

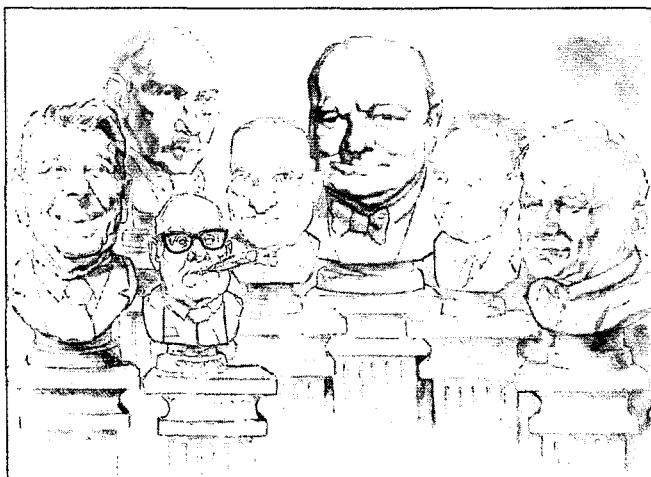
Joseph Strauss, cut their political wisdom teeth under Adenauer's tutelage and made huge contributions to their country.

Outlasting His Enemies

Vision, patience, and courage—especially the courage of one's convictions—are characteristics of all great leaders, and these attributes Adenauer had in abundance. "In politics, one doesn't need a new idea every day," he said. "It is far more important to implement the old ones." Judged by his contemporary critics as a stubborn old man rooted in another time and unable to seize momentary political opportunities, "der Alte" outlasted them all. He was right, as we can now clearly see, to stick by his principles and to endure even rejection by his peers. Adenauer was a man who knew when his hour had come, and so he exited the stage in October 1963 still very much a dominant force. Indeed, two years later, at 89, he stood once more for election to the Bundestag, the federal parliament, and served until his death, at 91, on April 19, 1967.

Nikita Khrushchev built the Berlin Wall in August 1961; it quickly became a symbol of all that is inhuman about Communist oppression. Adenauer, on whose watch the wall was built, clearly hoped that the West would simply knock it down, and was deeply disappointed when Western courage to do the job was not forthcoming.

The Old Man must have been smiling when the Berlin Wall came down in 1989, because a new chapter in the history of Germany, Europe, and the world was opened. It should be known as the post-Adenauer era, to commemorate what this remarkable leader made possible by his insight and his gritty determination.



GEORGE MEANY

Worker of the World

ARNOLD BEICHMAN

There were months in the postwar 1940s when the Communists in France and Italy were so powerful that

they could close the seaports and prevent unloading of the U.S. Marshall Plan cargo that was needed to stave off economic collapse and dangerous aftereffects.

Through force and intimidation, and abetted by the high popular esteem of the Soviet role in World War II (expunged from memory was the Stalin-Hitler pact), the Communists had seized the longshoremen's unions and secured a stranglehold over much of industry. Neither the French nor the Italian governments seemed ready to overcome this threat to their sovereignty, let alone their economic recovery. The situation was so bad that U.S. transport planes, loaded in Algiers, had to airlift supplies into Paris and Rome.

Into this breach stepped the American Federation of Labor and its doughty secretary-treasurer (later its president), a Bronx plumber named George Meany. With cash from the AFL's Free Trade Union Committee and the organizing strategy of an AFL expert, Irving Brown (who was decorated posthumously by President Reagan), anti-Communist unionists in Italy and France organized dockers' committees in the beleaguered ports. Within a year they had overcome Communist power. This episode is but one example of the successful worldwide battle the AFL and later the merged AFL-CIO waged against Communist infiltration of the trade unions.

Mortal Enemy of the Kremlin

From the outset of the Russian Revolution, the AFL regarded the Kremlin as the mortal enemy of free trade unionism. For Lenin and later Stalin, American labor was the number-one target in their strategy to bring the international "proletariat" under their leadership: If the AFL could be won over, the socialist unions of Europe and Asia would fall into line. Instead the AFL under Samuel Gompers, William Green, and later Meany, led the resistance of the "workers of the world" against the ideology that claimed to represent them.

Except for a brief period after the organization of the breakaway CIO in 1935, the Communists got short shrift in American trade unions. Thanks to the arrogance of the first CIO president, John L. Lewis, Communists were welcomed into the organization, and thanks to the flabbiness of its second president, Phil Murray, they were tolerated. As a result, at one time about one-quarter of the CIO executive board were either party members or orthodox fellow-travelers. But by 1949 these board members had either broken with the party or they and their unions had been expelled from the organization. In 1955, the AFL and a cleansed CIO merged.

As AFL secretary-treasurer from 1940 to 1952 and as AFL and later AFL-CIO president from 1952 until 1979, Meany led the labor federation's postwar fight against Communism both at home and abroad. His allies included David Dubinsky of the Ladies Garment Workers and A. Philip Randolph, the courageous black labor leader who fought off Communist penetration of black organizations. But Meany, as Dubinsky put it, "did more than any of us to broaden the horizons of labor's interest in helping workers everywhere create free unions and defeat the threat of totalitarianism, whether with a swastika or with a hammer and sickle as its emblem."

Realizing that the struggle in postwar Europe would

be to prevent total Soviet control of a defeated Germany, the AFL supported Kurt Schumacher, who was an anti-Communist first and Social Democrat leader second. Later, after Schumacher's death, the AFL backed Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. The AFL gave crucial support to non-Communist trade unions in West Germany and warned U.S. occupation authorities of Communist infiltrators such as George Wheeler, who headed the American military government manpower division, and later defected to Czechoslovakia.

Another of Meany's major postwar contributions came at a time when the CIO, the powerful British Trades Union Congress, and other European labor federations joined the Soviets in establishing the World Federation of Trade Unions. The AFL refused to join this Moscow front organization, and actively campaigned against it. Within a few years, the AFL was proved right. The Western Europeans and the CIO withdrew from the WFTU when Stalin's control became undeniable. They then formed in 1949 a new organization, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, from which Communist unions were barred.

Even in the ICFTU trouble arose. European unions in 1952 pressed for inclusion of Yugoslav unions in the ICFTU because Stalin had excommunicated Tito. Meany said no: Yugoslav labor was under Communist control, no different from Soviet control. The AFL prevailed.

But the leftist culture of European labor could not be stilled. In 1969 when the ICFTU moved in a "popular front" direction under the prodding of European union leaders, who were flirting with Moscow, the AFL-CIO seceded and set up its own training schools for future labor leaders in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The AFL-CIO returned only when the ICFTU reformed.

Détente's Most Powerful Critic

When Nikita Khrushchev came to America in 1960, Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers and several other union leaders went to dinner with the Soviet leader during the AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco. Not only did Meany refuse to go, he also rejected a request from the Eisenhower administration to allow Khrushchev to address the convention.

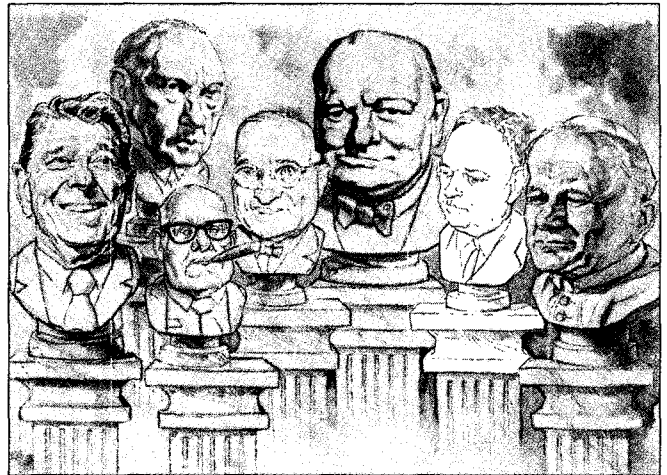
The AFL-CIO withdrew from the United Nations' International Labor Organization when the ILO was taken over by the Soviets during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Meany forced the U.S. government to withdraw as well and to stop dues payments, one-quarter of the ILO budget. Only when the ILO reformed itself by adhering to its charter did the AFL-CIO return.

Meany was a thorn in the side of the Nixon and Ford administrations and the détente policies of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. In 1974 the AFL-CIO sponsored a dinner for Alexander Solzhenitsyn in Washington, D.C., on the Soviet dissident's first visit to the United States. To their lifelong discredit, President Ford and Kissinger shunned Meany's invitation and forbade Cabinet members to attend.

In Senate testimony in 1974, Meany criticized President Nixon for being "the chief advocate of unilateral concessions to the Soviet Union." He accused Kissinger of "presid[ing] over an era which has seen a decline of

American strength—military, economic, and moral, of unprecedented proportions." No wonder *National Review* said at the time that the AFL-CIO was the only organization talking sense in foreign affairs.

Meany and the AFL-CIO were not simply opponents of the Soviet Union, they were also staunch supporters of a strong U.S. defense and upheld U.S. involvement in Korea and Vietnam as necessary to protect the Free World against Communist aggression. Even staunch opponents of Meany in domestic policy must salute his role in hastening Communism's downfall.



WHITTAKER CHAMBERS

Witness

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

On August 3, 1948, a heavyset man in a rumpled suit, speaking in a flat monotone, gave testimony to the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) that would not only create a national sensation and lead to the most publicized trial of our times but give a new dimension to the Cold War and to the nature of American political discourse. The man was Whittaker Chambers, certainly the most talented writer in American journalism and perhaps the most rigorous editor in the Time-Life organization. Hundreds before him had testified as witnesses for HUAC, detailing the scope and effectiveness of the Soviet *apparatus* and the Communist underground in the United States.

No one quite knew to what Whittaker Chambers would testify, least of all the committee, but it was generally believed that he would merely corroborate some of the earlier testimony of Elizabeth Bentley, who carried in her knitting bag the minutiae of a wide-ranging and high-level espionage ring in the federal government. The problem with Elizabeth Bentley, as one Justice Department lawyer said to me, was that "with her total recall, she named members of a spy ring including an assistant secretary of the treasury with as much drama as if she had been reading from a grocery shopping list."

Chambers was not a happy witness. A former Com-