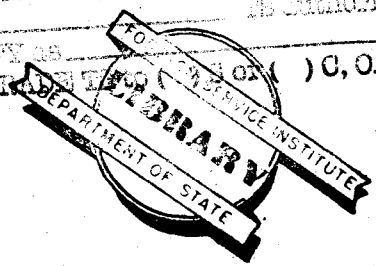


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A CASE STUDY OF
THE ROLE OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS:
The American Institute for Free Labor Development

by
Paul K. Morris

June 5, 1964

THIS STUDY DOES NOT CONSTITUTE A STATEMENT
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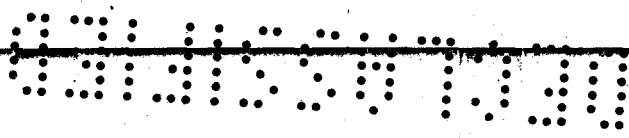
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DISSENT

My decision to write on the role of organized labor in international affairs grew out of my experience from 1959 through 1963 in developing joint U.S. Information Service -- German Federation of Labor programs in western Germany. This had been an advantageous relationship. Organized German labor had prime resources for educational programs and was interested in including, as a part of labor training, subjects such as the Atlantic Community, NATO, assistance to developing countries, the Common Market and North America; as well as industrial society problems dealing with technology, automation, and labor-management cooperation. These interests coinciding with the objectives of USIS resulted in profitable cooperation. USIS provided program resources within the framework of the educational facilities of German organized labor.

I became increasingly impressed with the role that labor can play in its educational and training programs and with its concern in international responsibilities. In addition to contacts with German labor, I had opportunity to observe some of the work of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the International Labor Organization (ILO). While finding the experience in Germany rewarding and encouraging, I realized I had limited knowledge of what labor is doing elsewhere and I was especially uninformed about the detailed extent of the interests and activities of the United States Trade Unions.

DISSENT

Consequently, as I selected a subject for my term paper it was logical to elect to write on some aspect of the role of organized labor in international affairs especially U.S. labor. In setting about to identify a workable segment of this effort which could be handled within the time and scope of that part of the Seminar devoted to a term paper, I was gradually steered toward the work of the American Institute For Free Labor Development (AIFLD), following the suggestions made by officers of the Department of Labor, the Agency for International Development (AID) and AFL/CIO.

Selection of AIFLD for my area of study has advantages. AIFLD has clearly defined and limited objectives; it operates only in Latin America; it has been in being for only two years; and no outside observer has yet made an appraisal of it.

A not inconsiderable attraction of AIFLD as a subject for study is its being an example of so-called "people-to-people" involvement in international affairs. Original discussions on whether to choose AIFLD as a term paper subject had exclusively stressed the non-government aspects of labor involvement.

So much has been said, both meaningful and unmeaningful, during the past twenty years about the virtues of non-governmental people, and organizations participating in international affairs. The varieties of proposals, efforts, and experiences have been numerous. There has been a broad gamut of efforts, combining mis-

dissemination

directed as well as directed, the reasoned and the emotional, and the productive ranged alongside the unproductive.

While the record of people-to-people during the past twenty years has been mixed and often confused, certain basic concepts have evolved. One reality now seems fairly generally recognized. Foreign relations are not limited to a select group of professionals talking to their counterparts in other countries. Relations are not limited to the point of a pyramid power structure, whether that structure is political, economic, or cultural. Increasing masses of people are becoming involved as nations evolve and as societies struggle with the multiple demands of the post mid-century.

Equally significant to this reality is the corollary that, because relations are so complicated and so bound up with the intricacies of modern industrial developments, there really can be no such thing as pure people-to-people relationships operating in a vacuum, divorced from government participation. Our goals and efforts can only be meaningful if there exists a teaming of government and non-government resources, contrary emotional statements notwithstanding.

Selection of one element of society for study implies no exclusiveness or dominance. Selection of the role of labor in international affairs, however, does recognize the importance of this well-organized group and its effectiveness in providing articulate

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expression of demands, expectations, and contributions of a considerable proportion of our population.

From the United States' standpoint, organized labor is a proud example of a large non-governmental resource which is effectively organized, broadly and humanely motivated, possessing a reservoir of human and financial resources. It has its weaknesses of course, and problems to be solved if it is to retain its respected position, but its positive factors in our pluralistic society are great.

The work of labor in the international field as represented by AFL-ILWU is not at all a pure, non-government, people-to-people venture. It is not operating detached from government. This is a simple fact not to be avoided; nor should it be avoided. Modern, international commitments are too involved and complicated to permit the luxury of uncoordinated, separate ventures.

Organized labor's role discussed in this study is inextricably interwoven with government efforts -- politically, technically and financially. There is labor leadership. There are psychological advantages. Labor provides a basic and necessary resource of contacts among people of different lands, based on a common professional language and mutual aspirations, and it brings into use an organizational structure and professional counsel.

DISCONTINUED

Free society, if it is to flourish amid the complexities of the 20th century, must be eternally nurtured with imaginative adaptations of democracy's doctrines to the environment and tools of this fast-moving scientific generation. Rightness of doctrine or past demonstrations of success are not enough. There must be ceaseless search for new mechanisms, wisely conceived and cleverly executed; especially mechanisms which advance human rights and properly utilize human resources.

An experimentation has been taking place during the past two years which promises to fit into the category of a wise response to the need for a mechanism to help advance free society in the post mid-century period. I refer to a combined action of U. S. organized labor and government, with private business participation, working to raise the levels of ability and responsibility of organized labor in Latin America. This mechanism is the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), an arm of AFL/CIO which is operating with substantial government backing within the framework of the Alliance for Progress.

The AIFLD is the means for contributing resources of AFL/CIO to work cooperatively with organized labor of participating countries. The aim is to raise the educational and training level of Latin American trade unions, and to provide technical and financial help to assist the unions in securing social and economic accomplishments. This is

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achieved by operating a substantial number of training centers throughout Latin America, and by conducting an Institute in Washington to which select graduates of the regional centers attend. Further, IFLD is organized both in Washington and in Latin American regional offices for arranging AFL/CIO loans to local unions, along with technical help, for building workers' housing projects and for creating institutions such as cooperatives, workers' banks, and credit unions.

The psychological posture is that of a labor-to-labor program, with emphasis on the solidarity of free, international trade unionism. Here is a gratifying picture of outward looking North American unions demonstrating in a practical manner their sensitive understanding of the aspirations of their Latin American colleagues. This psychology is good. This work is underwired with substantial government funds and manpower resources through the Agency for International Development (AID). There are also additional contributions from private business and foundations. There is no subterfuge in emphasizing the labor-to-labor characteristics of this effort. All concerned are fully aware of the preponderance of government financing and of private involvement. There is, however, a realistic understanding and agreement that best results can be obtained by featuring the skills and mutuality of interests gained from U. S. Labor's working cooperatively with their Latin American colleagues.

We are confident that the superiority of a pluralistic society has been demonstrated by the manner in which society has developed in the United States. Logically, therefore, a cornerstone of the

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Alliance for Progress is the better off as the degree of plural-
ism in Latin America increases, there will be a resultant economic
and social development. It is further believed that one of the
major potentials for increased pluralism in Latin America lies in
increasing the abilities and responsibilities of trade unions.

It has long been popular, as the struggle with communistic
states has intensified, for our self criticism to voice doubts of
our ability to meet the opposition's cleverness with equal or superi-
or cleverness. It is likely that we have tended to overemphasize the
extent of our fumbling and may not always have recognized our mount-
ing successes. Here, I believe, is a prime opportunity to emphasize
a mechanism which already has successes to its credit, and which, if
consistently supported and improved, promises lasting satisfaction.

This term paper is aimed at describing in detail the mechan-
ism of the American Institute for Free Labor Development. It discusses
formation, guiding policies, organization, resources, activities, and
plans. Numerous appraisals and suggestions, as voiced by a variety of
observers and participants, are likewise included. There remain modi-
fications which should be made and which AIFLD is capable of making.
Nevertheless without serious reservations it can truly be said that
AIFLD is an organizations and operation of which we can be proud.

I am ending the summary with one solemn admonition. The
Government, the AFL/CIO, and the private business supporters all have
a responsibility to insure continued support and recognition suffi-
cient to enable AIFLD to operate long enough and intensively enough

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to make a lasting contribution in achieving its goals. There
needs to be, of course, continuous appraisals and changes where
needed, but hopefully criticism and change will take place within
a consistency and determination of purpose.

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DISCUSSION

The General Role of Labor in International Affairs

Before discussing specifically the work of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, it is well to remind ourselves briefly of the attitudes of labor, particularly U.S. labor, toward international affairs.

International orientation of organized labor in the industrially advanced, democratic nations is traditional, having gained impetus since World War II. Labor has steadily assumed independent and government-related responsibilities for improved understanding of personal, political, economic, and social relations; and, especially during the past fifteen years, it has been concerned with conditions in the less-developed countries of the world. Organizationally, these objectives are reflected in such international efforts as the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), together with ORIT its western hemisphere arm, and the individual International trade unions as represented by international offices in various cities of the world, known as the International Trade Secretariats (ITS).

Organized labor in individual countries is making significant contributions to international advancement. For example, in the Federal Republic of Germany the Federation of Labor (Deutsche Gewerkschaft Bund) has evolved since World War II to an honorable position and has given service in such areas as supporting the European Common

DISCUSSION

market and the greater Atlantic Community, and in providing assistance to developing countries, both directly and through IOFTU.

The Attitude of AFL/CIO Toward International Affairs.

This paper is concerned with one aspect of AFL/CIO since the American Institute for Free Labor Development is in reality an arm of it. AFL/CIO is philosophically and materially committed to international responsibilities. Of AFL/CIO's approximate \$19,000,000 bi-annual budget, more than \$4,000,000, or well over 20%, is expended on international activities both directly and through international organizations such as IOFTU. Why does it do this? How does it justify spending more than \$1.00 out of every \$5.00 of dues collected for work not directly benefiting its members within the United States?

Director of the
Jay Lovestone, AFL/CIO ~~Vice President for International~~
Department
~~affairs~~ expresses it this way:

1. Without democracy there are no free trade unions.
2. Free trade unions are incompatible with communism.
3. With the emergence of communist states, free trade unions face new tasks.
4. With the development of modern technology, the world becomes smaller and at the same time internationalism becomes increasingly significant.
5. It is natural, because of free labor's basic concerns and objectives, that it shares responsibilities for the

Organization

international aims of our country.

6. Labor is an active agent, taking positions on all issues, but not a dependent political factor.
7. Labor's concern with assisting less-developed countries stems from humanitarianism, necessity for free trade, union solidarity, and belief that if workers lose significance in a country, sooner or later that country turns against the United States.

With this background and philosophy, it was a natural move that AFL/CIO formed such an organization as the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) with specific objectives in a specific part of the world. Parenthetically, this appears to be a healthy move for the entire U. S. labor movement. U. S. organized labor is sometimes criticized for being a big pressure group with a bureaucratic super structure experiencing some reluctance for progressiveness. Its support of AIFLD should be realistic, outward-looking, humanitarian demonstration.

The Organization of the American Institution for Free Labor
Development (AIFLD)

AIFLD, a relative newcomer organized in 1962, is in reality a creature of AFL/CIO, but it is unusual among labor organizations in that it has major support, both financial and human resources, from the Federal Government and from private business. One of the original concepts was that the costs would be shared one-third by each of the participating elements. This was never the case. The bulk of the

Organization

money-support comes from Government. On the other hand it is correct to say that the bulk of human resources comes from labor sources.

Until now AIFLD has worked exclusively with Latin American trade unions and its mission is primarily in two categories:

1. An educational and training program for Latin American trade unionists.
2. A loan and technical assistance program funneling credit and technical help from AFL/CIO unions to Latin American unions for housing, workers' banks, credit unions, cooperatives, clinics, and related activities.

Although organized in 1962, the origin of the concepts and the initial activities go back to the 1950's, stemming from the pioneer work of the Communication Workers of America (CWA) and the Postal, Telephone and Telegraph International (PTTI). In the mid 1950's the PTTI experimented with educational activities in Latin America, and created an inter-American office in Mexico City. Later, in 1957, CWA brought representatives of Latin American unions to a seminar it organized and conducted in Front Royal, Virginia. From this experiment, George Meany and others in AFL/CIO became interested. AFL/CIO then made a fairly prolonged study and followed by developing a plan and procedure. The result was the formal organization of AIFLD in 1962.

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Headquarters of AFLD are in Washington, D.C. at 1925 "K" Street N.W. The board of trustees consists of representatives from labor, private business, and Government, including members from Latin American countries. See Table I on the following page for the names of the board members and officers. Mr. Serafino Romualdi, who has a long and rich experience in Latin American trade union affairs is the Executive Director. Mr. William C. Doherty Jr. is the Director of the Social Projects Department which actually is a near autonomous department. Mr. Doherty, incidentally headed the one-time PTTI regional office in Mexico City, discussed above. In addition to its headquarters, the Washington School of AFLD is located at 1860 19th Street N.W.

Throughout Latin America, AFLD has sixteen field offices or schools in fourteen countries, eight of which are training centers and eight are social project field offices. In a number of other countries, additional operations are conducted through local trade union organizations. For example, the training activities in Mexico are operated through CRIT (the western hemisphere arm of the ICFTU) and the Mexican Federation of Trade Unions (CFT). Table II on the fourth page following, itemizes the various locations.

TABLE I

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR FREE TRADE DEVELOPMENT

Barbosa de Almeida, José, President
Labor Cultural Institute
Sao Paulo, Brazil

Beirne, Joseph A., President
Communications Workers of America,
AFL/CIO

Betancourt, Dr. Rómulo
Former President, Venezuela

Brinckerhoff, Chas., President
The Anaconda Company

Carey, James E., President
International Union of Electrical
Radio and Machine Workers

Dubinsky, David, President
International Ladies' Garment
Workers Union, AFL/CIO

Friele, Berent, Sr. Vice Pres.
American International Assn.
for Economic & Social Development

González, Galeo, President
Labor Federation of North
Coast of Honduras

Grace, J. Peter, President
W. R. Grace & Co.

Harrison, Geo. M., Chief Executive
Brotherhood of R.R. & Steamship
Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express
& Station Employees, AFL/CIO

Hickey, William M., President
The United Corporation

Hill, Ambassador Robt. C., Director
Merck & Co.

TABLE I

BOARD OF TRUSTEES, Continued

Holland, Kenneth, President
Institute of International Education

Jauregui, Arturo, Gen. Secretary
CIT

Keenan, Joseph D., Secretary
Inter. Brotherhood, Electrical Workers

Knight, C. A., President
Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Union

Lee, Ernest, Exec. Asst.
Dept. International Affairs
AFL/CIO

Lincoln, Murray D., President
Nationwide Insurance Co.

Lodge, George C.
Cambridge, Mass.

Lovestone, Jay, Director
Dept. of International
Affairs, AFL/CIO

McClellan, Andrew
Inter-American Rep. AFL/CIO

Meany, George, President
AFL/CIO

Mellen, Chase Jr.
New York, N.Y.

Minton, Lee W., President
Glass Bottle Blowers Assn.
of U.S. & CANADA, AFL/CIO

Randolph, A. Philip, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters, AFL/CIO

TABLE I Page 2

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TABLE I

BOARD OF TRUSTEES, Continues

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Reuther, Walter P. President
United Automobile, Aerospace
& Ag. Implement Workers

Romualdi, Serafino
Washington, D.C.

Schnitzler, William F.
Secretary-Treasurer
AFL/CIO

Suffridge, James A., President
Retail Clerks International

Thayer, Dr. Wm., Labor Lawyer
Santiago, Chile

Triope, Juan, President
Pan American World Airways

Woodbridge, Henry S., Ed. Chm.
True Temper Corp.

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TABLE I, Page 3

TABLE II

AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

FIELD OFFICES IN LATIN AMERICA

<u>COUNTRY</u>	<u>Training Program</u>		<u>Social Projects Field Offices</u>
	<u>National Centers</u>	<u>Short-Term Seminars</u>	
Argentina		X	X
Bolivia		X	X
Brazil	X		
Colombia		X	X
Chile		X	X
Dominican Republic	X		X
El Salvador			X
Ecuador	X		
Honduras	X ^{1/}	X	
Jamaica	X ^{2/}	X	
Mexico		X	
Peru	X		X
Uruguay	X		
Venezuela	X		X

1/ Center for Central America

2/ Center for the Caribbean Area

Each field office is headed by an AFLD director, sometimes a U. S. citizen, sometimes a national of the host country. In addition, four regional field representatives took out of the Washington headquarters. Further, as needed, special representatives or project officers perform specific tasks.

The Educational and Training Program: its Objectives and Organization

The objectives of the educational and training program are simply stated. They are to provide systematic, practical, pedagogical-type training to Latin American trade unionists. The purpose is to assist in the development of responsible trade unionists in the tradition of able, respected, free trade unions so that the individuals can provide improved service and leadership to the organization, administration and training of their respective unions.

The Philosophy is that as a greater number of trade unionists become competently informed and technically equipped, and have opportunity to practice their skills, the trade union movement will become stronger and more responsible. As they become stronger and as the rights, responsibilities, and status of individuals improve, Labor will play an increased role in the enlightened management-labor cooperation required by modern industrial society. Free society as a whole, it is reasoned, will gain as the pluralism is broadened by the increased participation of multiple segments of society. Undergirding belief in this philosophy is recognition that

abilities and sense of responsibility must continually increase in order to justify the claim to increased participation.

In organizing for the training objectives, AIFLD developed a system which begins with numerous, decentralized, local seminars throughout the individual countries; progresses to three-month long training institutes in the regional centers; followed on a selective basis with a broader, three-month seminar in the Washington institute; and extended for a small percentage of the Washington students for international training in certain European countries and in Israel.

The nerve centers of the training program are the eight regional training centers spread throughout Latin America. These centers set the tone, standards, and leadership, reaching down to the multiplicity of local seminars, in constant lateral and integrated contact with the trade unions of the host country, and extending up to the advanced training in the Washington institute.

The nerve-center concept of the training centers is aimed beyond the immediate and direct AIFLD training. If the centers achieve this aim they will operate increasingly as an integrated part of the total trade-union training systems of the countries being served. This with few exceptions is the policy now being followed. It seemed to me significant, as I recently visited a number of centers and talked with trade unionists of the countries, that it is frequently customary for the nationals of the countries to talk of the AIFLD school as their

school, as a part of the total training either in being or planned.

I was impressed with the almost complete absence of the use of the term AIFLD in connection with the local discussions and physical awareness of the schools. Usually the AIFLD seminars are referred to as the national trade union program or as an institute's name which could be interpreted completely as a local institution. The fact that this is so even though there is full recognition of AIFLD's role is a compliment to the policies as practiced by the AIFLD staff.

As the training system started, methods of selecting participants varied, but the process is settling down with the following selection procedure policy: The selection of students for the multiple, decentralized, short-term seminars is the joint responsibility of the regional center director and staff and the officers of the local sponsoring and participating unions. The participating unions, being best acquainted with the candidates, are most active in the selection. The regional center staff, however, has a key responsibility to set selection standards and to encourage adherence to them. From this point the regional centers play a more dominant part, although the participating unions continues to be essential. If the system works properly, candidates for the regional center seminars are taken from among the best qualified graduates of the local seminar. Qualifications relate both to the record of the students while in the local seminars and to their actual and potential leadership capacities within their unions. From this point the selection by necessity becomes more selective. The Washington institute quota to be filled each quarter is naturally limited. Participants are graduates of the regional centers. Consequently, only about one

out of every ten graduates will have opportunity to attend.
Competition is sharp. Care and judgment are required as
the regional directors and the local trade union officials make
the selections.

Table III on the next page summarizes by countries the
number of students who have attended the first seven seminars
conducted by the Institute in Washington.

The Social Projects Department: objectives and organization.

The social project program aims at a stage beyond
education and training: helping trade unions attain specific
gains in social and economic development. It recognizes that
successful labor organizations must be able to demonstrate
tangible accomplishments. It recognizes that unions must have
certain institutions if they are to provide the necessary
discipline and mechanism needed to utilize its individual and
collective member resources.

To achieve this, the Social Project Department has
three main resources. The first is the funneling of loans from
AFL/CIO unions to their Latin American colleagues for the
development of specific projects. The second is the channeling
of professional and technical help from AFL/CIO unions to assist
unions in working up, developing and administering specific

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TABLE III

Number of Participants in the First Seven ALFD Seminars in Washington

through July 2, 1963

Country	Seminars							Total
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	
Antigua (BWI)	1			1				2
Argentina		1		5		4	5	15
Aruba (Netherlands Antilles)				1				1
Cuba (in exile)							2	2
Barbados	1							1
Bermuda	1							1
Bolivia		1				3		4
Brazil			33	5		6	2	46
British Guiana	8			3				11
British Honduras	2							2
Chile		8		1	2	1	5	17
Colombia		2		7	4	4	3	20
Costa Rica	2	1			2	2	-	7
Curacao (Netherlands W.I.)				1				1
Dominica (BWI)				1				1
Dominican Republic	4			2	1	4		11
Ecuador		6					2	8
El Salvador	4				2		1	7
Grenada (W.I.)	1							1
Guatemala						1	1	2
Honduras	4				3	1		8
Jamaica	3			3				6
Mexico					10		2	12
Nicaragua							1	1
Panama	3	1			1	1	1	7
Paraguay		2			2	2		6
Peru		8			4	3	4	19
St. Lucia (W.I.)	1							1
St. Vincent (W.I.)	1							1
Surinam	2	1		2				5
Trinidad	2	1		3				6
Uruguay				3		2		5
Venezuela	3	5					1	9
Total:	43	37	33	38	31	34	30	246

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projects. The third, by no means insignificant, is acting as a catalyst in stimulating action both within the participating countries and within the U.S. Government's Alliance for Progress program.

Project Proposals for the Social Project Department.

The summary here presented of the types of projects and the estimated amount of loans involved, taken from the Social Projects Department's 1964 budget proposals, provides a quick idea of the size and scope of activities.

<u>Country</u>	<u>Number of Projects</u>			<u>Recommended Size of Loan</u>
	<u>Housing</u>	<u>Non-housing</u>	<u>Total</u>	
Argentina	12	1	13	\$20,000,000
Bolivia	1	1	2	5,000,000
Brazil	5	5	10	10,000,000
British Guiana	4	1	5	2,500,000
British Honduras	1	-	1	1,000,000
Chile	4	7	11	5,000,000
Colombia	4	2	6	5,000,000
Costa Rica	2	1	3	1,000,000
Dominican Republic	3	1	4	2,000,000
Ecuador	3	5	8	2,500,000

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Country	Number of Projects			Recommended Size of Loan
	Housing	Non-housing	Total	
El Salvador	1	2	3	1,000,000
Guatemala	1	1	2	1,000,000
Honduras	4	3	7	1,000,000
Jamaica	-	1	1	2,500,000
Mexico	5	2	7	10,000,000
Nicaragua	-	-	-	1,000,000
Panama	1	2	3	1,000,000
Peru	1	1	2	9,000,000
Trinidad	2	1	3	1,000,000
Uruguay	2	2	4	5,000,000
Venezuela	1	8	9	10,000,000
Total				\$96,500,000

The plans supporting the recommended loans are in varying stages of development, ranging from projects such as the \$10,000,000 housing project in México, in which not only is the loan made but the housing construction is far-advanced with occupancy expected this coming fall, to situations as in Venezuela where plans have not yet passed the initial exploratory stages.

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Financial Support for AIFLD.

A basic concept of AIFLD is the bringing together of labor, government, and private business into a joint undertaking supported by all three elements. While AIFLD is probably most frequently thought of as an organ of AFL/CIO, there is no question but that the involvement of all three elements is genuine.

During the initial phases of my study, I frequently heard reference to an equal three-way financial support for the educational and training part of AIFLD. This may have been the initial concept but in fact it is not the case. Actually, when measured by financial support, Federal Government funds through the Agency for International Development provide both the skeleton and the flesh of the creature. It is noted that the financing of the Social Projects Department was from the beginning, based primarily on contract support from Government.

This study has deliberately avoided a detailed financial analysis and tabulation of budgets, revenues, and related statistical inquiries. These areas, however, have been examined sufficiently to gain an insight into policies and to pull together information to demonstrate the relative participation of cooperating areas.

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In summary, the financial sources for AID are:

a. For the education and training program:

	<u>Financial Support</u>		
	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964 Estimate</u>
AFL/CIO	30%	23%	10%
Foundations & Corporations	20%	20%	10%
Federal Government	50%	57%	80%

b. For the Social Projects Department

AFL/CIO	*	*	*
Foundations & Corporations	*	*	*
Federal Government	100%*	100%*	100%*

This is not necessarily an ill-balanced support at least as far as the seeming preponderance of Government support is concerned. Two key factors are stressed. One, AFL/CIO brings professional, technical and labor affairs manpower resources to the program; and, two, AID's contribution follows the course of its long-established policy of contracting with organizations, universities, and foundations in order to employ the skills needed for the development of its programs.

* Actually Government financial support does not provide the entire 100%. Social Projects receives substantial services in kind--space, supplies, equipment, communication, etc.--which actually may amount to 10% or more of the total operating costs of the Department.

If the theory is correct, and I think it is, AIFLD must have logical contractors to work with it in the administration of a variety of activities, including technical training, housing projects, financial institutions and community development. These call for a variety of skills and orientation. Obviously, in its technical assistance and development work, aimed predominantly at organized workers in participating countries, a logical contractor is one who knows labor affairs, and has the respect of organized labor in the participating countries. AIFLD's characteristics provide a logical response to this need. The point here stressed is that the financial support from the Government is not just a simple contribution but rather a contract arrangement for carrying out a specific part of the AID program.

Subjects taught in the institutes.

The subjects taught in the institutes concentrate on the business of organizing and administering unions, on labor-management relations, and on social projects of unions. Interwoven with these primary objectives is the inclusion of subject matter dealing with the political, economic, and social environment, both national and international, in which unions operate.

This section presents examples of the course of study at the institute in Washington and in the regional centers.

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The following tabulation presents the subjects given and the relative percentage of time devoted to each at the most recent session in the institute in Washington.

AIFLD Washington

Course of Study -- April 13 to July 2, 1964

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Percentage of Time Spent on Subject</u>
Structure, history & development of the American labor movement.	9.0%
Role of democratic trade unions in modern society.	4.0
Totalitarianism, /communism, dictatorships.	4.8
Militarism	0.8
Organizing techniques	3.3
Collective bargaining in the U.S.	4.8
Union finances	2.4
Grievance procedures	2.4
Workers education & conference techniques	8.0
Social security in the U.S.	3.3
U.S. Department of Labor	1.6
Labor & wage legislation	4.0
Job evaluation	1.6
Labor & political activities & economic development.	3.3
Cooperatives & credit unions	9.8
American labor & civil rights	0.8
Economic geography of the U.S.	0.8
OAS & Pan American Union	1.6
German trade union movement	4.8
Italian trade union movement	0.8
Israel trade union movement	0.8
European Common Market	2.4
Public speaking	2.4
Field trips	11.6
General, including orientation	10.9
Total	100.0%

Contrasted to the courses of study in Washington, a sampling of the subjects taught in current institutes in two of the national centers is also presented. The actual make-up of the curriculum varies somewhat from one national center to another, but generally speaking these samples are typical.

As would be expected, the courses of study for the national centers devote more time to subjects more directly related to the local situation. Correspondingly, the Washington Institute allots more time to international aspects of unionism and to specific situations in the United States.

Discussion of the curriculum will be carried a bit further in a later section concerned with discussion of the need for training in the United States.

Instituto Cultural de Trabajo (ICT) -- Sao Paulo, Brazil

Course of Study -- April, May, June, 1964

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Percentage of Time Spent on Subject</u>
Legal Status of unions in Brazil	7.6
History of world-wide union movements	3.9
International unionism	3.9
Fundamentals of labor law	3.9
Agrarian reform	3.9
Union administration	3.9
Protection of unions	3.9
Employer-employee work contracts	3.9
Special aspects of union administration	3.9
Methodology for teaching unionism	3.9
Collective bargaining	15.1
Labor courts	3.9
Cooperatives, credit and housing	7.6
Social security	3.9
Inflation	3.9
Less-developed countries' economic development	3.9
Capitalism, socialism, communism	3.9
Research	15.1
Total:	100.0%

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Selection of Students and follow-up after completion of courses

It is obvious that parallel to the urgency for creating the proper level and quality of curriculum and teachers is the importance of selecting the right students. AIFLD is fully aware of this, and knows that success of the program hinges on the degree to which graduates become able to influence workers and leaders in their respective unions. There are already outstanding examples of graduates of the Washington institute who are now more active in more important positions in organizing and administering unions and in trade union training. During a recent visit to Latin America, I talked with returnees in each country who are now performing work more significant than their work before their study in Washington. AIFLD has prepared some impressive case studies documenting examples of this favorable development.

One thing I tried to do persistently during my recent trip was to establish a complete before-and-after documentation of the experiences of all students who have attended the Washington

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institute during the first year and a half of the institute's existence. I completely failed. I obtained many examples, and all favorable, but the list is unfortunately far from being complete.

Although the number of students from each country is not large and each regional center has a follow-up program, the desired information could not be obtained. In some instances the response was simply that the information was not available. In others it was agreed that the information would be compiled and sent to me, but no such data have been forthcoming.

The criticisms regarding selection voiced to me by some of the trade unionists contacted were in two categories. Examples were cited of students who are not actual or potential union workers. Also, some of the individuals selected for study were not qualified to study and work at the level required by the curriculum. I was not able to document the quantity of such students but the recurrence of such criticism, including comments from strong supporters of AIFLD, was frequent enough not to be ignored. These examples are important inasmuch as such appraisals are healthy as a means for strengthening future seminars.

Such examples are not surprising. During the initial months, selections were made before the regional organizations and regional and local seminars were fully in operation. Consequently, many were made without the benefit of a scientific procedure, and a

considerable number attended the Washington institute without having had the preparatory and screening experience of seminars in their own countries.

I am confident that the selection system will steadily improve as AIFLD completes the entire training system and as the right type of representatives become established in staffing the various centers and schools.

AIFLD likewise stresses the importance of follow-up so that the training experience of students will not simply be an isolated incident. Originally AIFLD planned to finance a nine-month intern program for each Washington institute graduate after he returned to his home country. This was to assure his continuing active work in trade union organization, administration, or training. I talked with and observed a number of these interns. They have something tangible and productive to do and are able to utilize and add to their training. Now, however, all Washington institute trainees are not given internships. As time passed it became evident that there is no necessity to give all returnees an internship period. An increasing number are now able to work within the regular activities of their unions.

In addition to short-term intern programs, plans call for comprehensive follow-up programs for all former students, whether local, regional, or Washington. The objective is to maintain contact, maintain a feeling of common mission, and provide material and

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professional support. It is too early to appraise the workings of the follow-up. On the basis of experience in follow-up of related activities as experienced, for example, by government programs of a somewhat similar nature, this will be one of the most difficult tasks to accomplish. It will take meaningful resources and time. Each year the load will become heavier. Those who are responsible for the conduct of institutes will always find that time and opportunities are at a premium, making it difficult to break away from primary instructional duties for follow-up work. This is a task for which resources must be mobilized from sources in addition to AIFLD, such as the national trade unions and perhaps the various elements of the U.S. Embassy.

Appraisal of the need for institute training in Washington.

Since World War II, the United States, both through government and private efforts, has been involved in a tremendous amount of training and education of citizens of foreign countries. As concern with assistance to less-developed countries has mounted, so has the training. With the activity have come ceaseless and varied appraisals, experiments, and trials and errors, all reflecting determination to make the effort fruitful for the individuals, for the countries, they represent, and for United States Foreign Policy.

One of the constantly recurring examinations has revolved about the most favorable locale for training. Should it take place

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in the student's own country, should it be in the United States, or should it be in a third country? There has not yet been a satisfactory single answer. Perhaps there is none, or even there does not need to be one. The arguments against the training of less-developed country students in the United States are varied and well-known. Most often cited are those related to some aspect of two main disappointments. First, the environmental conditions, the stage of modern society development in which student suddenly find themselves, are so different that the student is hard put to relate his new experience to conditions in his own country. Second, too frequently after an extended time in the United States the student is reluctant to return to his home country, where he is so much needed, or if he does may be a dissatisfied citizen.

On the other hand, unlimited facilities for training are available in the United States. Furthermore, the advantages of exposures to our democratic society and of direct awareness of that which has been accomplished by our system are self-evident.

These same discussions are also taking place in regard to AIFLD's education and training program. I sought comments from all with whom I talked during my recent visit to Latin America, returned graduates of the Washington institute, trade union officials, AIFLD representatives, and Embassy officers. Consensus is that some type of Washington and United States training is necessary, even though considerable opinion was expressed favoring some modification.

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As would be expected, the reservations regarding training in Washington concentrated on two aspects. Training within the home region of the trade unionists makes more likely instruction closely related to the actual, practical situations where the labor leaders will continue to live and work. Local training thereby avoids the danger of excessive preoccupation with matters more applicable to the United States than to Latin American countries. The high cost of sending students to the United States, it is pointed out, is a realistic factor. There is the argument that with the same amount of money many more students can be trained within their own country.

It seemed to me, however, that the weight of the arguments favored some type of training in the United States. Many benefits were cited, especially by the returnee. Available instructors and other training resources in the United States are superior to that which can be provided locally. U.S. training is of a broader gauge, particularly with respect to economic, social, political, and international subjects. Awareness of and identification with the worldwide aspects of organized labor become real, and the feeling of international solidarity is achieved. Opportunity to see and study conditions in the United States and other countries is personally and professionally broadening. Also, as significantly expressed by practically everyone, the trade unionists gain in stature and respect among their colleagues by virtue of having studies in the United States.

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A number of positive suggestions were advanced.

Included were proposals that AIFLD might well concentrate in the national centers on training in basic union organization, administration, labor-management, cooperatives, and related subjects. Conversely, time in the United States could concentrate on the broader economic, political and social and international subjects; and, in addition, give more opportunity for specific, on-the-spot observations of labor unions at work in the United States.

Relationship of AIFLD programs to related governmental programs.

I have consistently, during this study, attempted to relate the work of AIFLD with other similar programs conducted by the United States Government. I have tried to determine the amount of related activities, the similarities of contracts, the extent of coordination, the relative advantages or disadvantages of AIFLD methods, and especially the future relations and distribution of responsibilities.

A comparative study of the related activities in the education and training area has been relatively fruitful, both from the standpoint of available factual information and of substantive analysis. Securing comparable-type information related to the Social Projects Department has been difficult, in fact often frustrating.

In addition to AIFLD's education and training program, there are two government programs in the field of labor. Quantitatively, one is sizeable, the other is small. The first is the labor technical training program for which the Agency for International

Development is responsible. The U.S. Department of Labor, acting for AID, plays the major part in programing, in the United States, the training schedules for labor trainees from Latin American countries. The second is the leader-and-specialist educational exchange program of the Department of State which brings a relatively small number of labor representatives each year to the United States for a four- to eight-week organized visit.

The State Department's leader-specialist program need not be discussed in much detail. The labor leader-and-specialist grantees are a part of the Department's program for bringing key people from a wide range of professions and occupations to the United States for planned observations and consultations. Labor is one of the significant elements considered in selecting leaders and specialists, and it is assumed and hoped that this type of program will continue regardless of the size and scope of the AIFLD program. While this program does not quantitatively represent a very large activity in reaching labor, qualitatively, it is sound and should continue to hold a priority.

The AID technical-training program for labor does call, however, for considerable attention in relationship to the AIFLD program. This is especially true for that part of the AIFLD's training which takes place in Washington. There are points of

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similarity, the size of the AID direct program has been relatively large, and the source of trainees is comparable. AID officials both in Washington and in the field have been weighing the technical-training program for some time in light of the actual and potential AIFLD training. It is well that they are, for both are financed by AID money (one directly operated, the other by contract with AIFLD); and though a bit different in concept, the two programs have much in common.

The direct AID program is still much the larger of the two as far as training in the United States is concerned. The Department of Labor which programs the training for AID compiled a tabulation for me listing the individuals brought from each Latin American country during the four years, 1960 through 1963. This information is summarized in Table IV on the following page. The AID annual totals for the four-year period ranging from 276 to 415 compares with the approximately 125 trained annually at the AIFLD institute in Washington.

The future relationship of these two training programs, or the question of continuing the parallel programs, involves hard but necessary decisions. I am confident that serious thought is being given by responsible officers. It is not enough simply to conclude that because the two programs are fairly parallel, and both are financed by AID, that one should be eliminated. Such

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Table IV


Latin America Labor Trainees

Country of Residence	Number of Trainees by Fiscal Year			
	1980	1981	1982	1983
Argentina	12	8	15	8
Bolivia	4	--	16	76
Brazil	74	78	55	53
British Guiana	1	--	6	4
Chile	53	8	47	24
Columbia	29	35	52	23
Costa Rica	8	12	6	1
Cuba	1	--	--	--
Dominican Republic	--	--	1	4
Ecuador	38	50	42	13
El Salvador	7	18	23	31
Guatemala	--	--	1	--
Honduras	8	7	7	4
Jamaica	--	3	3	1
Mexico	80	22	41	19
Nicaragua	2	1	--	3
Panama	--	--	5	8
Paraguay	--	1	--	--
Peru	14	18	27	7
Trinidad	--	1	10	1
Uruguay	1	3	12	--
Venezuela	9	10	40	49
West Indies	--	--	--	4
Total:	321	276	407	333



conclusion does carry weight, and the question raised should be thoughtfully and deliberately answered. These questions were discussed at a sampling of six Latin American posts with the AID Mission officers, with the Labor Attaches, and with officers of the U.S. Information Service concerned with labor and educational exchange. Two of the posts already have made the policy decision to discontinue the direct AID labor-technical exchange activity. The other four have not made decisions, but as near as one could weigh their inclinations, I would say two of them lean toward concentrating training in the AIFLD program, while the other two have greater inclination to continue both programs.

The arguments for continuing direct AID training are of two types, one not appearing too tenable and the other representing a fundamental situation which is significant. The latter applies to the total AIFLD-Government future relations and is a basic policy which should be settled early.

The first argument which I have labeled untenable involves the response that, since there is so much to be done in the field of training, it is impossible to do too much, and therefore all possible programs should be continued. There is no quarrel with the premise, namely, that there is a near-inestimable task to be finished if the level of a sufficiently trained trade unionist is to approach sufficiency. Likewise, I could not argue that total AID funds for

this purpose should be reduced. This, however, seems to beg the issue as to how best to do the job. It seems to me that responsible officials will more likely look hard at the two mechanisms now in use, determine which best serves our purposes, and then concentrate efforts and resources on it.

The second expressed reservation relates to the future continuation and consistency of the AIFLD approach. The reservations were that AIFLD is a new organization and a new program depending on assorted backings, financing, and policy determination. While the initial efforts, in most cases, are off to a promising start, it may be too soon to jettison a relatively long-time and stable program in favor of a mechanism still in its developmental stage. Related to this are those situations in a few countries where AIFLD is not yet accepted by substantial blocks of trade union leaders. This seems to be a reasoned reaction and one which I am certain government and AIFLD officials are seeking to resolve. If a careful policy, worked out as far into the future as is possible in these tenuous times, can be developed which establishes an air of permanency for the AIFLD--AID joint training program, I believe those reservations now voiced regarding the concentration of training in the AIFLD mechanism will disappear.

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It has not been possible to obtain a satisfactory idea of the relationship of the work of the Social Project Department with the effort of AID in related fields. I was able to get at segments, but no one in AID was able to give comprehensively factual information or even to get very far into governing policies. This was especially true of projects other than housing, involving such things as workers' banks, cooperatives, credit unions, and community projects.

I was able to obtain a reasonable idea of the relationship of housing projects. These projects represent AIFLD's role in channeling loans from AFL/CIO unions to Latin American unions, with the loans being guaranteed by AID. I was told, as of April 15, 1964, that AID has \$150,000,000 obligation authority through fiscal year 1964 for its housing investment guarantee program in Latin America, and an additional \$100,000,000 obligation authority was being anticipated in fiscal year 1965, but not yet approved. Of this amount, I was told, \$47,000,000 was tentatively earmarked to be handled through AIFLD-developed loans.

As far as the proportion of AID projects concerned with non-housing type projects, responsible officials in AID stated it was impossible to give any idea of what part AIFLD would play. Similarly, discussions at a sampling of six Latin American embassies produced little firm information regarding the tie-in of AIFLD.

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It may be that it is too soon to expect good information on the percentage of the total AID program which will be handled by AIFLD's Social Projects Department. I should think, however, that AID officers would find it none too early to have a fairly accurate and comprehensive concept of the relative part expected from AIFLD in the non-housing projects--at least going as far as they have gone with the housing projects. It is noted, however, that in some cases AID does not feel it has yet received adequate and properly worked-out project proposals from AIFLD.

While it certainly would be desirable to obtain policies which identify the role and extent of the Social Projects Department, I am not altogether sure that this is necessary at this time. Certainly it is not so necessary as establishing definite policies and scope for the education and training portion of AIFLD as it relates to AID's directly operated technical-training program for Latin American trade unionists. Perhaps the nature of Social Projects is such and the elements of AID are so varied and extensive that this is a situation which can best be handled by steady evolution.

In the meantime, the Social Projects staff is busily pushing ahead, working cooperatively with trade unions of participating countries, helping, advising, and providing technical assistance in developing a sizeable and varied number of projects. As noted earlier, the housing projects show the most tangible progress.

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Among the non-housing projects the status of development varies, reflecting the level of the participating country's union organization, the abilities of AIFLD field staffs, and the degree of AID cooperation.

One AID officer in a South American Embassy, who is a positive supporter of AIFLD and who expects a meaningful and substantial result from the Social Projects activities, expressed well and favorably a practical interpretation of AIFLD's role. He called attention to a variety of approaches used in the Alliance for Progress, resulting both in specific construction projects and, he stressed, in institutional development of credit in the form of such institutions as savings and loan banks and home-owners loan-type corporations. He noted various instruments for accomplishing this, the AID loan guarantee program, the AID capital development loans, the Inter-American Development Bank loan program, and many individual private capital developers operating under the AID guarantee program. He included AIFLD among the latter, but stressed its special advantages and the need for its type of development when working with organized labor in the participating countries.

This same AID officer referred to AIFLD as a developer using the same techniques and providing the same services as private, financial-institution developers. He stressed the need for AIFLD because it is not a profit-speculator-type developer, and therefore reaches the type of worker-buyer and consumer not reached

by the price-levels of projects built by the speculator-developer. He stressed AIFLD's ability to serve in two directions, by stimulating the availability of AFL/CIO loans and by assisting local unions in initiating and formulating their plans, and by assisting them in the formation of local institutions to finance and administer projects. These efforts, he added, provide more than just housing or other physical facilities to a level of consumer not now being adequately reached; for they, in addition, give a "good political orientation shot-in-the-arm" to the trade unions of the participating countries.

A number of AID officers, both in Washington and in the field, have either said or implied that within all of the varied development approaches being used, AIFLD's Social Project Department is the logical one to use when the individual country participant is organized labor.

Before leaving this section I want to stress an element which is significant even though it is not so tangible as an actual physical project. This is the role AIFLD plays cooperatively with the unions of the host countries in "keeping things stirred up", stimulating, urging, providing know-how, helping in the "pick and shovel work" of developing the multitude of paper, technical, and financial plans; and, above all, instilling the will to do it.

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Cooperation with Trade Unions of participating countries.

One of AIFLD's policies, and a significant one, is its determination that its activities in Latin America should be conducted jointly with the trade unions of the participating countries. This is a basic strength, now and potentially, but there are difficulties. Adherence to this policy requires determination and care. There is no doubt that this should be the attitude, for this is in the spirit of the Alliance for Progress, and rightly so. Many unions in Latin America have a long tradition. There exists varying degrees of sensitivity, pride in national abilities, understanding of their own responsibilities and methods, and an understandably shying away from intellectual or personal dominance from outside.

Before developing this thought further it is noted and emphasized that a primary source of strength of the AIFLD program is the retention of leadership and adherence to sound standards by the U.S. trade union experts. Establishing the correct posture of cooperation requires considerable skill and wisdom. Much would be lost if while advancing cooperatively the U.S. expertise would be inadequately used.

The record of AIFLD is good in insisting on and practicing cooperative endeavors. As is true of institutions whose main assets are human resources, sometimes there are situations in which personal and organizational subordination is not consistently practiced.

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however, all in all the stance is good, judging by the sampling observation in the six countries recently visited and judging from reports from other areas.

The cooperative policy begins with the Board of Trustees for AIFLD. Five members are citizens of countries other than the United States.

The public profile of the regional institutes is completely related to the local scene. For example, witness their names: in Peru it is the Centro de Estudios Laborales del Peru. In Brazil it is the Instituto Cultural de Trabajo, with a charter issued by the state of Sao Paulo and with an executive board composed of Brazilians. In Venezuela it is the Instituto Nacional de Capacitacion de Dirigentes Sindicales. In Mexico the training is known as the CTM program (the program of the Mexican Federation of Labor), with the AIFLD representative on loan from CRIF and operating as a part of the educational and training arm of CTM.

Even with the policy of joint undertaking, it is not easy. Memories of past grievances, real or imagined, are not lightly put aside. Certain political attitudes and the custom of censoring those who appear too intimately associated with North Americans are constant problems in numerous areas. In Argentina, for example, where organized labor is relatively strong, there has been until now only

a limited amount of AIFLD activity even though it is needed, and, I believe, wanted. During a long lunch with a young, articulate, intelligent trade unionist who is also a journalist, the philosophy of the Local attitude was succinctly expressed. You must always keep in mind, he said, that it is hard for a union leader to keep himself free of political criticism if he cooperates with United States labor. He is in such cases subject to charges of "paid spokesman", "tool of Yankee imperialism", and similar accusations. So, regardless of merit, this cannot be ignored. He wondered how this condition can be handled. He added that ways must be found. Argentine labor needs a sound training program. Training exists but it is a relatively new venture, and there is the task of achieving genuine trade-union subject content instead of too much political content. There is much which Argentine labor can gain, he emphasized, from the type of seminar organization and curriculum which AIFLD can offer. He urged that some sort of institution be established - - new and completely educational in character - - into which AIFLD would contribute its resources, and to which Argentine organized labor would also contribute. Further, reflecting the national confidence, he added that instructors in such an institute must be Argentinians; although, he significantly underscored the local trade union instructors should first be sent to the AIFLD school in Washington.

Although this analysis of the local scene did not minimize the handicaps, I felt there is considerable hope for future

joint efforts. This hope appeared justified later in the same day as I talked with the president of the CIO (Organization for Federation of Labor). He left no doubt as to his strong national confidence and his less than full trust in North American motives. Nevertheless, in closing the discussion and while stating that U. S. labor representatives could gain by observing his own COT training, he made a point of stressing, I thought, that in the future he sees a place for cooperative work with A-ILL, provided, he added, the curriculum is right.

The psychological impact.

There is a bit of fiction characterizing the posture of North American trade union -- Latin American trade union relationship which has been the subject of some criticism but actually, if it continues to be handled properly, represents a basic strength of the AIFLD operation. It involves the psychological aspects of human relations and is not to be underrated.

During the past six months as I have talked with trade unionists both in the United States and in Latin America, there has been expressed a consistent "dogma" or "cant". This includes a type of reflex-action reference to AIFLD's work as being a people-to-people, labor-to-labor, free-of-middle-men, free-of-government-bureaucracy-and-red-tape, etc.

While this seems to be a sort of automatic, built-in bit of fiction, there has been no attempt to deny or minimize the fact that AIFLD's activities are inextricably tied in with the Government's AID and Alliance for Progress programs, and that the bulk of financial support comes from Government sources. Neither have I detected that this treatment offends anyone's intellectual sensibilities or bureaucratic pride. No one is attempting to fool anyone. Neither is this by any means complete or even predominantly fiction. The posture is the important thing, plus the fact that the real resources, other than finances, brought to the work by U.S. labor, are very significant and not to be discounted.

This posture brings to the cooperating Latin American trade unionists a realistic program in which their colleagues of North America are playing a dominant role, both in determining policies and in direct operations. This is exemplified by recounting a conversation with two trade union officials of a South American country recently visited. There had taken place a lengthy discussion during which the South Americans had continually expressed their relief and satisfaction that AIFLD's assistance and leadership came from AFL/CIO, and, at the same time, their remarks were interlaced with something less than complimentary allusions to the shortcomings of similar programs handled by governments or by private business. Finally, I inquired if they were not bothered by the fact that AIFLD's program is basically financed and guaranteed by the Government, and that private-business interests play a part in the activities. (I knew the individuals were fully cognizant of government and private business involvement.) The response was immediate and direct. Not at all, they said. It matters not where the money comes from or who all are involved. The thing that counts is that the finances and the programs are being handled by our union colleagues, people who know our problems, who talk the same way we do, and who have the same objectives we have.

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I believe this response is the key: if one is trying to hide the various interests at work. At the same time, the dominant, visible force at work is organized labor. Government representatives are to be congratulated for following the policy of looking to their contractor, AIFLD, for carrying the visible load, and for not being concerned with accruing credit to themselves.

There are those who express some criticism but I have not heard any compelling arguments. I am told that the director of the Washington office of the United Automobile Workers is included among the critics, whether of both government and private participation I don't know. I would have liked to document his arguments, but even though I tried for more than two months to get an appointment with him, I always found he was "too busy". The Nation magazine of February 10, 1964 contained a critical article. Among its criticisms, it stressed the danger of organized labor's losing its free and independent status by aligning itself organizationally and financially with government and with private business. This is, of course, a traditional concern. I would hazard the opinion that such dangers are not significant if the organized labor part of any such collective action is able, strong and determined to hold to its standards.

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IV. CONCLUSIONS

I am not presuming to present conclusions in the form of inflexible recommendations. Since my study has been an unofficial one, I do not wish to infringe on the prerogatives of those who have the responsibility to set policies and administer the AIFLD program. I am, however, pulling together briefly in this section the more basic appraisals and conclusions which have been discussed in the preceding sections. This is done primarily as a technique for tying together the various thoughts. Perhaps in so doing the conclusions expressed may be of value to those responsible for AIFLD.

Among the observations and discussions of the past few months, the following seem most significant:

1. The AIFLD is a first rate mechanism for mobilizing the efforts of the United States in furthering policy aims within a specific area and for achieving specific objectives. It has limited, realistic and attainable goals. It combines resources of government and non-government. It has an impressive psychological posture. It is a cooperative program with trade unions in participating countries, yet it preserves the professional and technical leadership of U. S. organized labor. In summary, it is an effective mechanism for assisting in meeting the political challenge of the Latin American area as well as for giving meaning to the humanitarian impulses of the American people.

2. Without minimizing the objectives of CEIT or the International Trade Secretariats, it can be concluded that AIFLD promises to be a better mechanism for serving foreign policy and humanitarianism. This can be argued because AIFLD's goals are limited, its success is not tied to the development of a membership organization, and because U. S. Labor has the opportunity to provide directly its technical and professional leadership.

3. If AIFLD continues to build and refine its program, it must be given enough time and support to achieve its goals. This directly depends on the determination and consistency of purpose as practiced by the Government, AFL/CIO and private business.

4. The long range status of AIFLD as an Institute operating on its own merit would be strengthened if the proportion of financial support from Labor and private business were greater than that estimated for 1964. As discussed in previous sections, there is nothing wrong with the Government's providing a substantial share. But if the psychological posture of a people-to-people activity is to remain meaningful, there is danger in allowing the non-governmental financial support to drop to a too small proportion.

5. Arguments are persuasive in favor of concentrating in AIFLD the responsibility for all Latin American trade union training of the United States, other than the leader and specialist program. These arguments assume continued refinement of the AIFLD training as well as long range consistency of support for it.

6. It would increase the effectiveness of resource planning if the Agency for International Development (AID) would establish policies, including estimates of funds to be earmarked, covering the extent of the Social Project Department's participation in AID's loan guarantee program.

7. In addition to the specific end-products of AIFLD, it plays a very significant role acting as a catalyst in stimulating, initiating and pushing through on the many things which need to be done. This especially holds true for the Social Projects Department. This assumes that AIFLD, while contributing to U. S. policy decisions, will continue to operate within the structure of total foreign policy decisions and objectives and will not embark on independent actions.

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