommittee on National Security Staffing and Operations (Henry M. Jackson, Wash., Chm.), Committee on Government Operations. U.S., Congress, Senate, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on National Security and Operations, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., 1963, pp. 259, 262-3.

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and Brussels, whose own background parallels closely that of Berger.²⁵

At the time of the interview Mr. Peterson served as Labor Advisor on Africa at the State Department.

- Q. How important would you say is a labor background, or at least an intimate knowledge of the labor movement, for the successful performance of the labor attaché functions?
- A. It is important for the labor attaché to be familiar with the lingo and the terms used in the U.S. labor movement. Even I could not always answer questions put to me by Swedish trade unionists.
- Q. In your opinion, what are the best means whereby a labor attaché may acquire such knowledge?
- A. Formal education may provide the labor attaché with the ability to explain to foreign trade unionists the technicalities of American trade unionism, matters of workers' compensation, etc. But there is a limit to what a person can learn in a formal manner. A man without a labor background is quickly spotted abroad by foreign trade unionists and he encounters difficulties with them.
- Q. Is there a discernible difference in outlook and style of work between the labor attaché of labor background and the one without such background?
- A. Definitely. W. [name withheld] went to Joe Ryan and asked him about corruption--in the process of her learning about the American labor movement prior to her labor assignment. Of course, her attempt backfired. A Foreign Service officer without union background would go to a foreign trade union leader and ask him, naively, outright questions. Naturally he would be turned down.

²⁵ Mr. Peterson retired from the Service in the early sixties. His wife, Mrs. Esther Peterson, herself active in labor affairs, was for a time on the staff of the AFL-CIO and was appointed by President Kennedy in 1961 as Asst. Sec. of Labor. In December of the same year President Kennedy also designated Mrs. Peterson as Executive Vice-Chairman of the President's Commission on the Status of Women (Eleanor Roosevelt, chmn.). Bureau of International Labor Affairs, U. S. Labor Dept., International Labor, III (July-Aug., 1962), p. 1.

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Such a Foreign Service officer simply does not know the right approach.²⁶

It seems, though, on the bases of some of the other testimonies cited above, as well as on the strength of other evidence available, that the happy combination of specialization (in the case of the labor attaché, solid labor background) and broad political knowledge envisioned by both Berger and Peterson, while "ideal" is not workable in that it may, instead of "illuminating," bring about frictions within the "team." It is precisely the labor attaché of labor background, it seems, who has "flair," to use Ambassador Berger's words, has "capacity, breadth, interest and initiative" who is likely to generate

²⁶ Personal interview, Wash., D.C., Dec. 18, 1958. Joe Ryan is the leader of the International Longshoremen's Association, AFL-CIO. This union was expelled from the labor federation for corruption and racketeering but was later re-admitted. The story of the labor attaché who went to Joseph L. Ryan in the course of her "labor training" apparently was wellknown among the Foreign Service/State Department people concerned with labor. Several persons interviewed by this author mentioned this particular incident with a tart humor. One labor advisor referred to it in the course of the following exchange: "Q. To what extent are regular Foreign Service officers assigned to the labor program familiarized with labor matters? Do they have to undergo special training or what? A. The extent of their labor indoctrination is more often than not some little talk with Michael Ross [Foreign affairs specialist on the staff of the CIO and later of the AFL-CIO, died in 1963]. Q. Or Joe Ryan...? A. Oh, you have heard the story about W. In order to familiarize herself with labor affairs she went to Joe Ryan of the Longshoremen and asked him how he feels about corruption. Not only did he throw her out of his office but he called the Department asking what kind of crackpots are we sending him, demanding that she be fired." Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., Dec. 18, 1958.

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suspicious, jealousies, and generally create "bad blood" among the team members. It is enough to recall here the issue, over who should cover the Labor Party and who the trade unions, which raged in one of the embassies between the labor attaché and the political generalists. Some of the latter may feel that he is encroaching upon their "territory." Aloof from him because of the "unusualness" of his labor background, they may now begin to think of him as being "pushy", a "show-off," an "eager beaver" out to impress Washington and embarrass the rest of the team. Moreover, as we have already heard from some labor attachés it is essential for the success of his specialized work that he be well integrated in the "team"--both from the point of view of effectiveness in the field (prestige, the necessity for obtaining special favors for local people, funds, etc.) as well as from the point of view of getting his message across to Washington with the least obstruction from the "regulars" and "politicals" in the mission.

Some Friendly and Hostile Reactions to Labor Attache Program

What follows are friendly as well as hostile observations in regard to the labor attaché program and the labor attaché type. The observers tend not so much to establish a normative type as rather to reflect what they perceive the actual type to be.

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Rhodes on, favored utilization of "Right-wing labor leaders" for purposes of world conquest. Thus, since the United States is presently engaged, so the Communists allege, in such international political endeavor, it is only natural that the State Department would recruit most of its labor attachés and "agents sent abroad" from among the ranks of American "social-democrats." Now, since the organized social democratic movement in this country is rather insignificant, the Communists identify as such various groups and individuals within the American labor movement whom they describe as "renegade ex-militants."²⁷

Other observations are more informed and sober. Explains the rather conservative Business Week:

There are plenty of places, they say, where no American diplomat can get to first base with important labor leaders because of basic racial and cultural differences and a general distrust of the U.S. But a man who can talk labor's language would be on the inside track.²⁸

The article goes on to maintain that the job of labor attaché requires training in labor economics, political science, international relations, and "above all it demands a knowledge of the language of

²⁷Victor Perlo, American Imperialism (New York: International Publishers, 1951), p. 235.

²⁸"Labor Salesmen for U.S.," Business Week, Jan. 26, 1952, p. 54.

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labor."²⁹ These observations are more in accord with the normative expectations of the trade unions and the U.S. Labor Department than those of the State Department--and the article in Business Week, in fact, bears the clear imprint of U.S. Labor Department influence, based on information obviously derived from that source. And again--the attributes ascribed to the successful candidate include, in addition to the possession of the necessary academic qualification, ability to speak the "language" of labor. This, again, seems to limit the range of possibilities to that group of intellectuals, professionals, and semiprofessionals who are organizationally or "ideologically" connected with the American union movement--or who come from a U.S. government labor agency.

The Business Week article goes on to make the somewhat facetious remark to the effect that "if you covet such a post, the best way to get it is to have both AF of L and CIO endorsement."³⁰ For whatever reason--the same kind of impressions are being conveyed by some writers who either are prolabor or are close to labor sources. For example, the following statement is to be found in the writings of a university-based labor education specialist:

The American labor movement has been a significant force in

²⁹ Ibid., p. 46. Italics mine.

³⁰ Ibid.

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the development of the labor attaché as a specialist in labor affairs in important American embassies. The labor attaché has the dual job of seeking to interpret for our government the labor movements of the country to which he is sent, and conversely, making the American labor movement intelligible abroad. In most instances, the labor attachés have been recruited either from persons with a background of employment or interest in the American labor movement.³¹

As we have already seen from the preceding chapter the statement cited above relative to the functions of the labor attaché program is somewhat in error. While it is correct to say that the job of "seeking to interpret for our government the labor movements of the country" to which the labor attaché is assigned is one of his functions in the field, it is wholly incorrect to say that the other part of his role in the two-way communication process is to make the "American labor movement intelligible abroad." Again, this is only one of his jobs and one specifically de-emphasized by the Department of State under whose jurisdiction the labor attaché operates. As indicated in the previous chapter, his primary goal in the field--as spelled out by the State Department and agreed to by the Labor Department--is to make American government policy, rather than American trade unionism, "intelligible abroad." Although some trade unionists in this country would like to see the American labor attaché "export"

³¹ Jack Barbash, The Practice of Unionism (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), p. 287.

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American trade unionism abroad, especially to the economically underdeveloped countries of the world, he--unlike the agricultural attaché who is officially tagged as the representative of American agriculture abroad--is not the representative of American labor but of American government. As one State Department official stated in an interview already cited, the U.S. labor attaché is not sent to "organize or help organize trade unions." Similarly, the notion that "in most instances" the labor attachés are recruited from a labor background--a notion fostered by conservative elements as well as by certain trade union people or persons sympathetic to American labor--ought to be scrutinized closer since a more detached and deeper look at the social backgrounds and recruitment patterns of labor attachés may indeed cast some light on the character of the program. It is precisely for this reason that this study will attempt in the following chapters to analyze these elements of the labor attaché organization. It is quite possible that, although for diverse reasons, both conservative elements, on the one hand, and some prolabor elements on the other are interested in maintaining and spreading the impression of a link between organized labor and this particular government program. The interest of the former is to point to an existing connection between organized labor and government--a condition they fear and would like curtailed; the latter, for the sake of self-esteem, prestige, the need to appear "respectable,"

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"patriotic," and "important," especially to those in society who may harbor some misgivings about organized labor. It is, it seems for exactly such reasons that labor unions are quick to cite testimonials and endorsements by persons enjoying high prestige within American society (e.g., recognized leaders of both major political parties, popular radio and television personalities).³² One may even speculate that the strong emphasis on anti-Communism on the part of many trade unionists is an expression of a desire to gain "legitimacy" within the American community, to erase suspicions with regard to organized American labor being alien to the American scene, being radical, Left, or harboring some secret designs to pervert the American socio-economic system.

Be it as it may, the impression that there is a strong link between American trade unions and the labor attaché program is also to be found, in modified form to be sure, in Professor John P. Windmuller's well-informed American Labor and the International Labor Movement: 1940 to 1951 in which he makes the claim that no one may

³² See, for example, Preparing for a Career in Labor Leadership, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, ILGWU Training Institute, (New York, n.d.). This publication is aimed at young college graduates primarily whom the leadership of this particular union hoped to recruit for union staff positions. Lest they may be apprehensive about the prospect, the publishers cite testimonials endorsing American trade unionism in general, and the ILGWU in particular, by Dwight D. Eisenhower, Harry S. Truman, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and others. The brochure also cites approving statements from Life, Look, Reader's Digest, and Pageant.

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be appointed as labor attaché if the American unions oppose his candidacy³³--a statement which appears more likely to be correct although more difficult to prove than statements relative to the source of recruitment of most labor attachés. Although this aspect of the labor attaché program will be dealt with later in this study, it is worthwhile, even at this juncture, to throw some light on the recruitment process. To the question, "How does the recruitment process take place? Who recommends the candidates?", Daniel Goot, Special Assistant for Labor Affairs and State Department Coordinator for International Labor Affairs (and in 1962 appointed to the post of labor attaché in Paris), gave the following answer:

Stephansky, Burges were recommended by the Labor Department. State looks them over. The State Department relies or has relied in the past on the Labor Department for recommendation of candidates. Phil Delaney [George P. Delaney, AFL representatives, in charge of international affairs, and in 1960 Special Assistant to Assistant Secretary of Labor Lodge], on the other hand, has tried to push some of his people--he did not succeed, however. The truth, though, is that the trade union movement as such does not like to give up its best people. We do have a standing invitation to the trade unions to recommend people for the program--and State reserves the right for itself to stack up these people against other candidates. However, if a man should come recommended by [AFL-CIO president] Meany personally he would have something in his favor since Meany is a man of prominence. Candidates do not have to go through the Labor Department--

³³Windmuller, pp. xii-xiii.

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they do not have to be cleared by that source. However, the Labor Department sits on the Appointment Board--that is, the Appointment and Assignment Board which appoints Foreign Service officers in general. But appointments to labor attaché posts were often made over the objections of the Labor Department--take, for example, the case of [name withheld] --Labor Department refused to recognize him but State did. Now, if Mitchell himself [James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor], after all, a cabinet member, should push the issue this would be another matter. The Labor Department has an interest but no responsibility for the program.

- Q. How then is the interest of the Labor Department in the personnel selection taken care of?
- A. Usually we come to a mutual agreement on appointments--but State hires the candidate and once abroad he reports to the ambassador.³⁴

Although the above statements were more reflective of State Department/Labor Department relations than of State Department/trade union relations, they are indicative enough of the strong hand the State Department keeps or intends to keep on the reins of the program. Moreover, they also tell us something of the position of Meany and the trade unions in the scheme of things. As was brought out in some previously cited interviews, Meany is rather reluctant to "push" candidates and thereby ask favors from administrations about which he feels critical since it would place him under some obligations.

Origins of the U.S. Labor Attaché Program

As seen, the impression is sometimes conveyed that the

³⁴ Personal interview, Wash., D.C., Jan. 3, 1957.

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American trade unions were somehow instrumental in shaping the program, in getting it off the ground, so to speak. The labor attaché program, as already indicated, started in 1943. Two persons claim to be "the first labor attache": John T. Fishburn and Samuel D. Berger, both of whom at the date of this writing are still in the Foreign Service--Berger as Ambassador to Korea and Fishburn as labor attaché in Rio de Janeiro. However, as far as can be ascertained their appointments as labor attachés came about as a result of personal initiative rather than through a planned design originating in a government agency in Washington or in a trade union office. Berger's appointment did not officially materialize until December, 1945, up to which time he had been serving (since 1942) as labor consultant to a special lend-lease mission to London headed by W. Averell Harriman. Apparently, when the Labour Party came to power in Great Britain he was the only one among the "official" Americans stationed at the time in London who personally knew any of the Labour Party and British trade union leaders--the result of his prewar graduate work at the London School of Economics, his independent research on the British labor movement, as well as his wartime activities.³⁵ When

³⁵U.S. State Dept., The Biographic Register. Also, Seymour J. Rubin, "American Diplomacy: The Case for 'Amateurism,'" The Yale Review, XLV (March, 1956), p. 326; "Labor Salesmen for U.S.," Business Week, Jan. 26, 1952, p. 44; personal interviews with informants in the U.S. Labor Dept., Jan. 1957, June, 1957, and Dec., 1958.

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testifying before Senator Henry M. Jackson's Subcommittee on National Security Staffing and Operations in 1963, Mr. Berger, already an ambassador, gave proof to the ad hoc fashion in which he was appointed "first" labor attaché and, at the same time, given a start on a Foreign Service career:

I have been working in foreign relations since March 1942 when I joined Mr. Harriman in the lend lease mission in London as a specialist in labor problems. By arrangements with Ambassador Winant I also served as labor attaché to the Embassy --the first such appointment in the diplomatic service. In 1945 I was invited to enter the Foreign Service as an auxiliary officer. This was converted into permanent status in 1947 after an oral examination under the 1946 act to expand the Foreign Service by lateral entry.³⁶

Mr. John T. Fishburn, the challenger to Mr. Berger's claim of having been first Labor Attaché, came to the labor program via normal Foreign Service channels. In 1943 serving as an economic analyst at the U.S. Embassy in Buenos Aires, Mr. Fishburn requested permission from the Counsellor of the Embassy to concentrate on labor reporting, with the view of eventual "labor specialization." He was granted such permission but was instructed to specialize only to a very "limited extent." His, however, were the first

³⁶Memorandum, Senate Subcommittee on National Security Staffing and Operations, Hearings..., pp. 258-59.

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known regular monthly reports on labor affairs prepared by a member of the Foreign Service.³⁷

As far as the Department of Labor is concerned, it was not even informed about the program until July 1944 at which time it was invited to refer prospective candidates to the Division of Labor Relations of the State Department. It is precisely such "high-handedness" which prompts James Taylor to complain that:

Daniel Goot, Fishburn, and other labor advisors at the State Department would like to see the establishment of a small Labor Department within the State Department. The ILSH [Division of International Labor, Social, and Health Affairs], in fact, played the role of a small Labor Department within the State Department in the days before the First Hoover Commission. As a result of the recommendations of the First Hoover Commission, however, ILSH was abolished. The Labor Department, in fact, questions very much the use of labor advisors on the State Department staff--why not use the available specialized services of the Labor Department instead?

- Q. Does the Labor Department feel that it is capable of assuming a larger role in the field of international relations?
- A. The existence of the OILA [Office of International Labor Affairs, U.S. Dept. of Labor] gives this feeling weight. We are one of the few departments with a special assistant secretary in charge of foreign affairs.³⁸

However, the extent to which the labor attaché program was

³⁷ Martha Marthiasen, "The Labor Attaché Program of the United States Foreign Service," (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of Political Science, Columbia University, 1949), p. 31.

³⁸ Personal interview, Wash., D.C., Dec. 24, 1956.

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initiated as an ad hoc venture by some enterprising persons in the field--in response to objective conditions--is seen from the above-mentioned fact that even within the State Department there was for a long time an ignorance about the existence of the program. Not that labor leaders knew much more about it but when in Fall 1943, James Carey, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO, questioned Secretary of State Cordell Hull about the program, he discovered that the Secretary had never heard of it. The program, as it developed, fell formally under the jurisdiction of Under Secretary Welles who had resigned at about that time. Nevertheless Mr. Hull "assured Carey that he would stand by anything Welles has promised."³⁹ It is extremely difficult to determine the nature of these "promises," if any. Apparently, though, labor leaders were approached by Under Secretary Welles and asked to suggest names of labor attaché candidates.⁴⁰

Indeed, investigation into the sources from which the labor attachés are recruited may throw more light than is now available to some of the interested parties, not to speak of the general public, on the real character of the program and, mainly, on the personnel occupying the post of labor attaché. Investigation into the sources

³⁹Marthiasen, "The Labor Attaché Program...", p. 31.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 43.

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of recruitment may also shed light upon the truth or falsehood of the contention that the best way to obtain a labor attaché assignment is with union endorsement.

Value of Labor Movement Background:
Some Pros and Cons

That the emphasis is, or rather should be, placed upon some form of academic training and intellectual identification with the broad labor movement--rather than upon pure formal affiliation by virtue of employment in a unionized shop, or engagement in a unionized trade, or even upon expertise of union techniques--is brought out by such a competent observer and former labor attaché as Professor Walter Galenson:

Experience as a trade union organizer or administrator is not necessarily a sufficient qualification for representing our country abroad, even in the labor field.⁴¹

Professor Galenson favors intellectual (if not ideological) identification with the international labor movement--understanding of its symbols, intimate knowledge of its "language," a feel so to speak for its myths and legends, in addition to "sympathetic understanding" of the various milieus from which foreign trade unionists stem and in which they must function.

⁴¹Walter Galenson, "The Foreign Policy Role of American Trade Unions," unpublished paper presented at a meeting of the American Political Science Association (Wash., D.C.: Sept. 12, 1953), p. 11.

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That a labor background may not necessarily prove to be "ideal" under all circumstances is evidenced by some "second thoughts" on the subject expressed by various persons of labor background themselves in the Labor Department, the State Department, as well as by trade union leaders interviewed. For example, a labor advisor in the State Department of broad labor background had this to say:

In practice some labor attachés of labor background are rougher on labor than on business--but as a general rule, those with no labor background often make a mess of things. Generally, I would say that what determines a man's behavior, his attitudes, are his immediate professional aspirations. For example, if a man has aspirations of becoming a Foreign Service career officer, or an ambassador, he has to go along and play the game of the club. Personally, I don't give a damn. I am fifty-five and too old to have any notions about playing the diplomatic game. So, since I am not competing, since I am out of the race, I can more readily preserve my original frame of reference, my labor background.⁴²

These sentiments found corroboration from another State Department labor advisor of trade union background:

Some labor attachés with labor background will try to compensate for their being different. They will ingratiate themselves into the team by being overly critical of everything that smacks of labor and of labor people. They will also be harder on labor people. Some will lean backward to be anti-Socialist, outspokenly so. For example, one labor attaché with a former--a Socialist--background, was sent to cover the sessions of the

⁴² Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., Dec. 15, 1958.

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Socialist International. He went out of his way to ridicule the International in his reports, to be vicious about it all, and anti-Socialist.⁴³

Morris Weisz, Director of the Division of Foreign Labor Conditions of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (and since 1960 Assistant Commissioner of the Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Management Reports), who seems to enjoy a great deal of respect from those active in the field of international labor affairs and who appears to be highly "knowledgeable" adds the following to the above picture:

An Austrian labor leader remarked to me that between an ICA [International Cooperation Administration] labor person and a labor attaché from the regular Foreign Service--one totally without any labor background--he prefers the latter. He can get more done with him, because the person without a labor background is less self-conscious about aiding labor, about being pro-labor, and he suffers less or not at all from status anxiety.⁴⁴

It appears then that there are "two sides to the coin" relative to the beneficialness of a labor background to fill a labor attaché post; it may help in some respects, but may be detrimental--especially as far as the goals of labor are concerned--in others. Labor attachés who somehow preserve their labor movement identification in the field seem to strike up a rather friendly relationship with foreign trade

⁴³Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., June 19, 1957.

⁴⁴Personal interview, Wash., D.C., Dec. 15, 1958.

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unionists, so much so in fact that as one labor attaché on temporary duty in the State Department in Washington, told this author: "I as well as many others receive letters from foreign trade unionists with the salutation 'Comrade.' It might be embarrassing around here in the office." It appears generally that the pro- or antilabor behavior in the field depends much upon the personality of the individual labor attaché, the degree of his being career Foreign Service oriented, the depth of his status anxiety and insecurity, the extent to which he desires to be accepted into the "club" by the embassy team. Some are more opportunistic than others. One trade union official complained to this author about a friend of his who became a labor attaché:

He was a socialist, too, once. He worked for the UAW [United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, AFL-CIO]. Why, during a conference in Winter Haven a fellow from the oil workers in Denver--their international representative--well, he told me that he went to Venezuela on an organizing mission, on behalf of the Petroleum Workers International Trade Secretariat. R. [name withheld] was then the labor attaché in Venezuela. This fellow told me how this former UAW man, our boy, tried to frustrate him in the mission. They had some troubles in Venezuela and R. would not even talk to him, would not direct him to any contacts. I was ashamed. Since that time I have not answered his Christmas cards--he always sends me Christmas cards. Now I ignore them.⁴⁵

About the same labor attaché a trade union education director had this to say:

⁴⁵Personal interview, name withheld, East Lansing, Mich., Feb. 9, 1959.

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R. was a friend of mine. He was two years in Venezuela and when he came back I did not recognize him. How a person can change in two years. He adopted completely the State Department's point of view--even tried to find some justification for Jimenez [Marcos Perez Jimenez, president of Venezuela, 1953-1958]. He told me that Jimenez's control of the Venezuelan trade union movement is not so bad, that it has its good reasons and good points. He was like a stranger to me.

Q. Why do you suppose he changed like that?

A. He told me that after he arrived in Venezuela he went to a labor meeting and was heckled by the Commies. This frightened him so much that he never ventured again. In all the years he was in Venezuela he never really knew anybody and never was a Spanish word spoken in his house. He never went anyplace.⁴⁶

The above may sound like complaints advanced by disgruntled exsocialists and other "radicals" in the American labor movement who never adjusted to the "new look" of American trade unionism-- that of "responsibility," "respectability," and of making peace with the American socio-political order. Their complaint basically is that the labor attachés and, what aggravates them most, ex-socialists and radicals among them have "sold out." One of the trade unionists cited above voiced the following critical view on the entire program:

I was told many times by George Brown [AFL-CIO foreign affairs specialist] that the program is labor dominated, labor staffed, and that the labor attachés are there to help the foreign labor people. I never could understand what a labor attaché is doing in Franco's Spain.

⁴⁶ Personal interview, name withheld, East Lansing, Mich., Feb. 6, 1959.

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Clark R. Mollenhoff of the Washington Bureau of Cowles Publications makes the following observation relative to the "ideal," or most "suitable" characteristics of prospective governmental and nongovernmental labor (as well as management) representatives abroad:

(1) Both labor and management should seek to avoid sending anyone overseas who is not an ardent believer in our political and economic system. Those who have serious doubts about our system cannot be effective in selling it.

(2) Only the highest type personnel should be sent abroad by labor or management or by the government in selecting persons for the labor or management field. . . . Unfortunately, I found a great number of labor representatives who appeared to be cast-offs from their local unions or the national unions. The international programs--government or private--should not be considered a dumping ground for incompetent people national unions want to get rid of.⁴⁷

And with an obvious swipe at those American trade unionists who would like to see the program as an active instrument of labor organization, staffed by persons imbued with some sort of labor movement consciousness, Mr. Mollenhoff goes on:

There must be some coordination and cooperation between labor and management representatives sent overseas. This would call for some program of indoctrination so they will

⁴⁷ Clark R. Mollenhoff, "What United States Labor and Management Can Contribute Abroad," paper delivered at the Industrial Relations Research Association Spring Meeting (Philadelphia, May 8-9, 1962), The International Labor Scene: Proceedings of the Spring Meeting, pp. 522-23.

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It is clear that all interest-groups concerned with the labor attaché program--the State Department and Foreign Service included --maintain a quite cohesive picture of the type of labor attaché insofar as technical and academic preparation is concerned as well as in regard to personality characteristics. The point of difference between the groups is one of whether the candidate should be a mere observer of political developments and trends, as these concern and effect the labor sector of society, or whether he should have a closer and more intimate identification with the sentiments of this element.

Agricultural Attaché Expectations

In contrast are the expectations in regard to the agricultural attaché type. These are free of ambiguities and the qualifications for the job are clearly perceived and specific, emphasizing technical knowhow rather than intellectual or ideological characteristics.

The agricultural attaché is expected to be:

Acquainted with conditions and problems facing rural life;

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 523. Detroit, of course, is the home of the United Automobile Workers and of Walter Reuther, the UAW president. Both Walter Reuther and his brother, Victor, former CIO representative in Europe, are often accused by the more conservative elements in the American labor movement (as well as outside of it) of making inflammatory speeches in India and other countries.

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Familiar with problems of agricultural production and marketing;

Trained in the principles of agricultural economics;

In possession of personality traits which would enable him to adapt to foreign settings;

In possession of a personality which would enable him to "win friends and influence people" (relative to U.S. agricultural policies, programs and marketing practices);

A person of "initiative . . . resourcefulness . . . versatility . . . sound judgment."⁴⁹

So clear is the picture of the agricultural attaché type in the eyes of the official organizations concerned that a State Department pamphlet has undertaken even the establishment of a model-type:

More likely than not he will be a graduate of an agricultural college, with several years of responsible experience in agriculture--in the Department of Agriculture, in a farm organization, an agricultural college, or an agricultural trade. Training in agricultural economics is essential.⁵⁰

To what extent do labor and agricultural attachés meet the type and background expectations of the groups concerned? To what

⁴⁹The American Agricultural Attaché, Dept. of State Publication No. 6422, Dept. and Foreign Service Series 61 (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Jan., 1957), p. 21.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 22.

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extent are they recruited from the sources favored by the groups interested in the respective programs--and the views of which group tend to dominate in the selection process? What are the characteristic and prevalent career-patterns leading to assignment to a labor attaché or agricultural attaché post respectively? Do these career-patterns in the case of labor attachés point to any identification with the labor movement? And in contrast, do agricultural attachés' career-patterns point to possession of the expected skills and identification with domestic farm interests? Before an answer to these questions is sought we will turn first to an analysis of the views advanced by a panel of persons knowledgeable of the goals, organization, and operations of the labor attaché program. What do they perceive to be the dominant labor attaché type? What attributes do they suggest he ideally possess?

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CHAPTER V

OPINIONS VOICED BY PANEL OF KNOWLEDGEABLES AS TO "IDEAL" LABOR ATTACHÉ REQUISITES

The Panel

Questions relative to the attributes of the "ideal" labor attaché type were asked--by mailed questionnaire--of a panel of knowledgeable persons in the Departments of State and Labor, other government agencies (e.g., U.S. Information agency; Department of Health, Education and Welfare; U.S. economic aid agencies; etc.), the American labor movement, education, business and professions who were expected by experts who suggested their names to have knowledge of the labor attaché program. Ninety-five such persons responded with completed questionnaires.¹ All of the respondents were known to have had some contact at one time or another with the labor attaché program: through their professional activity, formal affiliation,

¹ See introductory chapter, supra, for details regarding the questionnaire and the follow-up process, as well as the characteristics of the panel. See Appendix I for the questionnaire.

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research, etc. Most of the respondents occupy fairly high positions in their respective fields and most of them at one time or another served or were generally active abroad (in a diplomatic capacity, as governmental, labor or management representatives to the International Labor Organization, as representatives of government agencies, as private group representatives, or, as in the case of those in the field of education, engaged in research in the area of labor).

Major Areas of Labor Attaché Recruitment:
In Perception of Panelists

Before analyzing the perceptions of the knowledgeable relative to the attributes of the "ideal" labor attaché type, it seems worthwhile to determine what perceptions the knowledgeable hold as to the type of officer who does generally occupy the post of U.S. labor attaché. For this purpose, the following question was asked them: "On the basis of your experience, which of the following would you say is the major area from which Labor Attachés are recruited?" As likely response choices the following background areas were indicated: American labor movement; U.S. Department of State/Foreign Service; U.S. Department of Labor; Other government agencies; Academic institutions; Other; No basis for estimating.

A tabulation of responses to this question shows first that approximately one-third of the persons considered "knowledgeable"

Table 1. --Perception of major area of labor attaché recruitment: by occupation of "knowledgeables" (percentages)

Occupational Area of Respondent	Major Areas of Recruitment							Total
	Labor Movement	State Dept/FS	Labor Dept.	Other Govt. Agencies	Academic Personnel	Comb. of Backgrounds	Other for Est.	
State Department/Foreign Service (N=6)	33.3	50.0	.0	.0	.0	16.7	.0	100.0
Labor Department (N=9)	33.3	33.3	22.2	.0	.0	.0	11.1	100.0
Other Government Agencies (N=8)	.0	12.5	12.5	.0	.0	37.5	.0	100.0
Labor Movement (N=34)	8.8	11.8	.0	.0	.0	29.4	14.7	100.0
Education (N=27)	14.8	11.1	3.7	.0	3.7	22.2	7.4	100.0
Business/Profession (N=11)	45.5	9.1	27.3	.0	.0	.0	.0	100.0
Total (N=95)	17.9	15.8	7.4	.0	1.1	21.1	8.4	100.0

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regarding the program do not feel that they have any basis upon which to make an estimate of the occupational/organizational background from which the majority of labor attachés are recruited. This may, of course, indicate caution on their part in offering judgment or it may indicate the extent to which the actual recruitment process in the labor attaché program is somehow shrouded in "mystery." It cannot be said that they have not given any particular thought to this problem since they are involved in the program in one way or another (and some to quite an extent) and since the issue of "suitable background" for optimum performance is one of considerable controversy. It seems significant, therefore, that 28.4% of such persons could not offer any judgment on this issue. Of those who ventured some judgment as to the major area of recruitment, the greatest single number (21.1% of all respondents) mentioned a combination of background areas, and in particular the combination of government (especially State Dept. / Foreign Service) and labor movement backgrounds. It should be pointed out again that an American labor movement background was advocated by the trade unions as being the most suitable. This view was mildly acquiesced to by the Department of Labor. Furthermore, as noted, the impression was conveyed by both labor spokesmen on the one hand, and those speaking on behalf of business interests on the other, that the labor attaché program is actually staffed in the main by people with a labor movement background (and

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Communists too attempted to give the impression that the labor attaché program is staffed by "American social-democrats," "ex-militants," etc.). It is interesting to note, therefore, who among the panelists actually see this alleged close connection between the trade union movement and the labor attaché program. Of the respondents from the business/professions group (which included elected as well as staff officials of the National Association of Manufacturers, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and other management organizations with an interest in international labor affairs, in part manifested by participation in the tri-partite U.S. delegations to the ILO), 45.5% perceived the program to be staffed by persons of labor movement background--the largest single occupational group of the panelists pointing out such connection. On the other hand, only 8.8% of the trade unionists estimate the participation of persons of labor background in the program as one of major proportions, and in this we perhaps see an expression of a deeply harbored feeling that in actuality they are being blocked from the program. The respondents from the Departments of State and Labor are equal (33.3% from each of these groups) in perceiving the labor movement as the major recruitment area. While those in the State Department do not perceive the Labor Department as a significant area of recruitment, 22.2% of those employed in the Labor Department--perhaps to assert their self-esteem--perceive their organization as the major area from which labor attachés come to the program.

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Since the respondents were also asked to rate themselves in terms of their level of "knowledgeability" regarding the labor attaché program (operation and organization), the patterns of their answers to the same question in terms of this variable should be noted.

The views of the panel of knowledgeable gain added weight when their level of familiarity with the labor attaché program is considered. The bulk of them falls within the "very familiar-fairly familiar" categories, although it seems that more are familiar with the operation of the labor attaché program (probably gained from observation in the field as well as in Washington) than are familiar with the intricacies of the organization of the program. While 36.8% of the respondents could claim a great deal of familiarity with the former aspects of the program, only 33.7% could make such claim relative to the latter. On the whole, on the basis of their own estimate, the panel seems to be composed of highly informed and expert persons in this specialized field--an observation which is reinforced by the knowledge we possess relative to the characteristics of the panel members, including the formal positions they hold in the organizations with which they are affiliated, their overseas travel, their socio-political activities, and other data.

Yet this panel of informed citizens, some of whom are allegedly involved in the program on behalf of the various groups interested in it, shows an amazing discrepancy in estimating the source from which

Table 2. --Perception of major areas of labor attaché recruitment: by levels of self-rated familiarity of knowledgeable with the organization of labor attaché program (percentages)

Table 2. --Perception of major areas of labor attaché recruitment: by levels of self-rated familiarity of knowledgeable with the organization of labor attaché program (percentages)

Level of Self-Rated Familiarity with Labor Attaché Organization	Major areas of Recruitment								Total Within Each Level of Familiarity
	Labor Movement	State Dept/FS	Labor Dept.	Other Govt. Agencies	Academic Personnel	Comb. of Backgrounds	Other	No Basis for Est.	
Very familiar (N=32)	15.6	25.0	3.1	.0	.0	25.0	18.8	12.5	33.7
Fairly familiar (N=29)	13.8	20.7	10.3	.0	.0	20.7	3.4	34.5	30.5
Slightly familiar (N=29)	27.6	3.4	10.3	.0	3.4	17.2	3.4	34.5	30.5
Not familiar at all (N=5)*	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	25.0	.0	75.0	5.3
Total (N=95)	17.9	15.8	7.4	.0	1.1	21.1	8.4	28.4	100.0

* Also includes respondents who recorded "blank" or whose response was judged "inapplicable."

Table 3. --Perception of major areas of labor attache recruitments by levels of self-rated familiarity of knowledgeable with the operation (included -
of labor attache's program (percentages)

Table 3. --Perception of major areas of labor attache recruitments by levels of self-rated familiarity of knowledgeable with the operation (including field activity) of labor attache program (percentages)

Level of Self-Rated Familiarity with Labor Attache Organizations	Major Areas of Recruitment								Total Within Each level of Familiarity
	Labor Movement	State Dept/FS	Labor Dept	Other Govt. Agencies	Academic Personnel	Comb. of Backgrounds	Other	No Basis for Est.	
Very familiar (N=35)	14.3	25.7	5.7	.0	.0	20.0	17.1	17.1	36.8
Fairly familiar (N=30)	16.7	13.3	6.7	.0	.0	33.3	3.3	26.7	31.6
Slightly familiar (N=26)	26.9	7.7	11.5	.0	3.8	7.7	3.8	38.5	27.4
Not familiar at all (N=4)	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	25.0	.0	75.0	4.2
Total (N=95)	17.9	15.8	7.4	.0	1.1	21.1	8.4	28.4	100.0

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the majority of labor attachés are recruited. A great many of them believe that the majority of labor attachés are recruited either from the State Department/Foreign Service or a combination of backgrounds (including labor movement, State Department/Foreign Service, Labor Department, etc.). However, Table 1 shows that even those who work within the State Department/Foreign Service and are presumably in the very "thick" of the labor attaché program--advisors, labor attachés, etc.--are not of the same mind as to the major background area of the labor attachés: 50% of them believing that the labor officers reach the program via prior activity in the State Department/Foreign Service, 33.3% believing that they come primarily from the trade union movement, and 16.7% assuming that most recruits to the program hail from a combination of backgrounds. It is one of the purposes of this study to supply them with the correct answer.

The "Ideal" Source of Labor Attache
Recruitment: As Viewed by Panelists

Questions which sought to elicit the knowledgeable's perceptions of the "ideal" attributes of a labor attaché were formulated. One of these reads as follows: "In your opinion, what are the sources from which Labor Attachés and Assistant Labor Attachés should be recruited?" Respondents were asked to rank in order of importance the first four of their choices from among several possible sources of recruitment (e. g., general Foreign Service personnel, including

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U.S. personnel of international organizations and agencies; university and college graduates who pass, as was once proposed, an entrance examination process especially designed for the labor attaché post; academic personnel; trade unions and labor movement auxiliary organizations, Labor Department as well as state and local labor agencies, etc. [see 3.03, Appendix I]). A broad labor movement background (in trade unions as well as in the auxiliary agencies of the movement) was ranked first in importance (i. e., the most desirable) by the responding knowledgeable (48.5%). In fact, this was the first background choice by nearly every occupational group among the respondents, except for those from the Department of Labor who ranked the background of their own agency as high as that of the labor movement (see Table 4). Even the respondents from a business/professions background obviously admit the desirability of a labor background, thereby granting that the recruitment process for the labor attaché program ought to be labor-movement-background oriented and in this they surpass the endorsement of such background by the Labor Department--an agency which generally has the reputation of being prolabor. The fact that the Labor Department group scores lowest among the interested occupational groups represented on the panel in endorsing the necessity for a labor movement background for optimum performance of labor attaché tasks may perhaps be due in part to the timidity of the Labor Department in pushing the claims

Table 4. --Sources ranked first in importance from which labor of the hfs should be recruited. By occupation of household (Percentages)

Sources of Recruitment Ranked First in Importance

Table 4. --Sources ranked first in importance from which labor attachés should be recruited: by occupation of knowledgeable (percentages)

Occupational Areas of Respondents	Sources of Recruitment Ranked First in Importance										Total
	General Foreign Service	University/College Graduates	Academic Personnel	Labor Movement (Unions and Auxil- iary Organizations)	Government Labor Agencies (Federal State, and Local)	Private Labor Re- lations and Business	General Civil Service	Political Parties	Public Affairs Organizations	Other*	
State Dept./FS (N=6)	33.3	.0	.0	50.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	16.7	100.0
Labor Dept. (N=9)	33.3	11.1	.0	33.3	11.1	.0	11.0	.0	.0	33.3	100.0
Other U. S. Govt. Agencies (N=8)	.0	.0	12.5	62.5	12.5	.0	12.5	.0	.0	.0	100.0
Labor Movement (N=34)	11.8	23.5	.0	60.9	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	2.9	100.0
Education (N=27)	22.2	18.5	3.7	37.0	3.7	.0	.0	.0	.0	14.8	100.0
Bus. /Prof. (N=11)	18.2	18.2	.0	36.4	.0	.0	.0	.0	9.1	18.2	100.0
Total (N=95)	17.9	16.8	2.1	48.5	3.2	.0	2.1	.0	1.1	8.4	100.0

* Also includes respondents who recorded "blank" or whose responses were judged "inapplicable."

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of the labor movement to the program as well as its own claims (it rates the desirability of a Foreign Service/ State Department background at 33.3% and its own at only 11.1%). In fact, a number of informants in and outside of the Labor Department have expressed the opinion in the course of interviews that "the Labor Department is timid" vis-a-vis the Department of State. One informant serving in the United States Information Agency as a labor advisor attempted to explain it in "psychological" terms, maintaining that the personnel of the Labor Department suffers from an inferiority complex. He said:

Generally, the personnel of the Labor Department is less sophisticated [than that of State]. It is perhaps the least sophisticated of all government agencies active in the international field. Take S. [name withheld] . . . he is an intelligent, educated person, academically oriented, perceptive--but he lacks tact and diplomacy. At interdepartmental meetings he tries to impose his own views--what ought to be done on that or another foreign labor front--and this creates much bad blood between State and Labor. But he is the only one who is that persistent.²

If it is not wholly surprising that State Department/Foreign Service has not received a greater endorsement as the most desirable background for labor attaché service (only 17.9% of all respondents), it is surprising that background in the Labor Department or some other government labor agency (state or local) has found so little

²Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., Dec. 15, 1958.

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endorsement (only 3.2%). This would indicate that the respondents perceive the program, ideally, in terms similar to those of the labor movement, as a political action, labor-oriented program, demanding a degree of identification with the cause of labor, rather than a program in labor (i. e., in the technicalities involved in a government labor specialty). It is significant in that connection that the respondents from the labor movement would like to see some formalized recruitment process of young college/university graduates for the program, thereby converting it into a virtual labor foreign service program, with particular requirements for entry (including presumably a special aptitude for "labor service")--a proposal which was once advanced from various quarters with respect to the labor attaché program. Perhaps trade unionists nurture a secret hope that young people entering the program from the "ground floor," so to speak, may be molded, may be shaped--preferably in labor's image--instilling in them a sense of identification and "purpose" which they feel the older, more seasoned personnel lacks.

It is curious that although the majority obviously perceives the labor attaché program as an action program, ideally, none of them has marked the political parties--obvious areas of training for political action--as likely areas of desirable labor attaché recruitment. This might be a reflection on the American party system, a carry-over of the fear that bringing "party people" into a government

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program means opening the gates to patronage, bargaining over personnel, lowering of professional standards, etc. It might be a reflection of the particular bias of the panel, 35.8% of whom are trade unionists who perhaps do not feel quite comfortable, despite increased integration of the movement into American life, with either of the two major parties. Civil servants and Foreign Service officers, too, are suspicious of "politicians" in government, of possible party interference with orderly career patterns and bureaucratic "impartiality." Academicians also may harbor similar misgivings. Finally, it may be that since the respondents feel that the program ought to be action-oriented (pro-labor, anti-Communist), the existing parties lack the necessary ideological apparatus for the battle (which the labor movement presumably has or claims to have). However, when the respondents were asked directly, "In your opinion, how essential is a "labor movement background for optimum performance of a Labor Attaché job?" the majority of the responses (53.7%) were that it is "desirable but not essential" (see Table 5). Only the respondents from the labor movement itself expressed an overwhelming opinion (55.9% of the labor movement respondents) that a labor background contribution is absolutely essential. On the other hand, a few (particularly some within the business/profession group, 18.2%, and within the State Department/Foreign Service, 16.7%) thought that a labor background would be very detrimental for the optimum performance of the labor attaché job.

Table 5.--Opinions on essentiality of labor movement background for the optimum performance of labor attaché job: by occupation of knowledge-ables (percentages)

Occupational Areas of Respondents	Level of Essentiality-Nonessentiality					
	Very Detrimental	Somewhat Detrimental	Makes No Difference	Desirable but Not Essential	Absolutely Essential	No Opinion* Total
State Dept./FS (N = 6)	16.7	.0	.0	83.3	.0	100.0
Labor Dept. (N = 9)	.0	.0	11.1	66.7	11.1	100.0
Other US Govt. Agencies (N = 8)	.0	.0	.0	62.5	37.5	100.0
Labor Movement (N = 34)	2.9	.0	.0	38.2	55.9	100.0
Education (N = 27)	.0	11.1	7.4	63.0	14.8	100.0
Business/Profes- sions (N = 11)	18.2	9.1	9.1	45.5	9.1	100.0
Total (N = 95)	4.2	4.2	4.2	53.7	29.5	100.0

* Also includes respondents who recorded "blank."

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The view that a labor movement background is desirable (but not essential) for the performance of the labor attaché' job was checked against the self-rated levels of familiarity with the operation of the labor attaché program (Table 6)--a familiarity which the panel of knowledgeable acquired, in most cases, by observation of labor attaché behavior in the countries of assignment as well as in Washington.³ Here we find that the desirability (but nonessentiality) of a labor movement background is particularly favored among those who rated themselves as being "very familiar" with the program (60%) and drops gradually as the degree of familiarity decreases (53.3% among those "fairly familiar" with the program and 46.2% among those only "slightly familiar") but picks up among the few who claimed no familiarity with the actual operation of the labor attaché program.

³To the question as to how the panel members acquired familiarity with the labor attaché program, 22.1% answered that they gained such familiarity through past affiliation with the program; 24.2% of the respondents had occasion to study the program in some manner and have had access to files; 35.8% acquired familiarity in the course of their organizational and professional activity, and 6.3% through service on one of the boards (Selection, Promotion, etc.) connected with the program and the Foreign Service; 2.1% acquired familiarity in some other unspecified manner. By far the largest number (76.8%) acquired familiarity with the labor attaché program through personal contacts with labor attachés.

To the question as to where such familiarity was developed, 4.2% answered that they acquired this familiarity in the U.S. only; 16.8% gained this familiarity while abroad only; 75.8% developed their familiarity both in the U.S. and abroad.

Table 6. --Opinions on essentiality of labor movement background for the optimum performance of labor attaché job: by levels of self-rated familiarity of knowledgeable with operation (including field activity) of labor attaché program (percentages)

Table 6. --Opinions on essentiality of labor movement background for the optimum performance of labor attaché job: by levels of self-rated familiarity with Labor Attache Operation (including field activity) of labor attaché program (percentages)

Level of Self-rated Familiarity With Labor Attache Operation	Level of Essentiality-Nonessentiality						Total within Each Level of Familiarity
	Very Detrimental	Somewhat Detrimental	Makes No Difference	Desirable but not Essential	Absolutely Essential	No Opinion *	
Very familiar (N = 35)	2.9	.0	2.9	60.0	28.6	5.8	36.8
Fairly familiar (N = 30)	6.7	.0	3.3	53.3	36.7	.0	31.6
Slightly familiar (N = 26)	3.8	11.5	7.7	46.2	26.9	3.8	27.4
Not familiar at all (N = 4)	.0	25.0	.0	50.0	.0	25.0	4.2
Total (N = 95)	4.2	4.2	4.2	53.7	29.5	4.3	100.0

* Also includes respondents who recorded "blank, "

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Type of Trade Unionist Most
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What type of labor movement member would be most preferred by all those who had occasion to observe the operation of the labor attaché program and who think so highly of a labor movement background as being desirable? The panel was offered a number of choices of types of activity within the labor movement (see 3.04-B, Appendix I, and Table 7). Their first choice coincides with the "type" which emerged from the various statements advanced by labor leaders, from official trade union organs, as well as from other sources. Their first preference (at the rate of 26.3%) is for the type of background which one gains through appointive union office--i.e., the professional members of the union staff who may or may not formally belong to a trade union but who in the course of their occupational association with organized labor presumably have acquired an identification with the movement. The choice of the background of appointive union office (staff) has emerged as first regardless of the level of familiarity with the program. On the other hand, no "votes" were cast for the desirability of rank-and-file union membership, the beneficialness of actual factory, shop or plant experience in American industry, and very few pointed to the desirability of picking for the labor attaché job a trade unionists whose experience is primarily on the local level (Table 7). What the respondents have in mind is,

Table 7. --Type of trade unionist ranked as most suited for job of labor attaché; by levels of self-rated familiarity of knowledge about with operation (including field activity) of labor attaché program (percentages)

Type of Trade Unionist	Ranked First in Importance	2	3	4	5
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Table 7. --Type of trade unionist ranked as most suited for job of labor attaché: by levels of self-rated familiarity of knowledgeable with operation (including field activity) of labor attaché program (percentages)

Level of Self-Rated Familiarity with Labor Attache Operation	Type of Trade Unionist Ranked First in Importance											Total within each Level of Familiarity
	Elected Union Officials	Appointed Union Officials	Rank-and-File	Active on National Level	Active on Local Level	With Factory Experience	Active in Labor and Political Education, Labor Journalism	Specialist in Economics, Labor Law, Research	Active in International Affairs	Other*		
Very familiar (N = 35)	14.3	28.6	.0	11.4	.0	.0	5.7	5.7	17.1	17.2		36.8
Fairly familiar (N = 30)	16.7	23.3	.0	3.3	3.3	.0	16.7	3.3	16.7	16.6		31.6
Slightly familiar (N = 26)	7.7	26.9	.0	11.5	3.8	.0	15.4	.0	11.5	23.1		27.4
Not familiar at all (N = 4)	.0	25.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	75.0		4.2
Total (N = 95)	12.6	26.3	.0	8.4	2.1	.0	11.6	3.2	14.7	21.1		100.0

* Also includes respondents who recorded "blank" or whose response was "inapplicable."

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again, a type of labor movement member preferred in the official labor literature (and acquiesced to by official Labor Department sources). That is, a professional on the staff of a labor organization, with some college/university training, active on the national level (in the headquarters of the AFL-CIO, in the national office of a trade union, in the national office of a social service organization on the fringes of the labor movement such as the Jewish Labor Committee which contributed several labor attachés from among its staff)--one "interested" in international labor affairs.⁴

Given the availability of a person with the above characteristics, the panel thinks, his employment in the labor attaché program would be highly desirable but not necessarily essential to its success.

The Position of the "Ideal" Labor Attaché Candidate in the Trade Union Structure

The problem, of course, is that persons in possession of the characteristics envisioned above are the most vulnerable, in terms

⁴Persons of labor movement background constituted the largest group among the 95 respondents to the mailed questionnaire (34 persons or 35.8%). This, of course, weights the opinions expressed by the panel in favor of the attitudes of the labor group--assumed that the members of that group are unanimous in their views, which they are not. Among the labor movement respondents, 10 are elected union officials (29.4% of the labor group and 10.5% of the total panel); 21 are appointed officials (i.e., 61.8% of the labor group and 22.1% of the total panel); 3 are "other" than elected or appointed (8.8% of the labor group and 3.2% of the total panel). As was discovered even prior to the analysis of the questionnaire responses--in the course of personal interviews and other field work--the elected union officials do not necessarily agree with the appointed staff, and as it developed, within each of these categories there was substantial divergence of opinion.

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of job security, in the trade union hierarchy. Themselves not elected, they lack a membership base which might enable them to withstand pressures from union "bosses"--those elected and returned to office repeatedly. Moreover, the latter--at least many of them--harbor a mistrust toward the intellectual and toward intellectualism, an attitude which carries over from the days of Samuel Gompers, William Haywood, and Frank Bohn. Although the last two did not see "eye to eye" with Gompers as to the place of socialism in America's future, they shared a common disdain for the movement's intellectuals. Haywood and Bohn referred to them disdainfully as "college professors," "preachers," and "authors," and believed that they "must take the working class point of view" before they can be accepted into the fold.⁵ And Gompers had this to say about the labor movement intellectual:

He may be sincere and disinterested, no doubt he often is, and he may be doing some commendable work, but he knows his kind is to be tolerated by the rank and file only so long as no one among themselves can be found to replace him. . . .⁶

To underline his contempt for the intellectuals Gompers, as did Bohn and Haywood, bestowed upon them a number of epitaphs such as "professors," "book-worm socialists," "book writers," "Herr Professors," and the like.

⁵William Haywood and Frank Bohn, Industrial Socialism (Chicago: C.H. Kerr, 1911?), p. 50.

⁶Samuel Gompers, Labor in Europe and America (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1910), pp. 282-83.

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Regardless of identification, the intellectuals in the trade unions --especially those of lesser rank and tenure--are often treated as hired hands by the employing organization. They are looked upon by many "old-time" leaders as "fringe" elements and outsiders. As a result of such conditions many intellectuals on union staffs keep their "eyes open" for available opportunities outside of the movement--and a Foreign Service career via the labor attaché program may offer such an opportunity, may serve as an avenue of "escape."⁷ As one labor attaché told this author in a personal interview:

I joined the Foreign Service in the hope that it will provide me with a career. In fact, this is what the then Area Advisor promised me. . . . I became disenchanted with my work for the textile workers in the South, and frankly, I was looking for something more permanent, for a career.⁸

Another labor attaché expressed similar motivation for leaving union employment and for joining the labor attaché program:

⁷ The status of the professional and intellectual on the staffs of American trade unions is discussed at length, and frequently, in depth, by nonunion observers as well as by practitioners of trade union professionalism in The House of Labor: Internal Operations of American Unions, ed. J.B.S. Hardman and Maurice F. Neufeld, (2d ed.; New York: Prentice-Hall, 1954). Note especially the contributions by Neufeld, Hardman, Mark Starr, C. Wright Mills, and Helen S. Dinerman, Joseph Kovner. See also David Carper, "Porkchopper Passage," Dissent, VI (Autumn, 1959). pp. 430-34.

⁸ Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., Dec. 17, 1958.

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I shifted from one union job to another. I worked for the miners and lived in the Upper Peninsula, without a telephone. Then the UAW in Detroit. I wasn't too happy. I was really looking for a career--three children, you know--so I applied for a labor attaché assignment.⁹

Characteristics Deemed Desirable for Labor Attache Job

The panel of knowledgeable was also asked to indicate the degree of importance they attach to a number of listed characteristics of labor attachés (e. g., knowledge of language of area of post; knowledge of area's political, economic, social, and cultural conditions prior to assignment; personal contact with area prior to assignment; familiarity with American labor movement's symbols; previous writing experience and analytical skills, etc.) for the optimum performance of their jobs (3.06, Appendix I). When rank-ordered in terms of their importance the hierarchy of characteristics emerges as shown in Table 8.

Although "skills in human relations" was not indicated on the questionnaire as a possible characteristic, it was specified by many in the open-ended category of 'other' (18.9% of the respondents) and would have probably received even greater endorsement were it suggested among possible choices in the questionnaire. This may, indeed,

⁹Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D. C., July 1, 1957.

Table 8. --Rankings of factors influencing labor attachment to the area

Characteristic	Rank
Knowledge of local area of position	1
Knowledge of local economic, cultural conditions prior to assignment	2
Familiarity with labor movement symbols (word slogans, leaflets, etc.)	3
Previous writing experience and administrative skills	4
Skill in human relations	5
Ability to be a reflection of the community's problems and needs	6
Ability to work with members of the community	7
Ability to work with officials and, if possible, with the military	8
Ability to work with the "team"	9
Ability to respond to the needs of the community	10
Ability to work on a long-term basis	11
Ability to work in a movement (i.e., labor union, etc.)	12
Ability to work in a very important position	13
Ability to work in a position which is desirable but not essential	14
Ability to work in a labor attaché position	15

Table 8. --Rank-order of characteristics in terms of their importance:
as viewed by panel of knowledgeable

Characteristics	Rank-Order	Viewed Very Important by:	
Knowledge of language of area of post	1.5	N = 68	71.6%
Knowledge of area's political, economic, social, cultural conditions prior to assignment	1.5	N = 68	71.6%
Familiarity with American labor movement's symbols (word-images, slogans, legends, songs, etc.)	3.0	N = 47	49.5%
Previous writing experience and analytical skills	4.0	N = 32	33.7%
Skill in human relations	5.0	N = 18	18.9%

be a reflection of the complex human (public relations and personnel) problems encountered by the labor attaché in the field, both in dealing with members of foreign labor movements, foreign government officials and, last but not least, with his colleagues on the U.S. diplomatic "team." On the other hand, it is significant that almost none of the respondents rated prior personal exposure to the area of assignment and only 49.5% rated deep familiarity with the American labor movement (i.e., knowledge of its jargon, legends, songs, etc.) as a very important requisite. This, of course, coincides with the other ratings which indicated American labor movement background as "desirable but not essential" for the optimum performance of the job of labor attaché (Tables 5 and 6).

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As can be seen from Table 9, the greatest resistance to rating deep familiarity (and thus involvement) with the U.S. labor movement

Table 9. --Extent to which familiarity with American labor movement symbols is perceived to be "very important" for the optimum performance of the labor attaché job: by occupation of knowledgeable (percentages)

Occupational Area of Respondents	Rate Familiarity with American Labor Movement Symbols as Very Important		
	Yes	No	Totals
State Dept/FS (N = 6)	16.7	83.3	100.0
Labor Department (N = 9)	55.6	44.4	100.0
Other U.S. Govt. Agencies (N = 8)	62.5	37.5	100.0
Labor Movement (N = 34)	76.5	23.5	100.0
Education (N = 27)	29.6	70.4	100.0
Business/Professions (N = 11)	18.2	81.8	100.0
Total (N = 95)	49.5	50.5	100.0

as very important for the labor attaché job came from the State Department/Foreign Service, the business/professions group and academicians. As already indicated, officials at the State Department made it clear that the labor attaché is not abroad in order to organize unions, to become too involved and identified with foreign labor groups. His

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first loyalty is to the American government (as embodied in the State Department/Foreign Service). Presumably deep familiarity with the American labor movement, involvement with its "culture" and "ethos," may lead to involvement with foreign labor movements and, with it, to loss of "objectivity," and, as far as the State Department is concerned, such labor attaché's usefulness would be minimized. It is, indeed, easy as we have seen from the personal interviews for a labor attaché who was deeply immersed in the culture of the American labor movement, to heed the "call of the wild," so to speak. The business/professions group may similarly fear that real familiarity of American labor (as distinguished from mere knowledge of labor affairs or from being professionally in the specialized area of "labor") may lead to delivery of "inflammatory" speeches in Nairobi.¹⁰ Academicians, on the other hand, may feel uncomfortable about the possibility that deep immersion in the American labor movement may lead a labor attaché to attempt to "export" some of the "tales of American labor" abroad. They may have doubts (a) about the product and (b) about the advisability of any kind of cultural intrusion. They may find objectionable a statement such as that delivered by Arnold Zempel, former

¹⁰ See Clark R. Molenhoff, "What United States Labor and Management Can Contribute Abroad," paper delivered at the Industrial Relations Research Association Spring Meeting (Philadelphia, May 8-9, 1962), The International Labor Scene: Proceedings of the Spring Meeting, p. 523.

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director of the Office of International Affairs, U.S. Department of Labor, and since 1960 labor attaché (Brussels and Luxembourg), that "essentially we seek to export Western cultural ideas."¹¹ If Zempel speaks of exporting Western "cultural ideas," James D. Hoover, has export of American trade unionism in mind. And in speaking of those who may object to his cause, Hoover singles out what he refers to as "cultural anthropologists." However, he may have not only anthropologists in mind when he says:

Leaning backward in an effort to avoid "ethnocentrism". . . anthropologists have found much that is admirable in systems of values alien to ours, and only on those rare occasions when they have turned to Hollywood or Middletown have they been critical. . . .

Finally, the anthropologists tend to exaggerate the difficulties of induced cultural change. . . .

.

From varying starting points . . . [they] . . . reach the same conclusion--that we ought not to export American labor practices--some because they feel that these practices are suited only to America, others from a feeling that they are not suited even to America. In other words, I seem to see, extended to the international labor field, the immemorial conflict between unionists and "intellectuals." . . .¹²

¹¹ See Zempel's statement in discussion on paper by James D. Hoover, "Should American Trade Unionism Be Exported," presented at the Third Session of the Research Seminar on Comparative Labor Movements (Washington: Dec. 15, 1959), mimeographed, p. 13.

¹² Hoover, ibid., pp. 4-5.

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Perhaps, Mr. Hoover is right--and academic intellectuals may indeed fear the results of attempts at the exportation of "Americanism" (including American trade unionism) which deep assimilation in the American labor movement on the part of the labor attaché may lead him to undertake.

In conclusion: the type which emerges as a result of the analysis of some of the responses advanced by the panel of knowledgeable as to the "ideal" characteristics of the labor attachés seems to be that of a person of some formal academic education, a staff member of a labor movement organization, with some mild and general intellectual identification with the American labor movement, possessing necessary skills in communication and analysis, sensitive to foreign culture patterns. He should be interested in international labor affairs but does not have to have been exposed physically to foreign environments--but rather, he should have a background of activity on the national level of some organization of the American labor movement. The ideal type they envision is a man in his early middle-age, sympathetic to both American and foreign labor, intelligent, and primarily one who would fit into the Foreign Service "team."

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CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS AND CAREER PATTERNS OF
LABOR ATTACHÉS

The Labor Attaché and Agricultural
Attaché Programs: Introduction

We will presently examine the extent to which persons occupying the post of labor attaché meet the expectations of the groups interested in the program. Specifically, the expectations of which group are more likely to be prevalent and met by the existing patterns of recruitment in the labor attaché program?

The labor attaché program was established in 1943. From that year to December, 1957, i. e., in the course of fourteen years--a period for which complete data were gathered--81 different persons¹ served as U.S. labor attaché or assistant labor attaché abroad, 80 men and 1 woman. These 81 we take as our universe for the labor attaché category. For comparative purposes, this universe will be matched against that of the agricultural attaché.

¹A few persons left the program and rejoined it after some interval in time.

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Of longer standing than the labor attaché program, the foreign agricultural attaché program was reorganized in 1954 upon the mandate of the Agricultural Act of that year. Since then, during the period 1955 to early 1958, 100 different persons served abroad as agricultural attachés, assistant agricultural attachés, or agricultural affairs officers. Of these, 99 were men and 1 a woman. The total of 100 serves here as the agricultural attaché universe.

The Biographic Register of the State Department provides fairly comprehensive background data on the personnel of the various U.S. foreign services (including, of course, labor attachés as well as agricultural attachés). In the past The Biographic Register also included information on the pre-university/college period of education, thereby giving even more complete insights into the social strata from which Foreign Service officers come. Education, for example, in a private prep-school rather than in a public high school, or exposure to a parochial rather than a secular education process, obviously casts some meaningful light on the type of persons drawn to the program. However, this type of social background data was not included in The Biographic Register for the years under consideration here, nor thereafter. As indicated, though, the information provided in the Register is sufficient to form a picture of the type of persons drawn into the Foreign Service (and specifically, the labor attaché program), as well as the type of persons recruited into the Foreign Agricultural

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Service. Data for the labor attaché universe were checked against or complemented with data on their background contained in certain issues of O. I. L. A. Memorandum published by the Office of International Labor Affairs of the U.S. Department of Labor (later renamed International Labor when the OILA became the Bureau of International Labor Affairs, U.S. Department of Labor).

Labor Attachés and Agricultural Attachés:
Areas of Origin and Educational Back-
ground

It should be borne in mind that "region of birth" does not imply region of last residence or place where a given officer developed in terms of career and from which he was appointed to the Service. In the case of agricultural attachés, however, region of birth is usually synonymous with the place where he received his education and where he had his career-beginning. Among the labor attachés born abroad of alien parentage, one (1) came from British West Indies, one (1) from Norway, two (2) from Russia; in the agricultural attaché universe the distribution is one (1) each from Canada, Denmark, England, Norway, and Sweden.

The small percentage of agricultural attachés born in the industrial, urbanized, and heavily populated Middle Atlantic States and, inversely, the proportionately high percentage of agricultural attachés who originate from the predominantly agricultural South is worthy of note. The labor attaché program, on the other hand, draws relatively

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Table 10. --Region of birth: percentage of officials born in various regions

Region	Labor Attachés	Agri. Attachés
New England States	9	2
Middle Atlantic States	26	8
North Central States	30	32
Southern States	9	24
Mountain States	5	6
Pacific States	2	4
U.S. Territories	0	1
Foreign born (American parentage)	4	0
Foreign born (alien parentage)	5	5
Unknown	11	18
Total	100	100

few persons from the South where the trade union movement although rich in a particular tradition, especially among textile workers, is nevertheless organizationally weak and viewed with hostility in certain sections. Conditions such as these would cause fewer persons to develop "career-interests" in the field of labor. With regard to birth in the Northeastern States the ratio of labor attachés is similar to that of officers of the general Foreign Service and the State Department--while the agricultural attaché category shows a greater similarity to the Foreign Service and State Department officials with regard to birth in the South.

In both categories there are persons who attended more than one college and, of course, received more than one degree. On the

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Table 11. --Region of birth: percentage of Foreign Service and State Department officials born in various regions*

Region	FSO**	FSS	FSR	Dept.
Northeastern States	37	36	40	40
North Central States	29	30	29	29
Southern States	23	23	20	23
Western States	11	11	11	8
Total	100	100	100	100

* Source: James L. McCamy and Alessandro Carradini, "The People of the State Department and Foreign Service," The American Political Science Review, XLVII (Dec., 1954), pp. 1067-82, 1069.

** Glossary of Foreign Service branch symbols: FSO, Foreign Service Officer (career); FSS, Foreign Service Staff; FSR, Foreign Service Reserve.

Table 12. --Colleges/universities attended (percentages)

Colleges/Universities	Labor Attachés	Agri. Attachés
"Ivy League"	42	14
Other Northeastern, private	19	0
Other Northeastern, public	6	8
North Central, private	19	10
North Central, public	33	40
Southern, private	19	12
Southern, public	14	29
Western, private	1	2
Western, public	9	15
U.S. Territories	0	2
Foreign	7	8
Did Not Attend	5	0
Unknown	7	18

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Table 13. --Colleges/universities having granted degrees to labor attachés and agricultural attachés (percentages)

Colleges/Universities	Labor Attachés	Agri. Attachés
"Ivy League"	28	14
Other Northeastern, private	10	0
Other Northeastern, public	5	7
North Central, private	15	5
North Central, public	22	36
Southern, private	12	8
Southern, public	7	28
Western, private	1	2
Western, public	6	13
U.S. Territories	0	1
Foreign	0	3
Attended, No Degree	12	5
Did Not Attend	5	0
Unknown	7	18

other hand, institutions at which officers were enrolled during the course of in-service training were not considered in the tabulations.

The labor attaché universe may be divided into two significant subcategories: (1) those who entered the Foreign Service and were assigned to the labor attaché program simultaneously (these will be referred to henceforth as "LA-Simultaneous"); and (2) those who were in the Foreign Service and/or State Department a year of more before assuming a labor attaché or assistant labor attaché post (henceforth these will be referred to as "LA-Dept. Prior"). Of the general labor attaché population of 81, 50 are in the first subcategory and 31 in the second. It is assumed that while the first were accepted into the

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Foreign Service for purpose of assignment to the labor attaché program, the second were accepted or were motivated in joining the Foreign Service with "nonlabor" considerations in mind. The two subcategories will therefore differ from each other in social background, type of education, career-patterns, and (as we may discover later) "labor identification" as well. Thus, while 65% of the general labor attaché population received degrees in private colleges and universities² (as opposed to only 29% of the agricultural attaché population who received degrees from such institutions), only 58% of "LA-Simultaneous" (of a total of 50) received degrees from private colleges and universities, while in the subcategory of "LA-Dept. Prior" "private" degrees (mainly "Ivy League," Table 14) account for a high percentage of 77 (out of 31). This would indicate the "elitist" character of those who came to the labor attaché program via prior service in the State Department or Foreign Service. Of the

² Among the degrees received in public institutions by the "LA-Dept. Prior" subcategory are one each for the U.S. Naval Academy and The Citadel. The former, although "public-supported," is classified as "Ivy League" in Tables 12 and 13. Cornell University which granted degrees to 10 agricultural attachés and 2 labor attachés was classified as a private institution although a few of its units enjoy public support. Since it is not known from which particular unit the degrees were granted, and since a "private school atmosphere" is prevalent in this institution, the "private" classification seemed more advisable. Were we to consider Cornell as a public institution with respect to the agricultural attachés, however, the percentage of "private" degrees for that population would substantially diminish, by a full 10%.

Table 14. -- Categories of

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Table 14. --Colleges/universities having granted degrees to the sub-categories of general labor attaché population (percentages)

Colleges/Universities	LA-Simul- taneous (N = 50)	LA-Dept. Prior (N = 31)
"Ivy League"	18	45
Other Northeastern, private	10	10
Other Northeastern, public	8	0
North Central, private	18	10
North Central, public	32	6
Southern, private	10	16
Southern, public	2	16
Western, private	2	0
Western, public	4	10
Attended, No Degree	10	16
Did Not Attend	6	3
Unknown	12	0

degrees obtained by the agricultural attachés, 88% were from public-supported institutions. These were land-grant colleges, for the most part, mainly located in the North Central and Southern States. This would point to a relationship between the formal training of the agricultural attachés and their later career. (In the case of agricultural attachés, particular foreign institutions were included in the "public" category since these were of the type of the Royal Agricultural College in Copenhagen, Ontario Agricultural College, etc.)

While almost all agricultural attachés (except for 5%) complete their education and receive a degree, this cannot be said for the general labor attaché population. Also while all agricultural attachés

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attended a college or university for some time at least, 5% of the general labor attaché population did not attend any.

Among the universities and colleges having granted degrees to the "LA-Simultaneous," two public-supported institutions of higher learning, Illinois and Wisconsin, lead with 8% each followed closely by George Washington, City College of New York, Harvard, Michigan, New York University, Northwestern (with 6% each). Among the "LA-Dept. Prior," two private universities are in the fore, Georgetown and Harvard (with 10% each), followed by Chicago, Colorado, Cornell, Fletcher, Virginia, and Williams College (with 6.5% each). On the side of the agricultural attaches, Cornell leads with 10% followed by Wisconsin with 7%.³

Relative to the type of degrees received, a certain difference is again noticeable between "LA-Simultaneous" and "LA-Dept. Prior," and an even greater difference between these two subcategories and

³ Wesley McCune points to the close relationship between land-grant colleges, particularly Cornell, and the Agriculture Department. In many respects, he maintains, the faculties of these colleges lend prestige as well as leadership to the various agricultural interest-groups. He quotes from a series of articles written by Alan S. Emory in the Watertown Times (N. Y.): "The boys from Ithaca have really taken over . . . Farm policy in the Eisenhower administration was, to a large extent, taught in the classrooms at Cornell University, organized by the Cornell faculty and furnished to farm groups by Cornell experts." Who's Behind our Farm Policy? (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1956), p. 289, also p. 144 et passim.

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Table 15. -- L

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the agricultural attachés (Table 15). Among the "LA-Dept. Prior" subcategory, M.A./M.S. degrees are dominant and quite naturally

Table 15. --Labor attaché/agricultural attaché degree attainment (percentages)*

Degree Attained	LA-Simul- taneous (N=50)	LA-Dept. Prior (N=31)	Total LA (N=81)	Agri. Attaché (N=100)
Did not attend	6	3	5	0
Attended coll/univ., no degree	<u>10</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>5</u>
(Total, no degree)	16	19	17	5
B.A. or equivalent <u>only</u>	14	16	15	20
B.A. or equivalent plus post-grad. work, no graduate degree	28	19	25	6
M.A. or equivalent	12	32	20	27
Ph.D	<u>16</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>22</u>
(Total, academic degree)	70	77	74	75
Law	10	10	10	1
Other	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
(Total, professional degree)	18	10	15	5
Unknown	12	0	7	18

* Some officials have both academic and professional degrees; only the highest academic degree attained is tabulated.

so since this type of degree is often considered as terminal for a bureaucratic career--one which may help the individual in his advancement but would not cause him to be too conspicuous or considered to "highbrow" by his fellow bureaucrats as would a Ph.D. degree.

On the other hand, the high ration of Ph.D.'s in the "LA-Simultaneous" category would point to the necessity for personal accomplishment (of which academic achievement would stand in lieu of accomplishment in the bureaucracy within the State Department or elsewhere) before entering into the Foreign Service and immediately assuming the relatively high rank and pay-grade which accompanies a labor attaché assignment. Among the agricultural attachés the high number of M.A. /M.S. and Ph.D. degrees is striking--these degrees in the main being in the field of agricultural economics or related disciplines --a factor pointing to the specialized nature of that service.

Table 16. --Degrees attained by officials of the various classification-branches of the Foreign Service* (percentages)

Degree Attained	FSO	FSS	FSR
Attended, no degree	8	23	11
B.A., or equivalent	89	72	83
Graduate work, no degree	25	17	21
M.A., or equivalent	29	23	38
Ph. D.	5	7	18
Law degrees	5	14	13
Other degrees	3	2	2

Generally, the labor attaché program as well as the Foreign Agricultural Service show a higher frequency of graduate/professional degree attainment than the general Foreign Service with the exception of the Foreign Service Reserve which draws upon "outside elements" similar to the "LA-Simultaneous" subcategory. In fact, the ratio of

Ph.D.'s in the FSR is closer to that in "LA-Simultaneous" while in the FSO and FSS classification-branches of the Foreign Service it is more akin to the "LA-Dept. Prior" subcategory (Table 16).

Military Service Background of Labor
Attachés and Agricultural Attachés

Military service or exemption from it (for reasons other than health, dependents, etc.), branch of service, as well as rank, serve as indicators of social status. As Samuel P. Huntington perceptively points out, historically each social class, especially when aspiring for political recognition, sought its own distinct military manifestation.⁴ This is particularly apparent in societies of rigid class stratification--where each societal elite would attempt to capture and monopolize some branch of the military organization primarily for the purpose of furthering its own political goals but also to supply its own youth with an adventure-outlet and a set of romantic symbols. Since the military organization is based on discipline and uniformity, it is easy for the respective officer corps of each military branch to develop what Robert K. Merton calls a "professional code" designed to regulate behavior of the

⁴Samuel P. Huntington, "Civilian Control of the Military: A Theoretical Statement," Political Behavior: A Reader in Theory and Research, ed. Heinz Eulau et al. (Glencoe: Free Press, 1956), p. 382.

occupants of that particular status.⁵ Such institutionalized behavior as well as the "code" itself are further enhanced by the fact that the military operate in isolation from the community-at-large--the armies within military bases, the navies at sea. These conditions, the degree to which the particular military service adheres to its behavioral code, aid in the determination of the values which the public-at-large attaches to each particular service as well as the "image" it will have of it. Thus, even in a democratic, basically nonmilitary society as our own, the officer corps of some branches of the military organization will enjoy a higher public value-image and status than others. The naval officer corps carries traditionally higher status than the army's officer corps, while for general enlisted men service in the army seems to be of higher social status than service in the navy.

In the two general universes under consideration a large number of persons, for one reason or another, had no military experience whatsoever (Table 17). This is especially noteworthy since most of the labor attachés and agricultural attachés were within the age limits of military eligibility during World War II. However, in a society such as ours civilian achievements are usually valued higher than

⁵Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (rev.; Glencoe: Free Press, 1957), pp. 378-79.

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Table 17. --Labor attaché/agricultural attaché military service (percentages)

Military Service	LA-Simul- taneous (N=50)	LA-Dept. Prior (N=31)	Total LA (N=81)	Agri. Attaché (N=100)
Rank				
Officers	24	35	28	26
Enlisted personnel	20	13	17	18
No service	42	52	46	38
Unknown	14	0	9	18
Total	100	100	100	100
Service branch distribution among officers				
Army	18	16	17	18
Navy	6	10	7	7
Marine Corps	0	0	0	1
Air Force	0	0	0	0
Other*	0	9	4	0

* Other: Office of Strategic Services, service in foreign military organizations.

military and, as Burton M. Sapin and Richard C. Snyder suggest, there is traditionally even a "suspicion and distrust, even positive dislike," towards the military.⁶ Therefore, nonservice even in time of war might be readily accepted (if not actively solicited) and might meet with the envy (if not admiration) of our society-at-large. Many of the labor attachés and agricultural attachés spent the war

⁶ Burton M. Sapin and Richard C. Snyder, The Role of the Military in American Foreign Policy, Short Studies in Political Sciences (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1954), p. 2.

years as members of the civilian governmental bureaucracy (Departments of State and Agriculture, Foreign Service, as well as a multitude of war emergency agencies). This latter phenomenon would point, in addition, to a tendency on the part of these persons to gravitate towards civilian government employ, whether in one particular department or agency, or from one to another, or as in many cases the gravitation is manifested by frequent fluctuations between government and nongovernment service, the former being predominant.

It is therefore significant that the ratio of officers within both universes is so high among those who spent the war years in uniform. In the general labor attaché population this ratio is characteristically higher in the "LA-Dept. Prior" subcategory, however, than in the "LA-Simultaneous"--pointing again to the elitist character of the Foreign Service and State Department. The frequency of high status naval officers is also higher in that subcategory (Table 17).

Pre-Attaché Career-Patterns

These are established according to the major occupational patterns and affiliations before entering the labor attaché and agricultural attaché programs respectively. Where a person left the service and it is known to what profession or occupation he turned or with which occupational or professional organization he affiliated himself, such facts are added to the establishment of the "major occupational pattern." Generally, while reviewing the occupational history of each

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labor attaché and agricultural attaché the question considered in determining the "major pattern" is: to what profession or occupation is the given person most likely to turn after leaving the labor attaché program or the agricultural attaché program. It is seen from Table 18 the percentage of labor attachés who made their career in government bureaucracy (state as well as federal) is very high. While many

Table 18.--Labor attachés: major career-patterns

Career-Patterns	Number	Percentage
Foreign Service and State Dept. career	21	26
Govt. officials other than FS or State Dept.	<u>24</u>	<u>30</u>
(Total government careers)	45	56
Trade union officials	6	7
Labor educators	3	4
Academicians and general educators	6	7
Labor relations specialists and lawyers	5	6
Public relations specialists and journalists	7	9
Others*	6	7
Unknown	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
(Total nongovernment careers)	36	44
Total	81	100

* Others: politicians, nonacademic researchers, real estate specialists, varied career-patterns, indeterminable.

of the latter held official titles in public service of "economist," "economic analyst," and so on, these seem to be more in the nature of administrative designations than actual job descriptions. In any event, these designations are seldom if ever accurate projections of the official's actual profession--if profession is to be understood as

an accumulation of expertise knowledge and skills, gained by training or previous experience. In fact, the career-patterns of many of those who spent their employment years within a single government agency may have started on a clerical level and run through the gamut of bureaucratic career development with title changes as years in service mount--from that of clerk to that of "statistician," "consultant," "administrative assistant," "bureau director," as well as "economist" and "economic analyst." Because of these conditions it was difficult to assign, in considering major career-patterns (Table 18), professional classification to many of the persons who carried professionally implying, official designations while in government service--particularly where personal records do not reveal any formal training pointing to such professionalization.

In the labor attaché category, prior service with a government agency other than State Department or Foreign Service did not justify the classification of any specialized career-pattern aside from that of "governmental-official" if of sufficiently long duration. While continued service with the State Department and Foreign Service have the mark of a distinct career-pattern, no such clear distinction can be attached to any of the other agencies in which labor attachés were previously employed--especially since, as was already pointed out, a tendency is noticeable among officials of the latter to move from one government agency to another, frequently but not always within the

limits of a specialized area. On the other hand, in regard to agricultural attachés (Table 19) exclusive or nearly exclusive employment with the Agriculture Department does imply a career-pattern of bureaucratic agricultural service since the persons in this classification train themselves especially for such service (as agricultural economists, as horticulturists, veterinarians, etc.). In other words,

Table 19. --Agricultural attachés: major career-patterns

Career-Patterns	Number	Percentage
Foreign Service and State Dept. career	5	5
Foreign agricultural affairs career specialists*	13	13
Agriculture Dept. career	29	29
Govt. officials other than FS, State Dept., Agriculture Dept.	12	12
(Total government careers)	59	59
Self-employed farmers and stockmen	4	4
Lawyers and administrators	4	4
Public relations specialists and journalists	2	2
Academicians and educators	11	11
Others	2	2
Unknown	18	18
(Total nongovernment careers)	41	41
Total	100	100

* Foreign agricultural affairs career specialists: persons who made a career in foreign agricultural affairs in government as well as nongovernmental service.

their training is relatively more consciously and rigidly channeled towards service in a specialized field and in this respect bears some

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similarity to the Foreign Service whose members view their jobs as careers. However, some individuals in the agricultural attaché category (although to a lesser degree than in the labor attaché category) nevertheless display an ability to move from one agency to another (including frequent movement between state and federal agencies). If not always they remained, however, in most cases within the field of agricultural or even foreign agricultural affairs.

Typical for the agricultural attachés with a bureaucratic career-pattern, especially in the early years of their careers, is service with the Farm Bureaus and other agricultural agencies of the different states. Lawyers and administrators in the agricultural attaché category (Table 19) served in that professional capacity for a variety of private as well as governmental (federal and state) agricultural organizations; they shifted with apparent ease from one organization to another, from governmental to private employment or reverse, but always in the same professional capacity. A professional classification for them would appear to be more justified, therefore, than a bureaucratic one. The same comment can be made of those classified as public relations specialists and journalists in the agricultural attaché category (Table 19). Whereas in the labor attaché category we resort to two "educator"-classifications, we have only one in the agricultural attaché category. With regard to the specialized nature of their activities, however, the educators in the agricultural

attaché category bear greater similarity to "labor educators" in the labor attaché category than to "general educators." The educators in the agricultural category are in the main persons who, while attached to established educational and academic institutions, for the most part engaged in the fields of adult and extension education and vocational training, primarily in the area of agriculture. In the labor attaché category, on the other hand, those classified as "general educators" were active in general academic education (primary schools, high schools, etc.).

For the labor attaché category, affiliation with the Labor Department or any other labor agency is recorded in Table 20, provided it immediately preceded appointment to the labor attaché program.

It is interesting to note that those in the "business/industry" classifications in Table 21 were active in concerns and corporations dealing with such "foreign trade commodities" as cotton, cottonseed, and oil.

Since we have already distinguished within the general labor attaché population between those who entered the labor attaché program simultaneously with entering the Foreign Service and those who saw prior service in the State Department or Foreign Service, it would be worthwhile--for purposes of closer social background examination as well as an aid in determining whether there was any "labor tendency" in their past--to look into the sources from which these officers were directly recruited into the Foreign Service and the

Table 20. --Labor attachés: last preceding occupation or professional/organizational affiliation

	Number	Percentage
State Dept., Foreign Service, HICOG*	31	38
Labor Dept.	10	12
New Deal and war emergency agencies**	8	10
U.S. govt. foreign aid agencies	5	6
Other govt. depts. and agencies	4	5
Intergovernmental organizations	1	1
(Total government employment)	59	72
Trade unions (elected and appointed officials)	8	10
Trade union "auxiliary" organizations	1	1
Teaching--educational institutions	6	8
Political party organizations	1	1
Private practice--law, labor/management consulting	2	3
Unknown	4	5
(Total nongovernment employment)	22	28
Total	81	100

* HICOG: Office of United States High Commissioner for Germany.

** New Deal and war emergency agencies: War Production Board, War Labor Board, Office of Housing Expediter, Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, National Labor Relations Board, National Security Resources Board. Some of these agencies although in the general "labor field" operated outside Labor Department jurisdiction.

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Table 21. --Agricultural attachés: last preceding occupation or professional/organizational affiliation

	Number	Percentage
State Dept. and Foreign Service	17	17
Agriculture Dept.	18	18
Other govt. depts., agencies, commissions (Federal and State)	27	27
Intergovernment organizations	5	5
(Total government employment)	<u>67</u>	<u>67</u>
Teaching--educational institutions	6	6
Business/industry	2	2
Self-employed farming	4	4
Politics* and farm interest-group employment	2	2
Journalism	1	1
Unknown	<u>18</u>	<u>18</u>
(Total nongovernment employment)	<u>33</u>	<u>33</u>
Total	100	100

* In elected or appointed office.

State Department. However, it should be borne in mind that service with a government agency does not preclude some sort of "labor specialization" within that agency and its field of immediate concern. Therefore Table 22, as well as the other tables illustrating pre-attaché employment or affiliation, should be confronted with the tables illustrating major career-patterns (Tables 18 and 19).

In the general labor attaché category there is a heavy representation of career government officials (56%), with the State Department and the regular Foreign Service as a primary source of recruitment for the labor attaché program, followed by various governmental

Table 22. --LA-Dept. Prior: last preceding occupation or professional/organizational affiliation before entering the Foreign Service, State Department, HICOG

	Number	Percentage
Labor Department	1	3
Other government departments and agencies	14	45
Armed Forces service	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>
(Total government service)	17	55
Business/industry	5	16
Journalism	1	3
Students	2	7
Teaching--educational institutions	5	16
Workers	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
(Total nongovernment service)	14	45
Total	31	100

labor agencies. The hoped for representation of trade union-affiliated persons in such positions envisioned by American Labor Leaders and the panel of knowledgeable is relatively slight: only 6 have a definitely established career-pattern in the American trade union movement although 8 had posts in the union movement immediately prior to becoming labor attachés. Significantly, none of those who became labor attachés after a year or more with the Foreign Service or State Department had any connection with the trade union movement immediately preceding their entry into government employ. If even those with some broad "labor background"--i.e., those with a major career-pattern in the field of labor education or those whose last preceding employment was with a trade union auxiliary

organization--should be added to the total of "trade unionists" the number of labor attachés with a definitely established "labor background" is not significantly increased.

On the other hand, although equally heavily staffed with career government bureaucrats (59%), the career-patterns and last preceding posts and affiliations of members of the agricultural attaché program seem to be more closely related to the skills and experiences normatively anticipated by the interest-groups concerned.⁷ Some agricultural attachés have established what seems to be a career in foreign agricultural affairs. Such a career would include service as agricultural attaché or agricultural officer abroad regardless of the metamorphosis of the Foreign Agricultural Service as a branch of the unified Foreign Service, State Department or as a division of the

⁷In fact, the Foreign Agricultural Service apparently proud of its operations is conducting an extensive information campaign among agricultural interest-groups in this country. In addition to publishing a monthly magazine, Foreign Agriculture, which is distributed among "interested parties," the FAS released in 1957 a full color film ("Marketing Farm Products Abroad") which portrays the work of U.S. agricultural attachés in England, Japan, and Brazil. The overall theme of the picture is to show how "U.S. agriculture, industry, and Government are teaming up to conduct effective export promotions for U.S. farm products." Prints of this film are available without cost to farm, trade, educational and other interested groups. U.S., Congress, House, Subcommittee on the Dept. of Agriculture and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1959, Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, 85th Cong., 2d Sess., 1958, pp. 921-33.

No corresponding information program, even to a much lesser extent, exists in regard to the work of the labor attaché.

Agriculture Department. Furthermore, these are persons gravitating between Washington and overseas assignments, in governmental or private employment, but almost consistently in the capacity of foreign agricultural specialists. Even those with a background of teaching, research, business and journalism were primarily engaged in these occupations but with a concentration upon agricultural matters or matters closely related to agriculture. At the same time we find in the general labor attaché population (and especially in the sub-category of "LA-Dept. Prior") persons whose major career-patterns not only do not reveal any indication of an even broadly defined labor background but not even of a labor-affairs specialization of any kind. With many of these the assignment as labor attaché or assistant labor attaché appears to be an "administrative accident," a phase in general bureaucratic or Foreign Service career.

"Labor" as a Career

Some labor attachés who came to the program through prior service in the general Foreign Service or the State Department view their labor assignment as challenging and rewarding, and apparently do consider their labor specialization to have at least some career aspects. As one labor attaché expressed it:

Q. Do you view the job of labor attaché as a career? What is the feeling of other labor attachés on this?

- A. I view specialization in labor economics as my career in the Foreign Service. There is a considerable group of younger Foreign Service officers with experience, training and inclination similar to mine.

And in response to the same question another labor attaché had this to say:

I do look on the work as a career. It may be at a later date I will have to leave my specialty in order to rise to the top in the system. When that time comes, I really don't know what my answer would be. I'm convinced that the work being done by the labor attachés is most important, greater than is recognized by the higher officialdom, but rewarding nevertheless. Most of the labor attachés with whom I am acquainted enjoy their work and will remain in the field if possible.⁸

And as far as the general universe of labor attachés is concerned, when the question was asked of the panel of knowledgeable: "In your opinion, do labor attachés generally view their labor attaché job as a career?" (2.10, Appendix I), 46.3% responded "yes," 22.1% responded "no," and 31.6% were undecided or were not well enough informed to give an opinion. When a follow-up question was further asked of the 21 panel members who responded in the negative to the initial query, requesting that they indicate the reasons why they think labor attachés do not view their jobs in career terms, all

⁸ From written responses by labor attachés while in the United States for in-service training during academic year, 1958-59.

of them answered unanimously that the primary reason is the "fluctuating attitudes in regard to the program on the part of the Administration in Washington."⁹ No such ambiguity exists, obviously, with regard to the agricultural attaché program on the part of the organization directly responsible for its administration (i. e., the Agriculture Department).

Labor and Agricultural Group Identification

It is granted that labor "sympathy," trade union "identification," or "intellectual connection" may not always be manifested through one's organizational, professional or otherwise institutionalized affiliations. It is perhaps impossible to arrive at such determination short of personal depth interviews with all the subjects under investigation. It is quite conceivable that a certain number of labor attachés without any manifest institutional affiliation with the labor movement would nevertheless have some sort of identification with it. For the purposes of this study, however, and in view of obvious research

⁹ Other reasons for the labor attachés not viewing their jobs in career terms were offered as possible response choices (i. e., limited opportunities for advancement; low pay; hard work; work is not gratifying; work is discouraging; work offers no challenge; uncertainty as to post assignment; status of labor attaché vis-a-vis that of generalist; lack of stability in any given post; other). However, as indicated above, all those who responded that the labor attaché does not view his job as a career were of the opinion (100%) that the reason lies in the unpredictability of Washington's attitude toward the program.

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difficulties, the only mode by which such identification or connection could be established empirically is through some manifested institutionalized affiliation with American trade unions and the broad labor movement. Therefore, every manifestation of trade union identification was taken into consideration, no matter how distant in the individual's career and regardless of how short a duration, so long as this manifestation assumed an institutionalized form (such as membership, professional service, voluntary service, writing, etc.). On the other hand, association with a government agency, even in the labor field, has not been considered as a manifestation of labor identification since (a) the service such officials render has the claim of impartiality in matters of labor-management relations and (b) their interest would be pretty much conditioned by their civil service standing, prevailing government policy, department or agency with which affiliated--but never by the trade union movement per se whose policies might at any time be contrary to those which these officials are called upon to implement. As was pointed out, "labor specialization" is not synonymous with "labor identification." Again, while some of these governmental officials may have a personal affinity towards the labor movement this cannot be established empirically under our present research conditions. An additional point should be noted: membership in the now merged American Federation of Government Employees (AFL-CIO) is not considered as a manifestation of labor identification, although such membership for government

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bureaucrats would come closest to institutionalized labor identification as defined above. The reason we do not take such membership into consideration is that while many labor attachés joined this union (especially Lodge No. 12 of the United States Department of Labor) they do so in the majority of cases long after they have entered the labor attaché program and such act on their part seems to be the result of their having gained the labor attaché post rather than the post being a result of union membership.¹⁰ Where, however, membership in the AFGE occurred prior to the assumption of a labor attaché or assistant labor attaché post, this fact--due to the entirely "voluntaristic" nature of the joining process--is considered a manifestation of labor-movement identification.

Table 23 points to a higher degree of identification with agricultural interests on the part of the agricultural attachés than that of the general labor attaché population with nongovernmental "labor-interests." However, identification of the "LA-Simultaneous" subcategory is much higher than that of the "LA-Dept. Prior" subcategory--a fact which only verifies our previous observations and the

¹⁰ The names of the labor attaches and assistant labor attaches who joined the Department of Labor Lodge No. 12, American Federation of Government Employees, are recorded in the periodically issued, mimeographed releases by that Lodge titled "President's Report on Recent Activities."

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validity for the establishment of the two subcategories. It should be noted that no record has been made of the existence of "farm-interest" identification if channeled through a bureaucratic government agency as such (for the same reasons such consideration was avoided in regard to bureaucratically channeled "labor-interests"). Governmental bureaucrats in the field of agriculture are much more likely to be

Table 23. --Labor attachés /agricultural attachés: percentage of officers with institutionally manifested identification with the labor movement and nongovernmental agricultural interests respectively

	LA-Simul- taneous (N=50)	LA-Dept. Prior (N= 31)	Total LA (N=81)	Agri. Attaché (N=100)
Identification	56	13	39	49
No identification	36	87	56	33
Unknown	8	0	5	18
Total	100	100	100	100

identified with the special nongovernmental interests in their particular area as Wesley McCune seems to maintain--and as official literature relating to agricultural attachés openly implies--than are governmental bureaucrats active in the field of labor. In the case of the agricultural attachés, if we were to consider association with a governmental agricultural agency as a manifestation of "agricultural-interest" identification the total for that group would have been even higher than is revealed in Table 23.

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Entrance into the Labor Attaché and
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From Tables 24 and 25 as well as from Fig. 1, it is evident that in both labor attaché subcategories the median ages (31-45) are favored for entrance purposes. These are the ages at which a person

Table 24. --Ages at which labor attachés and agricultural attachés enter the two respective foreign service programs (percentage)

Age	LA-Simul- taneous (N=50)	LA-Dept. Prior (N=31)	Total LA (N=81)	Agri. Attaché (N=100)
26-30	6	3	5	4
31-35	20	36	26	6
36-40	30	42	34	12
41-45	12	10	11	21
(Total 26-45)	68	91	76	43
46-50	4	6	5	15
51-55	14	3	10	15
56-60	0	0	0	4
61-65	0	0	0	5
(Total 46-65)	18	9	15	39
Unknown	14	0	9	18
(Total)	100	100	100	100

is equally expected to have had relevant experiences in addition to training or at which, if in government service, the individual has reached some sort of peak in his bureaucratic career. On the other hand, Table 24 as well as Fig. 1 indicate that the entrance ages into the agricultural attaché program are more evenly distributed

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Table 25. --LA-Simultaneous: age of entry into labor attaché program related to source of recruitment (last preceding professional/organizational affiliation), (absolute figures)

Age	Labor Dept.	US For- eignAid Agencies	Other Govt. Sources	Labor Mvmt.	Teach- ing/Ac- demic	Other	Not Known
26-30	0	0	1	0	2	0	0
31-35	1	1	3	3	1	1	0
36-40	2	2	3	5	2	1	0
41-45	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
(Total 26-45)	4	5	9	9	5	2	0
46-50	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
51-55	3	0	3	0	1	0	0
56-60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
61-65	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
(Total 46-65)	3	0	3	0	1	2	0
Unknown	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	10	5	12	9	6	4	4

and gives consideration to persons who in government employ are considered to be in the preretirement state (56-65). This might be the result of the fact that (a) the agricultural attaché program is considerably older than the labor attaché program and thus has had time to develop its own recruitment reserves and (b)--this is advanced as a suggestion--an agricultural attaché post may be given out as some sort of "reward" perhaps for long and "meritorious service" in the general field of agricultural affairs (governmental and private). However, a closer look at the graph in Fig. 1 would show that the age-of-entrance line of the agricultural attachés is much more like that

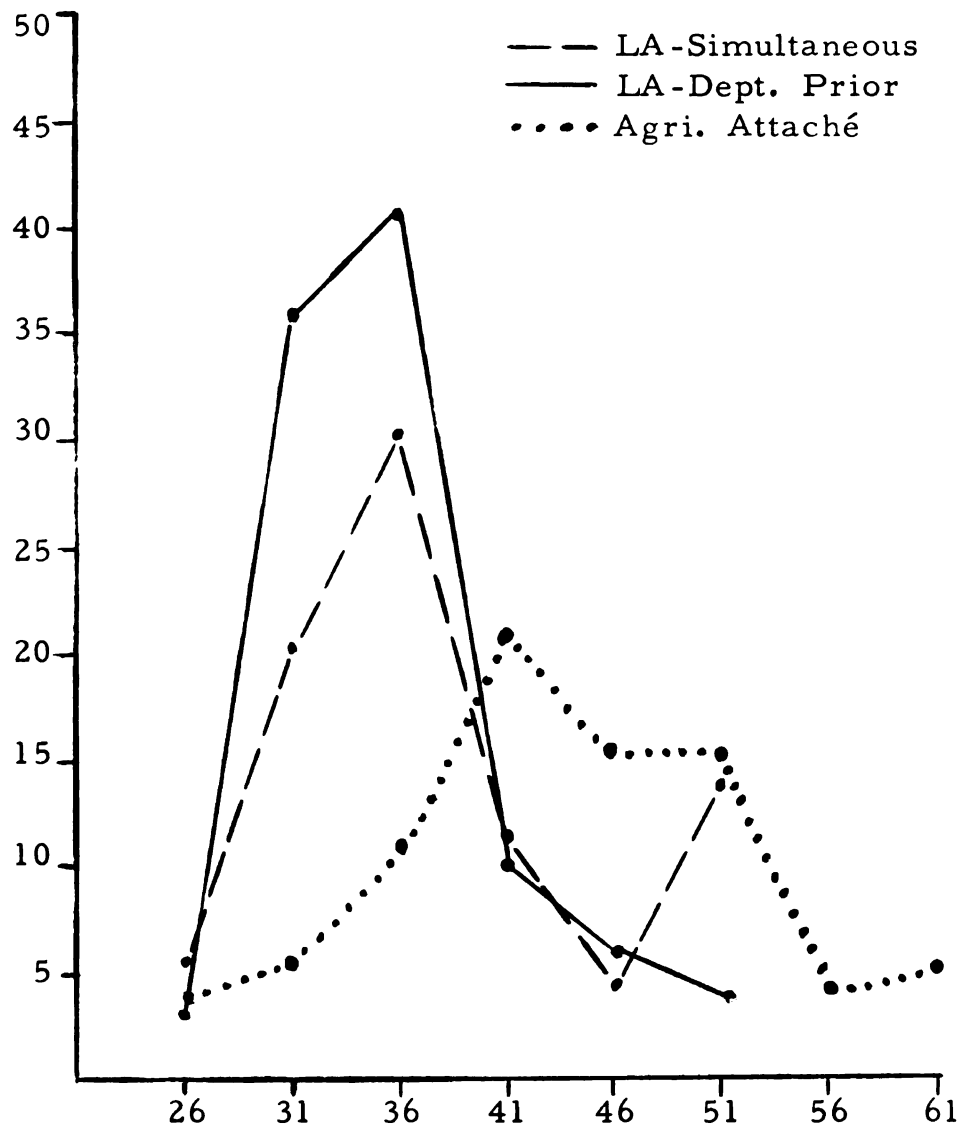


Fig. 1. --Ages at which labor attachés and agricultural attachés enter the respective Foreign Service program.

occurring in the "LA-Simultaneous" subcategory than in the "LA-Dept. Prior" subcategory. This would be explained by the fact that the agricultural attaché program, as well as the "LA-Simultaneous" subcategory in the labor attaché program, draw upon many persons who gained their qualifications for the jobs, their expertise if any, outside of the particular bureaucratic systems, while those who received labor attaché posts after prior service in the Foreign Service/State Department gain these in the course of normal bureaucratic career development in this organization. In fact, the "LA-Dept. Prior" curve in Fig. 1 confirms rather exactly to what one would expect "normal" bureaucratic career-patterns to be within a single bureaucratic system (such as Foreign Service/State Department). Within these patterns the labor attaché assignment is but a phase, often a passing one, reaching the officers concerned at a certain stage in their development. That this is so, in fact, is suggested by the testimony of a labor attaché who entered the program via the general Foreign Service and, as he confides, whose own interest in labor affairs resulted incidentally only from a "normal" career assignment in turbulent Italy. He writes:

Like my Foreign Service colleagues, I had been generally aware of this evolution of labor to the front ranks, but primarily from the peripheral perspective. My career has been eminently "normal" in having laid stress upon the more traditionally recognized specialties of consular, political, economic, commercial, and agricultural activities. The new status and broad ramifications of modern labor were only brought into truly sharp focus

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by an assignment in Italy, one of the major battlegrounds between communism and democratic freedom.¹¹

The concentration of labor attaché recruits from nongovernmental sources (such as the labor movement) in the younger and median age groups within the "LA-Simultaneous" subcategory might be explained by the unwillingness of older persons who may have already established "tenure" in their own organizations to abandon their positions for a perhaps adventurous but nevertheless uncertain career abroad. This uncertainty is implicit in the terms guiding the Foreign Service Reserve classification-category of the Foreign Service, the official classification usually offered at the start to new entrants into the labor attaché program from sources other than the Foreign Service /State Department. The Foreign Service Reserve was originally established as a pool of persons in possession of skills normally not available among the Foreign Service/State Department generalists. Assignment into this category is usually made on the assumption that the person so classified will, after a tour of duty, return to his non-Foreign Service employment, or--conversely--after having served a certain period of apprenticeship, he will move into the FSO category.

The Foreign Service Reserve category . . . implies temporary appointment which does not draw mature personnel in mid-career. Foreign Service Staff Corps assignments for officer-

¹¹ John C. Fuess, "My Two Years in Labor," Foreign Service Journal, XXX(June, 1953), p. 21.

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level positions have become virtually untenable since the Department of State removed professionals from its Foreign Service Staff Corps and uses this category primarily for administrative assistants and clerical personnel. It has been said that Foreign Service Reserve positions are too easy to terminate and the employees have no job security, while Foreign Service Staff Corps employees in officer positions are too difficult to remove and have too much job security.¹²

Yet, the upward swing of the "LA-Simultaneous" line in Fig. 1 between ages 46 and 51 indicates absence of tenure of the candidates from this age group in their non-Foreign Service occupations. The absence of older recruits from the trade union movement (Table 25) would thus point up the fact that people drawn into the labor attaché program directly from that source are either professionals in trade union employ, staff members, or persons active in what trade

¹²Robert Ellsworth Elder, The Policy Machine: The Department of State and American Foreign Policy (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1960), pp. 188-89. In smaller consular posts especially some FSS employees, particularly "old timers," still perform officer-level jobs, particularly in the absence of regular Foreign Service personnel on the post. Although as indicated by Mr. Elder and evidenced by the data presented above the Reserve is meant for persons of less mature age, labor attachés quite advanced in years were appointed, as we have seen, to the labor attaché program as Reserve Officers. In 1954 Congress allowed, under the terms of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, 500 lateral appointments. This was expanded in 1955 (Public Law 22, 84th Congress) to permit the State Department to make 1,250 additional lateral appointments to the Foreign Service Officers category from within and 40 from without the Department. In 1956 the State Department proposed to exempt from the 1,250 limitation those persons who served at the time as FSR officers and who completed their time limit within the Reserve. "The Department intends to make future lateral entrants serve a kind of apprenticeship as Foreign Service reserve officers for at least 3 years prior to entering the Foreign Service officer corps." U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Recruitment and Training for the Foreign Service of the United States, 85th Cong., 2d Sess., 1958, p. 13.

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unionists like to refer to as the "fringes" of the American labor movement, persons without rank-and-file following, without a "base," without established stature, but with sufficient "intellectual identification" with the broad labor movement. Everett M. Kassalow, himself a staff member of the AFL-CIO but one enjoying obvious prestige and security, has this to say about the type of person recruited to the labor attaché program directly from the labor movement:

. . . the American labor movement did not manage to send its very best people to the program. Obviously, if a man is good the unions want to keep him.

Q. What type of persons did the unions recommend then to the program?

A. All kinds of fringe people--researcher, education directors --they were attracted by the glamour of foreign service, by the career. However, the better people among them leave since the pay is not too good. It is a hell of a situation--some labor attachés have to import cars--they can bring in, I believe, a car a year, sell them on the open market in order to subsist.

Q. Is this the primary reason why the program does not attract good people as you say?

A. There are many other important reasons. The attitude of the regulars in the State Department and the Foreign Service, their perception of labor, and not in the least also the competition between the AFL group and the CIO for appointments. All this caused the caliber of labor attachés to go down recently.¹³

¹³ Personal interview, Solidarity House, Detroit, Mich., Nov. 4, 1957. Foreign Service salaries are, of course, a perennial point of contention between the State Department and Congressmen who are economy-minded or generally not too sympathetic to the Foreign Service. When asked "In your opinion, how does the pay-grade and rank of the labor attaché relative to others within the diplomatic mission affect his performance?" (2.06, Appendix I), 22.1% of the knowledges on our panel responded "greatly"; 34.7% answered "somewhat"; 7.4% maintained that it has "no effect"; 35.8% had no opinion on this matter or recorded "blank."

These observations by Everett Kassalow on the quality of the personnel who came from the labor movement to the labor attaché program were corroborated by similar observations by others. Some of these were cited at various points in this study.¹⁴ Yet it is precisely the type of labor movement "professional" that our panel of knowledgeable, as indicated in the preceding chapter, perceived as that most likely to succeed on the job of labor attaché. This perhaps may subsequently mean that the professional affiliated with a labor movement organization does not "match up" in terms of quality to the professional drawn from other (governmental or nongovernmental) sources where they have had opportunity to develop more "professionalized" and relevant skills. However, there is no real basis for such assertion since the "ideal" type labor attaché envisioned by the knowledgeable would be in possession of the skills obtained through education and training, and ought to be found at the same time within the

¹⁴Professor John P. Windmuller writes: "It is more than merely unfortunate that in every successive postwar national-government administration not only jobs with limited responsibility but also some positions of considerable importance have been filled with unqualified labor personnel. Only rarely have the incumbents had the sagacity or courage to perceive their own shortcomings and--if per chance the opportunity presented itself--to return to their former organizations. The responsibility for this state of affairs is, however, clearly not theirs. It must, instead, be shared in roughly equal proportions by the labor movement for sponsoring unqualified candidates and by government administration leaders for succumbing to their pressures." John P. Windmuller, "Labor: A Partner in American Foreign Policy?", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCL (Nov., 1963), p. 113.

organizations of the labor movement. This, in turn, leads to a conclusion that among this preferred group of trade unionists the less able or the less successful were drawn to the labor attaché program.

Status Distinctions within the Foreign Service

The differences between the various classification-groups within the State Department and Foreign Service are substantial. "Class-stratification" is particularly pointed in the Foreign Service, often bringing about personnel clashes and cleavages. Even a casual reading of the "Letters to the Editor" column in any given number of issues of The Foreign Service Journal makes this situation quite clear. Although often performing the same functions, officers belonging to the different Foreign Service classification-categories (i.e., Foreign Service Officers, Foreign Service Staff, Foreign Service Reserve) do not enjoy equal prestige and status. In some posts, inclusion or noninclusion on the diplomatic list may spell the difference between contentment and frustration, between feelings of integration or alienation. Foreign Service Staff members are normally excluded from the preferential diplomatic list which means not only exclusion from some official parties and receptions--and this is what much of social life in a small post may consist of--but they are also excluded from certain material benefits granted to the "regulars" (import privileges, immunity from some local statutes, etc.). When groups of people of

such varied and distinct positions on the ladder of status and privilege are confined to a small post, in close interaction with each other, and especially if isolated from an alien--if not hostile--environment, life between the walls of the diplomatic mission can become wrought with suspicions, petty jealousies, gossip and backbiting. In addition, distinctions between the various classifications as to pay-grade, advancement, assignment-preferences, as well as retirement benefits, are equally great. In fact, the Hoover Commission made particular note of these conditions, as well as of the rather restrictive policies guiding transfers from a lower service category into a higher one.¹⁵ And in 1954 the Wriston Committee (named so after its chairman, Henry M. Wriston, then President of Brown University), after an investigation of the State Department and Foreign Service, recommended among other things the integration of the personnel of the Foreign Service Officer corps, the higher echelons of the Foreign Service Staff corps, and a large portion of the Department's staff into a single personnel

¹⁵ Harvey H. Bundy and James Grafton Rogers, The Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Affairs: A Report with Recommendations Prepared for the Commission on the Organization of the Government, Hoover Commission, Task Force Report on Foreign Affairs: Appendix II (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Jan., 1949), pp. 115-116.

system, recommendations which as previously indicated are not yet fully implemented.¹⁶

Most labor attachés who enter the Foreign Service and the labor attaché program simultaneously are placed in the Foreign Service Reserve (FSR) classification. Although from the outset this classification usually grants the officer a higher rank and pay-grade than that enjoyed by many with longer service (especially in the FSS classification category), nevertheless it has its drawbacks as already pointed out. Having been established for the purpose of accommodating various "experts" for which the Foreign Service has supposedly a temporary need, continued service in this classification-category is limited to four years.¹⁷ To the lower ranking "professional" on the staff of a labor organization in search of a career and family security, in search of a niche, the Foreign Service Reserve offers a rather risky opportunity. Entry into the Foreign Service through the

¹⁶ Other Wriston Committee proposals were: an expanded system of recruitment so as to render the new integrated Foreign Service more representative of the "American people"; an overhaul of the in-service training system, etc. The original Committee recommendations were supplemented by additional proposals made in three subsequent audit reports (of Oct. 1954, Feb. 1955, and Dec. 1955). U.S., Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Recruitment and Training for the Foreign Service of the United States, 1958, pp. 7-8.

¹⁷ Elder, pp. 188, 195.

Reserve may develop into a career but it may also dissolve in disappointment, with a few years spent overseas which may or may not help him in re-establishment of old organizational and friendship ties at home. Yet, for the very reasons stated above it attracts those within the labor movement who have least to lose by severing their old organizational ties to search for new horizons. Paradoxically, the Foreign Service Reserve, the least secure of the Foreign Service classifications, has the greatest appeal to those who need security the most. These are the "expendables" within the employ of the American trade union movement.

Labor Attachés and Foreign Service Status

A surprising proportion of those who entered the Foreign Service and labor attaché program simultaneously with an FSR classification remained in the service beyond the four-year limit (See Table 32), having moved into a permanent classification category and, quite often, into the "elitist" FSO group. They were brought into the Foreign Service Officer corps laterally, after having passed an oral examination.¹⁸ Thus, a look at the service-classification-distribution

¹⁸ When a labor attaché moves from FSR to the FSO category by lateral entry he is required to take an oral examination if he applies for the FSO-3 rating or higher. Paradoxically, if he applies for lower FSO rank he must undergo a written, as well as oral, examination. (Information derived through personal interview with Mr. Oliver Peterson, State Dept., Africa desk, Wash. D.C., Dec. 18, 1958.) The

among labor attachés might suggest the importance which the State Department attaches to the labor attaché program. It might also throw light upon speculation as to whether a labor attaché post is to be considered a "blind alley" for Foreign Service officers or, on the other hand, an effective avenue for advancement, especially for those in the "inferior" FSS classification-category (see Tables 26 and 27).

Table 26. --Service-classification distribution among labor attachés and assistant labor attachés as of December 1957

Service-Classification	Number	Percentage
Foreign Service Officer	37	46
Foreign Service Staff	15	19
Foreign Service Reserve	19	23
Unknown or yet unclassified	10	12
Total	81	100

Table 27. --Service-classification distribution of labor attachés in LA-Dept. Prior subcategory at time of entering labor attaché program

Service-Classification	Number	Percentage
Foreign Service Officer	15	48
Foreign Service Staff	9	29
Foreign Service Reserve	7	23
Total	31	100

lowest FSO rank is that of 8, the highest that of 1. Consideration is being given by the State Department to the possibility of obtaining a change in legislation which would allow the appointment directly to class FSO-7 of persons who have successfully passed the FSO-8 examination but who have backgrounds which would warrant higher rank.

In fact, since the assumption of office by President Kennedy some labor attachés have advanced rather rapidly in the Foreign Service hierarchy. While in the past, under the administration of President Eisenhower, labor attachés have complained that "a labor attaché has no chance of ever becoming an ambassador," at least two labor attachés have achieved ambassadorial rank with the change of administrations--one of them (Ben S. Stephansky) directly from the labor attaché ranks,¹⁹ and the other (Samuel David Berger) through intermediate service as a Foreign Service "generalist." Other labor attachés or former labor attachés have reached the rank of Consul General and/or First Secretary of Embassy with corresponding promotions in FSO rank.

Since agricultural attachés come under regular civil service (GS) grade-classifications, no comparison in this respect is feasible between that service and the labor attaché program which is scaled by Foreign Service classifications. From Tables 26 and 27 it is evident, however, that insofar as the State Department is concerned

¹⁹ Immediately prior to his designation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Bolivia (in June of 1961), Ben Stephansky was detailed to the Brookings Institution for special research. He is the son-in-law of John Edelman, a retired "legislative representative" of a trade union organization. When Mr. Edelman retired in 1959, so many legislators turned up at the testimonial dinner arranged in his honor that a one-minute speaking rule had to be imposed. "Random Notes in Washington," The New York Times, March 9, 1959.

the labor attaché program is given "fair" treatment and is assigned officers whom the Department considers to be of higher "quality" (and classification). Thus complaints advanced by the specialized government agencies and departments that their own needs were being serviced by Foreign Service officers of the "inferior" classification-categories would seem to be unwarranted so far as the labor attaché program is concerned. In fact, not only did the Department assign to that program its "elitist" Foreign Service element, but officers in the program were not deprived of opportunities for advancement. If anything, many who entered the labor attaché program as members of an "inferior" classification-category gained relatively rapid (for the Foreign Service) advancement and moved on to a higher classification-category. Thus, if the performance of these officers should for any reason be unsatisfactory and if the goals set for the program should remain unachieved, this would not be due to the fact that the State Department and Foreign Service assigned its "second best" people to the labor attaché program but perhaps because even its "very best" (by Department standards) lack the background-qualifications necessary for the type of job--or because the objective conditions discussed previously hinder the goal-achievement. Among these conditions of considerable importance may be one which was only hinted at here--and that is the attitude of the administration which happens to be in power in Washington toward "labor" in general and

the labor attaché program in particular. As already indicated, several labor attachés complained, for example, about the lack of opportunities for labor attachés to advance in service hierarchy under the conditions of a Republican administration. Others spoke of loss of zeal and enthusiasm which presumably existed before but which dissipated as the Department came under the helm of John Foster Dulles, President Eisenhower's Secretary of State. One informant in the Labor Department said:

The program and the personnel have deteriorated I think because of the attitude of the Republican administration as well as because of George Meany's principled rigidity, stubbornness you may call it. Outside people are barred entry into the program.²⁰

A labor attaché of labor movement background voiced an opinion heard from other labor attachés as well in such words:

The drive and the enthusiasm has faded behind the program. Perhaps this is due to the fact that we have a Republican administration and labor is tied to the opposition party.²¹

The Labor Attache Program: Obstacles and Problems

It is not the purpose of this study to evaluate the program in

²⁰Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., Nov. 14, 1958.

²¹Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., Dec. 18, 1958.

terms of its success or lack of success in the process of goal-achievement. Rather, the objective here is to examine to what extent certain group expectations relative to the program have been fulfilled or have been frustrated. Nevertheless, conditions which may block or aid the operation of the program are of some importance here since their perception on the part of the interested parties may affect career choices, recruitment, attachments, etc. Surely, as is the personnel of any government program, members of the labor attaché program, too, are sensitive to changes and fluctuations, however slight, of the "political climate" in Washington. Hostile attitude in the White House, on the Cabinet level, or in Congress affect appropriations, the fortunes of officials, high and low. On the basis of our findings, if the program did not develop in expected fashion this might be due, in addition to the possible shortcomings in the quality or type of personnel, to a number of possible factors:

1. Originally envisioned by the groups involved as an action program, it may have bogged down in bureaucratic routine;
2. Lack of understanding or sympathy for the program on the part of the political administration in power may frustrate the development of the program and hinder individual attachés in developing their full potential;
3. Subterranean competition between the Departments of Labor and State, although the former as a whole was willing to take the

"back seat"--this, however, did not prevent quiet, subdued warfare among officials thus producing the total effect of placing the program between the pulls and hauls of conflicting interests;

4. Competition within the trade union movement over access to the program and to patronage may have hurt the quality of the personnel drawn from this quarter, as well as minimized the impact of the labor movement as a whole on the program, with the subsequent result that the program became, as if by default, more bureaucratized and routinized than otherwise would have been the case;

5. The reluctance of certain elected labor leaders to promote the program or certain of its aspects (including personnel) lest they be placed under obligation toward an administration with which they had dealings in other areas more important to the American labor movement;

6. The unwillingness on the part of labor organizations to part with its most talented staff members, and the appeal which the program held instead to the less talented and thus less secure and more vulnerable "trade unionists";

7. Conditions of work and payscale may have been a deterrent in attracting higher quality personnel;

8. To many persons of talent service abroad has lost--after years overseas--its erstwhile appeal, to others the glitter of diplomatic life has dimmed, with the result that security and return to

familiar surroundings gained priority so that they either were reluctant to accept labor attaché positions or left the Service after some period of time (one former labor attaché when asked why he left the program claimed that he was afraid that he might end up a chronic alcoholic what with the availability of free or inexpensively obtained liquor).

However, I think one of the main reasons for the feeling of disappointment in the program was that the type envisioned as best suited for the program either did not "make it" or, if he did, began to look toward the greater glamour, greater freedom and prestige, as well as increased security which comes with transfer to the "elitist," generalist Foreign Service. Commitment to the Service has replaced commitment to the program even among those of labor movement background. Concern for the cause has been replaced, it seems, by greater concern for personal integration into the "team" and for personal career. And the more gifted among the recruits from labor apparently have made the transition quite successfully and, thus, as far as they personally are concerned, the "program" was a success regardless of the difficulties enumerated and regardless of whether or not the program's own goals were met.

CHAPTER VII

APPOINTMENTS AND TRAINING

The Trade Unions and Labor Attaché Personnel Selection

To those who came to the labor attaché program with prior experience in the Foreign Service, State Department or even Labor Department, a labor attaché assignment is either the end or only a phase in a bureaucratic career. The road by which those who come to the labor attaché program from without the government bureaucracy is less clear. It already has been pointed out that American trade unions would like to have a voice in the selection process--and observers assume that the unions, in fact, do possess such a voice. A Business Week article cited in a previous chapter expresses such assumption: "If you covet such a post, the best way to get it is to have both AFL and CIO endorsement."¹

The nature and the extent of participation of the organized

¹"Labor Salesmen for U.S.," Business Week, Jan. 26, 1952; supra, chap. iv, n. 27-28.

American trade union movement in the recruitment and selection of candidates who do come from a labor background is not quite clear. Interviews conducted would indicate that unions do recommend persons whom they consider to be "worthy" and qualified candidates. It would be erroneous to assume, however, that the American trade union movement represents even in such matters a cohesive and monolithic group. Differences exist with respect to "type"-preferences, or to the preference of one kind of labor-background over another. Among union officials who may have a voice in the selection, disagreements exist on the above-mentioned grounds as well as on considerations of a purely personal nature. Who within the American trade union movement, then, is likely to have a greater voice and who a lesser in these matters? Whose candidate would have a better chance of obtaining a labor attaché job? Interviews conducted with knowledgeable persons in the union movement as well as in the government agencies concerned indicate that among trade unionists influence in matters of selection lies (a) with the top echelon union leaders whose voices, regardless of how rarely raised in matters of personnel selection, would nevertheless carry weight (e.g., George Meany, Walter Reuther, James Carey, Joseph A. Beirne, etc.), and (b) with the union officials in formal charge of or primarily interested in the increasingly complex foreign involvements and activities of the American trade union movement (union officials such as Irving Brown,

George P. Delaney, Jay Lovestone, Victor Reuther, Serafino Romualdi, Michael Ross and others whose individual importance in international activities of the unions varies from time to time).² These persons, however, although presently functioning in a merged organization came to it directly from the AF of L and CIO respectively--organizations different in philosophy and outlook, each with its own established international affairs set-up which in the past were often in disagreement. Because the two respective international affairs "shops" were both oriented to the same interest-areas, the field of operation became somewhat "crowded"--a situation tending to generate some competition and subsequent personal animosities and rivalries. These were transplanted into the merged (AFL-CIO) organization, as part of the scramble for accommodation in the newly created organizational structure. This prompted Joseph A. Loftus, The New York Times labor correspondent, to write that:

. . . the Reuthers and their friends make no secret of their contempt for Jay Lovestone, one-time Secretary of the American Communist party and Mr. Meany's adviser on foreign affairs

 Reuther sources . . . think that Mr. Lovestone has "plants" in the State Department, Meany sources think the

² Serafino Romualdi and Michael Ross have died since the completion of the field work for this study.

Reuther brothers have been able to "plant" friends in United States Government labor assignments abroad.³

Among officials serving in Washington, as well as abroad, in the area of international affairs those of labor background are still identified by their pregovernmental labor affiliation as "AFL men" or "CIO men." Each group maintains its own group loyalty. In situations of organizational (including personnel) crises, the members of the former "AFL-group" will support one another against the "ex-CIO" group and vice versa. When threatened by nonlabor people they may join, though, in defense of a "labor man" in trouble. However, the assertions made in the above cited dispatch by Mr. Loftus are offered here merely as illustration of a situation which might possibly exist in relation to the American trade union movement's influence upon the selection process for labor attachés. It would indeed be difficult in a serious study to verify or refute such assertions. Moreover, instead of clarifying the question as to precisely whose influence within the labor movement might be of greater import, The New

³ Joseph A. Loftus, "U.S. Labor Rifts Apparent Abroad," special dispatch from Paris, The New York Times, Oct. 20, 1957. Jay Lovestone is concurrently with his AFL-CIO job on the staff of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and advisor to David Dubinsky, President of the ILGWU. He left the Communist Party in the thirties and took along a sizable faction known as "Lovestonites." Although initially his dispute with the CP-USA was over details of intra-organizational policy as well as general tactics, Mr. Lovestone has since broken entirely with the Communist cause. It is said, perhaps in jest, that Mr. Lovestone claims no longer to be even a "Lovestonite."

York Times report tends to be confusing. It is suggested, therefore, that an answer to this question, speculative and "gossipy" as it must be, should be left to others.

On the other hand, it is recorded that the candidate for the first labor attaché post was chosen upon the personal recommendation of Isidore Lubin who at that time, 1943, was high in the hierarchy of the Roosevelt administration and close to the White House.⁴

The extent of existing competition between the AFL and the CIO --despite the merger of the labor federations--over Foreign Service appointments is difficult to determine. It is equally difficult to ascertain which of the two groups is more successful in "planting" its people in the State Department and/or U.S. government assignments abroad. That competition exists was made apparent repeatedly in the course of personal interviews with informants in the government as well as in the labor movement. It was often suggested to this author that such competition over appointments is one of the reasons why "good labor movement people" are kept out of the labor attaché program. While it was said that Mr. Loftus may exaggerate a bit, it was

⁴J. Rives Childs, American Foreign Service (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1948), p. 105. Mr. Lubin was appointed Labor Commissioner of the State of New York by Averell Harriman upon the latter's assumption of the governorship of the State in 1955.

acknowledged nevertheless, that the "in-fighting" he writes about does exist. As one informant, a CIO executive, pointed out in response to a question relative to the forms this competition assumes:

It expresses itself in original appointments and with respect to the assignment to choice posts. When a choice labor attaché spot opens--let's say, in London or Rome--Lovestone, of course, presses for his people.⁵

Other informants intimated that officials of the labor movement, including George Meany, "block" or veto overseas assignments as labor attachés of persons with labor movement background of whom they do not approve or whom they do not like, for whatever reason. One labor attaché who was kept in Washington for a prolonged period of time between assignments, eager to move on but without a definite post in sight, blamed his plight directly on the AFL people who he said do not care for him nor for his record on the last post to which he was assigned. He said: "They do not like my style. It reminds them too much of the old CIO operation." Prior to his joining the labor attaché program, he had been a CIO union organizer in the South.

⁵Personal interview, name withheld, International Labor Center, St. John's College, Annapolis, Oct. 7, 1957.

The Labor Department and Labor
Attaché Recruitment and Personnel
Administration

As pointed out, the Labor Department serves as a recruitment channel for the labor attaché program and is, at least, consulted with regard to appointments. A memorandum by Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs, George C. Lodge, reads in part as follows:

Many of the vacancies which come to our attention are with the International Labor Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations. Occasionally, specialized labor positions in other international or United States Government agencies will be included. . .

Since the Department of Labor will not be the actual employer of the individuals we are recruiting, we do not have control over the selections the agencies or organizations ultimately make. We assure you, however, that we will consider fully any applications sent to us and will do our utmost to assure full consideration by the employing agency or organization.⁶

Since the Labor Department feels, however, that it has a special interest in and responsibility for the labor attaché program, the officials immediately concerned with the operation of the program within the Labor Department would like to see their Department gaining a stronger voice in the selection process of labor attachés.

⁶U.S. Dept. of Labor, "Memorandum on Overseas Employment Opportunities" Washington, n.d., p. 1.

As James F. Taylor, Director of the Office of International Personnel and Management of the U.S. Department of Labor, pointed out:

We sit on the board of the Foreign Service, the BFS, and we are part of the other boards, including the selection-promotion boards which are created by the BFS. There the Labor Department is involved although we have only an observer on the Selection Board.⁷

In addition, the Labor Department is called upon to prepare evaluations on the performance of Foreign Service officers concerned with labor affairs. For example, in the first quarter of 1956 officials in the Labor Department prepared forty-one such individual personnel evaluations which were subsequently "inserted in the personnel files of these officers and are being used by the Staff Corps Promotion Panels . . . screening nominees for promotion."⁸ In addition, the Department prepares written instructions to guide Foreign Service Inspectors in evaluating the "labor work" done at the posts assigned to them for inspection. These instructions are incorporated in each inspector's Briefing Book.⁹

⁷ Personal interview, Wash., D.C., Dec. 24, 1956.

⁸ U.S. Dept. of Labor, "Quarterly Report of the Office of International Labor Affairs on the International Activities of the Department of Labor: First Quarter: January, February and March 1956," Washington, 1956, mimeographed, p. 6.

⁹ Ibid.

The Foreign Service personnel system requires that after a specified term a Foreign Service officer's record be reviewed and he either be promoted or "selected-out." The Labor Department has a "special interest" in both these possibilities, especially where labor attachés are concerned. In 1958, the Labor Department and the other member agencies of the Board of the Foreign Service (the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce) were "given assurances that they would be appropriately involved in implementing the . . . regulations."¹⁰ In that year, for example, in addition to the official representative of the Labor Department participating in the Selection Board (Leo R. Werts, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs), seven other Labor Department staff members were serving as observers or alternate observers on the various promotion panels.¹¹ The Department also has a quota of "public members" it nominates to serve on the Boards, as required by the Selection Board precepts. The Labor Department's nominees as "public members" are usually drawn from the American trade union movement.

However, as indicated many times in this study, the State

¹⁰ Office of International Labor Affairs, U.S. Dept. of Labor, O.I. L.A. Memorandum, IX (Oct., 1958), p. 2.

¹¹ Each pay-grade level has its own selection-promotion panel reviewing the records of the officers in the given rank. For example, "Board 'A'", deals with officers holding rank of FSO-1, the highest in the Foreign Service; "Board 'B'" is for FSO-2; "C" for FSO-3, etc. Ibid., pp. 2-3.

Department is rather resentful of the Labor Department's involvement in what it considers its own organizational affairs and thus the need for repeated official State Department assurances to the Labor Department regarding continuous cooperation, or at least consultation.¹²

In order to implement the recommendations of the Wriston Committee as these relate to the "labor specialty" in the Foreign Service, a State Department/Labor Department study group met to consider means of improving the labor attaché (and labor reporting) program, including the matter of "positive recruiting" into the program. Apparently, the officers of the State Department were only reluctant participants in the joint venture since the job of final drafting of a plan for "Staffing Labor Attaché and Labor Reporting Positions in the Foreign Service" was left entirely to the Labor Department. The plan, once completed, was forwarded by Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs J. Ernest Wilkins to Loy Henderson, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration. It incorporated the goals and expectations of the Labor Department group--goals and expectations with which, according to Labor Department informants, State was only 80% in agreement. The plan provided among other things that:

¹² Feelings of State Department resentments were vividly reflected in some of the interviews conducted there and cited throughout this study.

. . . all appropriate recruitment sources will be systematically tapped and that ultimately new Labor Attachés will be recruited from the labor movement, government labor-agencies; and schools and colleges.¹³

In Search of "Ground-floor" Recruits and Distinctiveness

The suggestion for recruiting young "labor specialists" into the labor program at the bottom rank, through the Class 8 examination system, was the most novel and, potentially, the most ambitious of the recommendations advanced. If successful, this could ultimately transform the labor attaché program what with its own trained cadres and reserves; it could contribute toward the development of the program into a distinct labor foreign service complete with a specially designed entrance procedure for young persons specifically trained for such service. The "Plan" states:

Until now, no concerted positive effort has been made to recruit young labor specialists to enter the Service through the Class 8 examination. In the past, except for a few rare and isolated cases, this recruitment source has yielded no young officers who have specialized background for labor assignments in the Foreign Service.

A steady supply of young potential labor officers can be recruited through the FSO-8 examination if (a) a systematic effort is made, through Universities, trade union contacts, etc., to find the qualified individuals and (b) the qualified young candidates can be given some assurance that theirs will be a labor career in the Service. The latter point is particularly important.

¹³"A Plan for Staffing Labor Attachés and Labor Reporting Positions in the Foreign Service," Washington, n.d., mimeographed, p. 1.

There are many outstanding young people who are strongly motivated to pursue a career in the international labor field who would apply for the FSO-8 examination if there was a likelihood that they could specialize in labor in the Foreign Service. . . .

In cooperation with the Foreign Service Board of Examiners,, the Foreign Service Labor Staffing committee would, through positive recruitment efforts, encourage a limited, pre-determined number of these candidates to take the examinations each year.¹⁴

What gave renewed hope to the possibilities that such recruitment may yield tangible results--in terms of skilled, career-oriented young personnel for labor service abroad--probably was the establishment of the Institute of International Industrial and Labor Relations (headed by Professor John P. Windmuller) at the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations (a unit of the State University of New York at Cornell University) and of a special program for Overseas and International Labor Studies (headed by Philip M. Kaiser)¹⁵

¹⁴Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁵Mr. Philip Kaiser's career is perhaps in itself illustrative of the career possibilities existing in the field of "international labor," governmental as well as private. On the staff of foreign economic aid agencies during and after World War II, he joined the State Department for a brief period, then became assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs, director of the Office of International Labor Affairs, was promoted to Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs. After Eisenhower's presidential victory, Mr. Kaiser left the federal government to become labor advisor to the Committee for Free Europe (Radio Free Europe) but joined the administration of Democratic Governor Harriman in Albany, New York, as special assistant. When Nelson A. Rockefeller, the Republican candidate for the New York State governorship, defeated

at the Foreign Service School of American University. However, when labor attachés and labor advisors in the State Department were asked what they think of such proposal, their responses were less than enthusiastic. One of them expressed his doubts in these words:

Yes, I have heard about this. A corps of labor Foreign Service officers. . . . It was thought that it might give the program prestige and help attract young people who would be trained for this specialized service. Well, I take a cynical view on this. An entrance level examination process would only formalize the entrance of children of trade union leaders. They, the children of trade union big shots, will be the ones we will get.¹⁶

And another State Department official concerned with labor affairs stated his objections as follows:

College kids entering immediately into the labor specialty would be under handicaps as far as gaining the cooperation of the regular Foreign Service staff in the field. Besides, anyone who learns about labor in an institutionalized manner, from published sources mainly, would work under a handicap.¹⁷

the Democratic incumbent, Mr. Kaiser became professor of "international labor relations" at American University--not for long, however, since with the return of a Democratic administration in Washington he returned to the State Department. In 1961 he was appointed ambassador to Senegal and to Mauritania.

¹⁶ Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., Dec. 17, 1958.

¹⁷ Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., Dec. 16, 1958.

Although the plan held out the promise of adding prestige to the labor attaché program as well as distinctiveness, those interviewed among the labor attachés and labor advisors of labor movement background were the most opposed to it. Their opposition is perhaps attributable to fears that, if implemented, the plan may diminish their position as well as their own claims to the "monoploy" of labor expertise within the Foreign Service, derived mainly not "from published sources" but from practical activity and experience. Those of nonlabor movement background within the State Department/Foreign Service who were personally queried about this suspected that by making the labor attaché program too specialized it would resemble the Agricultural Foreign Service and that the Labor Department, in consequence, might hold out a claim to greater control over the program. They feared that young "college kids" who would enter the Foreign Service destined from the outset for a career in labor would be placed in a disadvantageous position within the mission "teams" and might react more keenly than others in the labor program to existing "inequalities." Generally, however, labor attachés of nonlabor movement background (those who came to the program via prior service in the State Department/Foreign Service) were less definite about their opposition to the plan. One wrote:

I don't think it is a good idea. However, encouragement of college graduates interested in labor economics to enter the Foreign Service is an excellent idea. . . . They are needed to fill

the large gap which the Labor Attaché program can otherwise never fill (owing to existing personnel and budgetary limitations) --particularly in the underdeveloped countries (a vital area expanding almost weekly). On the other hand, coming up through other jobs (consular, etc.) in the beginning ranks of the Foreign Service is not to be dismissed as FSO snobbery. There is more to overseas service and life than expertise; it takes adjustment (individual and family) to learn to live with foreign attitudes, foods, facilities, etc.¹⁸

Another attaché had this to say about the plan:

It is a rare university graduate, coming in as a labor attaché on the basis of a special exam, who could be really effective. Let him get some genuine experience first--in government, in labor, in research. I shy away from formalizing the program too much.¹⁹

In the course of many an interview one sensed that although the plan for recruiting young college and university graduates immediately to the program may increase the prestige of the program (in the sense that its distinctiveness would be underlined), the individual officers may suffer some loss of prestige if the program became separated somewhat from the general Foreign Service and fell under greater Labor Department control--a possibility which might arise with distinctiveness and greater specialization.

¹⁸ Written response to questions submitted during academic year 1958-59.

¹⁹ Written response to questions submitted during academic year 1958-59.

When the question regarding the advisability of recruiting young university and college graduates for the labor attaché program through a specially designed examination process was posed to the panel of knowledgeable--they were asked to indicate the most desirable sources of recruitment of which an FSO-8-type examination process was one (3.03, Appendix I)--only 16.8% of all respondents chose this recruitment avenue, as compared with 17.9% in favor of recruitment from established general Foreign Service personnel and 48.5% in favor of the American labor movement as a source of labor attaché recruitment.²⁰ When the panel's responses are tabulated by occupation, it develops that the plan received warmest endorsement from the trade union group (23.5% of the panel members of the labor movement were in favor), followed by 18.5% by those in education, 18.2% by those in business and professions, and 11.1% by those in the Labor Department itself. Interestingly enough, none in the State Department or in other government agencies thought much of this source as a recruitment possibility. One suspects that in the Labor Department group in the panel those in favor of the proposal were the career civil service Labor Department officials concerned directly with the program rather than others who may have

²⁰Supra, chap. v, especially Table 4.

conflicting loyalties (e.g., between the labor movement and the Labor Department, etc.).

"Counsellor of Embassy for Labor Affairs": In Search of Special Career Goals

Similarly, in an effort to raise the prestige of the labor attaché program and make service in it more attractive, the "Plan for Staffing" envisioned the establishment of a position of "Counsellor of Embassy for Labor Affairs." To wit:

An important element in the total plan is the Counsellor of Embassy for Labor Affairs rank that should be available to the most senior and outstanding Labor Attachés. It should be possible for labor specialists to reach the level of FSO-1 or FSO-2 while they are working in the specialty.

In the largest posts, where the principal labor officer is responsible for policy guidance and supervision of a program that affects all major Embassy units, it is appropriate that he report directly to the Ambassador and that he not be subordinated to either the Counsellor of Embassy for Economic Affairs or the Counsellor of Embassy for Political Affairs. It is appropriate that the principal labor officer in such posts as London, Rome, Paris, Bonn, Tokyo, New Delhi, and Mexico City have the Counsellor of Embassy for Labor Affairs rank.²¹

If realized such a plan--even to a greater extent than a plan to recruit candidates for labor attachés from the ground level--perhaps would establish the program as a distinct foreign service organization

²¹"A Plan for Staffing Labor Attaché and Labor Reporting Positions in the Foreign Service," p. 5.

and, subsequently, maximize the conditions which may give legitimacy to Labor Department's possible claims. The State Department, as was seen, maintains that the labor attaché program is primarily "political" and thus should come under State Department jurisdiction even though, formally, the labor attaché operates out of the "specialized-functional," economic affairs section. This plan--which would free the labor officer not only from the control of the political officer of the Embassy (the Counsellor for Political Affairs) but also would "liberate" him from the economics officer (the Counsellor for Economic Affairs) and would bring him up to par with these two officers, dealing directly with the ambassador, the Chief of Mission--would place the labor attaché in a status similar to that of the agricultural attaché with respect to existing channels of command in the field. Perhaps some insights into Labor Department intentions may be derived from the following exchange:

- Q. It is my impression that the State Department contends that the Labor Department's interest in foreign affairs is limited to matters of economic and labor conditions and so on. How do you feel about this?
- A. How could anyone strictly departmentalize an interest in foreign affairs? True, we are primarily concerned with labor statistics, economic conditions--on the surface, non-political matters--but these matters carry far-reaching political implications. Unlike the Agriculture Department our emphasis has been of political nature all along, really. The Agriculture Department's interest in foreign affairs is primarily one of finding markets for American agricultural products, of selling American surplus goods and crops. In fact, Wolf Ladejinsky [Agricultural Attaché in Saigon, relieved from his post by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra

Taft Benson] bucked Department of Agriculture policy by being politically oriented--but by being so he probably pleased the State Department. He is what I consider an ideal attaché, Ladejinsky. . . .²²

Whenever this topic of division of functions came up in interviews with State Department officials the question of legislative mandate was raised by respondents. For example:

Well, could you tell me what their [Labor Department's] legislative mandate is? Is the Labor Department in a policy-making position in the area of foreign affairs? Of course not. The labor attaché engages in economic reporting and in the gathering of political information. Now, the Labor Department may have an interest, I grant you--a technical interest--in the economic aspects of the reports, in the questions of working conditions, wages, labor laws, etc.--but the interest of the State Department is overall, general and political.²³

As if in rebuttal to these contentions, one Labor Department official directly concerned with the labor attaché program, maintained in response to a direct question, "Do you feel that the Labor Department has legislative authorization to engage in foreign affairs?":

Yes, and especially as the Labor Department understands it, with regard to the activities of the labor attachés. The Foreign Service Act of 1946 gives the Labor Department a voice on the

²²Personal interview, name withheld, Labor Dept., Wash., D.C., Dec. 20, 1956.

²³Personal interview, Daniel Goot, Labor Advisor, State Dept., Wash., D.C., Jan. 3, 1957.

Board of the Foreign Service. You see, the State Department thinks that the Foreign Service is the foreign operations arm of the State Department--but we here at the Labor Department are of the opinion that the Foreign Service officer is an agent of the United States government. The ambassador is the representative of the President and not of the Secretary of State--this is recognized by protocol as evidenced at receptions abroad. The ambassador as Presidential representative comes before the Secretary of State. Part B of the Foreign Service Act gave the Labor Department a foot in the Foreign Service door--in an advisory capacity at least.²⁴

The arguments advanced by the Labor Department may give the impression of trying cautiously, timidly, to broaden somewhat its scope of involvement in the program. Concessions granted by the State Department are chalked up as achievements and proudly recorded in memoranda and reports by the Labor Department. Although, as suggested by the Labor Department, the State Department ought to be pleased with the increased "politicization" of the functional attaches (and it was suggested that the State Department was "probably pleased with Ladejinsky"), it would appear from this study that the State Department is not "pleased" at all with the attempts to encroach upon its territory. It views foreign policy-making and international politics as strictly its own domain, trying to designate some types of foreign affairs activities as "political" and others as "nonpolitical."

²⁴Personal interview, James Taylor, Chief, Foreign Service Division, OILA, Wash., D.C., Jan. 5, 1957.

The panel of knowledgeable had opportunity to express a view on the desirability of establishing the post of Counsellor of Embassy for Labor Affairs (while preserving the existing organizational and communication patterns).²⁵ The respondents were asked to check some likely effects of such a plan. The responses, as shown in Table 28, indicate that the knowledgeable perceive a definite correlation between formal title and the institutional range of discretion allowed to the labor attaché in the field. They further perceive a relationship between change in designation of the labor officer and an increase in prestige and status for the individual, as well as for the program. On the other hand, they do not see such change affecting achievement of the program's goals. They agree that upgrading the post of labor attaché to that of Counsellor of the Embassy offers at least a partial solution to whatever problems may face the labor attaché and the program as a whole. The major change they foresee, however, is that it will give the officer affected increased status-- but it would not necessarily make his job easier nor would it necessarily provide him with much greater freedom for independent action in the field. They do not believe, however, that the change in rank and status would give the labor officer a greater share in policy-making nor that it would bring about greater consideration to the

²⁵ Appendix I, 3.14.

Occupational Areas of Respondents	Likely Results															
	It would aid the program.		It would give officer affected increased prestige.		It would make job easier; give officer more freedom.		It would give labor officer greater share in policy- making.		It would give greater considera- tion to labor matters in deci- sion-making.		Affected officer's status would change; program would remain the same.		Offers no solution to problems of labor attaché pro- gram; nothing will change.		Offers partial solu- tion to problems of labor attaché program.	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
State Dept./FS (N = 6)	50.0	50.0	66.7	33.3	66.7	33.3	66.7	33.3	66.7	33.3	16.7	83.3	16.7	83.3	16.7	83.3
Labor Dept. (N = 9)	55.6	44.4	66.7	33.3	55.6	44.4	55.6	44.4	55.6	44.4	11.1	88.9	.0	100.0	33.3	66.7
Other US Govt. agencies (N = 8)	37.5	62.5	50.0	50.0	25.0	75.0	25.0	75.0	25.0	75.0	37.5	62.5	.0	100.0	62.5	37.5
Labor Mvmt. (N = 34)	70.6	29.4	67.6	32.4	35.3	64.7	55.9	44.1	52.9	47.1	8.8	91.2	2.9	97.1	29.4	70.6
Education (N = 27)	48.1	51.9	66.7	33.3	40.7	59.3	40.7	59.3	44.4	55.6	11.1	88.9	11.1	88.9	11.1	88.9
Bus./Prof. (N = 11)	27.3	72.7	54.5	45.5	36.4	63.6	27.3	72.7	36.4	63.6	45.5	54.5	36.4	63.6	.0	100.0
Total (N = 95)	53.7	46.3	64.2	35.8	40.0	60.0	46.3	53.7	47.4	52.6	16.8	83.2	9.5	90.5	23.2	76.8

labor factor in decision-making--matters clearly within the realm of goals and larger objectives rather than in the realm of organizational and individual wellbeing. In other words, in addition to the individual officer, the bureaucratic organization of the program would benefit from the proposed change, it would enhance its administrative position vis-a-vis the groups it is dealing with--the State Department hierarchy, the diplomatic team overseas, etc.--but this increased organizational importance is not concomitant with increased importance in policy-making. That is, the influence of the labor officer in decision-making will remain unchanged, nor will consideration given to labor factors in making policy-decisions change. Significantly, however, the respondents from the labor movement as well as those from the Departments of State and Labor do believe that the importance of labor factors in the shaping of policy-decision would be enhanced accordingly with the increased formal-legalistic status of the labor attaché. Strangely enough, it is the business/professions group and officials from government agencies other than Labor and State, as well as the knowledgeable educators, who take the most cynical view on the proposed change in that they believe that as far as the importance of labor as a whole is concerned nothing will change--i.e., the status quo will be maintained. Regarding the business/professions group, if one wants to be facetious one can say that perhaps they endorse the plan generally with the foreknowledge

that it would not bring about any real changes where such changes matter--in official attitudes towards labor and in the character of policies adopted. In short, proposals such as that calling for a special entrance examination into the program,, especially designed for young college/university graduates, and upgrading the rank and position of the labor attaché may indeed bring prestige to the program and its personnel, it may increase the sense of "professionalization" and importance among its members, but so far as labor is concerned it will not change the basic situation, notwithstanding the feelings of the labor movement (and the Departments of State and Labor) that it might.

Labor Specialization--the Level of Expectation

As was pointed out in the discussion on the expectations of the various interested groups as to the type of labor attaché and his qualifications, the State Department much less than the Labor Department emphasized the need for the candidate's past "specialization in the field of labor"--much less, the need for his possessing a "strong labor background," the trade union demand. And, indeed, despite the drive of the Labor Department to have a labor specialty emphasized on the FSO - 8 entrance examination level in order to spot suitable candidates for the program, and despite the awareness that this may benefit the program, the Foreign Service Career Reserve Officer

examination of Class 8 scarcely contains any questions which might bring out an interest in labor matters much less spot a candidate with aptitude or training in that direction. The examination is divided into four parts: English expression (which requires 75 minutes and is weighted at 2.5 points); general ability (75 minutes and 2.5 points); public affairs background test (150 minutes and 5 points); modern language skill (60 minutes). The general ability test is designed to measure "mastery of the general learning skills" and the "public affairs background" test is an examination in general education. In a sample of questions we find only two questions (of a total of 25 in the latter category) which might be loosely interpreted as relevant to labor affairs. One is worded: "Which of the following factors has contributed most to the general rise in the standard of living that has taken place in the United States over the past fifty years?", and offers a choice of one out of five possible answers (antitrust legislation; the large supply of natural resources; the rapid development of technology; protection from foreign competition; growth of organized special interest groups).²⁶ The other question concerns the type of industry most extensively developed in Latin America. Hardly questions which would place any premium on labor-oriented

²⁶United States Information Agency, Sample Questions from the Foreign Service Career Reserve Officer Examination, Joint Board of Examiners, n.d., 16.

specialties but rather in spirit of the "generalist" tradition of the State Department and Foreign Service.

Foreign Service Training in
Labor Affairs

Despite great faith in political generalists, the State Department and the Foreign Service attempt to expose officers drawn from its bureaucratic ranks for the labor attaché program to some kind of "expert training" in labor affairs. However, of the 31 labor attachés who came to the labor attaché program through previous service in the State Department or Foreign Service, only 8 underwent definite training prior to their labor attaché assignments. The training they received was institutionalized and formal. There are some indications that more than 8 State Department officials and Foreign Service officers were detailed for such formalized training in labor matters, but during the period under consideration here only in the case of the aforementioned 8 has the "schooling" materialized in labor attaché assignments.

How well are the labor attachés trained for the performance of their stated tasks? The panel of knowledgeable was asked three questions regarding their estimation of the level of preparedness of the labor attachés whom they know personally in terms of foreign language proficiency, familiarity with the histories and cultures of the countries of assignment, and in terms of the labor attaché's

familiarity with the labor movement of the country to which he is sent (1.02, 1.03, 1.04, Appendix I).

Foreign language skills. --In the estimation of the panel members, the labor attachés fare poorest in the area of foreign language preparation (Table 29) and best in their familiarity with the labor

Table 29. --Estimation of foreign language proficiency of labor attachés: by levels of self-rated familiarity of knowledgeable with the operation (including field activity) of labor attaché program (percentages)

Level of Self-Rated Familiarity with Labor Attaché Operation	Foreign Language Proficiency of Labor Attachés					Total
	Very Proficient	Fairly Proficient	Slightly Proficient	Not at all Proficient	Other*	
Very familiar (N = 35)	14.3	42.9	34.3	8.6	.0	100.0
Fairly familiar (N = 30)	10.0	53.3	23.3	13.3	.0	100.0
Slightly familiar (N = 26)	3.8	42.3	38.5	3.8	11.5	100.0
Not familiar at all (N = 4)	.0	.0	25.0	.0	75.0	100.0
Total (N = 95)	9.5	44.2	31.6	8.4	6.3	100.0

* Includes respondents who recorded "blank" or "don't know."

movement of the country to which they are assigned (Table 30, II).

The foreign language skills of the labor attachés, apparently fall within the "fairly proficient--slightly proficient" range which might be on a par or even better than the general state of foreign language proficiency in the Foreign Service--a perennial sore spot. In March

1958 Senator Leverett Saltonstall introduced a bill designed to improve the foreign language training facilities in the State Department/Foreign Service.²⁷ An economy minded Congress is, however, reluctant to act on such improvements although similar recommendations were made by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee whose staff studied the problem. It is pointed out, often, that about 50% of the entire Foreign Service officers corps do not have a speaking knowledge of any foreign language.²⁸ To remedy the situation, President Eisenhower called a luncheon conference with high State Department officials and others interested in the problem.

He [President Eisenhower] was sincerely disturbed and even angry, about the difficulty in getting adequate funds to provide the necessary language training.²⁹

Yet only one year later, almost to the date, some of the existing language training facilities instead of being expanded were curtailed. Among the victims of one of the periodic economy drives conducted by Representative John J. Rooney, chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee which presides over the State Department budget, was the State Department's foreign language school

²⁷The New York Times, March 26, 1958.

²⁸James Reston, "Foreign Service Woes," The New York Times, March 19, 1958.

²⁹Ibid.

which existed since 1957 in Nice, France. The obviously "idyllic setting" of the school added fuel to the fire of the Department's critics:

A more beautiful setting would be hard to find, which is exactly what some Congressional critics, notably Representative John J. Rooney, Democrat of Brooklyn, thought. . . .

A hurried visit to the school by critics, when classes were not in session, resulted in a conclusion that the taxpayers were financing a "rest cure" for State Department employes.³⁰

Yet during the two years of the school's existence close to two hundred Foreign Service officers were able to receive language training while overseas and in a location central to their mission bases in Europe. On the other hand, there is opposition both within and outside the Department to make foreign language proficiency a "sole criterion" for appointments or even for post assignments. Foreign Service officers in possession of rare language skills (such as Pushtu, for example) would object to being barred, precisely because of their possession of this skill, from choice posts (e.g., London, Rome, Paris, etc.) where the social, cultural and career opportunities (in the organization) are greater. Such officers oriented toward careers in the Foreign Service rather than towards the acquisition of greater

³⁰Henry Giniger, "U.S. Plans to Shut School on Riviera," The New York Times, March 12, 1959. On the other hand, a bill was approved in 1960 to provide monetary incentives for Foreign Service officers who learn "esoteric languages," The New York Times, Aug. 30, 1960.

language skills or just area knowledge--as academic pursuits--would object to being "doomed" to a lifetime of service in posts where such languages as Pushtu are spoken. Outside of the Department, such a critical observer as Henry M. Wriston, objects to having knowledge of language made a decisive factor in post assignments, especially where a person is in possession of other skills. Mr. Wriston spoke in defense of Ambassador Conant who was assigned to Germany despite his inability to speak German and of others in similar position.³¹ Mr. Wriston would insist, though, that language is essential to a "generalist." It is only where other relevant skills are needed that he would close his eyes to the lack of foreign language proficiency.

Knowledge of history and culture of country of assignment. --

As with foreign language, the labor attachés seem to fall within the "fairly familiar--slightly familiar" range with respect to their knowledge of the history and culture of the countries to which they are assigned (Table 30-I). As could be expected, more among them have a "very" good familiarity with the history and culture of the foreign milieu (in the estimation of 18.9% of the knowledgeable) than have a "very" high proficiency in the language of that milieu (only 9.5% of the knowledgeable rate them very proficient in language).

³¹ Henry M. Wriston, "In Re SEC," Letter to the Editor, The Reporter, April 18, 1957, p. 7.

Table 30. --Estimation of familiarity of labor attachés with history, culture, and labor movement of the country to which assigned: by levels of self-rated familiarity of knowledgeable with the operation (including field activity) of labor attaché program(percentages)

Level of Self-Rated Familiarity with Labor Attaché Program	I. Familiarity of Labor Attachés with History and Culture of Country to which Assigned					
	Very Familiar	Fairly Familiar	Slightly Familiar	Not Familiar	Other	Total
Very familiar (N = 35)	25.7	40.0	28.6	5.7	.0	100.0
Fairly familiar (N = 30)	13.3	43.3	33.3	10.0	.0	100.0
Slightly familiar (N = 26)	11.5	42.3	38.5	.0	7.7	100.0
Not familiar at all (N = 4)	50.0	.0	.0	.0	50.0	100.0
Total (N = 95)	18.9	40.0	31.6	5.3	4.2	100.0
	II. Familiarity of labor attaché with labor movement of country to which assigned					
	Very Familiar	Fairly Familiar	Slightly Familiar	Not Familiar	Other	Total
Very familiar (N = 35)	51.4	34.3	11.4	2.9	.0	100.0
Fairly familiar (N = 30)	43.3	26.7	26.7	3.3	.0	100.0
Slightly familiar (N = 26)	23.1	57.7	15.4	.0	3.8	100.0
Not familiar at all (N = 4)	25.0	.0	.0	.0	75.0	100.0
Total (N = 95)	40.0	36.8	16.8	2.1	4.2	100.0

* Includes respondents who recorded "blank" or "don't know."

However, in response to the question regarding knowledge of labor or the labor movement of the country of assignment, 40.0% of the knowledgeable rate labor attachés as very familiar and 36.8% rate them as fairly familiar (Table 30-II). Only 18.9% of the panel definitely rates the labor attachés as slightly familiar or not familiar at all with the labor movement of the country to which they are assigned. In terms of Mr. Wriston's criteria, therefore, their generally fair specialized knowledge (of the labor movement) should outweigh their deficiency in language skill or in greater knowledge of the history and culture of the country. However, unlike an ambassador who operates on the level of high foreign government officialdom-- often through an interpreter even if in possession of the local tongue-- and unlike the deskbound mission officer who may get by with mere reading knowledge of the foreign language, the labor attaché is expected to be active not only among government officials but also among foreign labor leaders and rank-and-file members. He is supposed to be, as described by The American Workers' Fact Book, the "shirt-sleeve" diplomat,³² to mingle with the "masses," and to influence their attitudes towards the United States in a positive direction. His knowledge of language as well as of the foreign country's

³²U.S. Labor Dept., The American Workers' Fact Book: 1956 (Wash.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1956), pp. 398-99. Also supra, chap. iv, n. 11.

history and culture are thus more vital to him, for the optimum performance of his tasks, it would seem, than they might be for some other Foreign Service officers. Except in English-speaking countries, it is doubtful if he encounters too many labor people (especially among the rank-and-file, who may have been deprived of the educational opportunities available to the upper classes) who would know English, a foreign language to them. How does he then communicate in order to fulfill his tasks adequately? It would also seem that knowledge of the culture of the country would be essential to him for greater understanding of the labor movement and its place in that culture.

Labor Training at the Foreign Service Institute

Mention was made in Chapter V of the proposed training centers to prepare American trade unionists for governmental and nongovernmental foreign service. Just as American trade unionists must be prepared to meet possible tasks overseas (as well as in the foreign affairs establishments at home), Foreign Service officers of no labor movement background must be conditioned to work in "the field of labor." Much of this preparation takes place through the facilities of the Foreign Service Institute. However, what the FSI offers in this area is three directly or indirectly related seminars. One of these seminars deals with "Communist strategy: its basis in theory and practice." Its duration is two weeks and "participants must be

cleared to receive secret material." The other seminar is concerned with "political stability and economic development" and consists of six two-hour sessions or a total of twelve hours. Particular attention in this seminar is devoted to the "possible contribution of economic-aid programs to political stability." By far the most extensive offering with direct bearing on labor affairs is a lecture-discussion series of four one-week segments dealing both with domestic and international labor affairs but entitled "international labor affairs." This venture was initiated by the Labor Department late in 1956 and was described by that Department as a "comprehensive plan for systematic and orderly training for labor officers in our Foreign Service."³³ However, the Foreign Service Institute has agreed to implement only some of the Labor Department's proposal³⁴ and the seminar on "international labor affairs" is the result. The first week of this labor seminar is devoted to the "role of labor in the American economy" and involves, in addition to lectures, a number of half-day visits to government

³³U.S. Labor Dept., Office of International Labor Affairs, "Quarterly Report on the International Activities of the Department of Labor: Second Quarter: April, May, June, 1956," mimeographed, p. 2.

³⁴Ibid. The "Quarterly Report" chooses to phrase FSI's decision to reject some of the Labor Department's proposals in a face-saving manner by saying that "the Foreign Service Institute . . . has agreed to implement many of our proposals." "Many" obviously would mean that not all of the Labor Department's suggestions were adopted. While the Labor Department's "Quarterly Report" speaks in one sentence of having proposed a "comprehensive plan for

agencies concerned with labor affairs, primarily the Labor Department. The second and third week deal with the American and international labor movements respectively, and the final week touches upon U.S. government programs in the "international labor field"-- and again calls for afternoon visits to the agencies concerned, mainly the Labor Department.³⁵ In addition, the Labor Department has prepared a labor chapter for inclusion in the Foreign Service Manual, providing "instruction and guidance."³⁶

In Preparation for Labor Attache Career

Foreign Service officers of nonlabor background selected for the labor attaché program receive more personalized "labor training." Frequently, as indicated earlier in this study, it involves a bit of "small talk" with an AFL-CIO official active in the field of

systematic and orderly training of labor officers," the sentence which follows announced that "in line with these proposals, a short intensive course is being arranged." The word "short" somehow challenges the words "comprehensive," "systematic," and "orderly."

³⁵ U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Recruitment and Training for the Foreign Service of the United States, 85th Cong., 2d Sess., 1958, pp. 192-93.

³⁶ U.S. Labor Dept., "Quarterly Report of the Office of International Labor Affairs on the International Activities of the Department of Labor: First Quarter: Jan., Feb., March 1956," mimeographed, p. 5.

international affairs. Sometimes, the Foreign Service officer detailed "to labor" is sent further and deeper afield with humorous and strange results.³⁷

Although many labor attachés, especially those of labor movement background, expressed doubts relative to the value of formal, institutionalized training "in labor" ("There is a limit to what a person can learn in a formal manner; a man without a labor background is quickly spotted abroad--by foreign trade unionists.")³⁸--others, especially those of nonunion background, have found them quite worthwhile.

A year of study at the University of Wisconsin (less frequently at the University of Chicago or Northwestern University) usually constitutes a more intensive training at midcareer. Sometimes this experience is substituted or combined with a temporary orientation-assignment to the Labor Department which may last from a few weeks to a year. If assignment to the Labor Department is combined with academic training, the Labor Department phase of the training

³⁷ Supra, chap. iv, n. 25. Often naive, unaware of many of the delicate points of American trade union organizations or the weaknesses of some labor leaders, Foreign Service officers are apt to ask point blank questions which aggravate some sensitivities, however well intentioned the questioner and however innocent the questions may appear.

³⁸ Personal interview, Oliver Peterson, State Dept., Wash., D.C., Dec. 18, 1958. See also supra, this chapter, n. 37.

usually follows the year of university preparation. More substantial term or semester papers, or a thesis, written at the university in fulfillment of a formal degree (normally a Master of Arts in Economics) or as a seminar requirement are also submitted to the faculty of the Foreign Service Institute to meet whatever requirements are expected there from the individual student.

The University of Wisconsin is favored because of its tradition in the field of labor economics--a tradition which began with the late Selig Perlman and was continued by Professor Edwin Witte and others. John C. Fuess, a labor attaché, evaluates his year of training at Wisconsin in the following words:

. . . the year at Wisconsin was probably the most valuable possible opportunity which could be given a Foreign Service "labor specialist." Not only did it offer both theoretical and practical training in this still somewhat esoteric specialty, but it presented a rare opportunity for extended "re-Americanization" in an area outside of Washington.³⁹

Rather symptomatic is Mr. Fuess' remark that an important consideration in the choice of university was the desire to expose the Foreign Service officer or State Department official to a "university as different as possible, both geographically and structurally, from

³⁹ John C. Fuess, "My Two Years in Labor," Foreign Service Journal, XXX (June, 1953), p. 22.

any previously experienced by the candidate."⁴⁰--a remark which throws additional light upon the type of academic training and social background enjoyed in the past by Foreign Service officers assigned to the labor attaché program. The switch from "Ivy League" or other private campus environment to that of a large Midwestern public-supported institution might be an experience of considerable measure indeed to the person concerned, one requiring some adjustments in conduct if not in attitude.

Labor Attachés' Evaluations of Their Foreign
Service Training Opportunities

As did Fuess, other labor attachés who reached the program via the State Department/Foreign Service expressed appreciation of the academic experience afforded them. The following written question was submitted to several who have undergone midcareer training at a major university:

Do you think that "institutional learning" contributes something to the Labor Attaché's better job performance: If yes, in what way? And if not--what other type of education or training (formal or informal) would you consider useful?⁴¹

One responded:

⁴⁰Ibid. Mr. Fuess himself is a graduate of Harvard University (B. A.) and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (M. A.).

⁴¹Appendix II, 25.

Very, very emphatically YES. I became an institutionalist from my experiences. I had never heard the term until a year or two ago--and then it struck because I realized that it identified me. The fact that I am at [name of university] is only coincidence. . . .⁴²

Another wrote:

I will profit from this bit of training; this is not to say I have enjoyed it. It is certainly one of the best methods of developing old line FSO's into having an appreciation of the labor factor. Inexperienced people might be assigned as "internes" with union organizations for periods up to six months before they are assigned labor attaché or labor reporting functions. Independent reading courses could be arranged for officers serving in Washington under the leadership of outstanding professors at universities on the East Coast. This would be valuable to people like me.⁴³

While this labor attaché would recommend field work with trade unionists for "inexperienced" officers only, it should be remembered that it was precisely some experienced and elder labor attachés who cautioned against "booklearning" and recommended instead walking the "union organizer's beat." One of them said:

My own feeling is that the fellows should be put on the beat, go around with union organizers, associate with them, live and

⁴²From written response to questions submitted academic year 1958-59.

⁴³From written response to questions submitted academic year 1958-59. This particular officer was awaiting assignment to the Department in Washington after completion of his training. Prior to that he had served on several labor attaché posts abroad.

talk with them. They should go to negotiation meetings, union meetings etc.⁴⁴

What these Foreign Service officers of labor background have in mind is the acquisition of a "feel" for labor, for the movement. Says Oliver Peterson, another labor attaché/labor advisor of labor movement background:

Foreign trade unionists treat labor attachés in many different ways. Some are treated as government officials, others are viewed as simple job holders. It all depends upon the man and the rapport he manages to establish. Some, like myself, are treated as fellow laborites.

- Q. You say it depends on the rapport the individual officer manages to establish. Does that mean that it depends upon one's style of work, one's approach? Can this be traced or attributed to the labor attaché's background?
- A. Very often, yes. An honest man of labor background will, for example, admit the shortcomings of American society. He will admit that American trade unions are racket ridden and so on. On the other hand, an officially oriented and trained career Foreign Service officer will not concede such things--nor will he admit the other ills in our society. Subsequently, he loses their confidence.

The question thus remains open at best as to which training approach may yield the best results in terms of labor attaché functions and goals. It may perhaps indeed be questioned whether a year (or even more) of institutional or formalized training--even under the

⁴⁴ Personal interview, John Piercey, Labor Advisor, European Desk, State Department, Wash., Dec. 18, 1958.

best of circumstances--prepares the current labor officer (with some experience) and, much less, the future labor officer (with no practical labor experience) for the fulfillment of his functions, achievement of his goals, the most important of which is that of influencing foreign labor leaders and rank-and-file union members. It ought to be remembered that while some of his functions do call for skills of calm analysis, patient data-gathering--his other functions demand activism, involvement, and these are said to be the more important. It may be questioned, therefore, if training in contemplative skills is necessarily suited for activist jobs. Moreover, it may be reasonably doubted whether a year of campus training, even at a bustling Midwestern state university, or in a special short-term institute, will sufficiently orient the student towards the climate surrounding the international labor movement, the sets of symbols it employs, its legends, and a general feel for its milieu. Familiarity with these latter factors, it may be maintained, can perhaps be acquired through intimate contact, empathy with, and a certain measure of identification with the objects of one's influence-attempt. It seems that this was what Mr. Peterson hinted at--the delicate distinction in the ways one acquires his knowledge of labor--when he spoke of the labor attaché, the "honest man of labor background" as contrasted with the equally honest and well-meaning Foreign Service officer who, however, is mechanically, bureaucratically, and routinely trained for his labor tasks. Where

the former may feel "at home" among foreign trade unionists and needs no pretenses, no disguise, and has no compulsion to glamorize on certain shortcomings of the American image, the latter might be cautious, officious--primarily because he is uncertain of himself and his new job-imposed surrounding. For if the economic and even political goals, objectives, and programs of foreign labor movements can be taught, one can perhaps know of, but not fully absorb, the full nature of all the movement's ideals and value-judgments which may or may not spring from the official "constitutive ideas" but which often give the movement its color, its "language" and character--which frequently serve as the factor which truly cements together the movement and the movement's subculture (if it has retreated into one).

The question is also open as to whether formalized (or even informal training as suggested by some) orientation to "labor" is enough to satisfy the other groups concerned in the labor attaché program--and especially if it is enough to satisfy the American trade unions, whether it balances out in their eyes the fact that their own "type"-expectations (calling for identification with labor) are so neglected in the actual selection of labor attachés.

CHAPTER VIII

ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS OF THE LABOR ATTACHÉ PROGRAM

Pressures and Counterpressures

The Labor Attaché program is torn between conflicting interests, and the attaché's work in the field encroaches upon often jealously guarded jurisdictions of sometimes competing agencies or competing groups within the same agency. As a "labor specialist," the labor attaché is exposed to the demands the Labor Department may make upon his service; as a gatherer of political data, as a person in touch with groups and elites who may be in power or who may have ambitions for power--foreign labor--the eyes of the political officer in the embassy are cast upon him. Interested in economic conditions, the labor attaché steps on the territory of the embassy's economic officer; as the communicator of a message, as the would-be "swayer" of foreign opinions and attitudes towards the United States, he steps into the field of work (and presumably, competence) of the United States Information Agency. In the field the individual labor attaché may further aggravate the sensitivities of representatives of U.S. economic aid organizations, of the CIA, or of some private but

powerful American business enterprise which has an interest in the attitudes and moods of "local" labor. Such business interests may object to some of the attaché's local activities. When displeased, business interests may take their case to Washington and find the ear of a powerful person. The individual labor attaché thus may quite easily get himself into trouble--the conditions are wrought with many possibilities for unpleasantness.

Cross-Pressures: American Business
and Foreign Labor

The following may serve as an example of the kind of difficulty the labor attaché may become enveloped in if he crosses some private but powerful interests. As do other American firms abroad, so the United Fruit Company may deal with Communist or Communist-dominated unions and may even prefer these to the non- or anti-Communist unions, especially if agreeable and peaceful working relations have been established. The immediate interest of the company is in gathering the banana crop from its plantations in Central America, packing the bananas, delivering them to the nearest port and expediting the ships of its Great White Fleet, the Gran Flota Blanca, on schedule for New York, Boston or New Orleans. Towards this end the company engages in what has become known over the years as "banana diplomacy," a diplomacy which may involve deals both with Central American strong men and with Communist-oriented labor leaders.

The labor attaché's job, however, is to combat Communist-dominated unions and to help those labor leaders who have similar aspirations. If such struggle becomes serious it may reflect on productivity and the orderly flow of work and products whereas the company is interested in peace, delivery of goods, and the status quo--in whatever conditions, in fact, which would not hurt business. In this particular case, apparently, the strife between Communist and anti-Communist unions began to hurt inasmuch as the workers were kept away from their jobs and, instead, engaged in "politicking" and in taking sides.

Because the labor attaché had been seen talking to local labor leaders, the company even went so far as to instigate an investigation of the American embassy in Costa Rica. United Fruit also tried to block the Central America showing of a State Department movie "With These Hands" because it was "prolabor."¹

American trade union officials in Washington (primarily Serafino Romualdi) attempted to intervene on behalf of the labor attaché under the banana company's gun. Senator Wayne Morse, chairman of a Latin American affairs subcommittee of the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, also became interested in the matter

¹ Drew Pearson, "The Washington Merry-Go-Round: Ike Reveals Ire on United Fruit," The Washington Post and Times Herald, Nov. 14, 1958. The film, "With These Hands," was produced by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The USIA has produced only the Spanish sound track and is showing this film in Spanish-speaking countries. The information provided by Pearson was checked with informants in the Departments of State and Labor as well as with officials of the USIA.

as did Vice-President Nixon who, after his return from his ill-received visit to Latin America, became concerned with the prospect of winning the sympathies of workers, students, and intellectuals in that area.

However, President Eisenhower was of a different mind on this particular issue and, according to Drew Pearson, the President's position can be attributed to the fact that his confidential secretary, Ann Whitman, "is the wife of United Fruit's public relations boss, Ed Whitman,"²

When at a press conference, John Herling, the well-informed (and respected in labor circles) publisher and editor of John Herling's Labor Letter, queried the President about this matter he met with ire and anger.³

Between Pulls and Hauls: Departments of Labor and State

The above described incident perhaps may not be quite typical of the kinds of complications the labor attaché may encounter in the field. It is relations between the Departments of Labor and State with regard to the labor attaché program which can be best described as "uneasy," and which produce a more constant source of problems for

²Ibid.

³It is interesting to note that shortly after this incident some advertisements of the United Fruit Company appeared in union papers and some articles by Mr. Whitman, in the liberal, anti-Communist, prolabor Magazine, New Leader.

the labor attaché and the program. Each of these agencies places a different emphasis on the program and, subsequently, expects results different in nature and kind. How do these different, sometimes contrary, demands affect the work of the individual attaché and the program as a whole? One labor attaché responded to this question as follows:

There are definite dangers in the duality of labor attaché responsibilities, in this pulling in different directions. State has a major responsibility--nevertheless, there remains the problem of understanding labor abroad and it would seem to me that in that respect the Labor Department offers the greater expertise. Better relationship should be established between Labor and State.⁴

Although officials in the Labor Department object to having their interest in international affairs classified as "nonpolitical" in character, maintaining that the traditional lines of division into "functional-technical," on the one hand, and "political," on the other, are untenable, the State Department insists on perpetuation of these distinctions. In fact, the State Department's very claim to "supremacy" in the field of international relations--relative to other agencies--is based on the maintenance of such a distinction and of its, State Department's, insistence on having the monopoly over U.S. policy-making in that field. Consequently, the Labor Department is denied

⁴Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., Dec. 17, 1958.

the "political" parts of the labor attaché's reports, and receives only those portions of his reports which deal with foreign labor conditions in terms of wages, cost-of-living, local labor laws, etc. Similarly, the labor attaché in the field receives his political directives from the State Department--much to the chagrin of some politically-oriented officials in the Labor Department's OILA working in the field of international labor conditions--while it is left to the Labor Department to supply the labor attaché with "technical" information only, i. e., data pertaining to automation, social security in the United States, current developments in labor-management relations, union affairs, etc.

There exists a semantic confusion in the verbal exchange between the Departments of State and Labor. Both refer to specialized interests in the field as "functional." In fact, the organization of the State Department is divided into "geographic-regional" and, thus, generalist-"political" problems, on the one hand, and "functional problems" on the other. However, when the Labor Department speaks of "functionalism" it does not necessarily distinguish it from politics, perceiving politics in all activities in the field of foreign affairs. Yet, since the State Department's views and attitudes are decisive in matters of foreign policy, its interpretations of "functionalism" (i. e., matters requiring some specialized expertise such as economics, labor, agriculture, finance, legal, military, etc.) and "politics" are reflected in the choice of personnel for the various areas of Foreign Service activity. Thus, as one labor advisor explains it:

The Labor Department would like the labor attaché program to be functional mainly. The State Department emphasizes, of course, the political aspects, and this being the case feels that the Foreign Service generalists can do everything and anything in the political realm.⁵

In other words, Foreign Service work in the field of labor has both "specialized-functional" and "general-political" aspects. Since in the view of the State Department the latter supersede the former, the State Department and the Foreign Service generalists should have the dominant voice over the program--since they alone are, in terms of training and job description, "political." Many informants in the Labor Department admit that their Department is "too timid" in forcing Labor Department's "rights" to the program, including receipt of political information relative to labor obtained from the labor attachés in the field.

Conflicting Jurisdictions within the State Department

Not only is the labor attaché placed between the State Department and the Labor Department and in the maze of conflicting interpretations of the "functional-political" dichotomy but the labor attaché program is placed in similar situation within the State Department itself, caught as it is between the "geographical" (political) offices

⁵ Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., Dec. 17, 1958.

(concerned with economic, information, and intelligence matters).

Furthermore, this division reaches in practice the regional bureaus staffed by "political" officers who claim geographic area expertise but also by "functional" experts claiming both geographic as well as specialized expertise.⁶

The division is carried on down to the field, into the diplomatic missions. As one labor attaché explained it:

The labor attaché program is set between the economic and political section--that is, the labor attaché in the field sits⁷ between these two--with direction given by the political section.

The subordination of "functional" activities to political considerations places the political officer, the Foreign Service generalist, in superior position to any nongeneralist within the diplomatic mission,

⁶Immediate policy-making (as distinguished from long-range policy planning) is centered in the State Department within five regional bureaus: (1) European Affairs, (2) Far Eastern Affairs, (3) Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, (4) Inter-American Affairs, and (5) African Affairs. The Bureau of International Organization Affairs is sometimes considered a sixth bureau. Lower in the organizational structure are the Offices, each responsible for a group of countries within the larger geographic area. Still lower are the country desks. Long range policy planning is formally developed in the State Department's Policy Planning Staff with the collaboration of the regional bureau planners. Still higher, of course, is the Operations Coordinating Board and the National Security Council. These are, however, outside the organizational framework of the State Department. Robert Ellsworth Elder, The Policy Machine: The Department of State and American Foreign Policy (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1960), p. 19 et passim.

⁷Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D.C., Dec. 21, 1958.

and this only because the State Department has defined "politics" in restrictive and traditional terms, and has acknowledged the "know-how" of only the generalists in this broad area. These conditions, it should be remembered, brought about the original complaints from the specialized agencies with an interest in foreign affairs (primarily Agriculture and Commerce) that their own needs are not being adequately serviced. It would logically follow that if the State Department sees a subordination of specialized activities to politics it would tend to emphasize the "political" areas of activity at the expense of the "nonpolitical," and that it would further channel its most talented officers into the field of its primary concern--politics.

Jurisdictional Conflicts within the Diplomatic Missions

On the mission level, in the field, conditions brought about by such a narrow definition of the "political," are obviously wrought with potential for conflict. When asked about this, however, labor attachés tried to minimize the dangers both from organizational as well as from personal standpoints. One of them wrote:

I have not run into any jurisdictional conflicts. Of course, in [name of diplomatic post] I was both [labor attaché as well as Political Affairs Officer].⁸

⁸From written responses to questions submitted during academic year, 1958-59.

Another labor attaché, however, was less "cheerful" about the situation:

Jurisdictional disputes certainly do arise. We are invading the jurisdiction of the political section and they resent it. The antagonism from one side generally comes to be reciprocated. Also bear in mind, that labor attachés if they are from the union movement, tend to be suspicious and defensive because of previous conditioning. I know of one instance where a labor attaché was forbidden to report on any political developments despite the fact that he was the only embassy officer with access to the office of the Social Democratic Party in the country to which he was assigned. Such extremes are rare (I believe). Generally there are mutual suspicions which the higher ups must reconcile. This element is unfortunate; perhaps as labor attachés gain genuine status on an overall basis, instead of particular status in any given time and place, the problem will disappear.⁹

One can add to the above the story one labor advisor narrated about the fight of a labor attaché with the generalists on his post as to who should cover the party organization of the local labor movement--a dilemma which was resolved by bringing in a new political officer, one not involved in the original clash, and a decision that both the labor attaché and the new officer would operate from adjoining offices but that the labor attaché would cover the unions only and the political officer would concentrate on the party organization.¹⁰ Other evidence would indicate, however, that labor attachés do have certain political

⁹ From written responses to questions submitted during academic year, 1958-59.

¹⁰ Supra, chap. iii, n. 43.

freedoms, especially, it seems, where a labor party is in power, and where the labor attaché has managed to establish a friendly rapport with local labor leaders, both of the party and the trade unions.

The "Voice of Labor" in the Chain
of Command: The Art of Breaking
Links

Labor attachés were also asked the following question: "Can the labor attaché make his voice and opinions heard in Washington-- or are these altered by the Ambassador, the Political Affairs Officer, or others within the mission?" (14, Appendix II). The objective here was, again, to elicit information which would throw some light not only on the importance given to the "labor factor" but also on the problem of the labor attaché's status within the mission and the chains of command to which he is subject. In many posts, it appears, an informal consensus is established and the Ambassador merely serves as a democratic chairman, arbiter and coordinator of views--something reminiscent of the "democratic centralism" envisioned by Lenin as the ideal of revolutionary decision-making, a synthesis of diversity (of opinions) and of discipline in action (once a decision is arrived at). Theoretically, the basis of "democratic centralism" is the assumption that the participants in the decision-making process are in agreement on basic principles, values, and beliefs. As one labor attaché puts it:

At small posts, the officer responsible for labor matters is almost inevitably a member of a small compact team.

Questions arising are considered more or less by an informal consensus. The labor officer has no trouble offering his comments. Maybe it's something like a Quaker meeting, but a jointly agreed approach almost invariably emerges. I have never been in the position that the Ambassador and I were unalterably opposed, but I have, equally, never had reason to suspect that if I did have such a complete difference that I would be stopped from communicating my views to Washington. Differences occur, of course, but an agreement is worked out--more often than not, more heavily on my side of the argument--from general respect for the expert viewpoint.¹¹

However, the voice that is heard from the field is that of the Ambassador's:

A labor attaché generally must operate through the chain of command. This gives the Ambassador and other superiors a controlling voice. But this is in accordance with the workings of any large organization. You might be able to work outside normal channels on some matters, but it is not something one would do under normal conditions.¹²

In other words, inclusion of the "labor point of view" in messages which emanate from the field to the State Department is neither automatically assured or obstructed by the formal organization of the Foreign Service. It depends on the personal rapport established by the labor attaché with the "team" and this, in turn, is very much conditioned by the size of the diplomatic mission--smaller missions

¹¹From written responses to questions submitted during academic year, 1958-59.

¹²From written responses to questions submitted during academic year, 1958-59.

being more conducive for intimate collaboration, a meeting of minds, attaining an informal consensus, whereas larger diplomatic missions have more rigidly developed "chains of command." In this chain of command, the labor attaché, one especially of lower rank, is not only subordinated to the Ambassador but also to the Political Affairs officer or the Counsellor of Economic Affairs or both (some labor attachés, of course, serve simultaneously as Counsellor of the Embassy and are thus nearer to the Chief of Mission). Most of the important political centers in the world would, of course, have large embassies and posts where the more formal large-organization structure would exist--as distinguished from the smaller posts with their informal patterns. It would appear further that the United States would have a special interest in the attitudes of labor in precisely such important, sensitive areas where large posts prevail. Since it was established earlier that the labor attaché's fortunes (his status and prestige, his influence and freedom) increase with the assumption of power by a labor party, it would follow that in important foreign political centers where the labor movement is in opposition, the voice of that opposition would have a difficult time penetrating through the labor attaché to Washington because of the size of the post and the necessity for the labor attaché to follow the "chain of command"--unless, of course, the labor attaché holds simultaneously with his attaché designation a high diplomatic rank which would place him

close to the top of the mission. Washington may thus be deprived of full intelligence relative to a powerful but oppositionist labor movement. This, as indicated, was precisely the situation in Great Britain after World War II when the Labour Party took over the government, much to the surprise of the U.S. Embassy in London which found itself without an effective liaison to organized British labor. This, it appears, was the reason for the establishment of the first labor attaché post. From various information gathered, it would also appear that once the Labour Party in Britain was defeated at the polls and went back to opposition status, the influence of the U.S. labor attaché within the Embassy decreased accordingly. He was apparently compelled by the political officers, the generalists, to give up his well-established links to the Labour Party--now in opposition--and concentrate solely on the British trade unions. And indeed, when the panel of knowledgeable was asked to rate the four most important factors which would influence the perception which regular Foreign Service officers (generalists) within the diplomatic mission have of the labor attaché's job and the program, the response rated the factor of political importance of organized labor in the country high (71.6% of the knowledgeable thought that the importance of labor in the area has a bearing on the status of the labor attaché in the post).¹³

¹³ Appendix I, 2.08. Other important factors chosen were "effectiveness of labor attaché" (100.0%); "military considerations

What then are the most effective channels open to the labor attaché for the purpose of communicating his views to the State Department as well as to the Labor Department? How can he make his particular voice heard? How can he bring the "labor factor"--the intelligence gathered in the field--directly and efficiently to the attention of Washington? It seems that many labor attachés circumvent the "chains of command" by resorting to informal patterns of communications with personally established contacts in both the State Department and the Labor Department. Daniel Goot, who for a time served as Special Assistant for Labor Affairs to the Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, puts it as follows:

You must . . . distinguish between formal and informal correspondence. A labor attaché may write informally to the Labor Department, to officials and friends there, and he may informally write directly to me. In such informal correspondence he may wish to explore various ideas, he may communicate his own impressions. [Labor attaché's name withheld], for example, had troubles with his ambassador with regard to the interpretation given to various phenomena--the ambassador was rather old fashioned. By and large the labor attaché, as part of his job, attends conferences, foreign labor conventions, and he evaluates these. Now, an interpretation of Bevan in

regarding labor factor in area" (80.0%); "degree of attention paid by Washington to the labor attaché" (48.4%). It is rather significant that all these factors are job-related. Only 45.3% of the knowledgeable thought that his "personality characteristics" may have a bearing on the perception others within the mission have of him and the program--although, admittedly, "effectiveness" which received 100% votes may embrace both effectiveness on the job as well as in personal relationships with members of the "team".

England would come under Godson [Joseph Godson, labor attaché and 1st Secretary-Counsellor, London until 1958] as well as the Political officer, and both their views would normally be reflected in the dispatches. Usually, however, disagreements in evaluation are ironed out within the embassy.¹⁴

Resort to informal communication patterns as a means for effective communication are apparently accepted as part of the normal style of work, as an efficient manner of cutting through obstacles imposed by large bureaucratic organization. The Labor Department depends rather heavily on informally derived intelligence from the field:

- Q. How does the Labor Department communicate with labor attachés in the field?
- A. Mainly through personal and official-informal--as opposed to official-formal--correspondence. If we are interested in something and would like to submit reporting instructions we do this through the Division of Foreign Reporting Services--we submit it to the State Department which in turn submits it to the posts. We are also participating in the Comprehensive Economic Reporting Program, CERP.¹⁵

Increased reliance on informal personal communication to Washington may further be attributed to the cumbersomeness of the official road which messages from the field must travel before they reach the levels of higher decision-making once in Washington. Even

¹⁴Personal interview, Wash., D.C., Jan. 3, 1957.

¹⁵Personal interview, James Taylor, Foreign Service Division, OILA, Labor Dept., Wash., D.C., Dec. 24, 1956.

if the labor attaché is successful in having his views incorporated unaltered in a dispatch from the post, such a dispatch would be placed first, upon reaching Washington, among the hundreds of country and area documents piled daily on the desk of the Country Desk Officer. In the "comfortable, pre-World War II days" when the State Department consisted of less than 1,000 employees, the country desk officers had immediate access to the single Assistant Secretary of State who headed the regional divisions and who consulted frequently with the Secretary of State. Presently, however, the organization of the Department has bulged and become accordingly intricate and complex and its interests widespread, and as the bureaucracy increased, as offices and bureaus and Assistant Secretaries and Bureau Directors were added to the hierarchy the country desk officer was relegated to the "low man on the foreign policy-making totem pole."¹⁶ Apparently, however, the lower he found himself on the totem pole the heavier his work load. This work load is merely a reflection of the multitude of U.S. interests in the country for which he is responsible or in the area in which his country is located. All he can do under these conditions is scan the documents--many of them results of elaborate discussions and a multitude of drafts in the field--looking for items of importance or merely to absorb their gist.

¹⁶Elder, pp. 22-23ff,

If the labor attaché has managed to project some ideas in one of these many documents, and assuming it has caught the Desk Officer's eye, he, in turn, may write a document of his own regarding the matter. From there the draft would reach his superiors who, in their turn, might modify it a bit, and at some point the original idea upon which so many in the process had labored, modifying, adding, subtracting, may reach an Assistant Secretary of State, and from there with some further revisions on the way, higher up. However, for his own protection the country desk officer must be attuned to the political sentiments of his superiors, or as Elder puts it:

On day-to-day routine matters, the desk officer is cock of the walk. . . . However, his room for maneuver in the formulation of policy is not too great . He is quite conscious of the views of his superiors. He does not make policy in a vacuum.¹⁷

Thus especially if a political anti-labor climate should prevail in Washington, unorthodox views conveyed from the field by the labor attaché which somehow have sifted through the chain of command would be stifled by the politically sensitive desk officer in the State Department. This is perhaps why one labor attaché was compelled to comment:

The most helpful thing for the labor attaché would be greater appreciation in Washington of the realities of such service. We

¹⁷Ibid., p. 23.

need to break the cultural and political frame of reference barrier in reverse, too, so that our people can understand foreigners, and particularly foreign labor.¹⁸

If a labor attaché feels a need to "break the cultural and political frame of reference barrier" with regard to the foreign labor factor he may indeed find, that by informally approaching friends in the Labor Department, alerting them to his problem, and having them carry on from there-- from one executive agency to another--he may reach the decision-making apex faster and more efficiently, at least with less blocking on the way.

On Altering the Institutional Status Quo

Yet when the panel of knowledgeable was asked, "What organizational arrangements would you regard as most beneficial for the labor attaché program?" (3.17, Appendix I), most respondents were opposed to each of the possible suggested organizational changes. Not that the existing arrangements won the endorsement of the knowledgeable but continuation of the institutional status quo met with the least resistance. Among the possible organizational arrangements suggested to the knowledgeable were: (1) responsibility to the State Department and the Labor Department; (2) responsibility to the State Department with the Labor Department acting in advisory capacity; (3) responsibility to the Labor Department with the State Department acting in

¹⁸Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., D. C., Dec. 17, 1958.

advisory capacity; (4) responsibility to the State Department only; (5) responsibility to the Labor Department only; (6) responsibility to the Labor Department only but with the preservation of the labor attaché's political functions; (7) responsibility to the State Department only but with preservation of the technical (specialized) functions; (8) other organizational arrangements. As indicated, none of the suggested arrangements met with the full endorsement of a majority of knowledgeable but perpetuation of the organizational and interagency status quo was the least opposed (Table 31). Thus, 44.2% were in favor of having the labor attachés continue as part of the State Department/Foreign Service organization and remain responsible primarily to the State Department, with the Labor Department acting in advisory capacity. Significantly, all of the respondents (100%) opposed a transfer of the program to Labor Department jurisdiction and 88.4% rejected a suggestion that would place the labor attaché program in a similar position to that of the Foreign Agricultural Service--i.e., bringing the labor attaché under Labor Department jurisdiction with the State Department acting in advisory capacity. In other words, although dissatisfied, the knowledgeable would prefer continuation of the present arrangement of dual responsibility for the program resting with both the Departments of Labor and State, with the latter Department sharing the major responsibility--rather than any other presently conceivable arrangement. Upon examination of the

Table 31.--Organizational arrangements regarded as most beneficial for labor attache program: by knowledgeable (percentages)

Suggested Organizational Arrangement	Yes	No	Total
1. Responsibility to State Dept. and Labor Dept.	22.1	77.9	100.0
2. Responsibility to State Dept. with Labor Dept. acting in advisory capacity	44.2	55.8	100.0
3. Responsibility to Labor Dept. with State Dept. acting in advisory capacity	11.6	88.4	100.0
4. Responsibility to State Dept. only	4.2	95.8	100.0
5. Responsibility to Labor Dept. only	.0	100.0	100.0
6. Responsibility to Labor Dept. only with preservation of political functions	1.1	98.9	100.0
7. Responsibility to State Dept. only with preservation of technical (specialized) functions	3.2	96.8	100.0
8. Other organizational arrangements	7.4	92.6	100.0

occupational backgrounds of the knowledgeable in order to discern some variation in the pattern of yes/no responses to the suggested possible organizational arrangements, none are found--except in the occupational line-up with regard to continuation of the status quo (i. e., responsibility to the State Department with the Labor Department acting in advisory capacity). This is rejected--as was any other possible arrangement--but less so. However, here it is seen that certain occupational groups of knowledgeable were in favor of the arrangement--the only possibility advanced which registered some favorable group response. The "impartial" knowledgeable of

academic background who gained familiarity with the program through study and observation were in favor of the status quo (59.3% yes, 40.7% no) and the members of the State Department/Foreign Service favored it (66.7% yes) although some in this group would prefer some other arrangement (33.3% no). As Table 32 shows, however, the groups outside of the State Department most vital interested in the labor attaché program overwhelmingly reject the present arrangement,

Table 32. --Opinions on having labor attachés continue responsibility to State Department with Labor Department acting in advisory capacity--as the most beneficial arrangement for the labor attaché program: by occupations of knowledgeable (percentages)

Occupational Areas of Respondents	<u>To Continue Present Arrangement</u>		
	Yes	No	Total
State Dept./Foreign Service (N = 6)	66.7	33.3	100.0
Labor Department (N = 9)	33.3	66.7	100.0
Other US Govt. agencies (N = 8)	50.0	50.0	100.0
Labor Movement (N = 34)	32.4	67.6	100.0
Education (N = 27)	59.3	40.7	100.0
Business/professions (N = 11)	36.4	63.6	100.0
Total (N = 95)	44.2	55.8	100.0

although they do not see any other possible institutional solution to their problems at the present time. They could have suggested some other, nonlisted organizational arrangements, and they did so but without any cohesive pattern. Some would envision continued responsibility to the State Department, but with the added establishment



of an Office of Under Secretary of State for Labor Affairs (a suggestion advanced by Dubinsky). Others would choose continued responsibility of the labor attaché program to the State Department, but with the U. S. labor movement given opportunity to serve in official and direct advisory capacity. None of these suggestions for alternate arrangements drew any sizable support. In the meantime, both the knowledgeable in the Labor Department and in the American labor movement (as well as in business) register frustration with the program by rejecting the present arrangement without offering any concrete organizational solution (66.7% in the Labor Department voice displeasure with current arrangement, 67.6% in the labor movement, and 63.6% in business/professions).

The respondents were asked (3.17B, Appendix I) to explain their reactions to the choice of organizational arrangements. Responses can be divided into two categories: pro-State Department/status quo and anti-State Department (without any definite positive solution offered for the latter). The reasons given for continuation of the status quo do not differ by occupational backgrounds of the respondents--and even those in the trade union movement who favored continuation of the present arrangements advanced reasons for their choice similar to those in the other occupational groups. These fall in set patterns, such as:

1. Direct affiliation with the State Department/Foreign Service

offers more prestige to the labor attaché program than any other arrangements.

2. The principle of administration that a man cannot serve more than one master--an expression of the necessity to follow some conception of an ideal organizational chart (this constitutes rejection of the suggestion that the labor attaché program may perhaps benefit by dual responsibility to both the Departments of Labor and State).

3. The labor attaché is primarily a political agent of the United States and, therefore, his proper place is within the State Department hierarchy.

4. Labor attachés are specialists active in a politically sensitive area and therefore they should operate under State Department jurisdiction--the implication being that an expert should be "on tap but not on top."

5. The labor attaché must be a member of the Foreign Service "team" if he is to operate effectively--his status and success on the job depends on good relationships with other "team" members.

6. The State Department is responsible for U.S. foreign policy and represents the interests of the "whole" whereas the other government agencies (Labor Department included) represent "special interests."

7. The present arrangement works pretty well.

While generally endorsing the present arrangements, some

apparently would like to see more active participation by the Labor Department in the program. Their sentiments tended to reaffirm the concept of a unified Foreign Service with responsibility shared by the State Department and the "technical" agencies. Therefore, it is argued, the Labor Department should provide guidance and back-stopping within the administrative framework of the Foreign Service. None of those who expressed this opinion, however, ventured any further suggestion as to whether the Foreign Service should function as a semi-independent, semi-autonomous interagency organization or be subject primarily to the State Department which alone is responsible for the foreign policies of the United States and, with this mandate, acts on behalf of all the US government (the "technical" agencies included). The mandate given to the State Department by its very definition places on this Department a greater responsibility than on the other agencies for those who act abroad on behalf of the United States. Thus, although the unified Foreign Service is in terms of the Foreign Service Act of 1946 a joint interagency venture, the State Department is not quite the equal for the other agencies since its responsibilities in foreign affairs are more direct and immediate. The State Department claims, therefore, that its share in the Foreign Service ought to be a bit "more than equal" than that of the other participating agencies.

The anti-State Department choices were substantiated by the following reasons:

1. The present arrangement does not work well.

2. The U.S. labor movement should have direct channels for the implementation of United States foreign policy in the field of international labor. In other words, the American labor movement should be provided with greater access, than is presently available, to U.S. foreign policy-makers.

3. The ambassador and the regular Foreign Service generalists have a negative effect on the fortunes of the labor attaché program.

The anti-State Department sentiments which led 55.8% of the total of the knowledgeable to register dissatisfaction with the existing arrangements are not compensated, as pointed out, by concrete organizational solutions to the problem. Even those who are displeased because the U.S. labor movement does not possess greater access to those responsible for the formulation of U.S. policies in the area of foreign affairs, especially as these concern labor (a majority of the knowledgeable from the American labor movement), did not suggest that placing the labor attaché program under Labor Department jurisdiction would increase such access--they probably perceive the Labor Department as frustrated in that field as are they themselves. This would indicate that while they feel excluded from greater involvement in the making of American foreign policy they do not think the Labor Department--notwithstanding that Department's intra-agency facilities to deal with foreign affairs--as being any more

influential or powerful in the field of foreign affairs than are they themselves. Probably, were the State Department/Foreign Service to alter its attitude towards labor by allowing organized American labor greater access to its decision-making councils, trade unionists would be rather pleased to continue with the present arrangements since operating from and through the State Department does offer prestige and increased status. Here it should be recalled that in responding on the likely results if a plan to establish the post of Counsellor of Embassy for Labor Affairs is realized (Table 28), the knowledgeable from the labor movement thought it not only would aid the administration of the program and increase the prestige of the labor officer but that it would also increase the labor officer's share in decision-making and give greater consideration to the labor factor in the formulation of American foreign policy. In fact, on the last two points respondents from the labor movement were more optimistic than respondents from most other occupational groups. The American labor movement has thus accepted the existing all-societal belief that the State Department and the Foreign Service are the elitist branches of the U.S. government--as it has accepted many other all-societal values and beliefs--and it does not really challenge the system. All the American labor movement asks for, it seems, is to be given greater access to the portals of the chosen, to be considered worthy of membership in the "club" of the "select," in an area previously

reserved only to the upper classes of American society--foreign policy-making, access to the State Department and Foreign Service. Once these desires are met the rest is of secondary importance. Even at the present time representatives of U.S. labor voluntarily assist in the implementation of U.S. policies abroad--in the shaping of which, they feel, they were denied a rightful part.

Local Employees in the Field:
Advantages and Problems

Because of deficiency in language skill, only fair familiarity with local conditions, and also because of frequent changes in post assignments, the labor attaché often depends on the assistance of foreign nationals employed locally by U.S. missions. Since post assignments of labor attachés change rather frequently, the "locals" often serve as the only link between labor attachés in a given post, thus providing a kind of continuity. The attaché must rely sometimes on their perception of local conditions and on their assessment of the local political situation, particularly in the field of labor. Not infrequently these "locals" serve as the labor attaché's avenue to foreign labor leaders. The attaché also may find it necessary to rely on the locally employed assistant--in lieu of an assistant of U.S. nationality--in the execution of some sensitive operations. Most of these local employees are well educated, enterprising and intelligent. They are hired, however, by the personnel officers of the U.S.

diplomatic mission and tend to reflect the personnel tastes of the Foreign Service generalists. They are usually members of the upper middle class of the foreign society to whom employment in a U.S. embassy means prestige within their own circles as well as better than average income by local standards. They are not persons of a labor background and quite often are antagonistic towards organized labor in their own society. Many labor attachés have complained that while they are dependent on such assistance, at least initially, this source of assistance may also be a source of some difficulty both in forming a picture of local labor conditions as well as in establishing rapport with local labor leaders and rank-and-file union members.

Information and Propaganda

In his operation abroad, especially in his efforts to influence foreign labor publics, the U.S. labor attaché is further dependent on the assistance of the United States Information Agency. As is the State Department, the USIA is organizationally divided into five geographic areas of operation. The information agency is further divided into five media branches (i.e., press, radio, television, motion pictures, and information service centers). Neither in the geographic branches nor in the media departments are there any special labor experts,¹⁹ The labor attaché serves in advisory capacity to the local

¹⁹ Information on this phase of labor attaché operation was obtained primarily from Bernard Wiesman, Labor and Minority Affairs

USIA units abroad--the actual selection of material for labor audiences, however, is done by the USIA. Sometimes the labor attaché conducts some sort of independent information program of his own (as was the case for a time in New Delhi, India) in which instance the roles are reversed and USIA personnel in the field acts in auxiliary capacity.

- Q. Is there a specific type of message that you would perceive to be suitable for all labor audiences--or is the message geared to what is being perceived as local needs?
- A. There are differences in the various messages. These differences are determined by the USIA man in the given country. In England, for example, his output is directed to the cooperatives and the trade union groups. A different person will determine a different message for India. In some places the USIA issues special labor bulletins--some appear monthly, some semi-monthly. These are made up in each place for the particular audience. The material is forwarded to them from here--they select what they feel is suitable, though, from the material for their particular audience.²⁰

The local press sometimes picks up from these bulletins items of particular interest to their reading public. In fact, some of the labor bulletins are simply compilations of news releases while others show

Advisor, USIA, Washington, in December of 1958 in a series of personal interviews. Data obtained from Mr. Wiesman were checked with informants at the Departments of State and Labor, and through interviews with select foreign trade unionists. Prior to the assumption of the USIA post, Mr. Wiesman was a Labor Advisor at the State Department and Chief of the International Labor Organization Branch of the Division of International Labor, Social and Health Affairs of the State Department.

²⁰ Personal interview, Bernard Wiesman, Wash., Dec. 16, 1958. Among the labor bulletins mentioned are: Lavoro (distributed by the

more "individuality" and are more openly propagandistic. For example, Labour News from the U.S., a twelve-page tabloid-sized publication distributed in Britain, usually avoids propaganda and instead prints items of interest which originally appeared in the American daily or trade union press--as, for example, the adoption of a constitution by a newly organized bakery union which took the place of the old union, expelled from the AFL-CIO for racketeering,²¹ or the full text of the agreement reached between the United Auto Worker's Union and the Ford Motor Company,²² or news on the approval by Congress of Foreign Aid appropriations, increase in Federal Old Age and Survivors Insurance payments,²³ etc. The Lavoro designed for publication in Italy, on the other hand, is more propagandistic in tone and contains articles "exposing" slave labor in Communist China, the plight of Soviet film makers, and on "science in the service of labor."²⁴

In addition such a publication as the U.S. Labor Department's

USIA in Rome, Milan, Venice, Turin, Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Naples, Palermo); Labour News from the U.S. (London); Labor-Nyt (Copenhagen), Arbetarnytt från U.S.A. (Stockholm) and others.

²¹ Labour News from the U.S., VIII (Oct. 3, 1958).

²² Ibid., VIII (Sept. 19, 1958).

²³ Ibid., VIII (Sept. 5, 1958).

²⁴ Ibid., I (Dec. 10-16, 1951), for example.

Brief History of the American Labor Movement²⁵ was translated into several foreign languages and sent to various foreign posts for free distribution.

Q. Are you also distributing or recommending for distribution publications published by nongovernmental agencies, such as the AFL-CIO or the ORIT [Organizacion Regional Inter-americana del Trabajadores, Latin American regional organization of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, ICFTU] and others?

A. Well, in some instances--for example, if the message is more of critical nature than constructive, positive, like if there is in it more of an expose of Communism than pro-Americanism--we usually ask a friendly organization to put it out under its own name--for reasons of greater effectiveness or propriety.

Q. Does the USIA distribute among labor audiences materials issued by private groups independently?

A. Yes, we do distribute items issued by other groups. For example, the motion picture "With These Hands," produced by the ILGWU. A Spanish sound track was dubbed in.²⁶

Along with films produced by American unions (such as the Garment Workers' "With These Hands"), the USIA distributes labor films abroad of its own production. Among these is one titled "The Union Local" and a ten-minute documentary of the AFL-CIO merger convention. A film produced by Rutgers University on the National

²⁵ U.S. Labor Dept., Brief History of the American Labor Movement, Bull. 1000, rev. 1957, Washington.

²⁶ Personal interview, Bernard Wiesman, Wash., Dec. 16, 1958. How the showing of "With These Hands" provoked the ire of an American business firm against the labor attaché in the country of its operation was recorded earlier in this chapter.

Labor Relations Board was also distributed among labor audiences abroad.

By jurisdiction the labor attaché has neither authority nor the necessary funds to engage independently in publishing or film making. Some of the material issued by the USIA, however, is distributed by the labor attachés in the field or is issued under the name of a labor attaché.

Going to the People: The Problem of
Reaching Foreign Labor Publics

The primary mode whereby labor attachés themselves engage in influencing foreign publics is through personal contacts and oral persuasion (at large attendance meetings, personal individual contacts, etc.). The following excerpt from an interview with a Danish labor leader may give some insight into the type of persuasion effort a labor attaché engages in:

- Q. Would you say that he [the labor attaché] knows Danish trade unionist, that he knows the movement?
- A. He certainly does. He travels around quite a bit over the country--lectures, shows films about the United States.
- Q. Before what types of audiences does he appear? I mean, leadership groups, rank-and-file groups, people's universities, business groups?
- A. I know of the lectures he gives to the adult education groups of the AOF.
- Q. What kind of organization is that?
- A. It is a labor education association.
- Q. Did you personally attend any of his lectures?
- A. Oh, yes. It was a lecture on social security--and he illustrated his talk with a movie. We liked it very well--my wife especially was very pleased.

Q. Why?

A. Well, we know the United States is a capitalist country and everyone is for himself--we simply did not know you have such a developed social security system. It was new to us.

Q. Were other people similarly favorably impressed?

A. Yes, I think so. He talked about a lot of things that people did not know before and they were surprised to learn about these matters. C. [name of attaché] talks about it and it is interesting.

Q. Does he communicate in Danish?

A. No, unfortunately--Mr. C. does not speak Danish--he is being translated through interpreters.

Q. Do you think his message comes through well?

A. Very well, I think. As I said, he tells the audience that the United States is not only a land of business--that you also have a system of social welfare and social care.

.....

Q. Do you think of him as an American propagandist then?

A. Not that. He does not propagandize--he seems to communicate facts. I don't believe that anyone at the lecture I attended thought that Mr. C. wants to. . . to propagandize us. . . As a matter of fact, he tells bad as well as good things about America--during the lecture he did--the true facts.

.....

Q. Does he associate with the party leaders [Social Democrats]?

A. Yes, he does.

Q. Does he associate with the leaders of other political groups?

A. Maybe, I don't know.

.....

Q. Besides associating with leaders--does Mr. C. also associate with rank-and-file trade union members?

A. I think he does. At least he takes an interest in individual trade unionists. For example, after the lecture he talked to the men and asked them questions about their problems. My wife was very much impressed--you see, she has family in the United States and is interested in Americans. She liked Mr. C. very much.²⁷

²⁷ Personal interview with Hans Evelyn Jensen, Chairman, Joint Organization for the Local Unions of the State Railroad Workers in Aarhus, Denmark, and Chairman, Machinists' Union, Aarhus; East Lansing, April 4, 1957.

In more politically sensitive localities the labor attaché and/or "friendly" labor groups do not find it advisable from a tactical standpoint to have the labor attaché appear on a public labor forum. In such situations, his efforts at persuasion take on private forms. For example, two labor leaders from Malaya who had contact with the labor attaché in Singapore (as well as with the parttime U.S. "labor reporting officers" in Kuala Lumpur and Tanguy), had this to say:

- Q. How did you get to know him [the labor attaché] ? Does he come to union meetings?
- A. [Jesudoss]: He does. He attends trade union meetings quite often. [Lamsah]: He mixes easily with trade unionists.
- Q. With trade union leaders?
- A. [Jesudoss]: With trade union leaders and just members of the union. We meet socially.
- Q. Does he ever deliver lectures to trade union groups?
- A. [Jesudoss]: Not that I know of. I think not. [Lamsah]: He does not lecture. But he talks to people in private.
- Q. What does he talk about?
- A. [Lamsah]: He discusses labor problems, American labor problems.²⁸

In a country such as Brazil the situation seems to impose even greater restrictions--especially in periods of political uncertainty--as evidenced by the following exchange with a group of officials from the Brazilian Ministry of Labor, Industry and Commerce:

²⁸ Personal interview with Valentine Emanuel Jesudoss, member of Malayan Trade Union Council and member of Executive Council of Telecoms Workers of Malaya, and with Abdul Majid bin Lamsah, General Secretary, Asian Customs Services Union of Malaya; East Lansing, April 5, 1957.

- Q. Salert [labor attaché] is by now a fairly old resident in Brazil--would you say that he is familiar with the Brazilian scene?
- A. [Sr. Gouvea]: Very familiar. He seems to know all important union people. He seems to know what they think, their political line.
- Q. Now, you are government officials. Do you think that Salert knows government officials equally well?
- A. [Sr. Gouvea]: Yes he does. But mostly he associates with the politicians of the labor movement.
-
- Q. Would you say that he is well known?
- A. [Sr. Gouvea]: All democratic leaders seem to know him.
- Q. If he identifies himself so much with "democratic leaders" as you say--how do the Communists look upon him?
- A. [Sr. Gouvea]: They attack him.
- Q. How?
- A. [Sr. Gouvea]: At public meetings, in the press. They refer to him as an agent of North American imperialism.
-
- Q. Sr. Bueno, you say that Sowell [labor attaché] arrived in October or November, '56. When did you first meet him?
- A. [Sr. Bueno]: In October, soon after his arrival.
- Q. Why did he approach you?
- A. [Sr. Bueno]: He asked me if I know of any people he could collaborate with. He was eager to start working and was interested in developing relations with labor people.
-
- Q. As far as you know, was he able to establish the relations he wanted?
- A. [Sr. Bueno]: Yes, I think so. He soon, very soon, managed to establish contacts with labor people.
- Q. When you say labor people, do you mean leaders or rank-and-file members?
- A. [Sr. Bueno]: I mean delegates, union delegates, leaders.
- Q. What about ordinary union members?
- A. [Sr. Schneider]: I don't think he met ordinary union members. He was interested in meeting intellectuals connected with the labor movement.
- Q. And did he succeed?
- A. [Sr. Schneider]: Yes.
- Q. Why did he want to meet intellectuals?
- A. [Sr. Bueno]: He was interested in establishing a plan--a procedure--by which he would be able to explain to workers the United States -- to give them a better picture of the United--and. . . [Sr. Gouvea]: Of U.S.--Brazilian relations.

- Q. Are these things misunderstood?
- A. [Sr. Gouvea]: The Brazilian people are friendly towards the United States. But the Communists conduct an anti-U.S. campaign, especially among workers.
-
- [Sr. de Lima]: He [Sowell] was naturally trying to counter-act Communist propaganda and inform people about North American labor organizations, about the ORIT and ICFTU.
- Q. Would you say then that counter-propaganda was his main function?
- A. [Sr. de Lima]: Yes. [Sr. Bueno]: The great majority of the unions we have in Sao Paulo are democratic--but the Communists are more vocal.
- Q. Why?
- A. [Sr. Gouvea]: They concentrate more on propaganda.
- Q. Do you think then that Sowell does a good job in counter-acting Communist propaganda?
- A. [Sr. Bueno]: Yes.
- Q. How does he do that? Does he lecture in public?
- A. [Sr. Schneider]: He cannot do that--that would spoil everything, it would have a bad effect.
- Q. Why?
- A. [Sr. Schneider]: Because the Communists would then be able to say that it is all an American maneuver.
- Q. How then does he counteract?
- A. [Sr. Bueno]: He is very interested in the fight but he must be careful because there is the danger in Brazil--the danger that the Communists may exploit any relations between the U.S. government and the Brazilian government, between organizations of the two countries.
- Q. How then do you envision the job of a labor attaché?
- A. [Sr. Gouvea]: The job of a labor attaché must be done in a discreet way--through local people.²⁹

²⁹Personal interview with group of seven officials of the Labor Ministry of Brazil, Wash., Nov. 22, 1957. Two labor attaché posts are maintained in Brazil, one in Rio de Janeiro and one in Sao Paulo. Contrary to the sentiments expressed above, the foreigners interviewed felt that it is not the job of local labor leaders, no matter how friendly towards the United States, to become involved in pro-U.S. propaganda.

The Guided Tour as a Cold War Weapon

Other means available to labor attachés for influencing foreign trade unionists is by offers of assistance (or denial of assistance)-- which often includes financial as well as technical aid--and by making available to "friendly" contacts abroad free trips to the United States. These trips are made possible through the technical assistance program of the United States and take place under auspices of the Agency for International Development (formerly the International Cooperation Administration) and through the International Education Exchange Service (the Smith-Mundt program). The latter is designed for higher level foreign trade union leadership groups. Once in this country the visitor's stay is programmed by the Labor Department and such program normally includes visits to factories, plants, trade union locals, government labor agencies, social welfare agencies, as well as a side trip to Hollywood, California. The foreign visitors are expected to spend time at a college or university, especially contracted for the purpose, where they attend special lectures by members of the faculty as well as by government officials and trade union officials active in international affairs.³⁰ The labor attaché is directly involved in the

³⁰ For a time a specially created International Labor Center at St. John's College (Annapolis, Maryland) was used for this purpose. In charge of this Center was John T. Doherty, son of John C. Doherty, Sr., retired AFL-CIO Vice-President and President of the National Association of Letter Carriers, AFL-CIO. Mr. Doherty, Sr., upon his retirement was appointed Ambassador to Jamaica. Supra, chap. ii, n. 40.



selection of foreign trade union participants for such visits, and most of these selectees feel a sense of gratitude towards him.³¹ Upon the completion of approximately two weeks spent at a university and college center, the participants are given "Certificates of Attendance" which many later frame and put on the walls of their homes or offices. To many this is the only educational certificate they possess, and one Brazilian trade unionist told this author that he would consider the university that issued it his "alma-mater." Upon their return home, many refer to the "knowledge" or "expertise" they gained during their visit to the United States in order to bolster their positions within their own union organizations. Throughout their stay in the United States, however, some worry about their organizational positions at home being undermined during their absence. In a few cases the purpose of the visits misfired in that upon return home the participants publicly made some derogatory statements about the United States, and by doing so gained prominence in anti-American circles. Others became inactive, withdrew into private life after completion of their tour in the United States. One Brazilian trade union official has told this

³¹Based upon informal interviews with members of foreign trade union teams as well as foreign trade union leaders visiting this country. These interviews were conducted during the years 1956-59 in Washington, New York, Annapolis, East Lansing, Chicago, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, and other cities in this country. This author served as Team Manager for visiting trade union groups during the years 1956-58.

author that "while in the United States labor leadership is good business it is not such a good business in Brazil" and, therefore, upon return to his home town in Brazil he would resume his private law practice.³²

Sometimes, however, an offer of a visit to America may help in penetrating an existing barrier of suspicion if not hostility towards the United States, as for example, can be gleaned from the following exchange with a Burmese trade union official:

- Q. Do you know of any American government representatives whose interests are centered on labor affairs?
- A. No, I don't. I have never met them.
- Q. Do you know of any other labor leaders in your country who would associate with them?
- A. Nobody as far as I know does. Our labor people have nothing to do with them.
- Q. But you know of their existence, don't you?
- A. We are aloof from each other--although, in all truth, I met the American Embassy labor man. He arranged my trip and I talked to him on the eve of my departure--but never before.
- Q. Do you know any American at all?
- A. I have met Miss Janet Wells--she was a student in the Far East. I met her and she is an American. Otherwise, I never meet any Americans.
- Q. As far as you know, do any U.S. government persons ever meet with trade union groups? Do they ever talk to them?
- A. We keep aloof from each other.
- Q. Do any trade union representatives from the United States or other foreign countries ever meet with Burmese trade union groups?
- A. Tom Bevin [T.S. Bevin of the National Union of Agricultural Workers of England, headed 1953 Plantation Mission] of the ICFTU came to us. But he is not an American.

³²Personal interview with official of the National Federation of Free Drivers of Brazil, name withheld, Minneapolis, Aug. 26, 1957.

-
- Q. Are your unions affiliated with the ICFTU?
- A. No, we are not.
- Q. Besides visiting you--what other work does the ICFTU do in your area?
- A. Well, they send out propaganda material and the like.
- Q. Does the American Embassy engage in any such activities?
- A. They too send out propaganda and publications and movies--but only to groups requesting such services.
- Q. Do the unions get these?
- A. Yes, some--but no more than other organizations. And only if requested. If propaganda material should come without a prior request this might be misinterpreted.
- Q. What about the exchange-of-persons program? Do any Burmese labor leaders come to this country? How? Who invites them?
- A. Only recently has the American Embassy begun to invite trade unionists for visits to the United States--just as the Russians and Chinese did before.
- Q. Were you invited to Russia and China?
- A. Yes.³³

Of course, the process of selection itself may create ill-feelings as well, in that those not chosen may feel rejected or jealous. Some foreign trade union leaders feel that the labor attaché should delegate the task of selecting visitors to them. One Asian labor leader was, in fact, very irate over this--he complained in an interview that the labor attaché selects for visits to America leaders of a rival and, as

³³Personal interview with U Win Maung, Secretary, Industrial Relations Bureau, Trade Union Congress, Burma; Wash., May 8, 1957. Towards the end of the interview the Burmese labor union official wanted to know whether the author is "from the American FBI" and although reassured that he is not connected with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Mr. Maung nevertheless complained later to officials of the Labor Department that he was questioned by an FBI agent.

he maintained, anti-American union federation ("These Embassy people simply do not know much."), or that he selects "unknown persons" from his own federation.

He [the labor attaché] chose some workers from the Bata factory without consulting the union--and the central union organs feel slighted and insulted.³⁴

The System of Post Assignments and Transfers

In the U.S. Foreign Service, post assignments and transfers are apparently related to the service classification-categories. Preference for more desirable posts is given to those in the FSO category, whereas with respect to the FSS category assignments are made, as the Hoover Commission Report pointed out, "on an ad hoc basis with vacancies being filled as they occur."³⁵ This tendency, however, is not limited only in regard to assignments and transfers of officers in the FSS classification-category but is reflected also in the administration of the labor attaché program. The question which arises but

³⁴Personal interview with Chaudhry Rahmatullah, Vice-President, All-Pakistan Confederation of Labor, and President, West Pakistan Federation of Labor; East Lansing, April 5, 1957.

³⁵Harvey H. Bundy and James Grafton Rogers, The Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Affairs: A Report with Recommendations Prepared for the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Hoover Commission, Task Force Report on Foreign Affairs: Appendix II (Wash., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Jan., 1949), p. 117. This is one of the main points of contention on the part of officers of the FSS category--as reflected in "Letters to the Editor" of the Foreign Service Journal by such officers and their wives.

which is beyond the scope of the present study is, how a system of accidental and haphazard administration of the assignment-and-transfer process would affect the morale of the officer concerned, his ability to become acclimated to the particular political culture, how it affects his possibilities of becoming oriented in this culture, of refining his language and area-skills. Absence of such considerations in the administration of the assignment-and-transfer process may very well hinder the individual officer in establishing a climate of mutual confidence with the subjects of his influence-attempt, and thus may affect the success of the program's goal-achievement. The Hoover Report came to the conclusion, in fact, that:

The vital need today is for an effective long-range assignment system which will permit the realization of satisfactory careers throughout the Foreign Service.³⁶

The point emerged clearly in an interview with a Swedish labor leader on a visit to this country. He liked the current U.S. labor attaché and thought well of his work. However, when asked how this labor attaché, relatively new to the post, compared with his predecessor (labor attaché P.), the respondent's eyes lit up:

Oh, yes. He was one of us. We think there are too many changes on the labor attaché post. We had three in a short

³⁶Ibid.

period of time. The man before P. [name withheld] used to send out published information only--and that's all. We think these people are being moved around too much.

Q. Do you miss P.?

A. Yes, we do. It was a mistake to send him away. For one thing he spoke Swedish--why did they transfer him to Belgium then? It does not make sense.

Q. What did he do?

A. Well, he distributed information bulletins and similar things--as the others do. But he also came to meetings, went to factories, he just knew people. He knew Sweden from before the war and had good contacts, personal contacts. He attended almost all labor meetings and was well known among our trade union leaders.

.
Q. What about Mr. U. [name of attaché withheld] and the others?

A. We don't know them too well.³⁷

To this date, however, despite the fact that the unified Board of the Foreign Service, which under the mandate of the 1946 Act includes representatives of the interested specialized departments, has a voice in the assignment-and-transfer policies, no substantial changes have occurred since 1949--the date of the Hoover Report--as interviews with Foreign Service officers and State Department officials would indicate. One of them said: "It is important to stay long in a country--

³⁷ Personal interview with Sten Valentin Sjoeborg, Secretary-General and President-elect, Swedish Telegraph and Telephone Workers' Union; Wash., April 3, 1957. Mr. Sjoeborg kept on emphasizing labor attaché P.'s knowledge of the Swedish language and his ability to engage in informal conversations in the vernacular. He said: "He spoke Swedish and it was easy to get along with him." About the language skill of P.'s replacement he had this to say: "Well, he speaks Norwegian. He was born, I believe, in Minnesota--but we do understand each other."

long enough to become informed on the various phases of that country's political and social life."³⁸

Although the Hoover Commission treated the problem only from the viewpoint of goal-achievement, it seems, the matter may be considered in a different, in an administrative, light. From this standpoint the question may be asked as to whether long-term assignment to one given area will meet with the satisfaction and approval of Foreign Service personnel. It is doubtful whether the individual officer, regardless of how closely he may be identified with the organization and its goals, would be willing to consider the matter of assignments and transfers only from this impersonal view. To him it is not only a question of a program's goal accomplishment or failure, nor is it even a matter of self-evaluation in terms of professional suitability for a particular assignment--but more so perhaps a question of personal and family comfort which he must consider. As noted in the previous chapter, knowledge of Pushtu may perhaps make an officer's long-term assignment to Afghanistan desirable from the program's viewpoint but to the officer affected the prospect of indefinite assignment to a "hardship" post is less attractive when compared with the possibility of assignment to a post for which he might be

³⁸Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., Dec. 18, 1958.

"technically" less equipped but which offers greater social and even career opportunities. One labor attaché wrote:

With most officers, family considerations are predominant. Climate is only part of this; isolation and disease in the tropics are worse than the heat. . . . If these problems are not pertinent a post with a labor movement involving some challenge would be my preference. I personally would prefer tackling a problem of cultivating a more pro-American attitude, rather than just handle contacts with an already thoroughly pro-American labor movement.³⁹

With slight variations, substantially the same answer was obtained from nearly all labor attachés questioned on the problem of post desirability. Some would not mind the adventure of a hostile environment, others would like to go where the career opportunities are best--in all cases where families were involved, however, job-related aspirations were subordinated to considerations of family welfare. From the standpoint of the ambitious yet also family-oriented labor attaché, the best post would be one with a "challenge" (in terms of the local labor movement), visibility (in terms of Washington), and socially and climatically acceptable (in terms of wife and children). One of them seems to sum it up as follows:

To my mind, the nature of the labor movement (the challenge of the job, etc.) is of primary consideration in liking or disliking a

³⁹ From written response to questions submitted during academic year, 1958-59.

post. One cannot, of course, ignore one's family, and often the wife's judgment of desirability (based on extraneous factors such as climate, etc.) influence the decision. Career considerations cannot be ignored. As much as I enjoyed [name of post withheld], I felt it imperative to leave in order to win broader experience and qualify myself for promotion.⁴⁰

How then are posts and individual labor attachés matched? How is one chosen for the other? The panel of knowledgeable (33.7% of whom professed great, "very," familiarity with the organization of the labor attaché program and 30.5% of whom rated themselves as being "fairly familiar")⁴¹ were asked this question: "In your opinion, what are the factors most likely to determine a labor attaché's assignment to a given post?"⁴² Of the possible factors suggested as response choice, not one was singled out by a majority of respondents as the most likely factor determining a labor attaché's post assignment (Table 33). This uncertainty on the part of the panel of knowledgeable as to the factor most likely to contribute to the assignment of a labor attaché to a given post equals the general state of uncertainty which was conveyed to this author by informants in the State Department,

⁴⁰From written responses to questions submitted during academic year, 1958-59.

⁴¹Appendix I, 0.08-B, Another 30.5% of the knowledgeable rated themselves as only "slightly familiar" with the organization of the labor attaché program while 4.2% claimed no knowledge of it. Only 1.1% recorded "blank" in response to that question.

⁴²Appendix I, 2.09.

Table 33. --Opinions as to the factors most likely to determine a labor attaché's assignment to a given post: by knowledgeable (percentages)

Most Likely Factors Determining Job Assignment	Yes	No	Total
1. Seniority	16.8	83.2	100.0
2. Knowledge of post area's language and culture	20.0	80.0	100.0
3. Knowledge of post area's labor movement	20.0	80.0	100.0
4. Other personal qualifications	15.8	84.2	100.0
5. Personal "connections" or lack of "connections" within State Dept.	34.7	65.3	100.0
6. Personal "connections" or lack of "connections" in quarters outside of State Dept.	29.5	70.5	100.0
7. Request for specific person for specific post	16.8	83.2	100.0
8. A matter of chance	9.5	90.5	100.0
9. Considerations related to rotation policy	32.6	67.4	100.0
10. Other factors	10.5	89.5	100.0

Labor Department, and the labor movement when this subject was discussed. Former and present labor attachés, too, seemed to be uncertain. That is, there indeed does not seem to be any set pattern or any definite set of criteria for post assignments. However, among the various factors which were least rejected as likely to contribute to a labor attaché's post assignment were personal "connections" or lack of such "connections" within the State Department (34.7% favored it as the most likely contributing factor) and "considerations related to rotation policy" (32.6% said yes to this). Personal "connections" or lack of "connections" in quarters outside of the State Department

emerged as a third possible avenue linking individual labor attachés with particular posts (29.5%). Those knowledgeable who chose to identify the latter possibility went on to specify further that a personal "connection"--first in the Labor Department and, second, in the U.S. labor movement--may determine the choice of a particular labor attaché for a particular post. Although the possibility of a request for a specific person for a specific post did not draw much support as the most likely factor determining post assignment (only 16.8% indicated this as a likely factor), those who chose it went on to specify that an ambassador is the one who may request a specific person for a specific post. It is significant that the ratio between the yes and no responses on any of the factors did not vary by level of familiarity of the knowledgeable with the organization of the labor attaché program--as is to be seen, for example, by the reactions recorded in Table 34. This table also shows that considerations related to "rotation policy" as a factor decisive for labor attaché post assignment shows a favorable edge with the knowledgeable who are "very familiar" with the organization (40.6%) over the "connections" or lack of "connections" in the State Department (34.4% of the knowledgeable who are "very familiar" with the organization). In any event although uncertainty exists as to what precisely determines a labor attaché's assignment to a given post, personal "pull" or maneuvering (the opposite, that is, of some definite personnel planning) or "rotation policy" (the opposite

Table 34. --Opinions as to possession or nonpossession of "connections" within the State Department or rotation policy as being the most likely factor determining a labor attaché's assignment to a given post: by levels of self-rated familiarity of knowledgeable with organization of labor attaché program (percentages)

Level of Self-Rated Familiarity of Respondents with Organization of Labor Attaché Program	Likely Factors Determining Labor Attaché Post Assignment					
	State Dept. Connections			Rotation Policy		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Very familiar (N=32)	34.4	65.6	100.0	40.6	59.4	100.0
Fairly familiar (N=29)	44.8	55.2	100.0	41.4	58.6	100.0
Slightly familiar (N=29)	31.0	69.0	100.0	20.7	79.3	100.0
Not familiar at all (N=5)	.0	100.0	100.0	.0	100.0	100.0
Total (N=95)	34.7	65.3	100.0	32.6	67.4	100.0

of freely and personally arrived at agreements) seem to be the factors believed to be most responsible for matching posts with individual labor attachés.

Decisions in the State Department in regard to general policy, but much more in regard to personnel, seem indeed to be arrived at by some informal, personal and ad hoc agreements and arrangements. In fact, informality, ability to exercise initiative and independent judgment seem to be the ideal hallmarks of the generalist, and he can indulge in them in fair measure especially in times of relative political relaxation in Washington--i. e., in those periods free from the periodic Congressional investigations of the State Department and Foreign Service, such as those conducted in equally informal manner by the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. It would appear, therefore,

that despite the increased size of the State Department and the Foreign Service since World War II and despite bureaucratization, great areas conducive for nonbureaucratic, nonrigidly organized patterns of behavior were left open. One of these areas is the field of post assignments, it seems. Cases relative to posts and staffing are dealt with if and when the case comes up.

Despite the frequently discussed "rotation policy," there seems to be very little evidence of such a policy, or, at least, of any planned implementation of such a policy. As one labor attaché remarked: "The changing pronouncements on the subject, by adding confusion, probably do more harm than good."⁴³ Some feel that the situation is improving, although all seem to agree that there is need for more advanced planning of personnel transfers, as well as in the area of career development in general. Some attribute the difficulties to a shortage in personnel. The impression one gains, though, is that posts are filled as vacancies occur and candidates are on hand. Vacancies occur for a variety of reasons: an officer leaves the Service altogether, a friend "lobbies" on his behalf in Washington for a transfer to a more desirable location, he makes requests through informal correspondence, or formally, through the Chief of Mission. Sometimes a Chief of Mission may request an officer be "transferred-out,"

⁴³Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., Oct. 12, 1957.

for whatever reason, or, an ambassador may ask for a particular officer he knows to be assigned to him. At some posts (such as Mexico City, Rome, Paris, Tokyo) a labor attaché can make a "name" for himself--enough to be noticed in Washington. And this seems to be on the mind of most of them. Finally, illness in the labor attaché's family brings about vacancies, midcareer training, or assignment to a desk in Washington.

On what basis are posts established initially? There seems to be more orderly procedure in the opening of a post than in the filling of a post or than in transferring an officer from one post to another. At least, the opening of a new labor attaché post, the sending of a labor attaché for the first time to a diplomatic mission, must be justified primarily in terms of the importance of the labor movement in the given country.⁴⁴

The Foreign Service is thus groping with problems which require consideration of a multitude of both personal factors and factors related to either general or some specific policy. The problem facing those in charge of the labor attaché program is that of finding a solution which would simultaneously take into consideration the needs of the individual officers as well as the needs of the program. Some of the difficulties could be alleviated perhaps by making at least some of

⁴⁴Information supplied by labor advisors at the State Department, Washington, during various periods in 1958.

the so-called "hardship" posts (in itself a relative concept) more attractive in terms of personal comfort, salary, and special allowances--suggestions which more frequently than not meet with Congressional disapproval.

Table 35 emphasizes once more that assignments to labor attaché posts are regulated at best, if at all planned, in terms of some undetermined administrative considerations or by personally arrived

Table 35. --Labor attaché/agricultural attaché programs: 100% changes in mission-posts' personnel and changes in individual attaché assignments, 1955-1958*

Year	Number of		Number of		100% Change in		Changes in	
	Mission-Posts		Personnel		Mission-Posts		Individual	
	Labor	Agri.	Labor	Agri.	Labor	Agri.	Labor	Agri.
1955	28	44	31	67	0%	0%	0%	0%
1956	25	48	32	78	36%	9%	39%	15%
1957**	29	50	37	77	32%	17%	41%	32%
1958	29	49	36	75	0%	4%	5%	5%

* By 100% change in mission-posts' personnel is meant complete reassignment of the staff of a given post and/or permanent or temporary liquidation of same. By change in individual assignment is meant transfer of one officer from one location to another. Example: if a post is staffed by two officers and both are transferred this is interpreted as 100% change in the mission post; if only one of the officers is transferred it is considered as an individual reassignment.

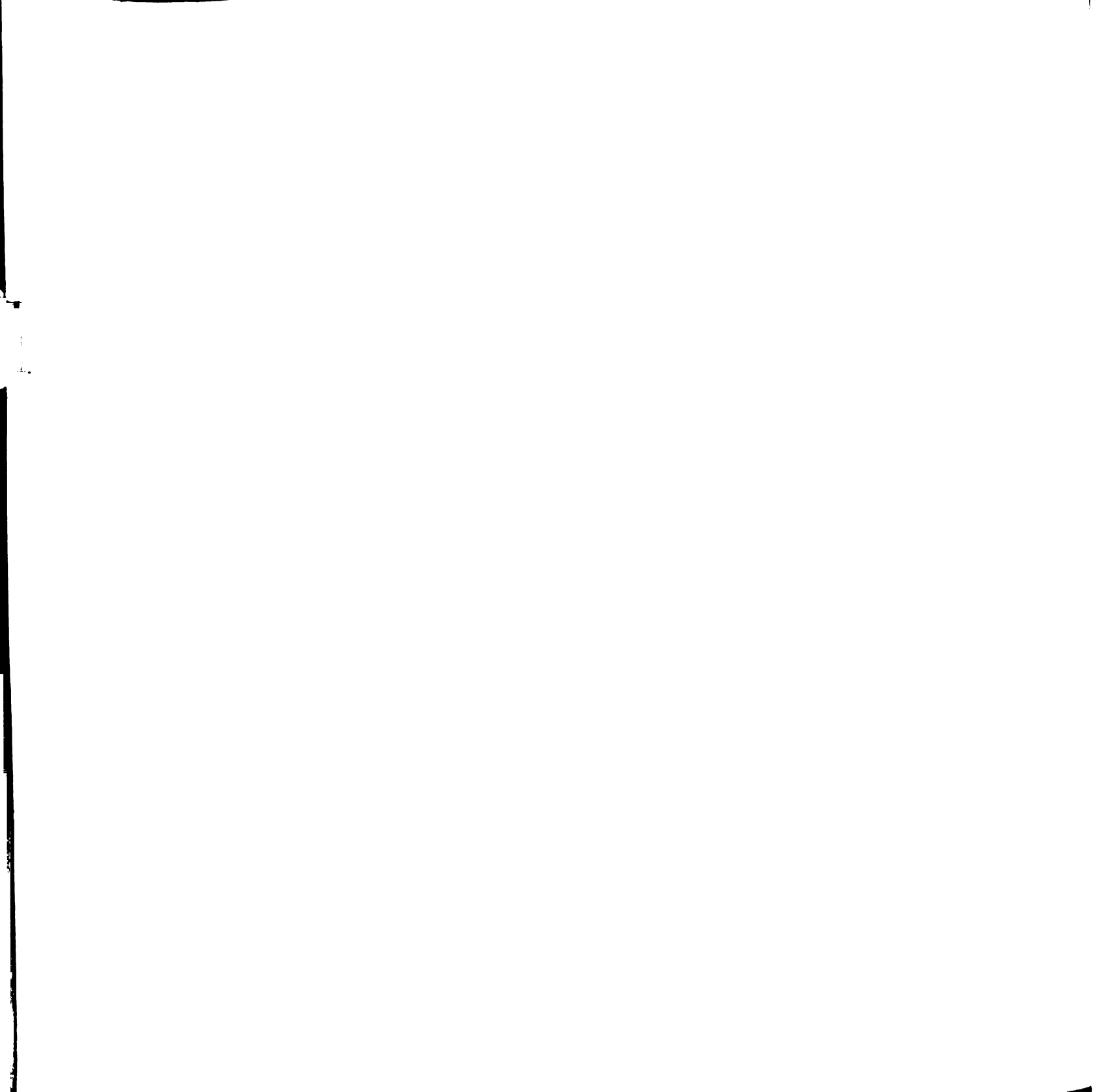
** In this year the Agricultural post in Singapore was replaced with one in Kuala Lumpur to service both Malaya and the Crown Colony. Despite the change in locations the post was recorded as one and considered so accordingly with respect to change in post personnel and individual assignments.

at agreements. In contrast to this, the assignment-and-transfer process in regard to agricultural attachés shows greater stability throughout, although by 1958 the process of assignment and transfer in the labor attaché program appears to be stabilized somewhat, enough to approximate the pattern manifested by the agricultural program (and this is probably what is meant by some labor attachés when they say that "the situation is improving."). Comparison between the labor and agricultural attaché programs in this phase of the study is limited to the period 1955-1958, during which the FAS returned under Agriculture Department jurisdiction. We are prompted in limiting the comparison to this period (a) because we lack data on assignments and transfers for the agricultural attaché program prior to 1955, and (b) in order to see whether a program's affiliation with a specialized executive department--other than the regular Foreign Service and State Department--entails a different assignment-and-transfer pattern. As has already been pointed out, in the case of the agricultural attachés' assignments and transfers greater stability is to be seen during the years 1955-1957. On the other hand, such a conclusion might be misleading because of the relatively short time span under consideration--a longer period perhaps would have indicated greater similarities in this respect for the comparable programs.

Post Locations: Labor and Agriculture

The location of certain posts may throw some additional light on the character of the labor and agricultural attaché programs respectively. For example, the agricultural attaché program operated without interruption in Yugoslavia, a country with which the United States maintains, especially since that government's initial "break" from the Communist bloc, a rather active relationship particularly in the area of trade and aid. On the other hand, no labor attaché functioned in Yugoslavia during the period for which complete comparative data (with the agricultural attaché program) are available. Not until the Kennedy Administration was a Foreign Service officer designated as labor attaché in Belgrad, Yugoslavia.⁴⁵ As a general rule, however, U.S. labor attachés are not assigned to Communist-dominated countries, since the emphasis of the program is on competition for the friendship of "free" labor. That this general rule is not consistently adhered to is evidenced not only by the present assignment of a labor attaché to officially Communist Yugoslavia but also by the fact that when Professor Walter Galenson joined the Foreign

⁴⁵It may or may not be of some significance that one other member of the labor attaché program, a protege of Jay Lovestone, was transferred from his labor attaché post in London to the post of 1st Secretary of the Embassy in Belgrade and still later to that of Consul General in Zagreb, Yugoslavia.



Service in 1944 the first post assigned to him was that of labor attaché in Moscow. It is only after he waited a full year in Washington for accreditation from the Soviet government--which was never forthcoming--that he was appointed as labor attaché to Oslo.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, after the Communists came to power in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and later China, labor attachés were recalled from the capitals of the first two countries while no official diplomatic relations were ever established by the United States with the Communist government on the Chinese mainland. The liquidations in the forties of the labor attaché posts in Warsaw and Prague were on the assumption that the labor movements of Poland and Czechoslovakia, having fallen under Communist control, are no longer "free."

However, the fact that as long as American diplomatic missions existed on the Chinese mainland after World War II (until 1949), a labor attaché post was maintained in populous and industrial Shanghai rather than in Nanking, the official seat of the central Nationalist government (recognized by the United States), is quite symptomatic. A similar occurrence is noticeable with respect to the labor attaché post in Australia: instead of being located in official Canberra, the

⁴⁶Professor Galenson has subsequently, after he left the Foreign Service in 1946, visited the Soviet Union in a private capacity. This would indicate that Soviet objections were not to Galenson as a person but rather to his official labor attaché designation.

U.S. labor attaché there operates in industrial Sydney where the organized labor movement is particularly active. The agricultural attaché, on the other hand, maintains his office in Canberra. Labor attachés, as indicated, also operate in the two most populous and industrialized cities of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro, and Sao Paulo.

Another characteristic manifestation was the absence of a labor attaché in the Dominican Republic while that country was under the rule of General Rafael L. Trujillo-Molina but the presence there during that time of an agricultural attaché--and the reverse, the absence of an agricultural attaché in Israel and the presence of a labor attaché in that country, in industrial and largely labor-oriented Tel-Aviv. A labor attaché is also maintained in Cairo--it is interesting to note (and perhaps reflective of some "bias" in the labor attaché program), though, that while relatively small Israel commands the services of a fulltime labor attaché, the labor attaché in Cairo is also required to service the post in Baghdad.⁴⁷ Israel is certainly relatively more

⁴⁷ Since religious or ethnic identifications are not indicated by the social background data contained in The Biographic Register, neither the labor attaché universe nor the universe of agricultural attachés were analyzed from that perspective. The impression of this author based upon personal contacts, as well as on the basis of names on the roster of the two programs, is that the labor attaché program is staffed by a considerable number of persons of Jewish origin. Several informants conveyed to the author similar impressions with an implied suggestion that this may explain something about the program. It is the feeling of this author that somehow Jews either are more visible or that certain observers tend to associate Jews with intellectual activities connected with "labor." Other observers, such

industrialized and labor-oriented than either the United Arab Republic or Iraq, and labor in Israel is also more politically diversified than in the other two countries (and in that sense it is also "free"). Both the labor attaché program and the agricultural attaché program maintain offices in Franco-dominated Spain, however--an assignment which can be questioned, as it is, at least in the case of the labor attachés, given the goals of that program. One indeed wonders what the opportunities or possibilities might be for the U.S. labor attaché to develop contacts with "free" trade unionists in that country.⁴⁸ In general, however, the locations of the posts are quite reflective of the different goals of the two respective programs.⁴⁹

as Jack Barbash or Paul Jacobs, again on the basis of impressions, have discounted any such assertions, and someone even maintained that there are probably no more than about fifty Jews on the staffs of all trade union organizations in Washington but that "Jews are simply more visible" than other Americans. This author does not know of any study which proved the point empirically one way or another, perhaps because data on ethnic or religious identification are difficult to come by. Names do not seem indicative at all of ethnic or religious origin since (a) many persons of non-Anglo-Saxon background bear in the United States "anglicized" names, and (b) many supposedly "characteristic Jewish names" may be borne by persons of non-Jewish German or Scandinavian descent and vice versa.

⁴⁸ The only permitted forms of trade union organization in Spain (as well as in Portugal) are the syndicates in which both employers and workers are formally "represented." In some geographic localities, however, as well as in certain branches of the industry, pre-Franco unions and labor organizations seem to have managed to maintain their identity and some appear to be rather effective underground.

⁴⁹ Under the Kennedy Administration a number of new labor attaché posts were opened, especially in the newly independent countries (e.g., posts were opened in Karachi where previously only parttime

This brings us to the question of whether personal qualifications for a particular assignment are in any way taken into consideration and of how the two specialized programs, that of labor and agriculture, compare in this respect. In other words, is there a relationship between the personal qualifications of labor attachés and agricultural attachés--in terms of their previous experience and exposures--and the political cultures to which they are assigned in the line of duty? This will be explored in the next chapter.

labor attachés and labor reporting officers were stationed, Dakar, Accra, Saigon, Leopoldville, Nairobi, Beirut, Rabat), in addition to the post in Belgrad mentioned above. It would be speculative to argue that these posts would not have materialized under the preceding Republican Administration due to the lack of conclusive substantiating evidence. It is reasonable to assume, however, that the particular orientation of the Kennedy Administration, coupled with the international importance of the newly emerged nations, contributed greatly to the opening of new labor attaché posts, especially in Africa and Asia. Pakistani labor leaders interviewed by this author argued--much because of prestige reasons, since a labor attaché post was maintained in New Delhi, India--that they, too, are entitled to a fulltime U.S labor attaché (in Karachi) rather than labor reporting officers and parttime labor attachés. One said: "Until the partition we and the Indian labor movement were one. The history of our labor movement is as old as that of India's. However, India has a fulltime labor attaché, and a very good one, but we don't. We in Pakistan need a fulltime labor attaché who knows something about labor and who is able to explain ideas--it isn't the job of native trade union leaders, however friendly to the United States, to sell America to our people. We find ourselves in a rather touchy situation." As indicated previously in this chapter, the Pakistanis interviewed were dissatisfied with the services of the parttime labor attachés, especially with respect to their judgment in selecting people for visits to the United States. (Personal interview, Chaudhry Rahmatullah, April 5, 1957.) It is again characteristic that once a fulltime labor attaché was assigned to Pakistan, he opened offices in industrial Karachi rather than in the official capital, Rawalpindi.

CHAPTER IX

LABOR ATTACHE'S EXPERIENCES AND POST ASSIGNMENT

Types of Labor Movements

It should be briefly recalled here that the American trade unions, the Labor Department and others emphasized the necessity for knowing the "language" of the labor movements of the areas to which labor attachés are assigned. Greater stress was laid by these groups on this condition than on the necessity for knowing the area-language (in a philological sense). The "language" of the labor movement although containing certain symbols international in scope varies nevertheless from area to area, according to the political culture in which the given labor movement functions, according to its "type" and political orientation. For this reason we have established a typology of labor movements largely patterned after Gabriel Almond's typology of political cultures.¹ "Political culture" is distinguished from the somewhat loose and mystical "general culture"—concept. Although

¹ Gabriel A. Almond, "Comparative Political Systems," Political Behavior: A Reader in Theory and Research, ed. Heinz Eulau, Samuel J. Eldersveld, Morris Janowitz (Glencoe: Free Press, 1956), pp. 34-42.

related to certain manifestations of the "general culture," the political culture is an outgrowth of a given "political system" and thus "embedded in a particular pattern of orientations to political action"²-- and therefore empirically observable. Unfortunately, our labor movement typology, limited as it is to the labor sectors of the respective political cultures, cannot be utilized for comparative purposes between the labor and the agricultural attaché programs, with regard to relation between the officer's previous experience and labor assignments.

Thus, according to the position which each labor movement maintains within the political culture in which it functions, and according to the degree of the labor movement's sharing of the all-societal values and/or retreat into a political subculture, the labor movements of various geographic areas are here classified in the following political categories.

1. The trade union movement which functions as a pressure group within a political culture that is secular, multivalued, rational, calculating, and experimental; which shares the values of the society-at-large; which operates in a political system with a differentiated role structure; which performs a specialized function to which it is primarily devoted. Such a trade union movement is manifestly

²Ibid., p. 36.

"apolitical" and permits its membership freedom of political choice. It represents an economic class but one which does not aspire to a position of power in the political system. Individual members may aspire to power as they may aspire, and even succeed, to leave the confines of that class. Such a trade union movement had its inception perhaps in a political subculture but managed to break through the political and psychological barrier dividing the subculture from the rest of the community and is at the present accepted by-and-large as another pressure group by the other groups of that society. (The American trade union movement would come under this category.)

2. The second category of trade union movement has many of the characteristics of the first just as the political culture in which it functions is similar to that of the former, although the political system might be different. Manifestly apolitical, this trade union movement performs a distinct political function as a group having its own latent political ambitions. Its function is not so specialized--in fact, as a group it is affiliated with a political party and through it operates in the political arena. Such a trade union movement exists in a pseudo subculture but this subculture is neither too organized nor exclusive. (The trade union movements of England, Holland, Australia, for example, would come under this category.)

3. A trade union movement which exists in a political culture similar to that of Categories 1 and 2. The movement itself has many

of the elements characteristic of those in the first and second categories although, unlike that in the first category, it is oriented to a single political party and strives for power through that party. Unlike the trade union movement in the second category, it functions less in a subculture, appeals often for support to the political center of society and with the aid of that center is frequently in a power position. (Power will often be held by the labor party alone or in coalition with other parties appealing to the center.) Once in position of power the trade union movement and its party tends to retain this position over sustained periods of time. (The Scandinavian trade unions would fit this category.)

4. The trade union movement which was born through, or simultaneously with, a political movement (and if syndicalist, it was political syndicalism) which flourished in a subculture which is a component of a general political culture characterized by uneven development, a political system where roles are not always clearly defined and where those in power do not always consider it necessary to account to the wide public. Although the trade union movement as such may have a declared apolitical character, its members are nevertheless committed to political parties and political symbolism plays an important role. (The trade union movements of Germany, France, and Italy would fall under this category.)

5. The trade union movement which exists in a mixed political

culture and pre-industrial system. In such a culture Western institutions often clash with traditional methods of "doing things." Political exaltation and devotion to a charismatic leader is not uncommon. Although a labor movement subculture has had no time to develop (due to backward industrial conditions), symbols and images commonly associated with a labor movement subculture (devoted to creation of new values) are in use, often mixed with charismatic nationalism (devoted to preservation of traditional values). Although leaning upon a political party, individual leaders rather than the party as a whole may gain greater access to sources of governmental power. Although devoted to certain social, economic, and political goals these are not always clearly defined nor is their propagation always coherent. (This category would embrace the trade unions, and their leaders, of the former colonial countries as well as those of Latin America.)

Relationship between Experience and Post Assignment

For Tables 36 and 37 "Political Area-Culture A" would correspond to above Category 2, "Political Area-Culture B" to Category 3; and "Political Area-Culture C" to Category 4. The labor movement Category 5 (former colonial and Latin America) is divided in Table 36 into two "political area-cultures"--"D" and "E," the latter distinguishing Latin America from the others in this category because of the United States' traditionally distinctive policy-orientation towards

Table 36. --Labor attachés: percentage of labor attaché assignments related to political culture-area experience prior to entry into labor attaché program

Areas of Previous Experience	Number of Labor Attachés with Prior Experience in Given Area	Percentage of Labor Attaché Assignments Utilizing Previous Area Experience
A	10	30
B	3	67
C	27	52
D	9	44
E	16	63
F	4	
Area unknown	6	
Unknown	6	
None	25	

Table 37. --LA-Dept Prior: percentage of labor attaché assignments related to previous Foreign Service political culture-area experience

Areas of Previous Experience	Number of Labor Attachés with Prior Experience in Given Area	Percentage of Labor Attaché Assignments Utilizing Previous Area Experience
A	5	20
B	2	50
C	12	50
D	6	33
E	12	83
F	4	
None	6	

this area. A separate "political culture-area" was established in Table 36 for Canada ("F") because of the mixed features of that country's labor movement. Although structurally influenced by the U.S. trade union movement, Canadian trade unionists have a political orientation more akin to that of French trade unionists (in the French-

speaking sections of the country) or to that of England and Australia especially (among the English-speaking Canadian trade unionists). It should be pointed out that each actor in the labor attaché population could have had prior experience in several political culture-areas (the maximum possible experiences for the total labor attaché population could be 81×6 or 486).

It is obvious that overseas assignments with the Foreign Service constitute the bulk of the pre-labor attaché political culture-area experience of the subjects under investigation. Germany, France, Italy and other countries with similar political culture and with similar labor movement-types afforded the labor attachés most of their pre-assignment experience. However, Latin America is favored most in assigning to this area officers who had previous experience there (83% of such experience was utilized for labor attaché assignments). Among "LA-Simultaneous" a great many had no prior experience abroad. In the "LA-Dept. Prior" subcategory, the 6 who had no such previous experience are people who were kept in Washington after entering the Foreign Service to await assignment, of which a labor attaché post was the first to materialize. The type of political culture-area experience of another 6 in the general labor attaché universe who had been abroad previously is unknown; in most instances such experience was related to service with U.S. armed forces overseas.

It is interesting to note that Canada in which 4 labor attachés

lived for some length of time prior to their labor attaché assignment has no assignments corresponding to these experiences. Facetiously, one may conclude that those in charge of assignment policies assume that all intelligent Americans are familiar with the Canadian political system and no particular previous exposure to the political culture of our English-speaking neighbor is necessary. Area A which corresponds to Category 2 has a surprisingly low ratio of assignments relating to previous experience--perhaps because of the solid stability of that area's labor movement which would prompt officials in charge to assign officers without previous experience abroad to these countries with the thought that they would find it easier to make adjustment and to function.

Generally, however, and this is particularly evident from Table 37, assignments often are made with considerations other than that of the given officer's previous experience in the political culture-area. This observation is quite in accord with those made previously in relation to regular Foreign Service officers assigned to the labor attaché program--i.e., they are so dispatched as part of their individual, "normal" Foreign Service careers without any special attention to the particular requirements of the labor attaché program. In other words, assignments to the labor attaché program are generally guided by the same "rules" as those applying to "normal" assignments in the overall Foreign Service--specialized qualifications and previous

exposure to particular foreign political cultures are considered only to a lesser extent. A "typical" case may perhaps illustrate this point:

In this instance the officer was drawn to the labor attaché program from the general Foreign Service, although his record reveals no former connection with the labor movement nor any training in the labor field. In the course of a relatively short period of time he was stationed in two different political culture-areas while with the Foreign Service. After being appointed labor attaché he remained for a period in the mission-post of his last regular Foreign Service assignment but shortly afterwards was transferred to assume the functions of labor attaché in a yet different political culture-area.

It is important to look back upon the types of experience which the labor attachés had abroad before entering the labor attaché program and to compare these with the types of experience enjoyed by the agricultural attachés in the past. These experiences are tabulated in Table 38. It must be emphasized, however, that each subject could have had more than one type of experience.

Table 38 makes it clear again that most of the subjects in both universes gained their experience while in government service. Perhaps because of their technical skills agricultural attachés seem to be in greater demand for foreign assignments by U.S. government agencies. In fact, many of them have seen service with various U.S. aid

Table 38.--Labor attachés/agricultural attachés: percentages of officers with various types of experience abroad other than that gained in attaché service

Type of Experience Abroad	Labor Attaché	Agri. Attaché
Birth/Childhood/Youth	9	5
Study/Academic Research	16	13
Armed Forces	30	17
Foreign Service/State Dept.	31	27
Other U.S. Govt. service	14	35
International organization	2	4
Commerce/business	5	1
Professional work	7	5
None	31	29
Unknown	7	18

agencies. For our purposes it is important to note, however, that very few of the labor attachés had the kind of prior experience abroad which would bring them in intimate contact with the native labor movements. The only previous experience they had overseas which could have possibly given them such contact were those of "Study/academic research," or service in the armed forces perhaps or in other special U.S. government service (a few attachés served as labor or manpower advisors with the military governments in occupied areas). Contact gained with native trade unionists via military service overseas would have been of rather limited nature, however, while possible contact gained with foreign trade unionists through study or academic research abroad could not be adequately determined in the course of this study.

In general, one must conclude that experiences gained in a particular political culture do not necessarily assure that a Foreign Service officer--labor attachés included--would have opportunity to utilize such experience while in the Service. The claim that geographic area expertise (including foreign language skill) is one specialty particularly emphasized by the Foreign Service, does not seem to be borne out by the evidence. An officer's command of an "esoteric" language does not necessarily mean that he will be assigned to an area where such language is spoken. During the so-called McCarthy era, especially, when certain political groups attempted to place blame for the loss of mainland China on "Chinese experts" in the Foreign Service and the State Department, many officers in possession of Chinese area skills (including language) and experience in that country, found themselves either "forced out" of government employ or relegated to service in a geographic area outside of their expertise--such as Latin America. Conditions such as these, of course, do not facilitate the development of specialized knowledge (including special language skills) among Foreign Service officers. It would be too much to expect from a person to invest time, effort, and dedication on voluntary specialization if he knows that such specialization may not be utilized at all or, if it is, only for a limited period of time. The Foreign Service seems to be dominated by persons educated in the broad liberal arts and humanistic tradition who frown upon specialization in depth of any kind.

There seem to be other reasons as well for this failure to utilize special knowledge or experiences gained while in the Foreign Service or outside of it. As was noted earlier in this study, reasons for the Foreign Service's and State Department's de-emphasis on deep-felt identification with labor is the fear that such identification may supersede identification with the U.S. government and its policies, especially if such policies should conflict with the demands of the labor movement. That such indeed may be the case was made clear to this author by one labor attaché whom he questioned on this point:

Issues involving a conflict of interest do not come often into sharp focus but they do sometimes. [Name of labor attaché withheld] said once at a meeting that if he has to get something for the United States from foreign trade unionists by playing upon his own prestige as an American trade unionists, as a labor man--if he has to get something for the United States and the labor movement is opposed to what the government is after--he would refuse to be party to the deal. He said then: "Let an outsider, a nonlabor man perform this particular task." However, in all truth, such a position is rare, it is rarely taken by a labor attaché of labor background. There was much talk about this at the time. . . .³

Similarly, there is a fear that deep involvement in a particular foreign culture may lead to identification with that culture to such a degree that it might interfere with the officer's identification with the United States. This might very well be the reason--as already

³Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., Dec. 17, 1958.

discussed in this study--why labor attachés are assigned to schools as far away from Washington as possible during midcareer training.⁴ One labor attaché, in fact, described his year at the University of Wisconsin as "a rare opportunity for extended 're-Americanization' in an area outside of Washington."⁵ Necessity for preventing deep involvement (and thus, presumably, identification) with a foreign culture was given as one of the reasons for shifting Foreign Service officers from area to area by Loy W. Henderson when he was Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration (and as such responsible also for the administration and personnel policies of the labor attaché program). The following exchange with Representative John J. Rooney, Brooklyn Democrat and Chairman of the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations to the Department of State, may shed some interesting light on the problem and the dilemmas involved:

Mr. Rooney: . . . You seem to transfer your people from one end of the world to the other, and you seem to transfer your people from a country where they have been living with a language that they might have gained to some extent to a country where they find an entirely new language.

Mr. Henderson: Mr. Chairman, these transfers are made on the basis of determination as to where the officer could be the most useful, and also where he could develop himself to the utmost. . . . It has been my idea that the majority of the transfers were not around-the-world transfers; that they were for the most part in similar areas.

⁴Supra, chap. vii, n. 39.

⁵ John C. Fuess, "My Two Years in Labor," Foreign Service Journal, XXX (June, 1953), p. 22.

Mr. Rooney: You say similar areas?

Mr. Henderson: Often in nearby areas. But if a man has been in a hardship area for a number of years, it seems to be better for his development and also for his health and morale if he could have a change from the hardship posts. . . . Furthermore, if a man remains in one area too long, we have discovered he is likely to give an undue importance to that area. He lacks the balance which a more worldwide experience will give him. . . . International affairs at the present time move on a worldwide scale, and if a Foreign Service officer is to be of real value, he should know something about several parts of the world and not just one area. We have a number of officers who remain almost entirely in one area, but we are anxious that those officers should have breaks from time to time in order not to become unbalanced in their worldwide views. With regard to junior officers who have just entered the Service, we like to have them with a variety of experience before they start specializing in any certain area.⁶

The dilemmas which present themselves as a result of a position such as that verbalized by Mr. Loy Henderson are obvious. An economy-minded Congress is faced with the choice of either refusing the

⁶U.S., Congress, House, Subcommittee on Departments of State and Justice and the Judiciary and Related Agencies Appropriations, Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations (for 1958), 85th Congr., 1st Sess., pp. 458-59. For similar reasons, diplomatic services of many countries--the U.S. Foreign Service included--frown on their staff members marrying foreign nationals. In the diplomatic services of authoritarian governments the fear that a foreign service officer may develop some attachments to the culture of the area of his post assignment is, obviously, even greater and may lead to various paradoxical rulings. This author, for example, became acquainted with the code clerk and security officer of the Polish Embassy in a Far Eastern country in the years before Stalin's death. This officer did not know any language other than his native Polish. When asked why--in view of his foreign language deficiency--he was chosen for service abroad, he replied: "This is precisely why I was chosen. So I would not be able to mix with foreigners."

expense involved in personnel transfers "from one end of the world to the other," or the risk that a Foreign Service officer may become too assimilated in a given foreign culture and thus have his "Americanization" diluted; the Foreign Service and State Department are torn between the need for greater area expertise and the fear that the experts may lose the "global view," as well as identification with the United States and its interests; the individual Foreign Service officer is faced with contrary demands--for purposes of promotion and career development he should "specialize" (preferably area-wise) but if he does develop deep specialization he may stand suspect of having lost the required identification with the United States, and once so suspect he is liable to draw upon himself the wrath of political demagogues in and out of Congress.

Yet the labor attaché is expected to work among foreign trade unionists and to influence them toward a pro-American point of view. To that end he is expected to be familiar with the "language" of international labor and particularly with the "language" of the labor movement of the area of his assignment. In other words, he is expected to influence them in terms of their--not his--culture, and in the process he may perhaps "forget himself," become too identified, too enveloped by the problems and the values of the subject he tries to reach. The administrators of the U.S. Foreign Service in solving these dilemmas seem to have reached Solomon's initial judgment:

cut the baby in half. That is, have the Foreign Service officer (including the labor attaché) develop expertise, let him develop some specific foreign culture skills; but at the same time effort is made to prevent his deep specialization by relatively frequent transfer out of the areas where his skills are most applicable.

CHAPTER X

CAREER ORIENTATIONS OF LABOR ATTACHÉS

A Labor Attaché Post: A Stepping Stone to a Foreign Service Career

As was pointed out, the underlying purpose for the creation of the Foreign Service Reserve classification--the classification given to most labor attachés who join the program from without the regular Foreign Service--is to develop a reserve-pool of "experts" who can be called upon when needed for Foreign Service assignments. Thus the limitation of service under this classification to four years--a limitation allegedly created to suit such "expert"-elements and to afford them the possibility for returning to their regular jobs in private life or in other government agencies. It was assumed that they would have positions and jobs to which to return. However, as is to be seen from Table 39, very few labor attachés in the "LA-Simultaneous" subcategory return to "private life." Most remain either in the labor attaché program, or in the general Foreign Service, or move into other government agencies within the general area of international affairs, such as foreign economic aid or information. Thus the labor attaché program on which the labor movement pinned

Table 39. -- Labor attachés: time span between entry into State Dept./ Foreign Service employ and assignment to labor attaché program; length of stay in program; immediate subsequent career development --(cut-off date, December, 1957)

Ref. No.*	Conditions of Entry		I. Labor Attaché Service		
		into	Years in Service	No. Officers	
	Labor Attaché Program				
1	**				
1	<u>A</u>	Simultaneous entry into	1	13	
2		State Dept/FS and labor	2- 3	9	
3		attaché program (N=50)	4- 8	25	
4			9-14	3	
5	<u>B</u>	Entry into labor attaché	1	2	
6		program after 1-5 years	2- 3	4	
7		in State Dept/FS (N=10)	4- 8	4	
8			9-14	0	
9	<u>C</u>	Entry into labor attaché	1	10	
10		program after 6-14 years	2- 3	2	
11		in State Dept/FS (N=21)	4- 8	8	
12			9-14	1	
II. Percentage of Officers Still Serv-					
ing in State Dept/Foreign Service					
			As Labor Attaché	As Labor Specialist, State Dept.	As "Generalist"
1	<u>A</u>	Simultaneous entry into	54	0	8
2		State Dept/FS and labor	22	0	22
3		attaché program (N=50)	44	20	20
4			100	0	0
5	<u>B</u>	Entry into labor attaché	0	0	0
6		program after 1-5 years	25	0	25
7		in State Dept/FS (N=10)	25	0	50
8			0	0	0
9	<u>C</u>	Entry into labor attaché	60	0	30
10		program after 6-14 years	0	50	0
11		in State Dept/FS (N=21)	63	0	37
12			0	100	0

* Reader who wishes to follow career developments of officers in each category should refer to appropriate reference number in extreme left column.

** Includes 1957 appointments.

Table 39. --(Continued)

Ref. No.	Conditions of Entry into Labor Attaché Program	III. Percentage of Officers Who Left State Dept/FS for the following:					Total %
		Labor Dept.*	Other govt. Agencies	Teach- ing/Ed- ucation	Trade Unions	Not Known	
1	<u>A</u> Simultaneous entry into	0	8	0	7	23	100.0
2	State Dept/FS and labor	0	0	0	0	56	100.0
3	attaché program (N=50)	4	0	4	0	8	100.0
4		0	0	0	0	0	100.0
5	<u>B</u> Entry into labor attaché	0	0	50	0	50	100.0
6	program after 1-5 years	0	0	0	0	50	100.0
7	in State Dept/FS (N=10)	0	0	0	25	0	100.0
8		0	0	0	0	0	100.0
9	<u>C</u> Entry into labor attaché	0	10	0	0	0	100.0
10	program after 6-14 years	0	50	0	0	0	100.0
11	in State Dept/FS (N=21)	0	0	0	0	0	100.0
12		0	0	0	0	0	100.0

* Does not include officers temporarily detailed to the Labor Department by the State Department/Foreign Service.

such high hopes is not only not staffed by persons from the movement --as was demanded by American trade union leaders--but even those who do come from the movement become, in time, absorbed by the governmental bureaucracy in one way or another.

A change of classification is involved for those who remain in the Foreign Service beyond the four-year limit set for FSR. Those who transfer to the Labor Department after duty with the labor attaché program are usually persons who originally moved into the program from that Department and in their case the intention of the FSR

classification is fulfilled. Generally very few of the labor attachés in the "LA-Simultaneous" subcategory, though, return to the trade union movement--as already indicated. During the period under consideration in this study only one labor attaché in the "LA-Simultaneous" subcategory did return to the trade union movement--and this was an individual who served as labor attaché for a very short period. This, of course, again emphasizes the fact that the element drawn from the American trade union movement into the labor attaché program is the least secure (in terms of job and position) in the movement; these are persons who have an intellectual and professional affiliation with the American labor movement (serving in capacity of educational directors, public relations men, researchers, or on the staffs of union periodicals, etc.), rather than persons who have a foothold based upon grassroots following. These, finally, are persons who considering the structure, specialized function, and orientation of the American trade union movement--an orientation basically economic, shop and plant related, and geared to the interests of the local union functionaries (the so-called "boys" and their followers)--are by-and-large dispensable for the organization's inner structure.¹ Their usefulness to the American

¹ See David Carper, "Porkchopper Passage," Dissent, VI (Autumn, 1959), pp. 430-34, for a perceptive analysis of the plight of the American trade union intellectuals.

labor movement is greater when they can "represent" the movement in community councils, in government agencies, in academia (i. e., in academically based labor education centers), in places outside of or on the periphery of the trade union movement where they may inject labor's "frame of reference" and engage in activities which are basically of secondary importance to the American union movement (as international affairs would be, after all). Such activities are in the nature of "frills" to the American labor movement's primary orientation and goals. A labor attaché who prior to joining the Service was on the staff of a labor union remarked:

The labor movement . . . has lost interest in us, and in most cases would not consider us for re-employment. The narrow interpretation by U.S. labor as to what constitutes the labor movement removes us from the scene.²

In addition to the glamour of an overseas assignment, a labor attaché post offers these persons a measure of prestige and perhaps also the satisfaction of accomplishment, the prospect of a regularly paying job. As indicated, employment for persons on the fringes of labor movement activity is neither wellpaying nor too secure. They are often subject to the whim and caprice of the union "boss" who is

²From written responses to questions submitted to labor attachés during academic year, 1958-59.

repeatedly returned to office by a "safe" membership (which is either grateful to the leader for the economic gains he has brought them, or is apathetic, and sometimes is manipulated or terrorized). The intellectual on the staff of a small union organization often has to do a multitude of odd jobs, some of which he may feel are beneath him and generally humiliating--he may have to edit the union paper, write leaflets, sit in at negotiations with management, lecture in public, serve as the union's public relations man, speak for the "boss" and write speeches for him. The hours of work in a small union organization are not regularized and sudden trips which take him away from family for prolonged periods of time are not an infrequent phenomenon. A person in this position indeed looks for an opportunity for change, and not too many are available to him. Employers in industry may be suspicious of him because of his union affiliation (although some firms would seek out precisely persons of such background for employment on their own personnel or labor relations staffs), or he himself may be reluctant to join private enterprise lest it may appear (to himself and his friends) that he has "sold out." Service as a labor attaché, therefore, with the prospect of an eventual career in the Foreign Service may indeed appear to a union staff employee as a perfect way out. It offers glamour and travel, a touch of adventure in far away places, service to a cause, improvement in the conditions of work and pay over those known to many in trade union employment,

and it does not require that one compromise his "labor conscience" which employment with business or industry might. As one labor attaché who came to the program after years in union employment explained to this author: "I joined . . . in the hope that it will provide me with a career."³ The career he was hoping for, though, was with the Foreign Service in general rather than with the labor attaché program specifically.

Points of Reference Reshuffled

The last eventuality is worthy of some consideration--i.e., the prospect that those who entered the labor attaché program on the strength of their "labor qualifications" are eventually drawn into the general Foreign Service and become submerged in the mass of the Foreign Service and State Department bureaucracy, with their labor identification subsequently replaced or diluted by a new, bureaucratic association and identification. One labor attaché of labor background put it very plainly:

It is inevitable that the labor frame of reference is diluted. . . . Our own future is dependent upon adapting ourselves to a new framework. We are now career civil servants with all this implies, even though most of us represent a liberalizing influence on the bureaucracy.⁴

³Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., Dec. 17, 1958.

⁴From written responses to questions submitted to labor attachés during academic year, 1958-59.

Thus, the hope of American trade unionists that their "type" would be given preference for labor attaché assignments is not met to the extent they would wish in the first place; and the persons who are accepted from the broad labor movement for such assignments, after some time with the Foreign Service and governmental bureaucracy, become assimilated by their new association, their labor identification weakened or entirely replaced by identification with the organizational interests of the State Department and the Foreign Service. However, as indicated repeatedly in this study, this weakening of labor identification in favor of an identification with government does not necessarily mean that labor's particular views on foreign policy are simultaneously lost in the process. This did not happen for two basic reasons: (a) as already shown, the labor attaché's contribution to the foreign policy-making process--given the labor attaché program's present structure--is negligible and at best is routinized and channelized through the Foreign Service and State Department, without any special consideration of labor attaché views, and (b) the American labor movement's position on foreign policy, on the main issues confronting the United States in the world, does not differ substantially from that of the government. Wherever American labor leaders appear on international forums--the ILO, the ICFTU, or regional labor confederations and conferences--they tend, with few exceptions, to project the official American point of view. Even in their own independent

international-affairs operations, American union representatives voluntarily augment official U.S. operations. The auxiliary role the American labor movement chooses to play abroad in the U.S. foreign policy schemes is another aspect of the "new look" of American labor, a movement which has become integrated, as it were, in the prevailing system of American values, beliefs and organizational styles. Considerations similar to these lead Professor Windmuller to remark:

In this sense, . . . labor may be considered a partner in American foreign policy. Its influence on policy formulation is, however, limited by the fact that labor contributes practically no new ideas to the policy-making process. There are no grounds to expect a change in this regard.⁵

And Professor Windmuller goes on to say with perhaps a few labor attachés (as well as others) in mind that:

In the administration of foreign policy, labor may be said to participate to some degree, though mainly through persons who are presumed to have severed their ties of loyalty to their former organizations and whose qualifications are unfortunately all too often less than mediocre.⁶

⁵ John P. Windmuller, "Labor: A Partner in American Foreign Policy?" The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCL (Nov., 1963), p. 114.

⁶ Ibid.

The Lost "Labor Factor"

It is worthwhile here to recall that when the panel of knowledgeable was asked what may result from upgrading the labor attaché position to that of Counsellor of Embassy for Labor Affairs (Table 28),⁷ a majority of respondents believed that it would enhance the administration and organization of the program and that it would increase the prestige and status of the labor officers, but that it would not give greater weight to the "labor factor" in decision-making. It was the responding knowledgeable from the labor movement (as well as from the Departments of State and Labor) who were of the opinion that the "labor factor," too, would gain from such upgrading of the labor attaché post. On the basis of the arguments advanced in this chapter, however, it would appear that as far as the American labor movement is concerned (and certainly as far as the Departments of Labor or State are concerned) there is no particular "labor factor" to be considered in the shaping of substantive foreign policy, that the most influential American labor leaders are pleased with U.S. foreign policy as it is, and what they refer to as a "labor factor" is giving cognizance to labor as an organized political institution--in terms of seats at decision-making councils, ambassadorships, jobs, personal recognition, etc.--rather than recognition of a particular, of a

⁷ Supra, chap. vii.

different, labor point of view. This, of course, would also be the understanding of "labor factor" on the part of the Labor Department--this organization, too, would like to see its own institutional interests accorded greater recognition--in similar terms. The Labor Department being a government agency represents a different view from the official one on foreign policy even to a lesser extent than the American trade union movement. From such a perspective the following remark by a high Labor Department official assumes particular clarity:

You should be clear in your mind that the trade union movement did not object to labor attaché's becoming regular Foreign Service officers--perhaps they even saw in it a sign of acceptance and recognition. Objectively, though, trade unions cheated themselves since a labor officer of a labor background, once he becomes a regular Foreign Service officer, supplants his former labor frame of reference with a bureaucratic one.⁸

No doubt, some trade union leaders and officials felt a degree of pride in the "success" of their former "staff men" and colleagues, fellows from their midst who "made good" among "Ivy League" graduates although faced with all kinds of odds and initial animosities, keen competition in the most elite branch of the government bureaucracy. Perhaps they were flattered and accepted their integration into the Foreign Service as another sign that the U.S. labor movement "has come of age," has become "responsible." It added to the need for

⁸ Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., Dec. 15, 1958.

self-esteem--a need felt especially sharply among the old line trade union leaders who climbed the social ladder the hard way, through the factory and union battles, minus education and social privilege. However, it is a recognition and acceptance purchased rather expensively --at the price of a chance to affect policy substantively. As far as the State Department is concerned, assumed American trade unions were satisfied with the new arrangement, it obtained such satisfaction at relatively little expense since, as indicated, the personnel the Department gained was in terms of experience, political sophistication, adaptability, maneuverability, and often also in terms of education, as high--if not higher--than the usual Foreign Service personnel.

And one more consideration: If the "labor frame of reference" is no longer linked with a cause, with a particular point of view, what holds the labor attachés of labor background together--for greater effectiveness--is a sense of group loyalty born of sentimental attachment to a mutual background and tradition, as well as of the need of mutual job protectiveness and help. Void of a commitment to a particular point of view in foreign policy, the most that can be expected from the group of Foreign Service officers of labor movement background is that they will look after each other's career interests, and--in terms of the tradition of their background--"represent a liberalizing influence in the bureaucracy." But this is scarcely the same as giving cognizance to the "labor factor" as it was initially understood at the time when the labor attaché program was created.

Foreign Service Officers Introduced
to "Labor": Possible Results

It conceivably may sometimes happen that the reverse will occur --that a person who joined the labor attaché program after prior employment in the Foreign Service/State Department and who gained, perhaps because of his labor assignment, enough interest in labor problems or enough connections with trade unionists to break out of the trend and make a step in the opposite direction: from the regular Foreign Service to union employment. During the period under consideration here it did happen in a single isolated case, however.⁹ This

⁹One explanation for this officer's breaking out of the trend and switching from the Foreign Service to union employment might be the fact that while a member of the Service he came under the "inferior" FSS classification. Another explanation might be the little bit of background detail provided by Miss Marthiasen--i.e., the officer in question is the son-in-law of the well-known labor leader and friend of President Roosevelt, the late Sidney Hillman. Martha Marthiasen, "The Labor Attaché Program of the United States Foreign Service," (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, 1949), pp. 53-54. For a person so situated, the prospect of a career in the labor movement rather than in the Foreign Service might appear more advantageous. Still another reason for this particular officer's departure from the labor attaché program, as well as from the Foreign Service, might be that while in the Service he came under "fire" from Representative Katherine St. George, a conservatively oriented Republican from New York State. Mrs. St. George asked from the floor of the House "by whose authority, the late Mr. Sidney Hillman's son-in-law . . . had been sent to Paris as labor attaché in 1945, and why he is now our labor attaché in Prague at a salary of \$4,149 per annum plus an allowance for his family?" Representative St. George further accused the labor attaché that while others were serving in the armed forces he spent his time studying. U.S., Congressional Record, 80th Cong., 1st Sess., 1947, XCIII, p. 1508. The officer concerned was exempt from military service

isolated occurrence might, of course, reoccur in the future and is a conceivable possibility--it should, however, not distract from the prevailing tendency among labor attachés with a labor movement background to become accommodated in the bureaucratic system and to weaken subsequently any allegiance they had with forces outside of the bureaucracy.

Labor Movement Identification of Labor Attachés

The panel of knowledgeable was asked the following question: "Of the Labor Attachés you have known, what percentage would you say were professionally and/or intellectually identified with the U.S. labor movement prior to their initial assignment?"¹⁰ Of the respondents, 36.8% estimated that the number of attachés identified with the labor movement prior to assignment is somewhere between 21% and 50%; 21.1% thought that the percentage of labor attachés so identified is more likely to be between 51% and 75% (Table 40). This high estimate of the number of labor attachés identified with the labor movement prior to assignment agrees with a previous estimate of the knowledgeable that the labor attachés are recruited from a

because of a IV-F classification. Moreover, he did not serve as labor attaché in Paris. His first labor attaché assignment was in 1946 after he was transferred from the U.S. Embassy in Paris to Prague, Czechoslovakia.

¹⁰ Appendix I, 1.05-A.

Table 40. --Estimate of percentage of labor attachés professionally and/or intellectually identified with the U.S. labor movement prior to their initial assignment: by occupation of knowledgeables

Occupation of Knowledgeables	Percentage of Labor Attachés Identified with Labor Movement Prior to Initial Assignment						Total
	1-10%	11-20%	21-50%	51-75%	76-100%	Don't Know*	
State Dept/FS (N = 6)	.0	16.7	16.7	66.7	.0	.0	100.0
Labor Dept. (N = 9)	11.1	.0	55.6	11.1	11.1	11.1	100.0
Other US govern- ment agencies (N = 8)	.0	.0	50.0	25.0	12.5	12.5	100.0
Labor movement (N = 34)	11.8	2.9	26.5	17.6	20.6	20.5	100.0
Education (N = 27)	7.4	3.7	55.6	22.2	3.7	7.4	100.0
Business/pro- fessions (N = 11)	.0	9.1	9.1	9.1	63.6	9.1	100.0
Total (N = 95)	7.4	4.2	36.8	21.1	17.9	12.6	100.0

* Also includes those who recorded "blank."

combination of backgrounds of which the labor movement is one (Table 1). In other words, the knowledgeables assume that recruitment from the Labor Department or Foreign Service may entail a simultaneous identification with the labor movement--which, conceivably, may very well be the case if "identification" is not necessarily defined in terms of organizational and professional affiliation with the American labor movement, a definition of identification used in this study. A closer look, however, at the response of the

knowledgeables by their occupations shows some rather significant variation (Table 40). Thus, a majority of respondents from the State Department/Foreign Service think that about 51% to 75% of the labor attachés had a labor movement identification prior to assignment which would indicate that many of the respondents in this group may perceive themselves and others within their group to have been so identified prior to labor attaché assignment. A majority of the knowledgeables from the business/professions group (63.6%) estimate the number of labor attachés identified with the trade union movement prior to assignment at an even higher rate--between 76% and 100%. On the other hand, respondents from the labor movement itself grant only between 21% to 50% of labor attachés with identification with the labor movement prior to assignment--and this group of knowledgeables probably thinks of "identification" in terms of professional and organizational affiliation (as in their own case) rather than in terms of mere intellectual (nonempirically manifested) affinity towards the American labor movement.

Effect of Labor Attaché Service on Labor Movement Identification

The panel was also asked: "Would you say that intellectual identification tends to increase or decrease after the Labor Attaché has served in that role for a year or more?" They were also

requested to clarify their answer to that question ("Why do you say this?"--open ended).¹¹

Responding knowledgeable from the business/professions group were the only ones who in the majority believed that service in the labor attaché program for a year or more tends to increase the labor attaché's identification with the labor movement (Table 41). Generally,

Table 41.--Opinions on increase or decrease of identification with labor movement after serving as labor attaché a year or more: by occupation of knowledgeable (percentages)

Occupation of Knowledgeables	Increase or decrease in identification with labor movement after a year or more of service as labor attaché				Total
	Increases	Decreases	Remains Same	Other*	
State Dept/FS (N = 6)	16.7	50.4	16.7	16.7	100.0
Labor Dept. (N = 9)	.0	44.4	33.3	22.2	100.0
Other US govt. agencies (N = 8)	37.5	25.0	37.5	.0	100.0
Labor movement (N = 34)	8.8	32.3	43.9	14.7	100.0
Education (N = 27)	18.5	33.3	37.0	11.1	100.0
Business/pro- fessions (N = 11)	54.6	27.3	9.1	9.1	100.0
Total (N = 95)	19.0	33.8	34.9	12.3	100.0

* Includes "inapplicable" or "blank" responses.

¹¹ Appendix I, 1.05-B, 1.05-C.

the panel of knowledgeable was of the opinion that identification with the labor movement tends either to remain on about the same level as it was before the officer joined the program (34.9%) or, alternately, tends to decrease (33.8%). It is significant, though, that respondents both from the Departments of Labor and State were of the opinion that the labor attaché's identification with the labor movement decreases after a year or more of service and those from the trade union organizations were more inclined to believe that identification remains about the same as it was (43.9%). The point here is that those within the movement do not think that a year or more of service as a labor attaché can dilute one's identification with the trade union movement, or conversely, inject such identification where none was in existence before. Such a position would add strength to the labor movement's initial demand that the program should be staffed by bona fide trade unionists to begin with. This belief that it makes no difference in the long run was probably behind the inclination of trade unionists to be rather pleased with the fact that so many labor attachés of labor movement background moved into the FSO classification category and became career Foreign Service officers. This may also add an additional dimension in explaining the belief of the respondents from the union movement that upgrading the labor attaché post to that of Counsellor of the Embassy for Labor Affairs may indeed aid the labor factor (Table 28), all other things being equal. The question of continued

"identification" of the labor attachés who came to the program from the movement may, thus, indeed, remain moot--what is evident, however, is that labor attachés from the labor movement became lost to the movement personnel-wise. And if identification is to be considered in terms of some organizational affiliation or activity, their identification became lost as well. It is quite conceivable that persons who joined the labor attaché program without prior identification with the labor movement may have acquired some sort of "intellectual" identification once in the field. As evidenced, however, from Table 41, the knowledgeable believe that association with the labor attaché program did not alter the levels of identification with the labor movement of those who had some, as well as of those who had none.

Those of the knowledgeable who thought that labor movement identification increases after a year or more of service as a labor attaché attributed this development primarily to professional and organizational necessity--i.e., goals of the job, task-involvement, assimilation of a labor outlook, etc. From the business and professions group, 36.4% saw in the job itself conditions which shape labor movement identification. Those on the panel who believed that the labor attaché's identification with the labor movement decreases, attributed this development to an increased identification with the State Department and the Foreign Service which would replace a labor movement identification in those who possessed one prior to joining the

Service. From the State Department and the Foreign Service group, 33.3% based their belief that labor movement identification decreases because of this factor, as did 22.2% of the respondents from the Labor Department. Those who maintained that identification with the labor movement, after a year or more with the labor attaché program, remains at about the same level, as it was before joining that program, based their responses primarily on a variety of "personalized" reasonings (e.g., "I say this because of my own experience," etc.). Some also attributed the unchanging level of identification with the labor movement to a belief that "people do not change much."

Attaché Programs' Contribution to Individual Career

In the group of real career Foreign Service officers, the "old-hands" of the Service (i.e., persons who were in the Foreign Service from six to as long as fourteen years before becoming labor attachés), a generally consistent continuance with the labor attaché program can be discerned. If assigned to the labor attaché program these regular Foreign Service "hands" tend to stay with it but as part of their general Foreign Service careers. These officers most likely consider a labor attaché assignment as a "natural" phase in a general Foreign Service career, a career which may involve the shifting of an officer by administrative decree from the generalist service to the labor attaché program, back to generalist service, or to the USIA or ICA-AID,

etc., as the administrative order may be. (Note: In Table 39 only the last assignment-disposition was marked of officers whose labor attaché assignments were broken up by periodic assignments to other areas of Foreign Service/State Department activity.)

Generally agricultural attachés demonstrate greater adherence to their program, less fluctuation and shifting, none in fact among the old-timers in the program (Table 42).¹² Some of those who became agricultural attachés served in the Department of Agriculture many years, in a few cases as long as 30-39 years. In the Foreign Agricultural Service, however, there is a tendency not evident from the table that those of longer standing in the program, those who were part of the FAS during the metamorphosis of that service (from original Agriculture Department jurisdiction, to State Department, then back to Agriculture Department), ultimately land in the Washington offices of the FAS. Thus, if the agricultural attaché program has its own "elite," it would consist of the "old-timers" in the service.

It is worthwhile to point out the limited range of places for which agricultural attachés leave, if they do leave the FAS at all. Most

¹² Since Tables 39 and 42 depend upon developments in time, it is regrettable that the table for agricultural attachés (42) is limited to a relatively short period of time (1955-1958). This makes it of less value for purposes of comparison with the labor attaché program. Nevertheless, certain features present in the agricultural attaché universe but absent in the labor attaché universe manifest themselves when Tables 39 and 42 are compared.

Table 42. --Agricultural attachés: time span between entry into Departments of Agriculture or State employ and assignment to agricultural attaché program; length of stay in program; immediate subsequent career development--(cut-off date, January, 1958)

Ref. No.*	Conditions of Entry into Agricultural Attaché Program	I. Agricultural Attaché Program			
		Years in Service	No. Officers		
1	<u>A</u> Simultaneous entry into Dept. Agri. or State and agri. attaché program (N=61)	1	9		
2		2-3	28		
3		4-over	24		
4	<u>B</u> Entry into agri. attaché program after 1-5 years in Dept. Agri. or State (N=21)	1	3		
5		2-3	8		
6		4-over	10		
7	<u>C</u> Entry into agri. attaché program after 6-39 years in Dept. Agri. or State (N=18)	1	0		
8		2-3	8		
9		4-over	10		
		II. Percentage of Officers Still Serving in Foreign Agri. Svce/ Dept. Agri. or State			
		Agri- cultural Attaché	FAS Wash- ington	Agri. Dept. (Not FAS)	State Dept.
1	<u>A</u> Simultaneous entry into Dept. Agri. or State and agri. attaché program (N=61)	67	22	0	0
2		71	7	4	0
3		88	8	0	0
4	<u>B</u> Entry into agri. attaché program after 1-5 years in Dept. Agri. or State (N=21)	33	67	0	0
5		86	12	0	0
6		70	20	0	0
7	<u>C</u> Entry into agri. attaché program after 6-39 years in Dept. Agri. or State (N=18)	0	0	0	0
8		63	25	12	0
9		80	0	0	0

* Reader who wishes to follow career developments of officers in each category should refer to appropriate reference number in extreme left column.

Table 42. --(Continued)

Ref. No.	Conditions of Entry into Agricultural Attaché Program	III. Percentage of Officers Who Left Foreign Agri. Svce/ Dept. of Agri. or State for the Following:				Total %
		Other Govt. Agency	Teach ing/Ed- ucation	Retired Deceased	Not Known	
1	<u>A.</u> Simultaneous entry into	0	0	11	0	100.0
2	Dept. Agri. or State and	4	4	7	3	100.0
3	agri. attaché program (N=61)	0	0	4	0	100.0
4	<u>B</u> Entry into agri. attaché	0	0	0	0	100.0
5	program after 1-5 years	0	0	0	0	100.0
6	in Dept. Agri. or State (N=21)	0	0	10	0	100.0
7	<u>C</u> Entry into agri. attaché	0	0	0	0	100.0
8	program after 6-29 years	0	0	0	0	100.0
9	in Dept. Agri. or State (N=18)	0	0	20	0	100.0

retire, a fact which points out not only the longevity of the program but also that officers remain with it for prolonged periods, often for the major part of their careers. Those who return to teaching join a department of an agricultural discipline in a land-grant school and may at some future date rejoin the FAS. Rarely, if ever, do agricultural attachés stray too far afield from their professional specialty.

Labor Attaché Work as a Career

When the panel of knowledgeable persons was asked, "In your opinion, do Labor Attachés generally view their Labor Attaché job as a career?"¹³ more of them thought "yes" (46.3%) than "no"

¹³ Appendix I, 2.10-A.

(22.1%), although a remarkable number (31.6%) expressed indecision or ignorance on this point (Table 43). Thus, despite the fact that many (46.3%) of the knowledgeable do believe that the labor attachés view their jobs as a career, the general impression one gets from Table 43 is one of uncertainty. This uncertainty is especially evidenced

Table 43. --Opinions on whether labor attachés generally view their job as career: by occupations of knowledgeable (percentages)

Occupation of Knowledgeables	Do Labor Attachés Generally View Their Job as Career?			Total
	Yes	No	Undecided/ Don't Know*	
State Dept/FS (N = 6)	66.7	.0	33.3	100.0
Labor Dept. (N = 9)	55.6	33.3	11.1	100.0
Other US govt. agencies (N = 8)	62.5	25.0	12.5	100.0
Labor movement (N = 34)	41.2	23.5	35.3	100.0
Education (N = 27)	44.4	22.2	33.3	100.0
Business/Professions (N = 11)	36.4	18.2	45.5	100.0
Total (N = 95)	46.3	22.1	31.6	100.0

* In addition to those who recorded "undecided" or "don't know," also includes responses which recorded "blank" or "inapplicable."

among the respondents from the labor movement and from education. Among the former, 23.5% answered "no" to the labor attaché's job orientation in terms of career and 35.5% were undecided; among the latter, 22.2% thought "no" and 29.6% were undecided. The response

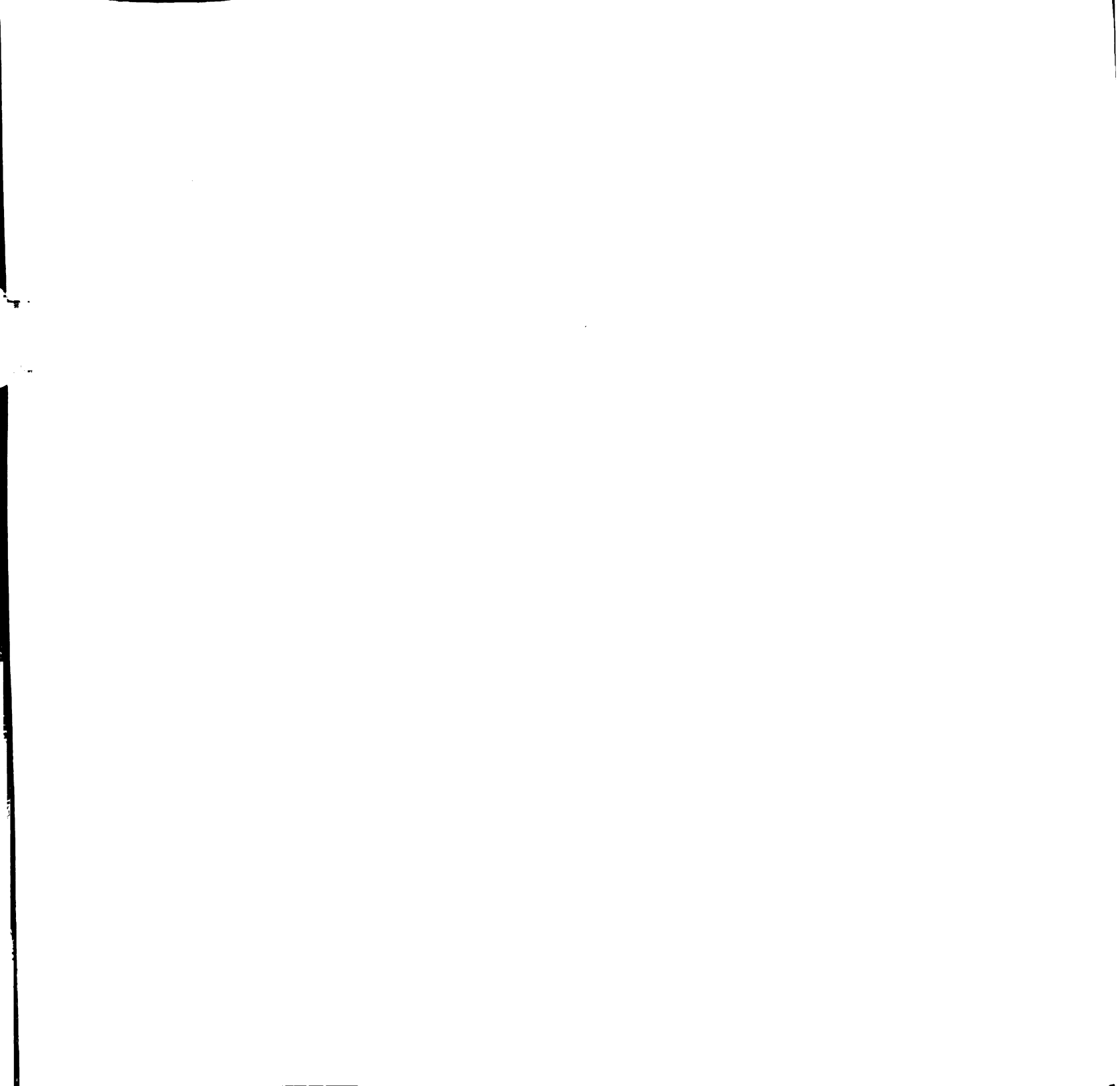
of the knowledgeable from the Labor Department is also of interest here. While a majority of them thought that the labor attaché views his job as a career, 33.3% nevertheless said "no," he does not--in all likelihood thinking that the labor attaché's commitment to his "labor specialty" (as understood by the Labor Department) is not too great.

However, when the responses of the knowledgeable to the question regarding the Labor attaché's perception of his job as a career are controlled by the level of their self-rated familiarity with the organization of the labor attaché program, the degree of certainty increases with the level of familiarity and the view that labor attachés do view their jobs as careers increases as well (Table 44). Thus, of the 32 respondents who rated themselves as "very familiar" with the

Table 44. --Opinions on whether labor attachés generally view their jobs as career: by levels of self-rated familiarity of knowledgeable with the organization of the labor attaché program (percentages)

Level of Self-Rated Familiarity with Organization of Labor Attaché Program by Knowledgeables	Do Labor Attachés Generally View Their Job as Career?			Total
	Yes	No	Undecided/ Don't Know*	
Very familiar (N = 32)	68.8	25.0	6.2	100.0
Fairly familiar (N = 29)	51.7	20.7	27.5	100.0
Slightly familiar (N = 29)	24.1	24.1	51.8	100.0
Not familiar at all (N = 5)	.0	.0	100.0	100.0
Total (N = 95)	46.3	22.1	31.6	100.0

* In addition to those who recorded "undecided" or "don't know," also includes responses which recorded "blank" or "inapplicable."



organization of the labor attaché program, 68.8% thought that the labor attachés think of their jobs in career terms while only 25.0% thought "no" and a negligible 6.2% were undecided. The opinion that the labor attaché looks upon his job as a career decreases and general uncertainty on the question increases remarkably with the decrease in the level of self-rated familiarity by the knowledgeable with the organization of the labor attaché program.

Allure of the General Foreign Service

The above-discussed opinions of the knowledgeable do not necessarily conflict with our own findings regarding the career developments, fortunes, and job deployment of the labor attaché universe. As is seen from Table 39, many do remain with the labor attaché program, either as labor attachés in the field or as labor advisors behind a desk in Washington. Whether their primary identification is with the program or with the general Foreign Service and the State Department is highly questionable. As indicated, those who reached the labor attaché program through prior service in the Foreign Service and the State Department view their "labor specialization" as part of their general Foreign Service career development; those who entered the labor attaché program and the Foreign Service/State Department simultaneously look to the greener pastures of "generalist" activity. Among the latter, many succeed. Under favorable political conditions in Washington some of them may even reach

ambassadorial rank and others may become consul generals or reach some other high diplomatic post of general Foreign Service. While as labor attachés they may think of their jobs as careers--such thought may indeed help them in better job-performance and it may also help compensate for the inferior status accorded them by the generalists in the mission while engaged "in labor." However, as so many labor attachés have indicated in the personal interviews and in their written responses to questions submitted during the academic year 1958-59, they think of advancement not within the program but within the "general system." And in order to advance, they must adjust to the rules--informal as well as formal--of that system and in the process of doing so, the identification they may have had with the labor movement tends to weaken. At best they maintain an identification with a "labor specialty" in a narrow technical sense--more in line with the perception of the State Department (and the Labor Department) than that of the labor movement. As indicated, however, the labor movement does not seem to object to this change in levels of identification. Interestingly enough when those among the knowledgeable who expressed an opinion that the labor attaché does not view his job as a career (22.1%) were asked "why not?"¹⁴ they indicated as reasons the whole range of labor attaché "woes"--i.e., limited

¹⁴Appendix I, 2.10-B.

opportunities for advancement within the labor attaché program, hard work, post and job uncertainty, inferior status, fluctuating attitudes in regard to the program on the part of the administration in Washington, etc.

The labor attaché job may well be a career but as far as the individual labor attaché is concerned he would rather move into the upper reaches of the system and the broader fields of the general Foreign Service which seems to offer greater opportunities for personal advancement within the system as well as greater freedom to utilize one's "political" skills--free from the jealous and watchful eyes of the generalists and political officers within the diplomatic missions abroad.¹⁵

¹⁵It is interesting to note that periodicals published by organizations of the general American labor movement (i.e., fraternal orders, auxiliary committees, etc.) keep track of the promotions of their former members and staff officials who went into the labor attaché program and who moved on to careers in the general Foreign Service. Such events are recorded in these labor publications rather faithfully and with a sense of pride. See, for example, The Call (New York: The Workmen's Circle), March, 1962, p. 13.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSIONS

Personnel for New Foreign Service: Generalism vs Expertise

Most likely the trend to move away from traditional diplomatic forms in the conduct of foreign affairs will continue despite misgivings of adherents of the school of "diplomatic professionalism." This is not to imply that the traditional forms of diplomacy (negotiations, etc.) will cease; to the contrary--much because of the fear of thermo-nuclear warfare hovering in the background as an alternative to peaceful negotiation--old diplomatic forms will be utilized further and will play an important role in international relations. But along with this will continue the tendency to appeal to broader social forces with the approval of their own state governments and often, if the occasion may warrant, over the heads of the official state authorities. This tendency will continue so long as the dominant actors in international politics formulate their differences in terms of ideology, in terms of economic and political systems and theories at variance with each other. The profession of diplomacy will exist and continue to attract an elitist element of public servants. However, in addition to those with talents

and skills for diplomatic negotiation, for international bargaining and compromise, in addition to those trained in protocol and consular procedure, the diplomatic profession will include more and more experts in propaganda and mass persuasion as well as experts in the various dominant social and political forces of other societies. The question is who should these experts be--officials only routinely and mechanically trained in the histories and anatomies of mass movements who are assigned to these tasks in line of official duty, or social scientists versed in modern scientific analysis of existing situations and emerging trends, or professional propagandists and "swayers" of mass opinion, or, finally, persons who through previous identification and personal background have gained intimate and direct knowledge of these movements. Unlike the routinely trained official, the social scientist and the person who has gained familiarity with some of the larger social forces in the world today through personal contact and involvement may contribute--especially the latter if capable of generalizing from his experiences--in addition to his knowledge of these movements' histories and anatomies also a perception of the motors for their action as well.

The labor sectors of the various societies are, and will become more so in the future--what with the emergence of new independent political entities bent on rapid industrialization--objects of attention from the representatives of the contending international powers.

When Vice-President Richard M. Nixon returned from his turbulent trip through Latin America in Spring 1958, he declared before a gathering at the National Press Club in Washington:

. . . visiting Americans ought to avoid the "cocktail, white tie dinner" circle and concentrate on trying to win the friendship of students and the growing labor movement in Latin America.¹

The popular image of the American Foreign Service and State Department, however, is one which associates these government organizations with "morning coats, striped pants, and spats; with socially correct young men."² This image, although not quite accurate,³ gives birth to mistrust and preconceived notions in regard to the quality and capacity of Foreign Service officers. On the other hand, it

¹W.H. Lawrence, "Nixon Urges U.S. Reassure Latins," The New York Times, May 22, 1958.

²Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary, "Labor and International Affairs," address delivered before the Inter-Union Institute for Labor and Democracy (Philadelphia, Sept. 22, 1945); The Department of State Bulletin, XIII (Sept. 30, 1945), p. 467.

³The study made by James L. McCamy and Alessandro Corradini of the entire State Department and Foreign Service personnel indicates that the officialdom of these government organizations tends to come, especially in the postwar years, from diversified geographic areas--but if "social correctness" should be measured by the proportion of officials who attended private prep schools and private colleges, they indeed constitute a societal elite. James L. McCamy and Alessandro Corradini, "The People of the State Department and Foreign Service," The American Political Science Review, XLVII (Dec., 1954), pp. 1067-82.

is a fact that while the State Department and Foreign Service emphasize "political generalism" as the essence of "professionalism"-- this professionalism is no substitute for genuine expertise in any one area of international relations and politics. The Department's and Foreign Service's concept of professionalism seems to embrace and envision "loyalty" to the institution, identification with its "style of work," goals and policies, the "professional code" and esprit de corps, and some knowledge of diplomatic and consular techniques. However, it does not include as a prerequisite a grounded knowledge and perception of the problems and the social forces with which international politics is presently preoccupied, it does not even include true expertise in geographic and political culture-areas. A personnel policy such as this led the authors of the Hoover report to observe:

The Foreign Service has been developed too completely with the idea that the chief requisite is an all-purpose officer. Too little emphasis has been given, in terms of the basic personnel system and the administration thereof, to obtaining the varied skills required today for the effective conduct of foreign affairs, particularly in economics, agriculture, labor, and other fields.⁴

In fact, considerations such as these, dissatisfaction with "generalists'" attitudes towards expertise and specialized service led to the

⁴Harvey H. Bundy and James Grafton Rogers, The Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Affairs: A Report with Recommendations Prepared for the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government; Hoover Commission, Task Force Report on Foreign Affairs: Appendix II (Washington, Jan., 1949), p. 119.

reorganization in 1954 of the Foreign Agricultural Service as semi-independent foreign service operation. Nevertheless, as late as thirteen years after the Hoover report was issued a quasi-official committee studying the personnel problems and needs of U.S. foreign affairs agencies was compelled to remark that:

. . . the responsibilities of this country in world affairs cannot be adequately met by "generalists" with a superficial knowledge of all relevant specialties. Quality is required, as it always has been, but today the need is for quality in many different areas and many different professions. Our personnel systems must be adapted to recruiting and developing and utilizing a growing diversity in talents and skills.⁵

Most Foreign Service officers are prevented from developing high level expertise by the prevalence of old attitudes (including mistrust of the "expert," fear that he might perhaps become too involved in his specialty and thus lose sight of the "true" United States interest and of the "whole picture") as well as by the system of short-term assignments (which is justified in terms of these fears). Institutionalized and routinized training for the performance of specialized functions, bureaucratic--or, conversely, undefined and negotiable--

⁵ Committee on Foreign Affairs Personnel, Personnel for the New Diplomacy (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1962), p. 6. The Committee was created at the request of Secretary of State Dean Rusk under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and with the financial support of the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

considerations in the operation of appointments, transfers and re-assignments further work to frustrate the development of special skills and talents.

Selection Preferences for the Labor
Attaché Program: Who Dominates?

Awareness of the problems discussed above, in addition to the popular image (shared by American trade unionists) held of the Foreign Service and State Department, coupled with their own involvements and interests in international labor affairs, prompted the groups concerned outside of the State Department--primarily the American labor movement and the U.S. Labor Department--to envision the type of successful labor attaché as more representative of their own respective "group-mentalities" than of the State Department and Foreign Service. In actual selection of labor attachés, the "types" favored and representative of the State Department and Foreign Service remain dominant, however, followed by a preference for representatives of other groups within the government bureaucracy, and to a lesser degree only for those from the outside, the unions and others. Thus, the two hypotheses posited in the introduction to this study were, it is believed, amply proven--i. e., (a) each of the groups involved in the labor attaché program favors the type embodying its own "group personality" as "ideal" for the labor attaché post, and (b) the group directly charged with the administration of the program

is most successful in having its own type dominate most labor attaché posts.

Such hierarchy in the selection-preference is perhaps quite in accord with the official character of the labor attaché program and its bureaucratic administration. The other specialized foreign service program, the Foreign Agricultural Service, with which certain aspects of the labor attaché program were compared, is also bureaucratically administered and reflective of the "institutional personality" of the administering agency, the Agriculture Department. In this case, however, the administrators themselves are projective of the interests, values, and styles of large nongovernmental socio-political groups concerned with the program. On the other hand, the administering agency of the labor attaché program seems to be in large measure self-centered and self-sustaining in terms of values, styles, and sometimes beliefs as well. The question which then follows is whether such an official bureaucratic stamp--however inefficient and informal in many respects--does not hinder the labor attaché in the fulfillment of his functions of "nonbureaucratic" nature which should lead towards goal achievement. This goal--the winning of the friendship of foreign labor movements--is usually above and beyond the capacity of bureaucratically conceived tasks.

The Problem of Goal-Achievement

It is perhaps no wonder then that labor attachés abroad, when faced with problems of goal achievement in actual work situations, often attempt to break out of the confines of bureaucratic taboos and even styles. At the end of the questionnaire the knowledgeable were asked to "Please use the space below to comment on aspects of the Labor Attaché program not covered in this questionnaire or to spell out in more detail answers to previous questions."⁶ Over two pages were provided for such open-ended responses and many availed themselves of their use. The comments ranged from statements on the importance of the "labor factor" in international relations to complaints that the labor attaché program is not sufficiently utilized, or, conversely, that it is successful and essential. Quite a few of these "unguided" comments dwelt on the same or similar problems--i.e., labor attachés abroad pose as U.S. labor movement representatives and thus create confusion in the minds of foreign trade unionists. Significantly, these remarks came from a special group: representatives of U.S. labor union organizations who at one time or another worked abroad among foreign trade unionists either on behalf of individual unions, the federation, or the International Confederation of

⁶See Appendix I.

Free Trade Unions. They felt that labor attachés are crowding them, as it were. Surely, labor attachés may feel that by "posing" as trade union representatives rather than acting as U.S. diplomatic officials they can establish better rapport with foreign labor people; some, especially those of U.S. labor movement background, may not even be aware of the fact that they are pretending to be what they are not supposed to be--they may be too new to the "diplomatic game," too accustomed to old styles. Some labor attachés may revert to the old styles unconsciously even though they may already have begun to think in State Department/Foreign Service terms. It is also conceivable, however, that the tasks which face the U.S. labor attaché in the field make operation in a nonbureaucratic style easier, more efficient, and the individual officer resorts to these almost instinctively. Situations such as these or similar to these led one labor advisor (and former labor attaché) to comment at a seminar meeting:

I recalled when I first got to Brussels--and Jay [Jay Crane of the ICFTU Secretariat in Brussels] was one of my first contacts at ICFTU . . . and we'd learn about some of ICFTU plans for a project or a mission to some part of the world, and we would have to impress upon our people, the labor attachés, the extreme importance of keeping out of ICFTU operations. Now, I had no fear, and I don't suppose Jay had any fear that we were going to take over, but a world organization that wanted desperately to be free and to present itself to the uncommitted parts of the world as a free organization, just simply couldn't afford to have United States government people in the middle of every operation--out to receive people at the airport and follow them around and dog them, and then finally see them off without having let them out of their sight while they were in a particular country.

. . . of course, we know that the ICFTU is perfectly free to criticize any Western country, just as the AFL-CIO is free to criticize its country.⁷

Obviously, such behavior on the part of the U.S. labor attachés crowded the field of international labor persuasion. It also created situations of interest-conflict, especially if the "message" of the U. S. government was at odds with that of the nongovernmental group, the ICFTU, or the AFL-CIO. It further made the work of the nongovernmental representatives abroad more difficult in that confusion and doubts were created as to who speaks for the U.S. government and who speaks for "labor," American or international.

It is not the purpose of this study to evaluate the labor attaché program as to its effectiveness or to suggest means for improvement. Although questions of an evaluative nature were asked from the panel of knowledgeable, as well as recommendations, the present work was not conceived as a "policy study." Its purpose is rather of a more limited nature: to describe the program and its personnel, and to determine which interested group's personnel expectations were met to a greater or lesser extent. Yet it should be pointed out here that the question was on the mind of many as to whether a program such as that of the labor attaché could best operate (in the sense of meeting

⁷ Oliver Peterson, comments during discussion on paper presented by Arnold L. Steinbach. Research Seminar on Comparative Labor Movements (Chairman, E. M. Kassalow), (Wash., Dec. 15, 1959), mimeographed, p. 4.

its goals) within or without a bureaucratic framework, especially a governmental bureaucratic framework. It created some doubts and motivated to some measure the objections of certain American trade unionists against a program of that type being placed at the command of what Walter Reuther termed "striped pants and stuffed-shirt" diplomats. Perhaps the desire for jobs and governmental positions played some role in these objections--although this was denied in the American trade union leaders' pronouncements on the subject. At least initially, perhaps, theirs was a real concern for the success of the program, an expression of interest, one which led them to believe that a government program in the area of international labor affairs should be placed in the hands of people with a "labor background," or, as Jacob Potofsky expressed it, "people who speak for organized labor."⁸

The "Language" of Labor: Extent of Distinctiveness

It developed only in time that organized American labor settled for jobs, for the privilege of having "their people" admitted to the Foreign Service and granted recognition around decision-making tables, of giving ambassadorial posts to retired labor leaders in the

⁸ Jacob Potofsky, Chairman, CIO International Committee and President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), Proceedings 1950: Twelfth Constitutional Convention (Chicago: Nov. 20-24, 1950), pp. 300-01.

very same manner as such posts are given traditionally to retired business executives of distinction or captains of industry. It only later developed that the "language" of labor which American labor leaders were referring to did not necessarily entail--at least, not to some of them--a distinctive and different substantive message. It meant, instead, greater efficiency in "selling America" to foreign trade unionists, in a labor "language," U.S. policies which were not of labor's making or in the formulation of which they scarcely participated. With few exceptions, American labor leaders did not challenge official U.S. foreign policies with ideas of their own--they simply thought that "shirt-sleeve" diplomats, persons of labor movement background, persons dressed in suits with union labels, might be more effective and efficient in conveying the American message to labor abroad than "'striped-pants and stuffed-shirt' diplomats." In this light their demands proved to be modest indeed and could have been easily satisfied by the appointment of persons of labor movement background into the Foreign Service. As our investigation shows, however, even this was not done in a measure or a fashion which would satisfy even these modest demands of most American labor leaders who voiced any opinion on this matter.

U.S. and International Labor: One
or More "Languages"

It might also be questioned whether the particular "language"

of the American labor movement is the "language" of international labor, or at least, of most of it. As one labor attaché of trade union background confesses:

. . . I must confess to periods of psychic shock as I watched the pattern of [Norwegian] trade union behavior. My own prior conditioning led me into many a blind ally in my interpretation of the rationale of trade union function and operation. I, like most American observers, was caught up in the old dichotomy of "political" vs "non-political" unionism. This inability on our part to understand an almost universal characteristic of foreign labor movements is in itself a measure of the dissimilarity in conditions and in the intellectual climate of Europe as contrasted to the United States which gave rise to movements, outwardly similar as to form, but highly differentiated as to function and objectives.⁹

Some American trade unionists are of the opinion that one of the most effective means to combat international Communism is not only to "sell America" to foreign grassroots, including the labor masses, but also to re-direct the organizations of these masses along the lines taken by the American labor movement. However, as it turns out, this is not one of the easiest tasks--neither for Americans of a nonlabor background nor for Americans with labor background. As Millen points out:

⁹ Bruce H. Millen, "Trade Unions as a Product of Environment: Norway and the United States," unpublished paper submitted to the University of Wisconsin and to the Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, in conjunction with a detail for Economic Specialization, 1958-59, p. 1.

Americans, both officials and private citizens, in assessing the problem of building viable and stable socio-economic institutions in the under-developed areas of the world have been wont to project the image of the United States as the alternative to that of Soviet Russia. The dispensation of economic aid has lent itself to the implied suggestion that productive superiority is in some manner or means a logical outgrowth of a superior social and economic system, all of which must be taken over by recipient nations if real success is to be attained. . . .

Like it or not, the American social and economic system is not considered to be worthy of emulation. . . . American efforts to project an image based on "People's Capitalism" finds but limited acceptance. Even the representatives of American labor find less than complete acceptance in large areas of the world, primarily because their acceptance of the prevailing economic system is not understood.¹⁰

Labor Movement Identification: Advantages and Stresses

Among the labor attachés there are persons with labor movement background. A few (11%) came directly to the program from a professional-organizational affiliation with trade unions or with auxiliary organizations on the periphery of the American trade union movement but within the broader labor movement; an equal percentage of labor attachés (not necessarily the same persons) established a definite major career-pattern as trade union officials, labor educators, etc. Slightly more than one-third (36.8%) of the knowledgeable estimated that somewhere between 21% and 50% of the labor attachés possessed some sort of labor movement identification prior to joining

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 94-95.

the labor attaché program (Table 40). Since the definition of "identification" used in this study was limited to empirically manifested identification-patterns, it may be concluded that 39.5% came to the labor attaché program with some kind of definitely established institutionalized form of labor movement identification (professional-intellectual and/or formal-organizational). The tempting question next to be considered is this: once located in the new setting of the Foreign Service and State Department bureaucracy, how do these persons relate in their behavior the social frames of reference of their backgrounds to the values which rule their new milieu? The labor attaché, who comes to the Foreign Service from "outside," is suddenly flung into a situation where:

1. As a man with a "labor background" he may be made to feel a "nonmember" of the labor attaché group, most of whom come from the regular Foreign Service or regular government bureaucracy and who at best have only a background in labor affairs.

2. As part of the total labor attaché group he may find himself in a position of "nonmembership" in the diplomatic "team" of the U. S. mission abroad, dominated as it is by career Foreign Service "generalists" (this may depend upon the "team's" perception of the labor attaché role, upon the importance they attach to the "labor factor" in the area of the post, and upon the personal adaptability of the individual labor attachés, as well as upon the size of the mission).

3. As formal member of the U.S. diplomatic "team" but burdened with a specialized task, charged with the achievement of goals the primary one of which is the "conversion" of native trade unionists to the frame of reference of his own labor background and the adoption of a view friendly towards the United States and its official policies, he may encounter resistance precisely because of his official U.S. government status or because his own labor background frame of reference is not acceptable to the native trade unionists.

As was pointed out by the labor attachés and labor advisors interviewed and as was corroborated by foreign trade unionists questioned in the course of this study, labor attachés of nonlabor movement background are easily "spotted" by foreign trade unionists with whom they come in contact. As one Pakistani labor leader described the labor attachés in his country:

Very few of them have any sound knowledge of the American labor movement and none of them speak like trade unionists. If anything, they talk like bureaucrats--they are stiff.

Q. Do Pakistani trade unionists identify them with the American labor movement or rather with the government?

A. They are definitely not identified with labor. They behave like government officials and are viewed as such.¹¹

Faced with such nonacceptance, if not outright animosity, labor

¹¹ Personal interview, Chaudhry Rahmatullah, Vice-President, All-Pakistan Confederation of Labor, and President, West Pakistan Federation of Labor, East Lansing, Mich., April 5, 1957.

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attachés in the field may withdraw into the technical aspects of their job--i.e., the gathering of economic data, information on local labor conditions, etc. They may spend their time clipping local papers or writing reports for Washington.

Most foreign trade unionists interviewed on this subject expressed a preference for labor attachés of a trade union background. One of them said:

. . . I would rather like to see a trade unionist than a regular government official.

Q. What if the government official is qualified--i.e., what if he has a professional interest in labor affairs?

A. It makes no difference. I would still like to see a trade unionist on the job.

Q. Even though the government official might be better qualified?

A. People would view a trade unionist, a real trade unionist, not as a representative of American imperialism.¹²

Nevertheless, circumstances such as those enumerated before, may create for the labor attaché with labor background situations of

¹² Personal interview, Mohammed Kabbaj, Head of UMT at the Ben Guerir Air Base in Morocco and member of the Administrative Commission of the Central Union Group covering Moroccan employees of all U.S. bases in Morocco, East Lansing, Mich., April 9, 1957. About a year following this interview with Mr. Kabbaj (and other Moroccan trade unionists), riots broke out in the port of Safi, Morocco, against the unloading of munitions for an American air base. The riots developed into a campaign against the presence of U.S. bases in Morocco which was spearheaded by the Moroccan Labor Federation and the Istiqlal (Independence) Party. Thomas F. Brady, "U.S. Ship Forced to Quit Morocco," The New York Times, July 25, 1958.

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irreconcilable valuation and status conflict. The factors which would make him acceptable to the diplomatic "team" may very well deem him unacceptable to the native trade unionists--while in reverse, the factors which would bring him intimately close to the native trade unionists may alienate him further from the "team" and, what is more important, may alienate him from the official point of view which he is called upon to represent.

From the Field to Washington:
Channels of Communication

The labor attaché intent on bringing specific labor considerations to bear on U.S. foreign policy decisions is restrained from doing so by several factors, beginning with the necessity for incorporating his views and intelligence--for maximum effectiveness--in the official communications from the mission post to Washington. As one labor attaché writes: "you have to go through two layers of lower officials before you penetrate into the orbit of the Ambassador."¹³ Provided that the labor attaché has successfully met the obstacles posited by the political officers, counsellors, and secretaries, and has finally reached the ambassador, and provided further that the ambassador accepts the data submitted by the labor attaché and incorporates

¹³ From written responses to questions submitted during academic year, 1958-59.

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these in a report to Washington--such report lands only on the desk of a country desk officer from which point it must travel a route of intricate official channels before it reaches the seat of higher U.S. foreign policy decision-making. However, decision-makers in Washington may not be at all inclined to take the "labor factor" into consideration, and such attitudes towards labor on the part of top-level decision-makers is easily sensed by officials on the lower rungs of the hierarchy who are attuned and sensitized to the political thinking of the Administration and who will spot and block the penetration of unorthodox views and recommendations somewhere along this arduous road. Officials even of low rank do not operate in a vacuum. To circumvent such obstacles many labor attachés--when they feel strongly the necessity to reach Washington--resort to direct informal or "official-informal" communication with friends and superiors in the State Department or with contacts in the Labor Department hoping that some action will be taken. To give the post of labor attaché more weight within the diplomatic mission, a suggestion was once advanced that senior labor attachés be appointed as Counsellors of the Embassy for Labor Affairs. One labor attaché comments on this proposal:

. . . such an arrangement would put us in the back pocket of the Ambassador. That is where we are anyway--but at present I have to fight my way to him through the political section. Let me relate my experience in [name of post] . The [section] chief was a fine chap who knew what a labor attaché could contribute. No conflict here. In fact, he tried his best to influence

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the political boys to use information available to me. Some time later this same man became Acting Deputy Chief of Mission during an extended break when the mission had no SCM due to a transfer. The Acting Chief told me, "you should really be sitting in on all staff meetings with the Ambassador and all other top level policy meetings. Unfortunately, I can not enter into the type of fight with the political section which this would demand, given the temporary position I occupy." I did have direct access to him, however, and this expanded the area of my operation and influence.¹⁴

Yet when the knowledgeable were probed on the possible effects upgrading of the labor attaché post may bring about, a majority felt it would aid the administration of the program, it would lend the officer effected greater personal prestige and freedom, but that it would not change the net effect of the labor attaché's influence on the decision-making process inasmuch as it would not increase, given the system and the political orientation of the top decision-makers, the consideration accorded to the labor factor in decision-making (Table 28).

Assimilation into the General Foreign Service

Personally many labor attachés who came to the program from outside of the Foreign Service/State Department structure seemingly found some solution to their own problems--the solution implies, however, a further diminishing of the voice and influence of the

¹⁴ From written responses to questions submitted during academic year, 1958-59.

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organized American labor movement in the program. An overwhelming number of the knowledgeable thought that identification with the labor movement on the part of labor attachés who have served in the program a year or more decreases, or, at best, remains at about the same level as it was before joining the program (Table 41). However, if "identification" is again considered in terms of empirically manifested patterns, the tendency seems to be towards a decrease in the level of identification with the labor movement. Thus, of the 50 who entered the Foreign Service and labor attaché program simultaneously (i. e., the group which included the highest number of persons with labor identification), 16% transferred to the State Department or Foreign Service as "generalists," 10% became labor "specialists" in the Department's offices in Washington, and 46% remained as labor attachés. Of those in this group who left the Foreign Service, 2% returned to the Labor Department, 2% transferred to another government agency, 2% returned to interrupted academic pursuits, and 2% (i. e., only one person) returned to the trade union movement (the fate of the other 20% in this group which left the Foreign Service is unknown). If those who remained as labor attachés beyond the four years allowed under the FSR classification provisions and those who transferred to the State Department and Foreign Service as labor advisors or generalists were pooled together, we would have a total of 54% who remained within the "organization." One thus

sees a tendency on the part of labor attachés with a labor movement background to become absorbed and assimilated into their new setting. Those who stay with the Foreign Service move, after four years of service, from the FSR classification into a higher and tenure-providing category--and so themselves undergoing the natural process of bureaucratization, the organization with which they now identify themselves instead of the labor movement offers them their primary points of reference in the shaping of attitudes, evaluations and behavior.¹⁵ In order to cease their nonmembership status in relation to the diplomatic "team," in order to become fullfledged members of the "team," they will nolens volens adopt the team's specific "style of life."¹⁶ The place of labor-identification will be displaced by a "labor-expertise" of sorts, an expertise more in line with the perception of the State Department than of the other groups interested in the labor attaché program. This would be an expertise marked by

¹⁵ See Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: Free Press, 1957), especially Chapter VIII where reference group theory is discussed in depth.

¹⁶ Reference is made to H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1952), especially to the discussion on class and status.

"detachment," "rationality," one free of interference from "personal considerations."¹⁷

And apparently American labor leaders acquiesced to the changing status within the Foreign Service organization of labor attachés of labor movement background. There is, in fact, some evidence to suggest that American trade union organizations were rather pleased with the advancement in the Foreign Service hierarchy of persons of a labor background, and viewed it as an additional sign that American labor has "come of age," has become "respectable" as well as "acceptable." As far as the Foreign Service and the State Department are concerned, by opening the portals to the few recommended by the American labor movement or to those who, without official union endorsement, sought entry into the program on the strength of their union background, they have acquired a group of officers who in terms of "life experience," adaptability, energy, political sophistication, as well as education (if measured in terms

¹⁷ See the labor attaché qualifications envisioned by Dean Acheson, supra, chap. iv, which deals with the normative type-expectations by the various groups interested in the labor attaché program. Peter M. Blau, in restating Max Weber's main characteristics of an "ideal-typical" bureaucratic structure, mentions among other features the following: "rational standards to govern operations without interference from personal considerations, a detached approach must prevail within the organization and especially towards clients. If an official develops strong feelings about some subordinates or clients, he can hardly help letting those feelings influence his official decisions." Bureaucracy in Modern Society (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 30.

of academic degree achievement), are on a level superior to that of the whole of the Foreign Service/State Department personnel (Tables 15 and 16).

From the point of view of many of the labor attachés who reached the program directly from American trade union organizations, a Foreign Service/State Department career held out many attractions. Intellectually oriented by virtue of education, occupation, or individual inclination, they represented "alien" and marginal elements within the American trade union movement which is primarily shop and plant oriented, in which leaders boast that they made their way in the world despite lack of education, and in which an anti-intellectual bias is traditionally strong. Staff officials in union organizations, they were often engaged in the "fringe" activities of the movement--such as labor education--and lacking a "mass base," a following, they were exposed to the whims of elected and frequently well-entrenched union leaders. To them a Foreign Service career, on the other hand, offered glamour, a bit of excitement, a regular paycheck, social prestige, and not infrequently, even more freedom than they enjoyed in union employment.

The Position of U.S. Labor

Some labor leaders, as was pointed out in this study, were reluctant to intervene for a greater share in the labor attaché program in terms of personnel fearing that such intervention may put them

under obligations to the government in other--and to the unions, more essential--negotiations with the administration. Greater participation of persons of a labor movement background was also, no doubt, hurt by the "in-fighting" between the international affairs officials of the CIO and AFL branches of the labor federation, who despite the formal merger continued to compete with each other for access, appointments, choice post assignments, etc.--and in the process cancelled out each other's influence. It may be expected, however, that in time as former CIO and former AF of L officials pass on (some are rather advanced in age), retire, or are otherwise replaced, old sectional allegiances will diminish and with them their consequences.

In the end, leaders of the American labor movement, some in despair, nearly gave up on the program and for all practical purposes resigned themselves to the fact that the program is dominated and will continue to be so by State Department and Foreign Service "types." Yet they originally attached such high hopes to this venture. What facilitated labor's resignation was, no doubt, that aside from demands for jobs and posts, in the final analysis, few labor leaders had anything original, new, or concrete to offer in the area of American foreign policy. American trade union representatives who were included in American delegations to the General Assembly of the United Nations, to the United Nations Educational, Scientific

and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), or to the International Labor Organization (ILO), rather than challenging any of the assumptions of U.S. foreign policy joined, instead, in the officially approved chorus. If some had doubts or hoped for modifications in the conduct of American foreign affairs, these became subordinated to the generally acceptable belief that the primary task of the United States on the international arena is winning the Cold War against Communism. To this task representatives of American unions who went abroad without official governmental sponsorship voluntarily lent a hand. American labor representatives even became the spokesmen of the official U. S. point of view at the forums of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and its regional affiliates.

Thus, the wish that U.S. policy-makers in the area of foreign affairs give cognizance to a "labor factor," was not meant as incorporation of a particular and unique American labor point of view in the shaping of foreign policy. It was intended, rather, (a) as recognition of the personnel contributions that organized American labor can make at higher policy levels, and (b) as a demand that greater consideration be given to the will and interests of foreign labor elites. As far as the U.S. Labor Department was concerned, consideration to the "labor factor" never meant anything other than reporting on foreign labor conditions, the gathering of economic and social data as pertaining to these conditions, as well as greater accommodation of

Department of Labor personnel in international relations within the field of international labor. The pressures on the State Department to accommodate the demands of the various non-State Department groups were relatively mild and whenever the pressure exceeded mildness, the Department tried to adjust itself in however niggardly and reluctantly a fashion. One manifestation of such adjustment--to Labor Department pressures--was the incorporation of a labor affairs seminar in the curriculum of the Foreign Service Institute.

The Labor Attaché Program and the General Foreign Service

If assimilation and absorption presents to a certain extent a solution for the problems of the individual labor attaché with labor movement background--a solution which, as indicated, neutralizes the effect of his labor-related points of reference and which may possibly, from an objective point of view, aggravate the process of goal-achievement--it does not solve the problem, however, of the entire labor attaché group as a distinct "status-organization" vis-a-vis that of the general Foreign Service. The nature of their work and functions, their organizationally and professionally determined interests, the milieu's perception as to their role, transforms the labor attaché group into a community of sorts complete with its own professional code to regulate their behavior and to cope with the conflicting pressures within and without the diplomatic mission. Although

functioning in geographic isolation from each other, although alone (at best in a minority--few labor attachés have assistant labor attachés or other U.S. aides) in each mission-post, they find sustenance in the similarity of their social status and code. This code, however, is bureaucratic by nature and does not rest upon a similarity of a common labor background which the great majority of attachés do not possess in terms of empirically manifested indices. It is rather a communality born of a similarity in that they participate in the same administratively defined function.

Indicative of the process of bureaucratization and "professionalization" of the labor attaché program--which will further the establishment of the labor attaché group as a status organization with its own esprit de corps perhaps--is the thought given to the possibility of recruiting potential labor officers from among the young college and university graduates yearly attracted to the Foreign Service and who enter the Service via the entrance-level examination process.¹⁸

¹⁸Supra, chap. vii, n. 13. As many writers on bureaucracy point out, appointments based on examination is a typical manifestation of a trend towards bureaucratization--examinations, however, do not reveal nor are they meant to reveal expertise competence, specialized skill and training. See, for example, Ludwig von Mises, Bureaucracy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946), pp. 54-56. Also: Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), pp. 41-42ff; Philip Selznick, "A Theory of Organizational Commitments," Reader in Bureaucracy, ed. Robert K. Merton et al. (Glencoe: Free Press, 1952), pp. 199-200ff, as well as Selznick's TVA and the Grass Roots (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), pp. 250-59.

The already mentioned suggestion that the post of Counsellor of Embassy for Labor Affairs be established and given to senior labor attachés would serve a similar purpose.

The Labor Attaché Program and the State Department

If the labor attaché is in an out-group position vis-a-vis the "team" of diplomatic generalists there is no evidence, however, that in the eyes of the State Department the labor attaché program is placed in an inferior position to any other of its "specialized" undertakings. If the importance attached to the program should be measured by the types of officers assigned to it, one must conclude that in the perception of the State Department administrative decision-makers, at least, the labor attaché program is important indeed, although the importance attached to it may differ from administration to administration. Among the Foreign Service officers who came to the labor attaché program after a year or more of service with the Foreign Service/State Department prior to their labor attaché assignment, (a few served as long as fourteen years with the Foreign Service/State Department), 48% were of the "elitist" FSO classification-category, and of the 81 former and present labor attachés and assistant labor attachés (the total labor attaché universe in this study) 46% had FSO classification as their latest or last. Furthermore, the channels for advancement and bridging the classifications from

inferior ones to the more advantageous FSO are relatively easy for labor attachés. Although the Foreign Service initially "seems to have had an unreasonable fear of lateral entry,"¹⁹ it had acquiesced to pressures from the Wriston Committee as well as to those of its own need and opened its gates for lateral entrants to quite a considerable extent. Labor attachés in the FSR category had made rather extensive use of this opportunity and have entered the FSO at quite high ranks--much to the displeasure, incidentally, of the less advantageous officials in the FSS classification category, as well as to the chagrin of some veterans of the FSO category. Under the Kennedy Administration which showed some generosity to individual labor attachés, two labor officers have achieved ambassadorial rank and some others were promoted to relatively high diplomatic positions (such as Consul General, First Secretary of Embassy, etc.). With such promotions these officers have transferred from the labor attaché program to the general Foreign Service, however. The Kennedy Administration has also been responsible for expanding the number of labor attaché posts--this seems, though, to be the result of the special interest of that administration in the newly emergent nations of Africa and Asia for whose loyalties the United States

¹⁹U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Recruitment and Training for the Foreign Service of the United States, 85th Cong., 2d Sess., 1958, p. 12.

competes with the USSR and Communist China--rather than the result of increased attention to the "labor factor." Most of the new labor attaché posts are in Africa and Asia. Generally one can say that the nature of the political goals set for the program and the political functions of the labor attachés (rather than the "technical-specialized" ones) determine the attitude of the State Department in regard to the labor attaché program.

Question of Desirability of Labor Movement
Background for Labor Attaché Service

Although trade union spokesmen advanced the conviction that persons of a labor movement background would be more suitable than others for labor attaché tasks in that they share, as indicated, a "language" common to all labor (American and foreign), there is some indication that this is not necessarily the case. One high State Department official interviewed by this author referred to the authority of none other than George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, to reinforce his contention that "some labor attachés of nonlabor background are doing a better job." He also maintained that "Meany, after his trip to Latin America thinks that U.S. labor reporting officers although not trade unionists are doing an excellent job."²⁰ This official's reservations about labor attachés of union background were

²⁰ Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., Jan. 3, 1957.

based upon the belief that they might become too "involved" in local union organizations. However, informants of general prolabor orientation--both within the labor movement as well as within the Labor Department--pointed out that some labor attachés of trade union background, eager to become integrated into the "team," are quick to shed their labor sentiments to the extent that some foreign trade unionists find them "harder" to deal with than regular Foreign Service officers with no labor background whatsoever. When the panel of knowledgeable were asked how essential they feel a labor movement background to be for optimum performance of the labor attaché job, 53.7% thought such background to be desirable but not essential (Table 5). Only those on the panel of the labor movement themselves thought that a labor movement background is "absolutely essential"--but even within this group 38.2% agreed with the majority of the panelists.

U.S. Labor and Foreign Policy Decision-Making

The American trade union movement's interest in the labor attaché program came as part and parcel of its general demand for "labor participation in the State Department and in every agency of the government"²¹--a demand, in fact, for participation in the

²¹Potofsky, CIO, Proceedings 1950, p. 300.

decision-making process. Decision-makers, however, in the field of international relations, under the definition of Richard Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin, are only those in government service--a definition clearly meeting the perception of the State Department.²² This definition by implication relegated nongovernmental interest-groups to the role of outside forces striving for access to the official locus of the decision-making authority in international politics where real decisions are presumably made. It places under doubt even the authority of the Labor Department which formally bears no responsibility for decisions in the area of international politics despite its representation on the Board of the unified Foreign Service. On the other hand, the field of U. S. decision-making in the area of international relations is reserved to the cluster of agencies comprised of the State Department and the Foreign Service, the National Security

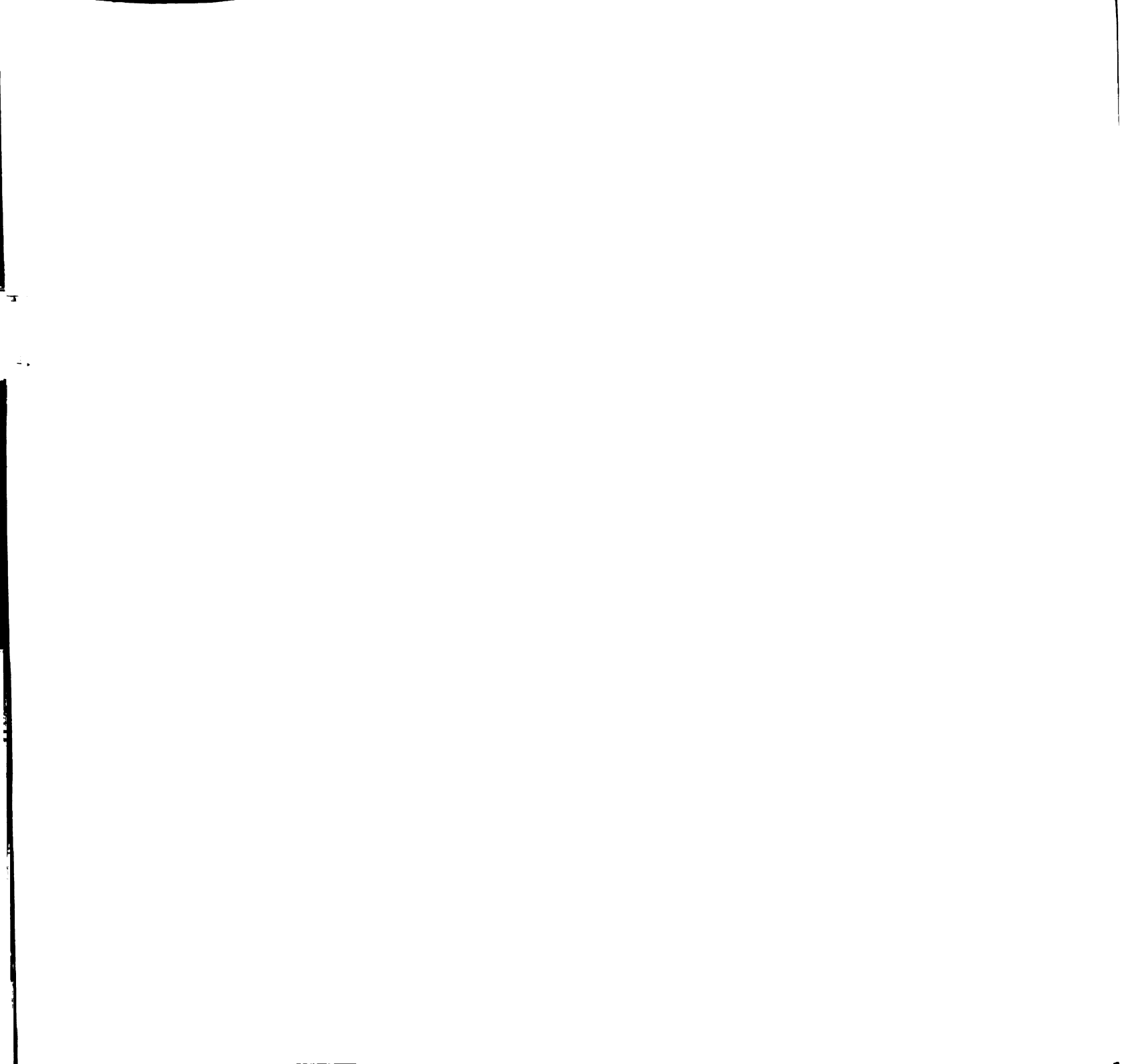
²²"Only those who are government officials are to be viewed as decision-makers or actors. In other words, no private citizen--no matter how powerful--can be a member of the analytical unit unless he temporarily holds a federal office." Richard Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin, Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics, Foreign Policy Analysis Project, Series 3, Organizational Behavior Section (Princeton: Princeton University, June, 1954), p. 3.

The definition is obviously deliberately limited for practical research purposes--however, the criticism which can be levied at it is that while it limits decision-making to a purely administrative process within a bureaucratic system, it omits the element of other internal pressures (such as legislative, etc.) and does not account for the spokesmen of influential and activating interest-groups which, as is to be seen in the case of the agricultural attache program, are

Council, the Chief Executive and a few others directly within this sphere.

Hence, if we are to measure access of American trade unions to the decision-making authority in the field of international politics by the degree to which their personnel-expectations in regard to the labor attaché program were met--the conclusion would be that these did not meet their stated demands and expectations. Furthermore, the status of those from a labor movement background, once they become decision-makers under the Snyder-Bruck-Sapin definition (i. e., once they become labor attachés and members of the official foreign affairs bureaucracy), is such as to remove their "decisions" still further from the control (and even influence) of the particular interest group (the American trade union movement) whose limited access presumably brought about their appointments. Even were the labor attachés of trade union background able to preserve their original identification in full, the level of their position within the hierarchy and the difficulty they encounter in the communication process with those on higher decision-making levels, would not alter the situation as far as the labor movement's influence is concerned. In other words, if the American labor movement ever thought of the

quite potent. On the other hand, Snyder and his associates see the official decision-makers operating in a "dual-aspect-setting" of internal and external pressures which may relate to their actions.



labor attaché program as a vehicle for the transmission of its interests and values in the area of international relations, this vehicle turned out to have uncertain wheels, and moreover, it became bogged down in the process. It is questionable, furthermore, whether there are any new and distinct ideas on the part of American labor awaiting transmission even if a more efficient vehicle were available to it.

The personnel expectations of the Labor Department were met to a greater extent--by-and-large, however, the labor attaché program, for better or for worse, bears the stamp of the State Department bureaucracy, it reflects its orientation, its policies, and, in increasing measure, even its style (despite the claim to "shirt-sleeve diplomacy").

The U.S. Labor Attaché Program: General Considerations

As was made clear repeatedly to this author in the course of personal interviews with officials of the Departments of State and Labor, despite some statements on functions and labor attaché duties--scattered over various interdepartmental memoranda--there does not seem to be any clearly perceived task-orientation in the program. Although the general goals are clear enough, though somewhat vaguely stated, much of the actual operation of the labor attaché program is left to personal initiative and, what is more significant, to the personal taste, interests, ability, capacity, and discretion of the

individual labor officer. Much of his success in the field seems to depend on how acceptable the United States is in a given country rather than on the particular conditions created by the labor attaché in his interaction with foreign trade unionists. As one labor attaché said in an interview:

Success on the job depends on how friendly the country as a whole is to the United States. In [name of country], for example, they look upon me as a fellow trade unionist and the representative of a friendly government.²³

And when a Swedish trade union leader was asked "What would you say determines the attitude of people in your country toward the U.S. Labor attaché?" his answer was:

It is hard to say. If he is a nice person, if he has the right personality, if he is a trade unionist. . . But Sweden is generally sympathetic toward the United States and so any American official is usually well received.²⁴

Elsewhere, obviously, the situation might be a bit more complicated.

The labor attaché program may have many implications--of general international political nature (including policy-making)--and, so far as the international labor movement is concerned, the program,

²³Personal interview, name withheld, Wash., Dec. 14, 1958.

²⁴Personal interview, Sten Valentin Sjoeborg, Secretary General and President-elect, Swedish Telegraph and Telephone Workers Union, East Lansing, Mich., April 3, 1957.

if effective, may in the long run have its own socio-political, cultural, as well as organizational repercussions. One Foreign Service officer, for example, points with pride to the fact that one of the accomplishments of a labor attaché's effort was the introduction of the American Labor Day as a worker's holiday in Greece.²⁵ At glance this would indeed seem to be an act signifying a facet of goal-accomplishment. However, if one keeps in mind that the First of May is traditionally the holiday of the international labor movement (Communist, non-Communist, as well as anti-Communist), questions as to the real value of the accomplishment may be raised--and questions may be asked whether visible gains such as these may not prove to be of short duration and bring about, rather, valuation-conflicts of longer lasting effect.

There are many features of American society--the American labor movement included--which are incomprehensible to foreign trade unionists. They cannot, for example, understand the reasons for the absence of an American labor party despite the grievances of organized American labor against certain existing industrial and political practices and because of the constant struggles involved in

²⁵ Sidney Sober, "U.S. Government Organization for the Conduct of International Labor Relations," unpublished paper submitted to the Economics Department of Northwestern University and to the Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, in conjunction with an assignment for advanced study, 1952-53, p. 21.

the enactment of legislation favorable to labor. The story of Sacco and Vanzetti, executed in Massachusetts for armed robbery but believed innocent by many, is still remembered by the more labor-movement-conscious elements in many parts of the world, and to them this event--as with cases of race discrimination--is a symbol of "American justice." Foreign trade unionists visiting this country under government or union auspices still display a lively interest in the details of the tragedy which took place at Hay Market Square in Chicago on May 3, 1884--an event, by the way, which gave rise to the First of May as a day of international labor solidarity--and they are disappointed when American trade unionists whom they question are unaware such an event ever took place.²⁶

As Professor Walter Galenson points out, apparently basing his deductions on observations made in academic pursuit and as a labor attaché, the achievement of the labor attaché's goals is very much dependent upon a sympathetic understanding of the foreign workers' problems, their values, an intimate knowledge of the "heroes of their youth" and their symbols.²⁷ He asks:

²⁶ From personal interviews with foreign trade unionists participating in programs of "technical assistance" in this country, under the auspices of U.S. international economic aid organizations (ICA, AID), Annapolis, Md., July 7-19, 1957, Dec. 26, 1958.

²⁷ Walter Galenson, "The Foreign Policy Role of American Trade Unions," unpublished paper presented at a meeting of the American Political Science Association (Wash., Sept. 12, 1953), p. 11.

What might be the effectiveness and the effect of the activities of a foreign government labor attaché who comes to our own labor movement not only without knowledge of English but without ever having heard the names of Gompers, Green, and Murray--leaders and symbols of organized American labor? Or, were the foreign labor attaché to recognize these names enshrined in the annals of American labor, they do not awake in him the same associations as they do for an American trade unionist. What indeed might be the effect and effectiveness of such a hypothetical foreign government labor attaché who would come to the United States, unfamiliar or only slightly familiar with its political institutions, political "style of life," without intimate awareness of the various symbols and manifestations, and their roots in the American political culture? This, Professor Galenson says, "is precisely the situation in which the great majority of our labor representatives have found themselves."²⁸

Although when questioned on foreign language proficiency of labor attachés and on their degree of familiarity with the histories, cultures, and labor movements of the countries to which they are assigned, the panel of knowledgeable took a less pessimistic view than Professor Galenson (Tables 29 and 30), one nevertheless has the impression that somehow the attaches' message falls upon indifferent

²⁸ Ibid

ears, essentially because they themselves live in a world wide apart from that of most of the targets of their influence-attempts. Foreign trade unionists may treat the American as a representative of a friendly government, as a "good Joe," or even as a fellow trade unionist; he may even accept visits as a guest of the United States government--but deep down there remains a kernel of skepticism and, basically, the absence of a common language.

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APPENDIX I

**THE UNITED STATES LABOR ATTACHÉ: STUDY IN INTER-
CULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN THE AREA
OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR
QUESTIONNAIRE TO KNOWLEDGEABLE PERSONS**

NOTICE: The identity of persons responding to this questionnaire will not be revealed to anyone. Completion time -- 30 minutes.

LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS CENTER
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN

THE UNITED STATES LABOR ATTACHE: STUDY IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN THE AREA
OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR

QUESTIONNAIRE TO KNOWLEDGEABLE PERSONS

Personal Data

0.01 Are you a citizen of the United States?

A. ☐ Yes B. ☐ No C. ☐ By birth D. ☐ By naturalization

0.02 A. Year of birth _____ B. Sex _____

0.03 Which of the following is the area of your major professional activity?

A. ☐ U.S. government

1. ☐ Department of State
2. ☐ Department of Labor
3. ☐ U.S. Information Agency
4. ☐ Department of Health, Education and Welfare
5. ☐ International Cooperation Administration
6. ☐ Other (specify) _____

B. ☐ Labor movement (If "labor movement" is your category, check below organizational level/s of activity.)

1. ☐ National federation (e.g., AFL-CIO)
2. ☐ National or international union
3. ☐ State or local body
4. ☐ Local union
5. ☐ Auxiliary labor organization (e.g., labor committee, mutual aid committee, defense committee, workers' education service, etc.)

C. ☐ Education

1. ☐ College/University
2. ☐ Elementary/Secondary
3. ☐ Other (specify) _____

D. ☐ Communications media

1. ☐ Press
2. ☐ Radio/Television
3. ☐ Other (specify) _____

(Continued on next page)

E. Private business

1. Industrial
2. Commercial
3. Other (specify) _____

F. Professional practice (specify) _____

G. Other (specify) _____

0.04 If the labor movement is your major area of professional activity, do you serve as an appointed or elected official?

1. Appointed
2. Elected
3. Other (specify) _____

0.05 If business is your major area of activity, are you active in the following organizations?

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <u>National Association of Manufacturers</u> | A. Elected <u> </u> | B. Appointed <u> </u> |
| 2. <u>United States Chamber of Commerce</u> | A. Elected <u> </u> | B. Appointed <u> </u> |
| 3. <u>Other</u> | A. Elected <u> </u> | B. Appointed <u> </u> |

0.06 A. If you are not at the present a full-time government official, have you ever been active in the past in the federal government?

1. No
2. Yes

B. If "yes", in which agency of the government and for how long?

1. Agency(ies) _____

2. Total length of time _____

C. In what capacity were you active in the government? (full-time appointee, civil service, consultant, member of advisory board, foreign service officer, member of delegation to international conference, etc.) Specify

0.07 A. Have you travelled abroad after World War II?

1. No
2. Yes

(Continued on next page)

B. If "yes", what total length of time have you spent in any of the following areas and countries?

<u>Areas/Countries</u>	<u>Total Length of Time</u>	<u>Areas/Countries</u>	<u>Total Length of Time</u>
1. Africa	_____	11. Italy	_____
2. Asia, except Japan	_____	12. Ireland	_____
3. Australia-New Zealand	_____	13. Israel	_____
4. Austria	_____	14. Japan	_____
5. Benelux countries	_____	15. Latin America	_____
6. Canada	_____	16. Near East, except Israel	_____
7. England	_____	17. Portugal	_____
8. France	_____	18. Spain	_____
9. Germany	_____	19. Switzerland	_____
10. Greece	_____		

0.08 How familiar are you with the goals, organization and operation of the U.S. Labor Attache program?

	A. <u>Goals</u>	B. <u>Organization</u>	C. <u>Operation</u>
1. Very familiar	_____	_____	_____
2. Fairly familiar	_____	_____	_____
3. Slightly familiar	_____	_____	_____
4. Not familiar at all	_____	_____	_____

0.09 A. How did you acquire familiarity with U.S. Labor Attache program? (in government service, through observation, through affiliation, through study, in the course of professional or organizational activity, through personal contact with Labor Attaches, etc.) Specify _____

B. Did you develop your familiarity in the United States or abroad?

1. ___ In the United States
2. ___ Abroad
3. ___ Both

0.10 Are you personally acquainted with any present or former Labor Attaches, and if so, with how many?

1. ___ Not acquainted 2. ___ Acquainted Number _____

Personnel-perceptions

1.01 On the basis of your experience, which of the following would you say is the major area from which Labor Attaches are recruited?

1. ___ American labor movement
2. ___ U.S. Department of State/Foreign Service
3. ___ U.S. Department of Labor
4. ___ Other government agencies
5. ___ Academic institutions
6. ___ Other. Specify _____
7. ___ No basis for estimating

- 1.02 In general, how would you describe the foreign language proficiency of the Labor Attaches you have known?
1. ☐ Very proficient
 2. ☐ Fairly proficient
 3. ☐ Slightly proficient
 4. ☐ Not proficient at all
- 1.03 In general, how would you describe the familiarity of the Labor Attaches you have known with the histories and cultures of the countries to which they were assigned?
1. ☐ Very familiar
 2. ☐ Fairly familiar
 3. ☐ Slightly familiar
 4. ☐ Not familiar at all
- 1.04 In general, how would you describe the familiarity of the Labor Attaches you have known with the labor movement of the country(ies) to which they are or have been assigned?
1. ☐ Very familiar
 2. ☐ Fairly familiar
 3. ☐ Slightly familiar
 4. ☐ Not familiar at all
- 1.05 A. Of the Labor Attaches you have known, what percentage would you say were professionally and/or intellectually identified with the U.S. labor movement prior to their initial assignment? Estimate _____%
- B. Would you say that intellectual identification tends to increase or decrease after the Labor Attache has served in that role for a year or more?
1. ☐ Identification increases
 2. ☐ Identification decreases
 3. ☐ Identification remains about the same
- C. Why do you say this? _____
- _____
- _____

Operation-Administration Perceptions

- 2.01 As far as you know, do Labor Attaches maintain contacts primarily with national or local (e.g., provincial, state, municipal) leaders?
1. ☐ National
 2. ☐ Local
 3. ☐ National and local about equally
 4. ☐ Do not know
- 2.02 As far as you know, do the Labor Attache's contacts include leaders of independent trade union organizations? (e.g., unions not affiliated with any trade union confederation)
1. ☐ Yes
 2. ☐ No
 3. ☐ Do not know

2.03 How would you rate, on the basis of your knowledge, the reactions of various foreign publics to themes used in the American propaganda and/or educational effort? (In the table below, vertical columns refer to publics, horizontal columns to various propaganda and/or educational themes. Use the following weights for reaction measurement: 10---to signify indifferent reaction; 1---favorable reaction; 2---mixed reaction; 3---unfavorable reaction.)

	Trade Union Leaders	Trade Union Rank-and-File	Political Party Groups	Govern- ment Officials	Academic Groups	Members of Press	Business Groups	General Public
1. U.S. political system and political processes								
2. Contribution of American workmen to U.S. society								
3. U.S. trade union movement								
4. U.S. art, culture and education								
5. "American way of life"								
6. U.S. economy and "free enterprise" system								
7. U.S. science and technology								
8. U.S. military power								
9. Community life								
10. U.S. Judicial process								

2.04 In your opinion, what are the four most important factors which influence Washington's judgment as to the importance of a particular Labor Attache post? (Check the four most important factors.)

1. ☐ U.S. foreign policy interest in area of post
 2. ☐ U.S. economic interest in area of post
 3. ☐ U.S. military interest in area of post
 4. ☐ Political importance of labor movement in area of post
 5. ☐ Labor unrest in area of post
 6. ☐ Specific situation in which labor factor is of importance
 7. ☐ Unsettled political situation in area of post
 8. ☐ Past effectiveness of Labor Attache in area -- receptiveness of native trade unionists to his influence attempts
 9. ☐ Other (specify) _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

2.05 A. To the best of your knowledge, how close are the contacts maintained by Labor Attaches with American union officials?

1. ☐ No contact at all
2. ☐ Some contact but insufficient
3. ☐ Sufficiently close contact
4. ☐ Very close contact
5. ☐ Do not know

B. In your opinion, how would closer contact with American trade union officials affect the Labor Attache's work?

1. ☐ Greatly benefit
2. ☐ Would cause severe difficulties
3. ☐ Benefit somewhat
4. ☐ Would be detrimental
5. ☐ Would have no effect
6. ☐ No opinion

2.06 In your opinion, how does the pay/grade and rank of the Labor Attache relative to others within the diplomatic mission affect his performance?

1. ☐ Greatly
2. ☐ Somewhat
3. ☐ No effect
4. ☐ No opinion

2.07 What kind of views about "labor" and the Labor Attache program held by others within a diplomatic mission do you feel are essential to the optimum functioning of the Labor Attache?

1. ☐ Highly pro-"labor" views
2. ☐ Views favorable to "labor" and the Labor Attache program, but not uncritical
3. ☐ Neutral views
4. ☐ Somewhat antagonistic, but not openly hostile views
5. ☐ Hostile views

2.08 In your opinion, which four of the following factors would most influence the perception which regular Foreign Service officers ("generalists") within the diplomatic mission have of the Labor Attache's job and program? (Check the four most important factors.)

1. ☐ Degree of attention (as expressed in amount of mail, inquiries, etc.) paid by Washington to the Labor Attache
2. ☐ Political importance of organized labor in area of post
3. ☐ Effectiveness of Labor Attache
4. ☐ Personality characteristics of Labor Attache
5. ☐ Success of Labor Attache's attempts to influence foreign publics
6. ☐ Military considerations regarding labor factor in the area
7. ☐ Economic considerations connected with labor factor in the area
8. ☐ General type of labor movement in the area
9. ☐ Other (specify) _____

2.09 In your opinion, what are the factors most likely to determine a Labor Attache's assignment to a given post?

1. ☐ Seniority
2. ☐ Knowledge of post-area's language and culture
3. ☐ Knowledge of post-area's labor movement
4. ☐ Other personal qualifications (specify) _____
5. ☐ Personal "connections" or lack of "connections" within Department of State
6. ☐ Personal "connections" or lack of "connections" in quarters outside the Department of State (specify) _____
7. ☐ Request for specific person for specific post. Who may make such request? (specify) _____
8. ☐ It is all a matter of chance
9. ☐ Considerations related to rotation policy
10. ☐ Other factors (specify) _____
11. ☐ Do not know

2.10 A. In your opinion, do Labor Attaches generally view their Labor Attache job as a career?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No
3. ☐ Undecided/do not know

(Continued on next page)

B. If "no", why not? (Check as many as are applicable.)

1. ☐ Because of limited opportunities for advancement
2. ☐ Because pay is too low
3. ☐ Because work is too hard
4. ☐ Because work is not gratifying
5. ☐ Because work is discouraging
6. ☐ Because work offers no challenge
7. ☐ Because of uncertainty as to post assignments
8. ☐ Because of status of Labor Attache vis-a-vis that of a U.S. Foreign Service "generalist"
9. ☐ Because of lack of stability in any given post
10. ☐ Because of fluctuating attitudes in regard to program on part of Administration in Washington
11. ☐ Other (specify) _____

General Opinions

3.01 In your opinion, how well does the Labor Attache program accomplish its stated goals?

1. ☐ Very well
2. ☐ Rather well
3. ☐ Not at all well
4. ☐ Rather poorly
5. ☐ Very poorly
6. ☐ Do not know

3.02 Which of the following conditions would help the Labor Attache perform his functions better? (Check in the appropriate "yes" and "no" column the conditions you consider desirable or undesirable.)

	Yes	No
1. More freedom of independent action in the area of post		
2. Direct communication with Washington		
3. Make him responsible only to Chief of Mission		
4. More consultation with U. S. Department of State		
5. More consultation with U. S. Department of Labor		
6. Consultation with American trade union officials		
7. Regular periodic conferences with other U. S. Labor Attaches and Assistant Labor Attaches of same geographic-political area		
8. Regular periodic conferences with other U. S. Labor Attaches and Assistant Labor Attaches regardless of area-post assignments		
9. Closer contact with foreign area's trade union officials		
10. Other (specify)		

3.03 In your opinion, what are the sources from which Labor Attaches and Assistant Labor Attaches should be recruited? (Rank in order of importance the first four of your choices and check other sources considered desirable.)

1. ☐ General Foreign Service personnel
2. ☐ University and college graduates who pass an entrance examination process especially designed for Labor Attache post
3. ☐ Academic personnel
4. ☐ Trade union movement
5. ☐ Social service organizations on the periphery of (but closely related to) the American labor movement.
6. ☐ U. S. Department of Labor; state and municipal labor agencies
7. ☐ Private labor relations agencies
8. ☐ General U. S. civil service personnel regardless of agency connection
9. ☐ Political parties
10. ☐ Public affairs organizations
11. ☐ U. S. personnel of international organizations and agencies
12. ☐ General business community
13. ☐ Other (specify) _____

3.04 A. In your opinion, how essential is a "labor movement background" for the optimum performance of a Labor Attache job?

1. ☐ Very detrimental
2. ☐ Somewhat detrimental
3. ☐ It makes no difference
4. ☐ Desirable but not essential
5. ☐ Absolutely essential
6. ☐ No opinion

B. If you considered a "labor movement background" desirable or essential in the previous question, indicate the types of trade unionists who you think would be particularly suited for the job of Labor Attache. (Rank in order of importance the first four and check other relevant categories below.)

1. ☐ Elected union officials
2. ☐ Appointed union officials (staff members)
3. ☐ Rank-and-file members
4. ☐ Active on national level
5. ☐ Active on local level
6. ☐ With actual factory or plant experience
7. ☐ Active in area of labor education
8. ☐ Active in political education
9. ☐ Specialized in collective bargaining
10. ☐ Specialized in economic research
11. ☐ Active in labor journalism
12. ☐ Actively interested in international labor affairs
13. ☐ Specialized in area of labor law
14. ☐ Other (specify) _____

3.05 In your opinion, to what extent should U. S. trade unions be consulted prior to appointment of Labor Attaches or Assistant Labor Attaches?

1. ☐ In all cases
2. ☐ Only if candidate is from trade union movement
3. ☐ Only if trade unions are expected to have information on candidate
4. ☐ Only in special circumstances (specify) _____
5. ☐ Under no circumstances
6. ☐ No opinion

3.06 Please indicate below the degree of importance you attach to any of the listed characteristics of Labor Attaches for the optimum performance of their jobs:

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Relatively Unimportant	Unimportant
1. Knowledge of language of area of post				
2. Knowledge of area's political, economic, social and cultural conditions prior to assignment				
3. Personal contact with area prior to assignment				
4. Familiarity with American labor movement's symbols (word-images, slogans, legends, songs, etc.)				
5. Previous writing experience and analytical skills				
6. Other (specify)				

3.07 Below is a list of aspects of American society. Please rate these aspects according to the urgency with which you feel a Labor Attache should foster their understanding among foreign nationals.

	Very Urgent	Somewhat Urgent	Not Urgent
1. U.S. foreign policy			
2. U.S. pattern of labor relations and U.S. labor legislation			
3. U.S. economic patterns			
4. U.S. productivity and technological advancement			
5. U.S. political organizations, institutions and behavior			
6. U.S. social patterns (stratification, race, etc.)			
7. U.S. trade union movement			
8. U.S. culture values and patterns			
9. Other (specify)			

3.08 Below is a list of some of the functions the Labor Attache is expected to perform. Please rate these functions according to the importance you attach to them.

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Relatively Unimportant	Unimportant
1. Develop contacts with foreign trade unionists				
2. Develop contacts with foreign government labor officials				
3. Develop contacts with foreign management officials				
4. Develop contacts with foreign political labor leaders				
5. Report on labor developments abroad (technical, economic)				
6. Report on political labor developments abroad (labor parties, tendencies, sentiments, etc.)				
7. Promote understanding and acceptance of U.S. foreign policy				
8. Promote understanding of U.S. domestic political and social patterns				
9. Promote understanding of U.S. labor movement and U.S. pattern of labor-management relations				
10. Render specialized consultation and assistance to Chief of Mission and other Mission officers				
11. Follow developments within Communist sector of foreign labor movement				
12. Assist ICA and TCA in rendering aid to foreign trade unions (technical aid, exchanges, etc.)				
13. Advise U.S. representatives in international organizations				
14. Assist American trade unionists abroad				
15. Assist American businessmen interested in foreign labor matters				
16. Advise military procurement officers concerning labor conditions				

3.09 In your opinion, how much does the work of the Labor Attache program contribute to a successful development of U. S. policy in the areas with which you are familiar?

1. ☐ Very much
2. ☐ Quite a bit
3. ☐ Somewhat
4. ☐ Generally very little
5. ☐ Nothing at all
6. ☐ Do not know

3.10 In your opinion, how much does the Labor Attache program in general contribute to a greater appreciation of the United States in the labor movement abroad?

1. ☐ Very much
2. ☐ Considerably
3. ☐ Somewhat
4. ☐ Very little
5. ☐ Nothing
6. ☐ Do not know

3.11 A. In your opinion, how much does the Labor Attache program in general contribute to a greater appreciation of the U. S. labor movement, its goals and values, among foreign trade unionists and in the foreign community at large?

	<u>Foreign trade unionists</u>	<u>Community at large</u>
1. Very much	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Considerably	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Very little	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Nothing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Do not know	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B. On which four of the following factors do you feel appreciation most depends? (Check the four most important factors.)

1. ☐ The values of given political culture
2. ☐ Type of given labor movement (specify) _____
3. ☐ General attitude towards the U.S. within given society
4. ☐ General attitude of given labor movement towards the U.S.
5. ☐ Degree of popularity of U.S. foreign policy towards area at the moment
6. ☐ Other factors (specify) _____

3.12 In your opinion, how much does the Labor Attache program contribute to an understanding of foreign labor and its goals and values among U.S. policy-makers?

1. ☐ Very much
2. ☐ Considerably
3. ☐ Somewhat
4. ☐ Very little
5. ☐ Nothing
6. ☐ Do not know

3.13 In your opinion, how much does the Labor Attache program contribute to an appreciation of foreign labor, its goals and values, within U.S. labor?

1. ☐ Very much
2. ☐ Considerably
3. ☐ Somewhat
4. ☐ Very little
5. ☐ Nothing
6. ☐ Do not know

3.14 There exists a plan to establish the post of Counsellor of Embassy for Labor Affairs which, while preserving the present organizational and formal communication patterns, would place senior Labor Attaches on a par with the Counsellors of Embassy for Economic and Political Affairs, respectively. What is your opinion of such a plan? (Check statements below with which you agree.)

1. ☐ It would aid the program.
2. ☐ It would give the officers affected increased prestige.
3. ☐ It would make the job easier.
4. ☐ It would give the officer affected more freedom of independent action.
5. ☐ It would give the labor officers a greater share in policy-making.
6. ☐ It would result in greater consideration of labor matters in decision-making.
7. ☐ Affected officer's status will change but program and its objectives would remain the same.
8. ☐ It offers no solution to the problems of the Labor Attache Program.
9. ☐ It offers a partial solution to the problems of the Labor Attache Program.
10. ☐ Nothing will change.
11. ☐ Other (comment) _____

12. ☐ Do not know.

3.15 Please indicate the degree of importance you feel the Labor Attaches should attach to contacts with the following persons in the countries of assignment. Signify (the degree of importance) by using the following weights: 0--for non-importance; 1--importance; 2--extreme importance.

<u>Contacts</u>	<u>Weight attached to contact by LA</u>
1. Foreign trade union officials	_____
2. Rank-and-file union members (i.e., persons holding no union post whatever or one not higher than shop/factory level)	_____
3. Foreign businessmen	_____
4. Foreign government officials	_____
5. Members of foreign press	_____
6. Foreign academicians	_____
7. Foreign political figures	_____
8. Others. Specify _____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

3.16 Do you have the impression that the Labor Attache is looked upon by "friendly" foreign trade unionists as a representative of

1. ☐ U.S. government?
2. ☐ U.S. labor movement?
3. ☐ American business interests?
4. ☐ Just a friendly, interested American?
5. ☐ Other (specify) _____

6. ☐ Do not know _____

3.17 A. What organizational arrangements would you regard as most beneficial for the Labor Attache program? (Please check all relevant categories below.)

1. ☐ Responsibility to U.S. Department of State and U.S. Department of Labor
2. ☐ Responsibility to U.S. Department of State with U.S. Department of Labor acting in advisory capacity
3. ☐ Responsibility to U.S. Department of Labor with U.S. Department of State acting in advisory capacity
4. ☐ Responsibility to U.S. Department of State only
5. ☐ Responsibility to U.S. Department of Labor only
6. ☐ Responsibility to U.S. Department of Labor only with preservation of political functions
7. ☐ Responsibility to U.S. Department of State only with preservation of technical (specialized) functions
8. ☐ Other organizational arrangements (specify) _____

B. Please explain your choice in previous question.

Please use the space below to comment on aspects of the Labor Attache program not covered in this questionnaire or to spell out in more detail answers to previous questions. Should you need additional space, please continue on attached blank page.

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APPENDIX II

WRITTEN QUESTIONS SUBMITTED TO LABOR ATTACHÉS AND
ASSISTANT LABOR ATTACHÉS WHO SPENT THE ACADEMIC
YEAR, 1958-1959, IN THE UNITED STATES

1. In your opinion, what are some of the advantages and disadvantages of the present communication pattern between a labor attaché in the field and (a) the Department of State; (b) the Department of Labor?
2. Which of the aspects of the labor attaché job do you like and which do you not like? (If possible, please indicate the degree of likes and dislikes.)
3. Do you view the job of labor attaché as a career? What is the feeling of other labor attachés on this?
4. What are the factors affecting the desirability of a post assignment? (career considerations, climatic conditions, type of labor movement in area, etc.)
5. How do you feel about the present rotation policy? How does it affect personnel morale? How does it affect the program?
6. In your opinion, how well does the labor attaché program accomplish its stated goals--and if it does not, why?
7. How essential is a "labor movement background" for the optimum performance of the labor attaché job?
8. Since so many labor attachés of "labor movement background" moved from the FSR category into the FSO category--
 - (a) How do their FSS colleagues in the Mission view such promotion?
 - (b) Does it mean they became fullfledged members of the mission "team"--did the FSO category help in this respect?
 - (c) Is there the possibility that their "labor frame of reference" will become subdued or even replaced by a newly acquired "bureaucratic" or FS/State Department "organizational frame of reference"?
9. How does a labor attaché of "labor background" resolve a dilemma where conflict of interests (or goals and objectives) is involved between the labor movement and the U.S. government (are there such dilemmas?)?
10. How do the regular FS officers, especially the "generalists," view the labor attaché? How easily is he accepted into the team? Which factors contribute to an easier acceptance and which to a more difficult acceptance or to rejection?

11. How do the "generalists" within the mission view the labor attaché program?
12. Do jurisdictional conflicts arise between labor attachés and political affairs officers due to the formers' "political interests"?
13. Walter Galenson said that in matters in which "labor expertise" really counts, the "labor sector" is seldomly consulted. Do you agree or disagree with this statement?
14. Can the labor attaché make his voice and opinions heard in Washington--or are these altered by the Ambassador, the political affairs officer, or others within the mission?
15. To what extent, if at all, does the American union movement influence the program?
16. How would you describe the "ideal type" of labor attache?
17. Which factors contribute to a greater or lesser acceptance of the labor attaché among foreign trade unionists? What were some of your own experiences in this respect?
18. Which aspects of American life are better understood and accepted by the foreign public with which you had to deal? Which aspects do you think the labor attaché should stress with greater urgency and which with less in order to contribute to an understanding of these among foreign nationals?
19. Which sector of the foreign population is more receptive to our "message"?
20. Which labor attache functions do you view as more or less important?
21. How do "friendly" foreign trade unionists view the labor attaché? Do they see him as a representative of the U.S. government? A diplomat? A fellow trade unionist? Just a "good Joe"?
22. Do you think that the establishment of a special Foreign Labor Service (similar to the FAS) would enhance the program? If you think a special Foreign Labor Service is not feasible, why not?

23. What do you think of a plan to recruit university and college graduates (by special entrance examination) especially for the labor attaché program? Would this contribute towards the establishment of the labor attaché service as a career? Would this contribute something to the general program?
24. What institutional arrangements would you regard as most beneficial for the labor attaché program? Any other organizational innovations? Would these increase the prestige of the labor attaché?
25. Do you think that "institutional learning" contributes something to the labor attaché's better job performance? If yes, in what way? And if not--what other type of education or training (formal or informal) do you consider useful?

NOTE: You may, if you wish, digress--but please do generally refer to the number of the question so I can check your responses on my copy.

APPENDIX III

NOTE ON SOME PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN THE PROCESS OF RESEARCH ON THE U.S. LABOR ATTACHÉ PROGRAM

It is worthwhile to point out and discuss briefly some of the difficulties and obstacles encountered in the course of research for this study, inasmuch as these may have a bearing on the conditions under which serious but nonofficially sponsored research in the area of foreign policy and administration may be conducted. These difficulties are perhaps suggestive of the times we are living in--times of "cold wars," international tensions and fears to which a society such as ours may succumb. The larger questions which arise are as old, it seems, as the efforts to implement ideas of freedom and democracy into the practice of the polity--and that is, how can the need for freedom and the right to know be reconciled with the often contrary need for security? How can democracy coexist with organizational efficiency?

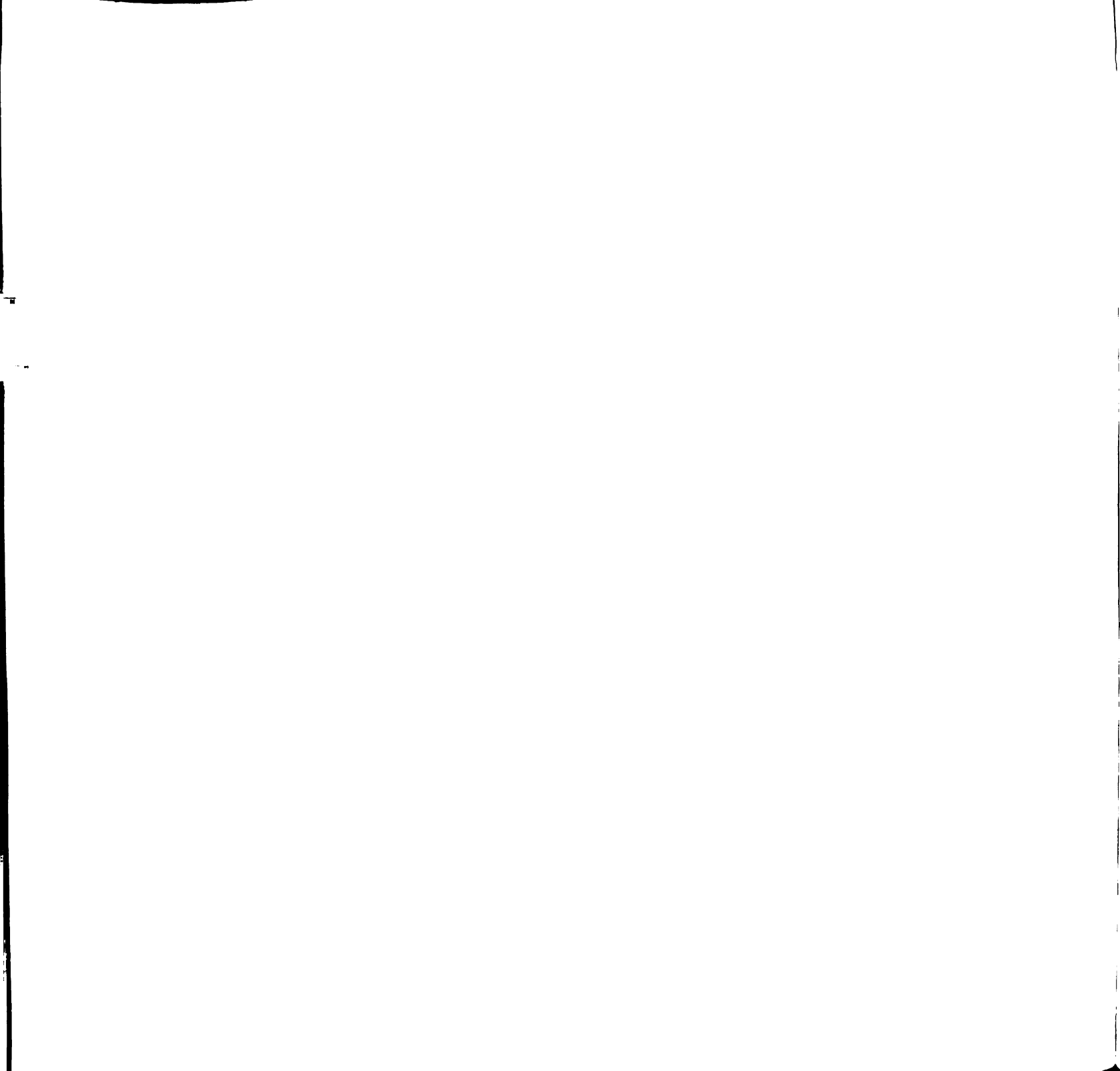
Initially the official agencies concerned displayed an interest in this research project and offered a great deal of cooperation. Such cooperation, however, became less assured after it was made clear to some officials that the study would go beyond the description of the formal-institutional arrangements of the labor attaché program. Here a curious phenomenon emerged: The official personnel in the field (i. e., labor attachés and assistant labor attachés in the field or on detail in the United States) as well as labor advisors (who were themselves former labor attachés or expected to return to attaché duties in the future) who were contacted were rather encouraging about the

project, interested in its progress and eventual findings. On the other hand, officials in the agencies concerned who were permanently anchored in Washington and who were in some way responsible for the administration of the program as a whole displayed a fair measure of concern about some of the avenues along which the research might lead and over the effects the findings might have.

Objections were raised by the latter group of officials over the intention of administering some kind of structured questionnaire to all labor attachés and assistant labor attachés. They felt that responding to such a questionnaire might be too time consuming. Fears were also expressed regarding interviews with foreign nationals--lest these may harm "United States interests." The name of a prominent anti-Communist labor leader in Italy was repeatedly mentioned and it was feared that he might become unduly nervous or suspicious over research on the operation of the labor attaché program in his area, especially if other Italian trade unionists should be interviewed on the subject. Objections were even raised to the very idea of administering a questionnaire to a panel of knowledgeable U.S. citizens on the grounds that no person not officially and currently involved with the program could really be well-informed about it, and therefore what would be obtained in response to such a questionnaire are "opinions," "guesses," rather than "facts." These officials could not concede or for some reason were unwilling to concede that "facts" are open to

varying interpretations, although different interpretations of the same events often emerged during personal interviews conducted with officials within the Department of State on the one hand and the Department of Labor on the other, and even with officials working side by side within the same Department. For some of them it was difficult to conceive that "opinions" and "guesses" from a group of knowledgeable, influential, and interested U.S. citizens are in themselves of significance. Furthermore, they were unwilling to see that opinions of events, perceptions, constitute a dimension of reality upon which people act. Finally, fears that somehow a breach of "security" might occur, a divulgence--however unintentional--of "classified material" was advanced in opposition to the project. In this connection some curious inconsistencies took place. Thus, for example, certain government documents such as the O.I. L. A. Memorandum which although not "classified" was denied to the University library were offered without any misgivings when this author requested them in person in Washington.

In addition to the above mentioned difficulties, the author sensed some misgivings towards behaviorally oriented research in general. The bulk of research undertaken by the Departments of State and Labor are institutional, formal, and traditional in character. Although the Bureau of Labor Statistics is housed in the Labor Department, research in the other bureaus of that Department are legalistic and



historical in the main. Similarly, although the Bureau of Intelligence and Research and the Office of Social and Behavioral Research of the State Department produce some highly sophisticated social science research papers, the bulk of research conducted in that Department is in the "generalist" tradition of position papers. Many officials in both departments seem to react rather negatively to what they like to call "sociological jargon," and in this they reflect biases resulting perhaps from their own education in the older humanistic disciplines.

Both within the Departments of State and Labor there exist extensive lists of topics on which nonsponsored and private research is encouraged--most of these, however, are historical or formal-institutional in nature. Students interested in current problems are encouraged to focus attention on non-American political behavior, on the assumption that such research might be of some usefulness to the U.S. government. Thus, for example, suggestions were made that research be undertaken on foreign, non-American, labor attaché programs. As far as the State Department is concerned, limitation on current research topics of nonofficial character, is further imposed by the very policies regulating accessibility to records. The general policy regulating such access is:

. . . to make records available to private individuals and to Government officials engaged in private research as liberally as possible, consistent with the security of the nation, the

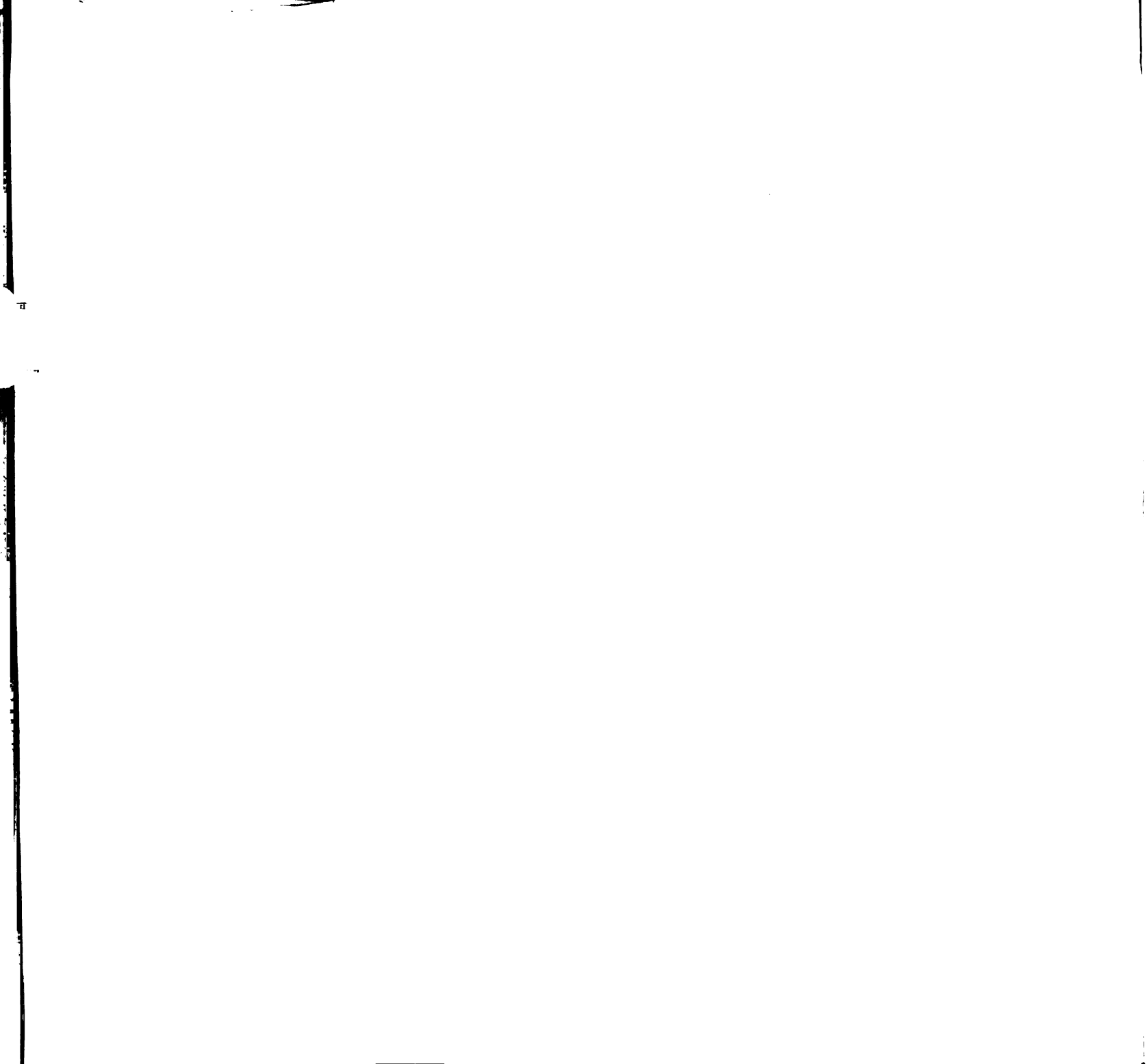
maintenance of friendly relations with other nations and the official operation of the Department.¹

This statement, however, is so broad that it allows the Department a wide discretion so that records remain, in effect, inaccessible to nonofficial investigators for prolonged periods of time. For example, in 1957, the so-called "open period" of free accessibility to Departmental records ceased with January 1, 1930--i.e., anything pertinent to the twenty-seven years after that was "off limits" to the private scholar. It is interesting to note here that all governmental records prior to 1930 were at that time (1957) in the custody of the National Archives and thus free from State Department jurisdiction anyway.

To be sure, there is a so-called "limited-access" period which in 1957 extended to documents dated January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1942. Who may or may not be qualified to use documents within this time span is determined by the State Department.² Officially, determinations in this area are made on the basis of "national interest"

¹ U. S., Department of State, Regulations and Procedures: Non-Official Use for Research Purposes: 185.4 (Washington: TL:RP-226, Dec. 7, 1956), mimeographed, p. 1.

² Since the U.S. labor attaché program was not in existence before 1943 documents within the "limited-access" period were of no relevance to this study. Documents within the State Department collection which might have had a relevance to the labor attaché program belonged in 1957 to the so-called "closed period" which at that time included anything later than January 1, 1942. Relative to the "closed period," the Regulations and Procedures state: "The larger portion of the records of the closed period shall be closed to non-official researchers." Ibid., 185.42c.



and security. For example: "broad studies regarded by the Department as desirable in the national interest" and more limited investigations involving "nonsensitive and generally unclassified materials" may be possibly undertaken on documents within the "limited-access" period or even within the "closed period"³--with official approval. Should one agree to all the conditions imposed and subsequently succeed in the use of State Department documents, the Department reserves then for itself the right to impose restrictions upon the use of studies based upon such material.

In sum, lack of sympathy, to say the least, for officially unauthorized research is coupled with some "uneasiness" over empirical work, and the obstacles growing from these reservations are reinforced by fears for "security." The total effect, however, is such that an entire area of socio-political research is made difficult, if not wholly impossible, for serious and independent political science research. One, of course, cannot escape the haunting thought which suggests itself that the need for security (and concomitantly, the resort to secrecy) may be utilized as a camouflage for administrative failures, inefficiency, and insecurity. Access to these areas may be barred in the name of a "public" or "national" interest but, in reality, may serve only to protect the bureaucracy concerned.

³Ibid.

Apparently, the difficulties encountered by an independent researcher are not at all unfamiliar to researchers in the employ of one government agency engaged in studying another agency of the same government. For example, Senator J. William Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, complained some time ago that a study on U.S. foreign policy and administration undertaken by the staff of his Committee and which sought to utilize some survey research techniques met with State Department resistance. Various obstacles were erected before members of the staff of the Foreign Relations Committee who desired to poll active Foreign Service officers regarding the problems under investigation. To circumvent State Department objections, Committee investigators, instead resorted to a survey of retired United States diplomats only. Since the findings of the Committee's study reflected rather negatively upon a number of U.S. foreign policies, including the government's general "defense posture," as well as upon the administration of the Foreign Service, especially as it relates to the role of the ambassadors, one wonders whether State Department obstructionism did not "backfire" in this particular instance. It is likely that a survey of active Foreign Service personnel might have produced results reflecting less unfavorably on U.S. foreign policy and its administration. However, what is of interest here is the very act of refusal on the part of the State Department to cooperate with a powerful Congressional committee, particularly one upon

which so much of the Department's own fortunes depend.⁴ The frustrations of Senator Fulbright and his official staff make a bit more bearable the frustrations of the individual researcher engaged in independent research in similar areas, although it does not solve the problem.

It is, therefore, with some gratification that the author notes the extensive cooperation offered to him by officials of different rank within the State Department and Labor Department hierarchy as well as in other agencies of the government in the course of preparing this study. It should be further noted here that no documents of a classified nature were used in research for this study, although the author--partly as a consequence of his own professional activity in the government--had access to some documentary materials which are normally not available to the general public.

⁴The above incident is related in detail in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, June 28, 1959, 2A.

TYPED BY: Doris Boylan

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