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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release November 15, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE AFL-CIO CONVENTION

The Sheraton Washington Hotel
Washington, D.C.

3:40 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. Lane Kirkland, thank you, sir. Tom Donahue and, of course, your special guest and our special guest -- America's special guest -- Lech Walesa. (Applause.) I've got some good news for you and some bad news for you. After Lech Walesa's stirring ovation before the United States Congress today, it is clear that he's ready to run for office in the United States. (Applause.) Bad news for some of you is he's going to run as a Republican. Thank you very much. (Laughter.) Now, I knew you'd like that -- come on.

No, but in all seriousness, this is a great moment for the AFL-CIO. After eight long years of struggle, Mr. Walesa has accepted the George Meany Human Rights Award, first intended for Solidarnosc. Back in 1981, you remember, Lech wasn't allowed to be here to claim that prize. And the waiting began.

I can really identify with Lech. (Laughter.) I understand what it's like to wait so long to get here. But I don't regret a minute of it because, after all it is great to be with you -- and to see the members who endorsed me sitting back there in the back row over there. (Laughter.) All four of them. (Laughter and applause.)

Lately I have been feeling pretty confident. Barbara had a hunch that I'd be addressing this group today. And this morning she caught me in the shower singing the "Union Yes" theme song. (Laughter.)

Let me begin sincerely by congratulating the leadership. And some of you were over at the White House the other day and I really wish every one of you could have been there for the ceremony in which, not only was Lech Walesa honored by the country, but Lane Kirkland was as well. (Applause.) He's now serving his 10th year, continuing the work begun by George Meany before him -- your unions truly are uniting under the banner of the AFL-CIO, as Lane promised. UAW, Mine Workers, Teamsters, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Longshoremen, Warehousemen's Union, Writer's Guild East -- all have affirmed their ties to this great organization. Lane Kirkland has done -- as he continues to do -- outstanding work on behalf of organized labor. (Applause.)

And his work to consolidate and renew labor's strength gives the AFL-CIO the power to play its best role -- protecting the rights of working Americans at home and striving for those rights abroad through the support of democracy around the world.

Labor has been an enduring force for freedom -- (applause) -- at times a lonely cry in the wilderness, at times the conductor of a thundering chorus -- rejecting all forms of totalitarianism, fascist and communist alike. With each passing year, through the labor movement, freedom is finding its voice.

You understand that democracy rests not on cold marble

and pieces of paper, but on institutions freely formed -- fully free. Look down the main street of any small town and you see them -- churches, libraries, schools, union halls. Free associations that are the beating heart of American liberty.

Such liberty calls for a democracy created less by governments than by people -- through the give-and-take of competing interests, and individual and collective. A democracy that rejects management-by-decree or intervention from any centralized, all-knowing government. A democracy where people speak for themselves, rather than a government which speaks for them.

You and I -- look, I know that we have differences. But those differences are a sign of democratic life -- a way of life that demands respect for differences -- and respects an honest opinion as much as it respects an honest day's work. And that is the kind of frankness and directness I get from the leaders of this union -- these unions -- and I appreciate it very, very much. (Applause.)

And clearly, there are times when the need for progress demands that we put differences aside. Where Poland is concerned, now is such a time.

Last July in Gdansk, standing with Lech Walesa at the Worker's Monument, I pledged to the enormous crowd out there before us that America stands shoulder-to-shoulder with the Polish people in solidarity. And in Warsaw, we announced our initiative to assist Solidarity and Polish workers in making that difficult transition from a discredited centrally-planned economic system to one of free markets and hope for a better future.

Our Labor Secretary Elizabeth Dole, who met today with Prime Minister Thatcher and Britain's Labor Minister, also went to Gdansk in August to discuss the ways that our government, working together with organized labor in the United States, can help. In just two weeks, Secretary Dole and Lane Kirkland and some other leaders will join forces on a presidential mission to Poland -- our government, together with the AFL-CIO, in solidarity with Polish workers. (Applause.)

Today I appeal to and call -- appeal to the unions and call on the American labor movement, the business community, and government to look for ways to support a partnership for progress in Poland -- for the sake of a nation and a people that need and deserve our help. Labor, business and government can and should be partners and activists for Poland's future.

Last night, Lech Walesa came to dinner at the White House. Barbara and I wanted to try to reciprocate for the very special warm hospitality that he and his wife, Danuta, gave to us in his own home there at Gdansk. There was only four of us there last night. We treated him like family. Barbara said the grace before the meal and Lech joined in. It was a very special moment for me, personally -- very special moment for the White House.

And we talked then about business. We talked about investment -- the need to attract new capital to Poland -- much in the spirit of Lech's words to this very convention. And yesterday he said, "such is the fate of a Polish trade unionist." He'd have to launch a publicity campaign entrepreneurship. Well, he's one smart trade unionist. Last night, labor's son and democracy's advocate was talking about banks and investment because he knows that means economic reform, and he knows that economic reform means jobs.

And business and government can learn from -- and lend momentum -- to labor's unflinching demand for dignity on behalf of every working man and woman -- not just in Poland, but around the world. And let us join hands. Let us work together as never before to fulfill that great promise of freedom.

You know, there is so much to learn from labor's history of democratic struggle. During Hitler's rise to power -- Lane is old

enough to remember this and, regrettably, so am I -- during Hitler's rise to power in the 1930's, American labor was among the very first to recognize that great evil. You extended your hand in solidarity to those fighting in the early underground movement.

And then when the Nazi regime was finally destroyed, American labor went to work building democratic institutions and these independent trade unions.

And later, when postwar Western Europe was threatened by the spread of international communism, it was American labor that stood firm. Tough, behind-the-scenes operators like Irving Brown -- (applause) -- your AFL's European representative -- saw to it that the Alliance was preserved and democracy prevailed in Western Europe.

When Irving Brown died last winter, after four decades of fighting for workers' rights, he was widely recognized as an architect of Western democracy -- symbolizing American labor's commitment to freedom around the world.

Today the tradition continues -- nowhere more powerfully than in Poland. The AFL-CIO was at the forefront, standing with Solidarity in its darkest hour, firm in the belief that the dawn would come. Because of that support, courageous leaders like Lech Walesa are now transforming Poland before the eyes of an admiring world.

Stories of that transformation continue to unfold. Early in this century, in the Polish town of Lodz, David Dubinsky -- later to become the renowned head of the ILG -- was arrested for organizing. In 1908, that would-be organizer was sent from Lodz to Siberia by the Czar. Last week, a Solidarity candidate was elected mayor of Lodz. (Applause.) I Poland -- look at how things have moved.

In Poland, Solidarity unlocked freedom's door. Today, holding Poland in their hearts as an example and inspiration, workers around the world are risking everything for democracy. The door cannot be locked again.

Miners are striking peacefully in the Soviet Union for the first time since the early 1920's, one of them even calling their independent union -- and this is high praise for our special guest today, Lech Walesa -- one of them even calling that union "Solidarity."

They and those like them offer hope for peaceful change, which the AFL-CIO is supporting actively through direct contact and assistance on workers' rights, union organization, collective bargaining. These are the tools your brothers and sisters abroad need most to hammer out justice on the anvil of freedom.

With new legislation in the Supreme Soviet recognizing the right to strike in all but a handful of essential industries, the people of the Soviet Union now have an opportunity to voice their grievances. This will be a challenge to President Gorbachev as he works through Perestroika to raise productivity and living standards at the same time.

Across Eastern Europe, we see vindication of the AFL-CIO's refusal to deal with puppet unions controlled by either employers or governments. Hungarian workers are turning to the Democratic League of Free Unions. Bulgarian workers are laying the foundations of a free trade union, to be called "Support." East German workers have created their first independent trade union, free of communist influence, to be called "Reform."

The idea that motivated Lech Walesa and the members of Solidarnosc as they sat down to negotiate with the Polish government is a powerful one -- that men must be free in order to prosper. That idea spread to Hungary, where the physical dismantling of the Iron Curtain began. Uplifted by the hope that Europe will one day be

whole and free, last week we watched in awe as Berliners danced atop the Berlin Wall. And we watched as a deep wound, a wound that has scarred the heart of Europe for 28 years, began to heal. And we saw it in the joyful faces of families reunited, in the smiles and laughter and tears of people greeting freedom like a long-lost friend, and in the wonder of children getting their first taste of freedom.

Last summer I remember predicting that the Wall would come down. I expected it during my lifetime; I hoped for it during these next three years. But, you know, quite apart from predictions, change has a way of sweeping through like a fast-moving train. And no one and no government should stand in its way.

Just yesterday, we welcomed the news of freedom -- more freedom -- freedom of travel in this case for the citizens of Czechoslovakia as a positive step forward. But in that country, where the tradition of democracy runs deep, and in others, freedom of travel is not enough. Only free and unfettered elections can satisfy the yearnings of a free people.

It is against this backdrop of change that I will meet with President Gorbachev near Malta next month. We are not meeting -- and, Lech, take this message back with you -- we are not meeting to negotiate the future of Europe. The peoples of Eastern Europe are speaking their own minds about that future and they are calling for democracy, freedom of the press and of conscience, the right of the governed to choose their leaders.

At Malta, I will work to advance that process of reform and democracy. And I also want to know what President Gorbachev thinks of the challenges that he faces at home and of the new course that he has set out for Soviet policy in Eastern Europe. I plan to discuss with him the importance of free trade unions in building a free country. (Applause.)

The AFL-CIO has fought for that freedom around the world. And I'm going to carry that message to Mr. Gorbachev. I also want to talk with President Gorbachev about the opportunities to move beyond containment in U.S.-Soviet relations. To find areas of mutual advantage in our relationship.

Everywhere you look in the world, members of the AFL-CIO are fighting to keep the door for freedom open for all. Working against such evils as apartheid; struggling for peaceful democratic change toward a system of one man, one vote; supporting free trade union movements in Paraguay, Guatemala and El Salvador, Nicaragua.

And helping workers in Chile's plebiscite last year fighting for free elections now scheduled for next month. Manuel Bustos, president of the United Labor Confederation there, was until recently exiled in his own country. But thanks to you, thanks to the AFL-CIA -- (laughter) -- he is now free. Free enough to attend the great convention. (Applause.) That was a Freudian slip. (Laughter.)

Your work is often accomplished -- did you explain it to him? (Laughter.) Your work is often accomplished at great sacrifice. Independent trade unions are often caught in a vise between death squads on the right and guerrillas on the left. In El Salvador, two of your own -- Mike Hammer and Mark Pearlman -- died at the hands of a right-wing death squad. And in Nicaragua, the Confederation of Trade Union Equity has been harassed and brutalized by the Sandinista regime's left-wing thugs.

It takes uncommon courage for workers to fight the scourge of tyranny. Because dictators know that free unions mean pluralism. And pluralism denies complete control. So the tyrant's first targets for suppression, arrest, or murder are often independent unions and their members.

In all, over 200 free trade unionists were murdered last

year around the world. We grieve deeply for these sacrifices. Let there be no mistake: We condemn any efforts, by any government, to try to intimidate democratic unions or their members.

In Thailand, South Korea, Malaysia, the Philipines, the AFL-CIO's support of worker education, libraries, and conferences on human rights all add to the inevitable momentum toward worker representation and collective bargaining.

Workers in Southeast Asia by the millions -- especially children and young women -- are being used and abused and abandoned. Looking for a solution, we've enforced worker rights as part of the Generalized System of Preferences -- and in our trade policy review mechanism under the GATT, we've incorporated workers rights.

In the long run, the surest solution to the struggle for workers rights is to support the growth of democratic institutions like free labor unions -- and to encourage economic development that will render child labor and nightmarish working conditions not merely illegal, but unthinkable. (Applause.)

Just as a house is built from the ground up, labor's house rests on a bedrock principle of free association -- and rises by the strength of its members. Free trade union movements today stand on the threshold of change as a leading force for democracy. Labor's strengh has opened the door to freedom for millions. The door must remain open.

You know, last week the Soviet Union celebrated the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. In a protest march, a banner was carried that said, "Workers of the world, we apologize." It was the first time in memory that Soviet authorities allowed such demonstrations on that holiday. That banner is another sign that democracy is doing the unthinkable, by saying the unspeakable.

The 1984 of George Orwell has come and gone. And I am hopeful that 1989 will be remembered as the year when American labor, business and, yes, government first began to work together in a real partnership for the freedom and dignity of workers everywhere. Not out of some utopian vision, but because we simply believe in the same basic values.

The key to freedom rests in our hands. With that key, nothing is impossible. The door to democracy will remain unlocked, to each according to his ability to dream.

Thank you all very, very much. God bless you. And may God bless working people everywhere. And, Lech Walesa, God bless you, sir. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

END 4:00 P.M. EST

Cornell University

Walter Galenson
Jacob Gould Schurman Professor

School of Industrial and Labor Relations
~~168 Ives Hall~~
~~Ithaca, N.Y. 14853~~
1150 Park Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10128

Nov. 27, 1989

Dear Ms. Dooley:

Thank you very much for your kind note. The papers did not report on the President's speech to the AFL-CIO, and I would appreciate a copy. I gather Lech Walesa got in the way.

It was a pleasure meeting you and your colleague.

Sincerely,

Walter Galenson

Mine Workers Decide to Affiliate With AFL-CIO

By Frank Swoboda
Washington Post Staff Writer

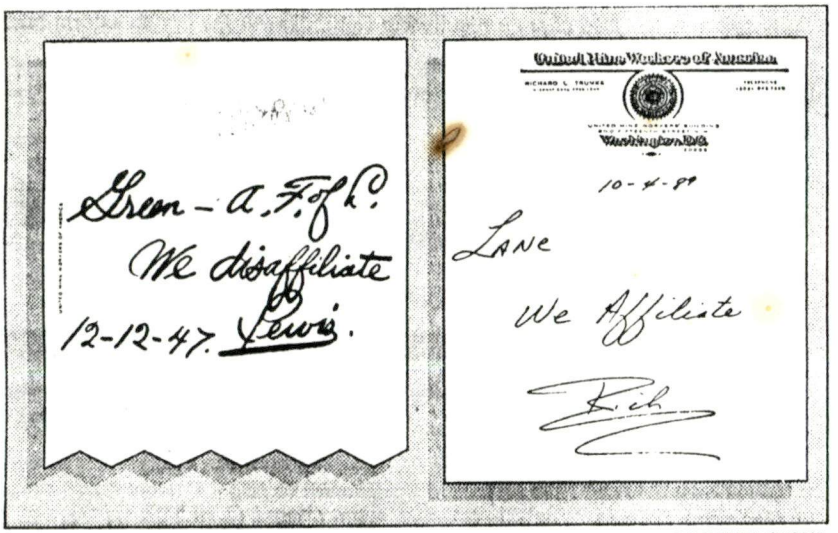
The United Mine Workers of America, ending nearly half a century of self-imposed exile from the rest of the U.S. labor movement, voted yesterday to affiliate with the AFL-CIO.

The action leaves only two other major unions outside the ranks of the 14.1 million-member federation and also appears to be the first step toward the formation of a national energy union.

"Our international executive board has examined the issues and decided that it is once again time for the UMWA to apply for membership in the national labor federation, formalizing our ever-closer working relations with the AFL-CIO and its member unions," union President Richard L. Trumka said in a brief statement announcing the decision.

Trumka said the mine workers have "always been affiliated with a national labor federation when such an affiliation was in the best interests of our membership."

The UMWA, with about 150,000 members, is concentrating current efforts on the coal fields of Virginia with a bitter strike against the Pittston Coal Co. Like the strike by the International Association of Machinists against Eastern Air Lines, the Pittston strike has become a rallying point for organized labor.



THE WASHINGTON POST

Trumka mimicked style of John L. Lewis in giving Lane Kirkland the news.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council was expected to act immediately on the affiliation request. Council members were being polled yesterday and a spokeswoman said she expects the mine workers to be back in the fold by the time the federation holds its convention here next month.

One of the oldest and most storied unions in the nation, the United Mine Workers of America gave birth to the industrial union movement in the mid-1930s when it split from the American Federation of Labor to form the rival Congress of Industrial Organizations. In a single year, founder John L. Lewis set in motion the committees that helped organize both the United Steel Workers of America and the United Auto Workers union. Ironically, his efforts to organize industrial workers through the creation of District 50 of the UMWA never fared well.

The relationship between Lewis and his labor movement peers was one of almost constant turmoil. He left the AFL to form the CIO in 1937, quit the CIO five years later in a political fight, rejoined the AFL in 1946 and resigned again in December 1947, when he slipped his now-famous note to AFL President William Green: "Green—A.F. of L. We disaffiliate. 12-12-47. Lewis."

Until yesterday, the mine workers chose to remain outside the labor federation. In recent years, however, with Trumka's election, the union has developed a close working relationship with the AFL-CIO and its member unions.

Last year, the UMWA made an unsuccessful bid to merge with the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union to form what Trumka hoped would be the base for a national energy union. The OCAW turned down the merger, but since then a new OCAW leadership has been elected and the merger talks are on again. A source familiar with the talks said UMWA affiliation with the AFL-CIO is expected to remove a major obstacle to the merger.

The UMWA decision also marks a major victory for AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, who took the reins of the federation 10 years ago this fall with a pledge to reunite the labor movement. Since then, he has brought in the United Auto Workers, United Transportation Union, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the Writers Guild-East and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The two major unions still outside the AFL-CIO are the United Electrical Workers, with fewer than 200,000 members, and the National Education Association, the nation's largest union with nearly 2 million members.

Doug Bandow
Senior Fellow, Cato Institute

Dr. Walter Galenson - 12/5/14
9:00 am
Professor Emeritus
Labor Relations, Cornell
1150 Park Avenue
NY, NY 10128
212/831-3848

WDC 42.31
362

[redacted]

Am Soc Int Law

0 [redacted]

Mark Franz - Charlie Smith 216/881-8600

Richard Rahn - Ch of Comm

Geneva
1st Wed.
June
3½ wks.

Charlie Smith, Chair CISCO Corp.
216/464-0072 (h) 885-8600 (w)
Pam Russell

ILO - oldest of all UN orgs - Treaty of Versailles
US, 1934
Granchild of AFL leader

Eurs concerned re: spread of Russ Rev. - strengthen FRG labor movt to stem spread

Tri-partite - each country sends 3 dels: workers, employers, govt
4 votes total
Annual convention

Create intl labor standards - purpose

Irving Brown - AFL-CIO del to ILO
- successor Jim Baker - head AFL-CIO Paris office

awarded Medal of Freedom by RR
AFL-CIO mem. advice - May

South Africa - black trade unions legalized - played big role there

Lat. Am. - El Salvador, Nicaragua
Bill Doherty - AFL-CIO Free Labor Devt. for Lat. Am.

Ben Rathbun - book on Irving Brown
362-9663

Spain - also Portugal
Jim Baker 011-331-4387-7457

Out of the Sweatshop

TR

Helen Keller – "Solidarity"

p. 177 - Plaque on Triangle Bldg.

p. 188 - Eyewitness at Triangle

p. 244 - Czar's Prisons - Poland

p. 352 - Meany, until

govt that will allow free labor movt

may not always agree

important

"Workers of the World, We Apologize"

sign in protest parade, same day as Anniv of Bolshevik Rev. in Moscow, 11/7/89

LABOR - AFL-CIO FTU Hungary - white collar

East Ger - Reform

USSR - strikes committees coal/Leningrad

Spain -

Robt Martinez
Exec Asst to Pres.
Business Roundtable
212/682-6370

Donald Share
Chair - Polsci U Puget Sound
Role of the Left in Dem
206/756-3175

Ray Lonnroe
CIA
482-8697

East Eurs/FTUs

Wm Peake Machine Tool Plant - East Berlin

Peter Accolla
Labor - Intl. 523-8538

Tad Linsenmeyer
Labor - Intl. 523-7631

East Eurs

Hungary - white collar
Yugo - quibble w/ AFL-CIO

SPAIN -

El Salvador – San Salvador
1/3/81

2 Ams, 1 local
Michael P. Hammer
Mark D. Pearlman } land reform

Malaysia – (last name) David
org. electronics (Am. spies contra)

Wash Post
10/5/89

12/12/47 · ~~John Lewis to~~ Green – AF of L
We disaffiliate
Lewis

last ~~year~~ month –

Lane –
We affiliate
Rieb (Trumka)

East Bay

REFORM

formed 10/23/89

Wm. Pieck Elec + Eng Plant
finds = ~ 100 workers
3 part disputes

ADM -

spokesman = Ralf Boerger
rep of Tetrow Plant

Marine -

not just govts. - extremist groups

Rumania - Werner Sommerhauer
June 1988 - 50-80 workers
ICFTU disappeared, 60 sentenced to
terms ~~30~~ mos. - 3 yrs corrective
labor. WS = one.

Libert Julius Philip
arrested 7/17/88, beaten, arrested

Doina Cornea - prom supp of Brasov Workers
harassment, surveillance,
beaten 2x on police premises

Malaysia - Z. David (Jane Kirkland)
ICFTU Gen Sec of Malaysian TV Comm
"disturbed ethnic harmony"
2 yr detention, spec. camps
following release not
allowed to practice

Panama - 3 workers Elec + Water workers
9/19/88 union; involvement
in strike for imp
wages + prices
union leader jailed + beaten

dictators consolidate power, go for trade

Nicaragua –

Chile – Manuel Bustos –
will be at convention
– leading labor leader
sentenced to pol exile by Pinochet

Walesa planned to go to Chile to see
him; Chile let him out early

Parral –

NYT 8/19/89 Labor Leader + Dusty Exile

AFL-CIO provided $ to him; started cultural
ctr.

SU – Anatole Marchenko
1986 died in forced labor/exile
&

1988 – 200 trade unionists murdered
throughout world
(ICFTU #)

El Salvador -

Michael Hammer — killed by death
Mark Pearlman — squad members
Jose Rodolfo Viera - head of land transformation institute

Intl Longshoremen + Warehousemens
UAW
UMW
Writers Guild of america / East + West
~~United Tau~~

Teamsters
Locomotive 7

Wash Times
636-3015
Joe Haney
Arnold Beichman

Wales Hotel
875 pm - 7pm
212/879-3226

[Tom Kahn]

John Windmuller
Cornell
607/272-2492 (h)
607/255-6686 (w)

1st delivery NATO arms to Eus
Port of Marseille
Brown undertook to move arms
in w/anti-dem mvmt/CIA?
Did move arms through pickets
of blockade

[#2 anti-comm, now I'm #1]

Pierre Ferri - Pisani - leader of non-comm TU on Marseille docks

Wed.
3-5

Roy Godson - Am Labor + Eur Politics
Am ex G-town Univ. the AFL as a transnatl force -
687-5055
5865
G-town

strong Am defense

Rich Stevenson
~~555~~ 647-8370

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75TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1989

September 4, 1989, Monday, BC cycle

SECTION: Washington News

LENGTH: 866 words

HEADLINE: Bush says toughest decision concerned Higgins murder

BYLINE: By HENRY DAVID ROSSO

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: President

BODY:

President Bush says his hardest decision in the first seven months of his presidency was deciding not to do what he wanted to do -- ''to punish those who victimized'' Marine Lt. Col. William Higgins.

Bush made the comment in a wide-ranging interview with David Frost conducted at his vacation retreat in Kennebunkport, Maine, last Tuesday. The program airs at 8 p.m. EDT Tuesday on PBS television stations.

''I guess sometimes the hardest decision is not going with impulse, with instinct,'' Bush told Frost. ''When I saw Colonel Higgins' body displayed in that brutal, cruel fashion, I had this visceral reaction of wanting to do something.''

Terrorists supported their claim to having hanged Higgins July 31 with a videotape, seen on television around the world, showing a man hanging. U.S. officials subsequently identified the body as Higgins'. ''I still want to do something,'' Bush said. ''I want to punish those who victimized this outstanding Marine who was wearing the uniform of the United Nations. But you want to be realistic. I don't want to see mothers and children weeping anymore because of some action I might take.''

But Bush added, ''On the other hand, if I could vindicate the death of this outstanding soldier and punish in a way so as to inhibit future such brutal terrorism, I'd do it in an instant.''

Bush said he showed restraint in his response to the Higgins murder because of his concern for the safety of other Americans being held in Lebanon, but he left the door open to possible retribution in the future.

Frost asked Bush if he disagreed with a statement by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher that an eye for an eye is always wrong and that ''to a certain extent there is a case for retribution.''

Bush replied, ''Yes, there is, clearly, clearly. If I could find a way to surgically go in and free those American hostages, I would do it. But regrettably, the situation isn't that clear. And so, in terms of our hostages, we are exhausting every diplomatic avenue I can think of and that our able professionals can think of. But, yes, there's a time when you must do that.''

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The president said he has not outlined what he might do should terrorists harm another American hostage. ''But if there's a further escalation or further evidence of a state sponsoring this kind of terrorism, the United States will not and must not be impotent.''

Another hard moment for Bush came when 47 servicemen were killed when a gun turret exploded aboard the USS Iowa.

Frost asked if it were true Bush turned down a draft of a speech concerning the Iowa because he did not believe he could deliver it.

''Maybe more than one,'' Bush said. ''You know, because it's too ... I feel it, and if you really feel sad, then you should act sad. If you feel a certain loss, why, it shows up more. Maybe people understand.''

Frost also interviewed first lady Barbara Bush and reminded her that she said in 1984 she thought she would feel like a caged animal in the White House.

''I thought that, but it's not true,'' Mrs. Bush said.

''I just love it,'' Mrs. Bush said. I do a lot of things there that I ... I mean, I feel very spoiled, but I swim a mile a day at the White House, I walk Millie (the Bushes' springer spaniel) every day. ... I don't feel caged at all.''

Asked why American people relate to her, Mrs. Bush said, ''I like them. But I think it's because I don't threaten anybody. I don't make any big decisions.''

Much of the interview with the president dealt with foreign affairs. Bush said he would like to provide more aid to Poland, said he believes Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is open and reform-minded and said he believes the Berlin Wall will come down in his time. ''Yes, that Berlin Wall will come down.''

''I'd love to be able to give them (Poland) more aid,'' Bush said of the new non-communist government in Poland. But he repeated what he said while touring Poland -- that the United States is ''fighting a very large deficit that ties our hands in terms of American largesse.''

As for Gorbachev, Bush said, ''I would say so far in our relations with Mr. Gorbachev ... he has tried very hard to fulfill any undertakings that he has made. And that's how you make a judgment. So I think that he's ... working to keep his word. I have no reason to fault him on his word.''

On other subjects:

-Japan. Bush said the Japanese ''should redouble their efforts to permit us access to their markets.'' And he urged that Japan be kept in ''the family of free and open and fair, free enterprise nations'' to avoid pushing Japan ''into a reinvigorated militance.''

-South Africa. Bush said he had heard ''good things'' about acting president F.W. de Klerk. ''He's made some statements, taken some steps, going to Zambia. ... It's good to reach out to the front line countries. ... But you need something like the freeing of (imprisoned black activist Nelson) Mandela, the

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world needs it.''

-Colombia. Bush said he was ''impressed'' when President Virgilio Barco ''called on the (drug) consuming countries, particularly the United States, to stop consuming, to encourage through education the idea of reducing consumption'' of illegal drugs.

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73RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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September 5, 1989, Tuesday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part 1; Page 1; Column 5; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1498 words

HEADLINE: BERLIN WALL TO COME DOWN, BUSH PREDICTS

BYLINE: By JACK NELSON, Times Washington Bureau Chief

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

President Bush, who three months ago called for tearing down all physical barriers that divide Europe, now flatly predicts the Berlin Wall will be dismantled during his presidency.

His comments, the latest sign that Washington expects dramatic changes in the East Berlin regime in the near future, came as thousands of East Germans wait in Hungary for a possible deal between Bonn and Budapest that would allow them to emigrate to West Germany through Austria.

Three times during an interview with British journalist David Frost, the President said he expects the heavily guarded wall, which has divided Berlin since the East Germans constructed it in 1961, to be torn down.

Barbed-Wire Memento

Recalling his visit to Budapest in July when he was presented with a symbolic snippet of wire representing the barbed-wire barrier that separated Hungary and Austria before it was dismantled, Bush said he found the ceremony "so moving."

"And yes," he added, "that Berlin Wall will come down." Asked if he thought it would happen during his term as President, he responded affirmatively.

His prediction, made in an interview recorded last week for a one-hour show that will air on public television stations tonight, coincides with a statement Sunday by Vernon A. Walters, U.S. ambassador to West Germany, that he can "foresee a united Germany in the near future."

A videocassette and a transcript of the interview, which was recorded on a patio outside Bush's home in Kennebunkport, Me., where the President ended a three-week vacation Monday, were made available here by David Paradine Television Inc., which produced the program. First Lady Barbara Bush also was interviewed for part of the show.

The President, in an overall assessment of U.S. foreign relations that was generally optimistic, praised Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev as someone whose word he trusts and who appears to be in no danger of ouster despite severe economic problems in the Soviet Union and serious problems encountered by Gorbachev's reform programs.

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Bush's views contrast sharply with those of Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, who four months ago said he believed Gorbachev would fail in his efforts at political and economic reform and might be replaced by someone hostile to the United States.

More recently, Cheney told a veterans' group that the Soviet threat has not diminished, that "if anything, the United States is facing a more formidable offensive strategic arsenal today."

Addressing the drug crisis in Colombia and the escalating problems of drugs in the United States, the President said he would not rule out sending troops to that country if requested by Colombian officials, but they have made no such request.

He recalled that as a presidential candidate last year he "talked of the possibility of the U.S. helping a country that didn't have the military means to go in there and wipe out some of these factories of death."

But he indicated that since becoming President, his thinking has changed and he is more guarded in addressing such matters and "very sensitive to the sovereign rights, in this instance, of the state of Colombia."

Vowed to 'Try My Hardest'

The anti-narcotics fight must be won, said Bush, who Tuesday night will outline a new anti-drug strategy in a televised address to the nation. He vowed to "try my hardest, my best, to mobilize the nation."

Contemplative and at times philosophical during the interview with Frost, Bush said he has not found the presidency lonely but hastened to add that he hasn't "been tested by fire -- been through hell in this job."

By the time he finishes his presidency, he said, he hopes he hasn't had "to reach out for understanding about 'the loneliest job in the world' because it is too fulfilling and . . . you get too many good people helping and sharing the problems and trying to take the problems off your shoulders to feel that you need, what I would say, self-pity."

In the interview -- dominated by foreign affairs -- Bush also said that he:

-- Disagrees with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher that revenge is always wrong. He said there is "clearly" a case for retribution against terrorists -- and if there is a further escalation of state-sponsored terrorism against Americans. "the United States will not and must not be impotent."

-- Believes it would help things "a great deal" in South Africa if Frederik W. de Klerk, in one of his first acts upon formally assuming the presidency after the Sept. 6 parliamentary elections, were to free political prisoner Nelson R. Mandela. "And I've heard good things about Mr. De Klerk . . . but you need something like freeing Mandela, the world needs it."

-- Wants to see Japan redouble its efforts to permit fair trade and free access to their markets but does not want to see discriminatory impulses by some Americans push Japan into "a reinvigorated militance."

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-- Would welcome restoring diplomatic relations with Iran, but "as long as Americans are held hostage -- and from time to time their officials make statements indicating they have some control over that situation -- then that's got to change dramatically, before there can be the kind of relations that I personally would like to see."

-- Hopes that China could revert to business as usual "pretty soon" even though relations with the United States and other Western countries remained strained because of the way the Chinese government crushed the pro-democracy demonstrations and has invoked repressive measures against dissidents.

Bush, in answer to a question, said he was a great believer in person-to-person diplomacy and had found Gorbachev "open and reform-minded."

"Do you trust his word?" Frost asked.

No Reason to Fault Gorbachev

"I would say so far in our relations with Mr. Gorbachev, previous administration and this, he has tried very hard to fulfill any undertakings that he has made," Bush said. "And that's how you make a judgment. So I think that he's working to keep his word. I have no reason to fault him on his word."

During the interview, both Frost and the President wore dark sweaters over open-collar shirts as they sat on a patio outside Bush's home overlooking the Atlantic.

Frost, using a chatty conversational method rather than adversarial questioning to draw out Bush, laughingly referred to the President as "Mr. Smooth," the nickname Bush has given himself. He said the name came from "throwing a smooth horseshoe, yeah, it's a phenomenal shoe, actually. I'm not very good in horseshoes, but we've had more fun with that game for the last four or five years. All the kids can play it, they all have the same arrogance factor as their grandfather, or their dad, and it's a great family sport."

The President offered a spirited defense for both Vice President Dan Quayle, whose selection as his running mate and performance in office have been widely criticized, and Republican Party Chairman Lee Atwater, whom Democrats have accused of dirty tactics.

Frost, noting that when Bush was vice president, polls showed his approval rating 8 to 10 points behind President Ronald Reagan while current polls show Quayle running 20 to 25 points behind Bush, asked whether this was a reflection on Quayle.

Don't Care What Polls Say

"It's a reflection, I guess, on the fact that they may not yet know the ability of Dan Quayle as I know it," he said. "And I couldn't care less what a poll says right now. . . . I'll say people don't yet understand what I understand. That he's a very able man and he's a team player and I made a good selection, and I'm glad he's doing his job."

Frost told Bush, "We know you want 'a kinder, gentler nation,' but have you told Lee Atwater. . . . "

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Interrupting, the President declared: "He's a kind and gentle kind of fellow. He's the kind of fellow that Democrats love to hurt, love to go after. Do you know why? Because he's getting in their knickers. He's getting to them. And they're saying Democrats leave the Democratic party, and join the Republican Party. So what do they do? They blame Atwater."

Describing Atwater as "an able political operative," Bush said, "the Democrats are eating their hearts out because they don't have the same ability in that Democratic National Committee anywhere."

Mrs. Bush, reminded that in 1984 she had said that if she were ever in the White House she would be like "a caged animal," said, "I thought that, but it's not true. I just love it. I do a lot of things there. . . . I feel very spoiled, but I swim a mile a day at the White House, I walk Millie (the Bushes' spaniel) every day. I had puppies -- something I always wanted to do. I don't feel caged at all."

She said she thinks people like her because "I don't threaten anybody. I don't make any big decisions, I'm trying to say this nicely so I won't hurt my own feelings. But, I mean, no Marilyn Monroe am I. I'm just not a threat to anybody. I like people. And I feel for them. "

SUBJECT: BUSH, GEORGE; BERLIN WALL; SPEECHES; EAST GERMANY -- GOVERNMENT; FROST, DAVID

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BODY:

MR. FROST: Mr. President, or should I also use your other new title, Mr. Smooth -- (laughter) --

PRESIDENT BUSH: You can use it. In fact, if you looked over your right shoulder, I can show you where I earned that title, that's the horseshoe pit over there.

MR. FROST: And that's the way you earned it.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Throwing a smooth horseshoe, yeah, it's a phenomenal shoe, actually. I'm not very good in horseshoes, but we've had more fun with that game for the last four or five years. All the kids can play it, they all have the same arrogance factor as their grandfather, or their dad, and it's a great family sport.

MR. FROST: And so it was one of them who coined the name or did you coin the name?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I felt they were getting around to it but I came up with it first.

MR. FROST: What's been the hardest decision for you so far, in the first seven months?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I guess sometimes the hardest decision is not going with impulse, with instinct. When I saw Colonel Higgins' body displayed in that brutal, cruel fashion, I had this visceral reaction of wanting to do something. I still want to do something. I want to punish those who victimized this outstanding Marine who was wearing the uniform of the United Nations. But you want to be realistic. I don't want to put innocent lives at risk to avenge one. I don't want to see mothers and children weeping anymore because of some action I might take. On the other hand, if I could vindicate the death of this outstanding soldier and punish in a way so as to inhibit future such brutal terrorism, I'd do it in an instant. But I guess wht I'm saying is there's a -- when you get into the realities of the situation, it's a little different than when you're giving the campaign speech for running for Congress in my case, or primary running for President, or in the campaign for President.

MR. FROST: So that you -- somehow -- you have the motion, and you feel it very deeply, but then you have to somehow put that on one side.

PRESIDENT BUSH: I have got to think of other American lives, and the lives of others. And so I don't cite this as a great burden of the Presidency, but it is a reality versus, a gut instinct in the beginning.

MR. FROST: At the beginning of this year, when I was interviewing, talking to Margaret Thatcher, after Lockerbie, and she said to me that an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is always wrong because revenge can hurt innocent people. But, in a sense, you're disagreeing with that -- to a certain extent

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there is a case for retribution...?
PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes, there is, clearly, clearly. If I could find a way to surgically go in and free those American hostages, I would do it. But regrettably, the situation isn't that clear. And so, in terms of our hostages, we are exhausting every diplomatic avenue I can think of and that our able professionals can think of. But yes, there's a time when you must do that.
MR. FROST: I sort of sense between the lines as you think through that situation, that if in fact people haven't responded to your plea for the life of Mr. Cicippio, that might have had an occasion where you felt that about retribution.
PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I haven't outlined what I might do, but, clearly that would have upped the stakes, and and upped the ante. But as I said, it's not -- I mean when I saw the picture of Higgins, I felt what every American felt, this determination to go do something about it. And we were just so deeply offended by the brutality and the unconscionable display of this man's body -- I still want to say "alleged," "alleged," "alleged," because we haven't even had the decency -- these terrorists -- of returning the body to the family, which just kills me. But, no, you have this feeling of wanting to do something. But if there's a further escalation or further evidence of a state sponsoring this kind of terrorism, the United States will not and must not be impotent.
MR. FROST: And both Iran and Syria have considerable sway over these terrorists -- don't they?
PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I think in varying degrees, they do. But whether they can snap their fingers with finality and have a hostage released, or a pack of hostages released, we're not positive about that. But we feel that they --- particularly in this instance of the American hostages -- Iran bears a disproportionate responsibility for not having those hostages freed.
MR. FROST: Would you expect in the course of your administration, or two administrations, would you expect us to have diplomatic relations with Iran?
PRESIDENT BUSH: I'd like to think we could see that day, and I'd welcome it. But there has to be a certain modicum of international decency, in order to achieve that end. But we have no historical feud with Iran, and I have no desire to intervene in their internal affairs. But I do think that as long as Americans are held hostage -- and from time to time their officials make statements indicating they have some control over that situation -- then that's got to change dramatically before there can be the kind of relations that I personally would like to see with Iran.
MR. FROST: When you lok at a problem, though, like some of the big problems you've mentioned, do you automatically look at them in terms of what you can do over an eight year span, rather than a four year span?
PRESIDENT BUSH: No, I'm focusing on a four year span. I mean what can we accomplish within the next budget cycle, or the next two years. Now in some legal way you've got to project five years, into some of your budget forecasting and things of this nature. But I'm not looking at it, like an eight year presidency, I'm approaching it -- certainly I guess you have to say within the parameters of a four year presidency.
MR. FROST: So you're looking at the problems -- over four years although you do plan to be a two- term President.
PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, if I didn't, I wouldn't tell you because then I would be what you would call the earliest lame duck in history -- you know how that works. (Laughter.)
MR. FROST: They always say that it's the loneliest job in the world, the presidency, but I get the impression you disagree with that.
PRESIDENT BUSH: I do disagree with it. It's not lonely. There are people around all the time. That's not exactly what you meant, but no, seriously,

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it's, I think it would be presumptuous to suggest that we have faced the ultimate crisis, or something of that nature. I haven't been through -- tested by real fire -- been through hell in this job, but I do see as it goes along, the complexities of it and the importance in the sense of what you say influencing others or what you do having an effect on the lives of other people. I'm a little more cautious than I was in the very, very beginning, of how I say things. But I don't, I hope when I finish my term as President, that I haven't had to reach out for understanding about the loneliest job in the world, because, it is too fulfilling and it is too -- you get too many good people helping and sharing the problems, and trying to take the problems off your shoulders to feel that you need, what I would say, self-pity.

MR. FROST: You have had -- as you say, you haven't had that, praise God, that terrible crisis or whatever yet. The saddest moments, of course, when you were talking about Colonel Higgins, Lieutenant Colonel Higgins, and the USS Iowa too.

PRESIDENT BUSH: The kids, -- oh yeah.

MR. FROST: That really got to you, didn't it?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes, yes, it does. We Bushes cry easily. And it's not just emotion, I mean, it's not just visible manifestations of emotion, but it's what you feel in your heart. And those get me. I'm not good at expressing the concerns of a nation, in matters of national concern like that. I'm just not very good at it, and so you try not to choke up. You try to say what you really think, but I feel very moved when I see those kinds of tragedies. You feel a certain responsibility, you feel a certain frustration, particularly in terms of these hostages.

MR. FROST: Do you feel in that sense as the head of state, particularly, rather than the political leader, is it almost as though moments like that they all become, the nation becomes, in a way members of an extended family?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes, I think you look at it, when there's some tragedy of that nature -- we're feeling people and we come together when the kids in Iowa were killed in a terrible accident or a plane goes down, or tragedy of an airliner sabotaged by terrorists, or the death of a Marine Colonel. We feel these things in our heart and we come together. We cross over our political lines. We start blaming, "oh, you should have done this." But as a country, we're emotional when it comes to those kinds of things. One sparrow falling from the sky.

MR. FROST: This is a more emotional country than some. You're quite right, isn't it?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I think it is. I think it is. We wear our emotions on our sleeves sometimes.

MR. FROST: And in fact, you turned down one draft of a speech about the Iowa, didn't you, because you thought you couldn't get through it.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yeah. Yeah. Maybe more than one.

MR. FROST: Really?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Maybe more than one. You know, because it's too -- I feel it, and if you really feel sad, then you should act sad. If you feel a certain loss, why, it shows up more. Maybe people understand.

MR. FROST: I think they do. Now that we have a non-communist government in Poland, would you call Poland now an ally of the United States?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I think we're waiting to see how Poland evolves. What I want to do is see that the West, certainly in my country, our country, fulfills to the best of our ability, helps them fulfill their promise. And certainly when it comes to something like food aid, we should all of us be as responsive as possible. But, an airlift of money is not the answer. And the Polish authorities know this. Lech Walesa knows it. Jaruzelski knows it. I expect their new prime minister knows it. And what is needed is to encourage and do

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it's I think it would be presumptuous to suggest that we have tapped the multimedia crisis, or something of that nature. I mean, I mean though -- because by tapping in this loop, but I do see it does stand by tapping in the corners of what I see the importance in the sense of what you mean the computerized or what you do in terms of the computer graphics on the screen. I'm a little more confused when I use in the word, I think that's what I'm trying to say -- I mean I'm just not sure exactly what it is and so you can't do anything with it. You can't do see what you're talking about in terms of graphics. But I extract information from this. Each message knows it. Talkback knows it. I expect graphics knowledge. But an ability of words is not the answer. And the point is this when it comes to something like food and we should all of us be responsive to the next of our spiritual beings then talking then -- you can't -- you can't talking about to do is see that the next, certainly in my computer, our computer talking about to see if you can't spiritual, maybe then talking then promise. And certainly the computer graphics. I mean I think we, in multimedia to see from beyond everyone. What I PRESIDENT BUSH: I think we, in multimedia to see from beyond, would you call beyond from an ally of the United States; MR. TROST: I think that's -- that's a non-communist government in Iran, I'm sure that's not -- Iran, that's not communist, our communist, that's -- I see PRESIDENT BUSH: Maybe more than one. You know, because it's too -- I see it and it you see, you should not see and. It you see a certain if, but I don't, I'm sure that's not -- Iran, that's not communist, our communist, that's -- I see MR. TROST: Really?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yeah. Yeah. Maybe more than one.

MR. TROST: And in fact, you know, one thing of a speech about the Iowa, Iran, because you know, you should not and in fact. I'm sure that's not -- Iran, that's not communist, our communist, that's -- I see PRESIDENT BUSH: I think it is. I think it is. We need our motions on our statements somewhere.

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what we can to help them implement the reforms that are needed, so that the money does not just evaporate into a great swamp.
MR. FROST: But would we be prepared to give them more aid, as well, financial aid?
PRESIDENT BUSH: I'd love to be able to give them more aid. We've proposed a major package. As a matter of fact, just a couple of days ago, our able Minority Leader, and our Secretary of Labor, were here, the Doles, and as we discussed what more we can do, but they made clear to the Polish officials just as I did, that we do not have a bottomless pit. We're fighting a very large deficit that ties our hands in terms of American largesse.
MR. FROST: How many of the words can we put aside now, Cold War, has that as a phrase, has that gone?
PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, as far as I'm concerned, I don't use that phrase because we have been impressed with the move towards perestroika. You mind and imposter coming in the middles of this weighty question, here?
MR. FROST: No. Is this Millie?
PRESIDENT BUSH: That's Millie. Millie, did your mother send you in here to -- no, go on, I'm talking some serious stuff -- Out. Where were we?
(Laughter.)
MR. FROST: We were talking about the word Cold War.
PRESIDENT BUSH: Cold War. Cold War is -- I hope we never return to Cold War days. The American position, the position of this President, and I believe of the vast majority in Congress is we want perestroika to succeed. We want glasnost to continue, and I have sent that signal to Mr. Gorbachev over and over again. I'm sure he understands that.
MR. FROST: You're a great believer in peron-to-person diplomacy --
PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes, I am.
MR. FROST: -- and so on. Do you trust Mr. Gorbachev?
PRESIDENT BUSH: I -- I would -- my problems are not with Mr. Gorbachev, but they're with the system that systematically has denied a lot of the values that we hold dear; and, when I hear him taking some very forthright positions for reform and for openness, I salute that. And ah, but that -- I'll try to answer your question -- but that isn't the quetion. You do not build a foreign policy based on one man. Gorbachev would no more have developed the foreign policy of the United States based on his perception of its Presidents, than he would jump in a rocket and fly out there to Neptune, ah, nor would I make judgments, fundamental, strategic judgments about the Soviet Union, because -- whether I like Mr. Gorbachev or not, or because whether I think he is open and reform-minded. And I do think he is open, and I do think he's reform-minded, and I do think he's trying very, very hard and the rhetoric that sometimes can separate you is way toned down. We've had some, you know, reason to make that statement with confidence.
MR. FROST: So that you can't build a foreign policy on one man who might not be there. But, I mean, when he says something to you, or makes an undertaking to you, you trust him in that situation. Do you trust his word?
PRESIDENT BUSH: I would say so far in our relations with Mr. Gorbachev, previous administration and this, he has tried very hard to fulfill any undertakings that he has made. And that's how you make a judgment. So I think that he's -- he's working to keep his word. I have no reason to fault him on his owrd.
MR. FROST: When you say that you can't build it on one man, if you look ahead -- there's been a debate within the administration on this -- I mean in five or six years time, I mean are you confident that he will prevail in Russia?
PRESIDENT BUSH: I think it's too early to predict with any accuracy what the internal situation in the Soviet Union is going to look like four or five

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years from now. I'm hopeful, and I want to see progress continue, but they are facing enormous economic problems, David, enormous economic problems. And sometimes I think we've got the biggest ones, but not when you look at -- the Soviet Union or, indeed, Eastern Europe and the two, you know, interact to some degree. So I don't think we can accurately predict that or say with certainty this is the way that the Politburo is going to look, or this is the way the philosophical underpinnings of the Politburo Central Committee are going to be. Can't do it.

MR. FROST: So you think your position is a bit safer than his?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Being President? (Laughter.) I have utter confidence that they won't throw me out. But I would expect if you put the question to him, he'd say the same thing. And I have no reason to believe that Mr. Gorbachev will be put out of office. I've seen no evidence, no estimates, no -- you see articles from time to time, but I see no evidence of that.

MR. FROST: How do you keep in touch when you haven't had a summit? I mean, have you spoken to Mr. Gorbachev on the phone or on the hot line since you became President?

PRESIDENT BUSH: The hot line is a teletype.

MR. FROST: Right.

PRESIDENT BUSH: You have to use your credit card to call him on a regular line.

MR. FROST: Right.

PRESIDENT BUSH: And ah, we've been in touch. And some of the -- some of the things are very good. Ah, I'm trying to think. There were several things, maybe one of them was the Iowa, when those kids lost their lives, maybe, I think it was. If it wasn't, it was something else dealing with the lives of young Americans in a very sensitive and thoughtful letter; and he, I got word from him at the time our son and grandson when -- private capacities -- to Yerevan at the time of the earthquake, very warm and sentimental and convincingly real response and gratitude, just for that little show of interest, you see.

PRESIDENT BUSH: These things are good. These tones are right.

MR. FROST: Do you think that in your time the Berlin Wall will be dismantled?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes.

MR. FROST: You've asked for it and you think it will happen?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes, I do. When I was in Hungary, and Chairman Nemeth actually handed me a piece of the barbed wire, between Hungary and Austria, and presented it in front of the news media; and with a Hungarian flag on this plaque and some words about all these walls must come down, some barriers must come down. I confessed earlier in this talk about sometimes getting emotional. And that was very emotional, very. I mean, to -- just to feel what he was saying, this has come down now, and I was thinking back the tanks, 19- -- whatever it was -- '56, or something -- and it was so moving. And yes, that Berlin Wall will come down.

MR. FROST: In one poll, a majority of Americans said that they feared the Japanese economic threat more than the Russian military threat. What would you say about that?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I don't like that. I don't like it, because I don't want to see us pull back into some kind of a protectionism, some kind of an isolation from a very important ally, Japan. And I think there's some misunderstanding about this, I think the Japanese should redouble their efforts to permit us access to their markets because when I say free and fair trade, that's exactly what I mean -- fair equals access to markets. Let us compete; and if we can't compete, we should have access. And they have almost unlimited access to our markets. So, I think the American people sense an inequity and they also see that Japanese have come in with a good deal of ownership of some of our

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ability to produce goods and services in this country. And I think those two things together make that, you know, produce the kind of results you're talking about. But Japan is a friend. We have common interests in the Pacific in terms of our national security and Japanese national security. I do not want to see Japan almost pushed into a -- a reinvigorated militance. I don't want that. So, how do you avoid that? You keep them in the family of free and open and fair, free enterprise nations and they're awfully good at it. We simply cannot have any discriminatory impulses against our friends from Japan or Asia or anybody else. Can't do that in our country. We're too big for that. Too big hearted. Never have been that kind of people.

MR. FROST: Talking the about a near neighbor of Japan, on the subject of China, how soon would you hope that it would be business as usual again in China?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, how soon would I hope? The hope would be pretty soon. But how soo do I think? I don't know the answer to that one, because right now, like, as with other allies of ours, the relationships between the United States and China are somewhat strained for very understandable reasons.

MR. FROST: What about those people who feel that in a way have -- we're more generous towards China at the moment, that we didn't really come out strongly about the 7,000 -- up to 7,000 Tiananmen Square or so on, and that in a sense we're almost tougher with the Soviet Union on human rights than we are about what's happened in China. Do you think there's a bit of a different standard there?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I don't -- I hope there's not a double standard in terms of our commitment. I don't recall any -- in the Soviet Union as you know has had, grave problems with their own republics, and I don't recall our being hyper-interventionists into the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. We weren't at the time of the Chinese. We said what we thought. Always speak up for democracy and for freedom and for human rights. But I hope we don't have a double standard. I don't think that's a fair allegation.

MR. FROST: Talking of a very different sort of person for a moment. You've met him a couple of times. Would you call General Noriega one of the few people you'd call an evil man?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I would now. I hadn't always had him characterized as this. But when he got immersed into the international drug business, I would have to say that, yeah.

MR. FROST: We seem to have come to a full stop in terms of the OAS and everything else, in doing anything about getting rid of him. What did you think of the President of Peru's plan, the Perez plan, that maybe if the United States said, we'll give the Canal back in five years rather than ten, if there's democracy, that would blow away Noriega's support.

PRESIDENT BUSH: I don't think you need to change the terms of the Panama Canal Treaty. I don't think that is a factor in Noriega's behavior at all. I think he got caught up in the international drug trafficking, he has been indicted by the United States courts. He has violated treaty rights of ours, violated the treaty by refusing or kind of obstructing some of the free-flow of our citizens that provided for in the treaties, under treaty rights. And so I don't think that suggestion is meritorious.

MR. FROST: There's change also in South Africa. There's a new acting president in South Africa. Would you like one of his first actions to be to free Nelson Mandela?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes. And it would help things a great deal. And I'd like to think that he would do that, and I -- he's made some statements, taken some steps, going to Zambia, to see Kenneth Kaunda. Good. It's good to reach out to the front line countries. And I've heard good things about Mr. De Klerk. And so, but you need something like the freeing of Mandela, the world needs it.

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MR. FROST: What have been the most memorable moments for you so far in the first seven months, Barbara?
MRS. BUSH: Gosh --
MR. FROST: Was it a trip, or something that happened at home?
MRS. BUSH: Well, certainly our trips have been extraordinary. I mean, the funeral in Japan and -- I knew George was going to have a raging success in NATO, but I was glad for the rest of the world to see that. That had to, I think, have been the height -- such a success for him.
MR. FROST: That was exhilarating, we happened to meet --
MRS. BUSH: that's right, we did.
MR. FROST: -- and it was exhilarating, wasn't it?
MRS. BUSH: That's right. And then the next trip, the economic summit, was -- Poland was an extraordinary trip. I think we're living in a very exciting time. And so, certainly those -- I mean, when you think, David, what's happened in how many months -- nine months or less, besides having puppll good.
MR. FROST: But it's South Africa, too.
MRS. BUSH: That's right. Well, and South America. I mean, not all good, not all bad, but an awful lot of good is happening.
MR. FROST: And what about the other side of the picture? You said somewhere, quote, that you "worry about greed in America."
MRS. BUSH: I do worry about that. I worry about greed around the world. But I really should put that the other way and say I'm extraordinarily impressed with all the CEOs that do so much. A lot of them are the same people maybe but I see a lot of people doing a lot of good, and that's exciting. But I do worry about greed.
MR. FROST: Is it different from the way it was?
MRS. BUSH: I don't know as it was. It's just that I'm more conscious of it maybe now. But I think we ought to get back to more thinking of others, less thinking of self. And maybe that's why I don't like to talk about myself so much.
MR. FROST: Yes, because I mean, characteristics that are missing from our lives today that you remember from childhood, you mean?
MRS. BUSH: Well, maybe, but -- no, maybe I think that's right. I think there's a lot of greed out there, and we've got to be very careful. I'd like to see more love, more sharing. I get very upset about -- well, the thing that happened in New York this week -- the racial -- that just killed me. It was so unnessary, so ugly, so hateful, so the bad side of the coin.
MR. FROST: Yes. And you are in so many battles -- the literacy battle and the photographs that stay with one, I mean, the photograph of you with the AIDS baby.
MRS. BUSH: And he died, you know, the little baby -- he died.
MR. FROST: Recently?
MRS. BUSH: Yes, he died about a month ago...the little baby. But that's life, I guess. But that was sad.
MR. FROST: Or not, as the case may be -- the tragic case may not be.
MRS. BUSH: Yes. He was born history, that baby. So sad. But maybe we'll -- I mean, I think we're getting good news on AIDS.
MR. FROST: Yes, we are, with the news of the drug. But the fact that we remember the photo and there's that tragic postscript, I mean does that underline the way in which you have the power to dramatize issues for the people, which is quite a responsibility, aS well as an opportunity?
MRS. BUSH: No, but it's an enormous opportunity because it does -- I know from that particular home that it helped to have me go there, and the people gave more money and people were more understanding and they cared a little more.
MR. FROST: As you look at those problems, are you a total optimist rather than

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a pessimist, or --
MRS. BUSH: Yes.
MR. FROST: Where do you put yourself in the spectrum?
MRS. BUSH: No, I'm a total optimist. But I know we have an awful lot more work to do. I really believe strongly that if each person just tackled one problem, the one next door to them, whether it's hate or greed or whatever, just giving a fellow a helping hand. I really believe we can make a difference. But it starts in your own neighborhood. Don't go out looking for great causes, start where you are -- because it's there.
MR. FROST: Hey, as you talk, I remember a quote, that -- again this may not be true.
MRS. BUSH: Oh, I hate my quotes.
MR. FROST: No, but you did say in 1984 that if you were ever in the White House, you would be like a caged animal.
MRS. BUSH: I thought that, but it's not true. I just love it. I do a lot of things there that I -- I mean, I feel very spoiled, but I swim a mile a day at the White House, I walk Millie every day. I had puppies -- something I always wanted to do. I don't feel caged at all.
MR. FROST: I think one of the reasons that people respond to you is that it's clear that you are enjoying it so much.
MRS. BUSH: I'm loving it. But so is he.
MR. FROST: Yes.
MRS. BUSH: Don't let him kid you about that.
MR. FROST: No, he didn't.
MRS. BUSH: You know but one thing I should say about George. He's got a lot of good qualities, but I think maybe the best quality was the people he surrounded himself with -- discounting me.
MR. FROST: I was going to say starting with --
MRS. BUSH: Discounting me. But I look recently just at the people, maybe on a trip, or someplace, and realize there are no jealousies, there are no -- these are all people who are dedicated to helping the country. I think that's an enormous ability, David.
MR. FROST: As someone once said to me, it's not just team spirit, it's the spirit of the team as well.
MRS. BUSH: That's right. And this team is extraordinary. And I think that explains a lot of the sort of, the reason we're having a good time.
MR. FROST: Well, will you continue having a good time, because then we can share it with you?
MRS. BUSH: Oh good, thank you very much.
MR. FROST: Thanks, Barbara.
SECOND PART OF INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT
MR. FROST: Mr. President, there is so much wondering always about this. When you said the magic words "no more taxes," was that intended to stand for one year as a firm commitment or for four? What was the small print?
PRESIDENT BUSH: There wasn't any small print. And what I'm trying to do is fulfill that pledge by going forward step by step on the budget without raising taxes. Ah -- we're going to succeed this first year, I'm convinced, although we don't have that agreement yet, David, we're still -- and then we've gotta see what happens, but it is my intention to fight every inch of the way for no more taxes. I have to do that.
MR. FROST: But you wouldn't guarantee to us now that that will obtain for the -- you'll fight that hard, but that you --
PRESIDENT BUSH: I can't guarantee it to you, but what I've found, I've found a reality in life. The reality is the United States Congress. And they act in strange and mysterious ways. And they have their constitutional

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responsibilities and I have mine. But I'm going to take a big, a giant step, this year by accomplishing the fulfilling the no more taxes pledge, and then going right back into the battle of trying to do it next year.

MR. FROST: The phrase you must read all the time in connection with your plans and so on, are the thing about that how is he going to pay for all these things he talks boldly about -- the space initiative that could cost four hundred billion or 70 billion for the B-2, and going on through the list, more for education, more to fight drugs, all of that list and then at the end of it they say, but where is he going to get the money from. He talks liberal, but he spends conservative, and all that sort of thing.

PRESIDENT BUSH: I like that. I plead somewhat guilty of that, but not totally guilty of it. I don't talk liberal. I talk the interest of this country. We do have to do something in the fight of drugs and education. And I have put my dollar signs next to these various accounts that we send up to the Hill. It isn't all smoke and mirrors. There is money allocated in the way of doing it if they want to do it our way. And the problem you run into, Congress has their own priorities. And they set their own way of doing things. But I don't plead guilty to the charge that there's no dollar signs next to our proposals. Take the space proposal -- I said, look, this should be a goal -- a long range goal -- many, many years. And then somebody comes in "where are you going to get the four hundred trillion dollars or billion dollars to pay for it." Well, that's down the line. It's a goal for our nation. It isn't a short run goal like our landing on the moon in ten years. But I think you've got to keep, I don't, I think the country ought to have a -- a vision. Remember, I'm the guy that they told -- used his claim in the campaign had no vision -- the vision thing -- that worried so many of my critics. Then you come up with a vision that the United States ought to keep its lead in space and ought to explore outside. And they start saying, same critics, start coming back at you -- (talking together) -- 180 degree turn.

MR. FROST: They say they want you to have a different vision there though, that there's so much to do down here and such a shortage of money, so spend it here first.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, some say that. That is an argument that is made by some, and I could give some credence to that. My point is if you work it out properly, you can do both. We've got an active, well-funded space program right now. Some have argued all along we shouldn't have that because of some unfilled problems here on earth. I don't agree with that.

MR. FROST: But what about when you see some of the figures for defense and so on, and you care so passionately about being an education President and so on. When you see -- don't you sometimes think, my goodness, if we had 133 stealth bombers, that's another half billion for education or something like that?

PRESIDENT BUSH: No, I don't. You know why? You know why I don't think that? Because we spend more per capita on education than almost any country in the world; and other countries out-do us on accomplishments. And scores. And a lot of it -- in our system, too, David, only seven percent of the funding for education is federal, properly so. Because I don't want the federal government going into the public school system in Houston, Texas, telling what they can teach. Saying what program must be put into effect. I don't want the federal government to have a larger role, so the seven percent figure is a lot of money. And we have come forward with a program that I think puts the emphasis where it belongs, on excellence, and on rewarding good performers in the teaching profession and students and things of this nature. But quality education is not going to be solved solely by the federal government. And it isn't a function of more money for everything. I mean, if it were, why are other countries bettering us when we're spending more per capita? That I don't know, except

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that maybe, maybe their work habits are a little, little tougher. Maybe they've stayed with the fundamentals when we've been off exploring with, ah, some programs that weren't so fundamental.
MR. FROST: Here at home, were you relieved when you were -- didn't have the knotty problem of having to make a decision about a pardon for Oliver North?
PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, all along -- no, I wasn't relieved because I didn't want to see Ollie North convicted. I was hoping he'd be found innocent.
MR. FROST: The Presidential pardon power though, it's almost one of the few powers of a President you would be better off without really it's always knotty isn't it? I mean -- what would you have done if he had been Gerald Ford? Would you have pardoned Richard Nixon when he did?
MR. FROST: I think, well, it's -- now it's easy for me to say yes, because Ford took a lot of heat on it, kept his chin up and spared the nation a long, agonized period. And so I can empathize with that decision, but it's an easy one now to say sure, because the only people that'll be sore at you are a handful of people that still want Nixon nailed to the wall for some reason. I mean, I think -- (both talking) -- the time was tough, you see.
MR. FROST: The timing of when he did it ended his honeymoon in a way though didn't it?
PRESIDENT BUSH: It did, and that was one of the reasons. He knew this. His advisors knew this, so I think the motivation of Gerald Ford was 100 percent correct. Sparing the nation further, the further agony of trying a president.
MR. FROST: For the people who are watching this conversation in the United States rather than around the world, following our conversation, there is going to be your first direct address, direct appeal, to the nation. Was the fact that you chose the subject of drugs a deliberate signal that you regard this as the one --
PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes.
MR. FROST: -- most important subject?
PRESIDENT BUSH: That it is -- I can't say the most important when you're looking at jobs, and you're looking at world peace, things that I feel strongly about in connection with those two categories. But yes, the anti-narcotics fight must be won. I was impressed with President Barco -- had when he called on the consuming countries, particularly the United States, to stop consuming, to encourage through education the idea of reducing consumption and it is very important that we have a national strategy so I've got a good team working on it. And there is no coincidence this is a determination that I try my hardest, my best, to mobilize the nation. We've got to succeed in this.
MR. FROST: And now that the Pentagon and others are talking about it so clearly as drugs being a threat to national security in Colombia, you have moved to help them very swiftly and so on, but I mean, given the vital nature of this fight, prseumably you wouldn't rule out, if the President of Colombia asked, you wouldn't rule out American troops helping in the fight in Colombia?
PRESIDENT BUSH: No, but -- (talking) -- I'm not ruling it in or out. I don't think the President of Colombia wants American troops. In fact, I know he doesn't. But if he changes his mind, fine.
MR. FROST: But if he did change his mind and asked, you wouldn't rule it out.
PRESIDENT BUSH: I've -- don't -- I learned, David -- I've learned something since I last chatted with you, and that is not to answer hypothetical questions, because it gets you beyond where you want to be. But I've said, and I will remind people, back in the campaign I talked of the possibility of the US helping a country that didn't have the military means to go in there and wipe out some of these factories of death. That changed my thinking. And I've -- very sensitive to the sovereign rights, in this instance to the state of Colombia.

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MR. FROST: When you were vice president, in the polls, you were eight or ten percent less approval rate than President Reagan. Vice President Quayle has been 20 [percent] to 25 percent behind you. Is that a reflection on how popular you are or on him?

PRESIDENT BUSH: It's a reflection, I guess, on the fact that they may not yet know the ability of Dan Quayle as I know it. And I couldn't care less what a poll says right now, unless it was a good one, and then I'll be talking about it. And if it was a bad one, I'll say people don't yet understand what I understand, that he's a very able man and he's a team player and I made a good selection, and I'm glad he's doing his job.

MR. FROST: Given that, then presumably, although you don't want to be specific about the second four years, but if you did run again, it would be a Bush-Quayle ticket?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I have learned never to go that far out in the future, because if I start commenting on that then you're going to get me commenting on my own future beyond where I want to be.

MR. FROST: So we want to leave them in a sort of educated limbo, both futures?

PRESIDENT BUSH: That was the two words I was groping for, yes -- (laughter) -- "educated limbo."

MR. FROST: There's one subject -- this is the -- we know you want a kinder, gentler America, but have you told Lee Atwater question -- wherever you go --

PRESIDENT BUSH: He's a kinder, gentler kind of fellow. He's the kind of fellow that Democrats love to hurt, love to go after. Do you know why? Because he's getting in their knickers. He's getting to them. And they're saying Democrats leave the Democratic party and join the Republican party. So what do they do? They blame Atwater.

MR. FROST: They say you've got a double act; a good cop, bad cop act going on.

PRESIDENT BUSH: They say that about my able Chief of Staff and friend, John Sununu, in the White House. He's a good, bad cop because he can get tough with the Congress, and I'm the nice good cop. So I've heard that about everybody, I guess. Anybody, anytime -- somebody has to make a tough decision, but ah, I don't, on Atwater's behalf, plead guilty to his being a bad cop either. He's an able political oeprative. The Democrats are eating their hearts out that they don't have the same -- same ability in that Democratic National Committee anywhere.

MR. FROST: You came in for some criticism and some praise when soon after a lunch with Mr. Atwater you made your statement on a constitutional amendment on the flag and so on. Both sides have had their say on that. But one comment that interested me was somebody said, leaving aside the fact that both sides, whatever they want, are obviously in favor of the flag, but that to go for a constitutional amendment just for a few nuts who soil the flag seems like the nation is insecure.

PRESIDENT BUSH: No. Absolutely ridiculous. Totally wrong. If I could be satisfied by the lawyers, good lawyers, my Attorney General, that this matter could be resolved by legislation, that now many of the Democrats are embracing, and glad that they are, I'd be pleased to death about that. But look, David, the flag is something special. I am told, and I don't know hwether this is true or not, so I reserve the right to say it may not be true, that Colonel Higgins was told that if he took the patch, the United States flag patch, the United States emblem, whatever it was, off of his uniform that he would be in less danger of being kidnapped. And he refused to do it. I was told that it was the flag patch and whether it's true or not, it would be true of hundreds of Marines and sailors and soldiers and guys like me and guys like the men and women all across this country, the flag is unique. I'm talking about laser-like specificity. And the American flag deserves the protection of teh

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MR. TYSON: Mayor Koch presided, in the Bottle, Koch Weir Right of Way
Restaurant Legend. Vice President Gingrich was
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Constitution, and I don't care how many columnists assign political motives to me, they're wrong, and I am right. Because I know how I feel about our flag. And I know how the rest of the country does.
MR. FROST: Oh, absolutely, but it's because of the strength of that feeling in the flag that the suggestion is, that it doesn't need this protection.
PRESIDENT BUSH: I understand the liberal argument. I understand the argument against it. But I don't agree with it. And I'm the President. And I'm going to fight for what I believe in. And if this case does nothing but bring this to the attention of the American people, there's nothing wrong with that. It's not going to violate -- you don't have to go burning an American flag to have the right of free speech. There are plenty of inhibitions on free speech, properly, found by the court. You know the obvious one, you don't cry fire in a crowded theater kind of thing. And this one is laser-like protection for a unique symbol of the United States of America, and if I'm wrong, too darn bad, I feel really strongly about this. I get accused all the time of politics, doing this for pandering to political interests -- it's not right. That isn't why I'm doing it. And I believe that I'll have strong support from the American people and I don't believe it infringes in one, single, way on the legitimate right of free speech.
MR. FROST: Because, in fact, on the subject of abortion, you are, in fact, taking a line which is overall unpopular in most polls.
PRESIDENT BUSH: I've spelled the position out clearly and now people are saying, "Well, there's a mood change. Too bad. I'm elected. Here's my view. And I can, I learned to win some and I learned to lose some, but on these matters I feel very strongly about it. I think people would like to have their president say this is what he feels, whether it's on human life or whether it's on the American flag, or whatever.
MR. FROST: Is there any way, do you think -- I know what you feel about the issue and it's going back to the states and so on, and Time magazine said this could be the most corrosive national debate since Vietnam. Is there any way to lower the temperature? Is there any way on abortion --
PRESIDENT BUSH: I don't think the temperature is higher than it's been. I think the Supreme Court decision, and then some statements by the National Organization of Women, the Molly Yard group, where they were going to start a special party based on this issue, and all, I mean it hit, it got a great deal of real attention, and the issue is divisive. there are Americans that feels so strongly on one side, and [an] equal number that feel so strongly on the other and what I have to do is speak out against the excesses of demonstration, where you interfere with a person's constitutionally given rights or ingress or egress, or whatever it might be. And whatever side of the issue, these ... the extreme demonstrations take place, certainly you try to have some respect for people that differ with me, but say what I think, and fight for what I believe. I was elected President of the United States.
MR. FROST: And you're going to run again?
PRESIDENT BUSH: And I'm going -- now wait a minute.
MR. FROST: Nearly got you there.
PRESIDENT BUSH: These issues, these two, I mean there are probably a handful of others like it, are emotional with people, but I have great confidence ... people down the road, or neighbors, wherever it is, who'd want to say, "hey, at least the man's saying what he thinks. Speaking from here, speaking from his heart about these things."
THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH SPEAKING:
MR. FROST: Does the Presidency and the focus put an added pressure on family life?
MRS. BUSH: Oh, I think so. But we're very lucky and very strong family. Our

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children love each other, which is important, and I think they love us. We adore them. You know, George who decided not to run for Governor, is doing that thing in life which he wanted to do more than anything else in the world. He's the managing partner of the Texas Rangers.
MR. FROST: Right.
MRS. BUSH: And it's put a new dimension in our life. I can hardly wait to get to the sports page.
PRESIDENT BUSH: It's important they not get spoiled or that they not think because their dad is President that they are entitled to something, but I am confident they'd never do that. They'd bend over backwards not to do that. And they don't send signals of self-importance to their business partners or their friends or neighbors. I'm sure, ... absolutely sure of that. I have total confidence that they go the other way and it's important to our family and to them, their families, that that continue to be the case and it will.
MR. FROST: Did your father want you to go into politics very much?
PRESIDENT BUSH: Never discussed it with me -- ever.
MRS. BUSH: Contrary to what you read.
PRESIDENT BUSH: Yea.
MR. FROST: Well, that's really fascinating. Because one gets the impression that it was almost a sort of thing written over the bed by him that you'd got to live up to.
PRESIDENT BUSH: And the whole time he was in politics, I was living out in west Texas, except for the last two years. And the rumor is I watched him in his campaigns. I was never there when he was campaigning.
MRS. BUSH: Nor did his father ever make a phone call for Georgek which I read fairly often. Never.
MR. FROST: Really.
MRS. BUSH: No.
MR. FROST: But did you always know ...
MRS. BUSH: No.
MR. FROST: ... this course would be the course your future husband was going to follow?
MRS. BUSH: No, oh no. A lot of people say he told them, but he forgot to tell me. (Laughter)
MR. FROST: But I mean, do you think, Mr. President, you could have done all of this, achieved all this, reached the pinnacle without the lady beside you?
PRESIDENT BUSH: Ah, no.
MRS. BUSH: You know darn well you could have. (Laughter) He knows he could have.
PRESIDENT BUSH: No, I don't. I don't. And I think, I think it's fair to say the American people have a pretty good understanding of Barbara now. She's ...
MRS. BUSH: That's 'cause I'm so deep. (Laughter)
MR. FROST: They related to you. The American people relate to you, to, not surprising to anyone who knows you. But to an incredible degree. Don't you feel a real, a tidal way of love coming a your way?
MRS. BUSH: I like them. But I think it's because I don't threaten anybody. I don't make any big decisions, I'm trying to say this nicely so I won't hurt my own feelings. But ... I mean ... no Marilyn Monroe am I. I'm just not a threat to anybody. I like people. And I feel for them. Maybe more than I should that's good for me.
PRESIDENT BUSH: Maybe Joe DiMaggio disagrees with you.
MRS. BUSH: What's that mean? Marilyn Monroe?
PRESIDENT BUSH: I think -- Marilyn Monroe -- maybe has the same high regard.
MRS. BUSH: Well, that's nice.

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MR. FROST: Your father must be very proud as he looks down today.
MRS. BUSH: Oh, yes, yes.
PRESIDENT BUSH: You can tell them what mother said. What was it the other day?
MRS. BUSH: Oh, it was so sweet. George's mother had her 88th birthday the other day and she did not want a party and didn't want anything, but we gathered something like 34 members of family, all ages around. We're sitting in this living room, and the children burst into Happy Birthday; and George leaned over to his mother and he said, "Mom, you've had a lot of birthdays, what's the best birthday you ever had?" And she said, "Well, of course, today, George. I'm sitting holding the hand of my son, the President of the United States." Pretty nice, pretty nice.
MR. FROST: And have you seen more of each other, the two of you actually you've said in the White House than any time since China?
PRESIDENT BUSH: We do. I mean we're home every night, work there --
MRS. BUSH: You're liking what you seeing? (Laughter.)
MR. FROST: And tell me, do you, living in such a place of history and so on. Do you sometimes feel the ghosts of Presidents past looking down on you? I mean, does it --
PRESIDENT BUSH: Not really. You feel -- I see like reception pictures there. They have these prints, prints when Abraham Lincoln was having a social reception, and I must say, I stop and wonder what it was like in those days and then the people, the curator, and the ushers in the White House that know the histories talk about this used to be Franklin Roosevelt's office, or this was where the Treaty was signed. This is the signed copy of the Gettsburg Address. All of these things right there. And so you do sense, you have more of a feeling that you're, you know one of a handful of people to be President of the country. And take pride in our country's history and all of that. But you're not overwhelmed by it.
MRS. BUSH: But it is awesome.
PRESIDENT BUSH: Oh, yes.
MR. FROST: What's the awesome part? Just the realization of what's gone on there in the last --
PRESIDENT BUSH: Here we are.
MRS. BUSH: People who have lived there before you. You know, we've been very lucky, and I've had Betty Ford and Lady Bird Johnson come back. And other people who have lived in the White House just as friends, and to hear them walk through and talk, it does give you sort of a feeling of history and, and responsibility for George.
MR. FROST: Yes. And to realize, yes, that you are now -- for good and all -- you are now an important part of history, or future history yourself. That's quite --
PRESIDENT BUSH: It is -- hadn't made an impact you. I don't think that happens until you've left. There's too much to do. There's too much churning, too much going on, too much, too many, you know things to try to do. And I don't think either of us think about our place in history, or something like that.
MR. FROST: That will come to you at the end of your second term.
PRESIDENT BUSH: That will come to me when I'm about 85, sitting up there, and I say, "hey, come over here kid. Let me tell you what it was like to be President." (Laughter.) I'll be sitting, hoping, they'll want to listen to me in those days. Knowing these grandchildren, not a chance. They'll be on doing their thing. Climbing these rocks.
MR. FROST: Thank you both so much. Thank you.
MRS. BUSH: Thank you.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1989 NOV 13 PM 8:05

NOVEMBER 15, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON CW

FROM: MARK LANGE M.L

SUBJECT: AFL-CIO CONVENTION

Attached is a draft for your speech to the AFL-CIO Biennial Convention on Wednesday, November 15, at 3:30 p.m., at the Washington Sheraton. Between 1800 and 2000 will attend. The speech will be telepromted.

In the address, you call for a new partnership between business, labor and government to assist Poland -- and cite the vital contributions of independent trade union movements to freedom and democracy around the world.

1. need some favorableoreferen

to elizabeth dole.. where she is 'this very m,oment'

Last Night Lech Walesa came to dinner.. barabar and I wanted to reciprocate for the wearm hospitslity he and his Danuta gave to us in his own home at Gdansk. The talk last night was a botu investemnt- the need to attratc banks and capital to Poland....Here was Labor's son talking about banks andi nmvestment because he knows that means economic reform and he know that economic reform means job.

How about a mnetion of Malta... and perhaps... AT Malta I plan to discuss with Pres gorb the role of the free trade union in building a free country"

reiteration of my belief that labor disputes best solved without gorvernment intervention.... if we do this wording must be careful given EAL, Bopeing etc.

Product

(Lange/Dooley)
November 13, 1989
5:20 p.m.
[AFLCIO.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: AFL-CIO CONVENTION
WASHINGTON SHERATON
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1989
3:30 P.M.

Lane Kirkland. Tom Donahue. Lech Walesa. Members of the Executive Council. And assembled delegates.

This is a great moment for the AFL-CIO. After eight long years of struggle, Lech Walesa is here to accept the George Meany Human Rights Award, first intended for Solidarnosc. Back in 1981, you remember, Lech wasn't allowed to be here, to claim that prize. And the waiting began.

((You know, I can really identify with Lech. I understand what it's like, to wait so long to get here...

But I don't regret a minute of it. Because after all those years, it's great to be with you -- and to see the members who endorsed me, sitting back there in the last row...

So lately I've been feeling pretty confident. Barbara had a hunch I'd be addressing this group today. This morning she caught me in the shower singing the "Union Yes" theme song...))

Let me begin by congratulating the leadership. Because of Lane Kirkland -- now serving his tenth year, continuing the work begun by George Meany before him -- your unions truly are returning to a single house: the Auto Workers, the Mine Workers, the Teamsters, the Locomotive Engineers, the Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the Writer's Guild East, the United Transportation Union -- all have affirmed their ties to this

great organization. Lane Kirkland has done -- as he continues to do -- outstanding work on behalf of organized labor. [PAUSE]

Lane's work to consolidate and renew Labor's strength gives the AFL-CIO the power to play its best role: protecting the rights of working Americans at home, and striving for those rights abroad through the support of democracy around the world.

competitiveness

Labor has been an enduring force for freedom -- at times a cry in the wilderness, at times the conductor of a thundering chorus -- rejecting **all** forms of totalitarianism, fascist and communist alike. With each passing year, **through the labor movement, freedom is finding its voice.**

You understand that democracy rests not on cold marble and pieces of paper, but on institutions freely formed -- and fully free. Look down the main street of any small town, and you see them: Churches. Libraries. Schools. Union halls. Free associations that are the beating heart of American liberty.

Such liberty calls for a democracy created less by governments than by people -- through the give and take of competing interests, individual and collective. A democracy that rejects management-by-decree from any centralized, all-knowing government. A democracy where people speak for themselves, rather than a government which speaks for them.

You and I may have differences. But those differences are signs of democratic life. A way of life that demands **respect** for differences -- and respects an honest opinion, as much as it respects an honest day's work.

Still, there are times when the need for progress demands that we put differences aside. Where Poland is concerned, **now is such a time.**

Last July in Gdansk, standing with Lech Walesa at the Worker's Monument, I pledged to the enormous crowd before us that "America stands shoulder-to-shoulder with the Polish people in solidarity." In Warsaw, we announced our initiative to assist Solidarity and Polish workers in making the difficult transition from a discredited centrally-planned economic system, to one of free markets -- and hope for a better future.

Labor Secretary Dole also visited Gdansk in August to discuss the ways that our government, working together with organized labor in the United States, can help. In just two weeks, Secretary Dole, Lane Kirkland and others will join forces on a Presidential Mission to Poland: our government, together with the AFL-CIO, **in solidarity with Polish workers.**

Today, I call on the American labor movement, the business community, and government, to look for ways to support a partnership for progress in Poland -- for the sake of a nation, and a people, that need and deserve our help. Labor, business, and government **can and should be partners and activists for Poland's future.**

Let business and government learn from -- and lend momentum to -- labor's unflinching demand for dignity on behalf of every working man and woman: not just in Poland, but around the world. Let us join hands. **Let us work together as never before -- to**

fulfill the great promise of freedom. //

There is so much to learn from labor's history of democratic struggle. During Hitler's rise to power in the 1930s, American labor was among the first to recognize that great evil. You extended your hand in solidarity to those fighting in the early underground movement.

When the Nazi regime was finally destroyed, American labor went to work rebuilding democratic institutions and independent trade unions.

Later, when postwar Western Europe was threatened by the spread of international communism, American labor stood firm. Tough, behind-the-scenes operators -- like Irving Brown, the AFL's European representative -- saw to it that the alliance was preserved and democracy prevailed in Western Europe.

When Irving Brown died last winter, after four decades of fighting for workers' rights, he was widely recognized as an architect of Western democracy -- symbolizing American labor's commitment to freedom around the world.

Today the tradition continues -- nowhere more powerfully than in Poland. The AFL-CIO was at the forefront, standing with Solidarity in its darkest hour -- firm in the belief that the dawn would come. Because of that support, courageous leaders like Lech Walesa are now transforming Poland before the eyes of an admiring world.

Stories of that transformation continue to unfold. Early in this century, in the Polish town of Lodz [WOODZH], David Dubinsky

-- later to become the renowned head of the Garment Workers -- was arrested for organizing. In 1908, that would-be organizer was sent from Lodz [WOODZH] to Siberia, by the Czar. Last week, a Solidarity union candidate was elected **mayor** of Lodz.

In Poland, Solidarity unlocked freedom's door. Today, holding Poland in their hearts as an example and inspiration, workers around the world are risking everything for democracy. **The door cannot be locked again.**

Miners are striking peacefully in the Soviet Union for the first time since the early 1920s, none of them even calling their independent union -- and this is high praise for Lech Walesa -- "Solidarity."

They and those like them offer hope for peaceful change, which the AFL-CIO is supporting actively -- through direct contact, and assistance on workers' rights, union organization, and collective bargaining. **These are the tools your brothers and sisters abroad need most, to hammer out justice on the anvil of freedom.**

With new legislation in the Supreme Soviet recognizing the right to strike in all but a handful of essential industries, the people of the Soviet Union now have an opportunity to voice their grievances. This will be a challenge to President Gorbachev, as he works, through perestroika, to raise productivity and living standards at the same time.

Across Eastern Europe, recent events vindicate the AFL-CIO's refusal to deal with puppet unions controlled by either employers or governments. Hungarian workers are turning to the

Democratic League of Free Unions. Bulgarian workers are laying the foundations of a free trade union, to be called "Support." East German workers have created their first independent trade union, free of communist influence, to be called "Reform."

In East Germany, a deep wound that has scarred the heart of Europe for 28 years is now healing. You see it in the joyful faces of families reunited. In the smiles, laughter, and tears of people greeting freedom like a long-lost friend. In the wonder of children tasting freedom for the first time.

Everywhere you look in the world, members of the AFL-CIO are fighting to **keep the door to freedom open for all.** Working against such evils as apartheid. Struggling for peaceful democratic change toward a system of one man, one vote. Supporting free trade union movements in Paraguay. Guatemala. El Salvador. Nicaragua.

3 pres cands
Dec. 14
Oct 5, 1988
fight for free elections

And helping workers defeat Pinochet in the plebiscite, for democracy in Chile. Manuel Bustos, president of the United Labor Confederation there, was until recently exiled in his own country. Thanks to the AFL-CIO, he is now free. **Free enough to be with us today.**

Your work is often accomplished at great sacrifice. Independent trade unions are often caught in a vise between death squads on the right and guerrillas on the left. In El Salvador, two of your own -- Mike Hammer and Mark Pearlman -- died at the hands of a right-wing death squad. And in Nicaragua, the Confederation of Trade Union Unity has been harrassed and

brutalized by the Sandinista regime's left-wing thugs.

It takes uncommon courage for workers to fight the scourge of tyranny. Because dictators know that free unions mean pluralism. And pluralism denies complete control. So the tyrant's first targets for suppression, arrest, or murder are often independent unions and their members.

In all, some 200 free trade unionists were murdered last year around the world. We grieve deeply for these sacrifices. Let there be no mistake: **We condemn any efforts, by any government, to try to intimidate democratic unions or their members.**

In Thailand, South Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines: the AFL-CIO's support of worker education, libraries, and conferences on human rights all add to the inevitable momentum toward worker representation and collective bargaining.

Workers in Southeast Asia by the millions -- especially children and young women -- are being used, abused, and abandoned. Looking for a solution, we've enforced worker rights as part of the Generalized System of Preferences -- and in our trade policy review mechanism under the GATT, we've incorporated worker rights.

In the long run, the surest solution to the struggle for worker rights is to support the growth of democratic institutions like free labor unions -- and to encourage economic development that will render child labor and nightmarish working conditions not merely illegal, **but unthinkable.**

Just as a house is built from the ground up, labor's house rests on a bedrock principle of free association -- and rises by the strength of its members. Free trade union movements today stand on the threshold of change -- as a leading force for democracy. Labor's strength has opened the door to freedom for millions. **The door must remain open.**

Last week the Soviet Union celebrated the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. In a protest march, a banner was carried that said, "Workers of the world, we apologize." It was the first time in memory that Soviet authorities allowed such demonstrations on that holiday. That banner is another sign that **democracy is doing the unthinkable, by saying the unspeakable.**

The Nineteen Eighty-four of George Orwell has come and gone. I am hopeful that 1989 will be remembered as the year when American labor, business, and government first began to work **together**, in a real partnership, for the freedom and dignity of workers everywhere. Not out of some utopian vision -- but because we simply believe in the same basic values.

The key to freedom rests in our hands. With that key, nothing is impossible. The door to democracy will **remain** unlocked: **To each according to his ability... to dream.**

Thank you. God bless you. And may God bless working people everywhere.

# # #

Pres's 939-3217/8, 3220/21/22

~~637-5050~~ Tom Kahn 939-3214

(Lange/Dooley)
November 8, 1989
9:15 p.m.
[AFLCIO.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: AFL-CIO CONVENTION
WASHINGTON SHERATON
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1989
~~[TIME]~~ 3:30pm

Advance

Lane Kirkland. Tom Donahue. Lech Walesa. Members of the Executive Council. And assembled delegates.

This is a great moment for the AFL-CIO. After eight long years of struggle, Lech Walesa is here to accept the George Meany Human Rights Award, first intended for Solidarnosc. Back in 1981, you remember, Lech wasn't allowed to be here, to claim that prize. And the waiting began.

((You know, I can really identify with Lech. I understand what it's like, to wait so long to get here...

But I don't regret a minute of it. Because after all those years, it's great to be with you -- and to see the members who endorsed me, sitting back there in the last row...

So lately I've been feeling pretty confident. Barbara had a hunch I'd be addressing this group today. This morning she caught me in the shower singing the "Union Yes" theme song...))

Let me begin by congratulating the leadership. Because of Lane Kirkland -- now serving his tenth year, continuing the work begun by George Meany before him -- your unions are spreading like branches on a strong and growing tree: the Auto Workers, the Mine Workers, the Teamsters, the Locomotive Engineers. Lane Kirkland has done -- as he continues to do -- outstanding work on behalf of organized labor. [PAUSE]

Tom Kahn Dir. Intl. Affairs AFL-CIO 637-5050

Lane's work to consolidate and renew Labor's strength gives the AFL-CIO the power to play its best role: protecting the rights of working Americans at home, and striving for those rights abroad through the support of democracy around the world.

Labor has been an enduring force for freedom -- at times a cry in the wilderness, at times the conductor of a thundering chorus -- rejecting **all** forms of totalitarianism, fascist and communist alike. With each passing year, **through labor, freedom is finding its voice.**

You understand that democracy rests not on cold marble and pieces of paper, but on institutions freely formed -- and fully free. Look down the main street of any small town, and you see them: Churches. Libraries. Schools. Union halls. Free associations that are the beating heart of American liberty.

Such liberty calls for a democracy created less by governments than by people -- through the give and take of competing interests, individual and collective. A democracy that rejects management-by-decree from any centralized, all-knowing government. A democracy where people speak for themselves, rather than allow their government to speak for them.

And above all, a democracy that allows for -- even encourages -- disagreement. Earlier this month, a cabdriver in Budapest said, "Can you eat politics? No. Can your children wear politics? No. Can you pay your rent with politics? No. Politics doesn't mean anything to working people. Politicians are just a bunch of gangsters."

Mark

I may not agree with his reasoning -- but I defend his right to reason as he chooses. And I take his comment as a very positive sign. The fact that the cab driver could say it -- and that a reporter could quote it -- is a symptom of positive political change. A sign that democracy is doing its work in Eastern Europe. Which, for all of its challenges, is good for people. Even if it's occasionally hard on politicians.

Here, you and I may have differences. But those differences are signs of democratic life. A way of life that demands **respect** for differences -- and respects an honest opinion, as much as it respects an honest day's work.

Still, there are times when the need for progress demands that we put differences aside. Where Poland is concerned, **now is such a time.**

Sec. Dole
20 CEOs

Pres - Bldg Trades

I've invited Lane Kirkland, [Bob Georgine], members of my cabinet, and leaders from the business community to join together in a mission to Poland later this month -- and I've been encouraged by their responses. They'll be working together, looking for new ways to assist reform, drawing on America's experience with free markets and free trade unions.

Nov 30 - Dec 1

press briefing
10/30/89
Peter Accoll
Labor
523-8538

Today, I call on the American labor movement, the business community, and government, to look for ways to support a partnership for progress in Poland -- for the sake of a nation, and a people, that need and deserve our help. Labor, business, and government **can and should be partners and activists for Poland's future.**

Let business and government learn from -- and lend momentum to -- labor's unflinching demand for dignity on behalf of every working man and woman: not just in Poland, but around the world. Let us join hands. Let us work together as never before -- to fulfill the great promise of freedom. //

There is so much to learn from labor's history of democratic struggle. During Hitler's rise to power in the 1930s, American labor was among the first to recognize that great evil. You extended the hand of solidarity to those fighting in the early underground movement.

When the Nazi regime was finally destroyed, American labor went to work rebuilding democratic institutions and independent trade unions.

Later, when postwar Western Europe was threatened by the spread of international communism, American labor stood firm. Tough, behind-the-scenes operators -- like Irving Brown, the AFL's European representative -- saw to it that the alliance was preserved and democracy prevailed in Western Europe.

When Irving Brown died last winter, after four decades of fighting for workers' rights, he was widely recognized as an architect of Western democracy -- symbolizing American labor's commitment to freedom around the world.

Today the tradition continues -- nowhere more powerfully than in Poland. The AFL-CIO, more than any other organization, stood with solidarity in its darkest hour -- firm in the belief that the dawn would come. Because of that support, courageous

Jim Schollaert 647-9202

CIA - Paul Hollingsworth 482-9341

Igor Belousovitch 647-9205

leaders like Lech Walesa are now transforming Poland before the eyes of an admiring world.

Stories of that transformation continue to unfold. Early in this century, in the town of Lodz, David Dubinsky -- later to become the renowned head of the ~~American Garment Workers~~ -- was arrested for organizing. In 1908, that would-be organizer was sent from Lodz to ~~Siberian prison camps~~, by the Czar. Last week, a Solidarity union candidate was elected **mayor** of Lodz.

In Poland, Solidarity unlocked freedom's door. Today, holding Poland in their hearts as an example and inspiration, workers around the world are risking everything for democracy. **The door cannot be locked again.**

Miners are striking peacefully in the Soviet Union for the first time since the early 1920s, calling their independent union -- and this is high praise for Lech Walesa -- "Solidarity."

With us today is a young man from Lithuania, Kazimeiras Woka -- who is leading a fascinating double life as both Supreme Soviet member, and worker activist -- trying to promote democratic reform of the Soviet trade union system.

He and those like him offer hope for peaceful change, that the AFL-CIO is supporting actively -- through direct contact, and assistance on workers' rights, ~~labor-management relations~~, union organization, and collective bargaining. **These are the tools your brothers and sisters abroad need most, to hammer out justice on the anvil of freedom.**

With new legislation in the Supreme Soviet recognizing the right to strike, the people of the Soviet Union now have an opportunity to voice their grievances. This will be a challenge to President Gorbachev, as he works, through perestroika, to raise productivity and living standards at the same time.

Across Eastern Europe, recent events vindicate the AFL-CIO's refusal to deal with puppet unions controlled by either employers or governments. Hungarian workers are turning to the Democratic League of ~~Independent Trade~~ Unions. Czechoslovaks are _____. Rumanian workers are _____. East German workers have created their first independent trade union, free of communist influence, to be called "Reform."

Everywhere you look in the world, members of the AFL-CIO are fighting to **keep the door to freedom open for all.** Working against such evils as apartheid. Struggling for peaceful democratic change toward a system of one man, one vote. Supporting free trade movements in Paraguay. Guatemala. El Salvador. Nicaragua.

And helping workers defeat Pinochet in the plebiscite, for democracy in Chile. Manuel Bustos, president of the United Labor Confederation there, was until recently exiled in his own country. Thanks to the AFL-CIO, he is now free. **Free enough to be with us today.**

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Salvador, two of your own -- Mike Hammer and Mark Pearlman -- died at the hands of a right-wing death squad. And in Nicaragua, the Confederation of Trade Union Unity has been harrassed and brutalized by the Sandinista regime's left-wing thugs.

It takes uncommon courage for workers to fight the scourge of tyranny. Because dictators know that free unions mean pluralism. And pluralism denies complete control. So the tyrant's first targets for suppression, arrest, or murder are often independent unions and their members.

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In the long run, the surest solution to the struggle for worker rights is to support the growth of democratic institutions

like free labor unions -- and to encourage economic development that will render child labor and nightmarish working conditions not merely illegal, but irrelevant.

Just as a house is built from the ground up, labor's house rests on a bedrock principle of free association -- and rises by the strength of its members. Free trade union movements today stand on the threshold of change -- as a leading force for democracy. Labor's strength has opened the door to freedom for millions. No centralized government -- **no tyrant of left or right, will ever lock it again.**

Last week the Soviet Union celebrated the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. In a protest march, a banner was carried that said, "Workers of the world, we apologize." It was the first time in memory that Soviet authorities allowed such demonstrations on that holiday. Like the Budapest cab driver's comments about politicians, that banner is another sign that democracy is doing the unthinkable, by saying the unspeakable.

We may not in our lifetimes bear witness to the birth of a new world order. But whether or not anyone can eat politics -- we **are** now able to watch totalitarianism eat its words.

The Nineteen Eighty-four of George Orwell has come and gone. I am hopeful that 1989 will be remembered as the year when American labor, business, and government first began to work **together**, in a real partnership, for the freedom and dignity of workers everywhere. Not out of some utopic vision -- but because we simply believe in the same basic values.

The key to freedom rests in our hands. With that key, nothing is impossible. The door to democracy will **remain** unlocked: To each according to his ability... to dream.

Thank you. God bless you. And may God bless working people everywhere.

# # #

(Lange/Dooley)
November 13, 1989
2:00 p.m.
[AFLCIO.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: AFL-CIO CONVENTION
WASHINGTON SHERATON
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1989
3:30 P.M.

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So lately I've been feeling pretty confident. Barbara had a hunch I'd be addressing this group today. This morning she caught me in the shower singing the "Union Yes" theme song...

But I'm restraining myself. Today I left my 1950 membership card to the C.I.O. Steelworker's Union at home.))

Let me begin by congratulating the leadership. Because of Lane Kirkland -- now serving his tenth year, continuing the work begun by George Meany before him -- your unions truly are returning to a single house: the Auto Workers, the Mine Workers, the Teamsters, the Locomotive Engineers, the Longshoremen's and

Warehousemen's Union, the Writer's Guild, the United Transportation Union -- all have affirmed their ties to this great organization. Lane Kirkland has done -- as he continues to do -- outstanding work on behalf of organized labor. [PAUSE]

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Across Eastern Europe, recent events vindicate the AFL-CIO's refusal to deal with puppet unions controlled by either employers or governments. Hungarian workers are turning to the Democratic League of Free Unions. Bulgarian workers are laying the foundations of a free trade union, to be called "Support." East German workers have created their first independent trade union, free of communist influence, to be called "Reform."

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The East German people have endured, and prevailed. They have always been the brave. Now they join the family of the free. John Kennedy spoke for all of us in the agony of 1961, as the wall went up. Today, we who bear witness -- we who share in the joy of their freedom -- we are <u>all</u> Berliners.

Everywhere you look in the world, members of the AFL-CIO are fighting to **keep the door to freedom open for all**. Working against such evils as apartheid. Struggling for peaceful democratic change toward a system of one man, one vote. Supporting free trade union movements in Paraguay. Guatemala. El Salvador. Nicaragua.

And helping workers defeat Pinochet in the plebiscite, for democracy in Chile. Manuel Bustos, president of the United Labor Confederation there, was until recently exiled in his own

country. Thanks to the AFL-CIO, he is now free. **Free enough to be with us today.**

Your work is often accomplished at great sacrifice. Independent trade unions often get pressed in a vise between death squads on the right and guerrillas on the left. In El Salvador, two of your own -- Mike Hammer and Mark Pearlman -- died at the hands of a right-wing death squad. And in Nicaragua, the Confederation of Trade Union Unity has been harrassed and brutalized by the Sandinista regime's left-wing thugs. [I'd like to recognize the courageous leader of the CUS, with us today -- Alvin Guthrie.]

It takes uncommon courage for workers to fight the scourge of tyranny. Because dictators know that free unions mean pluralism. And pluralism denies complete control. So the tyrant's first targets for suppression, arrest, or murder are often independent unions and their members.

In all, some 200 free trade unionists were murdered last year around the world. We grieve deeply for these sacrifices. Let there be no mistake: **We condemn any efforts, by any government, to try to intimidate democratic unions or their members.**

In Thailand, South Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines: the AFL-CIO's support of worker education, libraries, and conferences on human rights all add to the inevitable momentum toward worker representation and collective bargaining.

Workers in Southeast Asia by the millions -- especially children and young women -- are being used, abused, and abandoned. Looking for a solution, we've made worker rights part of the Generalized System of Preferences -- and in our trade policy review mechanism under the GATT, we've incorporated worker rights.

In the long run, the surest solution to the struggle for worker rights is to support the growth of democratic institutions like free labor unions -- and to encourage economic development that will render child labor and nightmarish working conditions not merely illegal, but unthinkable.

Just as a house is built from the ground up, labor's house rests on a bedrock principle of free association -- and rises by the strength of its members. Free trade union movements today stand on the threshold of change -- as a leading force for democracy. Labor's strength has opened the door to freedom for millions. **The door must remain open.**

Last week the Soviet Union celebrated the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. In a protest march, a banner was carried that said, "Workers of the world, we apologize." It was the first time in memory that Soviet authorities allowed such demonstrations on that holiday. That banner is another sign that democracy is doing the unthinkable, by saying the unspeakable.

The Nineteen Eighty-four of George Orwell has come and gone. I am hopeful that 1989 will be remembered as the year when American labor, business, and government first began to work

together, in a real partnership, for the freedom and dignity of workers everywhere. Not out of some utopian vision -- but because we simply believe in the same basic values.

The key to freedom rests in our hands. With that key, nothing is impossible. The door to democracy will **remain** unlocked: To each according to his ability... to dream.

Thank you. God bless you. And may God bless working people everywhere.

# # #

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Remarks at the Solidarity Workers Monument in Gdansk, Poland

25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1079

July 11, 1989

LENGTH: 1533 words

The President. Hello, Lech Walesa! Hello,Salidarnosc! Hello, Polaska!m And congratulations on what you've done since I last visited: the first free elections in modernPolska. Poland has a special place in the American heart and in my heart. And when you hurt, we feel pain. And when you dream, we feel hope. And when you succeed, we feel joy. It goes far beyond diplomatic relations; it's more like family relations. And coming to Poland is like coming home. This special kinship is the kinship of an ancient dream -- a recurring dream -- the dream of freedom. "They are accustomed to liberty," wrote a Byzantine historian about the Slavic people more than a thousand years ago. And the spirit of the Poles has been conveyed across the centuries and across the oceans, a dream that would not die.

That dream was severely tested here in Gdansk. Fifty years ago this summer, the predawn quiet of this peaceful Baltic harbor was shattered by the thunder from the 1 5-inch guns of Nazi warship Schlewswig-Holstein. Within the hour, iron panzers rolled across the Polish frontier. And Europe was plunged into darkness that would engulf the world.

For Poland the choices were few: surrender to tyranny or resist against impossible odds. And in the brutal fighting that followed, you set a standard for courage that will never be forgotten. In World War II, Poland lost everything -- except her honor, except her dreams.

Before Poland fell, you gave the Allies "Engima," the Nazis' secret coding machine. Breaking the unbreakable Axis codes saved tens of thousands of Allied lives, of American lives; and for this, you have the enduring gratitude of the American people. And ultimately, "Enigma" and freedom fighters played a major role in winning the Second World War.

But for you, the war's end did not end the darkness. The Cold War brought a long and chilly night of sorrow and hardship. And the dream was again denied. And yet there were glimmers of the long-awaited dawn. In the summer of 1980, you occupied the shipyards where we stand. And a patriotic electrician clambered over these iron gates and emerged as one of the heroes of our times -- Lech Walesa. And above your streets a graceful monument rose, in the tradition of our own Statue of Liberty, to become a symbol recognized around the world as a beacon of hope.

But the hope, like the dawn, proved fleeting. For under cover of darkness, the electrician was arrested and your movement outlawed. And in the icy cold of a savage winter, a modern nation was sealed off from the outside world.

But still the dream would not die. In the wintry darkness, candles appeared in silent protest, lighting the windows of your villages, of your cities. And

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as the years unfolded and as the world watched in wonder, you, the Polish people, and your leaders turned despair in hope, turned darkness into dreams.

Hope and hard work were the foundation of Poland's resurrection as a state in 1918. Against enormous odds, confidence and determination made that dream a reality. And these same qualities have brought you to this new crossroads in history. Your time has come. It is Poland's time of possibilities, its time of responsibilities. It is Poland's time of destiny, a time when dreams can live again: Solidarity reborn, productive negotiations between the Government of Poland and the Polish people, and the first fruits of democracy -- elections. At another time, in another city, where the human spirit was being tested, a great American President spoke eloquently about the struggle for liberty. Today the world watches the inevitable outcome of that struggle.

Today, to those who think that hopes can be forever suppressed, I say: Let th em look at Poland. To those who think that freedom can be forever denied, I say: Let them look at Poland. And to those who think that dreams can be forever repressed, I say: Look at Poland. For here in Poland, the dream is alive.

Yes, today the brave workers of Gdansk stand beside this monument as a beacon of hope, a symbol of that dream. And the brave workers of Gdansk know Poland is not alone. American stands with you.

The Audience. President Bush! President Bush! President Bush!

The President. Because Americans are so free to dream, we feel a special kinship with those who dream of a better future. Here in Poland, the United States supports the roundtable accords and applauds the wisdom, tenacity, and patience of one of Poland's great leaders: Lech Walesa. And again --

The President: Lech Walesa! Lech Walesa! Lech Walesa!

The President. And we cheer a movement that has touched the imagination of the world. The movement is Solidarnosc. And we applauded those who have made this progress possible: the Polish people. We recognize, too, that the Polish Government has shown wisdom and creativity and courage in proceeding with these historic steps.

Poles and Americans share a commitment to overcome the division of Europe and to redeem the promise that is the birthright of men and women throughout the world. Poles and Americans want Europe to be whole and free. A more democratic Poland can be a more prosperous Poland. The roundtable provisions, as they continue to be carried out, can liberate the energy of a dynamic people to work together to build a better life.

We understand the legacy of distrust and shattered dreams as Poles of all political complexion travel together down the path of negotiations and compromise. Your challenge is to rise above distrust and bring the Polish people together toward a common purpose.

Speaking before the new Parliament and the Senate -- your freely elected Senate -- I outlined steps that America is prepared to take to assit Poland as you move forward on the path of reform. It will not be easy. Sacrifice and economic hardship have already been the lot of the Polish people. And hard times are not yet at an end. Economic reform requires hard work and restraint

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before the benefits are realized. And it requires patience and determination. But the Polish people are not strangers to hard work and have taught the world about determination.

So, I say follow your dream child of a better life for you and for your children. You can see a new and prosperous Poland not overnight, not in a year, but, yes, a new and prosperous Poland in your lifetime. It has been done by Polish people before. Hopeful immigrants came to that magical place called America and built a new life for themselves in a single generation. And it can be done by Polish people again. But this time, it will be done in Poland.

Just before I left a few days ago, I was asked in my beautiful Oval Office in the White House by one of your journalists if I would leave Poland and go to America, where I a young Pole. And I answered that in this time of bright promise, or historic transition, of unique opportunity, I would want to say in Poland and be a part of it, help make the dream come true for all the Polish people. The magic of America --

The Audience. President Bush! President Bush! President Bush!

The President. The magic of America is not found in the majesty of her land. And, yes, our country has been blessed. But Poland, too, is a land of natural beauty -- ample timber and ore and water and coal, abundant agriculture potential -- and a talented, creative people that is determined to succeed.

No, the magic of America is in an idea. I described it in my first moments as President of the United States: "We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous land for man of Earth." And today you can rediscover a new land: a land of your dreams, a land of your own making, a Poland, strong and proud.

Poland is where World War II began. And Poland is where, and why, the Cold War got started. And it is here, in Poland, where we can work to end the division of Europe. It is in your power to help end the division of Europe. I can think of no finer or more capable people with whom to entrust this mission. And just as a son of Poland has shown the world the heights of spiritual leadership in the Vatican, so the people of Poland can show the world what a free people with commitment and energy can accomplish

A new century is almost upon us. It is alive with posibilities. And in your quest for a better future for yourselves and for those wonderful children that I saw coming in from the airport -- in that quest America stands shoulder to shoulder with the Polish people in solidarity. Americans and Poles both know that nothing can stop an idea whose time has come. The dream is a Poland reborn, and the dream is alive.

Poland is not lost while Poles still live, I came here to assure you we will help Poland. Goodbye, God bless you, and God save this wonderful country of Poland.

Note: The President spoke at 2:32 p.m. outside the Lenin Shipyard. In his remarks, he referred to Solidarity leader Lech Walesa. Prior to his remarks, the President participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at the monument .

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Remarks to the National Assembly in Warsaw, Poland

25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1068

July 10, 1989

LENGTH: 3031 words

Chairman Jaruzelski, Marshalls Kozakiewicz and Stelmachowski, Prime Minister Rakowski, and Senators and Delegates, on behalf of the people of the United States, I am honored to greet the newly elected representatives of the Polish Parliament. To be here with you on this occasion is proof that we live in extraordinary, indeed, thrilling times.

The power and potential of this moment was first made clear to me when I saw a photo, a worldwide photo, flashed all around the world: a photo of General jaruzelski, Senator Leader Lech Walesa, shoulder to shoulder -- Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa -- shoulder to shoulder at the opening session of this Parliament, committed to new progress in Poland. Believe me, that sent a wonderful signal all around the world.

Poland and the United States are bound, it is often said, by ties of kinship and culture. But our peoples are linked by more than sentiment. The May 3d Constitution of 1791 set Poland ahead of her peers, ahead of her time, in the pursuit of freedom and democratic ideas, just as our Constitution, the American Constitution of 1787, set new standards of protection of the rights of the individual. For decades, beginning with the Versailles Peace Conference, the United States has stood for Polish independence, freedom, prosperity. And we are proud of our early and longstanding commitment to Polish self-determination. As America's President, I am here today to reaffirm that proud commitment.

I understand something of the work you are commencing, for I began my own public service in the American Congress. Democratically chosen legislatures are among mankind's greatest forums for debate and dialog. And while I've been to Poland before, I did not expect to return to soon nor to such altered circumstances in your country. And so, too, perhaps many of you didn't expect to be here, serving in this or any Polish Parliament. And your achievement has surpassed all expectation and has earned all our admiration.

Our meeting today bears witness to the character of our age. Some 450 years ago, when the Polish astronomer Copernicus came to understand the natural order of the planets and had the courage to question accepted wisdom, the world was changed forever. From this year forward, as Poland works to reaffirm the natural order of man and government, so too will Poland be changed forever. For today the scope of political and economic change in Poland is indeed Copernican, a fundamental change in perspective that places the people at the center's, a new understanding that the governed are the true source of lasting social peace and economic prosperity around which government revolves, and exists to serve.

Poland has a rich democratic heritage. The May 3d Constitution was a stroke of genius. Today, at the dawn of that document's third century, you're called upon to match its genius with contemporary action, to make a peaceful transition toward political and economic renewal through representative government that

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expresses the will of the people.

I said a few weeks ago here in Europe that East and West have arrived at the end of one era and at the beginning of another. Chairman Jaruzelski recently said of Poland that "the life of the Nation has undergone deep changes; society has the full right to ask when a ray of sun will shine over Poland." In truth, this applies not just to Poland but to the entirety of relations between East and West.

A profound cycle of turmoil and great change is sweeping the world from Poland to the Pacific. It is sometimes inspiring, as here in Warsaw, and sometimes it's agonizing, as in China today. But the magnitude of change we sense around the world compels us to look within ourselves and to God to forge a rare alloy of courage and restraint.

The future beckons with both hope and uncertainty. Poland and Hungary find themselves at a crossroads. Each has started down its own road to reform, without guarantee of easy success. The people of these nations and the courage of their leaders command our admiration. The way is hard; but the moment is right, both internally and internationally, for Poland to walk its own path. On the day Solidarity was restored, I spoke of my support and admiration for the political experiment just getting underway in Poland. You've since proceeded further along that road, including holding the remarkable elections that produced this Parliament. And let us consider what your experiment may mean not just for Poland but for Europe and for the entire world.

The divided world of the modern age began here -- right here, in Poland -- 50 years ago this summer. Your country, and then nearly all of Europe, was first besieged and then occupied by totalitarian, despotic forces. A courageous Poland was our ally. And in that fearful time, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill devised the Atlantic Charter, which outlined principles on which we hoped to build a better world including freedom from want and fear, and the right of peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live. But as you know better than anyone, the world that we sought then was not to be. Stalinist systems were imposed over a third of a continent. The Cold War began. The countries of the West organized themselves in defense of democratic principles. And we proposed that the Marshall plan include Eastern Europe. But again, that was not to be.

The Western strategy, our strategy of containment, was a means, but was never an end in itself. It was no substitute for a free and united Europe. And we did not forget the frustrated and lost hopes of 1945 nor the promise of a better world. Neither did the Polish people. You have been a crucible of conflict. You're now becoming a vessel for change. Poland is where the Cold War began, and now the people of Poland can help bring the division of Europe to an end. The time has come to move beyond containment to a worldd too long deferred, a better world.

And now, at long last, two developments have allowed us to redeem the principles of the Atlantic Charter for which the United States and Poland fought as allies. One is the manifest failure of the classic Stalinist system; and the other is the indomitable will of the people, through leaders in Poland and Hungary, who are working to overcome the mistakes of the past with honesty, creativity and, yes, courage. The world watches in admiration.

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And now, in part because of what you are doing here, the genuine opportunity exists for all of us to build a Europe which many thought was destroyed forever in the 1940's. That Europe, the Europe of our children, will be open, whole, and free. We can make it so in two ways. First, a new East-West relationship must rest on greatly reduced levels of arms. I notice what General Jaruzelski said on that point, and I support him. We in the West have proposed dramatic reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe, reductions that promise to transform the military map of Europe and diminish the very threat of war. The new willingness in Moscow to accept this Western framework for reductions in troops and tanks and aircraft and other categories of weapons gives us hope that the negotiations in Vienna will succeed. A good beginning has been made. Constructive proposals are being offered on both sides. We are determined to push hard for an early and successful conclusion to these talks. Second, reductions in military forces will go further and be more sustainable if they take place in parallel with political change. Excessive levels of arms, we believe, are the symptom, and not the source, of political tensions. In Europe those tensions spring from an unnatural and cruel division.

Poland's decision to embrace political reform and Hungary's movement in the same direction thus have great importance beyond their borders. By creating political structures legitimized by popular will, by that, your reforms can be the foundation of stability, security, and prosperity not just here but in all of Europe, now and into the next century.

Mikhail Gorbachev has written: "Universal security rests on the recognition of the right of every nation to choose its own path of social development and on the renunciation of interference in the domestic affairs of other states. A nation may choose either capitalism or socialism. This is its sovereign right." In principle, I agree, but I might well have said that the people of a nation may freely choose either a free-market economy or socialism. That is their right.

And so, the West works not to disrupt, not to interfere, not to threaten any nation's security but to help forge closer and enduring ties between Poland and the rest of Europe.

As a result of the roundtable accords, Poland's fate lies more than ever in Polish hands, and there it must ever remain. Your responsibility for your country's future is immense. Poland's friends, including the American people, want Poland to be free, prosperous, democratic, independent -- true to the best tradition of your nation's past. And this regime is moving forward with a sense of realism and courage, in a time of great difficulty and challenge. Lech Walesa and Solidarity are deeply committed to institutions in Poland that will serve all its people. This Parliament, by its very existence, is advancing pluralism. And the Church has served as a source of spiritual guidance and unity in turbulent times. But above all, there are the people of Poland, people who are steadfastly working toward productive change.

And yet, even under the best circumstances, representative government has its own challenges. It requires patience, tolerance, and give-and-take between political opponents. But its virtue is that it grants legitimacy to leaders and their policies. It gives governments and societies the mandate to make hard choices. And through their involvement, it gives the people a stake in the choices that are made.

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For over 200 years, Americans have wrestled over political and economic interests, over individual and civil rights, and the role of a loyal opposition. Democracy is not a conclusion; it's a process, and perfecting it never ends. But history has taught Americans one very clear lesson: Democracy works.

We understand in my country the enormous economic problems you face. Economic privation is a danger that can threaten any great democratic experiment. And I must speak honestly. Econonic reform and recovery cannot occur without sacrifices. Even in an economy as productive as ours, we still debate the roles and limits of government: how to regulate the private sector without discouraging innovation; how to reduce our own enormous budget deficit; how to balance workers' needs and industrial efficiency; how to handle the painful disruptions of change for the sake of productivity, for the sake of progress, for the sake of prosperity.

The reform of the Polish economy presents a historic challenge. There can be no substitute for Poland's own efforts. But I want to stress to you today that Poland is not alone. Given the enormity of this moment, the United States stands ready to help as you help yourselves.

In Hamtramck, Michigan, 3 months ago, I outlined a policy of support for the reforms then just beginning in Poland. I proposed specific steps, carefully chosen, to recognize the reforms underway here and to encourage reforms yet to come. It is a policy built on dynamic interplay of progress in Poland and Western engagement, and not on unsound credits made without regard to necessary reforms. That was the record of the 1970's. Poland and the United States need not repeat that. Our efforts will be carefully targeted in support of an emerging new Poland. We've made progress on the steps announced at Hamtramck and this is where we stand.

Legislation is well underway that will help Polish exporters compete more effectively in the U.S. market through generalized systems of preferences, and that will authorize our Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Poland, providing investment insurance and setting up missions to stimulate U.S. investment and joint ventures here.

The United States is proposing a private business agreemet that will promote contacts between Poland's growing private business sector and its American counterparts. We hope to conlude an agreement soon to build on what promises to be an unprecedented opportunity.

There is great interest and excitement in the United States about what you're doing in Poland and a clear-cut desire to help the reform process. I hosted a White House symposium on July 6th to bring together citizens of my country interested in promoting investment trade, and academic exchange with Poland and Hungary. And I can assure you that, more than ever before, the American people will be involved in your democratic experiment.

I've said that as Poland reforms itself, the U.S. will respond. Much has happened even in the short time since Hamtramck. So, today I'm pleased to announce that we plan to do more and go farther for the sake of a stable and prosperous Poland.

First, I will propose at the upcoming economic summit in Paris that the nations of the summit, that summit seven, intensify their coordination and

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concerted action to promote democratic reform in Poland and Hungary annd to help manaae compassionately the process of change. We will work with our partners at the summit, moving quickly with increased Western aid and technical assistance. This concerted action will complement existing institutions like the World Bank, the Paris Club, and IMF[International Monetary Fund], and address needed economic reforms, credits, management and training initiatives, social safety nets, housing, and other issues important to Poland.

Second, I will ask the United States Congress to provide a $100 million fund to capitalize and invigorate the Polish private sector, and we will encourage parallel contributions from other nations of the economic summit.

Third, I will encourage the World Bank to move ahead with $325 million in economically viable loans to help Polish agriculture and industry reach the production levels they are so clearly capable of.

And fourth, I will ask my counterparts in the West to support an early and generous rescheduling of Polish debt. This could provide deferral of debt payments amounting to about $5 billion this year if our allies and friends in the Paris Club agree to join us in offering liberalized terms. I plan to discuss this issue with my colleages at the Paris summit.

Fifth, economic progress should not come at the expense of our common heritage, our common inheritance: the environment. In fact, sound ecology and a strong economy can and must coexist. Air and water pollution know no boundaries. And this concern is worldwide. Almost 2 years ago, I visited Krakow, your former royal capital, a city recognized by UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization] as an international treasure. Today Krakow is under siege by pollution. Its priceless monuments are being destroyed. Krakow must be reclaimed, and the United States will help. And I'll ask the Congress for $15 million for a cooperative venture with Poland to help fight air and water pollution there.

Sixth, and finally, when I begin my remarks -- when I began them, I mentioned the shared cultural heritage of our two nations. Today, I'm proud to announce that the United States will establish a Cultural and Information Center in Warsaw, and we'll ask Poland to establish a similar center in the United States. This will be the first time that either of our two countries will be able to conduct educational and cultural programs outside of our Embassies and consulates.

The elections which brought us -- all of us -- together here today mean that the path the Polish people have chosen is that of political pluralism and economic rebirth. The road ahead is a long one, but it is the only road which leads to prosperity and social peace. Poland's progress along this road will show the way toward a new era throughout Europe, an era based on common values, and not just geographic proximity. The Western democracies will stand with the Polish people and other peoples of this region.

Democracy has captured the spirit of our time. Like all forms of government, though it may be defended, democracy can never be imposed. We believe in democracy. For without doubt, though democracy may be a dream deferred for many, it remains, in my view, the destiny of man.

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Two hundred years ago, democratic constitutions were adopted by three nations, embodying the powerful influence of the Enlightenment, as a testament to ideas that endure. The American Constitution was first and has stood the test of history for over 200 years of our existence as a republic. Constitutional democracy in France began two centuries ago this summer, and in a few days, leaders from all over the world will be in Paris to celebrate the anniversary of its birth.

On May 3, 1991, the Polish Constitution will also be 200 years old. Your Constitution of 1791 was crushed, but never forgotten. And now this generation's calling is to redeem the promise of a free Polish republic. Poland has not been lost so long as the Polish spirit lives.

America wishes you well as you face the tough problems today. I salute General Jaruzelski for his leadership and his extraordinary hospitality to me. I salute the leaders and Members of these two great legislative bodies. God, in His infinite wisdom and love, is with us in this chamber. May God bless you and your efforts. Long live Poland! Long live Poland! Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:28 p.m. in the main chamber of the Parliament building. In his opening remarks, he referred to Wojciech Jaruzelski, Chairman of Poland's Council of State, Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Speaker of the Sejm [lower House of the National Assembly]; Andrzej Stelmachowski, Speaker of the Senate; and Prime Minister Mieczslaw Rakowski.

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Solidarity Mayor Elected in Lodz

■ LODZ, Poland—A Solidarity candidate was elected mayor in Poland's second-largest city, the first time the independent movement has taken control of a municipal government away from the Communist Party.

Waldemar Bohdanowicz defeated four other non-Communist candidates in a secret ballot by the municipal People's Council, ending a five-month impasse in Lodz.

From news services

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McGill (1898–1969) was the influential editor of the *Atlanta Constitution,* where this article first appeared on March 26, 1966.

THE CZAR'S PRISONER
by Ralph McGill

David Dubinsky, who at 74 looks like an Irish leprechaun, has retired as president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union after 34 years in office. One of the assets of this reporter's experiences has been to sit on various committees with Dubinsky and to have had an opportunity to know him. He is a part of American industrial labor and union history. He himself is one of the products of the American dream.

When Dubinsky was 15 years old he was one of the Czar's prisoners—being sent with other "politicals" to Siberian prisons to work in isolated villages under prison guards. His crime was that he, an accomplished baker despite his years, had helped organize a union of bakers in the Polish town of Lodz, then Poland's most industrialized and slum-ridden city. His parents had migrated there from Brest Litovsk, where young David had been born.

Young David was arrested in 1908 for having helped organize the General Jewish Workers Union in Lodz. It was a twilight time for imperial Russia. Japan had defeated the Czar's forces in 1904–5. Uprisings in Russia in late 1905 had been put down bloodily. Fear began to grow in the palaces. Secret police became more active, more cruel.

For a year and a half young Dubinsky was shuttled about Siberian villages, always under police supervision. Then, without explanation, he and other prisoners were gathered and put in a train. After a long ride they began a march of several days to their next work assignment. Young Dubinsky escaped, aided by a friendly guard who liked the youngster's quick wit and leprechaun charm. He made his way back to Lodz. At last he was smuggled across the border into Germany. From there he set his sights for the United States.

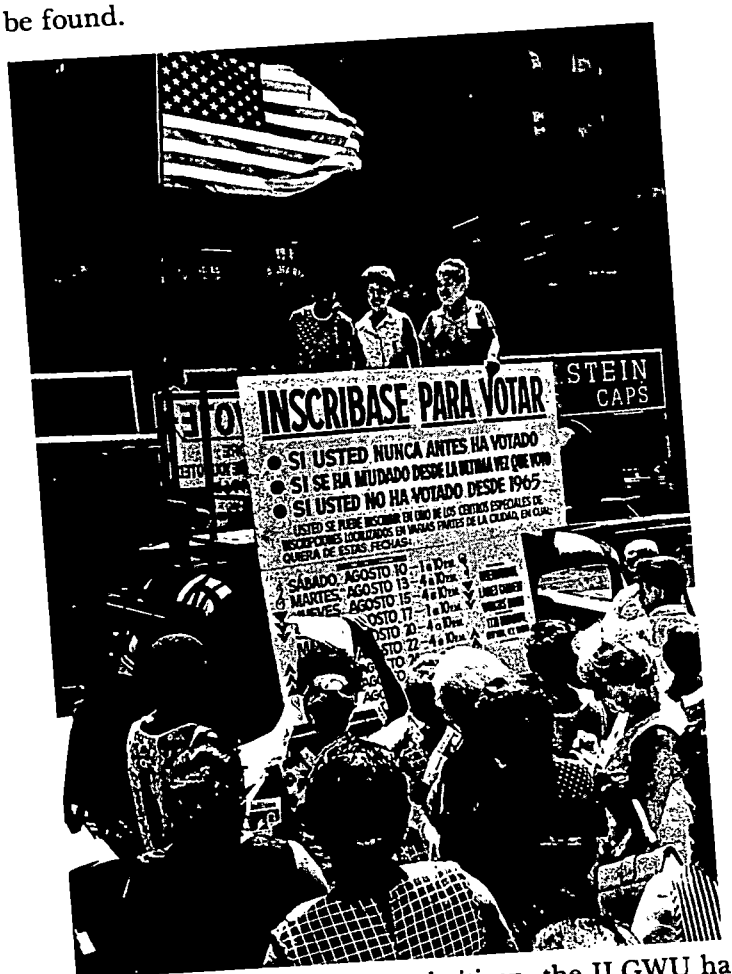
On January 1, 1911, a freighter carrying 700 steerage passengers anchored off Ellis Island. Most of them were from eastern Europe. There were Hungarians destined for the steel mills and coal mines in Pennsylvania. There were Polish, Ukrainian and Romanian Jews who would seek work in New York. The next morning Dubinsky landed. He was taken in by a brother who had immigrated earlier. He became a part of the thousands of immigrants who made the East Side a legend of transition into American life.

Within six months the energetic young Dubinsky had qualified for the cutters union. He was 19. The thousands of garment workers had won a strike the year before. But the intolerable working and living conditions which had produced the strike still prevailed.

Work in that period went on seven days per week. Signs in the sweatshop lofts read: "If you can't come Sunday don't come Monday." Wages averaged about 10 cents an hour.

This was the background. When Dubinsky retired the other day his union had made history. It had pioneered with recreation centers, health programs, housing, pensions, and union investments. The union had also created stability in an industry notoriously chaotic.

For one who had been a prisoner of the Czar at 15, Dave Dubinsky has come a long way. So has his adopted country. When we think of a symbol of the "American Dream" Dave Dubinsky will do until a better one can be found.



A good unionist must also be a good citizen, the ILGWU has urged every newcomer group to the industry.

The following are excerpts from five typical addresses by Dubinsky in which his staunch faith in American freedom and tolerance found expression. The first is from the record of the ILGWU's 1934 convention in Chicago.

A BETTER CHOICE

I suppose the delegates are not surprised that we are having our session this morning in the Morrison Hotel instead of the place which was originally arranged for the convention. When the Medinah Club was rented about two months ago, we were promised all reasonable accommodations. The management was anxious to have our convention in that place. We did not solicit the place. They solicited our patronage.

We advised them that we had representatives of all nationalities at our convention, and that we were a labor union and did not share in the racial prejudice that exists in some of the hotels in Chicago and that we wanted all our delegates to be treated on an equal basis. (Applause) They promised us there would be no discrimination.

From the first moment we stepped into that hotel, however, it appeared that it was one thing for the management to promise us accommodations and service, and quite another thing to keep the promise. We were able to endure that they did not live up to their promises so far as accommodations for housing all our delegates and giving us proper service were concerned, but there was one thing we could not swallow, and that was discrimination against some of our delegates. (Applause)

Their discrimination was reported to us on several occasions during the convention. We took the matter up with the management and received assurances that they would be corrected. We gave them a chance to correct them, but soon we saw that even their final assurances were not being lived up to and last Sunday, before adjourning the session, I asked the General Executive Board to meet with me Sunday morning. We invited a representative of Local 22 to be present, and the General Executive Board decided that although it might involve additional expense, our organization, which is committed to equality, justice and resistance to oppression, should actively resist this discrimination and we decided to move our convention out of that hotel. (Applause)

This should serve as evidence to those who suffer from race persecution everywhere that it is the labor movement that is ready to act in their behalf, not merely with words but by deed.

I am glad we did it, and I hope the delegates, although they had a lot of trouble and inconvenience yesterday and this morning because

Of 30m

Let's go on to the President's schedule this morning. To catch up here, this afternoon the President, at 1:15 p.m., we'll have a ceremony in the Rose Garden honoring Polish American heritage. It's open coverage. The President is today announcing the formation of a special mission to travel to Poland -- a presidential mission -- to examine the economic reforms that are underway. The mission will be composed of government and private sector representatives, including Clayton Yeutter, Robert Mosbacher, Elizabeth Dole, Michael Boskin; Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO, Michael Harper of Conagra, John McGillacuddy of Manufacturers Hanover, Gale Johnson and Arnold Harberger -- both of the University of Chicago. Murray Wiedenbaum, formerly Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, and Robert

don't mention in speech?

Georgine of the AFL-CIO.

The mission will focus on those economic sectors where U.S. expertise and experience can be of greatest assistance. Primarily agriculture, business management, financial services and others pinpointing areas for reform and for productive use of assistance resources.

This initial mission will be followed by experts' missions in key economic sectors. In addition, administration economists will examine urgently the structural economic challenges Poland will face so that we can provide the most effective help possible.

This mission will depart on November 29 and remain through December 2. As a reminder, in early September the President asked Congress for a $100 million enterprise fund for Poland, a $4 million labor package, and a $15 million environmental package. In addition, the President has extended an additional $108 million in emergency food aid for Poland.

The government of Poland is now headed by a noncommunist for the first time since World War II, and economic reform is progressing. In this respect, Poland has requested $1 billion in Western economic aid to stabilize the economy as radical reforms are implemented. In response, President Bush has requested of Congress $200 million as a part of this effort. The total presidential package, therefore, so far is excess of $400 million.

To P.D.

Date _____ Time _____

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M David St-John

of AFL-CIO

Phone 637-5239

Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL	X
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	
RETURNED YOUR CALL			

Message _____

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August 19, 1989, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 4, Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 979 words

HEADLINE: Parral Journal;
A Labor Leader and His Dusty Exile

BYLINE: By SHIRLEY CHRISTIAN, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: PARRAL, Chile, Aug. 13

BODY:

Manuel Bustos, one of Chile's leading labor leaders, is living in political exile here, a sentence that confines him day and night to this provincial town of 38,000 people.

His situation is a seeming anomaly at a time when Chile is moving toward the return of democracy. Mr. Bustos is sentenced to what the Government of Gen. Augusto Pinochet calls ''relegation'' - banishment or internal exile - for having managed to get a large part of Chile's labor force to lay aside its work in political protest.

But even in his internal exile, he is a national figure: In solidarity with him, political and labor leaders from around the world - including the man who may be Chile's next president, Patricio Aylwin - have visited the modest house on a dirt street where a priest has given Mr. Bustos shelter.

Some visitors, he says, particularly labor leaders from Scandinavian countries, have offered to start boycotts of Chilean shipping on specified days as a way of pressing for his freedom.

'Want Democratic Process'

But he says he has discouraged that, believing that it would only play into the hands of the Pinochet Government in its final months.

''We want the democratic process of this country to go forward with as few difficulties as possible,'' he said. ''We don't want to give Pinochet reason to attack the opposition as irresponsible or as one that resorts to international boycotts that hurt the Chilean people.''

''We want Pinochet to give up power as soon as possible,'' he said. ''He doesn't want to go and would welcome any element that he could use to justify delaying the democratic process.''

So Mr. Bustos, who is president of the Unified Labor Confederation, expects to serve every day of his 541-day sentence. He will complete a year in mid-September and is to finish on Feb. 16, 1990 - about three weeks before General Pinochet's successor is to be inaugurated.

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Backs Christian Democrat

Mr. Bustos supports his fellow Christian Democrat, Mr. Aylwin, the candidate of a 17-party coalition, for President in the elections to be held on Dec. 14. Mr. Aylwin has a wide lead in the polls over the three other candidates, including former Finance Minister Hernan Buchi, who is expected to be his main competition.

Some people call the 43-year-old Mr. Bustos the Chilean Lech Walesa. Every day, one of the Santiago newspapers carries a small advertisement with photographs of Mr. Bustos and Arturo Martinez, who was relegated at the same time to the town of Chanaral, and a plea for their liberty.

Born into a tenant farming family and with formal education only through grade school, Mr. Bustos has worked 23 years as a mechanic in a textile factory in Santiago.

An early organizer of labor to oppose the Pinochet Government, he said he has spent two years and eight months in jail and a year in exile during the 16 years of military rule, in addition to his current sentence.

His Job Is Kept Open

His employers, whom he calls ''probably the most conscientious businessmen in Chile,'' keep his job open when he has to be away, and his labor colleagues take up a monthly collection to cover his lost wages.

This sentence is the outgrowth of a national work stoppage that the labor federation organized on Oct. 7, 1987. In the evening, after the strike was completed, several people were killed in violence of uncertain origin in poor neighborhoods surrounding Santiago.

Mr. Bustos says the Government brought the charges against him because it held him responsible for the violence.

The strike caused a stormy debate even among the political parties and other groups opposing the Pinochet Government. Some political leaders, including Mr. Aylwin, had concluded that strikes and mass demonstrations were bad tactics, saying the Communist Party and others from the extreme left would try to use them as a cover to provoke the police into violent confrontations.

Signs at Police Station

The 1987 strike called by Mr. Bustos and the other leaders of the labor group marked the end of efforts to bring down the Pinochet regime by mass public protest. A year later - in a plebiscite last October - the opposition used the ballot box to defeat General Pinochet's bid to retain power, and he was obliged to call the coming free presidential elections.

Mr. Bustos has free movement within Parral, the only requirement being that he sign in every day at noon at the local police station, five blocks from where he lives.

Although Parral was a town without an organized labor movement when he arrived - he thinks that is one reason he was sent here - he says he has been

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spreading the word among town and rural workers and expects to sign up several thousand people.

Early in his stay here, representatives came from the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and asked what they could do to help. He says he asked for - and received from them - $5,000. With that, he bought and remodeled a small house for use as an activity center for neighborhood people.

Bustos Cultural Center

A bronze plaque at the entrance says the ''Manuel Bustos Cultural Center'' was started with funds from the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

He also organized two demonstrations in the town plaza, one against General Pinochet just before the October 1988 plebiscite and the other this past Labor Day - May 1.

''We got about 2,000 people to the plaza on Labor Day, and we also managed to attract about 500 police, which were bused in from other towns,'' he said. ''There had never been that many police in Parral before. Some people came to the plaza just to watch the police with all their equipment.''

Usually, he says, it seems that the authorities are not even paying attention to what he is doing.

''Except that all I have to do is step outside the city limits, say to talk to a group of farm workers, and the police will be right there, telling me I have to return to town.''

GRAPHIC: photo of Manuel Bustos (NYT/Shirley Christian); map of Parral, Chile

SUBJECT: POLITICAL PRISONERS; LABOR

NAME: CHRISTIAN, SHIRLEY; BUSTOS, MANUEL

GEOGRAPHIC: CHILE

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5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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November 8, 1989, Wednesday, NORTH SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 1845 words

HEADLINE: Europe's order yields to era of uncertainty

BYLINE: By Ray Moseley, Chicago Tribune

DATELINE: BERLIN

BODY:

The postwar order in Europe is crumbling at an astonishing rate, giving rise to greater freedom in the East, a retreat from military confrontation, a more powerful role for Germany and a shakedown period of instability and uncertainty.

Each day provides fresh, startling evidence of the accelerated pace of change sweeping through the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. On Tuesday:

- In East Germany, the premier and his 52-member Cabinet resigned. A proposal to ease curbs on travel was officially rejected as not liberal enough, and the mass exodus of East Germans to the West continued.

- In Moscow, on the most venerated day of the communist calendar - the anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution - about 10,000 protesters marched through the streets carrying banners with such caustic slogans as "Seventy-two years on the way to nowhere."

The decline of the communist system, and the reform process underway in the Soviet Union, have now sent shock waves through the perimeter of the Soviet empire: in Poland, Hungary and East Germany above all.

Rumblings of change have been heard in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria as well, leaving only Romania, a rigidly totalitarian state under dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, untouched by the spirit of change.

People in both the West and the East have reacted to the political earthquake rocking the continent with a mixture of exhilaration and fear.

They are exhilarated by the collapse of the communist system and the prospect of an end to the 40-year division of Europe across an ideological chasm of mistrust. The air is full of talk of the Berlin Wall coming down, of Soviet troops retiring to their own frontiers, of peace blossoming from the Atlantic to the Urals.

But some worry that the euphoria is getting out of hand.

"Can you say what is going to happen in five years' time?" asked a senior West German official. "Are you sure the reforms in Poland and Hungary will not fail and that the Soviet Union will not change its policies? We aren't sure, and therefore we have to view what is happening with considerable caution.

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"After all," he said, "your (American) intelligence services, and ours, have been wrong for the last five years in their assessments. Nobody can see how things will develop."

A critical winter for the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies lies ahead, in the view of many Western analysts, with food in short supply and economies near collapse.

Some people in the East and West, with memories of a powerful and united Germany that twice unleashed world wars in this century, also temper their enthusiasm with genuine fear about the implications of the two Germanys' coming together. A reunited Germany unquestionably would be the largest, richest and most powerful country in the heart of Europe.

But would it be menacing? Most evidence suggests not, but old fears die hard.

In Eastern Europe, there is fear that change has come too late to save their economies from slipping to Third World levels of poverty. Western Europe is moving toward integration while Eastern Europe is moving toward disintegration, and people in the East express concern that they could be shut out of Western markets when the 12 Common Market countries unify their economies in 1992.

East Europeans are doubly worried because the Soviet Union has drastically reduced its aid to their countries and has announced that starting in 1995 it will reduce considerably its supplies of energy and raw materials.

All this change and ferment will provide the basis for discussions between President Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev when they meet on U.S. and Soviet warships off Malta Dec. 2-3.

A new American activism toward events in Europe, symbolized above all by the summit, has been welcomed in both halves of the continent.

Until recently many Europeans feared that Washington had abandoned its traditional leadership role and, through an excess of caution, was content to stand on the sidelines while the map of Europe was being redrawn.

Senior West German officials, who have been preaching that this situation offers the West a historic opportunity that cannot be missed, take credit for having helped to awaken the Bush administration to the implications of change.

As for the Soviet Union, the most important unanswered question in Europe is the extent to which it will give up its hold on Eastern Europe.

Horst Teltschik, foreign policy adviser to West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, said Gorbachev told Kohl in Bonn last June that Eastern Europe would have to solve its own problems and he would not interfere. Teltschik said Gorbachev asked that the West also agree not to interfere.

But Eastern Europe will not find it easy to escape Moscow's economic embrace. Western experts said that because Soviet bloc goods are not competitive in Western markets, the Soviets and their partners are doomed to trade primarily among themselves.

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The Soviets, while insisting that their security interests in the East be respected, have not defined the limits of those interests.

Hungarian opposition politicians have talked of taking Hungary out of the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact if they win elections next spring, and a Soviet Communist Party spokesman, Nikolai Shishlin, recently said Moscow would not oppose such a move.

Western officials believe the Soviets will be ready by next spring to strike a deal on sharp reductions in military forces by both East and West in Europe. The Soviets have talked of converting the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization from military to political alliances that can act as bridges of understanding between East and West.

A key question is how many of the 400,000 Soviet troops in East Germany Moscow will be willing to remove. But there seems little doubt that the Soviets are prepared to tolerate much broader change in Eastern Europe than anyone thought possible a few months ago.

The outline of the new Europe is yet to emerge. But central to any new political arrangement is the future of Germany.

West German officials, mindful of their country's past and the fears this arouses among their neighbors, have always been reluctant to allow their country to exercise the full weight of its economic and political power.

But there are several reasons why West Germany, either united with the East or acting alone, will probably play the key role in Eastern Europe's development.

West Germany already is the Western leader in trade with Eastern Europe, even though that trade has been in decline since about 1985.

For geographic and other reasons, West Germany has traditional cultural and economic ties there that exceed those of any other Western nation, and therefore it has the most to gain from expansion of those ties.

Analysts also describe it as the only Western country with a firm and coherent policy toward the East. Diplomats said the French and British economies are not strong enough to support the risky ventures in Eastern Europe that the West Germans are prepared to undertake, and their private companies are more hesitant to invest than are West German firms.

The U.S. has offered what the West Germans and East Europeans consider disappointing levels of assistance to Poland and Hungary, and this has caused East Europeans to look more to Bonn for help.

Symptomatic of Bonn's emerging influence, German sources say, is the fact that German is replacing Russian as the main foreign language in most Eastern European countries.

West German officials stress that they do not want to act alone, or to assume a dominant role in Eastern Europe. "Whatever we do, we will do together with our Western allies," one official said.

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West Germany took the lead in getting the European Community to come up with $600 million worth of assistance to Poland and Hungary.

But with its allies holding back on bilateral aid, West Germany has, despite its protestations, been pushed into a leadership position in the East, as Kohl's visit to Poland starting Thursday illustrates.

Kohl is taking with him a three-year, $1.6 billion package of assistance to Poland's new noncommunist-led government, including credits and debt relief. This exceeds by far any other country's contribution.

Kohl will go to Hungary in December. Bonn recently offered Hungary a $1.1 billion government guarantee of private credits, and West German business firms have been particularly active in making joint venture deals with Hungarian firms.

Still, West German officials make clear that they intend to proceed gingerly in Eastern Europe, not just because of their allies' worries about a resurgent Germany but because of concern for Gorbachev's future.

"We are interested in Gorbachev, so we can't be interested in destabilizing Eastern Europe," one senior official said.

But there is considerable disquiet in the West about the chances of success for the Polish and Hungarian reform movements.

"Whether we can succeed in saving the Polish economy is very doubtful," said Eberhard Schulz of the West German Council on Foreign Relations. "The other East European countries are in such a deep mess that they will be in a hard crisis for some decades to come."

Some Westerners talk airily of a Marshall Plan for Eastern Europe, like the program that pulled Western Europe out of economic crisis after World War II. But serious analysts say such a program would be a waste of funds as long as the East Europeans delay moving to Western-style market economies.

Political analysts say the Soviets are looking primarily to East and West Germany to help salvage the Soviet economy.

This causes further nervousness among Western Europeans about German intentions, with some fearing that Bonn might move toward neutralism and others concerned that it could be drawn away from its European Community allegiance by the attractions of new markets in the East.

"We don't want the world to get the impression that we seek a role with the Soviet Union," a senior official in Bonn said. "We are prepared to cooperate with the Soviets, but our stand is with the West."

The Germans repeat that often, but old suspicions remain. "Neither the French, the British, the Dutch nor the Poles wants to say to the Germans, 'We don't trust you.' But that's the underlying attitude," said a Western diplomat in Bonn.

Schulz foresees "a rather chaotic development in Eastern Europe, but perhaps not a violent one." However, he noted that old and bitter nationalist

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rivalries are reasserting themselves.

"I can't exclude even military conflicts between countries of southern Europe, such as Hungary and Romania," he said. The two countries are at odds over Romania's harsh treatment of people of Hungarian origin within its borders.

As he and other experts see it, the kind of nationality and ethnic disputes that have been ongoing in the Soviet Union for two years are just now beginning to erupt in the nations of Eastern Europe as the heavy hand of Soviet power over them is relaxed.

The consequences of that are not yet foreseeable.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: Part of a crowd estimated at 50,000 demonstrates for more reforms Tuesday in Rostock, East Germany. Such protests are the latest sign of change throughout Eastern Europe. Agence France-Presse photo.
PHOTO (color): Thousands of marchers in Moscow carry homemade banners as a counterdemonstration to Tuesday's Red Square parade. The sign with the X over a 6 demands that the Communist Party's special status be removed from Article 6 of the Soviet Constitution. AP Laserphoto.

TERMS: EUROPE; EAST; SOVIET UNION; EAST GERMANY; POLAND; HUNGARY; GOVERNMENT; CHANGE; DEFENSE; ECONOMY; FORECAST; ANALYSIS

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6TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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November 8, 1989, Wednesday, NORTH SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 865 words

HEADLINE: Soviet protesters steal Red Square limelight

BYLINE: By Vincent J. Schodolski, Chicago Tribune

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

About 10,000 demonstrators carrying banners harshly critical of the Bolshevik Revolution Tuesday marched a couple of miles from the traditional Red Square ceremony marking the revolution's anniversary.

Similar protests disrupted celebrations in several other Soviet cities, and ceremonies in at least two of the nation's 15 republics were canceled after pressure by local groups.

But the most dramatic demonstration was in the capital. Moscow has seen nothing like it in more than 60 years.

The protest came on the Soviet Union's most important holiday and at a time of mounting economic trouble and growing public cynicism about President Mikhail Gorbachev's ability to carry out his reforms.

The protest took place while Gorbachev and others in the Communist Party leadership stood atop the mausoleum of V.I. Lenin, the man who led the revolution 72 years ago, to review the annual military parade and march by thousands of well-organized workers.

The banners carried by the counterdemonstrators were bitter and sarcastic.

"Seventy-two years on the way to nowhere" and "Proletarians of the world, forgive us," were typical of the slogans splashed across homemade banners and carried through the streets of the capital.

The march was organized by a group of independent deputies in the new Soviet Parliament, including popular maverick Boris Yeltsin. It began at a sports stadium in northern Moscow with an address by Telman Gdlyan, a member of Parliament and outspoken advocate of rapid reform.

"What kind of pluralism is there in that famous Red Square when we, the opposition, have no chance to speak?" he told a cheering crowd. "This is the kind of democracy that pleases them - but it does not please us."

In addition to banners, many of the marchers carried red, white and blue flags - the tricolor of pre-revolutionary Russia.

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As they neared the center of town they urged passersby to join in and jeered at people filming the march, accusing them of being KGB agents.

Some demonstrators demanded that the march turn from its predetermined route and head toward Red Square, but others dissuaded the radicals - mostly young marchers - from confronting the authorities.

Scores of buses full of police stood between the demonstrators and the official celebration in Red Square.

But even there, change was evident.

The military parade - traditionally the centerpiece of Revolution Day festivities - was scaled back.

The parade by thousands of Soviet troops, followed by scores of tanks, armored personnel carriers and rocket launchers, was cut from the usual hour to less than 45 minutes, with the last five minutes taken up by a military band marching somewhat aimlessly around the square.

In addition, the keynote speech by Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov was brief and stressed the need to maintain Soviet military forces only at the level of "reasonable sufficiency."

The number of men, tanks and missiles parading through the square was also reduced. The official Tass news agency said the parade included "a minimum number of battalions . . . and military hardware."

The Tass report pointed out that no strategic missiles were included and that only 25 tanks - far fewer than in previous years - were driven through the square. It said the reduced number of tanks was meant to be a reminder that the total number of tanks in the Soviet armed forces had been reduced by 6,680 as part of Gorbachev's plan to cut the size of the military.

In another break with tradition, Gorbachev was interviewed atop the mausoleum, and his comments emphasized the gloomy economic situation.

He said that shortages in a vast number of basic items hung like a "sword of Damocles" over the nation. In a later speech at a Kremlin reception he conceded that many of the revolution's goals had not been fulfilled.

"We are proud of the achievements made by our people under the banner of the October revolution, " Gorbachev said in a reference to the 1917 revolution (which under the old Russian calendar took place in October).

"But this pride does not prevent us from seeing that not all has been done as it was thought of by Lenin and other Bolsheviks, " he said. "But we know the duty of the current generation; we are living and working at a turning point."

Indeed, the capital and the rest of the country seemed nervous and angry as they marked the memories of those days in October.

The traditional celebrations were disrupted in Lithuania, where youths tried to block the paths of tanks.

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In Kazakhstan, antinuclear protesters joined the march. In Moldavia, counterdemonstrators not only clambered over tanks, canceling the military part of the parade, but marched past the reviewing stand waving traditional banners.

Yuri Rushka, a spokesman for the Moldavian Popular Front, said in a phone call that when the protesters came into view of the republic's leadership, the party officials left the reviewing stand.

In the far northern reaches of the USSR, coal miners ignored government appeals and continued their strike, demanding improved living conditions and the fulfillment of promises made to persuade them to end a strike last summer.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: With a portrait of Lenin in the background, the Soviet Armed Forces Band marches in Moscow's Red Square Tuesday as part of the official celebration of the Bolshevik Revolution. Reuters photo.

TERMS: SOVIET UNION; HOLIDAY; PROTEST; DATE; COMPARISON; REACTION

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✓ Labor Dept. - Intl.

Foundation for Democracy ~~Carl~~ Gershwin
AID
RFE

Africa - no unions except SA, largely black mines/white unions supportive of
Ghana, Nigeria - Brits - left unionism
(used to be)
Kenya, Ivory Coast

dock, RR, civil servants

ICFTU -
WFTU - Comm intl orgs

Germany ~ à AFL-CIO

Asia

AFL-CIO active [Provide educ.]
Malaysia, Thailand, S. Korea, Philippines

↓

Pres of largest unions = Pres Natl Conf. of FTU
(plantation workers)

Keeping unions alive, providing voice

~~Fidler~~

Jay Lovestone - late Dir. Intl affrs. under Meany
Sec of Am Comm Party, during
worked w/Eur named Brussels, first arms
shipment

AFL-CIO always strongly anti-comm total dictatorship
unions suppressed under comm
govt that didn't permit FTU

Nixon + China - Meany = new #1 anti-comm

Kirkland's wife is Hungarian

ICFTU, WFTU, CTU (rep Lat Am)

ICFTU = confederation

WFTU = world financed by Russians

CTU = catholic

Wal-mine = first real strike in SU since early 1920
Gorb making commitments, can't suppress

Vorkuta - coal mines in SU

SU - new leg permitting some strikes

Solidarity doesn't belong
Sol unlocked WFTU, door opened by coal miners

SU Coal Miners - very imp + subsequent legislation

Poland - WFTU unions now trying to come back

SU BEFORE - walkouts suppressed

people have opp to voice their grievances
Wanted soap, better food . . .

AFL-CIO adamant - no fraternal w/ Comm unions

Longshoremen in San Fran - visited by Sov trade union official - State Dept denied visa

RR - Carpenters Union, Chicago

Boston Police - Calvin Coolidge Gov.

NYT - 2 cards CIO

Latin Am

unions on + off

i.e. Arg - unions under dom of Peronistas

dem = unions
comp = suppress

Commo strongest in Lat Am

✓ Nicaragua - union people killed by Sandanistas
AFL-CIO

Eur - labor + pol party (esp. Ger)
AFL-CIO never affiliated w/ pol party
("reward your friends, punish your enemies"
Gompers insisted

until 1948 - AFL-CIO never supp. Pres. cand.

~~AE~~

labor supp Nelson Rockefeller contra Arthur Goldberg

never supp FDR (CIO did)

John L. Lewis - ~~radio~~ radio speech contra FDR

Gompers testimony -

Am labor movt has never been socialist

labor subsidizing

S. Korea
Taiwan
Philippines } Asian periphery

Lat Am - dem ↑, unions ↑

★ Spain following Franco regime - unions imp role in dem.

Walter Galenson
1150 Park Ave.
NY, NY 10128

Anti pol neutrality of labor movt, almost alone in the world
Long term anti-fatal/comm stand

X. ~~RR speech re: during Brown Medal of Freedom: 10/17/88~~

2. South Africa

Pleasure 3. Meany quote - Rex Hardesty, ed. of AFL-CIO newsletter

Gershwin 4. Kirkpatrick articles

St John 5. Kirkland's wife ~~Hungarian~~ Czech Irena (Eear-ih-nuh) Neumann Auschwitz twin ~~Hodgkinson~~ Israel - to
prev. husband - Louis Swinestein Hollywood producer

St John 6. NYT - 2 cards re: CIO Ray Converse 482-8697 CIA.

523-7631 ~~Todd Linsenmeyer~~ ~~Peterman Labelle~~ ~~Jim Taylor~~ Labor-Intl Div. bubbling up - unions Lat Am / Africa / Spain - Business Roundtable Rob Martinez 212/682-6370 Exec Asst to Pres
Nicaragua - union (AFL-CIO?) people killed by Sandanistas
dem = unions
coup = suppressed
El Salvador - 2 AFL-CIO ~5 yrs ago
My army Peter Accolla 323-8538

St. John 8. "reward your friends, punish your enemies" Gompers

9. Republicans

10. Spain

11. Solidarity Monument notes

12. ✓ Taft-Hartley

U.S. Department of Labor

Bureau of International Labor Affairs
Washington DC 20210

FAX COVER SHEET

OFFICE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

DATE: 11/8/89

TO: Pat Dooley
White House / Research

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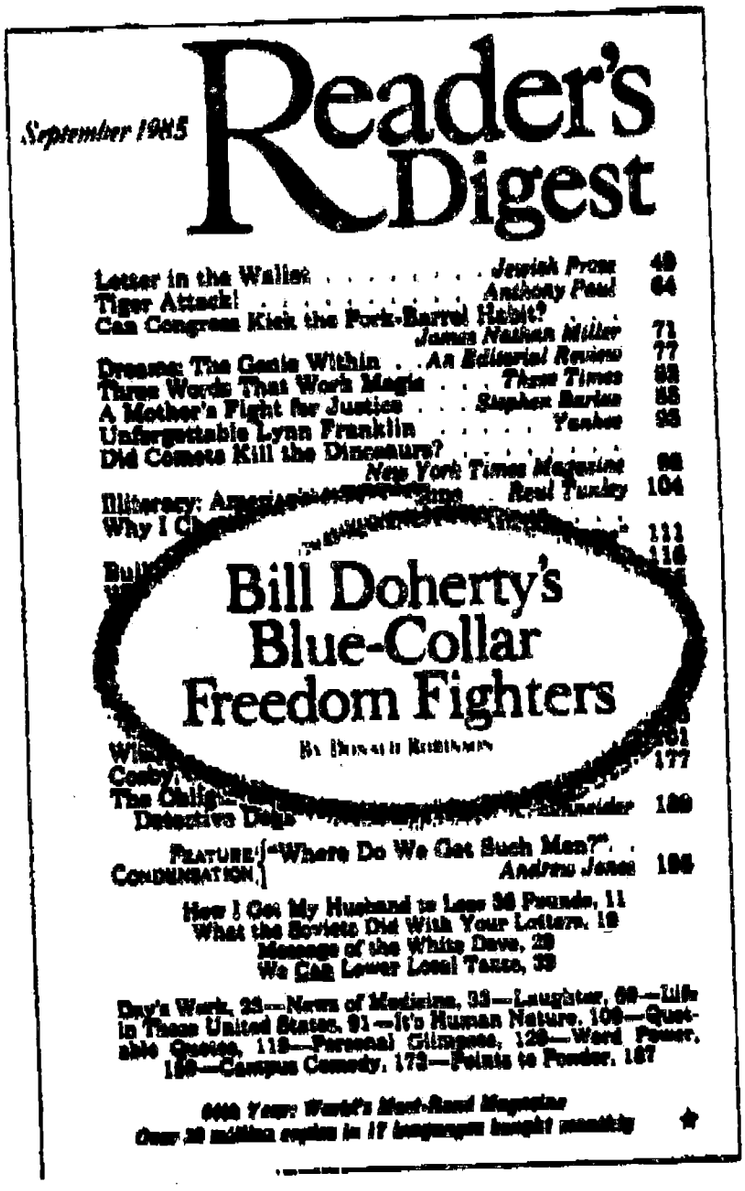
NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET 8

REMARKS:

(1) Here is the material for your speech.

(2) Please consider possibility of moment of silence to be offered on behalf of those trade unionists (U.S. and Latin America) who have given their life and sacrifice so much for the cause of freedom of association and worker rights in general.

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Bill Doherty's Blue-Collar Freedom Fighters





Led by a gutsy U.S. labor leader, members of a brave band of trade unionists are risking their lives to keep democracy alive in Latin America

By Donald Robinson

Hours after U.S. troops landed on Grenada in October 1983, communist propaganda blasted the invasion as an "imperialist assault" on the Grenadan people.

A gutsy U.S. labor leader answered the communists' big lie. William C. Doherty, Jr., executive director of the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), wangled his way into Grenada before the shooting had stopped and contacted the heads of two unions. Both had fought Grenada's Marxist dictators with Doherty's support. He told them that a resolution condemning the American landing was about to be introduced at an international labor conference in Barbados. The three raced to the meeting.

"What do you mean we were

invaded?" the Grenadans declared. "We were *rescued*." When the resolution was defeated overwhelmingly, democratic unionists everywhere took heart.

A hidden army of Soviet and Cuban agents is seeking control of Latin America's 50-million-member labor movement. Command of the trade unions would give the Kremlin a pivotal weapon against pro-Western governments. AIFLD, a band of brave men and women led by Doherty for 23 years, is spearheading resistance not only to the communists but to right-wing extremists as well.

It's been a savage struggle. More than 50 of Doherty's allies have been murdered, including two of his closest aides, and Doherty has received many death threats himself. But despite the odds, AIFLD has won notable victories.

• In Honduras it helped to recapture the fruit workers' union from the communists, who had stolen union elections by casting votes for countless "ghost" workers.

• In Ecuador the communists got a stranglehold on the Confederation of Ecuadoran Workers (CFE), the major labor organization. CFE was so strong that no Ecuadoran worker could drive a truck without its approval. AIFLD helped organize the Ecuadoran Confederation of Free Trade Unions (CEOSL) to oppose the Marxists. When CFE called a general strike to topple the democratic government, CEOSL licked it. Today, every major union in Ecuador is led by pro-democratic elements.

• The Marxist dictator of Suriname was forced to reorganize his cabinet last year to include labor and business representatives after a series of strikes and international protests spearheaded by AIFLD.

A strapping man of 58, Bill Doherty has white hair, a full beard and bright-blue eyes that make him look like Santa Claus. But he can be tough. One day in 1980, he drove 30 miles through Paraguayan jungle to a barbarous prison in Ypacaray that few, if any, North Americans had ever visited. There he demanded to meet with 19 union leaders incarcerated for advocating democracy. When soldiers pointed machine guns at him, Doherty promptly held a press conference.

"When I see this Hitler-like concentration camp, I think I'm in Havana," he told reporters who had accompanied him. "This is how Fidel Castro treats labor leaders." After the press published Doherty's remarks, rightist dictator Alfredo Stroessner released the labor leaders and later closed the prison.

Doherty is a quick-witted speaker. In 1956, he debated Chilean communist Clotario Blest before 2500 communications workers in Santiago. Doherty wanted the workers to affiliate with the pro-Western Postal, Telephone and Telegraph International (PTTI). Blest was bitterly opposed.

"Why do those well-dressed

gringos come here, stay in first-class hotels, go to our best restaurants and tell us they represent the working class?" Bleat sneered.

"Because we will not feel successful, Brother Bleat," Doherty responded, "until you and all the workers in Chile dress well, stay in those hotels and eat the best meals. We're not here to destroy the capitalists. We want to live like them." The workers roared approval and voted to affiliate with the PTTI.

Doherty was born into the labor movement. His father was president of the National Association of Letter Carriers for 21 years. After air-combat duty during World War II, young Bill spent two years in a Catholic seminary before going to law school.

Doherty went to work in 1954 as Latin American representative of the PTTI. In those days, collective bargaining was nonexistent for most unions in Latin America; pay raises were obtained through rioting.

Determined to fight this, Doherty founded AIFLD and, with the backing of AFL-CIO president George Meany, built it into an activist organization that now has offices in 16 countries, a staff of 56 trade unionists and an $8-million annual budget. Ninety percent of its funds come from the U.S. Agency for International Development, the remainder from the AFL-CIO. Says Doherty: "Communists target organized labor for one reason—to secure power over foreign governments. We believe in a trade-union movement independent of governments, political parties, employers."

I recently traveled throughout Latin America observing AIFLD close up. Here's what I learned:

▶ In war-torn El Salvador, AIFLD has helped organize 350,000 Salvadoran farmers and urban workers into democratic unions. With AIFLD's help, the farmers have formed cooperatives that buy land and pay workers to cultivate it.

The cost in blood of AIFLD's Salvadoran successes has been high. In January 1981, two AIFLD staffers and the director of the Salvadoran land-reform program were machine-gunned to death while drinking coffee in the Hotel Sheraton in San Salvador. But the AIFLD staff has resolved to stay. "We want to make sure the blood of our colleagues was not spilled in vain," says Doherty.

▶ In Guatemala, AIFLD has helped to revive a democratic labor movement enfeebled by repressive dictatorships. Doherty's people had to risk their lives to accomplish it. In 1970, Guatemalan soldiers broke into the house of José Estrada, an American citizen who was the AIFLD director, and dragged him off to prison.

The U.S. embassy obtained Estrada's release. But five days later his home was searched; his books and papers were confiscated. This time the U.S. embassy suggested he leave the country.

Estrada left, but returned a month later. By last year, when

elections were held in Guatemala for an assembly to draft a constitution, several labor leaders ran for office, and one was elected.

▶ Castro's Cuba is another battlefield. Working closely with Cuban exiles, AIFLD exposes the tyrannies of the regime. Not long ago, AIFLD raised an international furor that saved the lives of farmers sentenced to death for trying to organize a union in the Cuban sugar fields.

▶ AIFLD is also in the vanguard of the struggle against the Marxist-Leninist government of Nicaragua. AIFLD has been working with Nicaraguan exiles in the United States and Latin America to rally international opinion against the Sandinista regime.

▶ AIFLD's greatest effort is in education. To date, 469,067 trade unionists have studied comparative economic systems, union leadership, collective bargaining and theories of democracy under AIFLD teachers in 17 Latin American countries. AIFLD has brought more than 4000 labor leaders to the George Meany Center for Labor Studies in Silver Spring, Md. Many graduates of the six-week course have risen high in the Latin American trade-union movement.

AIFLD has also helped establish hospitals, schools, credit unions and labor centers throughout Latin America. No project is too small. In Guyana, AIFLD representative John Haberle constructed a footbridge over a creek so children could get to school without dodging crocodiles.

Latin America's strong desire for democracy and economic aid and the efforts of AIFLD and similar organizations have had quite an impact. Six years ago, two-thirds of the people in Latin America and the Caribbean lived under dictatorships or military-dominated governments. Today, 90 percent of them live in democracies or under governments strongly leaning toward democracy.

House Majority Leader Jim Wright (D., Texas) and Rep. Jack Kemp (R., N.Y.), among our most knowledgeable legislators on Latin America, have praised AIFLD for its tireless work in fostering a democratic labor movement throughout the hemisphere. "It was the drive and commitment of Bill Doherty that made this possible," says Wright. Adds Kemp, "Freedom-loving people everywhere owe Doherty and his colleagues an eternal debt of gratitude."



AFLD

AIFLDREPORT

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". . . Those who love,
Build—
Those who hate,
Destroy . . ."
—*Jose Marti*

AFL-CIO DELEGATES ATTACKED BY PINOCHET POLICE

Eight AFL-CIO delegates to an international trade union conference were attacked with water cannons, tear gas and police truncheons during a peaceful demonstration in Santiago, Chile on September 15.

John T. Joyce, President of the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen and the leader of the U.S. delegation, was knocked over by a stream of water containing irritating chemicals shot from a powerful cannon mounted on armored vehicles.

William C. Doherty Jr., Executive Director of the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), was also bowled over by the force of the water, then repeatedly jabbed in the ribs and kidneys by helmeted police. A Swiss labor delegate and a Chilean woman were injured in the melee.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland sent a strongly-worded telegram to the Chilean Government to protest the incident, as did U.S. Senator Edward M. Kennedy. The U.S. State Department also condemned the "excessive use of force," and called the police actions an "over-reaction by the Government of Chile to a peaceful protest."

The U.S. labor delegation was in Santiago for a human and trade union rights conference sponsored by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT). During the conference, labor delegates from 31 countries decided to walk six blocks to the Supreme Court building to accompany two Chilean labor leaders scheduled to begin a 541-day sentence of internal exile.

A sub-committee of delegates to the ICFTU conference, including Enzo Friso of the ICFTU, Luis Anderson of ORIT and William C. Doherty, Jr., of the AFL-CIO, was scheduled to meet with the President of the Supreme Court at 3:00 PM after the Chilean unionists were taken into custody.

The crowd of several hundred union supporters was vociferous but completely peaceful. At one point, police cleared a pathway through the demonstrators to allow traffic to pass. The demonstrators cooperated.

When the ICFTU sub-committee attempted to enter the building, only Friso and Anderson were allowed to pass, along with the Chilean unionists. The police then shut the doors. Without warning, the crowd remaining outside was immediately attacked with water cannons and began to flee in all directions, pursued by police.

Friso and Anderson later reported to the ICFTU conference that the President of the Supreme Court received their protest, but denied any knowledge of Chile's responsibilities under the trade union rights conventions of the International Labor Organization.

Other members of the U.S. delegation who experienced this taste of everyday life in Chile were Lela Foreman of the Communications Workers of America, David Dorn of the American Federation of Teachers, Martin Doherty of the Service Employees International Union, Joel Freedman of the Bricklayers, and Jesse Friedman and David Jessup of AIFLD.



AIFLD Executive Director William Doherty shortly after being attacked by Chilean police.

PROGRAM 138

(Continued from page 2)

Speaking on behalf of Group A, whose program had covered "Political Economy for Trade Unionist Actions," brother Juan Alcivar of Ecuador emphasized the critical social and economic plight of the Latin American nations and attributed the crisis to the poor administrators of public funds by government, the restrictive economic policies of the industrialized nations, and the negative effects of the recommendations imposed by the International Monetary Fund. The principal conclusion that the group had drawn from its studies was that only through an effective integration of all Latin American economies could the underdeveloped nations of this region meet the challenge of the XXI century.

Group B included Campesino leaders from Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, and Venezuela. Brother Alberto J. Loaiza of the CTV thanked the Institute and the AFL-CIO for the opportunity to participate in this intensive training program, and vowed that the graduates were now committed to the multiplier effect, and to making the organizations they represented even more dynamic in their defense of democracy, their opposition to dictatorships, and to achieving a better life for the long-suffering campesinos of our hemisphere.

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Freedom of Association and American Foreign Policy

Lane Kirkland, President, AFL-CIO

Lane Kirkland was elected president of the AFL-CIO on November 19, 1979. He had served for ten years as secretary-treasurer, the Federation's second-highest office.

Mr. Kirkland is a member of the International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots; president of the Trade Union Advisory Committee to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; vice president, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; and a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He has served on several presidential commissions and advisory boards including the following:

- *U.S. Delegation, International Labor Organization Conference, Geneva, since 1958*
- *Blue Ribbon Defense Panel, 1969-1970*
- *Board for International Broadcasting*
- *National Bipartisan Commission on Central America*
- *Commission on Security and Economic Assistance*
- *National Commission on Social Security Reform*

He is a member of the Boards of Directors of many non- governmental organizations, including:

- *American Council on Germany*
- *American Arbitration Association*
- *African-American Labor Center*
- *Asian-American Free Labor Institute*
- *The Rockefeller Foundation*
- *American Institute for Free Labor Development*
- *Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.*
- *Free Trade Union Institute*
- *National Endowment for Democracy*

Welcome again to this conference marking the fortieth anniversary of Convention 87, the instrument that is in our view the soul of the International Labor Organization.

This meeting comes at an interesting time, a time of change and re-examination, as we prepare to embark on a new Presidential Administration in Washington.

Among the many questions that arise on the eve of this change is the essential direction of American foreign policy.

Having vigorously supported the cause of the losing Presidential candidate, and not being among the most favored constituencies of either the outgoing or the incoming Administration, I have no reason to believe that the views of the AFL-CIO will be earnestly sought by the White House. Nevertheless, in keeping with our customary generosity of spirit and because it is a free country, I shall offer them anyway. They can look farther and do worse, and they undoubtedly will.

I would argue strongly that there ought to be, in the forefront of a foreign policy worthy of the United States of America, a new and steadfast commitment to the advancement of human rights beginning with the basic rights of working people.

The most effective tool of that policy would be the aggressive advocacy of the principles spelled out in the terms of Convention 87 on freedom of association and the right to organize. Ideally, of course, that ought to begin with our own ratification of that convention, accompanied, if necessary, by such legislation as may be required, though arguably there is none.

But the firm incorporation of its

principles into our international economic and political agenda need not wait for that happy day when the Chamber of Commerce and Abe Katz (of the U.S. Council for International Business) and his clients see the light on the road to Damascus.

That can proceed now, in the likely continuing absence of formal ratification, through even more substantial steps, such as the commitment of added resources to the instruments that are in place, ready to give life to the pieties of diplomatic discourse. Such a modest move as the full payment of dues to the International Labor Organization would be a good start. Substantially greater funding for the National Endowment for Democracy and for the labor programs of the Agency for International Development would strongly enhance the credibility of a New Start in those vital parts of world society where plain people—rather than financial, mercantile, and governmental elites—live, bear the burdens, and, sooner or later, declare themselves and move the course of the world.

There ought to be a strong embrace by the new Administration and the Congress of the tripartite approach to regional solutions embodied in the idea of the Central American Development Organization, which has been languishing dormant, waiting for the breath of life. This would add vital reinforcement and real incentives to the Arias proposals for peace and progress in that deeply troubled area.

Most importantly, a foreign policy dedicated to the goal of making the world safe for human institutions would press wholeheartedly without reservation, for the incorporation of a social clause in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The denial of basic worker rights should be clearly defined as the unfair trading practice that it is.

This year also happens to be the 40th anniversary of GATT and there could be no more fitting way to observe the coincidence of both occasions.

Such action has been pressed for years by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) trade union representatives at every economic summit. Yet, even a feeble proposal to initiate inquiry into the matter is stalled in the Uruguay Round by the guilty, the mercenary and the indifferent.

There is then all the more reason for this country to pursue vigorously a policy and a review process, enforced by appointees who really believe in it that will realize the full intent of the worker rights provisions of our own trade laws.

The American labor movement has not been willing to accept patiently the verdict of multilateral inaction on this vital matter. Absent progress at the GATT level, we have acted in concert with our friends in the Congress to embody the principles of ILO minimum labor standards in legislation governing the Generalized System of Preferences, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, and in this year's omnibus trade measure.

We have secured provisions calling for the observance, by nations enjoying the opportunities of these laws, of the right to associate, the right to organize and bargain collectively, protection from forced labor, a minimum age for child labor, and acceptable conditions with respect to minimum wages, hours of work, and occupational safety and health—and not just on paper, but in fact.

These are not measures of moral imperialism seeking to impose our own



Lane Kirkland addresses the conference on "Freedom of Association and American Foreign Policy."

standards or abstract ideals on the rest of the world. They simply say that it is reasonable to expect nations who wish to exploit an American market created and sustained by decent standards of life, and labor to at least demonstrate real progress toward the establishment in their territories of the very basic universal rules that they participated in making through their membership in the ILO.

The labor movement has a major role and responsibility in the review and enforcement processes of these provisions and we take that duty seriously.

We have already urged our government to exclude from the Generalized System of Preferences a number of countries that, according to our best information, have failed to show progress in correcting abuses of worker rights, and we shall just as actively pursue enforcement of the 1988 provisions making persistent denial of worker rights an unreasonable trade practice.

Just one case in point should make it clear what this is all about and why it is so necessary. Take the case of Malaysia. In recent years, more than two dozen American companies have built electronics plants in a part of that country where workers are forbidden by the government to unionize. Last year, Malaysia was the ninth largest exporter

to the United States under the Generalized System of Preferences program.

A few weeks ago, after the United States government agreed to consider the AFL-CIO's petition to lift Malaysia's GSP status, the government there suddenly lifted that ban on unionization.

That move brought howls of indignation from the American electronics industry executives there, who made it clear that if the Malaysian unions came in, they would pack up their factories and leave the country. Within a few days, the government reversed its decision.

We see no reason to grant privileged access to the American market to a nation which sells out the rights of its own people, particularly to American businessmen who have enjoyed in such full measure the liberties and opportunities of American life. Our petition to deny GSP status to Malaysia remains in effect and we shall continue to seek such action by our government. And I suggest that this is the kind of clear message that will cause the world-at-large to pay far more attention to Convention 87 than it has in the last forty years.

I further suggest that if more ICFTU affiliates sought to include such worker rights provisions in the trade laws of their own countries, then resistance to multilateral acceptance of the social clause in GATT agreements would rapidly diminish. The result would be to give the conventions and procedures of the ILO far more real weight and meaning than routine ratifications, the Committee of Experts, and the Committee on Application of Standards can now possibly hope to achieve.

We do not seek to diminish trade between nations, but to enhance and enrich it. After all, what purpose of enterprise can there be more worthy of promotion by democratic societies than the improvement of the lot of those who do the work and create the values to be exchanged? The elevation of standards and the institutions of that purpose broadens markets and enlarges trade as a channel of progress for all rather than the gross enrichment of a few.

Closely linked today to the issues of standards and rights in trade is the ponderous and oppressive burden of third world debt. No aspect of policy is more pressing than the search for a way to end the recycling of capital from banks through the pockets of tyrants and frauds, and by capital flight back to other external banks.

This cycle leaves in its wake no value but mounting debt to be serviced endlessly by the sacrifice of the innocent and the further impoverishment of the poor. We support proposals for the creation of a new international mechanism to acquire this debt at its discounted market value and to negotiate a new deal with the nations now staggering under this load.

A national policy with the elements that I have outlined would enhance and reinforce rather than—as is now too often the case—contradict and impede, the performance of the duty of the free trade union movement to spread the gospel of freedom of association as far as we can make it reach.

Governments are important, of course, but presidents and policies come and presidents and policies go. The responsibility to defend and advance this cause year in and year out is essentially ours and we can acknowledge no limits or boundaries upon it.

Two weeks ago, when Dr. Andrei

Sakharov visited AFL-CIO headquarters to receive the George Meany Human Rights Award—two years late and 11 years after he was prevented from attending our 1977 Convention—he observed with regret the fact that in his country, there are no real trade unions.

But he sounded a note of hope that the changes now underway—symbolized perhaps by his own case—open the possibility that they may yet emerge.

Dr. Sakharov said to us then:

"There are many independent movements that have sprung up. Surely, what is next is that some consolidation efforts will be made in the Soviet Union among the working class. As a matter of fact, some of the steps are already taking place now."

He then went on to say: "I believe that all of the people in the Soviet Union expect that in such a case they can count on the support of the free trade unions in the West."

I trust that this expectation proves to be justified. Certainly, the hope expressed by Dr. Sakharov cannot be well served by disregarding or glossing over the vital distinction between free institutions and instruments of state power. We in the labor movement of this country, like all Americans, have been tempted from time to time over the years by the fatal lure of isolationism, but we have not succumbed—at least not for long.

Today, more than at any other time in history, the world will not let you do that. In this day and age, you cannot be a good trade unionist or perform your duties fully as a representative of working people unless you are, to some degree, an internationalist.

The global marketplace, the rapid mobility of capital, the inscrutable nature of flags over most work places, and the indifference of corporate managements to national values and aspirations that do not translate into profit, are facts of life that trade unions cannot wish away. Clearly, to an ever-increasing degree, the defense of the rights and standards of labor in one country requires that we act in concert with free labor everywhere to defend and advance those rights and standards in all.

While rejecting isolationism, we also reject the unprincipled pursuit of something variously described as "the national interest" or "pragmatism." I'm reminded of the remark of a skeptic who said:

"The trouble with pragmatism is that it doesn't work."

It was, I suggest, arguments of "national interest" or "pragmatism" that sped Chamberlain on his flight to Munich; and that bred the plot to overthrow Mossadegh in Iran for the sake of big oil, and that inspired other exercises and adventures by the best and the brightest that came to no good end at the final reckoning.

We argue rather for a doctrine rooted in a universal and enduring proposition: the service of the aspirations of plain working people for freedom, a better life, and a fair share in the fruits of their labor.

No nation can go very wrong in the pursuit of such a goal, and freedom of association is its leading instrument.

Seven years ago, I sent a message to the First Congress of Solidarnosc, held in the period when hope was still high that Poland would honor its obligation under Convention No. 87. That message said:

"For all who believe in peaceful relations among States, there is no task more urgent than unlinking human rights and freedom from the question of who owns the means of production.

"Freedom of association, of assembly and of expression are the indispensable means by which the people of each nation can decide for themselves which forms of social and economic organization are most appropriate to their needs, their traditions and their aspirations.

"To the extent that this principle is reflected in the conduct of government, doors will open on broader avenues to peace, to normal intercourse among nations, and to a more just allocation of resources."

I continue to believe in the relevance and validity of that argument.

In the words of Albert Camus:

"Since the 19th century, the workers' movements have assumed responsibility for the double honor of freedom and justice without ever dreaming of saying that they were irreconcilable."

We must continue.



(First row, left to right) John J. Barry, President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW); Lenore Miller, President of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU); Stuart Appelbaum (RWDSU); and (middle second row) Todd Linsenmayer, Department of Labor, listening to President Kirkland's address.

Moderator: Tom Kahn

Thank you, John. This morning, President Kirkland gave a speech which he described as a kind of an outline of a new foreign policy for the American government. And he expressed some misgivings that this unsolicited advice would be welcomed either by the new Administration or the present Administration.

Happily, those misgivings were not well-founded and, in fact, the Secretary of State has sent to us an extraordinary representative to pick up an original copy of President Kirkland's speech—and his outline for a new foreign policy, an extraordinary representative indeed.

He has served as Ambassador to the Philippines. He was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. He's been Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense. And since May of 1984, he has been the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs.

Michael Armacost
Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs

Michael H. Armacost was sworn in as the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs on May 18, 1984. He is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Career Minister.

Mr. Armacost served as Ambassador to the Philippines from February 1982 to May 1984. From 1980-82 he was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. In 1978-80 he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, and in 1977-78 he was Senior Staff Member for East Asia at the National Security Council. Mr. Armacost has been a lecturer at Georgetown University and at Johns Hopkins University. His academic career includes publications and commentaries on national security and foreign affairs. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

I first wanted to bring greetings from George Shultz, whose support for the free trade union movement, and his association with many in this room—goes back over four decades.

I wanted to come to pay tribute to Lane Kirkland and his associates, and especially note the importance of this event, which commemorates the ILO's adoption of Convention 87 on the Freedom of Association. I think all those present have made an extraordinary contribution to American public life and we want to pay tribute to it.

I would just make two points while I'm here.

First, freedom of association in its broadest sense, which means freedom of religion, freedom of the market, the right to form and join political parties, the right to join free trade unions—this is what the U.S. political tradition is all about. Freedom of association and human rights are operationally

inseparable. That is true at home, it is true abroad.

Second, it is the foreign policy of the United States to promote freedom of association not only here but around the world. Beginning with the Marshall Plan in Western Europe, the U.S. government has supported programs overseas that are aimed at developing healthy, democratic trade unions and constructive patterns of labor relations.

We do this because we think it is in the U.S. national interest. In doing so, in essence, the United States government has accepted the doctrine of the American labor movement, that no society is free unless it respects the principle of freedom of association.

We agree with the AFL-CIO that if our objective was to promote freedom and democracy, then the U.S. government had the obligation to support the historic commitment of American labor to help free trade unions everywhere survive and to flourish.



Michael Armacost addressing the award luncheon.

We try and translate this commitment to principle into operation through our daily work. We maintain overseas a labor attache corps whose tasks include encouraging the growth of free trade unions and free collective bargaining systems.

We promote an array of trade union development assistance in exchange programs through AID, through USIA, through the National Endowment for Democracy, through the Department of Labor. Virtually all of these are funded through and managed by the AFL-CIO's free labor institutes.

In the State Department, we publish an annual volume of Country Reports on Human Rights. This is becoming an indispensable reference guide to the state of worker rights around the globe. And among the key sources we use in developing the report are the annual surveys of the ICFTU and the proceedings of the ILO's supervisory machinery.

We have established elaborate procedures to determine whether our trading partners are taking steps to improve the state of labor rights. Legislation passed over the last four years makes this a condition for their continuing to receive U.S. trade and aid concessions. Heading the list of rights enumerated by the U.S. Congress is freedom of association. We've been taking the lead in urging the GATT, with the assistance of the ILO, to undertake a multilateral study of the linkages between worker rights and foreign trade.

Finally, I know that Lane won't let me sit down without saying just a word about our policy concerning ratification of ILO Conventions, so just a word.

In 1985, George Shultz played the

lead role within the Administration in urging a reversal of our traditional approach to this question. The conventional wisdom up to that time, since the 1950s, the time of the Bricker Amendment, had been that it was impossible under our federal system to ratify anything other than maritime conventions of the ILO.

The result was that for 30-odd years the U.S. ratified no ILO Conventions. We rested on our laurels. We took comfort from our perception that U.S. labor law and practice exceeded most ILO standards. But the Soviets sought to exploit our non-ratification record to undermine the whole supervisory process.

George Shultz argued before the Hatch Committee three years ago that it was not only our legal and moral responsibility to determine the "ratifiability" of all ILO Conventions, but it was also in the U.S. foreign policy interest.

That's our policy today, and I hope it's one legacy of the Reagan Administration. Since the Hatch hearings, we have, with the advice and consent of the Senate, ratified two ILO Conventions. We're in an advanced stage towards ratifying a third.

Even more significantly, important progress has been made in our review of two major human rights standards, Convention 105 on the Abolition of Forced Labor, and Convention 111 on Employment Discrimination.

We also have a panel of experts which will look at Convention 87 and freedom of association. I don't know what the outcome will be, but we will be guided by the principles agreed to by the government, by the employers, and by workers. We won't ratify conventions which are not in conformity with U.S. labor law and practice. We will not use the treaty-making power to legislate changes in U.S. labor law.

Whether Convention 87 technically meets the test, that's for the panel of experts to decide. But, certainly I think this Administration has adjusted in an historic way our attitude toward the ratification of these Conventions. I think that's a very good step.

In the meantime, while we wait for the panel's results, we certainly can best commemorate freedom of association by continuing to move ahead at home and abroad to advance the basic principles upon which it stands.

I appreciate the chance to be with you, and I'm glad to see a few State Department people here to reflect our commitment to your movement. And I'm pleased to have a chance to speak today.