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Record Group/Collection:	George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin:	Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series:	Speech File Backup Files
Subseries:	Chron File, 1989-1993
OA/ID Number:	13695
Folder ID Number:	13695-001

Folder Title:
AFL-CIO Convention 11/13/89 [OA 6344] [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	19	5	1

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Cable	U.S. Embassy, Moscow to Secretary of State, Re: Lithuanian Labor Leader Describes Workers Movement Struggling for Unity. [redaction] (3 pp.)	11/07/89	(b)(6)	
02. Cable	U.S. Embassy, Moscow to Secretary of State, Re: Strike Leaders Maneuver for Power in Miners Union, Seek to Learn from American Union Movement. [redaction] (1 pp.)	11/07/89	(b)(6)	
03. Cable	U.S. Embassy, Moscow to Secretary of State, Re: Strike Leaders Maneuver for Power in Miners Union, Seek to Learn from American Union Movement. [redaction] (2 pp.)	11/07/89	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: AFL - CIO Convention 11/13/89 [2]

Pinksheet Number: RML1530
OA/ID Number: 13695-001
Date Closed: 10/13/2004
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2004-2265-S
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

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73RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1986 Facts on File, Inc.;
Facts on File World News Digest

December 19, 1986

SECTION: EUROPE; Soviet Union

PAGE: Pg. 946 A1

LENGTH: 562 words

HEADLINE: Well-Known Dissident Dies

BODY:

Dissident Anatoly T. Marchenko died in prison Dec. 8. [See 1971, p. 665A3]

At the time of his death, Marchenko, 48, had five years left on a 10-year prison sentence for antistate activities. He died at Chistopol Prison, about 600 miles (1,000 km) east of Moscow.

Shortly before his death, the government had renewed efforts to convince him and his wife, Larisa Bogoraz, to emigrate. Marchenko had resisted such efforts in the past.

He had spent a total of 20 years either in labor camps, prisons or internal exile. Marchenko had been a member of the Helsinki Watch group created in the 1970s to monitor Soviet human-rights practices, and was the author of My Testimony, a widely read chronicle of his ordeal in a labor camp in the 1960s.

A government spokesman in Moscow Dec. 10 claimed that Marchenko had died of a cerebral hemorrhage following a "natural and long disease.'' (Bogoraz suspected that he had been subjected to beatings by prison guards.)

U.S. President Reagan Dec. 10 hailed Marchenko as a "martyr for the cause of human rights," and condemned Moscow on the rights issue. His comments came in a White House ceremony marking United Nations International Human Rights Day. Soviet dissident emigre Yuri F. Orlov was a guest at the ceremony. [See p. 748D1]

Goldfarb Allowed to Emigrate -- David Goldfarb, a Soviet Jewish scientist in declining health, was permitted to emigrate to the U.S. He arrived at Newark (N.J.) International Airport Oct. 16.

Goldfarb, 67, was a friend of Nicholas S. Daniloff, the American reporter who had been held by the Soviets on spy charges. U.S. industrialist Armand Hammer had interceded with the Soviet authorities in Goldfarb's behalf. [See p. 649E2]

In other Soviet human-rights news:

* Dr. Yelena G. Bonner returned to the U.S.S.R. June 3, after a six-month visit to the West for medical treatment. [See p. 141A2]

* The government July 31 announced the creation of a commission on human rights to mark the 11th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki accords. The panel was to address questions related to the emigration of Soviet Jews and

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the reunification of divided families.

* Leonid Shcharansky and Ida Milgrom, the brother and mother, respectively, of freed dissident Anatoly B. Shcharansky, had been given permission to emigrate to Israel, it was reported Aug. 3. [See p. 91B3]

* Irina Ratushinskaya, a dissident poet, was released from prison Oct. 9. Ratushinskaya, 32, had been sentenced in 1983 to seven years' hard labor and five years in internal exile for antistate activities. [See 1983, p. 179F1]

* The authorities Oct. 18 granted exit visas to Viktor and Inessa Flerov and their two daughters. Inessa Flerov, a Jewish dissident, had been seeking to go to Israel to donate bone marrow to a brother who was dying of leukemia. [See p. 748C2]

* Officials at a Moscow press conference marked U.N. International Human Rights Day Dec. 10 by announcing new regulations for granting entry and exit visas. One rule required that a specific reason be given for the denial of a visa.

A foreign ministry official at the press conference, V.N. Sofinsky, startled reporters by revealing Moscow's fear that Soviet Jews, when allowed to emigrate to Israel, helped to strengthen Israel's military. (About 800 Jews had been permitted to leave the U.S.S.R. to date in 1986.)

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77TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1986 The New York Times Company;
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December 19, 1986, Friday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 39, Column 2; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 892 words

HEADLINE: He Gave Moscow No Peace

BYLINE: By Joshua Rubenstein; Joshua Rubenstein, the northeast regional director of Amnesty International U.S.A., edited a volume of Anatoly T. Marchenko's memoirs.

DATELINE: CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

BODY:

Anatoly T. Marchenko, who died in prison last week, was not an ordinary Soviet dissident.

The son of illiterate railroad workers, he did not emerge from the ranks of disgruntled writers and scientists or oppose the regime because of ethnic or religious persecution.

Mr. Marchenko was first arrested, in 1959, in connection with a brawl in a workers' hostel. He escaped confinement and tried to cross the Soviet border into Iran but was soon caught again and tried for treason. He was given a six year term. He had finished only the eighth grade, but he received an education in labor camp in the 1960's from intellectuals imprisoned for their political beliefs.

In November 1966, Mr. Marchenko left the camps and headed for Moscow. He intended to stay for only a day or two, visiting relatives of friends from the camps, and then move on to Siberia where he had been born and where his parents were living. As it happened, (he later wrote) his ''visit to the capital dragged on and proved to be decisive for [my] entire future.''

Mr. Marchenko arrived in Moscow during a momentous shift in Soviet society, a time when individuals began to overcome their fear and to voice outspoken criticism of their Government. One of the first things Mr. Marchenko did in the capital was to look up Larisa Bogoraz, the estranged wife of the dissident writer Yuli Daniel, whom Mr. Marchenko had met in labor camp. The uneducated worker and the Moscow intellectual soon struck up a friendship, and he told her and her friends of his determination to describe his experiences in the camps - to alert the world to the suffering of the prisoners.

His proposal, indeed his very presence among these Moscow intellectuals, was an unlikely surprise. No one was prepared for his stories. One woman even came to a meeting carrying a tape recorder, intending to collect the latest folk songs from the camps. Their illusions were abruptly shattered.

Most of these intellectuals in Moscow naively believed that the labor camp system had been dismantled. Many of them had lived through the late 1950's, a period of some easing of tensions in the Soviet Union, when millions of

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prisoners had returned from camps, prisons and Siberian exile; many Moscow intellectuals believed that at least one part of Stalin's legacy had been repaired by Nikita S. Khrushchev in the years since Stalin's death. They first learned of their mistake from Mr. Marchenko, who took it upon himself to be the first to document Soviet labor camps in the post-Stalin period.

His first memoir was called ''My Testimony'' and written with the help of Larisa Bogoraz, who later became his wife and the mother of his only child. It circulated widely in samizdat and was translated into 18 languages. It is not a pleasant book. Mr. Marchenko did not flinch: he described the moral degradation of prisoner and keeper alike, chronicling episodes of hunger and self-mutilation that continue to shock readers. The book's remarkably blunt and unpretentious style lends it an effectiveness missing from later prison memoirs by more accomplished writers.

The regime never forgave Mr. Marchenko - and his hatred for the Kremlin did not abate. He spent the next 18 years in and out of prisons, camps and exile. The last trial, in 1981 on charges of ''anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda,'' earned him a 15-year sentence, including 10 years in the camps. He still faced 10 years at the time of his death.

Other activists learned to gauge when it was better to keep silent, find work, enjoy time with their families or even emigrate. But Mr. Marchenko refused to compromise. When the authorities insisted that he stop writing further appeals, he wrote about their threats. When they offered him an exit visa marked for Israel, he reminded them he was not a Jew and refused to accept their ''solution'' to his predicament. In 1975, when he was about to be tried for the fifth time, he went on a hunger strike lasting almost eight weeks. He could only be himself. He could not relent. Neither the regime's brutality nor the suffering he caused to those who loved him seemed to have any effect on his determined resistance.

On Aug. 4, five years into his last term of imprisonment, Mr. Marchenko declared a hunger strike. He announced this in a letter, smuggled out of prison and published in the West, appealing for help and attention from delegates to the Helsinki review conference on human rights convened in Vienna. He demanded in particular to see his wife, who had not been allowed a visit for three years, and insisted that the guards who had beaten him unconscious in 1983 be brought to justice. He also announced his readiness to fast unto death if his demands were not met.

His final hunger strike may have lasted longer than three months. We do not know the details. There was some indication in late November that the regime was prepared to expel him from the country. But on Dec. 9, on the eve of International Human Rights Day, Larisa Bogoraz was informed by telegram that her husband had died in Chistopol prison, in the Tatar Republic.

Anatoly Marchenko effectively determined his own fate some 20 years ago when he decided to expose the truth about Soviet labor camps. The terrible irony is that the isolation and suffering he wanted so much to diminish managed in the end to destroy him.

GRAPHIC: drawing

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(c) 1986 The New York Times, December 19, 1986

TYPE: OP-ED

SUBJECT: POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

ORGANIZATION: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL (ORGN)

NAME: RUBENSTEIN, JOSHUA; MARCHENKO, ANATOLY T

GEOGRAPHIC: UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

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DATE: NOVEMBER 7, 1989

CLIENT:
LIBRARY: NEXIS
FILE: OMNI

YOUR SEARCH REQUEST IS:
MICHAEL W/2 HAMMER AND MARK W/2 PEARLMAN AND EL SALVADOR AND DATE IS 1981

NUMBER OF STORIES FOUND WITH YOUR REQUEST THROUGH:
LEVEL 1... 102

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29TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1981 The Washington Post

May 30, 1981, Saturday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; World News; A20

LENGTH: 1160 words

HEADLINE: Salvadoran Land Reform Killings: Testimony, Suspects but No Solution

BYLINE: By Christopher Dickey, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: SAN SALVADOR, May 29, 1981

BODY:

Just before midnight on Jan. 3, gunmen entered the hotel restaurant and opened fire with automatic pistols. Rodolfo Viera and Michael Hammer, who had just arrived from Washington, were killed where they sat. Mark Pearlman struggled to get away but the bullets kept coming, about 40 shots in all, and he too died.

The bullet holes in the kitchen door have been patched over and the bloodstained rug removed from the floor of the Sheraton Hotel's Las Americas restaurant. The neon light of the Copacabana roller disco flashes complacently next to the coffee shop.

But the murders, unlike tens of thousands of killings in El Salvador over the last two years, have not faded into the general background.

Two of the three men who died that evening, Hammer, 42, and Pearlman, 36, were American land reform experts working for the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development. Viera, 39, was head of the Salvadoran agency that oversees the controversial land distribution that the United States has made a vital facet of its policy here.

Washington, which often acts as the main international apologist for the fragile military-civilian coalition government here, has pressed Salvadoran authorities for prompt resolution of this case as well as the killing of four American churchwomen in December.

In the United States, the Catholic Church and the AFL-CIO also have pressed the investigations.

"It has often seemed to me that I was in charge of a police department instead of an embassy," acting Ambassador Frederic Chapin told Salvadoran dignitaries and the diplomatic corps as he ended his 3 1/2 months of service here Monday night. "I have necessarily been very concerned by the terrible killings of American citizens and with the cases of others who have disappeared . . . . These perfidious murders demand justice and the world will judge the government of El Salvador and its armed forces by the result of these cases."

After almost half a year of what one source called "tough slogging" between the U.S. Embassy and Salvadoran officials, suspects have been detained in both cases. Six enlisted men from the Salvadoran National Guard are being held in connection with the killing of the women and two members of wealthy Salvadoran

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families have been arrested for alleged involvement in the Sheraton murders.

Two military officers who were the top-ranking members of the National Guard's intelligence division were with the suspects in the Sheraton and are also being investigated, sources said.

Both majors, Maj. Mario Denis Moran and his second in command, have since been reassigned, according to these sources. Defense Minister Joe Guillermo Garcia told a reporter yesterday that while both officers were with the suspects that night, no convincing evidence has been presented against them.

Meanwhile, witnesses, investigators and some U.S. Embassy personnel involved with the cases are in almost constant danger. Consul Patricia Lasbury, herself a former nun, had the conspicuous responsibility for pressing the cases and was instrumental in shepherding some key witnesses out of the country. She has now been pulled out of El Salvador, according to friends, because of her superiors' fears for her safety.

The first prosecutor in the Sheraton case, Jorge Carlos Figeac, resigned earlier this month and left the country, alleging threats on his life. Teresa Torres Lopez, 41, a waitress who is a key witness in the Sheraton murders, is now in the United States. When she returned briefly to give a deposition, she came only as far as the heavily guarded Air Force barracks at the Ilopongo military airport.

In the Sheraton investigation, no material evidence linking the suspects to the crime has yet been made public. Ballistics tests run on the guns they say they carried that night have proved negative, sources said.

Although no one has been found who saw the actual shooting, there are some witnesses who have thus far declined to testify for the record, according to these sources. But for the moment, the only public testimony that ties the suspects to the case is in the Torres deposition.

Well-informed sources here doubt that there is even enough evidence to extradite one of the suspects from Miami, where he was arrested.

The picture given by the waitress of what happened at the Sheraton that night differs from the sworn testimony of the suspects and Maj. Moran.

According to Torres, six men were seated around one of the little tables in the coffee shop where she worked that night when Viera, Pearlman and Hammer came in. Two of the six men, she said, were Hans Christ, 31, now being held in Miami, and Ricardo Sol Meza, 34, currently in a Salvadoran jail.

Christ and Sol Meza are married to two sisters from the wealthy Aguilar family, which had thousands of acres taken by the land reform program. Sol Meza's own family controls a financial empire that includes a major interest in the Sheraton Hotel. Sol Meza himself was the proprietor of the Copacabana disco.

Torres said she could not identify the other four men at the table, but sources close to the investigation said two of them are believed to have been the majors. The names of the remaining two to whom she refers have not been revealed in the proceedings.

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Viera, Hammer and Pearlman asked Torres, she said, if they could go someplace more quiet and she directed them to the restaurant Las Americas. Torres said Christ got up from his table and watched where they went.

A few minutes later, Torres said, she was taking a break on a terrace outside the restaurant when through the glass doors she saw Christ in the hallway making some sort of hand signals as if "calling people."

A volley of shots rang out seconds later. She testified that she did not see who fired them. She ran into the kitchen where she met two other hotel employes. They then entered the restaurant and saw the bodies. Sol Meza and Christ were there, according to Torres, and Christ was speaking into some kind of "apparatus." Torres said she did not see any guns.

Sol Meza subsequently told Torres and the other employes not to talk about what they saw, Torres said.

Sol Meza's story is that he never even saw the victims until after the shooting and was never in the coffee shop that night. He and Moran had dined with their wives at a Chinese restaurant then gone to visit his newly opened roller disco at the hotel, according to Sol Meza's and Moran's depositions, chatting with various friends, including Christ, that they ran into there.

It was not until someone told them something had happened in the restaurant that Sol Meza, Christ and Moran went to the scene, according to the depositions.

Sol Meza said he never said anything to anyone about keeping quiet. Nobody but Torres remembers anything about Christ speaking into an apparatus.

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44TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1981 The New York Times Company;
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April 17, 1981, Friday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 24, Column 1; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 338 words

HEADLINE: Police Work for El Salvador

BODY:

A beam of light is finally falling on the terror and lawlessness that darken El Salvador. Effective police work has led to the arrest of two suspects in the January murder of Jose Rodolfo Viera, the director of the nation's land reform institute, and two American labor advisers, Michael Hammer and Mark Pearlman.

The arrest, however, only adds new point to the question of why progress has been so slow on a whole list of comparable killings in El Salvador. Except for the prominence of the victims, the deaths of Mr. Hammer and Mr. Pearlman were grimly typical of thousands attributed to right-wing ''death squads.''

Of the 8,000 people slain in 1980, many were undoubtedly victims of left-wing guerrillas. But most of the slaughter is credibly attributed to Government security forces and the ''death squads,'' which the ruling junta has been unable or unwilling to control. A year after the murder of Archbishop Oscar Romero, that case remains unsolved. So does the ambush killing of six leaders of the umbrella opposition front. Nor have there been any arrests in the murder last December of three American nuns and a lay missionary.

American concern should go beyond the Salvadorans' inattention to outrage, or the fact that this violence betrays whatever chance there is for the survival of the American-backed junta. Four months ago, the outgoing American Ambassador to El Salvador supplied Washington with a list of wealthy Salvadoran exiles in Florida who are believed to be bankrolling the death squads. The arrest of one of the murder suspects in Miami raises anew the question whether some of these killings are being planned and financed on United States soil.

A full-scale inquiry is surely in order to determine whether the laws of asylum are being flouted. The Reagan Administration would enhance not only the national interest but also national honor if it moved even-handedly against terrorists of the right and left.

TYPE: Editorial

SUBJECT: POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT; MURDERS AND ATTEMPTED MURDERS; POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

GEOGRAPHIC: SALVADOR, EL

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56TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Time

January 19, 1981, U.S. Edition

SECTION: WORLD; El Salvador; Pg. 40

LENGTH: 703 words

HEADLINE: Sudden Death over Dinner;
Two more Americans are gunned down, and another is missing

BODY:

It was a particularly festive night in the 288-room Sheraton Hotel in the hills behind San Salvador. The hotel's new roller disco was crammed with teen-agers, many of them students from U.S. schools home for the holidays. In the Izalco Supper Club, older couples danced to an eleven-piece orchestra. Across the hallway, in the Salon Centro America dining room, three men chatted earnestly over coffee. Without warning, two well-dressed men stepped into the nearly deserted restuarant, pulled out automatic pistols and sprayed the three diners with 9-mm and 45-cal. gunfire, hitting them in the chests and heads. Moments later, they tucked their pistols into the waistbands of their trousers and calmly strode through the crowded hotel lobby and out into the warm night air.

Once again the gruesome internecine warfare that claimed 10,000 deaths last year had taken a toll in American lives.Killed in the massacre were Jose Rodolfo Viera, president of El Salvador's Institute for Agrarian Transformation, and two U.S. labor lawyers, Michael P. Hammer and Mark David Pearlman. Hammer, 42, an agrarian expert who had arrived in the capital the day he was killed, and Pearlman, 26, a former Peace Corps volunteer in the Philippines, were both employees of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, an international arm of the AFL-CIO. The organization has been under contract to El Salvador to provide technical assistance for the country's major land-reform effort.

Last week it appeared that the violence may have claimed yet another American: John J. Sullivan Jr., 26, a freelance journalist from Bogota, N.J., on assignment for Hustler magazine. Sullivan, who had previously spent a year in Rio de Jeneiro, checked into the Sheraton six days before the slayings in the dining room. He left his room the next day, leaving behind his camera, tape recorder, typewriter, a Spanish dictionary and well-worn handbook on South America. The tall, bearded newsman never returned to his room and has not been heard from.

The latest incidents came only a month after slayings of five other Americans who had been working in El Salvador. In early December, suspected right-wing terrorists shot three nuns and a Catholic lay worker alongside a dirt road, 30 miles east of the capital. A fortnight later an American ex-policeman working as an investigator was gunned down.

Jose Napoleon Duarte, President of the U.S.-backed civilian-military junta, promised an "extensive investigation" into the murders of Hammer, Pearlman and Viera, but was vague about what interests in the strife-torn country might have been responsible. At first, he said the killings were "an action of the

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(c) 1981 Time Inc., Time, January 19, 1981

extreme right," but then he added, "Of course, it could be the left." Officials believed that Viera, 39, had been the killers' main target, that the two Americans might have been shot solely because they happened to be with him.

El Salvador's land-reform program, actively backed by the U.S., has already created cooperative farms for 386,000 peasants. It has been bitterly opposed by both political extremes: the right, because it has taken land away from the almost feudal oligarchy of the country's 14 wealthiest families, and the left, because it attempts to take much of the steam out of their Marxist promises and deprives them of a rural power base.

El Salvador's 5,000-strong leftist guerillas vowed last month to launch a "final military offensive," in an attempt to defeat the junta before U.S. President-elect Reagan takes office and can deliver on a campaign promise to increase military aid to El Salvador's security forces. The government is mustering a concerted series of counterattacks in an effort to thwart the insurgents. A guerilla strong-hold on a volcanic slope 25 miles from the capital has become a battleground for some of the heaviest fighting in months. Army forces last week repeatedly sprayed the area with grenades from hovering helicopters. In one engagement alone, 22 guerrillas, including four women, were reported killed. At week's end, the guerrillas seized a radio station, announced the start of a general offensive, and called for popular uprisings against the regime.

GRAPHIC: Picture, Bodies of Pearlman (foreground) and Hammer, A roller disco crammed with teen-agers, MATTISON -- GAMMA/LIAISON

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62ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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January 9, 1981, Friday, AM cycle

SECTION: Washington Dateline

LENGTH: 350 words

HEADLINE: American Slain in El Salvador is Buried

BYLINE: By JAY PERKINS, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Hammer Funeral

BODY:

Michael P. Hammer, the labor organizer assassinated in El Salvador, was buried Friday in ground hallowed by the remains of America's heroes.

Representatives of the Carter and incoming Reagan administrations watched silently as Hammer was eulogized as a man who carried the flag of freedom and justice.

Hammer was buried in Arlington National Cemetery, less than a mile from the State Department and the AFL-CIO headquarters with which he worked.

Hammer and Mark David Pearlman, a fellow labor organizer, were gunned down last Saturday as they sat in a hotel cafe in San Salvador, the capital of El Salvador. Hammer died on the day he arrived in that Central-American country.

Both Hammer, 42, and Pearlman, 36, worked for the American Institute for Free Labor Development, an international arm of the AFL-CIO whose activities are supported by the State Department.

More than 300 persons crowded into the memorial chapel at Fort Myer, Va., just across the Potomac River from the Lincoln Memorial, for the funeral mass that preceded Hammer's burial.

Vice President Walter F. Mondale and Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie represented the outgoing Carter administration. Richard V. Allen, national security adviser to President-elect Ronald Reagan, and Jeane Kirkpatrick, Reagan's choice as United Nations ambassador, represented the incoming administration.

Also attending was AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland.

Muskie told the mourners, "We will not forget the sacrifice. We will not abandon the work. Mike gave his life for his country in the service of the American labor movement. Our government supported his work and we commit

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ourselves once again to it."

Hammer, born in Paris of German parents, spent his early youth in Ecuador. He spent four years in the U.S. Air Force after he became a naturalized American citizen.

The graduate of Georgetown University's Foreign Service School spoke five languages and had spent much of his time in recent years in Latin America promoting land reform.

He is survived by his wife, Magdalena, and son, Michael Jr., 15.

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63RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1981 The New York Times Company;
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January 9, 1981, Friday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 22, Column 1; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 773 words

HEADLINE: THE EDITORIAL NOTEBOOK;
DEATH IN EL SALVADOR;
by Robert Kleiman

BODY:

Michael Hammer, the American land reform adviser murdered in El Salvador Saturday night, knew he was putting his life on the line when he left Washington that morning. El Salvador was teetering on the edge of a rightist coup. Four assassination attempts had already been made, probably by rightist ''death squads,'' against Rodolfo Viera, the peasant leader Hammer was flying to help - and who would soon be slain with him and Mark Pearlman.

Why was Michael Hammer, an A.F.L.-C.I.O. official and director of an A.I.D. contract program supporting agrarian reform, driven to go into the teeth of the storm? His entire professional life had been devoted to helping Latin American peasants, and a recent conversation illuminated his special dedication to those of El Salvador.

On the steep slopes of the extinct volcano towering behind San Salvador, he said, the landowners sold scarce water to their farm workers for 10 cents a pint. The minimum daily wage, rarely honored, was 90 cents. A gallon of water took a day's pay.

Shortly after he arrived in 1966 for a four-year stint, a self-help seminar he conducted gave one peasant student an idea: build a water tank. With Mr. Hammer's help, the campesinos borrowed money, bought cement, dug a large pit and lined it. Twice the nearly finished tank was blown up. The peasants persisted. For the third time, the tank was completed. But, when it filled with water, they found it encircled with barbed wire and armed

A Story of Lives Spent Achieving Historic Land Reform

guards. The landowner claimed the tank was on his property. He offered water - at the usual price. It took lengthy legal action, with A.F.L.-C.I.O. help, to prove the tank was on municipal land.

Rodolfo Viera was another of Mr. Hammer's seminar students. His object was to restore dignity to the campesinos, whose labor earned less than that of an ox. By 1979, his farmers' union, with 125,000 members, had become the dominant peasant organization. When, a year ago, leftist parties walked out of the governing junta of reformminded officers and civilians, he became the key to peasant support for centrist rule.

He was asked to head the Government agency in charge of agrarian reform. His single condition was rapid land redistribution. Within hours of taking office, Mr. Viera was on the phone to Mr. Hammer in Washington asking for A.I.D. financial assistance and technical advice. Mr. Hammer turned to the Land

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(c) 1981 The New York Times, January 9, 1981

Council, a private organization promoting land reform in developing countries. Help came quickly and within weeks; the junta was persuaded. Almost 90 percent of the land slated for redistribution was quickly transferred. By April 28, twothirds of the landless farm tenants and laborers were given ownership of the land they tilled. It was the most sweeping land reform - and the fastest -ever carried out in Latin America.

The new smallholders and peasant cooperatives have turned away from the Communist-led guerrillas in the hills and have suffered reprisals. The old landowners meanwhile dream of regaining power - and reversing the land reform. They were encouraged by the Reagan nomination and election and then by a leaked transition report attacking the American Ambassador, Robert White, as a ''social reformer,'' undermining Carter Administration influence in El Salvador.

Michael Hammer and his colleagues shuttled between San Salvador and Washington, vainly seeking a clear Reagan statement supporting the junta and its reforms. Rumors flew last week that El Salvador's President Duarte was succumbing to rightist pressure to remove Mr. Viera. That, Mr. Hammer warned, would incite fears that the land reform would be reversed. The peasants would be thrown into the arms of the extreme left, assuring full-scale civil war and a Castro-aided Marxist victory.

He sought the intervention of some of his and Duarte's mutual friends among Latin American political and union leaders. Then he flew to San Salvador Saturday.

By special dispensation, Michael Hammer will be given a hero's burial today in Arlington National Cemetery. Social reformers are not often so honored, even if killed in combat. An even better tribute would be in El Salvadaor: land reform that endures. ROBERT KLEIMAN

TYPE: Editorial

SUBJECT: MURDERS AND ATTEMPTED MURDERS; TERRORISM; LAND USE POLICIES; SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND TRENDS

GEOGRAPHIC: SALVADOR, EL

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65TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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January 8, 1981, Thursday, AM cycle

SECTION: Washington Dateline

LENGTH: 420 words

HEADLINE: El Salvador Victim Had 'Great Compassion'

BYLINE: By MERRILL HARTSON, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Pearlman

BODY:

Mark Pearlman, one of two Americans slain in El Salvador last weekend, was eulogized Thursday as a man of "great compassion" who chose to fight for the rights of peasants in that tense Central American nation rather than practice law comfortably at home.

"The free-trade-union principles for which he lived were noble and the circumstances of his tragic death can serve no other purpose but to renew our commitment to fulfill those principles," William C. Doherty, executive director of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, said at a memorial service for Pearlman at AFL-CIO headquarters here.

Pearlman, 36, and Michael P. Hammer, 42, were shot to death late Saturday at the Hotel Sheraton in San Salvador. Also slain was Jose Rodolpho Viera, the president of El Salvador's Institute of Agrarian Reform.

Pearlman and Hammer worked for the institute, an international branch of the AFL-CIO that has been trying to bring about land reform to benefit peasants in strife-torn El Salvador.

They were slain one month after four American women -- three Roman Catholic nuns and a lay worker -- were found shot to death not far from San Salvador. Authorities said the missionaries were murdered Dec. 2.

Doherty said Pearlman "could have chosen to be a comfortable lawyer in California, or any other safe place in this world, but instead chose to confront the danger and difficulties of El Salvador in order to serve an impoverished constituency far removed from his own culture and background."

Services were to held in Pearlman's hometown of Seattle later Thursday.

A memorial service is scheduled Friday at Fort Myer, Va., a military base near the nation's capital, for Hammer, who is from Potomac, Md. Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie would be among those to attend the service, officials of the American labor institute indicated.

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The Associated Press, January 8, 1981

Jose Napoleon Duarte, president of El Salvador's ruling civilian-military junta, has said an "exhaustive investigation will be made" into the slayings of Pearlman, Hammer and Viera.

Pearlman had been living in San Salvador for the past seven months and had worked as an adviser to the government institute. On New Year's Day, he completed a detailed analysis of progress by the land reform movement.

American sources said Hammer had arrived in San Salvador on Saturday and had been expected to remain there only for a brief time.

The institute that Viera headed was responsible for enacting the Salvadoran government's land redistribution program.

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66TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1981

January 8, 1981, Thursday, AM cycle

SECTION: Washington News

DISTRIBUTION: Minnesota

LENGTH: 166 words

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Mondale

BODY:

Vice President Walter Mondale will attend the funeral mass of Michael Hammer, an American agriculture activist slain in El Salvador, Friday at Arlington Cemetery, it was announced Thursday.

The services will be held at the cemetery's New Memorial Chapel.

Last Saturday, presumed rightists gunned down Hammer, 42, of Potomac, Md., and fellow labor activist Mark Pearlman, 37, of Seattle, Wash., while the Americans were eating in the coffee shop of the Sheraton Hotel in western San Salvador.

The slaying of Hammer and Pearlman, whose bodies were sent back back to the United States Tuesday, brought to seven the number of Americans killed in the past month in El Salvador, including three nuns and a Catholic lay worker.

John J. Sullivan, 26, of Bogota, N.J., an American free-lance journalist, is missing and feared dead.

On Thursday, Mondale will travel to St. Paul, Minnesota, where he will hold a news conference and address a joint session of the Minneosta State Legislature at noon.

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The following excerpt is from an address given on June 3, 1975, at the seventy-fifth anniversary dinner of the ILGWU by the president of the American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations.

MORE THAN A UNION

by George Meany

This union has been fortunate in the leadership that has been developed over the years in a tough industry, a leadership that never lost sight of the real big picture of the trade union movement. They always held to the great visions of what the labor movement was all about, and the dramatic changes it could make in the lives of millions of ordinary people. Louis Stulberg, like David Dubinsky before him, has embodied that kind of leadership, not only in the ILGWU but in the American labor movement as a whole.

Looking back over the years that it has been my privilege to observe the ILGWU in action, I realize that this institution is much more than a trade union. Oh, yes, it was vitally concerned with wages and work conditions for its membership, which were reflected in progressively better and better collective-bargaining agreements over the years.

The word "International" in the official title of your union has, for me, special significance. It indicates that the union embraces membership in Canada as well as the United States. But much more, it indicates the global philosophy of the ILGWU over the years, which philosophy could be best described, as it was described by the Philadelphia charter of the International Labor Organization, adopted in 1944, which stated very simply, "All human beings, irrespective of race, creed, or sex have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity."

May I cite to you two outstanding examples of the global philosophy, where the ILGWU leadership demonstrated its concern for the plight of people in faraway places whose freedom was threatened by the forces of tyranny and despotism: In this city in April 1933, a gathering of liberal and labor representatives set up two instrumentalities to combat the forces that were crushing freedom in Nazi Germany. One of these organizations was the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, set up to promote a worldwide boycott of Nazi products. The other, the German Labor Chest, was to provide relief for German trade union officials who had gone into exile with the rise of Adolf Hitler.

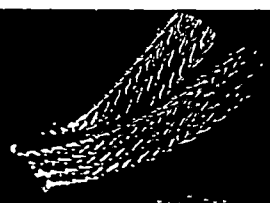
One of the prime movers of these actions, who was present at that meeting, was the then president of the ILGWU, my good friend David Dubinsky. What was highly significant about this was that Dubinsky and those associated with him recognized the threat to human freedom that was inherent in the event taking place 6,000 miles away in Germany at a time, within 90 days after Hitler assumed power, when a lot of people were looking upon Hitler as some kind of political freak that would go away. Dubinsky, Bill Green, Matt Woll and a few more realized then the threat to our way of life and to our concept of freedom and dignity that was inherent in what was happening in Nazi Germany early in 1933.

And then, who can forget 1948, when a crucial election was held in Italy which could have resulted in Italy's going behind the Iron Curtain as a Soviet satellite? Well, I don't know about the CIA interfering in foreign elections, but I can confess that the AFL and Dubinsky and Luigi Antonini "interfered" in a foreign election in 1948, and I'm quite proud of the fact that they did. The courageous leadership of Dubinsky and Antonini played a major role in preventing at that time a complete takeover of Italy by the Communists.

I said at the beginning of my remarks that this union was built and made great by practical people with big ideas and, perhaps more important, high ideals about democracy, freedom and justice which were, in many cases, brought to this country by people who had to struggle for those ideas in the Old World. They came here looking, not just for bread, but also for justice.

Maybe that is why this union has been truly international in its outlook. Whether it was a fight against Fascism or a fight against Communism, the ILGWU was always in the forefront. This union never sat back and said "that's none of our business." If freedom was at stake, especially trade union freedom, anywhere in the world, it was the business of this union, and it is the business today of the entire trade union movement.

The great adventure which 11 workers in a small room embarked upon 75 years ago tonight is not yet over. Your legacy to all workers is a concept and a model of social unionism in the very best sense of the word. That for us is not a thing of the past, but that really is the wave of the future.



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February 11, 1989, Saturday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 1; Page 33, Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 601 words

HEADLINE: Irving Brown, 77, U.S. Specialist On International Labor Movement

BYLINE: By GLENN FOWLER

BODY:

Irving Brown, an international affairs specialist for the American trade-union movement for more than four decades, died of intestinal cancer yesterday at his home in Paris. He was 77 years old.

Since World War II, Mr. Brown had held a number of high posts representing the American Federation of Labor and later the merged A.F.L. and Congress of Industrial Organizations. For the last three years he had been a senior adviser to Lane Kirkland, president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Mr. Brown was at times denounced by right-wing Americans as a Communist sympathizer, while the Communists branded him an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency.

In the 1950's and 1960's, working on both sides of the Atlantic, he spearheaded a drive to prevent Communist takeovers of European trade unions and international labor groups. Last October, in recognition of his long service in the labor movement, he received the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Son of Teamsters' Leader

''We have lost a giant,'' Mr. Kirkland said yesterday. ''No other individual did more than Irving to protect and advance workers' rights in every nation around the world.''

A native New Yorker, Mr. Brown was the son of a leader in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. He earned his tuition at New York University by working as a waiter, a shipping clerk, a baggage handler and a copy boy for The New York Times, among other jobs.

After graduating with a degree in economics in 1932, at the depth of the Depression, he became an organizer for the United Automobile Workers at Ford and General Motors plants. By 1940 he had become a national organizer for the A.F.L. and in 1942, shortly after the United States went to war, he was named a labor representative to the War Production Board.

When the war ended Mr. Brown joined the Foreign Economic Administration as a representative of both the A.F.L. and the C.I.O., seeking to put into effect American labor policy in occupied areas of Europe. But he soon quit in a dispute with occupation authorities, who he felt were trying to prevent German trade unionists from becoming an effective national force.

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Represented A.F.L. in Europe

The A.F.L. promptly appointed him to be its European representative and he traveled among the Western countries offering aid to workers' groups.

Because the French labor movement was largely controlled by Communist and other leftist unions, Mr. Brown set up headquarters in Brussels. From there he organized committees of French maritime and dock workers to combat Communist cells that were trying to block delivery of Marshall Plan cargoes. For that and other efforts he was roundly denounced in the Communist press as a henchman of the American State Department.

In the United States, the newspaper columnist Westbrook Pegler and other right-wing spokesmen attacked Mr. Brown for, as Mr. Pegler wrote, having served in the 1930's as a Communist ''stooge'' trying to undermine the American Socialist Party from within.

In a letter that Mr. Pegler printed in his column, Mr. Brown said in reply: ''I fought against Communists long before you ever decided that it was good business to fight them.''

From 1965 until 1973, Mr. Brown was executive director of the African American Labor Center, providing technical aid to free trade unions in Africa. He returned to the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s European office, now in Paris, in 1973. He was named the organization's director of international affairs in 1982, a post he held until becoming Mr. Kirkland's senior adviser in 1986.

Mr. Brown is survived by his wife, Irene, and a son, Robert.

GRAPHIC: Photo of Irving Brown (Victor Lusinchi, 1982).

TYPE: Obituary

SUBJECT: DEATHS

NAME: BROWN, IRVING

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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.

veatshop

ıfluential editor of the *At-*
article first appeared on

PRISONER

McGill

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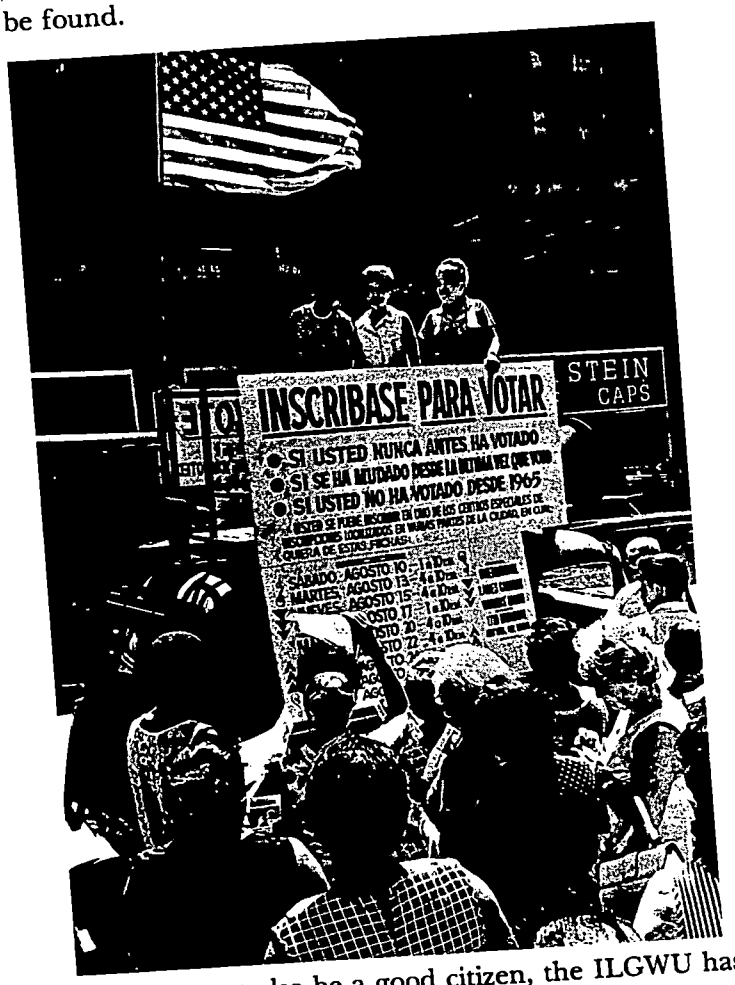
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Within six months the energetic young Dubinsky had qualified for the cutters union. He was 19. The thousands of garment workers had won a strike the year before. But the intolerable working and living conditions which had produced the strike still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

'The Shock Wave Has Come From Below'

Labor unrest imperils Gorbachev's perestroika

Night after night, their dirty, defiant faces filled Soviet television screens. Their strikes began in the coalfields of the Kuznetsk Basin in western Siberia, where tens of thousands of miners demanded better pay, more consumer goods and greater autonomy. Then they spread: to the Donets Basin of the southern Ukraine; to the Don and Dnieper rivers; to Vorkuta in arctic Russia; to the Karaganda fields in Central Asia. Faced last week with the prospect of economic strangulation, Moscow meekly surrendered to the strikers' demands. The threat to the nation was "very acute," said Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who sought to divert the blame by hinting at a purge of his conservative critics. "Work stoppages . . . could have far-reaching economic, social and political consequences."

Those consequences were already apparent as thousands of triumphant strikers began returning to the mines, and thousands of others continued to mull over the settlement. The temporary loss of nearly half of the country's coal production threatened "catastrophe" in the steel and power industries, said the Soviet news agency Tass. Of longer-range significance was the threat that the easy victory in the coalfields could lead to greater militancy among the country's 83 million workers. "The number of strikes is definitely increasing," says Andrei Shugayev, a labor specialist at Moscow's Institute of State and Law. And now, in the wake of the government's cave-in at the mines, predicts Moscow labor organizer Valery Korolyov, "we will see much more evidence of labor expressing itself. This is a great step forward in self-awareness."

The strike also heightened the political divisions within the Kremlin. At a stormy meeting of Communist Party leaders, Gorbachev rebuffed angry complaints that the party was losing control of the country. The solution, he said, lay in eliminating the "conservative and dogmatic forces" that were holding back his political and economic reforms. "The ranks of party officials need renewal," he told the gathering. "They need to be renewed at the level of the shop floor, the district, the city, the region, the republic, the Central Committee, the Politburo." But even previous fence-sitters dared to suggest that Gorbachev's reforms might fail. "The point is that *perestroika* is truly not going the way we want it to," insisted Politburo member Vitaly Vorotnikov, premier of the Russian Republic. "To put it even more bluntly, critical voices among the people . . . are rising."



WHITE—SYGMA

'People have lost patience': *Striking miners in Prokopyevsk*



Economic chaos: The Soviet leader was walking a very fine line. On the one hand, he could take pleasure in strikers' signs proclaiming "Perestroika in Deeds, Not Words." "This is the breakup of the administrative command system," Aleksandr Melnikov, a party official in Siberia, told reporters. "And this time the shock wave has come from below. I don't see any contradictions between the strikers' demands and the ideas [Gorbachev] is putting forward today." On the other hand, the Kremlin leader was aware that repeated strikes could lead only to economic chaos. He specifically warned of the possibility of a strike in the railroad industry, a walkout that could turn shortages into privation and again halt deliveries of coal. "We must say to the people," Gorbachev declared, " 'This is not the way'."

It was difficult to deny the legitimacy of the miners' complaints. Life expectancies in the Kuznetsk Basin are 10 years lower than the Soviet average; according to the youth daily Komsomolskaya Pravda, some 10,000 miners have died of work-related causes in the past nine years. Speaking to miners in the Siberian town of Prokopyevsk, Gorbachev's special representative, Politburo member Nikolai Slyunkov, acknowledged the industry's extraordinary problems: "People have lost patience and composure," he admitted.

What was particularly disturbing was the degree to which the miners' grievances mirrored those of ordinary Soviet labor. The miners are relatively well paid, earning roughly twice the salary of the average worker. But like all Soviet citizens, the

miners suffer from a lack of goods to buy. Basic items like meat, sugar and toilet paper are chronically out of stock. Until last week, miners in the Donets Basin received less than half a pound of butter a month; a single bar of soap had to last each grimy miner for three months. But as part of the settlement negotiated by Slyunkov, Soviet miners will receive immediate deliveries of butter, meat, boots, household appliances, television sets—and thousands of tons of soap. It did not go unnoticed that the miners obtained those luxuries by simply deciding to strike.

That was a precedent the country could hardly afford. The coal strike was "really a showdown, because it [was] a response to the deteriorating economic situation," says Marshall Goldman, a Soviet specialist at Wellesley College. "I think it's just going to spread . . . The workers seem to be saying, 'If this is the way we're going to have to get attention to our needs, let's do it'."

In the open: Until recently, the notion of a Soviet strike was regarded as an ideological contradiction: a rebellion of workers against the workers' state. But last week the Supreme Soviet was preparing a law that would explicitly recognize the right to strike. The legislation, wrote Sergei Shishkin, a legal scholar at Irkutsk University, would be a formal acknowledgment of "worker alienation from authority and the means of production." Gorbachev and his fellow reformers seemed to agree that it is wiser to bring workers' grievances out in the open. To that end, Gorbachev was especially critical last week of the state-sanctioned "trade unions" which remained largely passive through the wildcat strike. The walkout, he suggested, was at least partly the result of the complacency of union leaders who had allowed working conditions in the coalfields to deteriorate.

The goal was to create a more representative labor movement—not one that is at political odds with the state. But the threat of a confrontation was clear. Last week strike leaders in the Ukrainian city of Chervonograd reportedly demanded the formation of an independent national union modeled on Solidarity—the organization that helped spread economic turmoil in Poland and brought the communist authorities there to their knees. That is clearly more than Gorbachev wants or will allow. But perestroika offers little immediate promise to the working class, particularly those without technical skills. Market reform will bring rising prices, while restoring industrial efficiency could cost workers millions of jobs. That may be Gorbachev's most daunting challenge of all. For unless its basic needs are satisfied, labor may ultimately become the vanguard of a crippling Soviet opposition.

HARRY ANDERSON *with* CARROLL BOGERT *in Moscow*



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

Candid dialogue: *Crowe and Akhromeyev in conference aboard a U.S. carrier*

From Cold War to Odd Couple

The top U.S. soldier is friends with the marshal

Even in this *glasnost*-giddy era, the dinner Adm. William J. Crowe Jr. threw in Washington last week was an unlikely event. The United States' top military man had as his guest of honor Sergei Fyodorovich Akhromeyev, marshal of the Soviet Union, member of the Communist Party Central Committee—and Mikhail Gorbachev's closest adviser on security policy. It is Akhromeyev's second American trip in a year, and comes on the heels of a Crowe visit to the Soviet Union, the first ever by a chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Out of these contacts has grown perhaps the most candid East-West dialogue since the late W. Averell Harriman's long talks with Joseph Stalin in postwar Moscow. The difference is that these two are friends. Says Crowe simply: "I enjoy the man."

The relationship has already borne fruit. Last July Crowe and Akhromeyev negotiated agreements to facilitate contacts between U.S. and Soviet forces. Last week three Soviet ships docked in Norfolk, Va., only the second such call in a U.S. harbor since World War II. During his 11-day tour of Soviet military installations in June, Crowe himself signed a "Prevention of Dangerous Military Activities" protocol on behalf of the United States. The consultation has even become a diplomatic conduit: last summer Akhromeyev gave Crowe advance word on unilateral force cuts the Soviets planned in Eastern Europe. Crowe duly told top Reagan officials—only to be chided for trusting a communist. "I'm always amazed when I'm in that kind of dialogue with the Soviet military," says Crowe. "It's not the environment I grew up in."

At first the two old warriors seem an odd couple. Akhromeyev, 66, won his stripes at 19 in the brutal trenches around Leningrad. Schooled in the Soviet doctrine of direct attack, he is known as a soldier's soldier: straitlaced and straightforward. The 64-year-old Crowe missed out on World War II entirely, and did not have a combat command in Vietnam. His specialty is statecraft; he holds a Ph.D. from Princeton in politics. But the two share a belief that politics is too important to be left to politicians. Akhromeyev has been the operational architect of Soviet arms-control policy since leaving his post as chief of the armed forces general staff last December, while Crowe is, according to a civilian admirer at the Pentagon, "the best strategic thinker the military has produced since George C. Marshall."

Crowe's strategic view is at once forward looking and cautious. It holds that security policy on both sides reflects outmoded postwar realities. With the Soviet economy in crisis and the United States militarily overcommitted, both sides would benefit from a radical drawdown of forces in Europe. Ultimately, both Crowe and Akhromeyev see NATO and the Warsaw Pact as guarantors of political stability rather than war-ready coalitions. At the same time, Crowe says all U.S. moves should be "reversible," so long as the ultimate fate of Gorbachev's reforms is unclear. When George Bush contemplated announcing U.S. European troop cuts of 75,000 in his Brussels speech in June, it was Crowe who argued him down to 30,000. This is less than his friend Akhromeyev might hope for in the short term, but as Crowe reminded an audience at the Soviets' Academy of Sciences: "We are literally members of a transitional generation," and smooth transitions don't happen on hurried timetables.

JOHN BARRY *in Washington*

Will History Repeat Itself?

Breaking the cycle of revolution and repression

BY ANDREW NAGORSKI

Postwar history is littered with failed revolutions in Eastern Europe: East Germany in 1953, Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and, again and again, Poland—in 1956, 1970 and 1981. In each case Soviet tanks or local security forces crushed the revolt, driving home the message that embittered resignation is the only reasonable response to a Communist system intent on preserving its monolithic grip on power at all costs.

In the Poland of 1989, is history doomed to repeat itself? Or is the triumph of Solidarity a harbinger of freedom that will, in time, sweep all of Eastern Europe? There are risks that if freedom spreads too far, the Soviets will crack down. But there are good reasons to believe that Poland will not become a rerun of history. Among them:

The power of Solidarity. After Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski declared martial law on Dec. 13, 1981, and outlawed Solidarity, union activists refused to be cowed by a wave of arrests. Unable to challenge Jaruzelski's security apparatus head-on, they devised an imaginative strategy of nonviolent resistance. If the movement leaders could not topple the Communist system outright, they were determined to bypass it by creating a "parallel culture."

The activists spawned an incredibly sophisticated network of independent operations to keep up the spirit of resistance. About 500 publishing operations spewed out thousands of underground newspapers, bulletins, periodicals and books while video studios produced uncensored documentaries and news reports. Within the safe confines of Roman Catholic Church parish houses, Poles heard lectures by prominent opposition figures and watched theatrical performances. In the battle for the hearts and minds of the Polish people, the Jaruzelski regime was decisively defeated—and the message that there is an alternative to despair came through loud and clear.

The depth of the economic crisis. Under successive Communist governments, the state of the Polish economy went from bad to worse. Jaruzelski repeatedly announced the introduction of new economic reforms, only to find that nothing worked. His reforms consisted largely of half measures, but even sweeping initiatives would have failed without a degree of popular support that he could not mobilize. The only way to stave off a popular revolt was to strike a deal with the same Solidarity movement that he had vowed to crush. Unlike the discredited Communists, Solidarity's leaders can credibly counsel patience to their countrymen in the face of mounting hardships, averting an apocalyptic confrontation in which everyone loses. But they must produce an effective economic program soon—otherwise they will exhaust the limited reserves of patience left.



JOSEF KOUDELKA—MAGNUM

Doomed defiance: *A Soviet tank burns in Prague in 1968*

The Gorbachev factor. The Soviet leader was willing to give Jaruzelski the leeway necessary to cut the deal with Solidarity because he, too, feared the greater danger of a revolt in Poland. Such a turn of events, with the inevitable repression that would follow, would amount to a death sentence for *perestroika*. Gorbachev's credibility as a reformer would be destroyed at home and in the West.

But Gorbachev has plenty of reasons to feel nervous about the scope and pace of change in Poland. The Polish example will contribute to the increasingly widespread conviction that the Soviet empire is in terminal decline and that this is the moment to push for greater freedoms. Hungary is committed to free elections and flirting with neutralism, Czechoslovakia's opposition is gearing up new pressures against an intransigent regime and nationalists in the Baltic republics are openly declaring their commitment to a course designed to lead them to full independence. A symbiotic relationship exists between all those events, with the Polish activists and their counterparts elsewhere drawing encouragement from one another. They understand that it is harder for the Kremlin to extinguish several fires at once than to stamp out the isolated blazes of the past.

Nonetheless, the nagging question about the limits of Soviet tolerance remains. Before Gorbachev, the taboos for Eastern Europe were clear: no challenges to the Communists' monopoly on power and no talk of leaving the Warsaw Pact. The first taboo has vanished and, despite Solidarity's reassurances, the pact's future looks shaky. National antagonisms are resurfacing in a region that has been plagued with instability. Liberal Hungarians make no secret of their conviction that they see repressive Romania as a greater threat than their Western neighbors.

What scenarios would lead to a crackdown? The Soviet Union may find it increasingly difficult to maintain 380,000 troops in East Germany if Poland balks at serving any longer as their supply corridor. If the reins slip in East Germany, how long would it take before Kremlin officials began to be haunted by the vision of a reunited German state? If the Baltic republics manage to secede, would they refuse to join the Warsaw Pact?

Kremlin hard-liners may already be convinced that their worst fantasies are dangerously close to being realized. But repression has been tried before—only generating more hatred, more opposition and an economic disaster. The knowledge that another crackdown would produce more of the same provided the Poles with their long-awaited opportunity. With continued patience, political ingenuity, determination and a bit of luck with developments on their eastern and western flanks, they may defy the odds of recent history and make their achievement last.

Nagorski will return to NEWSWEEK *next month from a year's leave as a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.*

● SOVIET UNION

Revolution Down Below

Striking miners take Gorbachev's call to action seriously

BY BRUCE W. NELAN

Coal miners walking off their jobs from the Ukraine to the Arctic Circle. Ethnic gangs battling in Georgia. Thousands of other dissatisfied workers threatening strikes. "The situation," said Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev last week as he surveyed the turmoil rocking his vast country, "is fraught with dangerous political and economic consequences." The question for Gorbachev: Will the "revolution from below," which he has been urging on his laggard countrymen, help accelerate his ambitious plans for reform—or tear the U.S.S.R. apart?

At a meeting of national and regional party leaders last week, he proposed his own partial answer. If the party was blocking change by clinging to conservative attitudes, he lectured, then "a purge should take place, a purge was needed." He called for "an influx of fresh forces" affecting every level from factory collectives to the Politburo. Vowed Gorbachev: "This concerns everyone."

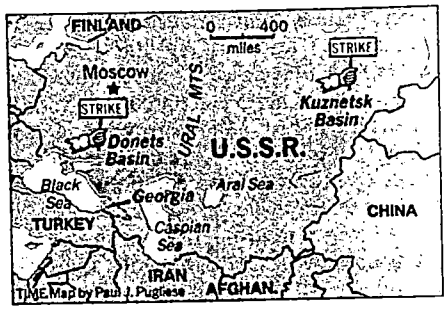
The Kremlin was plainly alarmed that the strikes were eroding the party's control. Since the 1930s, no one had personified the state's ideal Soviet worker better than the propaganda hero Alexei Stakhanov, the coal miner who reputedly produced 14 times the daily norm. But there were no Stakhanovites in the Soviet Union's biggest coalfields last week. Wildcat strikes by more than 300,000 workers paralyzed some 250 mines and factories in the Kuzbass and Donbass basins, resulting in a 6 million-ton loss of production. The walkout spread as far as the coalpits in Vorkuta in the far north and Karaganda in the Kazakhstan Republic in Central Asia. And there were rumblings that railroad workers might join in on Aug. 1, an action that could paralyze the country. "Such developments create a threat to the realization of the great plans we have decided upon," warned Gorbachev, referring to his economic-reform program.

In front of Communist Party headquarters in the Ukrainian city of Makeyevka, 5,000 miners in battered helmets, their faces and overalls black with coal dust, staged a sit-in to demand better working and living conditions; their ranks



NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY

Minister Shchadov addresses protesters



eventually swelled to almost 150,000 from 94 mines. Far to the east, in the Kuzbass in Siberia, the numbers were even greater. About 180,000 miners abandoned their pits to occupy central squares in nine cities, plastering reviewing stands with homemade signs proclaiming DOWN WITH BUREAUCRATS and KUZBASS: CLEAN AIR, MEAT FOR EVERYONE, WE DEMAND SOCIAL JUSTICE.

The strike spread with electrifying speed. The first 77 Kuzbass coal miners walked off the job in Mezhdurechensk on July 10. The following day 12,000 workers from five mines in the area joined them. They drew up a list of demands, including better pay, more vacation, higher pensions. Their overriding complaint: despite Gorbachev's calls for greater local autonomy in managing the economy, bureaucrats in Moscow continued to wield arbitrary control over the mines and were holding back the bulk of their profits. Many local officials openly sympathized with the strikers. "Why not? They breathe the same air we do," said Timuras Avaliani, 57, of the Kuzbass regional strike committee.

The strike soon spread to nine other cities in the Kuzbass. Grimy miners complained that when they came up after six hours underground, they could not find a bar of soap to wash with; the ration is one bar every two months. "Who can tell us what to feed our husbands?" shouted a woman protesting empty shelves in the stores. Many called for complete independence from central planning, insisting the miners could run things themselves.

Moscow quickly dispatched a high-level delegation to meet the strikers, led by Politburo Member Nikolai Slyunkov. Mikhail Shchadov, the minister in charge of coal mines, had earlier told the workers that they were not prepared for the independence they were demanding. But after negotiating with local strike leaders into the early hours of the morning, the Moscow delegation finally agreed to sign a protocol promising that the region's mines could decide on their production levels and investments. The state would raise miners' pay for night shifts by $50 a month, a 40% increase, improve food supplies and spend more of the mines' profits on local housing. Slyunkov also promised to increase supplies of food and soap.

Sensing victory, the Mezhdurechensk miners went back to work, but the strikes were just beginning elsewhere in the Kuzbass and the Ukraine as workers pressed for assurance they would share in the government concessions. At week's end the strike in Kazakhstan was winding down, but workers in the Donbass still held out over pension questions, prompting a government pledge that all the issues would be considered without delay.

Strikes are not technically illegal in the Soviet Union; the Marxist tenet that they are unnecessary in a proletarian paradise has not kept them from happening. Until the Gorbachev era, Communist rulers used bullets or gifts of consumer goods to quell unruly workers. But under the impact of *perestroika* and *glasnost,* work stoppages have become part of the economic landscape.



NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY

No more Stakhanovites: Kuzbass miners refuse to work until living conditions improve and they gain control of the coalpits

As he pushes ahead with reform, Gorbachev is having to contend not just with strikes but also with constitutional revolt in the independence-minded Baltic states and a wave of ethnic violence in the Caucasus and central Asia. Only last week bloody rioting that left 20 dead erupted between minority Abkhazians and the Georgian majority in a Black Sea region of western Georgia. Some 3,000 Interior Ministry troops were dispatched to help local police quiet the unrest. But the audacious mining walkout has presented Gorbachev with the most serious labor challenge he has had to face, and casts in graphic terms the cruel dilemma of *perestroika:* how to raise productivity and living standards at the same time.

Gorbachev appears to be attempting to turn the strike wave into a deeper popular commitment to his aims. While he sounded a warning that labor unrest "could damage everything we are doing," he spoke almost admiringly of how the strikers were behaving "in a responsible, organized and disciplined fashion."

In fact, it would be difficult for Gorbachev to oppose the workers' calls for greater independence from the dead hand of Moscow ministries. That is a central ingredient in his plans to revitalize the Soviet economy by encouraging local initiative. But to be effective, the idea of self-reliance and experimentation had to evolve into more than just a prescription issued from the Kremlin. Gorbachev can take satisfaction and possibly draw some political strength from the evidence in Kuzbass and Donbass that workers may be stirring from the "stagnation" of the Leonid Brezhnev years. The daily *Sovetskaya Rossiya* put it succinctly: "*Perestroika,* which has until recently been a 'revolution from above,' is getting strong support from below."

Yet no matter how pleased Gorbachev may be to see a political awakening among the indifferent Soviet citizens, he must recognize that some of their economic demands are potentially threatening. In addition to their attacks on the bureaucracy, the strikers are demanding better food and housing and more consumer goods. The government has responded by flying in tons of supplies as a palliative, setting a costly and hazardous precedent. Most of the Soviet population eats poorly and lives in inferior housing. If workers everywhere rise up and demand more and better, the system's stability could be endangered. ***—Reported by Paul Hofheinz/Prokopevsk and John Kohan/Moscow***



NOVOSTI—SOVFOTO

Workers have utilized a potent weapon that threatens an already shaky economy

SOVIET UNION

In the School of Democracy

Legislators learn about compromise in dealing with strikes

BY ANN BLACKMAN MOSCOW

This winter may be bleaker than usual in the U.S.S.R. With cold weather fast approaching and an increasingly militant labor force threatening to paralyze the transportation system, supplies of food and fuel could be in jeopardy. Soviet leaders reacted with old-style authority by proposing sweeping emergency measures: a ban on all strikes for 15 months and deployment of troops to break an Azerbaijani blockade of Armenia. But after a dramatic all-night debate, legislators in the Supreme Soviet did what not so long ago was unthinkable. They rebuffed the strike proposal as "unconstitutional" and voted instead to put strict limits only on work stoppages that affect critical industries. Said Leningrad Deputy Anatoli Sobchak, a reformist: "We just spent a couple days in the school of democracy. And all the talk led somewhere."

For Soviet lawmakers, it was a unique lesson in the art of compromise. President Mikhail Gorbachev, who supported the emergency-powers proposal, had opened the session with an emotional address, telling the legislature that work stoppages are "holding our reforms by the throat." What followed was an often fiery, unprecedented debate as politicians clashed over the need for such draconian measures. At one point, Gorbachev yelled at the unruly Deputies, "We're not in a stadium! We're in the Supreme Soviet!"

Gorbachev's concern over labor unrest is well grounded. Since last July, when Soviet coal miners went on a three-week strike to protest their squalid living conditions and the government caved in to their demands, long-suffering Soviet workers have found work stoppages a potent weapon. So have restive national groups. For more than a month, railways have been blocked between the tiny Caucasus republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia, which are battling for control of the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh. The blockade has severely curtailed supplies of food, medicine and gasoline in Armenia. Last week coal miners in the Ukrainian town of Chervonograd held a brief warning strike to demand immediate implementation of government pledges to raise wages and improve conditions. When one Minister called for postponing the expensive concessions, Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov rejected the proposal. "The government must keep its word," he said. Soviet legislators are concerned that if such strikes continue or spread, they could push the shaky Soviet economy to total collapse.

Despite Gorbachev's original inclination to take quick and drastic action, he hesitated to go as far as some had demanded, and initiated the bargaining session that sharply reduced the scope of the emergency plan. After the vote, Gorbachev seemed to recognize that he had presided over a new chapter in Soviet history. "I think we've done the right thing," he said. Even the more moderate measures may help cool the rash of strikes. More important, one of Gorbachev's crucial reforms seemed to be working: an elected legislature had debated and bargained its way to a sensible compromise. Just how much respite the decision will bring the Soviet Union's battered economy is another matter. The rail blockade of Armenia was broken last week when Soviet troops escorted in shipments of food, fuel and other vital supplies. But leaders of the Popular Front in Azerbaijan threatened a general strike if the military tries to take over the railways. ■

PRIZES

A Bow to Tibet

The Dalai Lama's Nobel Prize is also a slap at Beijing

In the past 20 years, Tibet's exiled leader, Tenzin Gyatso, 54, has been nominated several times for the Nobel Peace Prize. His nonviolent Buddhist philosophy and advocacy of a peaceful approach to determining Tibet's future would seem to make the 14th Dalai Lama (meaning "Ocean of Wisdom") a natural for the honor. So when the Nobel Committee in Oslo finally named him the winner of the $445,000 cash award last week, the question was not "Why him?" but "Why now?" Surely the choice of the Dalai Lama, who has been living in India since he fled Chinese occupation forces in 1959, was meant as a slap at Beijing: a symbol of international condemnation of the Chinese government for its crackdown on the students' democracy movement in Tiananmen Square last June and imposition of martial law in the Tibetan capital, Lhasa, following anti-Chinese riots last March.

Norwegian Nobel Committee chairman Egil Aarvik admitted the choice could be interpreted that way. "If I were a Chinese student, I would be fully in support of the decision," he told reporters. The Chinese embassy in Oslo read it the same way. It denounced the award as an intervention in China's internal affairs. Wang Guisheng, the embassy press attaché, accused the Dalai Lama of "subverting the unity of the nation."

At the Dalai Lama's headquarters in Dharmsala, India, news of the award prompted 1,000 exiled Tibetans to dance in the streets. "It is a victory for oppressed people everywhere," read an official statement. The Dalai Lama, attending a spiritual conference in Newport Beach, Calif., responded to the fuss with characteristic humility. "My case is nothing special," he said. "I am a simple Buddhist monk—no more, no less." Authorities in Beijing, who have been struggling to convey an image of national calm and restored normality, only wish that were true. ■



NICHOLL—SIPA

The new laureate: more than "a simple monk"

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THE BULGARIAN EXPULSIONS







BUILDING IN EXILE:



William J. Doherty, Executive Director of the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development, left, and Manuel Bustos, right of Doherty, outside the CUT's Manuel Bustos Cultural Center in Parral, as a priest emerges from blessing the new building, built with AFL-CIO support.

THE STRUGGLE IN CHILE

The struggle for democracy in Chile has receded from the front pages of the world press. But it is certain to resurface with the coming elections in December.

For Manuel Bustos—the Chilean labor leader exiled to the remote, impoverished town of Parral (pop. 38,000) as punishment for his free trade union activities (*See* The Bulletin *October 1988, p. 2*)—the struggle does not end. Banished for 541 days from his work and home in Santiago, Bustos, in his dusty exile, refuses to be silenced and continues to serve the Chilean people, the poor and working poor in particular. He has tried to make a productive contribution to his economically ravaged exile home—and American labor has been there to help.

A Legendary Labor Leader

Bustos's exile is punishment for the work stoppage he led in October, 1987, as President of the Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (CUT) that paralyzed the country and was a major factor in the developments that brought Chile to the brink of what many hope will be open elections on December 14. The CUT leader has become a legendary figure in his country. With only a grade school education, the 43-year-old free trade unionist has worked for nearly a quarter century as a mechanic in a textile mill in the Chilean capital.At an AFL-CIO sponsored press conference in Washington in October, 1986, Bustos called for international pressure against the Pinochet regime. "Solidarity is important," he said, adding, "however,...we as a people most organize ourselves." His courage and commitment to self-organization have won him respect among the country's workers.

AFL-CIO Assistance

With the assistance of the AFL-CIO and its American Institute for Free Labor Development, CUT bought and Bustos remodeled a small building to be used by the people of Parral. Called the "Manuel Bustos Cultural Center," the building serves as a daily reminder of the commitment to social justice that has been the underlying motive in Manuel Bustos's life. This summer William Doherty, AIFLD's Executive Director, on a visit to Chile, traveled the 210 miles south from Santiago to Parral to see Brother Bustos. Doherty was a member of the U.S. delegation to a trade union and human rights conference in Santiago in 1988 which was attacked by Pinochet's police as they accompanied Bustos and Arturo Martinez, also of CUT, who shared Bustos's sentence, to the Chilean Supreme Court to begin their exile.

This most recent expression of support and solidarity is just part of the story. The AFL-CIO has consistently supported the democratic Chilean labor movement in its efforts to win freedom of association and democracy in Chile. That assistance has included successful efforts to impose economic sanctions on Chile and material support to the country's free trade union movement. Last October, after years of struggle, a plebiscite of the Chilean people overwhelmingly demanded an end to Gen. Pinochet's rule and led to the forthcoming Presidential and Parliamentary elections. The AFL-CIO plans to send an observer team to monitor those elections. As in the plebiscite of October 1988, a large number of the Federation's affiliates is expected to participate.

Democratic Transformation

In the months before the elections, Bustos and other trade unionists who are part of the broad-based movement for democracy will continue with their struggle. Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet still retains immense power. Yet the unflagging commitment of men like Manuel Bustos and his fellow trade union leader Hernol Flores has brought Chile to the brink of a democratic transformation as remarkable and inspiring as the dramatic changes we have just witnessed in Poland. Leaders like Manuel Bustos inspire confidence in the eventual victory of the Chilean people. ■

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LABOR DAY 1989

PRESIDENT KIRKLAND'S MESSAGE

Under the banner of solidarity, at home and throughout the world, labor is on the march toward its traditional goal of securing for all workers a fair share of the wealth they help create and a full measure of dignity and justice at the job site and throughout society. We celebrate Labor Day 1989 at a time when working men and women all over the planet are rising to their feet and asserting their fundamental rights.

In Poland, a group of courageous individuals, members of the free trade union movement, have taken control of events and have given birth to that nation's first non-communist government in more than four decades. In Hungary, Chile, and South Africa, workers' movements are the instruments of stirring changes in the course of human history. Even in the Soviet Union, workers are testing the limits of hardened ideology by forming independent movements to better their own lives and the lives of their fellow citizens. The same is occurring in China, where working people played a major role in recent pro-democracy demonstrations and, tragically, were the first to be executed in the Beijing government's crackdown.

Here in the United States, the labor movement is gaining and expressing an ever-higher degree of solidarity in the pursuit of its essential purpose: to forge and exercise an instrument through which working people can help one another. Crucial to this objective has been the effort to bring all of organized labor under the national umbrella of the AFL-CIO, an endeavor which has met with recent success with the affiliation or reaffiliation of five trade unions.

As always, the ultimate goal of labor's solidarity and activism is to reach agreements with management that put our members in jobs that give them the means to live their lives with the dignity and respect to which they are entitled. Solidarity is also the mobilization of resources and moral support across the broad spectrum of the trade union movement for our brothers and sisters who are locked in bitter struggles with their employers. Whether they be the workers at Eastern Air Lines, coal miners at Pittston Co., telephone workers across the nation, hospital workers in New York, or musicians in the show palaces of Las Vegas, trade unionists know that an injury to one is an injury to all and they stand ready to help in any way possible.

Additionally, working people will continue to use the trade union movement as a means of addressing critical national problems that affect their daily lives and welfare. The challenges to workers and their unions are as difficult as ever. In recent years, the accelerating pace of technological, economic, and social change has brought harsh economic realities that pose a constant threat to workers, their families, and national progress: the rapid mobility of capital across borders, the rise of a corporate financial system dominated by speculation and greed, and the metamorphosis of America from the world's leading creditor to its number one debtor nation, to name a few.

We have felt the sting of betrayal by society's ostensible institutions of fairness, particularly a government that, in the name of neutrality, vitiates our right to strike, sanctifies scab labor, and distorts the purpose of the National Labor Relations Board. All of these factors should serve as further reminders that no branch of the trade union movement can stand in isolation. We need each other, and solidarity means a spirit and a dedication to the proposition that working people standing together can bring about a better America and a better world. The labor movement's historic ambition is to see to it that "liberty and justice for all" is not just a catch-phrase, but a fact of American life. In the coming months and on into the next century, we will seek to make that ideal a reality. ■

THE FOURTH ANNUAL TRAINING INSTITUTE

The AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs held its fourth annual training institute on international affairs the last week of August. Thirty-four labor activists, representing State and local AFL-CIO bodies, numerous local unions, and Frontlash, participated in the conference, held at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies. It has been the policy of the Department of International Affairs to reach out to State and local union leadership to hear their ideas and opinion, and to involve them actively in the international activities of the AFL-CIO. Though important, it is not enough to explain to American trade unionists what the AFL-CIO's international policies and programs are. It is essential to invite their participation in carrying out the AFL-CIO's work overseas, and in designing and organizing local programs focusing on international labor affairs. This is especially true given the impact of international events on the jobs of American workers and on the lives of their families.

In four years over 300 trade union leaders have attended these annual week-long training institutes or the shorter regional conferences, held twice a year. Participants in this year's institute heard from a variety of American trade union leaders and international activists, including the directors of the AFL-CIO's four regional institutes, as well as from Jean Lapeyre, Secretary of the European Trade Union Federation, Lee Cheuk Yuan, General Secretary of the Clothing Industry Workers General Union of Hong Kong, David Wilson Macuha, Assistant Director for International Affairs of the Mozambique Workers Organization, and Amanda Villatoro, general coordinator of the Union Nacional Obrero Campesina of El Salvador.

Tom Kahn, AFL-CIO Director of International Affairs, spoke on the philosophy behind the AFL-CIO's international work. He summarized it as all coming down to the question posed in the old trade union hymn, "Which side are you on?"

At a dinner he hosted for the participants, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland addressed them, declaring, after a review of labor's situation in the world today, "These are magnificent and exciting times to be a trade unionist." Excerpts from the Kirkland address will be found on page 8 of this issue of *The Bulletin*. ■

POLAND

THE AFL-CIO AND SOLIDARITY

The Sunday, August 27, "OUTLOOK" section ("Commentary and Opinion") of The Washington Post *carried, beginning on page 1, a lengthy article, headlined "How We Helped Solidarity Win," with a sub-head, "For Nearly a Decade, the AFL-CIO Quietly Aided the Outlawed Polish Trade Union," over the byline of the coordinator of the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs' East European programs. For reasons of space, this is a slight abridgment of the original:*

By Adrian Karatnycky

Solidarity's spectacular climb to power in Poland is due to the exceptional courage of tens of thousands of unsung working men and women. They risked their lives, jobs and homes by working in the once-illegal trade-union underground. Yet they might not have stymied the Communist Party's efforts to destroy Solidarity without the material and moral support they received from American unions. The 18 months of Solidarity's open existence in 1980-81 generated a great deal of enthusiasm among American workers. The Polish union embodied everything that is best in trade unionism—the fight for worker dignity, the defense of democratic values, a concern for the poor and commitment to mass action for peaceful change. Hundreds of thousands of dollars in aid for Poland poured into the AFL-CIO headquarters, as did dozens of offers of printing equipment and technical assistance. Our material support to Solidarity was used for badly needed printing presses, mimeographs, telexes and other equipment that could only be purchased for hard-to-come-by Western currency. Even before martial law, this open assistance was denounced by the authorities as "direct intervention" in Poland's internal affairs and part of a U.S. plot to destabilize Poland.

Providing such assistance to democratic trade unions has been a long-standing AFL-CIO practice, deeply rooted in the principle of international labor solidarity. We provided assistance to German trade unionists hounded by the Nazis before World War II, and after the war we assisted German union leaders in building what today is Western Europe's largest trade union movement. In the mid-1970s, when the fascist regimes of Spain and Portugal fell, we assisted democratic unions there in their competition with pro-Moscow Communist rivals.

Immediately after martial law was declared in Poland on December 13, 1981, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, his assistant Tom Kahn, and International Affairs Director Irving Brown made a commitment to assist Solidarity in every possible way. The centerpiece of the strategy was a decision to provide assistance only to the Solidarity trade-union movement, despite the merits of other non-union opposition groups. Moreover, the AFL-CIO was prepared to provide assistance over the long haul.

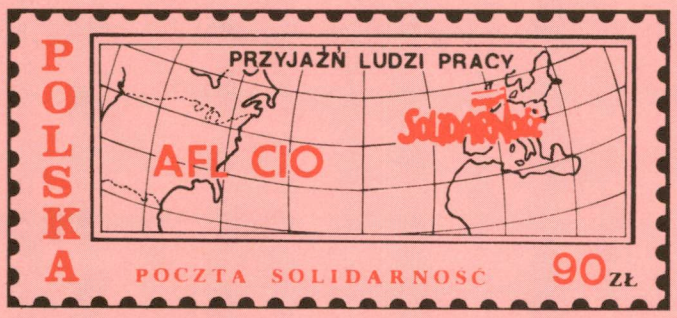
In January 1982 I was lucky enough to meet a man who would play a decisive role in the U.S.-Solidarity relationship. Jerzy Milewski, a leading Solidarity activist from Gdansk, and a scientist by training, was in the United States for a conference on lasers the day martial law was proclaimed. I was then working for the A. Philip Randolph Institute, a civil rights organization supported by the AFL-CIO, and was able to put Milewski in contact with the Federation. He was surprisingly optimistic. With tanks in the streets of Poland, communications broken, thousands of his compatriots detained, and some workers murdered, Milewski felt that Solidarity would resurface and that he would be back in the country within two years.

Within months Milewski had established the equivalent of a Solidarity embassy in Brussels. He also entered into what was to become a close working relationship with the AFL-CIO and other trade unions in the West. In the years ahead Milewski's Brussels office was to become the official voice of Solidarity in the West. But even more significantly, it was through this bureau that the AFL-CIO would channel assistance to the Solidarity movement in its time of greatest need.

By the middle of 1982 hundreds of underground Solidarity groups were functioning. Scores of underground newspapers and bulletins began to appear. Solidarity's groups were decentralized, but they were united in their fealty to union chairman Lech Walesa and their loyalty to the underground executive arm, the Temporary Coordinating Council (TKK). In the years that followed an elaborate network of assistance and communications operated out of various locations in Western Europe. Scores of couriers traveled to and from Poland with new requests for assistance and with inside information on how the underground was working. The needs of this gradually widening opposition were diverse. Martial law had brought with it confiscation of all the union's property, the seizure of all its funds and the closing of its offices. American trade-union funds and millions of dollars from the National Endowment for Democracy, a private, grant-making body funded by Congress that supports democratic movements throughout the world, were channeled through the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute. The money underwrote scores of printing presses, dozens of computers, hundreds of mimeograph machines, thousands of gallons of printer's ink, hundreds of thousands of stencils, video cameras and radio broadcasting equipment. In addition, funds helped the families of imprisoned trade-union activists and defrayed the huge fines that the Polish authorities were levelling against anyone caught with clandestine union literature. Throughout its time underground Solidarity was also raising funds from its members. Over a million Polish workers were contributing monthly dues to the union's factory and regional structures to help pay the salaries of an estimated 70,000 activists in the underground.

By 1985 it was clear that Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's plan to deliver a crippling blow to the opposition had failed. There were now over 400 underground periodicals appearing regularly in Poland, some in editions as large as 30,000. Thousands of books and pamphlets were being issued each year in editions that numbered in the thousands. Children's comic books retold classic Polish legends with Jaruzelski as the villain, communism as the red dragon, and Lech Walesa as the heroic knight. Alternative video

documentary companies produced popular documentaries seen by millions of viewers in church halls and in homes. Most spectacularly, using equipment provided by American labor, Radio Solidarity frequently made bold breaks into the authorities' radio programming, sending out messages of hope to the broad masses: "Solidarity lives." The slogan caught on.



The sale of underground postage stamps was a source of support for Solidarity inside Poland. This issue, dating from 1986, reflects the fraternal relationship between Solidarity and the AFL-CIO. The two free trade union movements are depicted over maps of the United States and Poland, with the inscription, "Friendship of Working People." One of a set devoted to U.S.-Polish solidarity, it was printed on a stars and stripes background of the U.S. flag.

Over the years the struggle ebbed and flowed. From across the sea we followed the travails of the underground, despairing when the leading figure in the clandestine TKK—Warsaw Solidarity leader Zbigniew Bujak—was captured after more than five years on the run; rejoicing when hundreds of thousands of Poles turned the Papal visit of June 1987 into mass demonstrations for the union; scrambling to find funds for printing presses, computers and stencils when these were seized by the authorities. We had been drawn into the daily drama of Poland's struggle. Much of the story of that struggle and our role in it will have to be told another day. After all, there is still the danger of reversal, and the Ministry of the Interior remains in Communist hands.

In September 1986 Jaruzelski proclaimed a major amnesty that released most imprisoned underground activists. In return the United States lifted many of the sanctions against Poland. The AFL-CIO had been a leading proponent of sanctions and we remained skeptical of removing all of them too soon, or for too little in return. But more significantly, there was now a palpable change of sentiments in Washington. Polish affairs experts and opinion-makers were beginning to speak of a "post-Solidarity" Poland. I recall having a rather heated public exchange with a leading California-based scholar who had argued that Solidarity was no longer a factor. "Only young people are still part of the underground. And even among them protests are going out of fashion," her argument went. Policy-makers, too, were beginning to retreat from an absolute commitment to Solidarity's relegalization. Wouldn't it be enough to accept the formula of "trade union pluralism?" AFL-CIO officials began to be asked. But through our network of contacts in Poland we had a glimpse of a different situation. We knew that tens of thousands of people were risking everything for the trade union fight. And we were confident that Solidarity not only was surviving but had shown remarkable resiliency and strong public support. We stood firm and, at the request of the Brussels Solidarity office, began lobbying to increase assistance to the union. Congress voted $1 million through the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute that year, and followed it with $1 million in 1988.

By 1987 Solidarity was looking for ways to function above ground. It designated some U.S. assistance for medical aid. Such assistance was channeled through the International Rescue Committee to the union's still-illegal Social Foundation to buy ambulances, diagnostic equipment, and medicines. The idea worked. Even the Polish police didn't dare stop the flow of medical aid to a country facing a health-care crisis. All the while, the Polish economy continued to unravel. Strikes erupted in May and again in August 1988. With each successive wave of labor unrest the workers of Poland raised the identical slogan: "*Nie ma wolnosci bez Solidarnosci*" ("There's no freedom without Solidarity").

In the months that followed more and more visiting Solidarity leaders (now free to travel here, although the AFL-CIO continued to be refused visas to Poland) began to tell us they would soon strike an accord with the authorities that would result in the union's relegalization. There followed in rapid succession the April 7 "round-table" agreement between Solidarity and the authorities which led to the restructuring of the Government, the parliamentary elections with Solidarity's stunning victory, and now, the formation of the first Soviet-bloc non-Communist Government.

Today we watch events unfold with unrestrained joy and admiration. Formerly hounded underground printers are organizing Solidarity's aboveground activities. Former radio pirates are now elected members of Poland's parliament, the Sejm. Writers for the clandestine press have become editors and reporters for Poland's new independent newspapers. Emissaries from the clandestine union leadership are today Senators in the Solidarity-controlled upper house. There's a lesson to all this. The 1980s in Poland have proven to be a successful laboratory in democracy-building. Through persistence and loyalty, American unions have stood proudly with a democratic movement that has worked peacefully to transform a Communist society. And while everything has been won by the sweat and toil of the Polish workers alone, the AFL-CIO is proud that Lech Walesa has singled us out for being there when his union needed help.

But the struggle in Poland is far from over. Now we must help Solidarity rebuild, and develop the skills necessary to function as a labor organization in a setting of economic disruption and mounting worker indifference. Toward this end, a number of AFL-CIO affiliates have already begun building union-to-union assistance programs. But democratic change in Poland will not last if is the lone example—a political aberration. Our challenge is to respond in different settings and conditions to the emerging free trade unions in Eastern Europe—and in the Soviet Union itself. ■

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

At its August meeting in Chicago the AFL-CIO Executive Council passed the following resolutions:

WORKERS AND COMMUNISM

Today, more than seventy years after the Communist experiment was launched, workers by the millions are pronouncing it a failure, in economic, social, cultural, and political terms, and embracing the principles and practices of free and democratic trade unionism. In the Soviet Union as in China, in Hungary as in Poland, workers are rising up in peaceful movements which seek the establishment of democracy. While each of these movements is very different, each has been propelled by a profound social and economic crisis, and by a natural hunger for freedom, cultural identity, and basic human rights.

In the USSR, economic decline is measured not only in statistics but in the reality that mine workers get only one bar of soap per month, that already cramped housing is crumbling, and that running water is available only part of the day. In Poland, the standard of living continues to decline, and with it the environment. In Hungary, poverty and unemployment are growing and in China, an economic expansion fueled temporarily by Western investment is coming to a standstill. Half a million mine workers in the Kuzbass region of Siberia and the Donbass region of Ukraine have risen to assert their basic rights. Their strike movement is evidence that Soviet workers will be a major force in the struggle to build democracy in the USSR in the years ahead.

In addition to revealing the appalling conditions under which Soviet workers toil, the strike movement exposed the irrelevance of the USSR's state-controlled trade unions. Workers pushed aside the unions affiliated to the discredited All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, which sat on the management side of the table, and bargained for themselves. There are reports that independent strike committees will now function as part of a nationwide coordinating group—the precursor of an independent trade union.

In Poland, the worker struggle led by Solidarnosc has made the greatest gains. Yet Polish workers confront immense obstacles that are the product of decades of Communist misrule. Nonetheless, the triumph of Solidarnosc is June elections, where it swept all but one openly contested seat for the Senate and the Parliament, is evidence of the broad support for the idea of trade unionism and democracy as the only way out for an economy and society in accelerated decline. In Hungary, workers are defecting from the state-controlled SZOT labor front to the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions. In China too, workers rejected their company union, the All-China Federation of Labor, created autonomous worker organizations of the type familiar to us, and rose up with students in peaceful pro-democracy demonstrations. It is the workers who now bear the brunt of of the government's repressive measures.

The United States must take measures to register its full support for the democracy movement and its revulsion at the regressive measures of the Chinese government. President Bush's call to block international loans to China is a step in the right direction. His approval of the sale of commercial jets to Beijing is just as surely wrong. For the United States to be effective in its support of pro-democracy forces, it must exercise a firm and consistent policy of sanctions against the Chinese government. Chinese attempts to gain membership in the Gatt negotiations should be rejected. China's eligibility under OPIC should be withdrawn. Science and technology sales should be suspended. China should lose its most favored nation trading status.

NAMIBIA

The AFL-CIO is encouraged by the electoral processes currently under way in Namibia, leading to elections in November. In the last year, significant developments have taken place toward ending South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, improving the chances for peace and, hopefully, bringing about a government chosen by the majority of Namibia's citizens. We urge the Bush Administration to take all necessary steps to work within the framework of the U.N. to prevent undue delay by the South African government in meeting the deadlines set forth in the Namibia Accords.

Through the years, the AFL-CIO has been in the forefront of support for the implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 435, which guarantees majority rule and independence to the people of Namibia, free of external interference. In order to eliminate the threat of military intervention, it is essential that South Africa withdraw all military and para-military forces from Namibia and that signatories to the accord demand the total elimination of the racist, vigilante "Koevoet" from the police forces.

The AFL-CIO reaffirms its support for democratic trade unionism in Namibia. We regret that the National Union of Namibian Workers' Consolidation Congress of July 1989 has left unresolved the question of affiliation to the anti-democratic World Federation of Trade Unions, which would constitute an obstacle to a close, cooperative relationship with the AFL-CIO and the ICFTU. We hope that this situation will be resolved at an early date and look forward to the possibility of working closely with the NUNW.

CENTRAL AMERICA

The AFL-CIO Executive Council congratulates the five Central American Presidents on their agreement reached on August 7, 1989, in Tela, Honduras, which, when implemented, can lead to lasting peace with democracy in this long-suffering region. We note that the Accord calls for a voluntary repatriation of the Contras by December of 1989, and that the FMLN revolutionary forces in El Salvador have been asked to enter into a cease fire and a negotiated peace with the Salvadoran government. We further note that the democratic opposition, including the ICFTU-ORIT affiliated Confederation of Trade Union Unity (CUS) has accepted the conditions of the Nicaraguan government for free and fair elections in February 1990.

The AFL-CIO has supported all of the recent peace efforts of the governments of Central America from the Contadora Agreement, the Arias Plan and now the Tela accords. We are now hopeful that the senseless killing will stop and that the long-standing problems of poverty, hunger and exploitation of the workers and campesinos will now be addressed. ■

Asia and the Pacific

TURKEY

THE EXPULSIONS FROM BULGARIA

In 1984 the Bulgarian Communist Government launched a campaign of "assimilation," under which the large Turkish minority—1.5 million, representing some 15 percent of the Bulgarian population—was required to renounce their language, religion, and even their names (the Communist authorities simply gave the Bulgarian Turks, without choice, new Slavic names: Seydullah Sekeroglu, for example, became Serafin Atanassov Emilov). The Turks' schools and mosques were closed, and converted into hospitals and health clinics. The Bulgarian authorities'public rationale is that there are no Bulgarian Turks; those who think they are Turks are really descendants of Bulgarians who were forcibly converted to Islam after the Ottoman conquest of the country five hundred years ago. The harassment and persecutions of the "assimilation" campaign now features arrest and imprisonment of Turks who have been demonstrating against these measures, and expulsion from the country of those who simply resist. Others are simply allowed to go to Turkey—with the equivalent of about $50 per family, and whatever they can carry with them. All properties, savings, and belongings left behind are confiscated by the Bulgarian Government.



Tent city at Edirne, Turkey, for the refugees and expellees from Bulgaria.

The result is one of the largest European migrations of human beings since those at the end of the Second World War. By the thousands they cross from Bulgaria into Turkey. By mid-August Turks were crossing the border at the rate of 3,000 to 4,000 daily. Almost all of those leaving Bulgaria—by now an estimated 300,000—are agricultural or industrial workers. The Turkish Government and welfare organizations are trying to cope with this sudden influx—in a recent five week period the Turkish Ministry of Labor placed 614 families, 1,888 persons, in factory and farm jobs throughout Turkey. They are joined by the Turkish labor movement. The democratic trade union central, Turk-Is, has set up a relief fund, to the which the AFL-CIO's Asian-American Free Labor Institute has contributed, and its officials and members are active in working with the refugees. ■

VIETNAM

REFUGEE ACTIVIST ASSAULTED

A human rights activist, Doan Van Toai, 42, was shot and seriously wounded on August 19 as he walked near his home in Fresno, California, and was reported in late August to have lapsed into a coma. Toai, Executive Director of the Institute for Democracy in Vietnam, co-authored a 1986 book, *The Vietnamese Gulag*, a detailed account of Vietnam's so-called re-education camps. Once a supporter of Vietnam's National Liberation Front, he became disillusioned and, as a refugee, wrote and spoke extensively about repression in his native country. His human rights activities brought him in frequent contact with AFL-CIO officials, both in Washington and at international meetings. ■

CHINA

In early September AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland wrote to the Chinese Ambassador in Washington as follows:

The Honorable Zhu Qizhen
Embassy of the People's Republic of China
2300 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I would like to share with you my personal concern about events in the People's Republic of China. My reaction—and the reaction of the American labor movement—is not a temporary emotion caused by TV pictures from Tienanmen Square but rather a deep and abiding feeling of solidarity with the working men and women of China, who, as always in such circumstances, are the first and most numerous victims of repression.

My hope is that your government will eventually see that it is in the best interests of your own country to turn from the present disastrous policies. It is abundantly clear that the cry for change comes from your own people—workers, students, and others—and we will do all in our power to support them, as we have the cause for human freedom in Poland.

The struggle may well take years, as it did in Poland, but we are committed to it.

Sincerely,
LANE KIRKLAND ■

LABOR AND PEACE

On August 30, AFL-CIO President Kirkland addressed the participants in the International Affairs Department's fourth annual training institute at the George Meany Center (see p. 3, col. 2). *Excerpts from that address follow.*

. . .Conferences such as this one. . . [are] all part of our effort to communicate with labor leaders and rank-and-file union members regarding the international policies of the Federation, to hear their ideas and opinions, and, most importantly, to solicit their involvement. George Meany used to say that you cannot be a good trade unionist unless you are an internationalist. That was true in his day, and it goes double for today.

We live in an era in which capital can be moved across borders at the mere push of a computer button, and in which enterprises can pack up and leave this country in search of the cheapest and most repressed labor in the world. Because our members cannot leave their homeland in search of higher profits—because they are rooted in their communities—the elevation of labor standards and conditions around the globe is more than benevolent idealism. It is also a matter of enlightened self-interest. So the AFL-CIO pursues an internationalism grounded in the simplicity and constancy of a single ideal, and that is freedom of association. Today, the struggle for freedom of association is changing the course of world history. Events are moving rapidly. . .And, in most cases, workers' movements are driving those events.

In Poland. . .Solidarity. . .fought tremendous odds to peaceably establish the first non-communist government in that country since World War Two. The AFL-CIO is and should be proud of its support for Solidarnosc during its darkest days. . .Do we feel vindicated? You bet we do. And we are energized to help our brothers and sisters in other parts of the world who are pursuing their vision of liberty and democracy and freedom of association.

The signs are encouraging. . .In Hungary, independent trade unions have reemerged to create the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions. In Chile, the democratic trade union movement played a major role in the defeat of General Pinochet in the plebiscite. In South Africa, workers are on the front lines of the fight for peaceful democratic change toward a system of one man one vote. Even in the Soviet Union, truly independent workers' movements, free of control by the party or state, are sprouting up all over the country. In China, workers advocating free trade unionism were at the forefront of the recent pro-democracy demonstrations and, tragically, they bore the brunt of the Beijing government's brutal crackdown. . .In. . .South Korea, the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand. . .workers have played a major role in advancing the cause of freedom and democracy. . .

We leave it to others to debate the limits of democratic development in the world. We have no idea what the limits are. We don't think anyone really knows. There is only one way to find out for sure what those limits are, and that is to test them—not once, but again and again. There is only one way to find out which gains are irreversible, and that is to keep defending them—and to push for more.

It is no exaggeration of our importance or of our role in the world to say that the work of the AFL-CIO internationally has made—and continues to make—a profound contribution to the maintenance of world peace and to the avoidance of war. As workers' movements help liberty gain a greater foothold on the planet, the following question comes to mind: Can anyone in this room tell me the last time two democracies went to war against one another?

I would suggest that in recent years, trade unions have contributed more to the cause of peace and freedom in the world than all of the trillions of dollars spent on weapons. It astounds me that in light of all this, there are those who would say that trade unions are a thing of the past and that the labor movement's best days are behind it. Brothers and sisters, nothing could be further from the truth. . .

We are fortunate in our lifetime to witness. . . manifestations of how trade unionism is the best expression of the deepest and most enduring aspirations in the hearts of working men and women. It can be suppressed for a time. It can be frustrated often. But it cannot be permanently stilled.

Indeed, these are magnificent and exciting times to be a trade unionist. . . ■

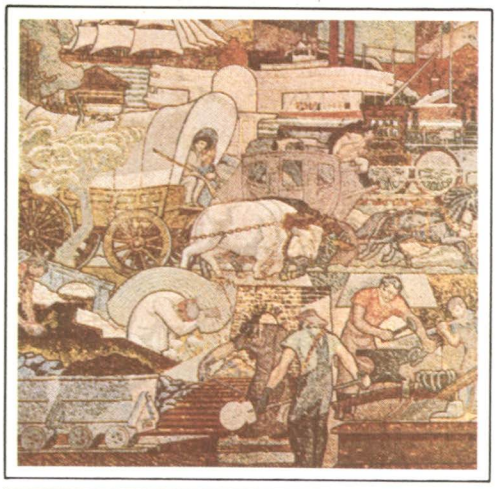
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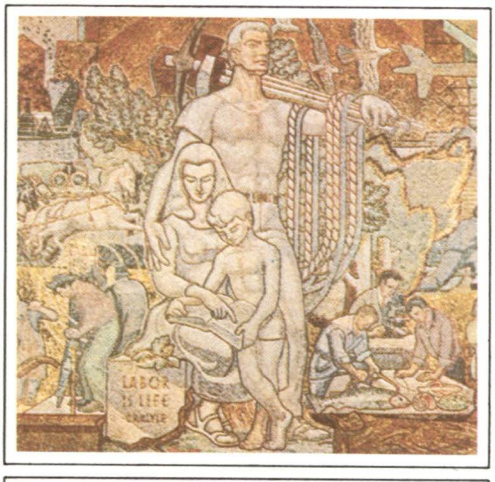
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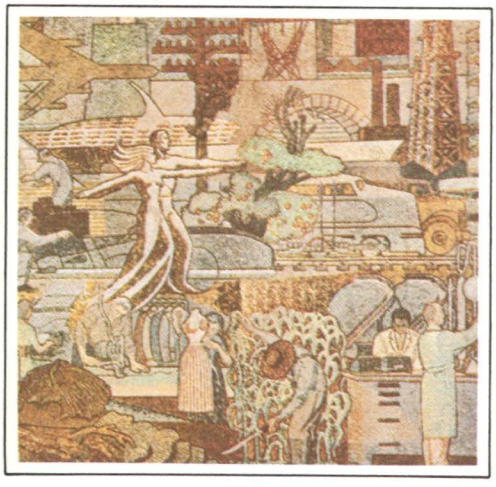
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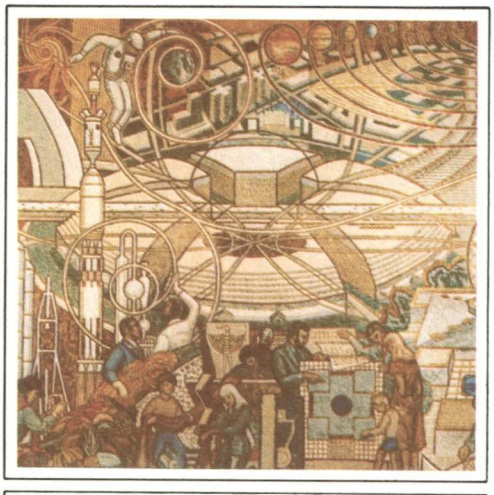






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- "THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION"
- CHINA
- WALESA AT THE ICFTU
- THE 1989 GEORGE MEANY HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD
- THE PANAMANIAN AND PARAGUAYAN ELECTIONS







THE ICFTU

HISTORIC BOARD MEETING

Inside the Mont des Arts Conference room of the European Community's Economic and Social Committee Building, the audience buzzed with expectation. For this was no ordinary occasion. Gathered in Brussels were the leaders of the world's democratic trade union movement. Expectations were heightened by awareness that history was in the making. At long last Solidarnosc's chairman Lech Walesa had been given permission to travel to Belgium. The Polish electrician who had persevered through hard years, and in the end turned his country upside down, was about to make his inaugural speech before the Executive Board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The Core of Free Trade Unionism

Walesa's presence at this year's meeting of the Board represented a triumph of the principles and practice of this worldwide organization, which unites 142 affiliated organizations with over 88 million worker members. It was a vindication of the core beliefs underlying the very existence of the organization—the belief in freedom of association, and its corollary that unions can only defend worker interests if they are free from the control of governments.

The 1989 ICFTU Executive Board meeting, held May 17-19, was attended by the top leaders of the British Trades Union Congress, the DGB West German Labor Confederation, France's Force Ouvriere, Japan's RENGO, the Canadian Labour Congress, and Argentina's General Confederation of Labor. The AFL-CIO delegation, headed by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, included Secretary-Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue and Vice-President John T. Joyce.

Walesa Speaks

Walesa did not disappoint his audience. He told the ICFTU leaders of the decades-long struggle for freedom in Poland: "In our society there were no independent organizations, including free trade unions." Having struggled long and hard in the underground to build alternative, democratic institutions, Solidarnosc has won an important victory with its relegalization last month. "But we also need political and social reforms," Walesa said. He underscored that "democracy is the precondition for the evolution of Solidarnosc" and other independent organizations.

The aims of Solidarnosc, as outlined by Walesa, are bold: "the liquidation of the *nomenklatura* (Party-control of all managerial and leadership positions); the creation of a market economy; and national sovereignty, i.e., political, economic, social, and cultural independence." Walesa praised the ICFTU and singled out the AFL-CIO and its President Lane Kirkland for years of steadfast moral and material assistance. Today, Walesa said, "We need help that promotes changes and opens possibilities. We need the cooperation of advanced countries."

Other Issues Before The Board

In addition to hearing Solidarnosc's chairman's remarkable speech, the ICFTU Executive Board addressed such diverse issues as the reform process in the USSR and Eastern Europe, promoting democratic change in Southern Africa, trade union repression in Fiji, and the work of the organization's Women's Committee. The Executive Board's deliberations also focused on a forthcoming mission to Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza, and the ICFTU's forthcoming 1989 survey of worker rights.

"International Worker Solidarity"

The ICFTU, run out of Brussels with a staff of competent trade union professionals, reaches out around the globe. Through its work and that of affiliated International Trade Secretariats, the ICFTU gives real meaning to the oft-quoted slogan of "international worker solidarity." The ICFTU coordinates concerted pressure against anti-worker dictatorships and anti-union employers. It runs extensive educational and training programs for emerging and frequently embattled unions in the Third World. Above all, it offers the world's democratic unions an effective forum for the exchange of ideas, approaches, tactics, and techniques to benefit their members.

The AFL-CIO's commitment to the ICFTU is underscored not merely by public declarations. The U.S. labor federation contributes nearly one-quarter of the organization's operating budget. Moreover, the AFL-CIO adheres to the principle of extending assistance only to the ICFTU affiliate in any country where there is one. This is only as it should be, for membership in the ICFTU is, after all, the best measure of a union federation's commitment to basic worker rights, democracy, and social justice. And the ICFTU's work provides a good chance that other unions currently denied the basic right of freedom of association will, like Solidarnosc, one day come to Brussels in triumph. ■

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A FULL LOBBY

MEMORIAL AND AWARD

The Irving Brown Memorial Service

On May 1, 1989—May Day, as AFL-CIO Lane Kirkland noted in his personal tribute to his friend and colleague (*see below, and p. 8 for excerpts*)—the AFL-CIO held a Memorial Service for Irving Brown in the lobby of the Federation's headquarters building, across from Lafayette Square in Washington, D. C.

The vast lobby, with its striking mosaics depicting the role of the worker in all that our civilization and society has achieved, and in which George Meany lay in state ten years ago, was filled with those who came from near and far to pay their respects to Irving Brown and his service to the ideals that animated, and unified, the assemblage.

The breadth of opinion present was itself a lesson in the meaning of true dedication to democratic ideals.

The Senators, the Congressmen, diplomatic representatives of nations that had good reason for gratitude to the man thus honored, officials of the Executive Branch, editors and journalists of vastly different persuasions, union leaders from abroad and from all across these United States, men and women from countless walks of life whose paths had happily crossed that of Irving Brown, mingled in an assembly that each individually felt to be needed and worthy.



Bill Burke

Andre Bergeron, former General Secretary, Force Ouvriere, and 1984 recipient of the George Meany Human Rights Award, speaking in the AFL-CIO headquarters lobby, May 1, 1989, at the Memorial Service for his comrade, Irving Brown.

Those Who Spoke

In a program that was movingly reflective of the breadth of interests and accomplishments of Irving Brown, six men who had worked with him in the past rose to pay their tributes. Each recounted his own remembrance of variety of experience. Each recorded, in that variety, the unifying themes of liberty, of solidarity, and of loyalty that marked any association with Irving Brown.

Andre Bergeron: The former General Secretary of Force Ouvrière, and 1984 recipient of the George Meany Human Rights Award, recalled his forty-three years of friendship with Irving. "Irving Brown. . .loved life and lived it fully. He remained that way during his whole life. And even when illness struck, he continued to the end to be interested in the trade union movement. . ." **Francis Blanchard**: The former Director General of the International Labor Organization recalled Irving's return as U.S. worker delegate to the ILO after the hiatus of 1977-80: Nary a reproach. Nary a backward glance. On to the future of loyal collaboration in the interest of workers everywhere. **Clement Lubembe**: The former Secretary General of Kenya's Central Organization of Trade Unions reminisced about Irving Brown's early role in the struggle against colonialism, his tone one of continued pleasure at his souvenirs of encounters with a remarkable man. **Jean-François Revel**: The noted French author and former Editor and Director of *L'Express* recalled his friend's phenomenal reading, his insights into the politics of our day, and his steadfast rejection of tyranny's blandishments and threats. **Jim Baker**: Irving's successor as European Representative of the AFL-CIO thanked the American labor movement for having produced an Irving Brown and made him available to the great causes he served.

The 1989 George Meany Human Rights Award



Bill Burke

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland presents the 1989 George Meany Human Rights Award to Mrs. Irving Brown.

After his personal tribute, Lane Kirkland continued: "Before his death, Irving Brown received many awards. . .I am confident that he would hold none in higher esteem than that conferred upon him today by his brothers and sisters in the American labor movement—and all the more because it bears the name of George Meany, Irving's friend, leader and co-worker for so many years—and he would have liked the idea of receiving it on May Day. George once gave Irving what I regard as the ultimate accolade when he said, in response to a fool, 'Nobody controls Irving Brown!'

"He was almost right, but there is one person and her name is Irene. I ask Mrs. Irving Brown, who brought so much joy to Irving's life, to come forward and accept on his behalf the 1989 George Meany Human Rights Award." ■

NED

THE ENDOWMENT'S CONFERENCE

"We Must Fight For Freedom Each Day"

So spoke the legendary Yugoslav revolutionary, writer, and freedom fighter Milovan Djilas, to a gathering of other courageous veterans of the struggle for democracy throughout the world. Djilas's summons, addressed to the May 1-2 Conference on "The Democratic Revolution" sponsored by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) in Washington, D.C., and defined the purpose of both the meeting and its participants. The Endowment brought intellectuals and activists together from around the world to celebrate the vision of democracy and its increasing triumphs—and to survey the pitfalls and opportunities that lie ahead.

The Conference was marked by a sense of excitement and muted rejoicing stemming from the sweeping democratic changes taking place throughout the world. Speakers were agreed, for the most part, that the prospects for democracy will continue to grow and fill the void left by the demise, under increasing popular pressures, of the dictatorships and oligarchies of right and left.

"Democracy is emerging as the dominant ideal that has captured imaginations everywhere. . . it has now become a universal ideal," said Zbigniew Brzezinski, National Security Adviser to former President Jimmy Carter and panel moderator for the discussion on "The Idea of Democracy." The panel was opened by Charles Manatt, and Senators Lloyd Bentsen and John McCain. Speakers included Djilas, the noted French author and political philosopher Jean-François Revel, the distinguished (and exiled) Polish philosopher Leszek Kolakowski (representing Poland's Committee for Independent Culture), and the Mexican historian Enrique Krauze.

The recent changes in Poland and Hungary and the growing pressure for autonomy by Soviet nationalities, were the focus of much attention, as was the growth of democratic institutions in Latin America and the Caribbean. As speakers noted, ten years ago there were only three South American democracies. Today, nearly all the continent is democratic. Plebiscites or elections have taken place even in such notorious dictatorships as Chile and Paraguay. But caution was sounded: triumph is not universal or certain.

Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky predicted that *glasnost* and *perestroika* will lead to "a terrible clash. . . bloodshed of huge proportions" inside the Soviet Union. These disturbances will create a time of great peril, as well as of potential opportunity, he said, for East European countries trying to loosen their Soviet ties. Exiled Polish philosopher Leszek Kolakowski, while acknowledging democratic gains, emphasized the continuing threats to democratic ideals—terrorism, "malignant" nationalism, and theocracy, such as that practiced today in Iran.

The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) is a private, nonprofit organization created by Congress in 1983. It is governed by a Board of Directors consisting of William E. Brock, III, Chairman; Charles T. Manatt, Vice Chairman; LeGree Daniels, Secretary; Jay Van Andel, Treasurer; Polly Baca, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr., Dante B. Fascell, Orrin G. Hatch, Lane Kirkland, John Richardson, Olin Robison, Albert Shanker, Sally Shelton-Colby, Charles H. Smith, Jr., and Eddie N. Williams. The President is Carl Gershman. NED's mandate is to strengthen democratic institutions around the world. To fulfill that mandate, NED makes grants to private sector organizations—trade unions, business groups, political parties, civic organizations: essential elements of pluralistic democracy—both here and abroad. Grants made to American organizations are for work abroad only. The Endowment is directed by law to set aside a certain portion of its grants for four "core grantees": to wit, the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI), the United States Chamber of Commerce's Center for International Private Enterprise, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, and the National Republican Institute for International Affairs. NED grants are expended by FTUI on worker rights projects in Europe, and in other areas through the AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center, American Institute for Free Labor Development, and Asian-American Free Labor Institute.



Nancy Ellen Roth

Presentation of NED's "Democracy Award." L. to r., Jacek Kuron, Solidarnosc adviser, Carl Gershman, NED President, partly hidden behind Mr. Kuron, and Monica Jimenez de Barros, founder of Chile's CIVITAS.

The Conference, held in the Hearing Room of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, was opened by the Hon. Dante Fascell, Chairman of the Committee, and a Director of NED. There were four geographic panels, each moderated by a Director of NED, with commentary by Members of Congress. The panel on Eastern Europe featured Bukovsky; Janos Kis, Editor of *Beszelo*, Hungary; Jacek Kuron, Adviser to Solidarnosc, Poland, who told the Conference in an eloquent statement of his conclusion, from years of fighting Communism, that the achievement of democracy is a long-term, non-violent process; Vilem Precan, Director, Czechoslovak Documentation Center. That on Africa had Bona Malwal, Editor,

The Sudan Times; Nthato Motlana, Founder, SOWETO Civic Association, South Africa; Jacques Mariel Nzouankeu, Director, Center for Pluralistic Democracy in the Third World, Senegal; and General Olesugun Obasanjo, Chairman, African Leadership Forum, Nigeria, as speakers.

Panelists on Latin-American and the Caribbean were Eugenia Charles, Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Dominica; Hernando de Soto, President, Institute for Liberty and Democracy, Peru; Patricia Guillermo de Chea, Director, Center for Political Studies, Guatemala; and Monica Jimenez de Barros, Founder, Crusade for Citizen Participation (CIVITAS), Chile. The speakers on Asia were Liang Heng, Editor, *The Chinese Intellectual*; M. R. Masani, President, the Leslie Sawhny Program, India; Dette Pascual, President, Women's Movement for the Preservation of Democracy, the Philippines; and Aydin Yalcin, Editor, *Yeni Forum*, Turkey.

There were many other foreign participants, most of whom were introduced at a luncheon session at which the main speakers were Leopold Berlanger, President, Haitian International Institute for Research and Development; Roberto Brenes, Director, The Panamanian National Civic Crusade; Violeta Chamorro, Editor, *La Prensa*, Nicaragua; and Armando Valladares, President, International Coalition for Human Rights in Cuba. The luncheon session also included presentation of the Endowment's "Democracy Award" to Jacek Kuron and Monica Jimenez de Barros in recognition of their contributions to the democratic cause in Poland and Chile. Senator Edward Kennedy, speaking at the luncheon, said, "The determination and commitment of Monica, of Jacek, and of other courageous individuals across the globe serve as an inspiration to all those where democracy and fundamental freedoms are still denied." ■

POLAND

SOLIDARNOSC'S TRIUMPH

Excerpts from the Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, May 2, 1989

The signing of a broad-ranging agreement between the democratic trade union Solidarnosc and Poland's Communist government represents an important victory for Polish workers. They have won the relegalization of their independent trade union and agreed to a series of political reforms that could result in the eventual return of democracy to Poland. Despite this important progress, Poles face an uncertain future. . . Poles will have to struggle long and hard to create what Solidarnosc wants—a productive mixed economy based on cooperative, private, and state sectors.

This necessary internal reform can be greatly assisted by U.S. and Western economic aid. Such aid, the AFL-CIO believes, must be structured in such a way to encourage the growth of production designed to meet the needs of the Polish people. Central to this effort is a restructuring of Poland's international debt. . . Further, any assistance must be conditioned and channeled in such a way as to assure continued progress toward democratization and respect for fundamental human rights. . . Only such conditional aid can assure that Western loans, trade preferences, and credits are not squandered by a corrupt and inefficient Communist oligarchy. Only such conditional aid can exert pressure on a Party that once before broke an agreement with Poland's workers and ushered in a state of martial law.

Poland's workers face a second challenge. They must develop civic institutions essential to a free society. Poland's free trade unions and other democratic organizations need and want material assistance, moral support, and cooperation from their counterparts in the democracies if they are to create the institutional basis for a pluralistic society. The AFL-CIO promises to work to assure that such assistance is made available to Solidarnosc. Toward that end, the AFL-CIO will intensify union-to-union contacts between its affiliates and their counterparts in Solidarnosc.



Nancy Ellen Roth

At the NED Conference. L. to r., Martin Doherty, Service Employees International Union, Carl Gershman, President NED, Dr. Zofia Kuratowska, of Solidarnosc Social Fund (medical aid). and her husband, Dr. Gregorz Jasunski. Following the NED Conference the AFL-CIO Executive Council announced an increased AFL-CIO aid package to Solidarnosc and its Social Fund, involving the S.E.I.U. and other affiliates.

Solidarnosc has forged a victory through principled resistance and peaceful self-organization against a seemingly all-powerful and brutal state. But Solidarnosc's victory continues to be denied to workers elsewhere in the Soviet bloc. In recent months, however, there have been growing signs that workers in the Soviet bloc are learning from the powerful example of Solidarnosc. . .

At a time when. . . legitimate worker organizations and movements are emerging in the Eastern bloc, the AFL-CIO reaffirms its principle of opposing any activities that would give spurious credibility to "trade union" organizations that are in fact instruments of the state. Our obligation is to expand solidarity and assistance to trade union and worker movements that. . . are free from state control and are fighting for support against their Communist Party and state controlled rivals. The best way of celebrating Solidarnosc's triumph is to help these heroic worker movements that offer hope for a peaceful transition to democracy in the Soviet bloc. ■

CHINA

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC?

Sooner or later, the people of the People's Republic of China were bound to take seriously the name of their own country. The cries of students for democracy are the cries of the masses of people demanding a voice.

The "Difference" of Chinese Culture

For too long, Chinese leaders have comforted themselves with viewing China's culture as so "different" that democracy could not possibly find a home there and that they therefore had no need to share power with the people. Even in the West, some academics have taught that democracy, with its corollary respect for human rights, belongs uniquely to Western nations.

Fang Lizhi's View. . .

Fang Lizhi, a noted Chinese astrophysicist, attacked this myth in Beijing in June 1987. Speaking to reporters at a time when the regime was campaigning for "modernization" of China, Fang said: "If there is no democratization, there can be no modernization." To the resulting charge from the authorities that he was instilling "Western" ideas not suitable for an Oriental culture, Fang said:

"I consider that what we call democracy does not belong [exclusively] to the West. In culture there are many things that belong to all of us. For example, in physics we cannot say that there is a Chinese physics and a Western physics. They are the same. There are some basic concepts that do not change. I think democracy is one of those basic concepts."

. . . And Its Consequences

Although expelled from the Communist Party for spreading such ideas, Fang did not meet the fate of Wei Jingsheng, a Beijing electrician who has been in prison since leading the Democracy Wall movement in 1978 and 1979.

Wei committed the crime of inscribing on a Beijing wall the proclamation: "Without democracy, no modernization."

In another interview with Fang, a European journalist noted the contrast in treatment—Wei got 15 years' imprisonment, but Fang, though fired from his professorial job, was still free. "Is it," the reporter asked, "because you are a well-known scientist, whereas Wei was nothing but an electrician?" To which Fang replied: "Of course. That's how things are in China. A worker who has done something objectionable can easily be removed."

Fang and others have publicly demanded that the regime release Wei, who reportedly has been traumatized by prolonged solitary confinement, physical abuse, and other harsh treatment.

The People's Test

The test of China's progress is not just the concessions it makes for students and professors, but what it does for the millions of working men, women, and children. The test by which the people will judge is whether China can make sure that other worker leaders—"nothing but electricians"—are not easily "removed."

The Leadership's Crossroads

China's leaders are at a crossroads: they must decide which way China shall go in the modern world—whether it will take the downhill path of authoritarianism, or whether it will move toward democracy.

The Polish Analogy

Leaders of Western democracies frequently have offered strong advice to the leaders of the Polish People's Republic. They have suggested that Poland will only achieve higher growth, release the people's enterprise, spur people to greater productivity, and obtain their full commitment to reform, when people have the dignity of personal and political liberty, and when they have freedom of expression, freedom of association, and the right to form free and independent trade unions.

The American Message?

Such messages are appropriate not only for Polish generals. President Bush should deliver that same message to Beijing, including in it a call for the immediate release of Wei Jingsheng.

True, China has no Solidarity. But the student demonstrators and the workers who have joined them are demanding "full freedom of speech, of association, and of the press." They march through the cities of China singing with special fervor the opening lines of China's national anthem, "Rise up, you who refuse to be slaves." With ancient bonds loosened, the workers of China could, over time, well form their own version of Solidarity. Solidarity, too, is not just a Western idea.

How To Help?

Unfortunately, there is a Western idea that can undercut the growth of democracy in China—the notion that trade alone can have a liberating effect. Chinese authorities have permitted trade with the "barbarians" of the West for centuries without themselves taking to heart ideas of democratic "liberation." The Overseas Private Investment Corporation now gives free advice and insurance to U.S. businesses seeking to invest in the PRC. Businesses should be free to invest in China, but at their own risk.

This is one of those occasions when our nation can demonstrate unambiguously whether it supports an historic movement toward democracy. But the Bush Administration has not so far made its position crystal clear on this issue. ■

THE MAY ELECTIONS

PARAGUAY

On May 1 limited elections were held to formalize the new Government of General Andres Rodriguez. His victory was assured by scheduling the elections before the long-banned opposition had time to organize, and by a Stroessner-era electoral law prohibiting opposition coalition slates and awarding two-thirds of the legislature to the party winning the presidency. Opposition parties nonetheless participated in the election because it will allow them to play active minority roles in the new legislature, and aid their efforts to organize for the free elections promised at the municipal level in 1990 and nationally in 1993.

At the request of Paraguay's free Inter-Union Workers' Movement (MIT), the AFL-CIO sent a six-person delegation to Paraguay to observe the election process. In its report the delegation noted a number of irregularities: less-than-secret balloting; excess amounts of Government-party ballots available along with scarcity of opposition-party ballots; and disarray in some polling places. The delegation attributed these irregularities to the fact that "a dictatorial system which has existed for many years leaves behind a series of vices and practices that are difficult to eradicate in such a short period of time. . . We are hopeful that the victorious political party. . . will carry out its promises. . . to reestablish democracy and restore social justice and dignity to the people of Paraguay."

PANAMA

At its Congress in Caracas in April, the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT) called for guarantees that in Panama's May 7 elections "the voters would be able freely to express their will, and that their votes would be respected." An ORIT team of six observers from affiliates in five countries, including the AFL-CIO, went to Panama.

According to the team's report, the voting process began properly on the morning of Election Day, and the voting procedure was relatively clean, the opposition ADOC coalition winning a majority of the votes cast. The Panamanian Government, however, imposed a total news blackout. After the polls closed, the news blackout continued, with no reports on the election results. The team concluded: "It was the unanimous opinion of the members of this mission that the electoral aberrations stem from illegal procedures in the vote counting, and from mechanisms further distorted by total Government control of the process."

Subsequently, on May 9, the Noriega regime's initial vote count portending a Government "victory" brought out opposition protest demonstrations. Noriega's thugs attacked with brutal force, hospitalizing the opposition's candidates for both President and Vice President. Faced with domestic and international outrage at the theft of the election and the official violence, Noriega annulled the election late on May 10. ■

SOUTH AFRICA

SIGNIFICANT ACQUITTAL

Moses Mayekiso, General Secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, the country's second largest union, was acquitted in April of charges of treason and of alternative charges of subversion and sedition. His four co-defendants, who together with Mayekiso were known as the Alexandra Five, were also acquitted.

The legal process had lasted for two years—with the defendants in jail for most of that time. The offense which gave rise to the trial was an effort by Mayekiso and the others to set up "alternative people's structures" to improve living conditions in Johannesburg's Alexandra township. The South African Government maintained that this was a challenge to white authority amounting to treason and subversion.

The Judge deemed that the five defendants saw apartheid as wrong and unacceptable and tried to exercise rights as citizens of a democracy to vote and participate in some way in an electoral process leading to the appointment of an able government. Setting an important precedent, the Judge declared that blacks are not allowed to elect representatives in Parliament and that, therefore, the establishment by blacks of democratically-elected institutions such as trade unions and community groups, in order to express their demands and to address problems at work and at home, is not grounds for charges either of treason or sedition. ■

MOZAMBIQUE

AFL-CIO TIES WITH OTM

In a follow-up to the ICFTU's fact-finding mission to Mozambique in 1987, and to subsequent direct contacts initiated last year between the AFL-CIO and the Mozambican labor central (*see* The Bulletin, *November 1988, p. 7*), two top officials of the Mozambican Workers' Organization (OTM) made their first visit to the United States in May at the invitation of the AFL-CIO. They discussed the projected program of assistance to OTM.

During a two-week stay in the Washington area, Jose C. Ganancio, Deputy Secretary General of the OTM, and David W. Macuha, assistant to the Director of International Affairs, met with Tom Kahn, Director of the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department, and Patrick O'Farrell, Executive Director of the AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center. The Mozambican delegation also met with representatives of AFSCME, SEIU, the Laborers' International Union, the Mine Workers Union, the Bricklayers Union, and the American Federation of Teachers.

At the conclusion of the visit, the AFL-CIO's AALC had reached agreement with the OTM to begin a program of assistance with support for the OTM in organizing an education seminar for trade union leaders. ■

A FRIEND'S TRIBUTE

*At the Irving Brown Memorial, May 1, 1989, in the lobby of the AFL-CIO headquarters (*see p. 3*) President Lane Kirkland delivered a eulogy of his friend Irving Brown, from which the following is extracted*:

Irving Brown believed that most of the wisdom, and frailties, of the world could be found in the works of William Shakespeare and Lewis Carroll. On the tendency, again common today, to rush to embrace every seductive beckoning smile beamed "from the orient to the drooping west," Irving would recite the words of Rumor, from *Henry IV, Part 2*.

> "Upon my tongues continual slanders ride,
> the which in every language I pronounce,
> stuffing the ears of men with false reports,
> I speak of peace while covert enmity
> Under the smile of safety wounds the world."

His skepticism was not rooted in the stubborn rigidity which is blind to change. He had seen too many changes and too many conversions of old dogmatists for that. Indeed, long before many others he saw the ground moving in the totalitarian world and advised us to explore it, carefully and prudently, for whatever possibilities it might hold for the beginnings of another stage in the struggle for human freedom . . .

What Irving stood for, as a trade unionist and without apology or apologetics, was the simple proposition that those with too much power should not be allowed to kick those with too little power around.

He knew which side he was on and his resolution was never "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." He had little patience with the meanderings of fashion in diplomatic discourse, its tedious and barren cultivation of complexity and its cloaking of aimlessness in the guise of "pragmatism."

To government emissaries, in Geneva or somewhere else, immobilized by a wait for instructions or policy guidance, Irving liked to recall an episode in *Alice in Wonderland*.

Alice, following a path through the woods, came to a fork in the path. Standing irresolute, she inquired of the Cheshire Cat: "Would you tell me, please, which way I ought to go from here?" "That depends a good deal on where you want to get to," said the Cat. "I don't much care where. . ." said Alice. "Then it doesn't matter which way you go," said the Cat.

Irving Brown always knew on which path he belonged. He thought it mattered, and he never strayed from it. No one was less bureaucratic—or more loyal. He responded to his detractors with the lethal weapon of indifference. He wasted no energy on grudges, and he shrugged off the calumnies of lesser persons, as part of the territory. That number, so often gathered on the wrong side of history, he would dismiss with the words of Henry of Navarre: "Hang yourself, brave Crillon; we fought at Arques and you were not there." But others of greater spirit were there. Irving is noted for the devoted friends, of high and low degree, he made on his journey and none more fiercely loyal that his old comrades-at-arms.

For years a silent army has been assembling on the path he trod, but they are silent no more. By the millions, they have raised the banner of free trade unionism in Poland, and they are changing the course of history. In China they have taken to the streets by the hundreds of thousands demanding democracy. In Hungary they are forming independent trade union organizations. They have marched in the streets of South Korea and Chile. In South Africa, they are tolling the death knell of apartheid. Wherever working people are rising from their knees and walking erect, they are choosing the path of Irving Brown . . . the universal struggle for human dignity, a struggle to which he committed his life and on which he left a lasting imprint.

He was not a religious man in a conventional sense. But I think he would forgive me for closing with some words, from the theologian Martin Buber, which seem to me a fitting farewell to a friend I shared with history. "Destiny and freedom are solemnly promised to one another. Only the man who makes freedom real to himself meets destiny. . . freedom and destiny are linked together in meaning. And in this meaning destiny, with eyes a moment ago severe now filled with light, looks out like grace itself." ■

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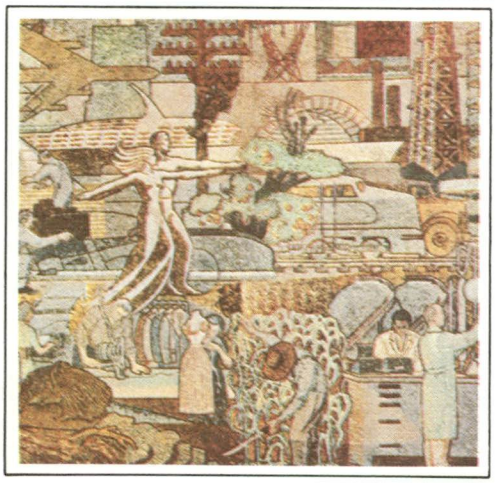
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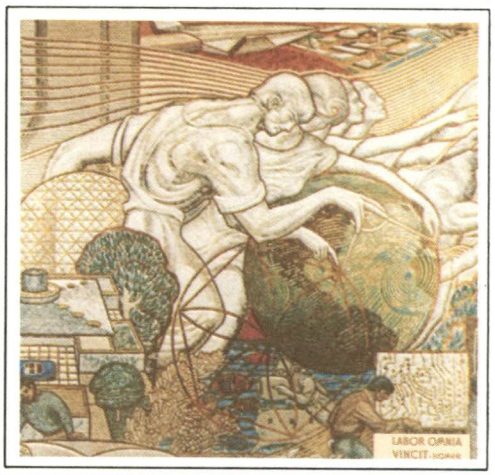
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AND
SOUTHERN AFRICA

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INTERNATIONAL AID

OUR VIEW

The AFL-CIO is a strong supporter of foreign aid and development programs. Over the years, the Federation and its four international institutes have used development funds to help create the infrastructure for economic development and democratic institutions to the benefit of workers in diverse settings the world over.

The funds we have used for these purposes, coming in large measure from the Agency for International Development (AID), have been consistently authorized and appropriated by Congresses with ever-changing proportions of Democratic and Republican members, and the legislation signed by Republican and Democratic Presidents. Some of our more severe critics say that the use of these funds binds us to the interests, perhaps even the dictates, of our Government. The AFL-CIO and its many affiliates that make use of such assistance disagree. Our programs are structured in such a way that all key decisions about their nature and content are determined by the democratically elected leaders of our unions in cooperation with their democratic counterparts abroad. The AFL-CIO International Affairs Department is charged with assuring that the decisions taken by our Conventions and by the AFL-CIO Executive Council are carried out competently and effectively. Our use of funds originating in the democratic parliamentary process differs not at all, of course, from the practice of democratic unions in Scandinavia, West Germany, and Italy, which conduct similar government-funded trade union-oriented development programs in the Third World.

The AFL-CIO's longstanding commitment to effective promotion of freedom of association, worker rights, democracy, and economic development abroad gives the lie to allegations—from severe, if not well-informed, critics—that the organized American labor movement is inward-looking, protectionist, and isolationist.

Decades of experience in the international arena have enabled us to hone our skills and to develop an expertise in the most efficient use of aid funds. The AFL-CIO role in the allocation and expenditure of those funds helps to ensure they are spent prudently, in support of trade union principles, and to enhance freedom of association—the basic right which, our experience has shown, is the foundation of democracy and social justice. That experience has also shown that democracy and economic development are indivisible—witness countries such as South Africa, the Soviet Union, Poland, and Hungary, whose economies are in decline in large measure because of their anti-democratic systems, and countries such as South Korea, where a military dictatorship, finally understood to be an encumbrance on economic progress, is being cast aside in an explosion of trade union and democratic activism.

Channeling government funds through private institutions and organizations with expertise in providing services and defending the interests of their members has an added advantage in terms of democratic participation. It brings into the allocation and distribution of international aid institutions sensitive to public opinion and directly accountable to public pressure.

Finally, aid channeled through private institutions that are based on democratic principles helps to build new leadership in societies whose elites have for decades, indeed centuries, emerged out of the military, or the monied and propertied interests. Broadening the base that furnishes capable leaders has a democratizing effect, and creates the possibility of new approaches to governance that are sensitive to social justice and national consensus.

Because the AFL-CIO has consistently argued that the promotion of economic development and democracy cannot be isolated one from the other, we welcome the beginning of a debate in the Congress on a completely new foreign aid bill and the issuance of the recent *Report of the Task Force on Foreign Assistance* to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. We particularly welcome the Task Force's decision "to make 'democratic pluralism'—promotion of political, social, and economic pluralism—one of. . .four priorities" of U.S. aid.

AFL-CIO testimony on February 28 before the Foreign Affairs Committee, presented by William Doherty, Executive Director of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, declared, "The AFL-CIO stands solidly behind any effort to relate the observance of democratic norms and respect for human and trade union rights to the aid-giving process." We actively support a foreign policy that is engaged in the world and driven by a spirit of international solidarity based on free unions, democracy, and social justice. We will press hard for such a policy. It is, we think, in the best interests of American workers and their counterparts overseas. It is, we would argue, therefore in our national interest. ■

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INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT

FACING THE DEFICIT

As OUR WORLD on page 2 implies, international aid, to be ultimately effective, aims at, among other things, results in world trade. On February 21, the AFL-CIO Executive Council noted "the crippling deficits that have seriously injured our economy and made the United States the world's largest debtor nation," and urged "strong new government policies." The Council specified components of such policies:

- Negotiations of trade deficit reduction agreements with countries enjoying large trade surpluses with the U.S.
- Vigorous enforcement of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988. So-called Super 301, the telecommunications title, and the Buy American title are among the bill's provisions that can help bring more equity and fairness to America's trade relationships.
- Fullest use of provisions that explicitly make the denial of internationally recognized worker rights an actionable practice under U.S. trade law.
- Enactment of legislation to require the disclosure and monitoring of foreign investors in the U.S., including information on proposed plant shutdowns.
- Enactment of legislation to bring some order and stability to trade in textiles, apparel, and shoes.
- Renewal, for five years, of the Voluntary Restraint Agreements (VRAs) on steel mill products and especially of semi-finished products and extension by Congress of the authority needed to implement the VRAs.
- Enactment of legislation to address the serious problem of less-developed country debt—including substantial forgiveness by the lending institutions of the principal owed, as well as reductions in interest rates.
- Expansion and funding of trade adjustment assistance to help workers harmed by trade.
- Continued prohibition of the export of Alaskan crude oil, and the retention of domestic carriage of that oil for U.S. flag vessels.
- Safeguarding of import-sensitive industries in any extension of the Caribbean Basin Initiative.
- Enactment of legislation and the implementation of policies to promote the development and domestic manufacture of High-Definition Television.
- Action by Congress and the Administration to block the proposed agreement between General Dynamics and Mitsubishi Heavy Industries for development and production of Japan's FSX fighter plane.
- Action by Congress and the Administration to block the proposed transfer of tank production facilities from Michigan to Egypt.
- The United States must tackle these issues in the ongoing Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations. Specifically, the U.S. must press for GATT mechanisms to reduce large trade imbalances; permit funding for needed adjustment programs; provide relief for trade impacted industries; and address unfair trade advantages gained through the denial of internationally recognized worker rights or the maintenance of repressive working conditions. ■

THREE FREEDOMS

SPEECH, PRESS, ASSOCIATION

Affiliates of the AFL-CIO are intimately involved in the creation of literary works, their publishing, their distribution, and their sale. The AFL-CIO Executive Council therefore felt it was incumbent upon them at their February meeting to consider the most recent *cause celebre* in the literary world. Taking their stand on a view of freedom of speech, of the press, and of association as constituting the core of our civil liberties, the AFL-CIO Executive Council on February 24 issued the following statement concerning the novel, *The Satanic Verses*:

"The threats of force and violence against Salman Rushdie and against those who publish and distribute his novel, *The Satanic Verses*, pose a fundamental challenge to a free society. That challenge invites a test of wills we must not fail.

"Freedom of speech, of the press and of association are the core of our civil liberties. Those freedoms are not inherent in the nature of things and their status is not assured. As a beginning, government restraints must, of course, be prohibited. But in the end it is the individual's commitment to free speech—and the resolve to take the risks to make such a commitment real—that is decisive.

"Authors must have the courage to speak their minds honestly without regard to current orthodoxies. Publishers and distributors must have the courage to stand by their authors in the face of the most virulent attacks. The time-tested truth that those who seek safety at the expense of liberty are certain to lose both applies with special force to those who engage in the free exchange of ideas.

"The publishers and booksellers who have cut and run in response to the Ayatollah Khomeini have acted shamefully. The governments that have appeased the fundamentalists by suppressing *The Satanic Verses* have betrayed the most basic of their ideals. Whatever the book's limitations may be, the justification that it is "hate literature" distorts that term beyond all meaning.

"The measured diplomatic response to Iran's provocations by the European Community and by our Government is a welcome statement of principle. The vigorous defense of free speech by the Writers Guild of America, by PEN and by individual authors has been effective in mobilizing public opinion. What is needed now is an equal show of nerve by publishers and by distributors.

"There is always some argument that a controversial publication is too imperfect an approximation of the truth to be worthy of defense. The labor movement has learned through hard experience that giving in to that argument is the end of free speech. We know, too, that unless the rights of free speech and free association are vigorously protected at every turn there can be no free labor movement. It is on that knowledge that we call for the unimpeded distribution of *The Satanic Verses*." ■

FROM THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

During its February 20-24, 1989, session the AFL-CIO Executive Council considered, debated, and passed resolutions on twenty-eight problems affecting labor, of which thirteen directly concerned or impinged upon current issues in international affairs. Two are covered on page 3, and one on page 7. Following are extracts from the other ten:

The Middle East



ISRAEL

Histadrut—A Bedrock Israel's Democracy

. . . Histadrut—Israel's General Federation of Labor . . . continues to be a major force in shaping the social, economic and cultural life of Israel—the only free democracy in the Middle East . . . [It] has fought to successfully maintain the economic and social gains of Israel's workers—Jews and Arabs alike . . . The last year has been extremely difficult for Israel, which is struggling to cope with the Palestinian intifada in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, while maintaining its democratic character. In this difficult period, Histadrut has played the major and decisive role in preserving the rights of Palestinian and Arab workers. We join with Histadrut in the belief that the Israeli-Arab conflict cannot be solved by the use of force, but only through direct negotiations between the parties concerned . . . The AFL-CIO Executive Council . . . calls on all its affiliates to continue their strong material and moral support of Histadrut and Israel . . .

Asia and the Pacific



A ROADBLOCK TO DEMOCRACY IN KOREA

After more than 18 months of progress towards full democracy, South Korea has reached a roadblock . . . [The] march toward labor rights has stalled as Korea's powerful employers have recovered from the initial "democratic shock" and are responding with brutality to the new strength and assertiveness of trade unions. Strikes . . . are marked by employer intransigence and alarming violence. The Samsung Group is the most notorious anti-union company of all. The Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU) has called for a boycott of Samsung products because of physical violence by Samsung executives against trade union protesters. Motorola/Korea managers recently formed "save-the-company squads" and launched a brutal physical attack against the mostly female members of the newly-organized Motorola Workers Union. These and other corporations are . . . comforted by their close relations with the ruling circles, and secure in the knowledge that Korea's labor laws are in disarray . . .

The government and the ruling Democratic Justice Party are wrong to argue that further reforms are premature . . . Their stance represents a reversal of South Korea's march toward democracy. Through the Asian-American Free Labor Institute, the AFL-CIO has actively supported the FKTU's campaign for full labor rights in Korea and justice at the workplace. We will continue to do so . . .

BURMA

Five months have passed since more than 1,000 people were killed in a military coup which crushed a spontaneous movement for democracy in Burma . . . Today, the promises of early, free elections by Gen. Saw Maung's military junta are unfulfilled. Rule of law is a fiction in Burma . . . But, now, it is clear that the core of a free trade union movement is still alive. This independent movement, which has appealed for AFL-CIO and international labor support, leads an embattled, clandestine existence . . . The AFL-CIO strongly supports the courageous efforts of the Burmese workers to restore democracy to their country . . . We applaud the recent actions of the U.S., Japan and other major donors, which have withdrawn their economic assistance from Burma . . . In affirming its solidarity with Burma's free unions, the AFL-CIO pledges to provide them with such assistance as is appropriate and within our means . . .

MALAYSIA

On September 23, 1988, the government of Malaysia announced the end of a 15-year ban on unions in the electronics industry . . . The Malaysian Labor Minister, noting the industry was now "strong and stable," even invited the Malaysian Trades Union Congress (MTUC) to help workers organize . . . Unorganized electronics workers were eager to exercise a right long suppressed, and the MTUC filed an application for recognition, as required by law. On October 19, however, the Malaysian Cabinet announced a reversal of policy: "only in-house unions will be allowed"—a euphemism for organizations controlled by management. The reason for the rapid turnabout is clear: while workers were organizing, multinational corporations began a multi-faceted anti-union intimidation campaign . . . The Malaysian-American Electronics Industry Association made it clear that unless the union ban was reimposed, businessmen would move their operations elsewhere. The government capitulated.

The AFL-CIO condemns the Malaysian government's ill-considered reversion to anti-worker conduct. And we are outraged by the anti-democratic behavior of U.S. electronics manufacturers, who deny their Malaysian employees the same basic right of association they—as foreigners in Malaysia—enjoy and take for granted. The AFL-CIO will not let this issue die. U.S. government support for Malaysia's anti-worker policies must not continue. The AFL-CIO demands that Malaysia be stripped of its duty-free privileges under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) . . . An AFL-CIO petition on the violation of worker rights in Malaysia is now in the hands of an inter-agency government committee, which is to make a recommendation to President Bush by April 1 . . . The nature of that decision will send a clear signal to the world on the Bush Administration's commitment to fundamental worker rights.

A CRUSADE AGAINST CHILD LABOR

. . .No agency has bothered to count the number of working children in the world. The most common estimates range from 80 to 200 million, but the true number may be far higher, with 200 million in Asia alone. Tragically, the growth of foreign trade and investment—hailed as a source of progress—has had a retrogressive effect on children, drawing them into workplaces even as their parents remain unemployed or underemployed. In Thailand—where foreign investment and exports rose at unprecedented rates from 1983 through 1987—the number of child workers jumped by 34 per percent to an estimated 1.7 million.

In granting freedom to foreign investors, the new free trade zones in the People's Republic of China also have granted the freedom to exploit children. Some Chinese factories work 10-year-old girls 14 hours a day; others employ 12-year-olds at $10 a month for 15-hour days. . . There has been a wholesale exodus of millions of children from Chinese schools to the new rural factories. An official for Kader Enterprises Ltd., a toy manufacturer, told a reported who visited a company plant in Shekou, China: "We can work these girls all day and all night." Another Kader executive explained: "This is the toy biz. If you don't allow us to do things our way, we'll close down our Chinese factories and move to Thailand."

Unless checked, such greed will accelerate in the rapidly expanding global economy. One answer is for consumers to boycott the goods produced by child labor. But far more . . .is needed. And two other mechanisms are already in place. U.S. trade legislation provides that the President can remove trade privileges from countries that permit the exploitation of child labor. Regrettably the U.S. government has yet to invoke that penalty against any country where child labor is rampant. Secondly, and of equal importance, the U.S. government must pressure the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), to devote significant resources to the elimination of child labor. The executive director of UNICEF is an American and U.S. taxpayers provide the largest single contribution to UNICEF. Yet UNICEF has decided. . .that child labor is not its problem. . .

Uncounted millions of child workers, the overwhelming majority of them non-white and female, are the weakest victims of exploitation. Surely no bureaucratic excuses, no hunger for profit, and no theories of free trade can justify a prolongation of this scandal. . .

Latin America & the Caribbean



CHILE

The AFL-CIO deplores the continued internal exile of Chilean labor leaders Manuel Bustos and Arturo Martinez of the United Workers Confederation (CUT). These trade unionists were sentenced by their government, in violation of internationally recognized worker rights, for calling a general strike in 1987. . .We call on the U.S. government to maintain its suspension of Chilean trading privileges under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), and to enter into negotiations with the Chilean government to achieve compliance with basic worker rights as provided under section 301 of the Omnibus Trade Act of 1988. Should the Chilean government be unwilling to enter such negotiations. . .the AFL-CIO will call on the U.S. government to impose trade sanctions against Chilean imports to the U.S.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Economic and social conditions in much of Central America have deteriorated over the past year. The flow of refugees from the region may become a flood if the incoming Administration and Congress do not act quickly to craft a bipartisan policy for peace, development and democracy. Such a policy should be based on. . .the Central American Peace Accords and the recommendations of the National Bi-Partisan Commission on Central America. . .The AFL-CIO believes it imperative to revive the Peace Accords with timetables and sanctions to ensure full compliance. The National Bi-Partisan Commission on Central America recommended that. . .a new body, the Central American Development Organization (CADO), be established with the participation of worker and campesino representatives. In its preoccupation with military solutions, however, the Reagan Administration never implemented the CADO concept.

A new report of the International Commission for Central America recommends a development program. . . which combines the approach of the Peace Accords with a broadened version of CADO to be known as the Central American Development Coordinating Commission (CADCC), and consisting of representatives from government, labor, business and other private sectors from each donor and recipient country. Only those countries in compliance with the Peace Accords would be eligible for aid, trade and investment, and CADCC would condition its development recommendations for each country on the degree to which it fulfilled the democratic ideals spelled out in the Peace Accords. The AFL-CIO. . .urges Congress to pass legislation that would make CADCC part of the U.S. foreign aid program, and. . .calls upon the Bush Administration to implement this concept fully. . .

In Nicaragua, the withdrawal of U.S. military assistance to the Contras has not been matched by the withdrawal of Soviet/Cuban military assistance to the Sandinistas. The AFL-CIO calls for increased. . .pressure on the Soviet Union and Cuba to achieve this goal. . .[and] calls on governments and institutions that provide economic aid to Nicaragua to condition. . .aid on the cessation of repression and on full implementation of the democratization provisions of the Peace Accords. The AFL-CIO also supports the call of the Nicaraguan Confederation of Trade Union Unity (CUS) for the U.S. government to announce its willingness to end its economic embargo of Nicaragua as one component of a process for implementing the democratization provisions of the Peace Accords [and]. . .calls upon the Nicaraguan government to carry out its promise to. . .conduct free and open elections. We also urge support for. . .the agreement to demobilize, repatriate or relocate in Nicaragua or third countries members of the resistance (Contras) and their families.

In El Salvador, progress toward democracy has been undermined by increasing political violence in 1988... We urge all government and other outside supporters of Salvadoran organizations to condition their assistance on respect for human rights... We call for new efforts to strengthen the Salvadoran judicial system to investigate and punish those who violate human rights, including the murderers of Mike Hammer, Mark Pearlman and Rodolfo Viera in 1981. Until such violators are brought to justice, we urge Congress to halt all military aid to El Salvador. The AFL-CIO strongly supports negotiations... to... end... the military conflict in El Salvador...

The AFL-CIO joins with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in expressing deep concern over the deterioration of human rights and economic and political conditions in Panama... We will join with other democratic institutions in sending observers to the May 1989 elections in Panama...

The AFL-CIO urges the Bush Administration to place worker rights high on its agenda for [Central America], and to link U.S. development aid to improvements in workers' rights and in the living standards of the majority. We will, however, strenuously oppose U.S. development aid for "export processing zones" that offer a "union-free environment" to exploit workers, especially women and children, or for any other development project that violates internationally-recognized worker rights.

On the Front Lines

NEGOTIATIONS IN POLAND

After protracted resistance by the Communist authorities, the Polish government has at last entered into negotiations with the still outlawed trade union, Solidarnosc, and with other representatives of Polish society. These negotiations have a long and perilous path yet to travel. But the very fact that the Polish government has joined Solidarnosc at the bargaining table is an acknowledgment of the failure of the Communist authorities' economic and political program and the victory of the tenacious workers of Poland. That Solidarnosc is at the bargaining table is a testament to its strength and to the vision of its able leaders, foremost among them Lech Walesa. They have guided their movement ably through years of repression and they have never once lost faith... As Solidarnosc now sits down to negotiate with Poland's Communist authorities, Polish workers can be confident of the AFL-CIO's solidarity and steadfast support, as we are confident of their ultimate victory...

HUNGARY'S EMERGING UNIONS

After more than three decades of silence, Hungary's workers are reawakening. In the last year they have established independent unions... and... have joined in creating the Democratic League of Independent Unions, a nationwide coordinating group. The AFL-CIO regards these developments as further evidence of the aspirations to free trade unionism among workers in the Communist world...

The AFL-CIO supports the demands of Hungary's independent unions for legislative progress toward full trade union freedom. We therefore join with them in calling on Hungarian authorities to discard draft legislation that will severely circumscribe the right to strike... We [also] call on the Hungarian authorities to revise labor law in a way that permits full trade union pluralism on the shop floor ...In accordance with the report of the recent AFL-CIO mission to Hungary, we pledge solidarity and assistance to our Hungarian free trade union brothers and sisters as they work... to rebuild a movement that democratically represents the interests of their country's working people.

Africa

SOUTH AFRICA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

The AFL-CIO Executive Council deplores the strategy of confusion, division and intimidation employed by the South African government to destroy legitimate opposition and entrench white domination... The Labour Law Amendment Bill... is a blatant effort to minimize the protection and rights afforded black workers while maximizing the penalties on and accountability of the unions and their leaders. Trade union efforts to expand services and programs... are also facing a frontal attack by the government in the form of a Foreign Funding Bill. This bill places unwarranted restrictions on the unions in the acceptance, disbursement and accounting of international assistance directed at trade union development [and would] give the government of South Africa absolute control over the recipients of foreign assistance...

We insist that the government release those now detained for their anti-apartheid activities... We urge the U.S. Congress to develop in close consultation with the affected communities in South Africa further actions such as economic sanctions or other effective methods that will continue the pressure on South Africa to end apartheid and provide justice and democracy for all its people. Meanwhile, the AFL-CIO reaffirms its boycott of the Shell Oil Company for its anti-worker activities in South Africa...

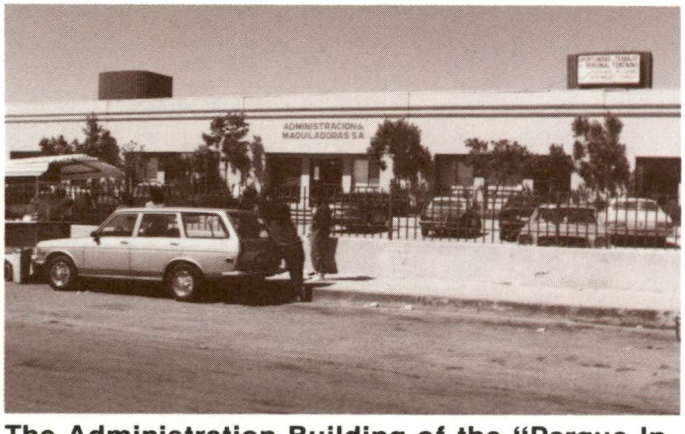
The... Tripartite Agreement on Southwestern Africa is a significant development that the AFL-CIO hopes will lead to the resolution of the military confrontation between South Africa and Cuba in... Angola and Namibia... We... urge the signatories to the accord to accelerate their timetables and reach decisions through compromise and not confrontation... We further urge the Angolan regime immediately to allow for the emergence of a free trade union movement that will represent the needs and aspirations of all... workers... The U.S. government should ...give special consideration to... assistance for the reconstruction of the Angolan economy.

The impending end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia represents a significant step toward regional stability and political freedom... Consistent with freedom is the necessity to assure the existence of free and independent trade unions... To this end, the AFL-CIO pledges its steadfast support to all genuine trade union organizations in Namibia. ■

MAQUILADORAS

THE DANGERS

In the February 1988 issue, *The Bulletin* reported in detail on the problem of the "maquiladoras," a Spanish word meaning "grain mills," but in the current context a thousand or more plants operating in Mexico for the sole purpose of assembling or processing parts of United States—and now not infrequently foreign—origin into finished products for export back to the United States. This arrangement exists, on the Mexican side, on the basis of the Mexican Border Industrialization Program, the National Development Plan, and the Sectoral and Regional Development Programs. On the American side it exists on the basis of United States tariff concessions: the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and Sections 806.30 and 807.00 of the U.S. Tariff Code, under which materials of United States origin (and now, of foreign origin imported into the U.S.) may be processed, assembled, or finished abroad and imported into the United States with tariff due only on the value added abroad. During the Reagan Administration the Department of Commerce sought to actively promote the maquiladora program. There are also bilateral agreements, such as the U.S.-Mexico Understanding on Trade and Investment signed in November 1987, underlying the program.



The Administration Building of the "Parque Industrial California," a new site for maquiladoras a few miles west of Tijuana, Mexico. It is only a few miles from the United States border. The Spanish-language sign on top of the building reads: "Opportunity for work for female personnel. We offer excellent wages and good working conditions."

The results have been a major contribution to American unemployment and the decline of American industry. On the Mexican side, 75 per cent of the workers in the maquiladoras are young women 16-25 years of age, who work 9½ hours a day under rarely honored health and safety standards. In March 1987 the maquiladora cost per worker was 69 cents an hour, matching the wages paid in half of the Far East, and double that in the rest of Mexico. One result is that the mounting profits draw more American and Japanese firms; another is massive migration from the Mexican interior to the border areas, which cannot absorb the influx.

At its February meeting the AFL-CIO Executive Council considered a new aspect of the problem of the maquiladoras. The Council noted that "American-owned operations in the 'maquiladoras' . . . have multiplied in size and number during the last eight years. As we have pointed out many times before, these activities have completely failed in their purported purpose of creating decent jobs on both sides of the border. Not only do they employ more than 300,000 Mexican workers at substandard wages and working conditions . . . they pose a deadly threat to those living on both sides of the border as they release toxic wastes into the air, the water, and the soil. Further . . . essential infrastructure development of housing, sewage systems, water supplies and roads and bridges had not kept pace and is dangerously inadequate."



The Hitachi plant at the "Parque Industrial California." The flags flying are, l. to r., Hitachi, Mexico, Japan. As of a year ago the "Parque Industrial California," which has a billboard promising jobs for "20,000 workers of the CTM" (Confederation of Workers of Mexico), was still expanding.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council cited *The Maquiladoras: The Hidden Cost of Production South of the Border*, a report commissioned by the AFL-CIO, and authored by Leslie Kochan which documents the threat of toxic poisoning caused by industrial accidents or unsafe transportation of toxins; the lack of adequate waste treatment facilities on both sides of the border; the denial to Mexican workers of basic health and safety protections; the pollution of drinking water supplies and irrigation waters; and the endangerment of the fragile ecosystem by indiscriminate disposal of wastes.

The AFL-CIO hopes the report will become a catalyst for effective solutions to the problems. The Executive Council called for legislation requiring companies investing in Mexico to produce goods to be exported to the United States to observe all U.S. environmental and safety laws; changes in Custom Service procedures to identify and track the movement of hazardous materials across the border; vigorous implementation and, if necessary, amendment of environmental laws and regulations to assure the safe transport and disposal of hazardous materials used and produced in maquiladora plants; a full investigation by Congress and the Administration to better determine the scope of the environmental problem. ■

SOUTH AFRICA

The following, by the Executive Director the AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center, was distributed abroad by the Interco Press, a new labor international feature service:

WHITE WORKERS JOINING MIXED RACE UNIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

by Patrick O'Farrell

Continuing South African Government and employer obstinacy in preserving racial barriers in political and economic areas keeps political and racial challenges escalating both along communal and ideological lines. Interestingly, this process is also contributing to political polarization within the white community. The latter has manifested itself in efforts by a number of anti-apartheid parties to form a more coherent parliamentary and organizational opposition embracing the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party, and the National Democratic Movement.

This has been accompanied by an increasingly visible tendency toward fragmentation among white South Africans. On the one hand, such fragmentation reflects growing fears of the danger of violent confrontations. On the other hand, it has also led a growing number of white workers to adhere to the racially mixed trade union movement.

In addition to political concerns, one reason for white workers joining non-racial and activist unions is an increasingly anti-union climate engendered by the intense siege mentality of the South African white community and the increasingly accommodationist attitudes of the white unions. Another reason is the international affiliation of COSATU and NACTU unions with Trade Secretariats linked to the democratic International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which provides them with international support and supplementary pressures on management, especially of multinationals.

At Volkswagen in Port Elizabeth, most of whose workers are organized by the Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA), some 80 white artisans reportedly have shifted their allegiance to NUMSA, following a strike protesting discriminatory wage differentials between artisans and tool makers which ended with management concessions. Explaining this shift, white workers cited their growing frustration with the all-white Yster and Staal Union (YSU), which they charged has become a "sweetheart union"—not assertive enough in defending worker rights and demands.

As a signal of growing black-white worker cooperation that shift also led to the first election of a white worker as one of the company's 21 NUMSA shop stewards. These new links between black and white union members and their increasing activism are also said to have resulted in the company paying leave to laid-off workers.

Among other such cases are the Pilkington Shuterpruffe Safety and Glass Company and Algorax, a chemical company where a growing number of white workers joined the affiliated Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU). At Pilkington a white supervisor, feeling himself victimized by one of his superiors, decided to switch his union affiliation from the all-white YSU to the CWIU, whereupon he was demoted. When the CWIU protested and demanded a hearing, the complaining white shop steward was fired. Thereupon both black and white workers in several departments struck in protest and filed complaints with the Industrial Court. The strike was suspended when the company agreed to continue paying the salaries of the contesting employees until the case was settled.

The Algorax case was similar, with white workers shifting to the CWIU because of unfair demotions. They praised the CWIU for taking up their case, the black members having gone so far as to stage brief protest strikes. Ironically, the small group of white employees did not join in the strike, fearing victimization by the white community.

While these examples fall short of a clear-cut trend, they are significant in the South African setting, and should help in the struggle to build a non-racial trade union movement. It is also worth noting that in both its political orientation and international ties, the large COSATU Federation seems to be offering a more realistic attitude toward the rest of the world. ■

the Bulletin
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AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

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DEPT FOR S/IL FREEMAN
E.O.12356: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, SOCI, UR
SUBJECT: LITHUANIAN LABOR LEADER DESCRIBES WORKERS MOVEMENT STRUGGLING FOR UNITY
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT
2. SUMMARY: DURING AN OCTOBER 1 MEETING WITH S/IL ANTHONY FREEMAN, (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6) DESCRIBED A SOVIET WORKERS' MOVEMENT STRUGGLING FOR UNITY. HE THOUGHT RENEWED WORK STOPPAGES POSSIBLE IN NOVEMBER AND SAID LITHUANIAN WORKERS WERE VERY INTERESTED IN THE COMING DEBATE ON ARTICLE 6 OF THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION, WHICH DEFINES THE LEADING ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, AND THE PROPERTY QUESTION. (b)(6) SAID HE WAS PLANNING TO ARRIVE IN THE UNITED STATES ON NOVEMBER 10 TO ATTEND THE AFL/CIO CONVENTION. END SUMMARY.

Lithuania

will be here

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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 29067 01 OF 02 171344Z
3. S/IL FREEMAN MET ON OCTOBER 1 IN VILNIUS WITH (b)(6) (b)(6) BY EMBASSY TO FREEMAN THAT HE WAS PLANNING TO ATTEND THE UPCOMING AFL/CIO CONVENTION IN NOVEMBER AND WAS SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE IN THE UNITED STATES ON NOVEMBER 10.
MEASURED OPTIMISM
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4. (b)(6) SOUNDED OPTIMISTIC BUT REALISTIC WHEN DESCRIBING THE BALTIC AND OVERALL SOVIET LABOR SCENE TO S/IL FREEMAN. HE CLAIMED THAT IN BOTH LATVIA AND LITHUANIA, T&P WORKERS' MOVEMENT HAS LARGELY MANAGED TO ESTABLISH GOOD RELATIONS WITH NORMAL AND OTHER

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DECLASSIFIED
PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015
By H NARA, Date 06/05/23

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By H NARA, Date 06/05/23

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NO-BALTIC WORKERS RESIDENT IN THE REPUBLICS. HE PRAISED THE LATVIAN WORKERS UNION FOR ACHIEVING THIS KIND OF ACCORD, DESPITE THE 50/50 LATVIAN/NON-LATVIAN POPULATION SPLIT IN THE REPUBLIC.

5. (b)(6) TOLD S/IL SHEEHAN THAT ON SEPTEMBER 15, A CONFERENCE WAS HELD IN MOSCOW OF ALL THE STRIKE COMMITTEES IN THE USSR, WHICH ADOPTED A RESOLUTION WARNING THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION (CPSU) AGAINST USING FORCE TO RESOLVE THE BALTIC QUESTION. THE RESOLUTION ALSO SUPPORTED THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN THE BALTIC REPUBLICS. "THEY SUPPORT US AND JUST WANT US TO STAY WITHIN THE UNION TO TEACH THEM HOW TO FIGHT," (b)(6) SAID. HE ADDED THAT THE SAME MEETING HAD ISSUED A CALL FOR A CONFERENCE OF ALL SOVIET WORKERS' GROUPS. DESPITE THIS SIGN OF UNITY, THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT IN THE USSR

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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 29757 01 OF 02 171944Z
IS STILL AFFLICTED WITH DISUNITY, ACCORDING TO (b)(6). HE SAID THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY APPARAT WAS ATTEMPTING TO TURN DISSATISFACTION AMONG WORKERS TO ITS OWN ENDS BY ESTABLISHING VARIOUS LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

6. (b)(6) SAID HE WAS IN CONTACT WITH DEMOCRATIC AND WORKERS ORGANIZATIONS IN EVERY PART OF THE SOVIET UNION. HE MENTIONED IN PARTICULAR ESTONIA, LATVIA, BYELORUSSIA, THE UKRAINE, AND GEORGIA AS NON-RUSSIAN AREAS WITH WHOSE DISSIDENTS HE KEEPS IN TOUCH. WITHIN THE SUPREME SOVIET, HE SAID A "WORKERS' FACTION" ALREADY EXISTS, WHICH HE IS TRYING TO TURN INTO A "SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FACTION." HE SAID THAT AN ORGANIZATION CALLING ITSELF "SOLIDARITY," WITH WHICH HE IS IN CONTACT, HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED IN THE KALININGRAD OBLAST.

NEW STRIKES

/----------

7. (b)(6) SAID THAT WORKERS IN LITHUANIA AND ELSEWHERE IN THE SOVIET UNION ARE VERY INTERESTED IN THE DEBATE OVER THE NEW LAW ON PROPERTY AND ARTICLE 6 OF THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION, WHICH DECLARES THE LEADING ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. HE SAID THAT NEW STRIKES WOULD BE POSSIBLE IN NOVEMBER, WHEN THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES IS SCHEDULED TO DISCUSS THESE ISSUES.

SUGGESTIONS FOR U.S. POLICY

/----------

8. (b)(6) SUGGESTED THAT IF THE USG IS INTERESTED IN SUPPORTING THE INDEPENDENT WORKERS' MOVEMENT IN THE ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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DEPT FOR S/IL ZAITSMAN
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TAGS: ELAB, ECON, SU
SUBJECT: LITHUANIAN LABOR LEADER DESCRIBES WORKERS

USSR, IT SHOULD BEGIN NEXT YEAR TO INVITE GROUPS OF TWO TO FIVE LABOR ACTIVISTS TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES AND MEET WITH AMERICAN WORKERS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE U.S. LABOR MOVEMENT. HE SAID THAT HE AND HIS ASSOCIATES IN THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT NEEDED TO RECEIVE RELIABLE RUSSIAN-LANGUAGE MATERIALS ON WORKERS' RIGHTS, LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS, UNION ORGANIZATION, AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. HE EMPHASIZED THAT ACTIVISTS ALL OVER THE SOVIET UNION NEED THIS KIND OF INFORMATION, NOT JUST LITHUANIAN WORKERS. ON THE LEVEL OF ECONOMIC POLICY, HE OPINED THAT ANY U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD BE DESIGNED TO ASSIST THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FREE MARKET CONDITIONS IN SPECIFIC REGIONS OF THE (###)
(###). HE SUGGESTED THAT CREDITS
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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 29867 02 OF 02 1718447
COULD BE GIVEN TO PRIVATE BUSINESSES WHOSE TRUSTWORTHINESS WOULD BE GUARANTEED BY THE POPULAR FRONTS.
COMMENT
/------
9. (b)(6) IS WIDELY KNOWN IN SOVIET DISSIDENT,

DEMOCRATIC, AND LABOR CIRCLES, FROM THE UKRAINE TO THE BALTICS. (b)(6)
(b)(6)
(b)(6) HE IS CONSIDERED BY MANY ACTIVISTS TO HAVE GREAT POTENTIAL AS A FUTURE LABOR LEADER NOT MERELY IN LITHUANIA, BUT ON THE NATIONAL LEVEL. HE DENIES ANY INTEREST IN SUCH A ROLE, BUT

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HIS EARLY SUCCESS MAY YET FORCE HIM ONTO A WIDER STAGE. END COMMENT.

12. LENINGRAD MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. MATLOCK

NOTE: (####)OMISSIONS IN TEXT. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 27768 01 OF 02 041549Z
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INFO MOSCOW POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
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AMCONSUL MUNICH
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 27768
DEPARTMENT FOR S/IL FREEMAN
USIA FOR VOA
MUNICH FOR RFE/RL
E.O.12356: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, EMIN, EIND, ECON, PINS, PREL, UR
SUBJECT: STRIKE LEADERS MANEUVER FOR POWER IN MINERS UNION, SEEK TO LEARN FROM AMERICAN UNION MOVEMENT
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: DURING THE SEPTEMBER 27 TO 29 VISIT OF S/IL ANTHONY FREEMAN TO THE DONBASS, LEADERS OF LAST JULY'S COAL MINE STRIKES OUTLINED THEIR PLANS FOR GAINING INFLUENCE OVER THE OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED COAL INDUSTRY TRADE UNION. AFTER MAKING SOME INITIAL GAINS, THE MINERS ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO NEXT MARCH'S COAL INDUSTRY UNION CONFERENCE, WHEN THEY WILL PRESS FOR PERSONNEL CHANGES AT THE TOP OF THE UNION'S HIERARCHY. WHILE UPSET OVER THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT THE FULL SET OF DEMANDS CONTAINED IN THE
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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 27768 01 OF 02 041549Z
STRIKE PROTOCOLS SIGNED LAST SUMMER, THEY HAVE ALREADY ACHIEVED CONSIDERABLE PAY GAINS. THEY FEEL INCREASED RESPECT ON THE PART OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES. THE MINERS ARE VERY INTERESTED IN THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT AND AMERICAN LABOR PRACTICES, AND THEY WOULD LIKE TO MEET WITH AMERICAN TRADE UNIONISTS, EITHER BY RECEIVING VISITORS IN DONETSK OR BY GOING TO THE UNITED STATES THEMSELVES. END SUMMARY.
INFLUENCE OVER THE OFFICIAL UNION
/----------
3. IN CONVERSATIONS WITH S/IL FREEMAN AND ECONOFF DURING A RECENT VISIT TO THE DONBASS COAL MINING REGION, LEADERS OF THE LOCAL STRIKE COMMITTEES ABJURED ANY IMMEDIATE INTENTION OF USING THEIR
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DECLASSIFIED
PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015
By H NARA, Date 06/05/23

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Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By H NARA, Date 06/05/23

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Cable	U.S. Embassy, Moscow to Secretary of State, Re: Strike Leaders Maneuver for Power in Miners Union, Seek to Learn from American Union Movement. [redaction] (1 pp.)	11/07/89	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: AFL - CIO Convention 11/13/89 [2]

Date Closed:	10/13/2004	**OA/ID Number:**	13695-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2004-2265-S	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:	2004-2265-S	**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
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PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

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RECENTLY WON INFLUENCE TO ESTABLISH A SEPARATE COAL MINERS UNION. INSTEAD, THEY DECLARED THEMSELVES INTENT ON GRADUALLY TAKING CONTROL OF THE OFFICIAL UNION. THE MINERS STATED GOAL IS TO FILL THE COAL INDUSTRY TRADE UNION WITH THEIR SUPPORTERS AND SO MAKE OF IT AN INSTRUMENT FOR REALIZING BETTER WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS IN THE MINE COUNTRY. AT LEAST PART OF THE MINERS' MOTIVATION COMES FROM MONETARY CONSIDERATIONS: NOTING THAT THE OFFICIAL UNION'S ANNUAL INCOME FROM MEMBERS' DUES AMOUNTS TO 80.5 MILLION RUBLES, THE MINERS SAID THE UNION HAD ACQUIRED MASSIVE FINANCIAL RESOURCES OVER THE YEARS. RATHER THAN SET UP AN ALTERNATIVE ORGANIZATION WITHOUT MUCH IN THE WAY OF FINANCIAL STRENGTH, THEY WISH TO TAKE CONTROL OF THE OFFICIAL UNION AND SO GAIN ACCESS TO ITS SUBSTANTIAL FINANCIAL RESOURCES.

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RECENT SUCCESSES

4. (b)(6) (b)(6) [redacted], SAID THAT THE MINERS HAD MADE PROGRESS IN REORGANIZING THE OFFICIAL COAL INDUSTRY UNION AT THE RECENT UNION CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM. WITH RESPECT TO THE UNION'S REGIONAL LEVEL, IT WAS AGREED TO REORGANIZE THE OLD TERRITORIAL COMMITTEES INTO "COUNCILS OF CHAIRMEN," WHICH WILL HENCEFORTH CONTROL THE UNION ADMINISTRATION. EVIDENTLY, THE ESSENCE OF THIS REFORM HAS TO INJECT MORE STRIKE COMMITTEE SYMPATHIZERS INTO THE MIDDLE ECHELON OF THE OFFICIAL UNION. ACCORDING TO (b)(6), THE PLENUM SUPPORTED ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REGIONAL UNION OF STRIKE COMMITTEES IN THE DONBASS, THE INTER-REGIONAL UNION OF STRIKE COMMITTEES ON THE ALL-UNION LEVEL, AND THE REGIONAL COUNCIL OF STRIKE COMMITTEES IN THE KUZBASS TO MONITOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE JULY STRIKE PROTOCOLS. (b)(6) ADDED THAT THE PLENUM HAD ALSO DISCUSSED ALLOCATION OF THE UNION'S MEMBERSHIP DUES AND PUBLICATION OF A MINERS' NEWSPAPER.

THE MARCH UNION CONFERENCE

5. THE MINERS SEEMED TO LOOK FORWARD EAGERLY TO THE NEXT CONFERENCE OF THE OFFICIAL COAL INDUSTRY UNION IN MARCH. THEY INTEND TO REPLACE AT LEAST SOME OF THE MEMBERS OF THE UNION'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE, ACCORDING TO SEVERAL STRIKE LEADERS. THEIR REPLACEMENTS WILL BE PERSONS MORE SYMPATHETIC TO RANK AND FILE INTERESTS. (b)(6) NOTED THAT FURTHER

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By LF NARA, Date 06/05/23

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Cable	U.S. Embassy, Moscow to Secretary of State, Re: Strike Leaders Maneuver for Power in Miners Union, Seek to Learn from American Union Movement. [redaction] (2 pp.)	11/07/89	(b)(6)	

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P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 27768 02 OF 02 041602Z
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 27768
DEPARTMENT FOR S/IL FREEMAN
USIA FOR VOA
MUNICH FOR RFE/RL
E.O.12356: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, EMIN, FIND, ECON, PINS, PREL, UR
SUBJECT: STRIKE LEADERS MANEUVER FOR POWER IN MINERS
DOWN THE LINE AN ATTEMPT WOULD BE MADE TO HAVE MINERS
ELECTED AS PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES TO THE REPUBLIC-LEVEL
SOVIETS.
LOBBYING MOSCOW
/----------

6. (b)(6) ADDED THAT THE MINERS ARE TRYING TO INFLUENCE THE CONTENT OF NEW ECONOMIC REFORM LEGISLATION AFFECTING THEIR INTERESTS. HE SAID THE STRIKE COMMITTEES ARE NATURALLY INTERESTED IN THE NEW LAW ON STRIKES. (b)(6)
(b)(6)

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BEEN LOBBYING THE RELEVANT AUTHORITIES REGARDING THIS
AND OTHER ISSUES.
GAINS TO DATE
/----------

7. ACCORDING TO BOTH MINE OFFICIALS AND STRIKE COMMITTEE MEMBERS, THE MINERS HAVE ALREADY REALIZED SIGNIFICANT PAY GAINS FROM LAST JULY'S WORK STOPPAGE. AT THE TIME OF THE STRIKE, THE MINERS WERE

DEMANDING THAT THEY BE PAID FOR THE OFTEN LENGTHY AMOUNT OF TIME THEY MUST SPEND GOING FROM THE MINE ENTRANCE TO THEIR WORK SITES. PREVIOUSLY, THEY HAD BEEN PAID ONLY FOR TIME ACTUALLY SPENT AT THE WORK SITE. THEY ALSO ASKED FOR INCREASED PAY FOR NIGHT SHIFT WORK. BOTH DEMANDS HAVING BEEN GRANTED AND FULFILLED, THE MINERS' AVERAGE WAGE HAS NOW RISEN

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FROM ABOUT 300 RUBLES PER MONTH TO 400 RUBLES. GREATER RESPECT

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8. ACCORDING TO (b)(6) (b)(6), ANOTHER EQUALLY IMPORTANT GAIN HAS BEEN TREMENDOUSLY INCREASED INTEREST AND UNDERSTANDING ON THE PART OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES, MINE MANAGEMENT, AND ADMINISTRATION. WHEREAS THESE OFFICIALS HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN RATHER INDIFFERENT TO THE MINERS' LOT, THEY ARE NOW SHOWING FAR GREATER CONCERN. ACCORDING TO (b)(6) INTEREST IN THE U.S.

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9. THE STRIKE LEADERS ALL EVINCED GREAT INTEREST IN THE U.S. LABOR MOVEMENT. THEY REPEATEDLY ASKED S/IL

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FREEMAN FOR WRITTEN MATERIALS, PREFERABLY IN RUSSIAN, ON SUCH SUBJECTS AS U.S. LABOR LAW, THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCESS, THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, AND LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS. THEY EXPRESSED EAGERNESS TO MEET AMERICAN MINE WORKERS, EITHER IN THE USSR OR THE UNITED STATES, AND TO VISIT AMERICAN COAL MINES.

COMMENT

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10. THE DONBASS COAL MINERS HAVE ALREADY COME A LONG WAY SINCE LAST SUMMER. WHILE MANY OF THEIR DEMANDS REMAIN UNFULFILLED, THEY HAVE ACHIEVED A HEFTY

EFFECTIVE WAGE INCREASE BY WINNING INCREASED NIGHT SHIFT PAY AND MANAGING TO HAVE TRANSIT TIME TO AND FROM THE WORK SITE COUNTED AS WORK TIME. REALIZING THAT THEY NEED MORE INFORMATION ON LABOR ORGANIZATION AND BARGAINING TACTICS, THEY ARE PLAINLY EAGER TO LEARN FROM U.S. EXPERIENCE IN THIS REGARD. THEY MAKE NO SECRET OF THEIR DESIRE TO USE THE U.S. LABOR MOVEMENT AS A MODEL IN ORGANIZING THEIR OWN EFFORTS.

11. S/IL FREEMAN DID NOT CLEAR THIS MESSAGE.

12. LENINGRAD MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. JOYCE

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 27734 01 OF 03 041327Z
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DEPARTMENT FOR S/IL FREEMAN
USIA FOR VOA
MUNICH FOR RFE/RL
E.O.12356: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, ECON, EMIN, EINT, PINS, UR
SUBJECT: DONETSK MINERS EXPLAIN THE EVOLUTION AND ORGANIZATION OF STRIKE COMMITTEES
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: THE SEPTEMBER 27 TO 29 VISIT OF S/IL ANTHONY FREEMAN TO THE DONBASS OFFERED AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLORE THE ORIGINS, GRIEVANCES, AND STRUCTURE OF THE NASCENT LABOR MOVEMENT THERE. IN A SERIES OF CONVERSATIONS WITH STRIKE COMMITTEE LEADERS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS, A PICTURE EMERGED OF AN MOVEMENT WITH A BROAD BASE AND DEEP ROOTS AMONG THE COAL MINERS OF DONETSK. STRIKE COMMITTEE LEADERS SAID THEY HAD BEEN SPURRED TO ACTION BY THE EXAMPLE OF THE FIRST
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CONGRESS OF PEOPLES DEPUTIES AND THE OPEN, DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT IT HAD DISPLAYED. AT MEETINGS WITH FREEMAN AND ECONOFF ATTENDED BY LOCAL PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS, THEY DENOUNCED THE LOCAL APPARAT FOR YEARS OF NEGLECT OF MINERS' CONCERNS. THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT APPARATUS OF DONETSK IN FACT SEEMED SOMEWHAT COWED BY THE MINERS.
THE DONETSK MINERS CLAIMED TO BE IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH COAL MINERS ALL OVER THE SOVIET UNION, INCLUDING SUCH KEY MINING CENTERS AS KUZBASS AND KARAGANIA.
END SUMMARY.
GRIEVANCES AND STRONG FEELINGS:
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3. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DONETSK CITY STRIKE COMMITTEE MADE USE OF A SEPTEMBER 27 MEETING WITH
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Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By H NARA, Date 06/05/23

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By H NARA, Date 06/05/23

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S/ L FREEMAN AND ECONOFF TO GIVE AN AT TIMES EMOTIONAL RECITATION OF THE GRIEVANCES THAT LED THEM TO STRIKE LAST JULY AND CONTINUE TO MOTIVATE THEIR RADICAL LABOR MOVEMENT. THE MEETING WAS ALSO ATTENDED BY LOCAL OFFICIALS, INCLUDING THE HEAD OF THE LOCAL BRANCH OF THE OFFICIAL TRADE UNION FEDERATION, REPORTERS FROM THE LOCAL COAL INDUSTRY CONGLOMERATE, DONETSKUGOL, AND JOURNALISTS FROM [illegible], AND THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN. [illegible] MEMBERS TOLD S/IL FREEMAN THAT THEIR SUPPORTERS HAVE FOR YEARS BEEN FACING THE MEN AVILS OF A FALLING STANDARD OF LIVING AND WORSENING WORK CONDITIONS. AS EXPLOITATION OF THE REGION HAS INCREASED, MINERS HAVE BEEN FORCED TO DIG EVER DEEPER AND IN STEADILY MORE DIFFICULT CONDITIONS FOR COAL. FOR THESE REASONS, "THE WORKERS HAVE FORCED INTO STRIKING," ONE

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MINER EXPLAINED.

CONTEMPT FROM MANAGEMENT

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4. THE LEADER OF THE JULY STRIKE MOVEMENT IN DONETSK, ALEXSEY DMITRYEVICH BOKAREV, ROSE TO ADDRESS RELATIONS BETWEEN WORKERS AND MANAGEMENT IN THE MINES PRIOR TO THE STRIKES. THE FEELINGS OF MANAGEMENT TOWARD THE MINERS, HE TOLD S/IL FREEMAN, COULD BE SUMMED UP IN THE WORDS, "I'M A MANAGER, AND YOU'RE AN IDIOT." "THE WORKERS WERE TREATED AS UNTHINKING, UNFEELING ROBOTS," HE DECLARED, ADDING, "ALL ECONOMIC INDICES WERE SIMPLY FIGURES ON PAPER, NOT REALITY. EVERYTHING WAS SUPPOSEDLY DONE FOR THE GOOD OF THE PEOPLE; IN REALITY, THE OPPOSITE WAS TRUE. THE LIVING STANDARD OF THE PEOPLE WAS SINKING."

BANKRUPT ECONOMICS/ABALKIN SLAPPED

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5. BOKAREV STATED THAT THE MAIN CONCERNS OF THE MINERS BOILED DOWN TO "RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING." HE COMPLAINED THAT THE MINE ADMINISTRATION HAS MOVED TOO SLOWLY TO IMPROVE MINING TECHNOLOGY, COMMENTING THAT, "THE EXTRACTION OF COAL HAS NOT RISEN BECAUSE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF BETTER TECHNOLOGY, BUT BY THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE WORKERS' LABOR." BOKAREV SAID THAT THE FAILURE TO RUN THE MINES PROPERLY WAS A SYMPTOM OF THE FAILURE OF THE OLD CENTRALIZED SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC PLANNING. "OUR STRIKE HAS REVEALED THE HELPLESSNESS OF THE COMMAND-ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF MANAGEMENT," HE SAID. HE DISMISSED ECONOMIC REFORM MEASURES TAKEN TO DATE AS INADEQUATE, DECLARING, "ACADEMICIAN (AND

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DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER) ABALKIN IS POWERLESS TO

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 27734 02 OF 03 041327Z
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E.O.12356: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, ECON, EMIN, EIND, PINS, UR
SUBJECT: DONETSK MINERS EXPLAIN THE EVOLUTION AND DEVELOP A SUCCESSFUL ECONOMIC MODEL; FI IS PSYCHOLOGICALLY STUCK IN THE OLD SYSTEM."
HARSH WORDS FOR AUCCTU
/----------
6. DURING THE SAME MEETING WITH S/IL FREEMAN, THE MINERS HAD HARSH WORDS TO SAY CONCERNING THE FAILURE OF THE OFFICIAL TRADE UNION FEDERATION TO PROTECT THEIR RIGHTS. BOKARDV STATED: "THE STRIKES THAT TOOK PLACE IN OUR COUNTRY HAVE SHOWN THE LACK OF PRINCIPLES OF OUR TRADE UNIONS. THE TRADE UNIONS HAVE BEEN NOTHING BUT PURELY FORMAL PROTECTORS OF THE
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WORKERS." HE ADDED THAT, "THE STRIKES WERE A BIG VOTE OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN OUR TRADE UNIONS."
GENESIS OF THE DONETSK STRIKE
/----------
7. BOKARDV TOLD ECONOFF AT A SEPARATE MEETING THAT HE AND SOME OF HIS SUPPORTERS HAD BEEN WORKING FOR TWO

MONTHS PRIOR TO LAST JULY'S COAL STRIKE TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE OF A FIVE-POINT PACKAGE OF DEMANDS BY THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY AUTHORITIES. HE SAID THAT ONLY THE COMPLETE REFUSAL OF LOCAL OFFICIALS TO RESPOND TO THESE EARLY APPROACHES HAD MADE A STRIKE NECESSARY.
HE ADDED THAT IT HAS THE EXAMPLE OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF PEOPLES DEPUTIES, AS SHOWN ON NATIONAL TELEVISION, THAT HAD MOTIVATED HIM TO UNDERTAKE
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EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE MINERS' SITUATION IN THE FIRST PLACE. "AFTER THE CONGRESS HAPPENED, YOU COULD SEE THINGS WERE POSSIBLE THAT HAD BEEN OUT OF THE QUESTION BEFORE," HE SAID. HE SAID THESE WERE HIS BASIC DEMANDS PRIOR TO THE STRIKE:
-- A PAY INCREASE OF 40 PERCENT FOR THE NIGHT SHIFT AND 20 PERCENT FOR THE EVENING SHIFT.
-- AN INCREASE IN RETIRED MINERS' PENSIONS TO 300 RUBLES PER MONTH. TO DATE, THE MINIMUM PENSION IS 120 RUBLES A MONTH AND THE MAXIMUM 160.
-- SUNDAY AS A DAY OF REST FOR ALL FOUR SHIFTS OF MINE WORKERS. UNTIL THE STRIKE, MINERS HAD WORKED THREE OUT OF EVERY FOUR DAYS IN A STAGGERED ARRANGEMENT, ROTATING THROUGH FOUR SIX-HOUR SHIFTS.
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-- THE LENGTHENING OF MINERS' ANNUAL LEAVE FROM 27 TO 40 DAYS, TO BRING IT INTO COMPLIANCE WITH SOVIET LAW.
-- SUMMER VACATION FOR WHAT HE CALLED THE "BASIC" MINING PROFESSIONS.

GRASS ROOTS SUPPORT

/----------

S. BONAREV TOLD ECONOFF THAT HE HAD FORMULATED HIS LIST OF ISSUES ON THE BASIS OF WHAT THE MINERS WERE DISCUSSING AMONG THEMSELVES. "PEOPLE WERE TALKING ABOUT THESE THINGS AT HOME IN THE KITCHEN," HE SAID, ADDING, "I SAW THESE PROBLEMS EVERY DAY AT WORK IN THE MINE." BONAREV FIRST ORGANIZED MEETINGS IN HIS MINE, SOUTH DONBASS 3, AND OTHERS TO DISCUSS HIS PROPOSALS. THEN FOR TWO MONTHS BEFORE THE STRIKE, HE AND LIKE-MINDED MINERS DISCUSSED THESE DEMANDS WITH ALL LEVELS OF THE LOCAL ECONOMIC AND GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP, BUT WITHOUT ANY RESULTS. "THE ADMINISTRATION THOUGHT THESE DEMANDS WERE UNREALISTIC," HE SAID.
ON MAY 26, HE AND WORKERS FROM OTHER MINES SENT A LETTER TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLES DEPUTIES OUTLINING THEIR CONCERNS. MORE THAN 500 ACTIVISTS SIGNED THE LETTER, HE SAID. BONAREV WAITED UNTIL JUNE 21, BUT NO REPLY FROM THE PRESIDIUM CAME. A MEETING OF ALL WORKERS AT THE SOUTH DONBASS 3 MINE DECIDED TO DRAFT A LETTER TO THE SUPREME SOVIET AND ASK FOR SUPPORT IN DRAWING UP A "SCIENTIFIC" PROGRAM OF SOLUTIONS TO THE MINERS' GRIEVANCES. AGAIN, NO ANSWER HAS FORTHCOMING, AND BY MID JULY THE DONETSK MINERS WERE FEELING ANGRY AND DISAPPOINTED. ACCORDING
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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 27734 03 OF 03 041327Z
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AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
USIA WASHDC 2352
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DEPARTMENT FOR S/IL FREEMAN
USIA FOR VOA
MUNICH FOR RFE/RL
E.O.12356: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, ECON, EMIN, EIND, PINS, UR
SUBJECT: DONETSK MINERS EXPLAIN THE EVOLUTION AND
TO BOKAREV. ON JULY 20, A MASS MEETING OF WORKERS
FROM 21 DONBASS MINES HAS HELD IN THE PUBLIC SQUARE
OF DONETSK TO DISCUSS WHAT STEPS TO TAKE NEXT.
REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL 21 MINES ADDRESSED THE
ASSEMBLY. FOLLOWING BOKAREV'S REMARKS, HE HAS CHOSEN
TO LEAD A STRIKE COMMITTEE REPRESENTING THE 21
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CURRENT ORGANIZATION OF THE MOVEMENT
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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 27734 03 OF 03 041327Z
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ /

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMENT

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12. S/IL FREEMAN DID NOT CLEAR THIS CABLE. JOYCE

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 27734 01 OF 03 041327Z
ACTION SIL-01
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 MOSCOW 27734
DEPARTMENT FOR S/IL FREEMAN
USIA FOR VOA
MUNICH FOR RFE/RL
E.O.12356: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, ECON, EMIN, EIND, PINS, UR
SUBJECT: DONETSK MINERS EXPLAIN THE EVOLUTION AND ORGANIZATION OF STRIKE COMMITTEES
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: THE SEPTEMBER 27 TO 29 VISIT OF S/IL ANTHONY FREEMAN TO THE DONBASS OFFERED AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLORE THE ORIGINS, GRIEVANCES, AND STRUCTURE OF THE NASCENT LABOR MOVEMENT THERE. IN A SERIES OF CONVERSATIONS WITH STRIKE COMMITTEE LEADERS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS, A PICTURE EMERGED OF AN MOVEMENT WITH A BROAD BASE AND DEEP ROOTS AMONG THE COAL MINERS OF DONETSK. STRIKE COMMITTEE LEADERS SAID THEY HAD BEEN SPURRED TO ACTION BY THE EXAMPLE OF THE FIRST
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
PAGE 02 MOSCOW 27734 01 OF 03 041327Z
CONGRESS OF PEOPLES DEPUTIES AND THE OPEN, DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT IT HAD DISPLAYED. AT MEETINGS WITH FREEMAN AND ECONOFF ATTENDED BY LOCAL PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS, THEY DENOUNCED THE LOCAL APPARAT FOR YEARS OF NEGLECT OF MINERS' CONCERNS. THE PARTY AND

GOVERNMENT APPARATUS OF DONETSK IN FACT SEEMED SOMEWHAT COWED BY THE MINERS.
THE DONETSK MINERS CLAIMED TO BE IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH COAL MINERS ALL OVER THE SOVIET UNION, INCLUDING SUCH KEY MINING CENTERS AS KUZBASS AND KARAGANDA.
END SUMMARY.
GRIEVANCES AND STRONG FEELINGS:
/----------
3. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DONETSK CITY STRIKE COMMITTEE MADE USE OF A SEPTEMBER 27 MEETING WITH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ /

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By lt NARA, Date 06/05/23

DECLASSIFIED
PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015
By lt NARA, Date 06/05/23

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

S/IL FREEMAN AND FCONOFF TO GIVE AN AT TIMES EMOTIONAL RECITATION OF THE GRIEVANCES THAT LED THEM TO STRIKE LAST JULY AND CONTINUE TO MOTIVATE THEIR NASCENT LABOR MOVEMENT. THE MEETING WAS ALSO ATTENDED BY LOCAL OFFICIALS, INCLUDING THE HEAD OF THE LOCAL BRANCH OF THE OFFICIAL AUCCTU TRADE UNION FEDERATION, EXECUTIVES FROM THE LOCAL COAL INDUSTRY CONGLOMERATE, DONETSKUGOL, AND JOURNALISTS FROM PRAVDA UKRAINI, VARIOUS LOCAL NEWSPAPERS, AND THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN. STRIKE COMMITTEE MEMBERS TOLD S/IL FREEMAN THAT THEIR SUPPORTERS HAVE FOR YEARS BEEN FACING THE TWIN EVILS OF A FALLING STANDARD OF LIVING AND WORSENING WORK CONDITIONS. AS EXPLOITATION OF THE DONBASS HAS PROGRESSED, MINERS HAVE BEEN FORCED TO DIG EVER DEEPER AND IN STEADILY MORE DIFFICULT CONDITIONS FOR COAL. FOR THESE REASONS, "THE WORKERS WERE FORCED INTO STRIKING," ONE

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MINER EXPLAINED.

CONTEMPT FROM MANAGEMENT

/----------

4. THE LEADER OF THE JULY STRIKE MOVEMENT IN DONETSK, ALEKSEY DMITRYEVICH BOKAREV, ROSE TO ADRESS RELATIONS BETWEEN WORKERS AND MANAGEMENT IN THE MINES PRIOR TO THE STRIKES. THE FEELINGS OF MANAGEMENT TOWARD THE MINERS, HE TOLD S/IL FREEMAN, COULD BE SUMMED UP IN THE WORDS, "I'M A MANAGER, AND YOU'RE AN IDIOT." "THE WORKERS WERE TREATED AS UNTHINKING, UNFEELING ROBOTS," HE DECLARED, ADDING, "ALL ECONOMIC INDICES WERE SIMPLY FIGURES ON PAPER, NOT REALITY. EVERYTHING WAS SUPPOSEDLY DONE FOR THE GOOD OF THE PEOPLE; IN REALITY, THE OPPOSITE WAS TRUE. THE LIVING STANDARD OF THE PEOPLE WAS SINKING."

BANKRUPT ECONOMICS/ABALKIN SLAPPED

/----------

5. BOKAREV STATED THAT THE MAIN CONCERNS OF THE MINERS BOILED DOWN TO "RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING." HE COMPLAINED THAT THE MINE ADMINISTRATION HAD MOVED TOO SLOWLY TO IMPROVE MINING TECHNOLOGY, COMMENTING THAT, "THE EXTRACTION OF COAL HAS NOT RISEN BECAUSE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF BETTER TECHNOLOGY, BUT BY THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE MINERS' LABOR." BOKAREV SAID THAT THE FAILURE TO RUN THE MINES PROPERLY WAS A SYMPTOM OF THE FAILURE OF THE OLD CENTRALIZED SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC PLANNING. "OUR STRIKE HAS REVEALED THE HELPLESSNESS OF THE COMMAND-ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF MANAGEMENT," HE SAID. HE DISMISSED ECONOMIC REFORM MEASURES TAKEN TO DATE AS INADEQUATE, DECLARING, "ACADEMICIAN (AND

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DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER) AFAICT IS POTENTIAL TO
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INFO MOSCOW POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
USIA WASHDC 2351
AMCONSUL MUNICH
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 MOSCOW 27734
DEPARTMENT FOR S/IL FREEMAN
USIA FOR VOA
MUNICH FOR RFE/RL
E.O.12356: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, ECON, EMIN, EIND, PINS, UR
SUBJECT: DONETSK MINERS EXPLAIN THE EVOLUTION AND
DEVELOP A SUCCESSFUL ECONOMIC MODEL; HE IS
PSYCHOLOGICALLY STUCK IN THE OLD SYSTEM."
HARSH WORDS FOR AUCCTU
/----------

6. DURING THE SAME MEETING WITH S/IL FREEMAN, THE MINERS HAD HARSH WORDS TO SAY CONCERNING THE FAILURE OF THE OFFICIAL TRADE UNION FEDERATION TO PROTECT THEIR RIGHTS. BOKAREV STATED: "THE STRIKES THAT TOOK PLACE IN OUR COUNTRY HAVE SHOWN THE LACK OF PRINCIPLES OF OUR TRADE UNIONS. THE TIDE UNIONS HAVE BEEN NOTHING BUT PURELY FORMAL PROTECTORS OF THE

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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 27734 02 OF 03 041327Z
~~WORKERS."~~ HE ADDED THAT, "THE STRIKES WERE A BIG
VOTE OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN OUR TRADE UNIONS."
GENESIS OF THE DONETSK STRIKE
/----------

7. BOKAREV TOLD POONOFF AT A SEPARATE MEETING THAT HE AND SOME OF HIS SUPPORTERS HAD BEEN WORKING FOR TWO

MONTHS PRIOR TO LAST JULY'S COAL STRIKE TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE OF A FIVE-POINT PACKAGE OF DEMANDS BY THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY AUTHORITIES. HE SAID THAT ONLY THE CONSISTENT REFUSAL OF LOCAL OFFICIALS TO RESPOND TO THESE EARLY APPROACHES HAD MADE A STRIKE NECESSARY.
HE ADDED THAT IT WAS THE EXAMPLE OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF PEOPLES DEPUTIES, AS SHOWN ON NATIONAL TELEVISION, THAT HAD MOTIVATED HIM TO UNDERTAKE

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PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015
By lt NARA, Date 06/05/23

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EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE MINERS' SITUATION IN THE FIRST PLACE. "AFTER THE CONGRESS HAPPENED, YOU COULD SEE THINGS WERE POSSIBLE THAT HAD BEEN OUT OF THE QUESTION BEFORE," HE SAID. HE SAID THESE WERE HIS BASIC DEMANDS PRIOR TO THE STRIKE:

-- A PAY INCREASE OF 40 PERCENT FOR THE NIGHT SHIFT AND 20 PERCENT FOR THE EVENING SHIFT.

-- AN INCREASE IN RETIRED MINERS' PENSIONS TO 300 RUBLES PER MONTH. TO DATE, THE MINIMUM PENSION IS 120 RUBLES A MONTH AND THE MAXIMUM 160.

-- SUNDAY AS A DAY OF REST FOR ALL FOUR SHIFTS OF MINE WORKERS. UNTIL THE STRIKE, MINERS HAD WORKED THREE OUT OF EVERY FOUR DAYS IN A STAGGERED ARRANGEMENT, ROTATING THROUGH FOUR SIX-HOUR SHIFTS.

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-- THE LENGTHENING OF MINERS' ANNUAL LEAVE FROM 27 TO 60 DAYS, TO BRING IT INTO COMPLIANCE WITH SOVIET LAW.

-- SUMMER VACATION FOR WHAT HE CALLED THE "BASIC" MINING PROFESSIONS.

GRASS ROOTS SUPPORT

8. BOKAREV TOLD EMBOFF THAT HE HAD FORMULATED HIS LIST OF ISSUES ON THE BASIS OF WHAT THE MINERS WERE DISCUSSING AMONG THEMSELVES. "PEOPLE WERE TALKING ABOUT THESE THINGS AT HOME IN THE KITCHEN," HE SAID, ADDING, "I SAW THESE PROBLEMS EVERY DAY AT WORK IN THE MINE." BOKAREV FIRST ORGANIZED MEETINGS IN HIS MINE, SOUTH DONBASS 3, AND OTHERS TO DISCUSS HIS PROPOSALS. THEN FOR TWO MONTHS BEFORE THE STRIKE, HE AND LIKE-MINDED MINERS DISCUSSED THESE DEMANDS WITH ALL LEVELS OF THE LOCAL ECONOMIC AND GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP, BUT WITHOUT ANY RESULTS. "THE ADMINISTRATION THOUGHT THESE DEMANDS WERE UNREALISTIC," HE SAID.

ON MAY 26, HE AND WORKERS FROM OTHER MINES SENT A LETTER TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLES DEPUTIES OUTLINING THEIR CONCERNS. MORE THAN 300 ACTIVISTS SIGNED THE LETTER, HE SAID. BOKAREV WAITED UNTIL JUNE 21, BUT NO REPLY FROM THE PRESIDIUM CAME. A MEETING OF ALL WORKERS AT THE SOUTH DONBASS 3 MINE DECIDED TO DRAFT A LETTER TO THE SUPREME SOVIET AND ASK FOR SUPPORT IN DRAWING UP A "SCIENTIFIC" PROGRAM OF SOLUTIONS TO THE MINERS' GRIEVANCES. AGAIN, NO ANSWER HAS FORTHCOMING, AND BY MID JULY THE DONETSK MINERS WERE FEELING ANGRY AND DISAPPOINTED, ACCORDING

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AMCONSUL MUNICH
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MUNICH FOR RFE/RL
E.O.12356: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, ECON, EMIN, EIND, PINS, UR
SUBJECT: DONETSK MINERS EXPLAIN THE EVOLUTION AND
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OF DONETSK TO DISCUSS WHAT STEPS TO TAKE NEXT.
REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL 21 MINES ADDRESSED THE
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ / PAGE 6

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12. S/IL FREEMAN DID NOT CLEAR THIS CABLE. JOYCE

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Eastern Europe

St. Dept.
Human Rights
Tony Drios
647-1677

— Fourth of July cocktails. Meet Russians in Off Ramp

— Meet Sprite in Soviet Union (Peggy)

S-IL Labor Spec. Asst Coord. of Internat'l
~~Ambassador~~ Freeman Labor Affairs
~~Anthony~~
~~James Mallon~~ 647-3662
Labor Advisor Biden Irons 647-0242

Eastern Europe
647-3098
Chris Hill desk off.

E. Germany 647-2448
Peter Ito

AFL-CIO Eugenia Kemble E.D. of Free Trade Union Institute
225-5352
Assistance for Solidarity
→ Natl. Endowment for Democracy
Carl Gershman 293-9072
Reg. Dir. Korotnicky Outlook
indep. of pol. prisoners
publishing movement
video production
OKAS Indep. Comm. for internatl. culture
Polish Indep. Diagnostic & Clinic
Helsinki Comm. Members
confiscated by Poles
11 month hunger strike

Lithuanian Indep. Leader worker rep.
Labor Leader
member of Sajudis
Lith. Natl. Movement

Kozimeras Woka
bulldozer driver
Labor member
People's Deputy in Soviet Union
calls himself Social Democratic

Indep Labor Movement in Hungary

Pope says no one should be in frivolous state of mind but it is uplifting as well

→ Yotso Kuron – Minister of Labor
fireside chat every Tues. night
-- his wife died

mention monument

→ Monument in Gdansk -- 30 people died

Gdansk - Pope ~~said~~ called it to light unto the world.

Pope turned to cameraman asked where he was from he said Gdansk Pope said

~~Walesa visiting the Vatican~~

Decisive struggle -- point of unraveling
-- everything spread from that

Nicaragua & elsewhere look to Poland

world politics
~~struggle for freedom~~

They didn't give up after Marshall

win totalitarianism to establish

Strategy of nonviolence

carved out enclaves • civil society
indep. institutions

society triumphing over the State

Spain - Transition

Franco - authr regime
1975

moderation of wage + benefit demands

Oct 1977 -

just before + after Franco's death -
explosion of labor strikes

Oct → Moncloa Agreements - signed by pol parties, not bus + labor - by critics
Wage + price agreements

~~Arias~~

Suarez + King = + mo archo of dem
sought consensus policies

July 1979 - Soc Labor Unions
UGT
CEOE (maj bus org)
wages, benefits,
signed tulat agreement

AMI - Jan 1980

#2 #1

UGT took risk (Comm Union refused to sign) but ended up running supp of maj of workers

1980 - UGT gaining

1982 Union elections - UGT #1

1986 " " - UGT still #1

ANE agreement - 1982

UGT + Comm signed

CEOE

Moderation = workers agreed

~~during Trans~~. didn't pressure new govt w/pol and soc demands à la fois

UGT close to Soc party

Dec 1978 - Const approved

Soc included from word go

more pol freedom?

1976 - 1st referendum on pol reform

Frankist leg - agreed on ref.

June 1977 - first elections
Suarez elected democratically
Parl wrote const

Dec 1978 - const approved by ref.

March 1979 - 1st elections under new const

Feb 1981 - Calvo Sotelo = PM
(Suarez steps down after coup)

Oct 1982 - Gonzalez + Socialists
re-elect 86 + 89

human rights

AFL-CIO

not given public credit they deserve

re-affiliations: UAW
Teamsters
UMW
RR union
anyone else?

11/4/89 AFL - CIO

Tony Freeman - St. Dept.

Irving Brown - won Pres. Freedom Award for promoting democracy around the world - died last year

AFL - CIO - played key roles in preventing communism by promoting trade unions

Mike Armacost spoke to AFL - CIO (unders. @ St.)

Woka - helping to develop democr. trade unions

- St. trying to invite miners to U.S.
- trying to get money from U.S. I.A.

Miners -
there's development of trade unions
things are happening
workers are looking out for their own interests & forming trade unions

Visitors from other E. Europ.
Indep. Trade Union from Hungary

Welcome trade union pluralism
Workers should be free to join
any union they want to
They have that right in Hungary
(w/in govt 4r)
Unions decided to organize
& govt didn't stop them.
— many white collar workers

Walt Raymond — dep in U.S. I.A.
Natl. Endowment for Democracy

AFL-CIO -
communists tried to stop
Marshall plan
Irving Brown - Ital, Germ & Fr.
labor movements to prev. comm.
Irving organ. counter comm. longshoremen
unions who were trying to stop Marshall
Plan supplies.

Trade union freedom in U.S.
if not mentioned, it will be noticed

Ratification of ILO
even though there's lots of criticism there is freedom of association

VOLUME 26

Sumatra to Trampoline

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829

GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816

national in scope and open to
and sustained the president's
cutive appointees without the
Senate.
ipal interest was in acceler-
ie courts. To this end his con-
or. Dissenting opinions were
delay, and he shrank from all
is own. "I would not think of
of my brethren," he declared
a majority against my own."
ms up Taft's philosophy re-
judges.
rced Taft to retire from the
30, and a month later, almost
r of the work he loved had
g strength, he died in Wash-
rch 8, 1930.
his father, members of Taft's
l distinction included his step-
elps Taft (1843–1929)—the
st wife—who was the success-
e Cincinnati *Times-Star*; and
ert (1889–1953), a leader of
ty and elected three times to

HENRY F. PRINGLE
Author of "The Life and Times of William Howard Taft"

Bibliography

aft papers, a huge collection of more
, is housed in the Library of Con-

'illiam Howard Taft: An Intimate
).
am Howard Taft: In the Public Ser-

Presidency of William Howard Taft
1973).
illiam Howard Taft: Chief Justice
1983).
Life and Times of William Howard
ork 1939).

elt's shoulder in *Puck* cartoon.



TAFT-HARTLEY ACT, known officially as the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947. It amended the Wagner Act, known formally as the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. The Taft-Hartley Act was enacted to correct what, in the opinion of the public and a majority of the Congress, were union abuses that had emerged under the Wagner Act. The Taft-Hartley Act continues, with changes, the Wagner Act protection of the right of workers to organize in unions of their own choosing and to bargain collectively with employers. But, unlike the Wagner Act, it also specifies protections for the employer in collective bargaining.

The Taft-Hartley Act deals with four main subjects: (1) unfair labor practices by employers against unions and workers—practices whose definitions were carried over, with changes, from the Wagner Act; (2) unfair labor practices by unions against employers and workers, which constitute a major addition; (3) a mechanism for employee selection of representatives for collective bargaining; and (4) regulation of union practices with respect to strikes creating national emergencies, contributions to health and welfare funds, violations of contracts, and political contributions—none of which was covered by the Wagner Act. The Taft-Hartley Act also provided for reorganization of the National Labor Relations Board to enforce the first three provisions. The Taft-Hartley Act applies only to labor disputes that affect interstate commerce.

The Landrum-Griffin Law, formally the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959, amended certain sections of the Taft-Hartley Act.

JACK BARBASH, *University of Wisconsin*

TAGALOGS, tə-gäl'əgz, the cultural-linguistic group inhabiting the fertile plains of central Luzon and the Mindoro coast of the Philippines. This group, once known as the Tagals, makes up slightly more than one fifth of the population of the Republic of the Philippines.

The Tagalogs are concentrated in metropolitan Manila, which includes the national capital, Quezon City, and are preeminent in Philippine commerce, industry, transportation, health, education, and the arts. They have provided such revolutionary leaders as Jose Rizal, Andres Bonifacio, Emilio Aguinaldo, and Apolinario Mabini, and such statesmen as Manuel Luis Quezon, Ramon Magsaysay, Claro Recto, and Jose Laurel.

The concentration of the Tagalogs around Manila, a crossroads of international trade and cultural exchange, has affected the people both physically and socially. Typical Filipinos have a slender build, brown skin, straight black hair, and a flat face with a wide nose and thick lips. These features have been modified in the Tagalogs by their openness to intermarriage with Chinese, Europeans, and Americans. Similarly, their urban orientation and the gradual growth of a middle class among them has included many Tagalogs to adapt local customs to cosmopolitan influences.

On Dec. 30, 1937, it was proclaimed that Tagalog would be the core of a composite national language, which was named Pilipino in 1954. Until late in the 1960's, literature in school was restricted largely to Tagalog classics, and national literary prizes were awarded only to writers in Tagalog.

LEONARD CASPER, *Boston College*

TAGANROG, tä-gən-rôk', a port in the USSR, is on the Gulf of Taganrog in the Sea of Azov, which is an extension of the Black Sea. It lies 45 miles (72 km) west of Rostov-on-Don. Its metallurgical and engineering industries make it a major industrial city. It is connected by rail with Rostov and with the Donets industrial area. The harbor is icebound for part of the winter.

Taganrog was founded in 1698 by Peter the Great. It was destroyed in 1712 and then rebuilt between 1769 and 1774. In the 19th century it was the principal port in the Black Sea area until it was overtaken by Odessa. It was occupied by the Germans in World Wars I and II. Population: (1959) 201,000.

TAGLIONI, tä-lyō'nē, **Marie** (1804–1884), Italian ballerina, who, more than any other dancer, typified the romantic era in ballet. Marie (or Maria) Taglioni was born in Stockholm on April 23, 1804. Her mother was Swedish, and her father Filippo was one of a family of Italian dancers. Small and dark, with sloping shoulders and long, softly rounded arms, she was a highly disciplined technician who avoided the tendency of her time to emphasize virtuosity above all else. When she rose to the tips, or pointes, of her soft satin shoes it was not to impress but to enhance the dramatic context. When she executed a pirouette, her soft muslin gown with its bell-shaped skirt flowed delicately about her calves, contributing to her ethereal quality.

Following her debut in Vienna in 1822, Taglioni danced in various European cities for the next 10 years. In 1832 she had a sensational success at the Paris Opéra in *La Sylphide*, a ballet devised for her by her father, in which she danced a forest sprite in love with a young Scotsman. It set the tone for many later romantic ballets. Her interpretation was so exquisite that she remained the embodiment of every poet's dream of the enticing yet incorporeal female. She died in Marseille, France, in 1884.

DORIS HERING
"Dance Magazine"

TAGORE, tə-gôr', **Rabindranath** (1861–1941), Indian poet, philosopher, social reformer, and dramatist from Bengal. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1913.

Life and Thought. Rabindranath was born in Calcutta on May 7, 1861, into a family that owned extensive estates in what is now East Pakistan. His family, though Brahmin, was not considered ritually "pure," but it was wealthy and brilliant. His grandfather Dwarkanath Tagore was a financier, and his father, Debendranath (1818–1905), was a learned and deeply religious man, one of the founders of the Brahmo Samaj religious reform movement. Rabindranath grew up in a very large and intellectually stimulating household. It included among his relatives the painters Abinindranath and Gaganendranath Tagore and, among his own 11 elder brothers and sisters, the writer-philosopher Dvijendranath, the musician Jyotirindranath, and Bengal's first woman novelist, Svarnakumari Devi. Rabindranath's early life, however, was dominated by servants and schoolmasters who confined him strictly, and his longing for freedom never left him in later life.

As a boy Rabindranath showed poetic talent and was urged by his brothers and sisters to express himself in poetry. He gave the first pub-

EXCERPTED FROM REMARKS AT THE AFL-CIO CLEVELAND CONFERENCE BY TOM KAHN, DIRECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The foreign policies of the AFL-CIO are determined by conventions, by the executive council and there are, of course, other points of view than those of the AFL-CIO. We have some differences within the trade union movement on some issues, just as there are differences between the labor movement and the public at large on some issues. We are all for debate, but our job is to inform you of what the policies of the Federation are -- so if you don't like them, at least you'll know what it is you don't like and you can be well informed.

In addition to describing some of the basic principles that guide the foreign policies and activities of the AFL-CIO around the world, I also want to say a few words about why we are having is meeting. I will leave it to the other speakers who you will hear from tomorrow to fill you in on how we go about implementing those policies. You will be hearing from speakers who are responsible for supervising some 40 offices, almost 40 offices the AFL-CIO has around the world -- all but one of them I think in third world countries -- we also have an office in Paris. But I want to talk about general principles and leave some of the details to them.

We began this regional conference process three years ago. The first reason is that members of AFL-CIO unions have a right to know what the federation is doing abroad -- because it's done with your dues money and it's done with the taxpayers' money, and that comes from you, too.

Secondly, we need your support. We can't carry out these policies abroad unless they are generally supported by the membership back home. Otherwise we have no credibility and no influence. We are reaching out now to get your support. For a very many years we did not do that, for many reasons. For example, there was once a kind of

consensus in the country and in the labor movement about what American foreign policy should be. But in the post-Vietnam period, there has been a more disagreement. There is a need to go back to first principles and examine how we got to where we are and why we do the things we do. The last couple of conventions of the AFL-CIO have had a very vigorous debate on foreign policy. That is healthy. We need that and we do not want in any way to stifle disagreement. We just want to be sure that the people who disagree and the people who agree all agree on what the facts are. That's also why every year we have a week long program at the George Meany Labor Studies Center. The regional conferences are an extension of that institute.

In recent years there has been a growing interest in international policies of the American labor movement, both outside the movement and within the movement. Among the factors that accounted for this in the past eight years of so has been a number of dramatic instances where the trade union movement in various other countries have emerged as key players to bring democratic change to those countries. In Poland within a matter of a few months a free trade union movement of 10 million members was created -- how many years did it take us to get to our 14.1 million in the AFL-CIO -- a century? Solidarnosc was the voice of a whole people and their aspirations for democracy.

We have seen in South Africa the lives of a black trade union movement which in our judgment is the most important single potential force for peaceful, democratic change in that country. If indeed there is any possiblity for peaceful, democratic change in that country, it will come through the black trade union movement. That's the only thing that's really changed in South Africa over the years and if the apartheid system shows signs of progress it is only because of the emergence of a trade union in that country. Hundreds of thousands of workers in South Korea demonstrating in the streets and largely as the result of that, important democratic changes are occurring in that country. We in the AFL-CIO have assisted all of those forces morally, politically and financially. And it

starts to permeate the consciousness of many people who don't normally think of the trade union movement to say hey, there is something to this business of trade unionism and we ought to take a new look at the foreign policies of the AFL-CIO.

Inside of our own movement, of course, there has been a tremendous increase in interest in international policies and the major reason for that is the issue of trade. And rightly so, we have lost millions and millions of jobs because of unfair trade competition.

Our members have awakened to the fact that what is in their pocketbook is affected by decisions that are made in Tokoyo and Taiwan and Mexico and the other place as well.

Along with this growing interest is a growing misunderstanding of what our policies are and what we are doing abroad and why we are doing it. The main reason in my judgment for this misunderstanding -- especially outside of the trade union movement -- is that there is a lack of understanding in the public at large, in the media, about what a trade union movement is. If you don't know what a union is for, you are going to have a hard time understanding why we do what we do in Central America, in South Africa, in Poland and in many, many other places around the world. Too many of our critics confuse the labor movement with single issue organizations which brings together people faced with one question, like nuclear freeze or abortion or this issue or that issue. We are not a single issue organization. Every aspect of social economic life in this country concerns the labor movement. And we are not an instrument of a political party and we don't base our structures on foreign policies from the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. Several of our European trade union friends are tied to political parties and while they may set their own domestic and economic agenda and their collective bargaining agenda, when it comes to foreign policy they say well what is the party position on this and they adopt the party position.

We don't do that. We have found ourselves in conflict with every administration -- Democratic or Republican -- for years and years.

Many of our critics also think that the trade union movement should be more ideological in positions on these questions based on the theory. The problem with that is that we don't recruit members on the basis of our ideology. In some countries they do. In some countries if your are socialist you join a socialist union. If you are a Christian Democratic you join the Christian Democratic union. We don't go into a plant or an office and say "are you a liberal -- okay you join this union. Are you a conservative? Okay you join that, you a Republican, Democrat? Communist, Fascist? We don't do that. We say are you a worker? Do you work here at this place? Join the union. So we do not react in a knee-jerk fashion to every foreign policy the way some people do who are ideologically motivated. We react from what we consider to be as best we can determine the trade union angle, the trade union interest and the trade union point of view.
what have you.

The purpose of a union is to advance the interests of its members as they define those interests. If it does not do that well, it can do nothing else well. First you have got to do that well. Then if you want to get involved in some other stuff, that is all to the good. Then you will have your members with you. But the first thing is to advance the interest of your members.

So far we are talking pocketbook. Bread and butter. It is in the interest of American workers that those foreign workers have a bigger paycheck every week that protects their jobs. But when you try to help other workers vote strong unions you run into problems with their governments and their employers. You can't have strong, independent unions except if the governments don't believe in the rights of freedom of

association and the employers don't either. Then you have a struggle on your hands and the process of helping these workers build unions confronts a political problem of struggling to build and promote the idea of workers rights, trade union rights. No society in the world gives workers their rights and denies rights to everybody else, so the fight for worker rights becomes the fight for human rights in general: free assembly, freedom of worship, free press -- all that we call human rights. It is the struggle for democracy.

Since we are involved in that, you'll hear the various critics of the AFL-CIO denounce us for being interventionists . People who get more engaged in politics and aren't engaged in collective bargaining will say, "here is what the workers in El Salvador ought to do. We don't do that. We ask them what do you want to do. If you make the wrong decision, its their neck on the line. So our position is: I'm not going to tell you what to do, you decide what to do. If you want our help, you have to ask, we're not going to stuff it down your throat. But we will do everything we can to give you that help you ask for."

For example, when the Solidarity trade union movement began in Poland, the AFL-CIO did not rush in we were not sure whether any help from the AFL-CIO would be more of an embarrassment to Lech Walesa than a help. That the government would use it against them. "Ah, you are being supported by the right wing, reactionary, pro-capitalist, CIA-dominated, AFL-CIO." So we held back. Then Lech Walesa said in a press conference, "we want help from all of the Democratic trade union movements of the world -- including our big brothers from across the sea." When I met with his people they said, "We want printing press." They had the model numbers of the press they wanted, and said "for God's sake do not send us complicated American presses which when they break down we can't fix them, we want some simple stuff which you get in Europe". The

stuff we sent did not say "made in the USA". Today Solidarity is banned, and some people think it has suffered defeat, it has not, the government has suffered a defeat. Around the world we do not ask the Democratic Party, the Republican Party or a Democratic Administration, or a Republican Administration, what should we do? We just do it. If they don't like the way we do it we work around it.

In Central America, the AFL-CIO once said that military aid to the government of El Salvador should be conditioned on their making progress in guaranteeing human rights, workers' rights, land reform and an end to the death squad activities. For a period we testified for the military aid because the trade union movement in El Salvador said to us "give them the military aid because your support gives us a lever in negotiating with the government. Some months later AIFLD Director Bill Doherty told Congress the trade unionists there have now said, "there has not been progress, our people are still getting killed on the left and the right. We are not making any progress fast enough -- cut off U.S. aid. Boom, we changed our position. And we will change it again in response to them. Now people outside of the trade union movement say this policy is a hodge podge. No consistency. But the consistency is that we do what the people in the country ask us to do. Obviously our policies are different from the U.S. government, under Democrats or Republicans, and different from the policies of the business community. It's different from the conservatives, different from the liberals because it springs from a different source. The Conservatives admire the anti-communism of the AFL-CIO in general but denounce the AFL-CIO for supporting land reform in El Salvador. The bankers told Poland "we'll lend you more money but you must adopt an austerity program, you must keep wages down. The workers rebelled, they went on spontaneous strike. U.S. officials say, "I'm all for Solidarity but they are demanding a 50% increase in wages and that will ruin

the economy. And Lane Kirkland said, "What's to ruin? I think that a 50 percent increase in wages is a pretty good idea, given the cuts workers took earlier." But U.S. officials too often see this problem through bankers eyes, not the worker's eyes.

Contrary to the slanders that you hear that we are agents of the state department, that we carry out U.S. government foreign policy, we have an independent foreign policy and I think that is our strength. It means we have many critics on all sides. We have critics in the Democratic party. You've seen articles with crazy numbers thrown around on spending. We have published exactly where we get every cent. A big chunk is government money, from the Agency for International Development, from the U.S. Information Agency and a small amount from the National Endowment for Democracy -- which originated as an idea from Lane Kirkland and the Carter Administration and was not originated by Ronald Reagan, as you have been told.

Should we take this government money or not? Some people say if we take the money, who calls the tune? The government does not tell us what to do with the money. It does tell us what we cannot do, some things we just cannot do and then we have to use our own money. We develop a program that workers there tell us they want, and we go to the AID, and ask, do you want to pick up the tab on this? If they say no, we'll try next time. Whose money is this for heaven's sake? It's your money, your taxpayer money. and God knows workers get precious little out of the tax money . If there is going to be government money around for programs, money from our 14.1 million members' taxes, then we are going to get it if we can and use it for something that benefits workers.

Besides funding, another complaint against us is this question of "intervening."

We are intervening with the Poles, sending in supplies to build the trade union movement there. We sure as hell are into intervening in South Africa. We interve in

Central America to encourage democratic forces against far left and far right. One of the means we use to force observance of workers rights is through the GSP -- the Generalized System of Preferences. We want trade legislation that says no country that violates workers' rights can have any trade preference with the United States. So are you "intervening" in their economy? We certainly are. So we are intervening ... let me pose a different question. Who isn't? Everybody is intervening, everywhere in the world as Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn pointed out more than a decade ago. In this shrinking world, there are no purely internal affairs. The Japenese, the Koreans, the Mexicans are intervening in our economy. The cars we drive, the appliances we use and the nature of work in this country has been affected by other countries. Everybody and his brother has been intervening in Central America for a long, long time -- none as much as the multinational companies. People who say that we shouldn't intervene are saying we should let others intervene with us, but we don't do any intervening. We are going to do some intervening on the side of workers and the poor. It all comes down to the words of the old union song: "Which side are you on."

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Peggy,

Here are the documents I told you about plus a couple of others. The "Recovery/Development" piece was for the 1989 Int. Labor Conference. The others are from our Chile conference.

I hope that these may be of some use. Let me know if I can be of any further help.

Mark Gray

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"Recovery and Development" Report of the Director-General
International Labor Organization (ILO)

Summary and Commentary

The report by the Director-General of the International Labor Organization (ILO) entitled "Recovery and Employment" is, as far as U.N. documents go, not bad. It refers to the need for a certain degree of free-market reform in the LDC's, and refrains from laying the blame for Third World poverty on the industrialized West. However, there is still a tendency to prescribe state intervention rather than a "simplistic," doctrinaire free-market approach. A summary of the report with some suggestions follows:

• The market-based schemes for debt reduction which have been so successful in countries such as Chile are denegrated as "ad hoc efforts" where "what is needed is a more global approach to the problem." This could not be further from the truth. I enclose a copy of the Heritage Backgrounder "Reducing Third World Debt: Private vs. Public Strategies."

Much of the debt problem is due to lack of confidence in third world governments by their own citizens. This is the root cause of capital flight. Deposits in overseas banks by citizens of these countries are valued at slightly more than the entire third world debt to commercial banks. The notion that only a "global solution" will work, no matter what the problem (debt, unemployment, capital flight), is a recurring one throughout the report. The fact of the matter is that only growth oriented, free-market policies, pursued by national governments will prompt the return of these funds which will provide the capital necessary for self sustaining economic growth and prosperity.

• The report points to several trends in employment:

1. decrease in employment creation in large private sector firms.
2. increase in public employment.
3. absolute and relative increase in informal sector employment.
4. absolute and relative increase in employment creation in small enterprises.

Rather than looking at the causes for these trends however, the report bemoans the increase in what it calls "low productivity" activities;

namely those in the informal sector. It gives no explanation as to why operations in the black-market are labeled "low productivity." They are, in fact, probably much more productive than most public sector activities. There is also no attempt to examine why the informal sector is flourishing to such a large extent in most LDC's.

• According to the report, the share of public expenditure in the GDP of LDC's also increased, but there was a reduction in the funds expended on education, housing, health and welfare. The report then calls for increased spending in the social sector. Whereas there may be cause for a certain amount of government spending on education, health, etc..., this must be accompanied by reduced government spending elsewhere. The report fails to provide a plausible source of funds for mitigating the "social costs of adjustment." It would be good to point out the possibilities that privatization holds in this area. By freeing up federal funds from poorly run, state-owned enterprises, there would be that much more to spend on truly necessary social spending, namely education and vocational training.

• The argument is made that since all countries impose some regulations on their markets, including their labor markets, that the existence of these regulations can not account for a negative employment elasticity with respect to GDP growth in many of these countries. What the report fails to point out is the inverse corrollation between the degree of regulation and the employment elasticity. The U.S., with the least rigid market of all the OECD countries, has the highest employment elasticity with respect to economic growth (see chart on p. 24 of the report).

• The real meat of the report comes in the third chapter, "Development Strategies for Recovery." Unfortunately, no real strategies are presented. There is only a sampling of the "conventional wisdom," albeit with a slightly less statist approach than in most U.N. reports, and the recommendation that structural adjustment be pursued with sufficient attention paid to the social costs inherent to that adjustment.

The report refers to the policies of reducing the role of the state in the economy, privatization, deregulation, and liberalized trade as "conventional structural adjustment programmes." In every instance, it warns against such a "simplistic and doctrinaire approach." The implication is that this has been tried (i.e. it's conventional) and does not

work. The fact is that only in those cases where a simple, free-market approach to development has been tried has there been any marked improvement in a country's economic growth and standard of living.

The report makes the ludicrous claim that "the state must play an important role" in the reallocation of resources and factor mobility. It goes on to say that "where markets are poorly developed and where local entrepeneurship is weak, it is inappropriate merely to deregulate and leave the outcome to market forces. In these cases, there is a clear need for state intervention..." The logic here escapes me.

A. First, with regard to the reference to poorly developed markets:

1. In most cases, the reason the market is not developed is because of government restrictions on that market. A market exists where individuals (including small businessmen, corporations, and other economic actors) own property, protected by the government, and trade that property based on a price determined freely by the actors involved. Where there is any impediment to these factors (limitation on private ownership, price or wage controls or hindrances on free trade, among other things) there will be inefficiencies and imperfections in the market. The argument that the free market can not be allowed to operate because the market is poorly developed is circular at best and quite nonsensical.

2. Nearly all of these countries have massive black markets (some valued at up to half the value of GNP) in everything from retailing to construction to public transportation. Peruvian economist Hernando De Soto finds that black markets occur whenever governments restrict economic freedom of the individual. For example, to obtain a business license in Peru took researchers 289 days of full time activity, far too costly for any small businessman. The answer to why employment in the informal sector is on the rise is evident. The solution is equally evident. Remove the barriers and the informal sector--which by the report's own admission is experiencing high growth--will become part of the official national economy. Faith in the nation's economic system will be gradually restored and investment capital will ultimately return.

B. The claim that local entrepeneurship is weak in these countries is not only false, it is an unconscionable slur on the many highly motivated people of these less developed countries. The existence of huge, extremely

well organized black markets with a great deal of cooperation between entrepeneurs, all in the face of stifling government regulation that threatens their very existence, proves that poor people in less developed countries are hard-working, entrepeneurial individuals. Perhaps more so than those of us in the industrialized west since their literal survival depends on it.

• The report is correct in its prescriptions for tighter monetary and fiscal policies with an emphasis on reducing fiscal deficits. However, it fails to make the crucial point that fiscal deficits must be reduced by spending cuts and not through tax hikes. This does not necessarily require eliminating social expenditures for the most needy. In fact, by eliminating middle class subsidies and privatizing state enterprises, there will likely be more funds available for education and health care for the poorest sections of the society.

• The report's recommendations for state intervention in order to direct the flow of investment are ill-advised. If the price mechanism is allowed to work and capital flows (including direct foreign investment) are not impeded, the market provides the most reliable means available for channeling investment funds toward their most productive ends.

• While, as the report says, it is true that some labor legislation (minimum wage, etc...) was originally enacted to correct certain market imperfections, there is a strong case for a substantial degree of labor market deregulation in most LDC's. Whereas freedom of association is a fundamental right (as the report claims), so is the right not to be compelled to join any association and the right to work. Arguments about the "productivity-enhancing effects of an adequate level of minimum wages" (a frequent theme in the report) are not substantiated by any evidence other than mere proclamation in the report and raise some questions as to their validity.

Generally, the report acknowledges the existence of free enterprise and limited government intervention approaches to development, but it insists on urging the avoidance of a "simplistic, doctrinaire strategy." It is high time a straightforward (simplistic), unyielding (doctrinaire) free-market strategy was implemented by all developing countries who wish to see their way out of the current quagmire and into self-sustaining

growth. It is also high time the ILO and all U.N. bodies began providing the proper technical and managerial guidance to these countries necessary for implementing this kind of development strategy.

OUTLINE OF REMARKS BY
RAYMOND J. LaJEUNESSE, JR.,
STAFF ATTORNEY, NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK FOUNDATION,
TO CHILE CONFERENCE SPONSORED BY
THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION,
THE NATIONAL MANUFACTURERS FOUNDATION OF CHILE
AND THE ADOLFO IBANEZ FOUNDATION
Washington, D.C., September 16, 1988

THESIS: Labor relations in Chile today are on the whole freer, economically more rational, and more consistent with a democratic form of government than they are in the United States

I. FREEDOM

A. Exclusive Representation

- Under our labor laws, a union which is chosen as their bargaining representative by a bare majority of the employees voting in a representation election, or which is voluntarily recognized by the employer, is imposed as the representative of all employees in the bargaining unit, including employees included in the unit against their will, employees who voted against the union, employees who did not vote, employees who voted for the union but subsequently changed their minds, and employees hired after the election

- Once an exclusive representative is designated, the law prohibits bargaining by individual employees, or by

another representative of their own choice, with their employer over their wages, terms, and conditions of employment; individual contracts may not be used to vary the terms of the collective contract negotiated by the exclusive representative

- Thus, in terms of the freedom of contract, exclusive representation, as Justices of the United States Supreme Court have said, "extinguishes the individual's power to order his own relations with his employer," "strip[s individual employees] of traditional forms of redress," and gives unions "a thraldom over the men who designate [them]" by "creat[ing] rights in [the] unions overriding those of the employees they represent."

- In contrast, under Chilean law a union represents only its voluntary members in collective bargaining and the collective agreement binds only those members; employees who exercise their right not to join the union are free to negotiate their own wages, terms and conditions of employment if the employer is willing to contract individually with them

B. Compulsory Union Membership

- In 29 of the United States, the District of Columbia, and in federal enclaves and in the railway and airline industries in all states, private sector employees may be required to pay union dues as a condition of their employment; in 20 states and D.C., public employees also may as a matter of law be subjected to such a requirement. By conservative estimate, unions raise approximately $3 billion annually through this mechanism, which is included in 85% of labor contracts in the United States

- The casual observer might conclude that compulsory unionism arrangements violate the freedom of association guaranteed to all persons by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. To our shame, however, in a series of decisions beginning in 1956, a majority of the Supreme Court has held that compulsory dues payments are constitutional as long as they are used for bargaining-related purposes. I respectfully suggest that the Court's belief that government has a legitimate interest in coercing association with a labor organization -- for any purpose -- is a precedent that, as Justice Douglas said in 1961, "sanction[s] a device where men and women in almost any profession or calling can be at least partially regimented behind causes which they oppose [and] practically give[s]

carte blanche to any legislature to put . . . people into goose-stepping brigades."

- In contrast to the U.S. Constitution as interpreted by our highest court, the 1980 Political Constitution of the Republic of Chile explicitly provides in Chapter III, Article 19, No. 15 that "[n]o one can be obliged to belong to an association"; in No. 16 that "[n]o law or provision of the public authority may demand affiliation to any organization or entity whatsoever, as a requisite for undertaking certain activity or work, nor can it demand that any such affiliation be discontinued as a condition for performing such activities or keeping such work"; and in No. 19 that "[u]nion affiliation shall always be voluntary." In short, the Chilean constitution guarantees both the right to associate and the right not to associate with a labor union.

C. Political Activity

- The one respect in which I am of the opinion that Chilean labor relations are less free than ours is in the prohibition of intervention by union organizations and their leaders in partisan political activities. Such a prohibition might be justified in the United

States, where the state-created monopoly privileges of exclusive representation and compulsory fees distort the political process by increasing the clout of one particular special interest group at the expense of employees who do not want to support it. Indeed, for that reason Congress has for many years prohibited direct cash contributions of union dues money to candidates for federal office.

- However, because affiliation with labor organizations is wholly voluntary in Chile, I can see no legitimate governmental interest in limiting the political activities of unions and their leaders.

II. ECONOMIC RATIONALITY

A. The Private-sector Bargaining Unit

- In the United States, the unit for which a union is bargaining representative may consist of more than one plant and, in some industries, may include employees of more than one employer (multi-employer bargaining unit). In Chile, however, collective bargaining may occur only between a single employer and the representatives of its employees -- the business unit is the bargaining unit.

- Chile's limitation on the extent of the bargaining unit is more rational from an economic standpoint, because collective bargaining distorts the free market. That is, through the threat of strikes collective bargaining artificially increases the wages of union-represented employees at the expense of unrepresented employees and of marginally productive employees and potential employees who are laid off or not hired as a result of the wage increase. Wage increases and productivity losses due to union representation also cause price increases to the detriment of the consumer. The more localized bargaining is, then, the less damaging are its effects likely to be on the economy, both because the power of the union is decreased and because the union leaders are more likely to understand and respond to the mutual economic interests shared by employees and their employer.

B. <u>The Strike Threat</u>

- The strike is lawfully protected extortion. That is, in a free labor market, employees who refuse to work can be fired, since they have breached either an implied or explicit contract of employment. Under our labor laws, employees cannot be fired simply for

striking. They have a right to reinstatement if their job has not been filled and, depending on the type of strike, if their job has been filled, to push out their replacements or to preference in filling vacancies. There is no limit to the length of strikes and, because strikers are considered employees, the employer must continue to bargain in good faith during a strike until it can demonstrate that the union no longer has the support of a majority of its employees (including both replacements and strikers).

- Chilean law reduces the effectiveness, and therefore the deleterious direct and indirect effects of strikes and the strike-threat, by a simple device: after 60 days the employer has no obligation to reinstate returning strikers to his work force.

III. DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

A. Monopoly Privileges

- As I have already noted, the state-created monopoly privileges of exclusive representation and compulsory union fees distort the political process by increasing the strength of one type of special interest at the expense of individual employees. Thus, unions are

given an artificial and unfair advantage over competing interests in the democratic process, and the consequence in places like the United States and England has been the expansion of the welfare state, increased taxes, and the diminution of individual freedom for all. Chile has prevented this distortion of democracy by denying monopoly privileges to labor organizations, and hopefully it will avoid the consequences as well.

B. Public-sector Bargaining

- The political process in the United States is also distorted, at least at the state and local governmental level in most states, by public-sector collective bargaining. The most important decisions made by government are the level of taxation and the allocation of public funds among the various functions of government. Most citizens are able to influence those decisions only through elections and lobbying. But where government obligates itself to bargain with unions of its employees, it gives them an additional and infinitely more effective means of influencing those decisions that affect all citizens. It also has delegated a portion of its sovereignty -- which in a representative democracy should ultimately reside only

in the citizens as a whole -- to one of the "factions" about which James Madison warned in The Federalist No. 10. Fortunately, Chile prohibits collective bargaining by public employees and has avoided this particular form of the factionalism which, according to Madison, "introduce[s] into the public councils . . . the mortal diseases under which popular governments have everywhere perished" -- "instability, injustice, and confusion."

Panel III

Labor Rights and Labor Law in Chile

Congressman Toby Roth: ? the worker's right to has become just another political tool and believe me I serve on the Foreign Affairs Committee and if you want you want to see a double standard you come and visit the Foreign Affairs Committee sometime. They talk about fairness. As I often said, there may be a lot of liberals here, but although I have said this before, liberals say they are open-minded and fair. If you want to see the most closed-minded people in the world people run into a liberal sometimes. If you want to see how open-minded they are, start to argue with them a little sometimes, you will find out about how open-minded they are. How do we justify ignoring the egregarious abuses of workers in Mozambique while castegating a countrty whose labor code is about the best of Latin America. And that is not my opinion alone.

In testimony of the Foreign Affairs Committee, even the AFL-CIO agreed with me when I asked the question in regard to this about the workers' rights standard being arbitrary. Let me quote from Mr. Cunningham's testimony. He said this, "The Administration workers' rights provision has been an *ad hoc* policy at best. It usually does and is done as an afterthought for all political reasons. Chile as probably made in a political decision." It seems to me that in many cases the workers' rights provision has become an immediate and politically way for labor in this country to cut off foreign imports. Or in other instances, it may be a politically expedient way for the

Administration to placate Chile-backers on Capitol Hill. And believe there is a lot of them.

Neither approach does our national interest any good. These are some of the questions that we would like to explore today with an excellent panel of experts from Chile and the United States, and they are going to give a seven to eight minute presentation. Then we are going to open it up to questions and answers from you because we want you involved.

First of all, we have Mr. Larson, who is President of the National Right to Work Committee. During his 25 years with the Committee he has become a leading defender of the rights of Americans to be free of coercion at the hands of organized labor. We could go on and on about Mr. Larson's achievements, but because time is of the essence, we are going to introduce some of the others.

We have Mr. Ray LaJeunesse, who is an attorney with the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation. He represents non-union employees in litigation challenging the excesses of compulsory unionism. He was an advisor to the 1980 Reagan transition team for a labor relations agency and in his present presentation today Ray will explore U.S. and Chilean labor laws.

We also have Mr. Jorge Lopez. He is a member of the American Chamber of Commerce in Chile and the Vice President of a major mining company in Chile where

he oversees the company's labor policies in contract negotiations. He is also the director of which is an entity organized to strengthen private enterprise in Chile by providing financial and technical assistance to small companies.

Then we also have Jorge Desormeaux, who is a professor at the Catholic University and also taught at Harvard and other places and won the Fulbright Scholarship to MIT and has written extensively on Chilean economic issues and what the foreign economic consultant to the Bank of Boston in Santiago.

Now what we are going to call on our participants to come up to give a seven to eight minute presentation and then from there we will go on to the question and answer period and I am going to call on Ray first.

Raymond J. LaJeunesse, Jr.: Thank you. The thesis of my remarks today, ladies and gentlemen is that from the standpoint of the law, labor relations in Chile today on the whole is freer, economically more rational, and more consistent with a democratic form of government than they are in the United States.

First of all, from the point of view of freedom, under our labor laws, a union which is chosen as their representative by a bare majority of the employees voting in a representation election, or which is voluntarily recognized by the employer, is imposed as the representative of all employees in the bargaining unit, including employees in the bargaining unit against their will, employees who voted no as to the union, employees

who do not vote, employees who voted for the union but later changed their minds, and employees hired after the election.

We have what is called exclusive representation. Once an exclusive representative is designated the law prohibits bargaining by the individual employees or through another representative of their own choice, with their employer over their own wages, terms, and conditions of employment; individual contracts may not be used to vary the terms of the collective contract negotiated by exclusive representative.

Thus, in terms of freedom of contract, the exclusive representative, as Justices of the United States Supreme Court have said million of times, "extinguishes the individual's power to order his own relations with his employer," "strips individual employees of traditional forms of redress, and gives unions a thraldom over the men who designate them by creating rights in the unions overriding those of the employees they represent."

In contrast, under Chilean law, a union represents only its voluntary members in collective bargaining and the collective agreement binds only those members; employees who exercise their right not to join the union are free to negotiate their own wages, terms and conditions of employment if the employer is willing to contract individually with them.

Second, in 29 of the United States, the District of Columbia, and in federal enclaves and in the railway and airline industries in all states, private sector employees in the United States, may be required to pay union dues as a condition of their employment. In 20 states and the District, public employees also may, as a matter of law, be subjected to such a requirement. By conservative estimates, unions raise approximately $3 billion annually through this mechanism, which is included in 85 percent of our labor contracts.

The casual observer might conclude that compulsory unionism arrangements violate the freedom of association which is guaranteed by our Constitution. To our shame, however, in a series of decisions beginning in 1956, a majority of the Supreme Court has held compulsory dues payments are constitutional as long as they are used for bargaining-related purposes. I respectfully suggest that the Court's belief that government has a legitimate interest in coercing association with a labor organization -- whatever the purpose -- is a precedent that, as Justice William O. Douglas said in 1961, "sanction is a device where men and women in almost any profession or calling can be at least partially regimented behind causes which they oppose and practically gives *carte blanche* to any legislature to put people into goose-stepping brigades."

In contrast to the U.S. Constitution as interpreted by our highest court, the 1980 Political Constitution of the Republic of Chile explicitly provides in Chapter III, Article 19, No.15 that "no one can be obliged to belong to an association"; in No. 16 that "no law or provision of the public authority may demand affiliation to any organization or

entity whatsoever, as a requisite for undertaking certain activities or work, nor can it demand that any such affiliation be discontinued as a condition for performing such activities or keeping such work"; and in No. 19 that "union affiliation shall always be voluntary." In short, the Chilean constitution guarantees both the right to associate and the right not to associate with a labor union and, for that matter, with any other organization.

The one respect in which I am of the opinion that Chilean labor relations are less free than ours is in the prohibition of intervention by union organizations and union leaders in partisan political activities. Such a prohibition might be justified in the United States, where the state-created monopoly privileges of exclusive representation and compulsory dues distort the political process by increasing the clout of one particular special interest group at the expense of employees who do not want to support it. In fact, for that reason, our Congress has, for many years, prohibited directed cash contributions of union due money to candidates for federal office.

However, because of affiliation with unions is wholly voluntary in Chile, I can see no legitimate governmental interest in limiting the political activities of unions and their leaders.

As for economic rationality, in the United States, the unit for which a union is bargaining representative may consist of more than one plant and, in some cases, more than one employer. We call them multi-employer bargaining units. In Chile, on the

other hand, collective bargaining may occur only between a single employer and the representatives of its employees -- the business unit is the bargaining unit.

I believe that limitation on the extent of the bargaining unit is more rational from an economic standpoint, quite frankly, because collective bargaining distorts the free market. That is, through the threat of strikes, collective bargaining artificially increases the wages of union-represented employees at the expense of unrepresented employees and of marginally productive employees and potential employees who are laid off or not hired as a result of wage increases. Wage increases and productivity losses due to union representation also cause price increases to the detriment of the consumer. The more localized bargaining is, then, the less damaging are its effects likely to be on the economy, both because the power of the union is decreased and because the union leaders are more likely to understand and respond to the mutual shared economic interests of the employees and their employer.

In addition, from an economic standpoint, I would point out that a strike is lawfully protected extortion. That is, in a free labor market, employees who refuse to work can be fined, since they have breached either an implied or explicit contract of employment. Under our laws in this country, employees cannot be fired striking. They have a right to reinstatement even if their job has not been filled and, depending on the type of strike, if their job has been filled, to push out their replacements or to preference in filling vacancies. There is no limit to the length of strikes and, because strikers are considered employees, the employer must continue to bargain in good faith

during a strike until it can demonstrate that the union no longer has the support of the majority of its employees (as I pointed out, includes both the strikers and replacements.)

Chilean law reduces the effectiveness, and therefore the bad effect -- indirect and direct -- of strikes and the strike threat, by simple device: after 60 days, the employer has no obligation to returning striking to his workforce. After 60 days, you are back to the free market.

Finally, with regards to the democratic government, as I have already noted, the state-created monopoly privileges of exclusive representation and compulsory union fees distort the political process by increasing the strength of one type of special interest at the expense of individual employees. The unions thus are given an artificial and unfair advantage over competing interests in the democratic process, and the consequences in places like the United States and England has been the expansion of the welfare state, increased taxes, and the diminution of individual freedom for all. Chile has prevented this distortion of the political marketplace by denying monopoly privileges to the unions, and hopefully it will also avoid the consequences that we have suffered.

The last point is that the political process in the United State is also distorted, at least at the state and local governmental level in most states, by public sector collective bargaining. The most important decisions made by government are the level of taxation and the allocation of public funds among the various functions of government. Most citizens can influence that process in two ways: through elections -- voting, campaigning,

canvassing -- and lobbying the legislature. Where government obligates itself to bargain with unions of its employees, it gives them an additional and infinitely more effective means of influencing those fundamental decisions of government that affect all citizens. It also, by doing so, has delegated portions of its sovereignty, which in a representative democracy should ultimately reside only in the citizens as a whole, to one of the factions about which James Madison warned in *The Federalist No. 10*. Fortunately, Chile prohibits collective bargaining by public employees and has thus avoided this particular of factionalism which, according the Madison, "introduces into the public councils...the moral diseases under which popular governments have everywhere perished -- instability, injustice, and confusion." Thank you, very much.

Congressman Roth: Thank you very much, Ray. Our next speaker is going to be one of our friends from Chile. He is a civil engineer. He has been involved labor negotiations since 1964. He has been involved successfully in five labor contracts. He has all kinds of awards. Two weeks ago, he was awarded the Julio Donoso prize in recognition for his affirmative dedication to human and labor relations, particularly within a number of companies. So I would like to have Jorge Lopez come and talk to us.

Jorge Lopez: It seems that in Chile, for some obscure historical destiny, when nothing is done, and one lives in a permanent routine, trying to hurt any interests, never having the boldness to look for new roads and face problems in depth, there is no opposition, as if our best position would be that "not being a menace to anyone."

To this, I would add something that worries me very deeply: this country is wound up in a huge net of rules and legal regulations that hinder and obstruct any sort of initiative.

The entrepreneur who wishes to work or export devotes considerable part of his time, not improving his work or production costs, but visiting different Ministries in order to obtain special decrees or rulings that will protect him, or is kept waiting for hours at banks to obtain loans. Every group is shielded by a special law or benefit. Entrepreneurs have lost the sense of competition because they are far more concerned on being protected by favorable customs regulations.

For many years, it has been unheard of in this country that someone has lowered his prices to capture the market.

Instead of looking of looking like a young nation full of vitality, we appear as an aging country where being protected by some special law is of the utmost importance for the individual. But we have forgotten that modern societies progress with speed and decision, which is something that has become practically impossible to achieve here on account of this huge jungle of bureaucracy that increases every day.

This is the path to national frustration, to more poverty, to accumulated injustice, to the many obstacles that keeps us from progressing. This is the alternative of form-filling than that of action.

I believe there is a national awareness that if we keep postponing decisions, no matter how painful they may be, the day will come when those decisions will inevitably be made under a dictatorship or social pressure. You may be surprised at my first words. These are the main paragraphs of the speech made by former President Frei of Chile in 1965.

I am well aware that President Frei is well-known and respected in the U.S. and that there are important groups who wish that his forbears were running our country.

I have used his speech in 1965 to start my presentation as it emphasizes a reality that need to be taken into consideration for any analysis of Chile. And, in my opinion, cannot be left aside when addressing the labor situation in the country.

In fact, in Chile during the 60 or 70 years prior to 1973, labor was immersed in a state centralized system that fixed prices of its goods that were produced, fixing consequently remunerations and work conditions; that established the obligation to join unions to perform any sort of work; that maintained a social security system managed by the state that made strong discriminations between white and blue workers; and that owned all the heavy industry or any relevant activity in the country.

Within this system, unions were managed by political leaders assigned to the union boards by their parties and where workers, whether they liked it or not, had no way to oppose it.

In this scenario, Chile for years witnessed a lack of innovation and modernization of its enterprises, and a strong lack of labor discipline.

Illegal and national strikes organized by political leaders from the left and extreme left to protest against different governments and not necessarily to obtain better salaries or working conditions for the workers, were not only common, but were overwhelminingly more in number and length than the scarce legal strikes.

Industry in those days had to live with the so-called "immobility law" whereby a work contract could only be terminated in accordance with twelve specific reasons contemplated in the law and proven in court.

Moreover, if an employer needed to dismiss nine or more workers in one month as was the case of construction companies when the finished their contracts, special authorizations from the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Economy were required.

All this situation became extreme and close to anarchy in the 1970 to 1973 period.

In those days, we had the "sad privilege" to witness national strikes to "support the government."

I would like to show you a graph that shows the number of strikes between the years 1961 and 1973. In red are the legal good strikes -- that is, strikes that were started because of the work conditions or because negotiations had not come to an end. The blue are the illegal strikes, in green are the public sector strikes and the yellow were the national strikes, the protests and those to support the government. In comparison with that, since 1979, you can see we only have legal strikes and the difference with those years prior to 1973 is not that the club exists. And I want to emphasize with this, allow strongest question, can workers stay on strike in order to establish a free economic system. As of 1974, a process of dramatic changes was initiated in the country in order to establish a free economic system. In this new scenario, evidently there was no room for price controls, nor for centralized fixing of remunerations and salaries, nor for compulsory union membership. This change has not at all been easy.

Too many generations had become used to the old method, and socialism and centralized management are still considered as "the way" by important political sectors. Nevertheless, as this change has been implemented and has shown its benefits, Chileans have taken a liking to it and little by little are adapting to it.

On one side, entrepreneurs have developed a creativity that in the past they did not require and, on another, worker are realizing that their possibilities of improvement and growth are far better.

As briefly as possibly, which are, in practical terms, the most relevant norms and rules related with unions, labor negotiations, strikes, and in general what results are being obtained?

On Ray's subject, I would like to specify a bit more. To start with, the constitution guarantees the right to union affiliation. Unions acquire legal existence upon registration and the formation of a union by workers requires no prior authorization. Union affiliation is personal and cannot be transferred or delegated. Affiliation is voluntary. Workers can disaffiliate from a union at any time.

We have four kinds of unions but the main ones are the company unions, comprised of the workers of only one company and are the types of unions that can negotiate labor contracts. The others are intercompany unions, independent workers unions, and occasional workers unions.

One of the dramatic changes I have mentined is that union decisions require approval by an absolute majority determined through secret vote. And among those decisions are the formation of a union, election of union leaders, the approval of union bylaws, and the approval of strikes.

Union leaders are elected through secret ballot. They last two years in their position and can be reelected. They acquire special legal rights whereby they cannot be removed from their jobs during the time they remain as union leaders.

The negotiation process for labor contracts. The unions present the project to the employer 45 days before the expiration of the existing contract. The employer has to respond within ten days and from then on negotiations go on with as many meetings as they wish. If an agreement is reached, its contents constitute a collective contract which is recorded in writing and registered with the labor authorities. The union's negotiation committee has the authority to demand at any time during the negotiation process that the existing labor contract be extended for an additional period of two years. The employer cannot refuse to comply with such demands. This alternative will not include any escalation conditions contemplated in previous contracts. In view of circumstances today in Chile, our inflation rate is lower than 10 percent a year, this clause is practically ? in comparison with 50 percent to 80 percent to 100 percent we had in the past.

In the case of strikes, if an employer and unions do not reach an agreement through their negotiations, the last offering made by the employer in writing is understood as the last offer. This "last offer" is submitted to the consideration of all the workers who then decide, through secret vote, whether they accept it or they go on strike.

A strike must be agreed upon by absolute majority of all the workers represented in the negotiation. If such quorum is not reached, it is understood that the employer's last offer is accepted. [If a strike is agreed upon, once it is initiated, the employer can declare a partial or total lockout and continue to operate normally. Negotiations can carry on during a strike. Thirty days after the beginning of a strike, workers can withdraw from the negotiation. Workers who maintain their decision not to return to work after 60 days since the initiatin of a strike, will be considered as having voluntarily terminated their work contracts.]

I think I would like to emphasize a new rule that Ray did not mention and that is that all workers involved in a labor negotiation acquire special legal rights whereby their work contracts cannot be terminated within a period of time that starts five days before the presentation of a labor contract and ends 60 days after the beginning of the strike.

Now what results have been obtained through these regulations in the past nine or ten years? Several unions all over the country are accepting the concepts of private enterprise as well as those of productivity and competivity. Unions today are definitely more concerned about matters related to their members than political issues. Employers visualize unions as part of a system rather than their political foes. Unions, in general, are demanding far more reasonable conditions and employers are willing to consider such matters as profit sharing or participation in company's property. Workers and employers certainly have more coincident appreciation about private enterprise and its

role in society. Undoubtedly there are still important differences left, but their positions are very much nearer than in the past.

These coincidences have certainly made it easier for the privatization of state-owned companies. Not only the traditional investors are acquiring shares in this privatization process. Workers acquire shares both from the company they work in, through swaps with their severance provisions, as well as from other companies, based on payment schemes that consider deferred payments an attractive tax incentives. The confidence and trust that has been developed allow that these programs do operate, resulting in the diversification of property in a vast number of medium and small shareholder.

The old and paralyzing concept of "immobility" is being replace by long-term labor contracts. In the old legislation, labor contracts lasted a maximum of twelve months. According to today's rules, they last a minimum of two years, though it is becoming more and more common to have labor agreements last three, four, and even five years, which evidently involves stability and continuity for workers as well as for companies.

In summary, with the existing labor scenario, Chile is in a privileged position to leave behind its traditional state centralized approach and become a country where private initiative has a strong influence, where workers have stable jobs, where unions

have a relevant role as intermediate organizations in society and where entrepreneurs have the flexibility to operate in open competitive markets.

The new investments made by national and foreign companies, the every increasing number of new activities in mining, farming, agraindustry, forestry, fisheries, and so forth, that have made the country self-sufficient in many areas, that have increased Chile's exports to a $1.5 billion in the 1970s to over $6.0 billion in 1987 and that have create a million new jobs, are there to prove it. Thank you.

Congressman Roth: Thank you very much, Jorge. We are going to try to keep our comments as brief as possible because I know you have many questions and that is always a good tlime for us to expand our remarks.

Our next speaker I would like to talk about before our group is Mr. Larson, who is president of National Right to Work Committee. Twenty-five years with this Committee, he is a leading defender of the right of Americans to be free from coercion at the hands of organized labor. Mr. Larson, I would like to ask you to come to podium to make your remarks.

Reed Larson: Thank you very much, Congressman. Ladies and gentlemen, even though I spent a delightful and very enlightening eight days just a month and a half ago and I know that makes me an instant expert on the aspects of labor law, I am going to leave

the specifics of this discussion to Ray LaJeunesse and the other panelists who have done really an excellent job on this.

I think can best contribute to this discussion by focusing on ? standards by which we judge labor relations in other countries and which are being applied in Chile and other countries. Unfortunately, the view of labor relations in Chile and labor policies ? shape primarily by the views of the AFL-CIO. Therefore, I think it is useful to look at the standards by which the AFL-CIO would judge ? labor relations in Chile with ? in other country. And I have here the statements ? last year by the AFL-CIO asking that Chile be removed from the favored trading list because of labor rights violations and this entitled "Workers Rights Violations Abroad." It has almost nothing to do with workers' rights. Properly tilted this document would be titled "Union Privileges Violations Abroad," because the interest of the AFL-CIO in this country and anywhere else that their influence reaches in the world and it reaches very far and wide through the use of your tax money and mine. Their interest is in promoting the institutional interests of organized labor -- very little relationship toward the rights.

When we look at exactly what they complain about in Chile is really ? very clearly because even though as our ? figures have indicated, the bulk of the union membership is not legal in Chile. Still the check off of union dues is. The so-called voluntary check off, that means the worker signs an agreement that the employer can remove union dues from the paycheck and send it to union. Well, this is fine and it is voluntary and as has limited duration. But then the AFL-CIO complaint is about in

Chile and this is one of the main reasons they want them from the most favored trading list, dues check off by which independent trade unionism survives ? by which independent unionists survive due to check off is ?. The government claims it has eliminated the requirements on unions for a bi-annual renewal of dues check off. They say they have a fine ? longer than that and so this again is going to the issue of institutional ? unions. You can go right down the list and this is what they are promoting in Chile and what they are promoting everywhere.

Now if Chile were formed to the AFL-CIO model, what would be the result? The inevitable consequence of such policy places union interests above the worker interest in the development of powerful union monopolies. That is what the removal of those has been one of the secrets of the phenomenal success of the Chilean economy in recent years. Last night, Jack Kemp ticked off a list of areas in which U.S. State Department is imposing on developing nations policies which ? healthy economy. He did not include on that list one of the most important and that is that through the use of our tax money we are subsidizing these AFL-CIO organizers to go out and build economy monopoly unions which undermine the economy of developing nations and we paying for it ? and probably hundreds of millions if the entire be known because ?.

So it is a very important area. But ? monopoly unions are one of the most serious obstacles to the development of a truly healthy, dynamic economy. This morning Professor Hanke alluded to the break up of monopoly unions in Chile as one of the keys

that has enabled the economy to adjust to markets and to build more jobs and to improve the lot of the average citizen so dramatically.

Another source which gives us an interesting look at this is little ? by Professor ?. It is a great story ? Chile. In one reference in here, it is sort of a ? he points out that one of the important developments that has enabled Chile to so improve its economic well-being is the improvement in operations of the ports where fifteen years ago, the ports were clogged with ships waiting to be ?. They could not get ? and so the economy was ?. Now, "twelve years later, we can see that in spite of the extraordinary growth in foreign trade, our ports are not packed even though the country didn't invest in wages in the interest of ? experts considered ?." Why ? special? Simply because they did not give ? two measures applied to 1981 -- the end of labor monopolies and the fact the private sector ?. End of labor monopolies you can translate that into all elements of the economy. That, I think, is the central point looking at the principles involved here is the fact that despite the criticism of groups like the AFL-CIO the Chilean economy has benefited tremendously by the fact that instead of promoting the institutional interests of union officials as the AFL-CIO would have you do, the Chilean labor law is directed toward the interests and the rights ?.

I think there is a real lesson here in ? for other developing countries there is a lesson for us right here in the United States. Thank you.

Congressman Roth: Thank you very much, Reed. Such an interesting program ?. Our next speaker is a very distinguished professor, Jorge Desormeaux, is a professor at Catholic University and as I said before he ? Fulbright Scholar and ?. ? talk to us because he has done of work for ? Santiago so he is well-rounded ? academic background and Jorge we will turn it over to you for a few minutes.

Jorge Desormeaux: I will basically center my discussion on Chile's labor legislation. Chile went though a very important modernization by its labor legislation in the ?. In the past, our legislation, as contained in the Labor Code of 1931, was the result of European influences, basically the First World War and the creation of the International Labor Organization as a result of the Treaty of Versailles.

This legislation was seen as an instrument to protect the weaker side in labor negotiations, namely the workers. In Chile, this translated into a protective legislation, aimed particularly at industrial workers.

Nevertheless, industrial workers were by no means a representative group of Chilean workers. They were also not among the extremely poor in Chile, who turned out to be mostly groups of self-employed workers in rural areas as research has proved.

Under the influence of these European developments and the International Labor Organization, in particular, our country developed a legislation that was considered as

very "advanced" at the time but which in practice limited the freedom of work, disincentivated job creation and stimulated the use of capital-intensive techniques.

Between 1979 and 1982, Chile ? drastic reform of its labor legislation. The main purpose of that reform was to reconcile the labor legislation ? market economy. An open world trade and with substantial ? for the government ?. This allowed ? replace a good part of ? European ? of the 1920s and 1930s which ? at every level of labor relations.

To protect ? labor legislation, however, was kept for individual labor relations. ?, in this case, the ? of the international labor ?. The ? labor organization is contained now in new labor code -- the Code of 1970 -- and it means ? reforms at ? base levels -- individual labor relations, collective bargaining, and labor organizations. ? previous discussions, I will try to be as brief as I can on this.

The first important reform of our labor legislation took place in 1978 in the field of individual labor ?. It abolished the multiplicity of labor statutes applied to different groups of workers in translated into a particularly unjust discrimination between white and blue collar workers with respect to labor and pension benefits. ? for all workers -- blue and white collar -- ? certain specialized ?.

With respect to collective bargaining, negotiations took place mostly at the industry level, encompassing various firms. This led to wage agreements that had little

or no connection with productivity at the firm level, and had adverse effects on the choice of technology and economic development. The collective bargaining process was appropriately called "collective conflict," as it assumed that its main purpose was to extract part of the rent of capital, in the most purely Marxist sense.

In a closed economy framework, the cost of compensations in excess of productivity levels, were often transferred to other groups, particularly to consumers -- in the form of higher prices -- and the unemployed -- in the form of a lower chance of becoming employed.

Entrepreneurs reacted by adopting capital-intensive techniques, and as a result, the Chilean manufacturing sector had a dismal record in terms of employment generation.

As to labor organizations, the most distinctive feature was the intervention of government authorities in almost every formal act within these institutions.

Thus, a prior approval by administrative authorities was required to obtain legal capacity for unions; the same applied when trade union funds were used. Union affiliation was compulsory, and the authority to terminate a trade union was also concentrated in government hands.

Between 1979 and 1982, Chile undertook a drastic reform of its labor legislation. The main purpose of that reform was to reconcile the labor legislation with the working of a market economy, open to world trade and with a substantially reduced role for the government in every aspect of economic life.

This amounted to replaced a good part of the European influence of the 1920s and 1930s, which stressed government intervention at every level of labor relations.

The protective role of labor legislation was kept, however, for individual labor relations, following the classical tradition of labor legislation, present in the main conventions of the ILO.

The modernization of our labor legislation, now contained in the new Labor Code of 1987, meant substantial reforms at three basic levels:

- individual labor relations;
- collective bargaining; and
- labor organizations.

Individual Labor Relations

The first important reform of our labor legislation took place in 1978, with Legislative Decree 2200, which abolished the various categories contained in our past legislation. A single statute for all workers -- blue and white collar -- was established, accepting only minor exemptions for certain specialized activities.

Nevertheless, the new law retained most of the protective spirit of classical labor legislation, in order to compensate for the relative weakness of the individual worker in labor negotiations.

Benefits such as a maximum number of working hours, weekly rest, payment of overtime, right to paid vacations, protection of wages, union and maternity privileges, health coverage, work safety, and minimum wages, were all maintained, and they are an integral part of the forty ILO conventions that Chile has ratified, as shown in Table 1 below.

INSERT TABLE 1

The only privileges that were removed at the individual level were a vast amount of monopolies enacted by law in favor of special groups, which created artificial barriers to entry in certain activities. Thus, special "passes or permits" required to perform longshoremen duties were abolished, allowing a dramatic improvement in the operational efficiency of our ports. Other artificial barriers, such as "professional passes" to exercise various duties, such as hairdressers, musicians, actors and artists, radio

announcers, graphic workers, and electricians, were all revoked, in order to promote freedom of work and hire.

Other important rigidities that were removed by the new legislation were the requirement of prior approval for a change in the nature of the business or a reformulation of working conditions, and the requirement of prior approval by two cabinet ministers to lay off more than ten workers.

Collective Bargaining

Two additional reforms, better known as *Plan Laboral*, took place in 1979, one pertaining to collective bargaining and another to labor organizations.

As mentioned in the introduction, the collective bargaining process took place, in most cases, at the industry level, and result in guidelines that were transferred to all firms within that industry. Due to differences in productivity among firms, and the heterogeneity of output, actual wages had little or no relation to the true value of labor for the firm.

Collective bargaining was considered as another extension of a class struggle, in which workers united to extract monopolistic rents from capital. Thus, the bargaining process was appropriately called "collective conflict" in our legislation.

Strikes were considered as the right of unions to deny their work for an indefinite period of time, while the employer was denied the right to hire replacement workers. This meant that strikes usually grew into a political problem, which required the intervention of government authorities.

How could firms survive in this environment? Basically transferring the cost of compensations in excess of productivity to other groups within our society, particularly consumers -- in the form of higher prices -- and the unemployed in the form of lower chances of getting an urban job. The government played an important role in this process by granting price adjustments in times of price control and lifting trade barriers when it was deemed necessary.

Employers reacted by reducing their labor demand as much as possible, and introduced an early mechanization of all manufacturing processes. A true aversion to labor developed at the firm level, which helps to explain Chile's dismal record in terms of employment generation within the manufacturing sector in the 1960s and early 1970s.

The new collective bargaining law of 1979 put an end to these problems. The bargaining process is conceived as a periodic, peaceful and equitable process of negotiation that takes place at the firm level, where future earnings are determined in accordance with productivity levels, and subject to market discipline. If such earnings are judged to be insufficient to satisfy basic needs, it is the government's duty to complement them through a "social network," an assortment of government programs

destined to supplement the earnings of the extremely poor. The contents of such programs and their results were discussed in the previous panel, so I will skip them on this occasion.

The formal procedures of the bargaining process are the following. Workers, represented by their unions, submit a draft collective contract to the employer. In case of no answer, the petition is presumed to be accepted. If no agreement is reached, however, workers have various options available:

- to vote a lawful strike;

- to demand the preservation of the working conditions available before the initiation of the bargaining process. These conditions, which impose a floor on worker benefits, must be met by the employer.

- if workers belong to a small group of strategic enterprises (25 as of now) that are not allowed to strike, the matter must be decided by a compulsory arbitration process.

- thirty days after a strike is voted, workers can return to work on an individual basis, accepting previous conditions or better terms agreed with the employers.

- after 60 days of strike, the contractual link expires, and the workers lose the monopoly over their jobs, in the terms and conditions available before the negotiations began; they will have to look for work elsewhere or accept lower conditions in the future.

The government has no authority to intervene in the bargaining process, and its function is limited to oversee the formalities of the act.

The collective bargaining process is then considered as a legitimate way of increasing the negotiating power of individual workers who are trained with specific skills that have a greater value to the firm (replacement cost), than the individual wages that can be obtained by workers in alterative jobs.

This process cannot guarantee a permanent and sustained improvement in wage earnings and working conditions. Real wages can only grow as a result of economic development and productivity increases. Thus, in normal periods, the bargaining process and the right to strike may lead to such improvements. However, in times of recession or crisis, a strike can at most prevent wages from falling faster than the value of their productivity. A successful bargaining process is, then, one which leads to wage levels that are in close consonance with worker's productivity levels.

The employer, on the other hand, recovered the constitutional right to manage his own company, and remain competitive. This means that he can exercise the right to

hire replacement workers for the duration of the strike. If the workers do not reach an agreement with the employer after 60 days of strike, they lose the monopoly over their own jobs, and the employer may hire permanent workers to replace them.

U.S. legislation does not contemplate any limits for the duration of a strike. Neither does Chile's legislation in a true sense. Only the right of workers to return to their jobs under the latest terms of the negotiation expires after 60 days. In the U.S., however, striking workers in a lawful strike retain their employee status unless they accept regular and equivalent work elsewhere. Thus, striking workers are placed on a preferential hiring list. When work is resumed a the employer's plant, these workers must be hired back, before hiring any new permanent replacements. In Chile, however, the striking worker that returns to work before the expiration of the 60-day deadline does not need to be rehired, since his contract is still binding.

Since there are very few examples in which lawful strikes extend beyond two months, the Chilean legislation seems to be at least as beneficial -- from the point of view of the worker -- as the equivalent U.S. legislation, which lacks the protection of a wage floor for the duration of the strike.

Arbitration in a bargaining process can only be invoked in case both parties agree to it, as happens in the U.S.

In this way, the process described not only becomes an effective way of handling labor negotiations in a free market economy, but also takes adequate care of the rights of other groups which are not involved in the negotiating process, but who may suffer the consequences of an irresponsible negotiation, as is the case of consumers and unemployed workers.

Since the collective bargaining was placed at the firm level, strikes have ceased to be an element of social blackmail. At the same time, the bargaining process has become more technical and increasingly independent from political influence. Thus, of the 209 strikes vote in 1987, only 80 became effective, which reflects that employers improved their offer in time to avoid the strike.

Labor Organizations

The old system conceived only the existence of one union at the blue collar level, where affiliation was mandatory. For white collar workers, however, affiliation was voluntary. Thus manufacturing unions became an important political bounty.

Another important aspect was the intervention of government authorities in every aspect of labor organizations. This did not prevent the Communist Party from establishing a solid base at the union level. In fact, during the ten years, in which the Communist Party was banned from public life in Chile (1948-1958), its power over the trade union movement allowed it to survive that ban without great costs. Recent

research suggests that aspects such as mandatory affiliation, elections without a secret ballot, and collective bargaining at the industry level instead of the firm level, were at the heart of the effectiveness with which that party controlled the trade union movement in Chile.

The new legislation on labor organizations dates from 1979, and is an integral part of the "Plan Laboral" of that year. It made a profound reform of the old system, establishing ample freedom of organization. Thus, unions can now be formed at will and workers can freely decide whether to affiliate or not. The most important decisions must now be taken at the base of the organization, through a secret ballot in the presence of a Warranting Officer (who may be a Notary Public): election of the management board, union dues, decision to strike, and affiliation to federations and confederations.

Thus the old system, where decisions were taken at the top and union leaders were manipulated politically, gave way to a system where the most important decisions are taken at the base of the organization, through a secret ballot. It is not surprising, then, that leftist political organizations place a great priority to the repeal of this legislation, and a return to the past.

The most important aspects of the new legislation are presented in Table 2, which compares them with the old legislation and the corresponding ILO conventions that Chile has ratified. These are the following:

- Right to establish trade unions without prior authorization, which is guaranteed at the constitutional level (Art. 19, No. 19);

- Freedom of association, which has resulted in a greater concern of union leaders for their workers;

- Unions can freely organize federations and confederations, provided they complete a minimum number of organizations; they can also join international organizations without prior approval;

- Unions can be formed at the firm level, or the inter-firm level (provided they include at least three firms);

- Self-employed workers and casual workers can also form unions;

- Collective bargaining can only be conducted by unions at the firm level;

- Unions can be established by a group of at least eight workers; this requirement is made with the purpose of meeting the formalities required by the bargaining process, conditions that would be very difficult to meet if this process were extended to smaller working groups;

- Unions with more than 250 affiliates must present a yearly balance statement, signed by an accountant; smaller firms need only to keep a record of income and expenses, and one of inventory;

- Union dissolution can only be performed by a Court of Appeals;

- The Public Administration is exempted from this law, since they are not allowed to form unions or bargain collectively; this does not apply to state enterprises, however, where the same rules of private enterprise apply.

These conditions establish the base for truly free labor organizations, where all the relevant decisions are taken at the base through secret ballots; where workers are free to affiliate to these organizations; where the government has a minimal role; and where labor organizations can, for the first time in decades, be independent from political influence and manipulation.

Insert Table 2

Insert Report of Comparative Legislation

Congressman Roth: Thank you very much. We are going to go away to the questions, because we have only a few minutes in our time now ?.

Guest: I want to ? Congressman about overspending. Are you producing all of that each year annually or are you having to borrow some along ?. How is your debt in comparison with the progress you are making.

?: ? in Chile. Is that what you are saying?

Guest: That is true.

Congressman Roth: I will have one of our friends from Chile answer that.

Mr. Lopez: As a matter of fact, Chile ? this year, the government is very careful and very cautious in its ? and said that they would not have a deficit of one-half of a percentage ? this year without ? situation. In fact, the ? were put into a special account for times ?. ?, we are going to have actually ?.

Congressman Roth: That is the internal budget. What about the external?

Mr. Lopez: Well, we obviously have ? this year. Obviously ? prices are ?. ? still ? percent. The ? this year as well both ? prices are high.

?: ?

Mr. Lopez: I think the question is ? debt. Our external debt is ? very high. ?.

Guest: I have question. ? external debt. We had terrible concerned ? debt so we came up with ? the Baker Plan which called for privatization, ?, and of all the countries in Central and South America, Chile ? more in step to accept the Baker Plan. Yet when people from the Commerce Department, State Department, ? they never give any repetition of that to Chile. Why is that?

Guest: ? Congressman ? made would be that in ?

Congressman Roth: ? some panelists who are extremely conversive with U.S. labor law and all that goes with it and why did not our government consult with them before they were ?. That is an excellent question and I am going to turn that over now to Mr. Larson to answer that.

Mr. Larson: ?. I do not want to offend the labor bosses of the AFL-CIO.

?: ? fact that we have a quorum to form a union. That quorum is eight workers at least. ? is that they claim that this quorum is way too high ? workers from negotiating ? collective bargaining ? workers with specialized training ? in the firm ?. It is also the ? process ? which ?. Therefore they are not willing to make an adjustment to ? small numbers because ? be very hard to achieve ?. That is one of the ?.

Another one is ?. The fact that there is a 60-day deadline for workers to retain ? is somehow debilitating the strike. In my impression, ? that the 60-day limit is by no means ?. My impression is that most of these ? unfounded and ? objective ? not much to do with organization, but with other ends.

?: I read in the paper this morning an editorial saying that Chile ?. What is the worst human rights violation and what is the ? to Cuba? ? Cuba. ? about Chile. In fact, ? Cuba. Cuba never votes ? United Nations. Chile almost always does. You want to know where the real problem lies? ? we have to get people in that think the way we do, that are interested in the free enterprise system ?.

?: ?. This kind of ? the people ?.

?: ?

?: I would like to make the same question and statement. ? in the Chilean ? taken by Congress ? Chilean labor laws and anti-labor ? as in the Chilean ? are more liberal than ?. It is astonishing to me that the Congress ?.

?: And that is still my opinion. The decision of our government to move certain ? Chile ? had nothing to do with labor relations ? and that is clear from the fact that the only central interest ? AFL-CIO. We were not asked ? organization and in fact no one was asked to consider certain provisions of our labor laws to be unfair and anti-freedom.

Congressman Roth: One more question.

Guest: I am a reporter and I just want to point out that there is an open ?. So I am sure that you can testify ?. ?. I want to ask any other speakers besides Larson to comment what lessons could be applied to the United States from the Chilean experience. Mr. Larson ?. I want the others ?.

Mr. Desormeaux: For me as an economist, perhaps the most interesting aspect is the fact that for many years we heard that ? system would have no ?. Therefore, the country would have all regulations ?. ?. However, in the past few years, Chile has had ? in which employment and wages have had more opportunity and they have had more ? with market forces. ? is that Chile ? in the 1960s ? Chile ? for every percentage point ? in the entire ?. ? had to do with excessive regulations. Now ?.

Congressman Roth: ?

?: ? how to apply ? to the U.S. On the contrary, we are trying to get ? into ? and when we have tried to convey here is our disappointment of the lack of support that we had from the U.S. ?. I think the ? we have ? quite ?.

Congressman Roth: Ray.

Mr. LaJeunesse: I think the lesson from the Chilean experience for the United States is that the theory ? only through the compulsion of exclusive representation. ?. It is bogus. In Chile, labor relations do work and collective bargaining ? advancing the mutual interests in wages and productivity of workers and employers without the compulsion of exclusive representation. Employees are represented by the bargaining representative they choose and if they do not want that union to represent them, it does not under Chilean law unlike the United States.

?: ? every country what they should be doing. We cannot take care of our deficit. We cannot take care of our trade problem. We cannot take care of drug problem, but we are running all over the world telling others how they should live. It is about time we started taking care of our own problems and our position first.