

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2004-2265-S

FOIA Number:
S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

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: 13695-002

Folder Title:
AFL-CIO Convention 11/13/89 [OA 6344] [3]

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

Report on Comparative Legislation

1. TRADE UNION CAPACITY TO ESTABLISH TOP LEVEL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE AFL-CIO TYPE.

- (a) The conclusion of the report before us, prepared by Louis B. Kushner, Esquire Rothman, Grodon, Foreman and Grudine, P.A., is that under the legislation of the United States of America "the only restrictions to or essential requirements for the establishment of confederations are the same as normally exist with respect to trade union organizations".

This conclusion equally holds good in the case of Chile. Indeed, apart from some difference as regards quorum and administration due to the fact that a federation or confederation is a higher level organization than a basic trade union, there are no fundamental differences with respect to the conditions for their establishment.

In Chile as in the United States of America the right to join a trade union is guaranteed by the Political Constitution as a safeguard of each individual's freedom, except that the Chilean Constitution does not contain the same legal limitation contemplated in Sec. 7

(paragraph 157) of the report whereby workers may enjoy that freedom "except in so far as this right is limited by an agreement making trade union affiliation a mandatory

requirement for employment".

In Chile, on the other hand, there is an absolute liberty to join a trade union, federation or confederation or withdraw from such organizations, and this right is to be exercised in the manner laid down by the law and cannot be limited by any legal or contractual provisions or by the decision of the competent or judicial authorities.

It should be pointed out that, broadly speaking, collective will (that widens or restricts rights) seems to prevail over individual freedom in the U.S. legislation.

Concerning the action of the Directorate of Labor, it is interesting to note that its supervisory responsibility differs entirely from that of the Inland Revenue Service. Indeed, whereas the former is to ascertain that the union dues paid by the members are correctly used, the latter has nothing to say or supervise with respect to such use, limiting itself to protect the State's interests through the payment of the appropriate taxes when an income is generated.

- (b) Members' dues. Similar restrictions exist in the United States of America and Chile as regards the use of trade union contributions or members' dues. In Chile, trade union objectives contemplated especially in the union's by-laws

and generally in the legislation. It is pointed out that in the report before us no mention is made of other financing apart from the "trade union contributions". In Chile at least, trade union assets and therefore members' dues are protected among other income. It is not possible, therefore, to make a distinction between these dues and other income in order to dedicate the former in their entirety or in part to "political contributions" as authorized in the United States of America on condition that members "are not opposed to such political practices or ideas". This distinction, that would normally appear as an expression of personal freedom and a deep-rooted sense of property with respect to the contributors, is irrelevant under the Chilean legislation which considers that, once paid, dues lawfully change ownership and become merged into union assets together with other contributions and income (except for taxpaying purposes, as already explained). In this way, a worker who wishes to contribute to political or other bodies is entirely free to do so, but not by the means of his union dues.

2. MEANS OF FINANCIAL SUPERVISION

- (a) Financial supervision: as indicated in the report on the U.S. legislation trade union organizations are to submit a

yearly financial report using specified forms; there are no compulsory accounting systems and they are to maintain their records for five years. Also, workers may revise such records at any time.

It should be noted in this connection that under the Chilean labor laws only trade union organizations with 250 affiliates or more are to prepare a yearly balance sheet. Nor does our labor legislation contemplate specific provisions concerning particular accounting systems. The reason for the above is that, presumably as in the United States, such accounting and taxation provisions are of general enforcement and do not refer to labor in particular. Thus, in Chile at least, trade unions like any natural or artificial person must comply with their taxpaying obligations if they obtained a taxable income during a given year. However, this requirement was made simpler in the case of trade unions with less than 250 affiliates, that have only to keep a ledger with their assets and expenditure as well as an inventory book.

As regards supervision, its responsibility is vested primarily in the workers who are members of the trade union, in the Account Revision Committee of the trade union itself and finally in the Directorate of Labor, without prejudice to the general authority of the Inland Revenue Service over all taxpayers, as already explained.

In this connection, however, although this is not a labor-related matter, it is important to recall that a trade union's more direct and main source of financing is its members' dues, whether ordinary or extraordinary, and that such dues are not considered as income and therefore not taxable, thus restricting considerably the Inland Revenue Service's competence in this field.

3. CERTIFYING THE ELECTION OF TRADE UNION OFFICERS

In this connection the report on the United States legislation dwells upon the proceedings to be followed in trade union elections, after insisting that such elections are not subject to restrictions. It would appear that the report under consideration saw as a "restriction" the obligation to give an account of the election results.

There are some interesting differences between the two legislations.

- 3.1 The two legislations differ with respect to circumstances under which elections are to be held and the union posts which are to be filled through elections. Thus, in the United States it is not necessary to be elected a union officer in order to occupy "managerial" posts "where the

responsibility is to implement the decisions of principle and administrative guidelines set by union executives". The report is not sufficiently clear on this point. In Chile, every union post previously requires an election, except as regards jobs or responsibilities that are to be performed as the result of a contract of employment or for an agreed salary: in other words, the incumbent has to be recruited by the union or be employed by it under its orders or authority. In the United States of America, no direct election is required in the following cases: to fill vacancies occurring in between regular elections; in the case of officials appointed by a union on a temporary basis; officials appointed in newly established or merged organizations, until a normal election can be held. In Chile these exceptions are duly regulated, precisely so as not to create any restrictions to the rank and file's inalienable right to elect the management that they deem most representative.

- 3.3 In Chile there are no primary elections for sorting out the candidates who will run in the final elections. All workers are candidates in the basic unions, and in federations and confederations all officers enjoy the same possibility to be nominated for chairman, vice chairman, etc.
- 3.4 The certification of the result of an election by a warranting officer who has to be present when such election

is taking place so as precisely to be able to testify of its results, is not a control or restriction, but rather a guarantee with respect to the persons who are actually elected and the number of votes obtained by each candidate so that in the event that any of them is unable to take office, he may be substituted by the candidate who obtained the next relative majority.

4. LEVEL AT WHICH COLLECTIVE BARGAINING TAKES PLACE.

According to the report, collective bargaining may take place at any level in the United States. The report says that "the certifying of the level at which collective bargaining takes place is left to the judgement of the National Industrial Relations Board". It is further specified that despite the Board's discretionary power, which reviews each case separately, no employer or trade union may be obliged to be a party to a bargaining unit. In the light of this clarification, it is to be concluded that the fundamental difference with respect to the same employer is that in Chile there is no body that determines at what level bargaining is to take place in an undertaking: this is left to the parties' decision. As an example, two or more unions in an undertaking may bargain their collective contracts separately or associate in order to do so.

What cannot be done in Chile is to strengthen bargaining through the union of various employers or trade unions, or both, belonging to different undertakings. The difference, however, is not so great if one considers that in the United States of America it is not possible either --according to the report-- to compel an employer or a union to bargain together with other employers or unjustified refusal is sufficient to prevent association, thus showing that bargaining jointly with others does not always guarantee the best results.

In Chile, on the contrary, bargaining was determined to take place at the undertaking level without the possibility of association so as to respect any actual or supposed difference that may exist or likely to arise in future between the parties to collective bargaining. The responsibility is held, only in part, by the National Industrial Relations Board, which has to bear in mind principles in any way similar to those that inspired lawmakers in Chile when enacting Legislative Decree Number 2,758.

The report further mentions that the Board may not certify a single person as a bargaining unit but that a union and an undertaking may bargain for the benefit of a single employee. The same occurs in Chile where a

single person bargains individually and there is no objection to a union exerting pressure to obtain benefits for one or more of its affiliates, either in the framework of a collective bargaining process or outside it.

5. LENGTH OF STRIKE

5.1 Strike duration. According to the report, the United States legislation does not provide any time-limit for strikes. Having clarified this, however, it goes on to analyze in a second chapter the consequences resulting from the continuance of a strike. As our understanding is that the question concerning duration is related to the consequences of such duration (since it would be otherwise meaningless) we could answer that in Chile there is not time-limit to a strike either. In fact, if we forget the consequences, there are no legal provisions in Chile setting a minimum or maximum duration for strikes.

5.2 Conservation of jobs during a strike.

In Chile there is only one type of strikes, in the framework of collective bargaining, covering the two types of strikes existing in the United States of America: unfair labor practices and disputes over economic conditions.

In both countries workers on strike may perform services for another employer without losing their jobs. But here indeed there is a difference: in Chile it is not possible to rely on the principle of equivalent or regular employment to "come to the conclusion" that the worker on strike who found another job has in fact resigned. A worker will resign on his own accord and may not be prevented from resuming his former duties just because the job he got in the meantime is akin to the job he held when the strike began.

Another basic difference is the "list of preferences" concerning the workers to be re-employed after participating in lawful strikes in the United States of America. This difference rests on two aspects:

- (a) In Chile the employer need not "recruit" the striker again, because his contract of employment remained valid for all legal purposes. It is the work relation that was suspended.
- (b) There is no preferential treatment since the worker's rights and duties resulting from his contract of employment in force were never lost. In Chile as in the United States of America unlawful strikes are not protected or sheltered by the legislation.

5.3 Arbitration. The report maintains that "in the private sector at least arbitration is subject to agreement and it is for the law courts to decide the advisability to compel the parties to submit to arbitration in compliance with the agreement they entered into". Generally speaking, in Chile, too, the private sector cannot be obliged to submit to arbitration the disputes that may arise. However, if the parties agree to submit to arbitration any disputes that may be withdrawn from the competence of the law courts, their decision will prevail and the courts may not ratify or disapprove the parties conclusions for reasons of convenience.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, in Chile a few public utilities undertakings or where the stoppage of work seriously impairs the population's health or supplies, or results in serious damage to the country's economy or security have to submit to arbitration any disputes arising within a collective bargaining process. Thus arbitration will be resorted to only in so far as disputes arise between the parties. In other words, this procedure is similar to that in force in the public sector of the United States of America as regards the compulsory nature of arbitration.

6. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND UNION AFFILIATION OF WORKERS IN STATE-OWNED BODIES.

In Chile as in the United States civil servants (of the

federal Government) may not vote a strike.

The report mentions in very general terms that, with the exception of the prohibition referred to above, such employees may bargain collectively, but it does not specify what categories of civil servants are covered, of the various kinds that exist in Chile. Consequently, the U.S. system is in part like ours. In Chile it is possible to bargain collectively and establish trade unions in State-owned undertakings (ENAP, State Bank, etc.) but in some of them it is not possible to call a strike within collective bargaining processes. On the other hand, collective bargaining may not take place in State-owned services and public bodies that have not the status of undertakings.

7. STRATEGIC INDUSTRIES

The report mentions the President's authority to discontinue a strike or lockout in a strategic undertaking if it would cause serious consequences for the country.

In Chile, apart from a similar authority (Art. 65 of Legislative Decree Number 2,758) there are some provisions of a general nature such as Article 6 of Legislative Decree Number 2,758 empowering the Minister of National Defense and the Minister of Economy, Development and Reconstruction to

issue a resolution determining "strategic" undertakings for a one year period.

THE DEMOCRACY GANG

By Morton Kondracke

There is an important job that needs to be filled in American politics: that of leader and chief spokesman for the democracy movement. This is a well-meaning but disorganized collection of intellectuals, officeholders, pundits, and activists—some liberal, some conservative, many neoconservative—who have a ready answer to the question: “If the cold war really ends, what’s to be the purpose of American foreign policy?” Their answer is: “To help democracy spread around the world.” But they (all right, we) lack the political power to make it more than a rhetorical priority on the nation’s agenda. President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker, for example, will hail the idea of democracy in their speeches, but they have only pittances for Poland and Hungary and are more worried about offending Deng Xiaoping than they are eager to champion the students of Tiananmen Square. They are pragmatists, not pioneers.

The democracy movement is not a collection of woolly Wilsonians. It contains people who are wise and prudent, as well as idealistic. What the movement lacks is a leader who will make democracy-promotion his chief political activity.

The membership includes theologians such as Michael Novak and Richard John Neuhaus; columnists such as Charles Krauthammer and Ben Wattenberg; Republican politicians such as John McCain, Richard Lugar, Henry Hyde, Jonathan Miller, Nancy Kassebaum, and John Porter, among others; Democratic politicians such as Stephen Solarz, Lee Hamilton, Chuck Robb, Edward Kennedy, Bill Bradley, and Dante Fascell, among others. Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale are part of it. It has allies in the Bush administration, including Bernard Aronson, the Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America; Robert Zoellick, Counselor at the State Department; State Department human rights chief Richard Schifter; and, believe it or not, Vice President Dan Quayle, who seems to mean it when he delivers democracy lectures in Central America and Asia. And there are organizations that support it, including Human Rights Watch, Freedom House, the National Endowment for Democracy, and the AFL-CIO, which sustained Solidarity in Poland when no one else thought it could survive.

The movement lost its last real leader when Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan resigned the post ten years

ago to secure his re-election in New York and then got interested in economics and finance. He’s still a member of the movement but is no longer out in front. Ronald Reagan, with democracy movement moles putting inspiring words in his mouth, made do as a leader, but his real purpose was to bring the Soviet Union to heel, and democracy was a convenient banner under which to do it. In the Philippines, Reagan might have supported Ferdinand Marcos right over a cliff, but the democracy moles (including Paul Wolfowitz, now an Undersecretary of Defense, and former State Department human rights chief Elliott Abrams) had decided that continued Marcos rule would lead to a Communist victory and got Reagan to maneuver him out of office.

Outside the United States is where the real heroes of the democracy movement live. Just to call part of the roll is to justify the movement, whose *raison d’être* is to help such people as these to succeed (or, in some cases, simply to survive): Lech Walesa, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and the rest of Solidarity; Feng Lizhi, Chen Yizi, and the rest of China’s democracy movement; Andrei Sakharov, *Glasnost* editor Sergei Grigoryants, and the Democratic Union in the Soviet Union; Václav Havel and Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia; the New Forum in East Germany; Guillermo Endarra, Guillermo Ford, and Ricardo Arias and others in the anti-Noriega civic opposition in Panama; writer-politician Mario Vargas Llosa and capitalist theoretician Hernando DeSoto in Peru; Corazon Aquino in the Philippines; Oscar Arias in Costa Rica; Violeta Chamorro and the rest of the internal opposition in Nicaragua; Helen Suzman and Desmond Tutu in South Africa; and the anti-Pinochet democrats in Chile. There are thousands of others in countries that are newly free and not yet free.

The American branch of the democracy movement believes that a primary purpose of American foreign policy should be to aid such people with money, political support, technical advice, diplomatic intervention, military assistance (in El Salvador and the Philippines, for example), and, on rare occasions (the case of Panama comes to mind), direct or covert use of force. They think this is true whether or not the Soviet threat is lifting. In fact, some of them (I mean, us) think it was the main idea behind fighting communism in the first place: to secure liberty for everyone, not just ourselves. This is

not just a moral crusade, but a matter of America's self-interest. Democracies don't go to war with one another. Capitalist democracies have the best chance to create and share the wealth that it takes to sustain internal peace.

But there are powerful political and intellectual forces in America that, if they do not overtly oppose the very idea of spreading democracy, at least put it at the bottom of America's policy agenda. The most voluble is the presently tiny "paleo-conservative" Fortress America movement headed by columnist Patrick Buchanan, who argued in a recent debate with neoconservative Wattenberg on the PBS show I moderate, "American Interests," that "this Mission Democracy thing" is "messianic globaloney," and that to "subvert governments through the National Endowment for Democracy ... is an absurdity."

According to Buchanan, "It is not the business of the United States to dictate to 150 countries in the world what kind of government they ought to have. ... My view is, leave the Chileans to solve their own problems. We have enough enemies in this world without making any more. ... And if Poland tried to establish a king, and they have an independent country, I'll cheer the king." Buchanan indicated he wouldn't even mind if Poland became a fascist dictatorship. He is usually adamant about using force against Communists, but opposes doing so in Panama. In this, powerful elements of the Bush administration—especially in the Pentagon—completely agree.

Buchanan has lots of allies, right, left, and center. Among his fellow paleo-cons, the *National Review* frequently prints isolationist tracts by Claes Ryn of Catholic University, Tom Bethell, and Joseph Sobran, and so does the *Wall Street Journal's* editorial page. The *Journal* also provides a sounding board for libertarian isolationists such as Doug Bandow of the Cato Institute who think that what happens in the rest of the world is none of our business, so long as America has trading partners. Bandow and others of his persuasion, including

Professor Earl Ravenal of Georgetown University, forget that to the extent that the Third World is poor and benighted, it can't trade.

Also on the right, some neoconservatives (such as philosopher Irving Kristol and defense expert Richard Perle) have long wanted to pull away from Europe (Perle doesn't like the Japanese much either) and adopt a unilateralist stance against the Soviet Union, pursuing American interests regardless of anyone else's opinion. Now they are augmented by the "End of History" school, which holds that our side has won the cold war and that Western-style liberal democracy is indisputably the wave of the future. The corollary is that, without Com-

mies to fight, there's no reason to exercise ourselves about the Third World anymore.

Spokesmen for the democracy movement such as Wattenberg, NED President Carl Gershman, Freedom House's Penn Kemble, and others argue the opposite case: to help democrats in Communist nations is to make sure that the cold war really ends our way. They agree that most people in the world want democratic government, as demonstrated in Korea, China, the Philippines, and Panama. But, they say, in lots of places people and governments still need American help to get democracy and keep it.

In the political center, probably the most numerous group of would-be isolationists are ordinary members of Congress who, when the Soviet threat seems past, will want to slash defense outlays, balance the federal budget, and, with whatever money is available, expand domestic programs, not foreign aid. Representative David Obey, chairman of the House subcommittee that oversees the foreign aid budget, is an example. He says he would spend more money abroad, but only if President Bush raises taxes. Bush won't, and so there is only \$15 million for NED, \$319 million for Poland, and \$25 million for Hungary. Walesa wants \$10 billion for Poland. The democracy movement doesn't want to give it away without strings, but to offer it as an incentive for the devel-

I'm for Lindsay *Alexander M. Bickel*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

July 3, 1965, 35 cents

Globalism

*Hans J. Morgenthau on
L. B. J.'s Moral Crusade*

COVER, JULY 3, 1965

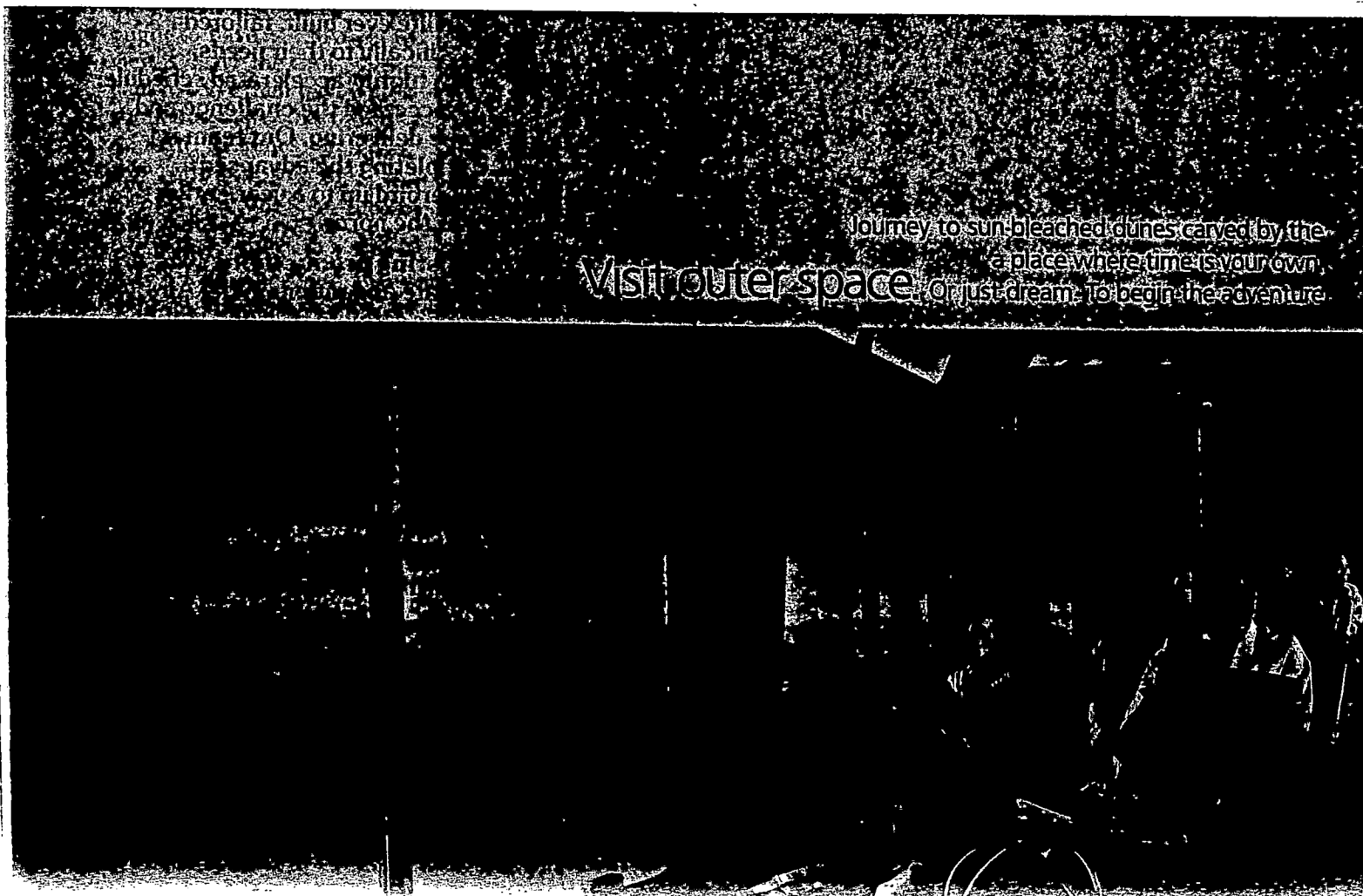
opment of fully democratic institutions and a market economy. Without a more powerful democracy movement, that won't happen.

To the center-left the democracy movement has adversaries among neoliberals, protectionists, and "realists." Further along the spectrum, there are left-wing isolationists, left-wing internationalists, and the far left. Neoliberals (whose guru is Charles Peters of the *Washington Monthly*) seem bored by foreign policy and regard democracy promotion as some sort of neocon boondoggle. To their credit, though, they are not protectionists and do want to invest in a more competitive America. Protectionists (with House Majority Leader Dick Gephardt in the lead) want to punish our strategic allies because they are successful trade competitors. The trade barriers they'd erect would not only lose us friends, but would lock out the products of poor Third World countries and keep them poor.

The "realist" school—exemplified by writers James Chace, Ronald Steel, Christopher Layne, Alan Tonelson, and Paul Kennedy—takes a position that begins as merely anti-interventionist but often ends up isolationist. The argument is that America, trying to act as an imperial power, has become overextended and needs to pull back and repair its domestic economy. This school has received a major intellectual boost in a book titled *Barbarian Sentiments: How the American Century Ends* (Hill and Wang), by *New Yorker* writer William Pfaff, that's just been nominated for a National Book Award.

Pfaff, who lives in Paris, worries that post-cold war America is about to revert to its pre-World War II isolationism and leave Europe in turmoil as the Soviet empire collapses. "We are ready to despise the world again, as we did in the past, our friends and clients perhaps more than our official Soviet enemies," he says. But he also offers a rationale for realists and isolationists. He claims, using arguments rich in anthropology and history, that Wilsonianism (in both its original and its contemporary versions) is based on the false premise that the rest of the world wants to be like America and could become so if it wanted to be. He thinks that disillusionment with efforts to bring about the impossible—in Vietnam, Iran, and Central America—will produce the isolationism he fears. He argues that America should stick with Europe and drop the rest of the world. Some of his colleagues would like to drop Europe, too.

Heading further left, there are: liberal isolationists such as Representatives Patricia Schroeder and Gary Studds who (like Buchanan) want to bring American forces home as soon as possible and don't want to spend much on NED or AID either; and liberal internationalists such as Senator Tom Harkin and columnist Mary McGrory who practice selective democracy promotion, cheering when we intervene against the government in Chile, but balking when we do so in Nicaragua. And then there's the left, typified by the Institute for Policy Studies and the *Nation*, which seems to think that America and its works are the scourge of the earth,



Journey to sun-bleached dunes carved by the
a place where time is your own
Visit outer space or just dream to begin the adventure

and that we should withdraw and allow "progressive forces" to prevail.

Clearly, Pfaff and other realists have it partly right: some places are far from ready for democracy. Some may never be. Still, even in the hardest places—Syria, for example, or sub-Saharan Africa—the United States can provide scholarships, help organize neighborhood associations and the other building blocks of civic society, and (in Michael Novak's phrase) "spread the sacred texts" of democracy, beginning with *The Federalist*. Novak quotes one Polish reformer as saying that "the most important thinker in Eastern Europe right now is James Madison."

In many other places, the ground is more fertile. Spain and Portugal have become democracies in recent years; Portugal, especially, did so with U.S. and West German help. Chile is on its way, with U.S. election-organizing assistance. Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and the Philippines clearly want democracy, but need help to preserve it. Debt reduction is one way that the United States can help. Another is inculcation in the military of respect for civilian rule, and here U.S. military trainers can help. In addition, the United States can supply what Kemble calls "liberation technology"—fax machines, computers, photocopiers, and satellite dishes—to democratic groups. Buchanan is right about this: sometimes such aid is subversive of dictatorial governments. But the United States is not forcing anything on other people. It is aiding them in getting their governments to let them be heard.

Yet another contribution is training in economic reform to permit small entrepreneurs to incorporate and obtain credit. In Hong Kong, as DeSoto points out, it costs just \$35 to form a small corporation, and the bureaucracy must process incorporation papers within three days, so the island has 27,000 corporations and is thriving economically. In Latin America, he says, it costs an average of \$3,000 in fees and bribes and takes an average of a year, so there is usually stagnation.

By itself, of course, economic reform will not ensure democracy. Pinochet gave Chile a prosperous economy, but political freedom had to be wrested from him through internal and external political pressure. To save Hong Kong from losing its freedom when it reverts to Chinese control in 1997 may require intense diplomatic pressure, the use of economic and political sanctions, or even the threat of force.

Even if the Soviet Union ceases to be a threat, the spread of democracy and prosperity—or simply understanding and respect for pluralism—can reduce other menaces facing the world: ethnic hatred, religious fanaticism, and terrorism. A democracy movement will not eliminate such threats in our lifetime; we will continue to need armed forces, and sometimes we will have to use them. But America needs to stay the leader of the world's democracy movement, and for that, the movement itself needs a clear-speaking, clear-thinking leader. Bill Bradley, Al Gore—George Bush, too—your telephone is ringing. •

wind. Crystal blue lakes. Rugged mountain tops that touch the sky and your imagination. Discover
To roam or relax. Dine surrounded by ever-changing scenery. At night, stargaze.
call your travel agent or Amtrak at 1-800-USA-RAIL. And take a trip that's out of this world.

**ALL
ABOARD
AMTRAK**



Year of the Blue-Collar Guy

BY STEVE OLSON

While the learned are attaching appropriate labels to the 1980s and speculating on what the 1990s will bring, I would like to steal 1989 for my own much maligned group and declare it "the year of the blue-collar guy (BCG)." BCGs have been portrayed as beer-drinking, big-bellied, bigoted rednecks who dress badly. Wearing a suit to a cement-finishing job wouldn't be too bright. Watching my tie go around a motor shaft followed by my neck is not the last thing I want to see in this world. But, more to the point, our necks are too big and our arms and shoulders are too awesome to fit suits well without expensive tailoring. Suits are made for white-collar guys.

But we need big bellies as ballast to stay on the bar stool while we're drinking beer. And our necks are red from the sun and we are somewhat bigoted. But aren't we all? At least our bigotry is open and honest and worn out front like a tattoo. White-collar people are bigoted, too. But it's disguised as the pat on the back that holds you back: "You're not good enough so you need affirmative action." BCGs aren't smart enough to be that cynical. I never met a BCG who didn't respect an honest day's work and a job well done—no matter who did it.

True enough, BCGs aren't perfect. But, I believe this: we are America's last true romantic heroes. When some 21st-century Louis L'Amour writes about this era he won't eulogize the greedy Wall Street insider. He won't commend the narrow-shouldered, wide-hipped lawyers with six-digit unearned incomes doing the same work women can do. His wide-shouldered heroes will be plucked from the ranks of the blue-collar guy. They are the last vestige of the manly world where strength, skill and hard work are still valued.

To some extent our negative ratings are our own fault. While we were building the world we live in, white-collar types were sitting on their ever-widening butts redefining the values we live by. One symbol of America's opulent wealth is the number of people who can sit and ponder and comment and write without producing a usable product or skill. Hey, get a real job—make something—then talk. These talkers are the guys we drove from the playgrounds into the libraries when we were young and now for 20 years or more we have endured the revenge of the nerds.

BCGs fidgeted our way out of the classroom and into jobs where, it seemed, the only limit to our income was the limit of our physical strength and energy. A co-worker described a BCG as "a guy who is always doing things that end in the letter 'n'—you know—huntin', fishin', workin'..." My wise friend is talking energy! I have seen men on the job

hand-nail 20 square of shingles (that's 6,480 nails) or more a day, day after day, for weeks. At the same time, they were remodeling their houses, raising children and coaching Little League. I've seen crews frame entire houses in a day—day after day. I've seen guys finish concrete until 11 p.m., go out on a date, then get up at 6 a.m. and do it all over again the next day.

These are amazing feats of strength. There should be stadiums full of screaming fans for these guys. I saw a 40-year-old man neatly fold a 350-pound piece of rubber roofing, put it on his shoulder and, alone, carry it up a ladder and deposit it on a roof. Nobody acknowledged it because the event was too common. One day at noon this same fellow wrestled a 22-year-old college summer worker. In the prime of his life, the college kid was a 6-foot-3, 190-pound body-builder and he was out of his league. He was on his back to stay in 90 seconds flat.

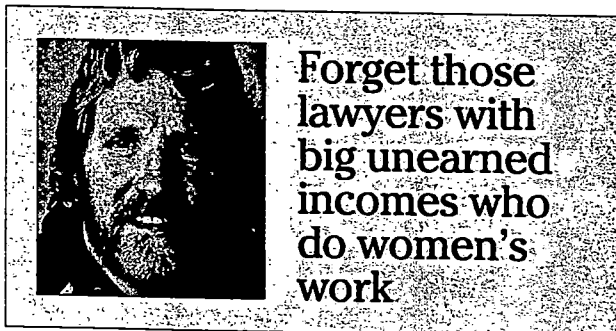
Great skilled work force: Mondays are tough on any job. But in our world this pain is eased by stories of weekend adventure. While white-collar types are debating the value of reading over watching TV, BCGs are doing stuff. I have honest to God heard these things on Monday mornings about BCG weekends: "I tore out a wall and added a room," "I built a garage," "I went walleye fishing Saturday and pheasant hunting Sunday," "I played touch football both days" (in January), "I went skydiving," "I went to the sports show and wrestled the bear." Pack a good novel into these weekends.

My purpose is not so much to put down white-collar people as to stress the importance of blue-collar people to this country. Lawyers, politicians and bureaucrats are necessary parts of the process, but this great skilled work force is

so taken for granted it is rarely seen as the luxury it truly is. Our plumbing works, our phones work and repairs are made as quickly as humanly possible. I don't think this is true in all parts of the world. But this blue-collar resource is becoming endangered. Being a tradesman is viewed with such disdain these days that most young people I know treat the trades like a temporary summer job. I've seen young guys take minimum-wage jobs just so they can wear suits. It is as if any job without a dress code is a dead-end job. This is partly our own fault. We even tell our own sons, "Don't be like me, get a job people respect." Blue-collar guys ought to brag more, even swagger a little. We should drive our families past the latest job site and say, "That house was a piece of junk, and now it's the best one on the block. I did that." Nobody will respect us if we don't respect ourselves.

Our work is hard, hot, wet, cold and always dirty. It is also often very satisfying. Entailing the use of both brain and body there is a product—a physical result of which to be proud. We have fallen from your roofs, died under heavy equipment and been entombed in your dams. We have done honest, dangerous work. Our skills and energy and strength have transformed lines on paper into physical reality. We are this century's Renaissance men. America could do worse than to honor us. We still do things the old-fashioned way, and we have earned the honor.

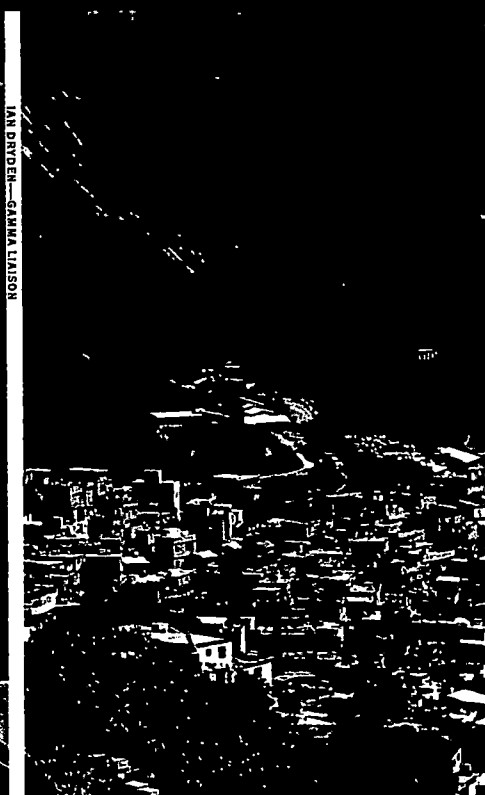
Olson, a construction worker, lives in Madison, Wis.



Forget those lawyers with big unearned incomes who do women's work



MEXICO Inocencio Arenas considers himself fortunate since many others have no houses



BRAZIL Denizens of Rio's largest slum have a

Business

A Chasm of Misery

Latin America's rich and poor have become separate, wary societies. Unless leaders bridge the gap, the countries risk violent upheaval

BY FREDERICK UNGEHEUER

At the gold-and-white portals of the opulent high-rise at 2095 Libertador Avenue in Buenos Aires, men with pistols bulging under their open vests flank the doorway. Before anyone is allowed into the building, the guards check via walkie-talkie with the building's most prominent resident: Argentina's new Ambassador-at-Large, Amalia Lacroze de Fortabat. She is the country's richest woman, with an estimated net worth of more than \$1 billion. "I hate bodyguards," she apologizes, as she escorts a visitor into the elegance of her Louis XVI salon in a duplex apartment on the uppermost floors. "I hired them only after some people tried to kidnap my teenage grandson two years ago." The physical risks of being rich keep rising in Argentina, as they do in any of the debt-strapped, inflation-ridden countries of Latin America. But the rich keep getting richer.

And the poor? In the bleak and bitter outskirts of Buenos Aires, thousands of

people stand in line every morning, eyes glazed by hunger, clamoring for government handouts. The residents of most lower-class neighborhoods have had to fend for themselves. In the city's northern barrio of San Fernando, Ever Ponce, 30, and his brother Miguel, 37, work as shelf clerks in a supermarket and try to make ends meet with second jobs as painters at a private airport. Hard-pressed as they are, in recent months they helped organize a soup kitchen for their hunger-crazed neighbors, lining up donations of food from local companies. The project fed 300 people a day, most of them children. Parents were too embarrassed to come and sent their children with pots to fill.

Every country has its rich and poor, but in Latin America the gap between them is especially vast and is growing worse. The richest 20% of families enjoy a more extravagant life-style than that of the upper class in such industrialized countries as the U.S. and Japan. On the other side is an enormous group, 60% to 80% of the population, whose situation is

approaching the despair of sub-Saharan Africa or Bangladesh. Of Argentina's 32 million citizens, close to 10 million are below the poverty line (a family income of less than \$100 a month) and an additional 15 million hover just above it.

The plight of Latin America's middle and lower classes is a radical reversal from the sunny days of the 1960s and early '70s, when the region's rapid economic growth offered the hope of broad-based prosperity. When the countries' heavy debt burdens triggered inflation and stagnation in the 1980s, most Latin American families began sliding rapidly into hardship. This year Mexico's annual inflation rate is running at 17% (down from 52% last year), Argentina's, 3,500% (up from 388%) and Brazil's, 1,600% (up from 934%). Perversely, the rich have helped perpetuate the economic malaise by such tactics as sending their money to safe havens abroad and dodging taxes that could help ease domestic deficits.

The economic polarization has afflicted all three of Latin America's largest and most industrialized nations: Mexico, Bra-



closeup view of their wealthy neighbors



ARGENTINA The country's richest woman complains that she can't find a good maid or TV repairman

zil and Argentina. New Presidents in Mexico and Argentina have launched economic reforms that offer some hope. But Brazil, heading toward presidential elections on Nov. 15, has the potential for a social explosion more devastating than the one that hit Argentina last June, when 14 were killed in food riots. Brazil has the world's eighth largest economy, but the gap between its rich and poor is one of the widest of any country.

The economic forces at work in Latin America can be seen graphically in the lives of the two societies. Argentina's Fortabat fortune—based on a cement monopoly, a chain of radio stations, oil companies and real estate—keeps growing even in the stalled economy. In the 13 years since her husband died, boasts Ambassador Fortabat, "I've doubled the value of what I inherited." After a decade of inflation, families that converted their wealth into U.S. dollars have increased their buying power. "Cattle now cost only \$15 a head," she explains. "That's no more than a pair of shoes. I'm buying more." Her new purchases will join a herd of 185,000 steers and cows on 17 ranches covering an area twice the size of New York City in Argentina's lush Pampas farmlands. Unlike most of her rich compatriots, Fortabat is a philanthropist. After last June's food riots, she quickly responded to a call from the Roman Catholic Church to help three middle-class Buenos Aires neighborhoods establish temporary soup kitchens.

In some places, the rich and poor societies exist cheek by jowl. From Rio de Janeiro's Rocinha, the city's largest hillside

slum, the façades of gleaming luxury apartment houses on the next hill seem close enough to touch. Maria das Dores, 29, works as a maid in one of those apartments by day but lives amid the stench of garlic and urine in one of Rocinha's narrow, rain-rutted streets by night. For the third time a man has left her alone and pregnant, and now she must support a wide-eyed, five-year-old daughter with shiny pigtails. Her first child died of polio. She would like to be rendered infertile, "but the doctor refused," she says, "because I can't pay for the operation."

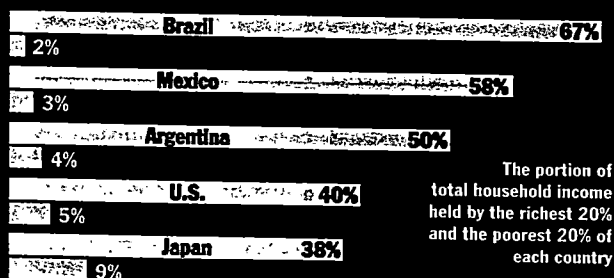
A poster on the waiting-room door at

generation of stunted citizens. In countries with abundant agricultural production, the hyperinflated cost of food is all the more oppressive. In the posh Buenos Aires residential quarter known as Palermo Chico, the Conde Roquefort delicatessen has on display delicious, yellow slices of Swiss Gruyère cheese the size of sofa cushions. In another part of town, hundreds of *marginales* in tattered clothes can be seen rummaging through the city's proliferating garbage dumps.

Poverty now embraces even those with skills and jobs. In Mexico City electrician Inocencio Arenas, 58, a widower, shares a bedroom under the thin corrugated-plastic roof of his cinder-block shack with two of his adult daughters. He remembers thinking, when Mexico's economic woes began in the early 1980s, "The crisis is there for the lazy, for those who do not want to work. But I was wrong. The value of money has shrunk." The difference between people like him and the rich, he says, "is that they have money that reproduces."

Wealthy Latin Americans have developed elaborate techniques for keeping ahead of inflation and even manage to profit from it. They typically convert their currency—pesos, cruzados or australes—into U.S. dollars, because they are a better store of value. Then they invest or deposit their money abroad, where it will be safe from taxation and political disruptions. In the U.S. alone, Latin Americans have invested an estimated \$326 billion, more than Brazil, Argentina and Mexico owe their foreign creditors. This flight of money saps countries of their investment capital and cripples

HAVES VS. HAVE-NOTS



The portion of total household income held by the richest 20% and the poorest 20% of each country

Source: World Development Report

the slum's only medical station, supported by a private U.S. foundation, warns of an outbreak of leprosy. "Everyone's suffering here," the nurse explains, "but we all have views. We see their mansions, but they don't see us." The most frequent health problem in the slum is respiratory infection brought on by household environmental problems like leaky kerosene stoves. The second worst problem is high blood pressure related to the stress of poverty.

Most worrisome to doctors is widespread malnutrition, which is producing a

ples their ability to pay back foreign loans.

To stem the outflow, Latin American governments are forced to offer yields on local bank accounts and Treasury certificates beyond the dreams of the most avaricious bond junkie in the U.S. Brazilians have so little faith in their own government that it must offer Treasury bonds with a maturity of one day. Brazil uses these securities, which carry an annual return of 60% on top of inflation, to reborrow \$60 billion every day, or roughly two-thirds of its domestic debt. The fat yields are a windfall for the rich. But by simply expanding the money supply to pay for such costly borrowing, the governments have fanned inflation and sent the buying power of the middle and lower class into the abyss.

The downward spiral feeds on itself. The big Latin countries find it difficult to keep their wealth productively invested at home in part because their élites are uneasy about the deep split in their societies and fear they may eventually lose the upper hand. Economists accuse the

Latin ruling class of selfishness and irresponsibility. "In any country that has suffered the kind of economic distortions and hyperinflation we experienced here, something has to be wrong with its upper class. Maybe ours became rich too quickly," says Roberto Alemann, 70, a Buenos Aires newspaper publisher and former Economics Minister under two of Argentina's military dictators.

Latin America's two largest economies may have reached a turning point. In Mexico, President Carlos Salinas de Gortari has cracked down on Treasury-robbing corruption, cut deficits and inflation, and reached a breakthrough agreement to reduce by 35% the \$52 billion the country owes foreign banks. In Argentina, President Carlos Menem has started to trim the federal bureaucracy, and promises to privatize money-losing government businesses. In Brazil the next few weeks may determine whether the country binds its wounds or erupts in class conflict. Says Finance Minister Mailson de Nóbrega: "There is no doubt that if we suc-

ceed in electing a President with the right message and the support to make the necessary reforms, Brazil could turn around in three to six months."

The countries of Latin America will have to reach some kind of social consensus if they hope to close the miserable chasm between haves and have-nots. Latin America's élites, which hold the majority of their countries' domestic debts, should stand ready to give the same debt relief they are asking of foreign banks. Moreover, they will have to bring some of their money home from abroad and accept more efficient collection of taxes. The countries will have to do away with their inflation-indexing mechanisms, which means that the working poor will have to live on lower real incomes, at least for a time. If Latin America fails to reach any such social contract, the region will become increasingly uninhabitable, even for the rich who have tried so hard to insulate themselves from the miserable reality. —*With reporting by Andrea Dabrowski/Mexico City, Laura López/Rio de Janeiro and Gail Scriven/Buenos Aires*

The Harvard Debt Doctor's Controversial Cure

To Jeffrey Sachs, the glaring gap between rich and poor in Latin America is a major cause of the debt crisis that has racked the region. The boyish Harvard economist, an adviser to debt-ridden countries from Bolivia to Poland, blames wealthy Latin élites for dodging taxes and arranging self-serving subsidies that have "sucked the blood" from many governments, forcing them to borrow heavily.

That blunt diagnosis is typical of Sachs, 34, an economics wunderkind who was a tenured professor at 29 and has become a champion of debt relief for developing countries. He first gained renown for his advice to Bolivia, which slashed its inflation rate from more than 20,000% in 1985 to 15% today. When Sachs visited Argentina last June, talk-show hosts rushed to schedule interviews. In a single hectic week last month, Sachs was in Peru and Brazil and then jetted to Warsaw, where he advises the new government.

Sachs' message is simple: debtors must reform their economies by methods that include collecting more taxes from the élite, while U.S. banks must forgive at least half their \$59 billion of loans to Latin borrowers. "I don't believe we should move in small steps," says the economist.

Such advice has often placed Sachs in a cross fire between U.S. bankers, who oppose large-scale debt forgiveness, and populist foreign critics, who resent his calls for fiscal austerity. Walter Wriston, the former chairman of Citicorp, whose Citibank unit has more than \$8 billion in outstanding



Sachs: "I don't believe we should move in small steps"

Latin American loans, calls Sachs "a paid flack for the countries of Latin America." Wriston argues that widespread loan write-offs would prevent Latin countries from receiving new credit. At the same time, Julio Bravo, finance secretary of the Bolivian Worker's Central Union, charges that as a result of Sachs' advice, "salaries have decreased, the firing of workers has increased, and policies respond to the interests of the business sector."

Sachs, whose work in Latin America is underwritten by the United Nations, responds that "if one person can be attacked from so many directions, there hasn't been enough contact between sides" in the debt crisis. "Much of my work," he notes, "is just sitting quietly in a back room analyzing data with members of the government." Sachs did that on a 1986 trip to Bolivia, when he arrived to find that the Planning Minister had resigned and the government was ready to drop its anti-inflation program. But after examining the latest figures, Sachs argued that the program was sound and persuaded leaders to stick with it.

In the same vein, Sachs believes that the Latin debt crisis will eventually ease. He considers a plan that Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady unveiled last spring, which calls for limited debt reduction, a modest but encouraging step. "There has been a lot of progress," Sachs says. "The thinking is much more realistic."

—*By John Greenwald*
With reporting by Elizabeth Love/La Paz

desaparecidos v. Amos

policy - labor oriented

min. wage

{ Tom Donahue
Bob Mizzigian - Bldg Trades

Bldg Trades
Labor - Millie

Transition - labor supps.

RR never

AFL-CIO

re-affiliated -
Teamsters
Mineworkers
UAW?

~~support for workers/workforce~~

f.p. - Δ in East Eur + what means to workers
total = anti-workers
freedom = pro-workers

Communications?

Tom Kahn - AFL-CIO

discont. programs

cons on int side

heroes? if only Amos knew...

1992? →

worker rights - dicey? TRADE preferences

safety / child labor

(all for unlightened leadership?)

safer, cleaner world - arms, env, work...

Geo Meaney Library -

Don Smythe - 120

~~1133 1145 1150~~

~~316-2315~~

653 745 2

EMC

Bob Pleasure 431-16100

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Bobbie
Lange
Dooley*

MEMORANDUM

10/27/89

TO: DAVID DEMAREST/SIG ROGICH
FROM: JOSEPH W. HAGIN
SUBJECT: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

EVENT: Address AFL-CIO Annual Convention

DATE: November 15, 1989 - Wednesday
TIME: 3:30 pm
DURATION: 30 minutes
LOCATION: Washington Convention Center
ATTIRE: Business Suit
REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes
MEDIA COVERAGE: Open
FIRST LADY
PARTICIPATION: No
ADDITIONAL
INFORMATION:

CONTACT: _____

TELEPHONE: OFFICE _____ HOME _____

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

Ed Rogers
James Cicconi
Fred McClure
Susan Porter Rose
Patty Presock
Chriss Winston
Laurie Firestone
William Kristol
Jackie Kennedy

Marlin Fitzwater
David Demarest
Jean Lamb
Sig Rogich
John Keller
Tim McBride
J. Bonnie Newman
Paul Bateman

David Bates
David Valdez
USSS - PPD
Gary Walters
WHCA Audio/Visual
WHCA Operations
C. Boyden Gray

Bruce Zanca *John Herrick*

Walesa, Others Address Solidarity Meeting

LD0710155289 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1300 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] The Citizens' Committee leadership of Solidarity is discussing the citizens' movement in the present economic and political situation. Opening the meeting Lech Walesa said that at present, the most important tasks were [the continuing] formation of political pluralism, finding owners for about 80 percent of Poland's economy, as well as depoliticizing all state services.

Bronislaw Geremek presented Poland's political and economic situation. He reported on the proposal of the Initiative for National Sacrifice, the aims of which would be to support Prime Minister Mazowiecki's government, as well as the creating of a situation in which a mass of people would identify themselves with the successes or failures of the government.

Marcin Krol proposed the formation of a citizens' movement council that would coordinate all civic movements. One of its tasks would be to guarantee the democratic course of the local government elections, as well as the organization of social aid in the coming months.

PAP Report

LD0710205489 Warsaw PAP in English
1941 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 7—The Citizens' Committee at [as received] Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa held a session today to determine directions of further activity of the movement of citizens' committees in the current political and economic situation. In an opening address Walesa listed three main tasks in the current situation, that is the final stage of the introduction of political pluralism which will find an expression in legal activity of political parties, privatisation of some 80 percent of state property and deprivation of all state administration bodies of political character.

Deputy Bronislaw Geremek spoke about the socio-political situation. He regarded the dramatic economic situation and the existence of political forces striving for the defense of the old system as the main threats at present. To overcome these threats, necessary is not only unification but also sacrifice of society. Geremek forwarded an initiative to call for national sacrifice, earlier proposed by Andrzej Wajda.

Henryk Wujec delivered a report on the work of the Citizens' Committee. Set up last Dec. 16, the committee before the elections numbers some 160 persons now. It is a consultative body operating at [as received] the Solidarity chairman.

As regards the future of the Citizens Committee and the need to appoint a Citizens's Movement Council, opinions varied. The draft resolution on this issue was changed several times and finally adopted by small majority.

In the resolution the Citizens's Committee at [as received] the Solidarity chairman called for the widespread formation of Citizens' Committees in Poland and abroad as well as determined its further role in the following way: The committee, as an inspiring, consultative and aiding body, does not have legislative power and cannot replace a centre for coordination of political parties and organizations and also vocational and artists' associations.

In the coming months the committee will undertake activities aimed, first of all, to prepare elections to local self-government and to stimulate all local civic initiatives, especially economic, cultural and educational ones, the resolution said.

Solidarity Candidate Wins Senate Seat

LD0910102689 Warsaw PAP in English
0856 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Piotrkow Trybunalski, Oct. 9—Solidarity candidate Piotr Andrzejewski, a Warsaw lawyer who counseled in many political trials, was elected senator in by-elections in Piotrkow Trybunalski, central Poland, on Sunday.

Andrzejewski, running for the Senate seat on the slate of the Solidarity citizens' committee, won 43,080 votes or 65.07 percent, outpacing Leopold Falak, a PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] candidate, who won 16.18 percent, Zygmunt Jankowski, a Peasant Party candidate who won 11.44 percent, Miroslaw Kaliszczak of the Democratic Party who won 2.73 percent and Stanislaw Kersz, another Democratic Party candidate who won 3.06 percent of the votes.

Only 67,849 of those eligible to vote turned up for the voting out of the total of 464,767 of the electorate in this constituency.

The by-elections in Piotrkow Trybunalski followed the death of the late senator Grzegorz Bialkowski who had been elected to the Senate from the Solidarity ticket in this constituency.

Michnik on National Role of 'Solidarity'

LD0610214789 Warsaw PAP in English
2008 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 6—"Lech Walesa is a national leader and Solidarity is the movement of the entire nation," Adam Michnik wrote in a commentary headlined "Trade Union Is Not Enough Any More" carried today by the GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidarity paper.

"However, the question about institutional consequences ensuing from this is still open. What does the solidarity movement want to be? Does it want to be a political force exclusively as a trade union? Does it, as a trade union, want to be an exclusive support for the

purposes, something which has caused anger. She said that the Italian side had considered it a breach of good custom to reveal the details of this contract. She said that the cars cannot be auctioned off because the seller has specified what should happen to them, and the terms of the contract are more favorable for Poland. If the contract were breached, the Polish treasury would incur costs far greater than the income derived from selling the cars. In addition, she said, I have been told that Lancia cars are much more economical than the ones that were in use previously. For example, they burn 1,000 liters less fuel per year. I think this is the most important consideration for the government right now, and we are dealing with the matter calmly, although many ministers have no intention whatsoever of traveling in a Lancia. This is another problem we have inherited.

Lech Walesa Holds 5 Oct News Conference

AU1110124989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 6 Oct 89 p 2

["wu-zet"-signed report: "Frank and Diplomatic"]

[Text] Lech Walesa was brutally frank about Polish domestic affairs and diplomatically evasive about international affairs in the answers that he gave to questions from Polish and foreign journalists on 5 October at one of his regular press conferences at the headquarters of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union in Gdansk.

Reporters were interested in the impressions that he took away from his meeting with the king of Spain and were told that the impressions were positive ones.

Asked about the issues that he intends to raise before the two chambers of the U.S. Parliament, he provided an impromptu outline of a speech in which he intends to appeal for far-reaching economic and technological aid for Poland as a form of recognition for the contribution that our nation has made to the establishment and development of American democracy and wealth.

Prices dominated the domestic issues that were discussed at the meeting. L. Walesa told journalists that he was concerned about the current situation in the marketplace.

He said: "Society is furious with Walesa, Mazowiecki, and itself. We are sitting on a powder keg of social discontent, and the fuse is already burning."

According to L. Walesa, the country is on the verge of unrest. This makes it necessary to conduct a frank and open information policy regarding the reasons for price increases and to get down to work, to get used to certain difficulties, and to pass calmly through this current stage in reforming the national economy with the painful effects that it entails for the standard of living.

L. Walesa repeated what has already been expressed in other statements about the need to attract more Western capital to Poland and introduce changes in ownership that would affect about 80 percent of state enterprises.

He said that he was in favor of depoliticizing public institutions—the Army, militia, and state administration—along with curbing the influence of "Solidarity."

Radio, TV Chief Visits Katowice Media Meeting

LD0610145889 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1105 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Radio and Television in Poland Today and Tomorrow is the subject of a meeting in Katowice.

The model of radio and television in Poland is the subject of a meeting between Andrzej Drawicz, chairman of radio and television, and employees of the radio and television center and Poltel, which is going on in Katowice. The meeting in Katowice is the first meeting outside the capital for the new head of the radio committee. The Katowice center has its achievements in popularizing culture, but that is not the reason for Andrzej Drawicz's visit to Silesia.

[Drawicz] Disquieting signals are coming in from here about aggravated problems that are appearing here, about the fact that a wave of criticism (?is being heard) about the radio and television here from all sides: from the associations, which are being formed now or are currently reactivating their activity, and from the regional Solidarity authorities. Letters, to speak of a certain letter, and a war of declarations which went on here, after all, you also know very well about that, and that in this situation my role, as far as it is possible, ought to be the role of a person who familiarizes himself with the situation, tries to understand it, tries to understand the arguments of all the parties, and tries to help find a constructive solution to eliminate the sources of these tensions because in the long term, one cannot work sensibly in these conditions.

Addresses Broadcasters on Changes

LD0710041489 Warsaw PAP in English
2000 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Katowice, Oct. 6—Chairman of the Radio and Television Committee Andrzej Drawicz met here Friday with employees of the local radio-TV centre. The meeting was attended by members of Poland's both journalists unions, SDP [Association of Polish Journalists] and SDPRL [Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic], and trade unionists from Solidarity and the All-Poland Trade Union Alliance OPZZ.

"The government of Prime Minister Mazowiecki is pursuing its policy basing on Christian ethics. Assuming the post of radio and TV chairman I became a civil servant. Therefore, realization of the government's intention is my duty, key goal and imperative," Drawicz said.

"This post involves the need of a programmatic, organizational and personnel restructuring—an evolutionary

been reached which, in light of the new regulation due to come into force on 1 October on imprisonment and temporary custody, has meant the satisfaction of the greater part of prisoner demands. Other grievances are currently being considered.

Certain press items, however, need correction.

In GAZETA WYBORCZA (number 88) there appeared a letter from Ewa Chrzanowska: "The blind in prison." The ministry wishes to make clear that the writer's husband, Jerzy Chrzanowski, did have an accident at work, but after investigation it transpired that the needle embedded in his eye had not become so embedded as a result of this accident, but had been there earlier. The prisoner is refusing medical treatment and hospitalization. The prisoner is trying to obtain a furlough pass, but during the prisoner's last two furloughs he committed two serious crimes. The prisoner is a repeat offender.

In GAZETA WYBORCZA (number 84) there appeared, among other cases, a report of an ongoing criminal investigation in Bytom. After investigation of the situation, I would like to make it known that there are no people there who have been imprisoned for 4 years for the "theft of two chickens." People who are in temporary detention are not kept long at that prison.

There are, however, people who have been under arrest for about 3 years. I wish to point out that this case first came before the court in October 1986. There are seven people involved (3 of whom are repeat offenders) accused of burglary. The value of the stolen property is Z6 million. Up to now there have been 47 hearings and 10 adjournments, because the accused could not appear in court owing to the unavailability of a security convoy. These are difficulties over which the courts have no power.

Judge A. Cubala, press spokesman of the minister of justice.

Walesa Sees 'Powder Keg' in Economic Situation

LD0610003989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1500 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Because of prices, we are sitting on a powder keg today, but we have no way out, said Lech Walesa at his weekly news conference in Gdansk. If we are to restructure this system, we cannot do anything other than what is proposed in the economy. If we were to do nothing, it would be even worse.

Says 'Too Few' Ready To Help

LD0610004589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2322
GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, October 5 (TANJUG)—Asked at his press conference in Gdansk today how much probable [as received] is an outside intervention in Poland, Lech Walesa replied that the Poles "seek to build a new world in which there will be no interventions like that."

In his words, reforms take rise from demands of the time and not because someone has a mind after them. We do not know only their real price and time for their coming to an end, but we do believe that we will do so in Poland without losses and conflicts, Walesa said.

If people's aspirations are braked, their resistance rises, Lech Walesa remarked while referring to the situations in Lithuania and the German Democratic Republic.

Europe does not see quite clearly what is going in Poland now, Walesa evaluated in commenting on discussions of economic aid. In his words, Poland is leading today in the matter of reforms in Eastern Europe. We are in search of new ways, but too few are those in Europe who are ready to help with building a new system not threatened by anybody, but which would instead serve the security of Europe and the Poles, the Solidarity leader said.

Solidarity Executive Commission Issues Communique

LD0610003689 Warsaw PAP in English 2201 GMT 5
Oct 89

[Text] Gdansk, Oct. 5—The press office of the Solidarnosc leader conveyed to PAP today a communique summing up the two-day debates of the Presidium of the National Executive Commission KKW. The communique reads:

The presidium of the Solidarnosc National Executive Commission met in Gdansk on October 4 and 5. The Presidium held preliminary discussion on problems to be debated by the KKW. Draft resolutions have been worked out on participation of Solidarnosc representatives in the work of people's councils, on authorizing trade sections to sign additional provisions to collective labour contracts, on membership fees and family benefits, on financing Solidarnosc trade and branch sections, on appointment of a congress commission.

Adopted was a model draft electoral law for a plenary meeting of the Solidarnosc regional delegates. The Presidium voiced its stand on pluralism in the Pathfinders' Movement. It discussed the situation pertaining to retrieval of Solidarnosc assets now in the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] hands, stating that the present holder of the assets refuses to realize the round table settlements by hindering access to documents. A training programme was adopted.

Discussed were questions of authorization of the trade union to participate in distribution of places in sanatoria. The presidium was briefed on the course of prisoners' protest actions stressing that it is the government's task to find a way out from the present situation. The presidium resolved to continue to observe the resolution of the 1st Solidarnosc delegates congress on wages of elected trade union activists. Discussed was the issue of the union's access to mass media. The Presidium also considered proposals for a KKW stand on the current economic situation.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FBIS-EEU-89-191-A

4 October 1989

ANNEX

1

POLAND

Walesa Appeals for Western Investment

LD0309234189 London SUNDAY EXPRESS
in English 3 Sep 89, p. 14

["How Britain can help build the new Poland; Lech Walesa talking to Sue Masterman in Gdansk"]

[Text] HELP US, help us now. Today, or it will be too late.

Words are not enough any more. We need your economic help and we need it now. If you wait any longer, then we risk ruining a chance which will not come again in our lifetime.

If we fail now, it will set us back 20 or 30 years. You encouraged us into this. Now it is your responsibility to help us make it work.

Look, we don't want charity. We are offering you business and profit. Most Poles would work for any Western boss for just ten dollars a month. Ten dollars, so long as they are paid in Western currency.

That's what I'm earning at the moment. Ten Western dollars are worth a month's wages in zlotys.

People here need a visible sign that the West has confidence in Poland, confidence in a government led by Solidarity.

We have built ourselves a Polish house in this country. Our new Prime Minister has offices on the top floor. We have to provide the design and the labour for that house.

But you have to help us reinforce the concrete. That new Polish house has to be built on the toughest concrete available; otherwise it won't stand for long.

The fact is that without you we haven't got the materials.

Yes, we have to play our part. Once we are firmly in power, there has got to be a stop to all these strikes and go-slows.

We have built our house, but if they don't stop that nonsense they are going to blow the roof right off it. They have got to realise that we can't afford strikes any more.

Just look at what we offer you in the West. Come and open up businesses here. We'll provide you with the building. We'll provide you with the janitor, if you want.

You provide the rest, the skills. Bring in your own people if you want. We'll make sure that you can export your profit. Don't you want to make a profit?

I'd like to see British banks opening here. After all, there are billions of dollars in this country. People keep them in old socks at home because they can't trust the banks here.

If only there were banks they could trust, they would deposit the money there for interest. That would be good business for the banks, and it would bring that money back into the economy.

Why don't you come and do business with us?

Then there are hotels. Look what you've got here—the sea, the beaches, those beautiful lakes. Perfect for holidays.

But we only have two top-class hotels to offer. Only two. Come and build hotels—build them for your own people, not for us. People will come if they have the right kind of accommodation. It would be great for business.

Mind, we're not looking for capitalism. It's a Polish house we're building.

We don't want a capitalist solution. We don't want a Communist solution. We want a Polish solution.

We want to take the best of capitalism and the best of Communism and the best of any other system and mix it all together according to our own recipe.

That's why we're not just getting rid of the old Communist elite, the nomenklatura. There's nobody else to do all the jobs which need to be done in the Ministries.

There will be reform of our security services however. The police as such are fine, but we must break the power of the militia. No one is going to be arrested in future because of what he says.

One thing we've got to do is radically change the education system: My children are supposed to be having a proper education, and I'm still smarter than they are. That's got to change.

People ask me if the youngsters realise what we've achieved. Well, I have eight children, and they're all different.

The eldest is furious with me. The second one is glad I am who I am because it makes it easier to persuade girls to go to the disco with him!

The third is shy about it. The fourth takes it in his stride. And so on.

Some people ask me if I regret not being Poland's President. Well, look. Presidents and prime ministers are never free.

I am the most free man in the whole world now. I can do exactly what I want. That way I can serve my country best.

Walesa Regrets Early Solidarity Rule

OW3008151389 Tokyo JIJI in English
1321 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Tokyo, Aug. 30 (JIJI PRESS)—Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa has told a Japanese delegation his regret over too-early rule by the labor union.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Walesa's remarks were conveyed to Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu Wednesday by Hideyuki Aizawa, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, who headed the delegation that visited Eastern Europe Aug 22-25.

At last Wednesday's meeting at Solidarity's headquarters in Gdansk, Walesa said it was a failure for the union to lead the first post-war non-communist coalition government in Poland by nominating Solidarity member Tadeusz Mazowiecki as new prime minister.

Solidarity inevitably made the decision to take power because President Wojciech Jaruzelski tried to monopolize power within his Communist Party, Aizawa quoted Walesa as saying.

Aizawa reported to Kaifu Jaruzelski's remarks that Mazowiecki will be able to get support from the people.

At Aizawa's meeting with the Polish president, Jaruzelski expressed his intention to invite Crown Prince Hiro to next year's Chopin piano competition in Warsaw.

Aizawa said Mazowiecki in a meeting on Aug 22 stressed [words indistinct] policy to stay within the Warsaw Pact, adding that Polish reforms will be successful without interference by the Soviet Union as long as Mikhail Gorbachev remains in office as general secretary.

Walesa Discusses New Government, Ties

OW2708121789 Tokyo YOMIURI SHIMBUN
in Japanese 26 Aug 89 Evening Edition p 1

[Report on an "exclusive interview" with Lech Walesa, chairman of the independent Polish trade union Solidarity, by YOMIURI SHIMBUN correspondent Kumata in Gdansk on 25 August]

[Text] Gdansk, 25 Aug—Lech Walesa, chairman of "Solidarity," an independent trade union in Poland which gave a birth to a non-communist prime minister for the first time among the socialist nations, granted an exclusive interview to the YOMIURI SHIMBUN correspondent in Gdansk on the afternoon of 25 August. This was his first interview following the confirmation of the new prime minister.

Explaining how "Solidarity" came to establish a government, Walesa criticized himself and revealed his uneasiness about the maintenance of the government, saying: "We were not prepared for the formation of a government. It was a grave mistake on my part to decide to take over the government immediately." However, he said that he had no choice but to pursue this course because of the anticipated situation in which the "Communist Party would monopolize power even after the political reform." He also disclosed that the takeover of the government was an emergency decision in order to push ahead with the political reform and democratization.

As the aim of the new government, Mr Walesa cited the "establishment of a new system based on the freedom

and democracy." Saying that the new government aims to establish an independent system designed to "embrace merits of socialism and capitalism, and to rid itself of their defects," he declared that "Stalinist Communism should cease to exist."

Mr Walesa highly rated the "perestroika (restructuring) line" in the Soviet Union, and praised it as something that opens the way for the possibility of a reform movement in all of the East European nations, including Poland. He expressed "his hopes for meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev" and said that he had many issues to discuss with him. He gave a cautious consideration to relations with the Soviet Union, stressing that he will cooperate with the Gorbachev government.

Regarding the issue of overcoming economic difficulty, the biggest domestic issue in Poland, he cited the "restoration of confidence among the people" as the most important priority, stressing that Poland must resolve the issue while deepening understanding between itself and foreign nations. Specifically, he expressed his high expectations for aid from Western nations including Japan.

As to relations with Japan, he took a serious posture concerning aid from Japan, saying that it will be good if a "committee is formed" to discuss the cooperation issue between the "Solidarity" side and civic organizations in Japan.

Tokyo Daily Interviews Walesa on New Government

OW3108061389 Tokyo TOKYO SHIMBUN
in Japanese 30 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 7

[By Correspondent Yamaya]

[Text] Gdansk (Poland), 29 Aug—Chairman Walesa (45) of the independent labor union "Solidarity" gave an interview to TOKYO SHIMBUN correspondent Yamaya at the "Solidarity" headquarters in Gdansk on the morning of 28 August. He said that (1) the new Poland will aim at a middle-of-the-road line combining capitalist efficiency and socialist humanist latitude; and (2) he hopes that the new Mazowiecki regime will realize the privatization of state-run enterprises and free elections for the localities.

"Solidarity" promised to entrust the government to the United Workers' Party (Communist Party) for the next 4 years during the roundtable conference this spring. Chairman Walesa said that the reason he tore up this agreement and opted for a coalition government was because the Communist Party attempted to monopolize the posts of president, first secretary of the party and the new premier. With that, it became clear that the party's one-party rule would be revived earlier than expected. If this was allowed, it would leave a "bad precedent" in Polish history.

He also said that "although I had a chance to become the president, I promised to pursue another goal". He did

Vice-Minister of the Interior Zbigniew Pudysz answered also an interpellation by Deputy Zbigniew Janas on the current tasks of the security service.

The transformations under way in Poland influence the scope of the activity of the security service, said he.

Protection of the constitutional order of the state, of civic rights and freedoms and of the national economy is the key task of the security service in the current situation. This means a significant and substantial change in the areas of interest for this service. Another task of this service is combating spying, terrorism and economic offences.

Asked about the role of the security service in working plants, Pudysz denied the existence of such posts. He also denied that the security service collects evidence against the opposition and Solidarity, saying that one does not take any actions of this kind. He added that the problem of political prisoners does not exist in Poland as of September 1987 and that no proceedings have been instituted on such charges.

ZSL Leader Calls for 'One Strong Party'

*LD0410092389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 1 Oct 89*

[Text] [Announcer] The plenum of the Voivodship Committee of the United Peasant Party [ZSL], inaugurating preparations for the 11th ZSL Congress, has taken place in Tarnow.

[Correspondent] During various meetings in Poland, there has been talk of the need for unity of the peasant movement. Meanwhile, the facts confirm something else. They confirm that a breakup of the ZSL is taking place. What does the new chairman of the Supreme Committee of the ZSL say about this?

[Dominik Ludwiczak] For the countryside to have its rights, for it to gain its rights, the peasant movement must be one [word indistinct]. One strong party must be formed. It is a fact that there are attempts to break up the peasant movement. It is...I receive this with great anxiety. Hence, my visit to the cradle of the peasant movement. I paid my respects before the remains of the great leader of the peasant movement, Witos.

I would not like it to end in such a breakup, because the countryside would then suffer, farming would suffer, the peasant in particular would suffer. I have here a great request to my brother peasants: don't let people order you about. Amongst these 'restorers' are many people who are looking for a career, a career which once again they want to achieve at the expense of the peasants or the countryside. And here, I issue great warning, and I am counting on the great wisdom of our members, of the peasants, that they will always be able to separate the wheat from the chaff.

[Correspondent] Is it supposed to be the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]?

[Ludwiczak] Yes. That's what the majority of our members said in a questionnaire which we sent out to our members. It's to be the PSL. That's the will of our members.

[Correspondent] When is this new party to be formed?

[Ludwiczak] At the forthcoming congress of the peasant movement.

Democratic Party Presidium Session Meets

*LD0410054289 Warsaw PAP in English 2149 GMT
3 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 3—The Presidium of the Democratic Party CC [Central Committee] discussed problems connected with the functioning of the private sector of economy at its session here today.

Discussed was the formation of new organizational structures basing on the legal regulations adopted by the Sejm of the 9th term of office.

The Presidium noted with concern persisting inequality between various sectors of economy.

Another item on the agenda were issues pertaining to the establishment of the national council of courts.

Discussed was also the role and place of the Supreme Administration court in the system of jurisdiction organs.

The CC Presidium approved also of the organizational structure of the Central Committee adjusting it to the current political and organizational tasks.

Walesa Interview to IL GIORNO Reported

*AU2609154289 Rome ANSA in English
1134 GMT 26 Sep 89*

[Text] (ANSA) Milan, Sep 26—The leader of Poland's Solidarnosc Free Trade Union Movement with members now in government, Lech Walesa, said he was disappointed with the failure of Italian enterprise to help his country's economic reconstruction and pinned the stability of the new Warsaw Government, headed by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, on the success of this reform.

In an interview with IL GIORNO of Milan for the Tuesday editions, Walesa listed as priority goals formulated by Mazowiecki, close to Solidarnosc and its leader, political party pluralism, the privatization of the nation's economy and the removal of politics from the police and the Armed Forces.

He said the accomplishment of these ambitious objectives will not be easy. On the political level, true pluralism will not be established for a long time because of disputes and misunderstandings among the myriad parties arising at this time, he said.

On the tough economic front, Walesa declared: "If we do not cement this house of cards, a wave of strike action would be enough to sweep it away."

For this reason, joint enterprises between national companies and those in Western Europe and the United States must be created "so as to gain for the Polish society the money needed for buying the goods produced by these joint enterprises."

Walesa said in this connection that contracts have already been drawn up with West German and Norwegian companies but not yet with Italian enterprises. "The Italians were supposed to set up banks but they have not done this they have not been bothered enough to form joint ventures. What are they waiting for?" he asked.

He noted that he expected more from Italy for a number of reasons, including the presence of a Polish-born pope in the Vatican.

The labor leader and Nobel Peace Prize laureate, now committed to action at the national level, said he had hopes that the Polish economy could be put on its feet within two years and that there could also be an overhaul of the trade unions.

He said that when these problems are solved, he will retire.

Bielsko Citizens' Committee Created

*LD0410044489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1300 GMT 3 Oct 89*

[Text] At the headquarters of the regional organizing committee of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity of the Podbeskidzie Region, the Bielsko Citizens' Committee has been created. It intends to come forward with socioeconomic initiatives and also to take part in the preparations for local elections.

'Pluralism' To Figure in Broadcasting

*PM0210145689 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
9 Sep 89 pp 1, 8*

[Piotr Sarzynski commentary: "The Partitioning of Television"]

[Text] The campaign to democratize and socialize anything and everything is now very much in vogue, and it looks as if television is the latest focus of much eager attention and debate.

Perhaps this is because it was only a few months ago that representatives of the government coalition side insisted that, come what may, they would never relinquish their hold on the Army, the citizens' militia, or television. It looks as if they may be able to keep their promise in the first two cases. What about the third?

Government or Sejm

Socialization of the Radio Committee is in fact regarded as a half-way measure leading to the ultimate targets: pluralism in television and concrete implementation of the idea that television should be a medium for presenting the views and opinions of all social groups. Thus it seems appropriate to begin by asking the question: Is Polish television today an institution for all Poles? The answers can be widely divergent, not to say radically different. For example, whereas Dariusz Fikus remains convinced that the institution situated in Woronicza Street is "held in the firm grip of Stalinism," his former colleague on POLITYKA's editorial staff, Jerzy Urban, has declared publicly that "in fact, Polish Television programs are already completely pluralistic" (PAP 31 Aug).

Since the days of the roundtable debate a lot has changed in television studios and their programs. Solidarity has its own slots; the Open Studio program broadcasts violent, live, uncensored disputes involving everyone and anyone present in the studio; and certain feature programs resemble nothing as much as the underground press. All the same, it is still more like a string of individual concessions granted to "the other side" than serious, structural, and planned reconstruction.

In addition to individual skirmishes (for example, over the right to present its own programs), the Solidarity side has embarked on a campaign designed to win the whole war. To this end, it reckoned, the best way to guarantee the implementation of real socialization, pluralism, democracy, and the like in radio and television would be to make these institutions directly subordinate to parliament instead of the government. This was the blueprint it submitted at the roundtable debate and has consistently promoted over the months.

In the meantime, however, we had an unexpected cabinet change and the office of premier was entrusted to a politician of the erstwhile opposition circles. Consequently, and as it were automatically, the Radio Committee found itself under the command of those who preferred to see its rightful place under the Sejm. The situation became paradoxical. For example, certain Solidarity activists suddenly put forward the theory that it was actually quite a clever idea to make television answerable to the premier. And the other way around: Overnight, representatives of the other side stopped insisting that the Radio Committee remain within the state administration structure. It appears, however, that despite all the unexpected turnabouts, the idea of television's staying within the Sejm's province still finds more supporters than opponents on the Solidarity side, and the statement given by Bronislaw Geremek, head of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club [OKP], to GAZETA WYBORCZA (30 August) only reinforces this position. In his statement Geremek said: "The OKP has postulated the placing of radio and television under parliamentary control, and it will not back out of its stand on this issue."

[Rakowski] One has to strive to maintain the broadest possible principles of these contacts and to avoid everything that could prevent their development. National pride is immensely important. National pride can more than once insinuate to man steps that can be harmful to cooperation. I am a proponent of the closest possible relations—and not only between our fraternal parties.

I regard the fact that we are creating a new type of international relations to be a great success. However, I regard the fact that we have often narrowed friendship to the highest level as being our common weakness. We must fight for man, because various ethnic prejudices do not become extinct with the departure of the generation that elicited them. The happy and favorable development of our countries is possible only when we do not bare our teeth at each other. Therefore, I will always oppose all who do so and who are trying to weaken the bonds between our nations in the conviction that they are missionaries. Every nation and every party alone are responsible for what is going on in their own country. Therefore, I am against any one of us lecturing others, since we too would find it difficult to take. The means and methods which have to be employed to strengthen the values of friendship are a different matter. I think that the time has come to follow [the example of] the Western politicians who have closest contacts among themselves, and who meet, often several times a year. They conduct discussions, they telephone each other, and they present their views. That, too, is one of the ways in which we should strengthen the mutual unity of the socialist countries.

[Minarik] When, as a Pole, you take a look at your southern neighbors, how do you see our country, and us, the Czechs and the Slovaks?

[Rakowski] Above all, as people having a friendly attitude toward us, who also worry whether we can cope with our problems, and whether the existing situation in our country will not cause some sort of complications. I think that they are also asking those questions because they want to have a calm northern border and an economically strong northern neighbor, with whom it is possible to work together without worrying. Unfortunately, we are not economically strong today. We are still troubled by internal conflicts.

However, when I look at the problem comprehensively, I think that we Slavs, who make up the socialist bloc of the countries of Eastern and central Europe, should more honestly ponder our mutual relations to prevent various misunderstandings. Your nations—the Czechs and the Slovaks—have many good qualities and Czechoslovakia, as a whole, can serve us as a model in many respects, especially in the sphere of economic management.

We have an almost 1000-year-old history of mutual relations; the destinies of our nations are very similar. It might be that the existing development of relations does not correspond to those traditions. Maybe it would be a good thing for wise people in our two countries to pose

the question why things are not better. There is much that is artificial that still subsists in our mutual relations. By this I do not mean only between the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic, but in the socialist countries in general. While the Western countries have been opening up their borders for their own people, we have begun closing ours more. This has great influence on people. We still have much to rectify. The future generations will have deal with this better than we have. We need to strengthen mutual trust and that is one of the ways.

[Minarik] I thank you for the interview.

Walesa Warns Against 'Absurd' Price Increases

LD2809193389 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Remarks by Lech Walesa at a Press Conference in Gdansk on 28 September—recorded]

[Text] I don't know who really governs in this country. I am told that gasoline prices are established by someone who does what he wants, some director—isn't he subordinate to the government? Is he from the moon? Milk also is not within the power of the government. I also want to see independent enterprises but I want them to prove to me that it is necessary to increase prices by 100 percent overnight. I hear in the West, in other places—10 percent, no too much, 1 or 2 percent—but never 100 percent! One hundred percent overnight—this is absurd, this is impossible to comprehend. That is why it makes me mad, I'm just as angry as anyone else, even more so because this is blamed on me and on the premier. I understand why they blame it on the premier, but why me?

He [Prime Minister Mazowiecki] failed to find out about it in time, but he is the premier. I am not a premier. I am doing everything for the premier to be our man. I am dealing with the economy, but not in order to resolve the problems for the premier and for the government. I said: if anyone wants to cooperate in this country, and wants to see the greenbacks and other money, then I shall find a partner from him, let them agree, let him work well. And I did this—what Poland gave to me I gave to Poland back 10 times over—as was the case with my voivoda. Why [are] complaints sent to me? I am rallying 10,000 work enterprises in Poland now, I'll do it, there are willing participants, there is money, there is wisdom—but heck, get down to some work! Workers, get the management going, let them present a plan, let them say they increase prices of your goods so that milk can be cheaper. One is increasing the prices of ships, another telephone calls, another oil—and we have a vicious circle.

Everyone thinks: He raised his prices, and what about me? I am innocent. Everyone is guilty.

I have this question: Will there be a civil war in Poland or not? That is the question! If things continue as they are, no appeal of Lech Walesa or yours will help.

When someone does stupid things with prices this is plain stupidity—and everything is blamed on the government. That is why I am warning these people. Perhaps they are provocateurs and fools; they should not do it at Poland's cost.

If there are more price increases, I warn that most probably we shall not be able to keep people working normally, nobody will be able to keep them under control, neither the premier nor Lech Walesa.

Solidarity Leader Plans To Quit Politics

*LD2809205189 Warsaw PAP in English
1955 GMT 28 Sep 89*

[Text] Gdansk, Sept. 28—Lech Walesa held his weekly press conference at the Solidarnosc headquarters in Gdansk, once again appealing for foreign assistance in the form of economic cooperation with Poland.

Walesa also announced he would withdraw from active political life, and in the long-term, also from Solidarnosc.

"I devoted over 20 years of my life to the country. I would like to enjoy life a bit, rest. Times of professionals are coming. I am only an excellent amateur while there will be no place for amateurs. There is the government, Sejm, Senate, I already feel that I am beginning to intrude because they are professional politicians. If I do not withdraw in time, they will have me withdrawn. But I would not be right in leaving the trade unions now. I must stay on till the congress, and if need be, I will once again jump over the fence, like in 1980," Walesa stated.

Seeks Life as 'Ordinary Citizen'

*LD2809212489 Madrid Domestic Service
in Spanish 1900 GMT 28 Sep 89*

[Walesa remarks recorded in Polish with superimposed Spanish translation throughout]

[Text] Poland is starting out on a new political and economic path led by the government headed by a member of the Solidarity trade union. In fact, the trade union leader, Lech Walesa, in statements to RNE, has said that the country needs a firm hand to overcome this period of crisis. Our special correspondent in Gdansk, Aurora Minguez, interviewed the Nobel Peace Prize winner.

[Minguez] Good evening. The chairman of Solidarity, Lech Walesa, considers that building the new Poland is the task of all but there must be a single hand at the controls. Using the simile of making a car Wales told RNE:

[Walesa] Everyone must take part in making the car but when the car is ready there must be a single driver who drives it. Everyone cannot drive at the same time. In Poland we are now starting to (?drive) the car and it seems that everyone wants to drive it, (?organizing) things in a way which from a distance does not seem

good to some people. I know, and they criticize me for that reason. (?But it is) the best and most effective formula for acting.

[Minguez] The chairman of Solidarity also thinks that the trade union should remain as it is and not be a political organization. Walesa told this station that if a general strike were called he would act as a trade unionist, that is to say on the side of the masses, because they are the ones who have given him the power. The trade union leader admits that [words indistinct] is for President Jaruzelski but he also thinks he is acting correctly. Walesa says that he does not want to be the next Polish president.

[Walesa] No, I do not want to be the next Polish president. I do not want any more public roles. I have already devoted 20 years of my life to tasks of a social kind and I want to live like an ordinary citizen who does not bother anyone and who does not take part in any political activity. I do not know how I will do it but I repeat that it is enough with these 20 years of my private life devoted to public tasks.

Budapest TV Interviews Rakowski, Walesa

*LD2609052789 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 2020 GMT 25 Sep 89*

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, PZPR first secretary, and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa in Gdansk, by unidentified correspondent on the "Panorama" program; date not given; Rakowski and Walesa speak in Polish with superimposed Hungarian translation—no video available]

[Text] [Announcer] After Jaruzelski, Polish head of state offered coffee and cakes to the members of the newly elected government, he said: Posterity will decide whether what is happening in Poland now is the joke or logic of history. It is without doubt that extraordinary change has taken place in Poland. Panorama tried to investigate its consequences at the scene. This is why we are now going to bring together the two rivals on the screen: Rakowski, Communist Party first secretary and Walesa, leader of Solidarity, the loser and the winner who, in real life, it seems, cannot stand each other and indeed they avoid each other.

[Correspondent] The historic turn, of course, shook not only the Communist Party, the loser, but also the winner, Solidarity. First, let us hear Rakowski, whom I asked, what his party's relationship is toward Solidarity presently, and whether the simple communists accuse their leaders of allowing the party to slip from power.

[Rakowski] Oh yes, there are such opinions and they do ask the question, why did the party do this? But, you know, reality has to be viewed with open eyes. There is no doubt that our party, and yours similarly, were state parties in reality for long decades. Party members were accustomed to not having to fight any sort of political struggle, since the party committees decided every question from the lowest

Commission calls on Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz to inform our union of the government's most immediate intentions concerning prices and wages.

Lech Walesa 21 Sep News Conference

AU2609122889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
22 Sep 89 p 2

[Report signed "wu-zet": "Answers and Evasions"]

[Text] In the statements made at his 21 September weekly press conference, Lech Walesa showed himself to be an advocate of a Europe united by virtue of common economic, social, and political interests.

During the conference, Lech Walesa manifestly avoided giving any clear-cut answers to questions about his views on attempts to remove Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] organizations from certain workplaces, and used rather cryptic language in expressing support for the right of various political formations to be present in enterprises.

On the other hand, he was very resolute in stressing his attachment to pluralism. He said that as far as politics is concerned, he really is and wishes to remain an amateur, but that he completely subordinates his actions to efforts to maintain a balance of forces in Poland. He said that if a right wing monopoly were to gain the upper hand, he would immediately go over to the left, and vice versa.

If "Solidarity" becomes monopolistic, it will be necessary to create a counterweight to it. He said that he hoped that the resolution on political parties being drafted for debate in the Sejm will produce legal regulations that will be binding on all with regard to this question. He expressed great recognition and personal support for President Jaruzelski's proposal that a body for national accord on the most important issues facing the country be set up during this current period of reform.

Noting that this would elicit unfavorable comments from his supporters, he said, during the conference, that the PZPR, if it maintains its current reform course, has a very great chance of being able to present society with the most coherent and attractive solution and program for Poland's political and economic future. He said that although it was regrettable from his perspective, the party has the best program, because it has a concept that has been formed over a long period of time, an apparatus that functions reasonably well, and specialists who are capable of implementing the provisions of such a concept.

Paris Daily Interviews Swiecicki on New Policies

PM2509142089 Paris LIBERATION in French
13 Sep 89 p 5

[Interview with Foreign Trade Minister Marcin Swiecicki by Dominique Garraud; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [introductory passage omitted] LIBERATION: What are the priority acts of your policy?

Marcin Swiecicki: We must, first, establish an economic recovery program that will be approved by the IMF, which is necessary for the normalization of our relations with the West. Next, we must move toward a fully convertible zloty at an exchange rate that will depend on the implementation of our entire economic program and especially the elimination of poverty. Last, we are depending on foreign investors. We must secure credits guaranteed by governments, but it must also be known that Poland offers great opportunities for western firms, with its qualified and inexpensive labor force.

LIBERATION: What is your model?

Marcin Swiecicki: The government's general approach is to achieve a market economy with a fully convertible currency. I greatly admire the Swedes. In Sweden the market economy and private ownership go hand in hand with a great sense of responsibility in the social sphere.

LIBERATION: Does this mean that in Sweden you would belong not to a communist party but to a social democratic party?

Marcin Swiecicki: Of course. My sole aim is to achieve social democracy in Poland. This issue is prompting a lively debate within the Party. But the Party has already accepted parliamentary democracy and private ownership. It is ready to abandon the idea of its "leading role" over society. We are moving in the right direction.

LIBERATION: Will these changes also affect perestroika?

Marcin Swiecicki: Not all the administration's officials are incompetent. Nor are they all competent, for that matter. It is the system that is to blame. There have been too many political appointments, and this has resulted in a bankrupt economy. The Party too believes that changes are needed. We still need more democracy.

Spokesman on Alternative Military Service

LD2209170889 Warsaw PAP in English
1317 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 22—About 1,500 persons are doing alternative military service at the moment. Defence Ministry spokesman, Lieutenant Col. Ireneusz Czyzewski has told PAP. This fact shows that a great majority of young Poles are fulfilling their defence duty in the traditional form of regular military service according to the principles of the U.N. international pact on civil and political rights.

The alternative service takes place outside the armed forces and is directly supervised by the minister of labour and social policy who also chooses the enterprises where those interested may serve. Regional conscription commissions issue decisions on alternative service after considering written requests of the young conscripts.

According to the labour law persons doing alternative military service are not employees because their legal status is determined by the law on "the obligation to

Owing to this situation the representatives of all party organizations in Polish radio and television consider the following proposals to be imperative:

- Radio and television must be placed under the control of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic;
- Professional management must be introduced in both radio and television. This management would be subordinate to a programming council. The council would be pluralistic in its composition, and would represent all forces and groupings that are represented in parliament;
- The implementation of a policy that unites, rather than divides, institutions, working teams, and people;
- Implementation of organizational and financial-economic measures in accordance with our slogan: "All for the Program" which we have been strongly advocating for a long time;
- The immediate improvement of the material situation and the technical base of radio and television.

The implementation of these proposals will enable a conflict-free passage to a new model of radio and television service; a service that will reflect society's expectations.

The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] members who work in radio and television—we read in the conclusion—declare their readiness to cooperate with all those people who are interested in these proposals and their readiness to enter into a dialogue on the best way to implement such proposals.

These members have also asked the PZPR Central Committee to summon immediately an extraordinary congress of the Polish United Workers Party.

In the media workers opinion, the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum should take place before the end of September. This plenum should agree on the exact date for the congress, as well as setting up the various commissions that would make the necessary preparations.

The congress should meet before the end of the current year.

The congress must elaborate a program for the party; a modern party of the left that would be active in a civic society and operate within the parameters of parliamentary democracy.

The PZPR members who are employed in radio and television believe that the PZPR leadership will consider their demands. Poland's dramatic economic situation and the future of the PZPR make this imperative.

Czestochowa Meeting of Party Reformers Reported

AU1809171189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16-17 Sep 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Toward a New Left"]

[Text] The search for a new shape for the party is still on. We have already reported that more and more programmatic initiatives are being presented, and that party organizations are becoming more energetic. The pre-congress rush is in progress.

In Czestochowa recently there was a forum attended by about 300 people, who comprise the so-called "64 Group" in the Czestochowa committee of the Polish United Workers Party. The forum was also attended by representatives of reformist movements in Warsaw and Katowice.

The Czestochowa party committee tells us that the forum called for an early party congress and rendered support for the "8 July Movement."

Walesa Gives News Conference in Gdansk

LD1409183489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Lech Walesa gave a news conference today at the Solidarity office in Gdansk. The leader of Solidarity, asked about the attitude of the union to the sacrifices and further lowering of the public's standard of living in the context of realization of the government program, replied:

[Begin Walesa recording] I do not agree with putting things this way, that is, I am of the opinion that it is not necessary to give up anything in Poland. The market is so empty that if a wise economic concept is introduced and help from outside given it can only get better. Of course, if we are left alone, then yes, it would be necessary to lower our standard of living and so on. That is why I am doing everything to keep that from happening. I was in the FRG and I have had hundreds of meetings. Yesterday, or today I met with the Norwegian ambassador. I am constantly striving so that the standard of living of the society is not lowered one inch. I note that there are possibilities for the West to cooperate with us and then we will set forth without lowering the standard. If we fail then your variant applies, but I do not believe that (?we will fail). I am a man (?of victory). I do not believe I can fail.

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you envision the possibility of creating a parliamentary coalition of Solidarity with the Polish United Workers Party?

[Walesa] I have explained thousands of times that what has been happening up to now is a confrontational model. It is not, of course, a violent confrontation, it is a peaceful confrontation. On the one side, one can say that

there is the party, the old coalition, part of the coalition and something else, and on the other side Solidarity and some kind of opposition.

This is exclusively along the lines of a model of the struggle for pluralism. One side is defending itself and wants to keep as much as possible [words indistinct] wants to introduce the reforms slowly, has its style—one can debate whether it is correct or not—and on the other side there is Solidarity saying we want it the other way. We want pluralism, democracy, freedom, and so on. After the victory of this way—and it has the chance of winning, because everyone is saying that pluralism and democracy are needed—the confrontational set-up, the set of two forces, will not be needed. Then we should—life will bring it about itself or we will do it—make sure that organizations are created that are in line with the composition of the society. One can debate what this is, but I think that it is as follows: there is a lot of Christianity [words indistinct] that means political parties and trade unions of Christian character, and I envision that there will be (?about five) Christian groups arguing with each other, all will believe in God but some are more with the bishop, other with the parish priest, others with the party, others with the United Peasant Party—such a set up is possible.

After Christians there is another large group in Poland—the socialists. They will have trade unions and a political party of socialist character. In the third place—this is my personal opinion, but other wise people think so too—there are communists. Here there will be trade unions and political parties that are communist. Then the Jews and the others, small minorities—they have the right to organize themselves and create programs and present them for voting in the parliament and then participate in the government depending on the size and wisdom of their programs—if society elects them.

Solidarity is just a reforming force that is to bring this moment about. It is numerically strong but it will get smaller because of these other groups that will be created within Solidarity. Later there will probably remain a trade union that will be one of many trade unions.

This is the course of events that I envision, such a course of events is logical. The question to me is: Are we to help this course of events or are we waiting for life to bring this about? At the moment life is making it happen, which is good. We are doing these important things step by step, that is reforms in three areas: political, economic, and trade union and social. We have managed to make political reforms.

Really, with regard to the topics of politics there is no need for reforms anymore if the premier delivers (?what he promised)—political pluralism. Now we are tackling the economic topics, as you can see, we are working really hard at the economy so that there is no need to lower the standard of living.

As for the third thing—I state this with some sorrow as a trade unionist—there will be time to build a (?bigger)

trade union, which will have good reason to exist because there will be good political and economic conditions helping a good trade union. [end recording]

Democratic Party Presidium Holds Meeting

LD1809202489 Warsaw PAP in English
1944 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18—At its meeting here today the Presidium of the Democratic Party [DP] Central Committee considered issues connected with realization of the programme of the new government. The presidium referred with appreciation to the conceptions presented in Premier Mazowiecki's Sejm expose which included numerous proposals voiced by the DP. The meeting considered it the essential issue to work out a programme for saving economy and to realize the budget law in the fourth quarter of this year.

The presidium defined principles for cooperation with the DP representatives in the government and pointed to the need to appoint a group of experts to assist them. Discussed were also issues concerning DP's further participation in the central state administration.

In the presence of representatives of the DP Parliamentary Floor Group Deputies Andrzej Bondarewski and Bogdan Osinski, the presidium considered the work schedule in the political system, economic and social spheres adopted by the caucus.

The presidium appointed a commission to hold a referendum in DP on the change of the party's name.

DP Deputies Propose Constitutional Amendments

LD1809215289 Warsaw PAP in English
2115 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18—Deputies of the Democratic Party [DP] proposed a bill on constitutional amendments.

The first three amendments recognize the whole nation as the sovereign of the state authority and the Polish state as the common weal of all its citizens.

Another amendment concerns equality of all forms of ownership.

Next amendments account for individual ownership of land and the rights to inherit land, buildings and means of production that should be protected by the law independently from the professional status of the owners.

The bill proposes also that independent courts decide on the imprisonment penalty and that matters regulated by penal code be removed from the constitution.

We must overcome these divisions, since the existence of a bloc of anti-reform forces also makes itself visible in the evolution of reform in Poland, which the PZPR supports. It is shaped by various forces and orientations, from the left and the right. We must be clearly aware that restructuring social and economic relations in the spirit of democratic socialism, since the PZPR will not withdraw from this aim, has no cast-iron guarantees.

We must also perceive the struggles of advocates and opponents of reform outside our country. We are part of a historically-shaped community of socialist states. Perceiving the existence of various political forces and orientations, advocates and opponents of reform beyond our national frontiers, the PZPR leadership sees the necessity of seeking and building mutual understanding and cooperation with people of all world views, both of the hitherto opposition and beyond it, including within the ranks of parties, associations, and currents which count themselves among the patriotic and pragmatic left.

The PZPR also desires agreement and cooperation with former members of the party. In not accepting our policies in various past periods, some of them were right more than once. The future of the PZPR is an open issue. I refer with understanding and personal liking to those trends within the bosom of the PZPR which, standing on the foundation of socialist ideological identity, at the same time, declare the need for shaping a new party of the Polish left, with a wider than hitherto political base.

The point is that these changes should cause an inflow and not an outflow of people, a strengthening and not a weakening; hence the process of creating such a party will be a test of character, personal courage, and ideological strength. In Poland there is a strong natural demand for a party of the Polish left, a party with a pragmatic program, pro-civilizational, aimed at satisfying the needs and shaping the social relations of the next century. Such a party would be a counterweight for conservative, narrow, and nationalistic tendencies, colored by reaction and intolerance. It would represent the educational and intellectual achievements, the protest and disappointment, the strivings and aspirations of workers, peasants, and intelligentsia shaped by postwar Poland.

Together with the monopoly of power the PZPR must say goodbye to senility and the remnants of outdated doctrines and cliches. I stand at the head of the party at a breakthrough moment: on the one hand, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and the PZPR leadership is attacked for having involved itself in risky political and economic reforms and bringing about the roundtable and its results: elections and the handover of power. Such critics do not take into account that an era has ended, and that the party conducting another policy would have died of senility, or in a clash with a violent social explosion. On the other hand, I am attacked by the hitherto opposition as the one who attacked it polemically. Every party leadership leading the PZPR from the Stalinist past to the modern socialism of the future will

be attacked, by conservative forces within the PZPR and by the hitherto opposition, which I think does not understand yet that it is in the interests of the nation and the state to have a strong party of the Polish left, not the weakening and wilting of the PZPR.

I understand the disappointment, the bitterness, and the feeling of defeat of many of my colleagues, friends, and party sympathizers. I also understand the antipathy and enmity of those who were until recently our opponents. But I believe that time and deeper reflection upon the homeland's history and fate will free us from the experiences of the past. I call upon party members and sympathizers of the PZPR to understand that the former role of the party cannot come back again. New and difficult tasks await us, but we must not look back over our shoulders. The PZPR grew weaker with the years, while holding in its hands the instruments of power. At the present moment it is ridding itself of a lot of ballast and it has an historic chance of strengthening its political vitality and influence. Let us begin to build a mighty party of the Polish left-wing which will have a radically broadened political base. Activists of my generation wish to hand over just such a party to the young people.

OPZZ Reacts Favorably to Mazowiecki Expose

*LD1309144889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 13 Sep 89*

[Text] The National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] Executive Committee has adopted a statement on the premier's expose yesterday.

The trade unions belonging to the OPZZ receive with hope the announcement of a resolute fight against inflation, the provision of adequate old-age pensions, a breakthrough in housing construction, improved health care, environmental protection, the solution of problems in the health service, education, and science, and of placing all economic sectors on an equal footing.

The Executive Committee notes that it would not be able to remain indifferent in the face of the possible negative phenomena announced by the premier, such as unemployment, or a significant fall in the standard of living. However, the OPZZ's openness toward cooperation in implementing political, social, and economic reforms was declared.

Walesa Interviewed on New Polish Government

*AU1309190289 Vienna Television Service in German
1730 GMT 13 Sep 89*

[Interview with Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by Joana Radzyner in Gdansk on 13 September; in Polish with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] How does Lech Walesa judge the new Polish government? Is he satisfied?

I am working so that our society is satisfied, says Walesa. The government is interesting and manysided. It will bring us many surprising and many positive decisions.

Where does Walesa see the greatest danger for the government which is not led by Communists, in which the Communist Party is a coalition partner, however?

[Walesa] The danger lies in the time factor. There is no doubt that everybody wants reforms, nor is there any doubt that we want comprehensive changes. What is doubtful is whether we will achieve practical results. The people are fed up with promises and arrangements from above. The people want to live better. I am asking myself whether we will be successful.

[Radzyner] Would that mark the end of the experiment?

[Walesa] No; however, the price would be higher. We would drop back by some stages of our development. We would then lose much time and energy on unnecessary things, and the reforms would be killed.

Walesa: Conditions for Self-Sufficiency Created

*LD1409014889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 13 Sep 89*

[Text] Our Gdansk correspondent, Andrzej Trojanowski, today managed to ask Lech Walesa for a brief statement:

[Begin Walesa recording] Really, we have maximal political gains, which are preparing economic solutions, but for these economic ones the government alone is not enough. The involvement of the public is needed, as well as cooperation with abroad [word indistinct].

I am encouraged, and I will be working in this direction, but I want to awaken the public, which complains that it does not have bread or good sausages, for example, yet the possibilities exist for them to bake themselves, to produce themselves, but they do not want to make use of them. The voivoda and I are creating such possibilities, so is the premier, and the government, as well. We are creating possibilities for everyone to make what they do not have, only (?alone; we will not do everything for you) We are (?responsible) for conditions. I am saying that conditions in Poland are being created so that everything can return to normal. [end recording]

Minister Kiszczak Interviewed on Tasks

*AU1309123289 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 11 Sep 89 p 4*

[Interview with Deputy Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak, minister of internal affairs, by Jerzy Szperkowicz: "An Impossible Reversal"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Szperkowicz] You said at your hearing before the Sejm Internal Affairs Commission that the first government in 40 years to be headed by a noncommunist premier is the best guarantee of the permanence of the

political changes in Poland, and that one of the reasons you have accepted the interior minister post is to make sure nothing is done to reverse these changes. How real is the danger of such a reversal?

[Kiszczak] It cannot happen without the participation of the Defense and Interior Ministries. The present personnel composition of these ministries rules out the possibility of these ministries participation. A rebellion by a group of sergeants led by a very capable lieutenant is possible in theory, but this is not part of Polish tradition. It could happen in Africa or Latin America.

[Szperkowicz] Until recently, the Interior Ministry made sure nothing changed in Poland. Yet now it is supposed to make sure that nothing disrupts changes. As recently as a year ago, the idea of privatization of industry was an act of sabotage on the hallowed social ownership of production resources, and yet today privatization is a part of state policy. Does such a radical change of direction and the adoption of hitherto rejected values not pose the danger that ministry employees will be confused?

[Kiszczak] The changes did not occur overnight. The proposal to hold the round table talks was preceded by my correspondence with Lech Walesa. Before that, there were talks with the Catholic Church hierarchy (Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski and Bishop Alojzy Orszulik) about the need to move toward democracy and national reconciliation. Therefore, Interior Ministry employees gradually grew accustomed to the prospect of living with the opposition, and accepted the inevitability of a Polish compromise. If they had not been properly prepared, there might have been objections and tension today. In a ministry like ours, the deeds and words of the boss are followed very carefully.

[Szperkowicz] You have said nothing about ideological objections.

[Kiszczak] We expect our employees to identify themselves solely with state interests. A state institution that protects the constitutional order and internal security cannot be allowed to become a scene of rivalry between various political currents. That is why the depoliticization of the Interior Ministry should be understood as a removal of party considerations thereof, and if the government takes such a decision, the ministry will obey.

[Szperkowicz] At the meeting with the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Deputies Club, you announced the abolition of the department that supervises religious life. What savings will such a move achieve?

[Kiszczak] The directive on this subject is dated 24 August 1989. Departments responsible for protecting the state constitutional order, civic rights and liberties, and the economy will take the place of others that are being abolished or cut. Regional security employees affected by these changes will be transferred to the militia, where

government. The premier allayed these fears and said that the rumors were unfounded. The president intended to appoint another minister of state, but one that is to come from the ranks of the opposition.

A question was asked about "Solidarity" under secretaries of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense. The premier replied that he saw the question of these ministries in terms of a process that can be initiated by the establishment of political councils within both the ministries. In his opinion, this would be the first step toward transferring these ministries to the state.

The premier also said that he did not expect voivodes to offer to step down or wait to be confirmed in their posts. The work of individual voivodes would be assessed by the secretary of state for local administration, and what the premier now wants is an end to the period of uncertainty and for work to proceed normally. T. Mazowiecki recalled that his guiding principles would be competence and loyalty.

The post of under secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Trade is to be reserved for the Citizens' Parliamentary Club.

These were some of the views that were expressed shortly after the meeting of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club ended.

Deputy Grazyna Staniszezwska: "A sound bloc of economic appointments."

Senator Karol Modzelewski: "I can understand why Private Farmers' 'Solidarity' feels that it has received a worse deal than the ZSL, and this may give rise to friction. However, what matters most is the deal that the farmers have got."

Deputy Ryszard Bugaj: "The present economic team represents a strong liberal current. I myself do not go along with that, but it is a good thing that it is headed by a very competent person, that is, Prof Balcerowicz."

Lech Walesa Discusses Recent FRG Visit

*LD1209023489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 10 Sep 89*

[Text] At the now-traditional meeting after the Sunday service at the church of St Bridget, Lech Walesa spoke of his journey to the FRG.

[Begin Walesa recording] It is unbelievable how far behind we are. It is unbelievable how far we have been left behind. It is improbable that we can get there on our own. In association with this, I spoke everywhere about how Europe is one; that we must arrange this Europe anew; that there were those who tried to arrange Europe by force, with tanks—we know them—and there were those who tried to arrange a beautiful world for us with ideology. They have arranged it for us so that if they stood still for 50 years, we still would not catch up.

We will have to work hard; that is how it is in the world. That is why we still stretch out our hands, but not for charity—we said that right away—not for charity. We must take new technologies; we must make new cooperation agreements; we must get down to work together, and Europe will be one. You love Gdansk; we love Bonn and other places, too. We will travel: you here, we there. Europe is one, so let us work together. I have 16 enterprises from our voivoda which are ready for cooperation in our voivodship. For all 16, I have two willing enterprises from the FRG. They can undertake work right away, on an equal footing, with no funny business, with no selling-off of Poland, for I also hear such voices. Yes, I am selling, and to whom, yes. No selling off! There really are new conditions now, a new age, and one Europe. I saw this from above, from the plane, really one Europe. [end recording]

Daily Comments on Visit

*AU1109115689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
9-10 Sep 89 p 8*

[Commentary by Daniel Lulinski, TRYBUNA LUDU Bonn correspondent: "Experience on the Rhine"]

[Text] What are the results of the 4-day visit to the Federal Republic? That was a question put to the chairman of "Solidarity" at news conferences in Dusseldorf and Bonn.

Walesa knew that his not always very accurate but usually colorful invitations to invest in Poland had not brought about any concrete commitments from the Federal Government and its economists.

A change of government and the appointment of Lech Walesa's confidant as premier did not change in the least bit the federal government's reluctance to render Poland economic and financial aid. In fact, industrial and financial circles represented by the influential FRG Commission for Eastern Economies displayed an unexpectedly cold attitude toward such aid, especially aid for investments. It is difficult to understand why. Such a cold stance was made plain during the chairman of this commission's talk with L. Walesa.

No wonder Lech Walesa provided various assessments of his talks, depending on their results. He said he liked most of all his talks with the German Trade Union Federation DGB, whose guest he was. He was quite happy with his exchange of views with politicians. However, he seemed disappointed with talks on economic contacts.

Perhaps Lech Walesa did not choose his delegation too carefully. They were new to this kind of scene. Not only economic officials, but also numerous press commentators said that there were no speakers or experts capable of telling the German side exactly what kind of economic plans "Solidarity" and the milieus from which the present Polish Government chief stems have in mind.

The German side considered the "Solidarity" chief's 16 proposals for joint ventures with the FRG too superficial and insubstantial.

The \$10 billion which "Solidarity" and the Citizens Parliamentary Club claim are necessary in order to heal the Polish economy caused heated discussion. It ought to be stressed that Walesa himself made it clear on several occasions that he had not come to the FRG to beg for billions of dollars worth of credits, but merely to indicate the real chances of investment and cooperation that exist in Poland.

It is good that the "Solidarity" chairman extended his political contacts in the FRG; consolidated and expanded cooperation with the influential DGB; and created a higher quality of contacts with the Social Democratic Party (SPD). There is no doubt that all this increased Walesa's room for maneuvering vis-a-vis conservative circles, such as the CDU [Christian Democratic Union].

It ought to be stressed that Walesa earned the support of those FRG social and political forces who have for years been in favor of expanding relations with Poland on the basis of a recognition of the border on the Odra and Nysa rivers.

Walesa made it plain that the Polish border on the Odra and Nysa is a prerequisite for good-neighborly relations with the FRG. He said to Chancellor Kohl that in the FRG one can hear irresponsible pronouncements about border issues, pronouncements that do not suit the times we live in, apart from which the facts cannot be changed. In a report to the Ebert Foundation, Walesa dotted the "i" by saying that Poland is concerned about remarks in the FRG that express border revisionism, and said that such remarks cannot be reconciled with the aims of Europeans toward a form of cooperation that transcends bloc divisions.

Walesa Envisages Dissolution of Military Pacts

*LD1109215589 Warsaw PAP in English
2036 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Gdansk, Sept. 11—"Solidarnosc" leader Lech Walesa staged a press conference here today.

"It is you who see the problems of Communists in Poland, answered Walesa to an American journalist's question, and you still picture them with knives between their teeth. Communists are not a problem in Poland, as you see it, but the nonsenses they have introduced. The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] may be helpful as it has many reformers."

Walesa rejected suggestions that existence of the "Solidarnosc" government and communist Army may provoke conflicts. "There is wisdom in the nation because communism has served us well as concerns wisdom and political practice. We will try to solve everything, though

there will be different voices here and there, because they are bound to be—for political hygiene," he stressed.

Asked whether he can imagine Poland outside the Warsaw Treaty, Walesa said: "I think that (military) pacts are an increasingly funny thing, both NATO and Warsaw Treaty. The problem lies only in the time when they will be dissolved. Today no worker, either an American or a Polish one, wants to fight. It is really a waste of time and money. We proceed towards one Europe. And if there is nobody to fight against, everything (all pacts) will fall apart. Thus what should we now risk to lose [as received], danger for? It has to follow—Americans and Russians will do it."

Walesa came out in favour of an "Italian model" in which frequent changes of government do not disturb economic life. "Poles have no choice, he stated, they have to work better, and this government must only facilitate that, create conditions for initiative."

Lodz Trade Unionists Issue Protest Statement

*LD0909161489 Warsaw PAP in English
1414 GMT 9 Sep 89*

[Text] Lodz, Sept. 8—Chairman of the factory organisations of the Federation of Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union of Light Industry sent to PAP a statement to protest against further aggravation of the situation facing Lodz agglomeration employees. The statement reads in part:

"The chaos, economic lawlessness and progressing poverty define the economic situation in September 1989. The price plunder taking place on the food market of Lodz since last August compels hundreds of thousands of employees of state enterprises and their families to forward a resolute protest.

It cannot be so any longer and we will not passively face everyday price hikes with a drop in supply at the same time. We demand:

1. Taking up resolute and perceivable actions in the sphere of supply of the Lodz shops first of all with foodstuffs.
2. Conducting such a supply policy so that the prices in the Lodz agglomeration were not the highest ones in Poland.
3. Proper use of the light industry products in trade negotiations with other industries and agglomerations.
4. Taking up by the Lodz People's Council active measures for the election of the Lodz mayor and a total reorganisation of the structure and personnel of state administration in Lodz.

Reportage on Walesa Visit to FRG, Return Home**Talks With FRG Leaders**

*LD0809203389 Warsaw PAP in English
1940 GMT 8 Sep 89*

[By PAP correspondent Eugeniusz Guz]

[Text] Bonn, Sept. 8—The last day of Lech Walesa's visit to the FRG started with a breakfast with Federal Minister of Economy Helmut Haussmann this morning at 7:30. There was no communique issued after the meeting but the minister said he appealed for signing in the shortest possible time a bilateral agreement on protection of investments of FRG industrialists in Poland. Such document has been already signed by Bonn with the USSR and Hungary.

The minister also appealed for a green light in Poland for FRG medium and smaller firms. Lech Walesa for his part spoke about those economic fields in Poland which need foreign investments.

After a mass in the Cologne Cathedral, Walesa held talks with Foreign Minister Genscher who broke off his recovery leave after having some heart problems and came to Bonn to discuss with the Solidarnosc leader the current developments in Poland and in Europe and the Polish-West German relations.

Walesa stressed the necessity to give up the discussion on border issues. Minister Genscher said that the FRG did not question the Polish border and briefed Walesa on his recent talks with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas and American Foreign Deputy Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger.

After a talk between Lech Walesa and SPD leader Hans-Jochen Vogel, the spokesman for the party said that Lech Walesa pointed to an urgent need for fast and concrete assistance from the FRG to Poland. Vogel assured Walesa of SPD's support for the programme of reforms in Poland. SPD is exerting pressure on the government to create premises for material assistance. For SPD, the Polish western border is of lasting character. Further discussions on borders weaken reformatory forces in Poland and in the USSR, the spokesman said.

Quite unexpectedly, Walesa met in Bonn on Friday with West-German industrialists. He also paid a visit to Mayor of the city Daniels and made an entry in a commemorating book.

Before his departure from Bonn, Walesa attended the opening of a congress of the hundred-year old trade union of miners and power engineers, one of the biggest labour organization in the FRG. Present was Bundestag President Rita Sueszumuth. Walesa greeted the meeting on behalf of the Polish delegation.

At the conclusion of the four-day visit to the FRG by the Solidarnosc delegation, the sides issued a joint communique. The most important point of the document is the

confirmation by the DGB (Trade Union Center) of the inviolability of the Polish western border.

Joint Statement Issued

*LD0909014189 Warsaw PAP in English
2305 GMT 8 Sep 89*

[Text] Duesseldorf, Sept. 8—In the joint statement published here today by two trade union centres, the NSZZ [Independent Self-governing Trade Union] "Solidarnosc" and DGB [German Trade Union Federation], after reviewing the programme of the Polish delegation's visit to the FRG, the DGB said that the current western border of Poland was inviolable and as such it had to stay.

"Solidarnosc" stated in turn that the Berlin Wall and "Iron Curtain", as relics of the Stalinist past, should vanish. The discussion about the borders will gradually become unnecessary in step with the creation of the united Europe, exceeding the EC border, and its consolidation.

DGB and "Solidarnosc" agree that the intensified economic cooperation with the Western countries is necessary for creating a free Poland. Here, the leading role should be played by the political and economic circles of the FRG, they said.

Speaks on Return

*LD0909014689 Warsaw PAP in English
0026 GMT 9 Sep 89*

[Text] (?Gdansk), Sept. 8—Chairman of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] "Solidarnosc" Lech Walesa returned today from his four-day visit to the FRG and in a talk with newsmen he spoke about his first reflections from the visit and talks he had held there. He said in part:

"In general, I am very satisfied, because I could once again present the Polish state of affairs. I could see how we are understood in such a big country which leads in Europe. It turned out that we were almost neighbours, we lived near each other and did not know anything about ourselves. There are still some stereotypes—the year 1939, the year 1945. That is why we should start contacts promptly, to clear several things," Walesa said.

Answering a question about the reaction of his interlocutors to his strong stressing the stability of the Polish borders, Walesa said:

"I have to say that I am surprised again. It was them, especially trade unionists, who stressed it stronger than we. If we talk about Europe, if we talk about integration then let us not make fools of ourselves over borders. And I told them just so. I also said that if we organised joint ventures for Poland, then not as the fifth column. These times are gone. You come as Europeans and we are Europeans," the chairman stated.

"We really achieved so much that I am surprised," Walesa continued. "We went there to say that we build

Europe, that we set up joint ventures, that we want to reschedule the debt. And there you are—everything is done. As concerns the concrete facts, why, I am not a premier, I cannot help either the government or directors out. I represent the union and I only helped in these extra-union matters.”

Asked whether there was a danger of “diarchy”—him and the premier, Walesa said:

“No, I am out. I am interested only in pluralism, freedom, democracy and when everything works, I am really going on vacation. I will not enter the government,” he concluded.

Cardinal Glemp Postpones Visit to U.S.

*LD0909144989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1200 GMT 9 Sep 89*

[Text] Cardinal Jozef Glemp has postponed his trip to the United States because, as the Secretariat of the Polish Primate puts it, of circumstances not favorable to pastoral affairs.

Intended for the end of September, the primate's visit was to encompass Chicago, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Detroit, Washington, and Boston.

Daily Criticizes Sununu Statement on Poland

*AU1109102889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
9-10 Sep 89 p 8*

[Commentary signed 'przem': “If There Is Talk of Gifts...”]

[Text] John Sununu, White House chief of staff, has made another statement on the subject of the American position toward Poland. He said that the policy President Bush formulated at Hamtramck (a “Polish” district of Detroit) is permanent and consistent. Sununu doubts whether this policy needs to be changed because to do so might cause a repetition of past mistakes.

“Throwing money into this system,” he said, “may bring about its repair. That sounds good, but it does not seem to be the right way to solve Poland's difficult economic problems. Poland already received over \$39 billion in the form of gifts and credits in previous years, and yet that money did not help the Polish economy.”

In the context of this statement, I think it is worth reconsidering the facts. The way the credits were used was certainly not the best.

As for figures, between 1971 and 1987 Poland received \$47.6 billion in medium- and long-term credits, and repaid \$43.2 billion (\$23.8 billion consisted of repayment of the capital sum and \$19.4 consisted of interest). This is over 88 percent of the total credits received by Poland. And yet we are burdened by a huge and ever-growing debt. Major blame for this rests on factors beyond our control. Interest rates began to rise sharply at

the end of the 1970's and beginning of the 1980's, as a result of which it became necessary to pay increasingly higher interest on credits which we had received earlier.

The beginning of this decade was a particularly difficult time. Western countries reacted to martial law with sharp restrictions. According to reliable figures, the American restrictions cost us at least \$15 billion. Let us add this figure to the total that we have repaid. Additional problems were caused by fluctuations in the exchange rate, especially the fall in the dollar, the currency in which our debts are expressed.

Poland wants to repay its debts. It wants to regain its financial credibility. Most of all, it wants to cast off the burden that rests on the shoulders of its citizens, for it is they who are paying for the present situation. However, in order for that to happen, a more favorable stance from our creditors is required, so that we can preserve an intelligent compromise between our balance of payments and the servicing of our debts. More and more people in various countries understand that. However, John Sununu, a specialist in nonchalant and careless statements on this subject, does not.

He is a high-ranking representative of the American administration, and for that reason alone one cannot turn a deaf ear to what he says. I hope Mr Sununu's opinion will not prevail when policy decisions concerning Poland are made in the famous building on Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue.

Bush Aid Proposals to Congress Noted

*LD0809124489 Warsaw PAP in English
1100 GMT 8 Sep 89*

[By PAP correspondent Jerzy Gorski]

[Text] Washington, Sept. 8—White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater said yesterday during a press conference that President Bush chaired a White House meeting devoted to the evaluation of the situation in Poland and to U.S. aid for this country. After the meeting, President Bush forwarded to the Congress a draft law “Democracy act—1989” which includes provisions regulating grounds for economic aid for Poland and Hungary.

The legislative document presented by the President to the Congress provides for the expenditure of 100 million dollars for Poland for the private enterprise development fund in Poland and 25 million dollars for a similar fund in Hungary. President Bush asked the Congress to promptly approve the package of economic aid for Poland.

Asked about President Bush's stand on Senator Domenici's proposal of sending to Poland a special mission of technical experts and economists equipped with powers to carry out a full assessment of economic situation in Poland and to present conclusions concerning additional U.S. aid for Poland, the press secretary said that the President supported such idea.

Wiatr Returns From FRG, Reports on Visit

LD0509204189 Warsaw PAP in English
1935 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 5—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Secretary Slawomir Wiatr today returned from a visit to the FRG. This is what he said about the visit and its results:

"I stayed in the FRG from September 1-5 at the invitation of the land premier of North Rhine-Westphalia Johannes Rau.

"The talks with the SPD concerned the relations between the parties. Our partners were interested in the transformations taking place in our country, particularly what was taking place in the party and its stance towards the systemic changes. The SPD officials expressed understanding for what we are doing, for the stance of the party towards these changes as well as its stance on the coalition government headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki and the support which we want to lend this government.

"The talks at the Chancellor's Office concerned all of Polish-FRG relations, including the matter of the visit of Chancellor Kohl to Poland. We were of the opinion that there are chances for a real breakthrough in mutual relations. The visit of the FRG chancellor, were it to take place this year, could constitute an important element of this breakthrough.

We also spoke about the premises of economic assistance for Poland. I acquainted Minister Seiters with the PUWP's stand on the creation of the new government and it was welcomed. My interlocutor expressed a hope that this government would create stable political premises for economic reforms which determine economic, credit or capital aid for Poland," the CC secretary stated. [quotation marks as received]

Walesa Holds News Conference Before FRG Visit

AU0709103689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
5 Sep 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Poland Is Different Today—Walesa News Conference"]

[Text] Gdansk—Lech Walesa met with Polish and foreign journalists in Gdansk on 4 September, on the eve of his visit to the FRG. Presenting his hopes and expectations connected with the visit, the "Solidarity" leader emphasized that the FRG is one of Poland's chief partners in the West, and is Poland's closest partner. Therefore help from this country in the form of broad economic cooperation would be particularly valuable. "Poland is aiming toward European unity," said L. Walesa. "This unity should permit an economic leveling-out. We want a single Europe on the basis of partnership, without serfdom." He also expressed hope that cooperation with the German Trade Union Federation [DGB], with whose representatives he is due to hold talks, would expand and consolidate.

Asked about a possible visit to Moscow, L. Walesa replied that although he, as an admirer of Gorbachev, would very much like to meet him, the present situation in Poland and the Soviet Union poses no special political need to do so. "I think this meeting will come about when the situation is completely stable," he said.

Walesa hoped that, as the economic situation in the country grows more stable, "Solidarity" will be able to turn to purely trade union activity. "The ultimate signal for this will be the implementation of the Political Parties Act. This will organize society into parties, and we will be left with the trade union sphere." The "Solidarity" chairman pointed out the somewhat anachronistic nature of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, which used to be a political current of "Solidarity," and whose activity until now involved a confrontational struggle for political liberty. "Such a program and path of action is no longer valid," he said. "Poland is different today, and the most important thing is to establish programs that lead to the future."

Asked what he thought of Premier T. Mazowiecki's initial talks with the Polish United Workers Party leadership about forming the new government, L. Walesa answered: "I see one Poland—not a Poland of party affiliations, nor a divided Poland, but a Poland that is self-reforming. Under these circumstances, the Polish Government is to composed of reformers, no matter what party membership cards they hold. I will tell Mr Rakowski and Mr Orzechowski that they should think about Poland and reform, not about the seats to which they are entitled. More than 90 percent of party members are ready for reform. They are patriots. They should be elected not because they are entitled to seats, but on the basis of the reforms and their personal capabilities. If that principle is applied, I am in favor," Walesa said.

L. Walesa also shared his personal feelings about being able to attend the World War II 50th anniversary celebrations at Westerplatte together with state dignitaries. "I did not feel politically or morally qualified to be among such a body of people and receive such an honor. However, T. Mazowiecki personally asked me to go. Even if I receive nothing else in my life, I consider it a supreme reward to have been among the first people to pay homage to this great anniversary on that great day."

Walesa Invites Kohl, Von Weizsaecker to Poland

LD0609211189 Hamburg DPA in German
2033 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—Even before his visit to Bonn, Walesa invited Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker to pay a visit to Poland soon. In a news program on ARD [German Television] Walesa said this evening: "I would like to invite the federal chancellor to Gdansk so that he can see for himself what we need; he should take part in the historic changes. We cannot of course force anyone,

they must come to their own conclusions. I hope that we will see the federal chancellor and federal president in Poland soon."

Walesa described as a "rumor" the suggestion that his country wants a loan of DM20 billion from the West. The point is not credits and loans, but cooperation. In Poland the German economy can earn more than elsewhere, especially in the foodstuffs and hotel sector.

Walesa Interviewed on Property Changes

*AU0509082489 Paris AFP in English
0754 GMT 5 Sep 89*

[Excerpts] Mulhouse, France, Sept 5 (AFP)—Poland needs changes to its property laws more than it needs credits from the West, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said in an interview published here Tuesday.

Mr Walesa told the daily L'ALSACE: "The Communists have shown that if credits are badly administered, they can have unfortunate results. In our country, 95 per cent of property belongs to the State ... we must take back from the State at least 80 per cent of the land, the factories and the houses it possesses."

The interview appeared as he was about to begin a three-day visit to West Germany at the invitation of the DGB, the confederation embracing all the country's trade unions. Mr Walesa, who was scheduled to arrive in Dusseldorf on Tuesday, is due to meet Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher later in the week.

Commenting on the election last month by the Polish Parliament of Solidarity activist Tadeusz Mazowiecki as the country's first non-communist prime minister for more than 40 years, Mr Walesa said: "The West must act immediately. We have no more than six to 12 months if our revolution is not to fail." While he was "satisfied with the encouragements" from the West, he said he had seen "mostly words". [passage omitted]

In his interview with L'ALSACE, Mr Walesa again said he hoped to retire once Poland was free. "I am not joking when I say that I do not like politics", he said. "I do not see myself as president, prime minister or as minister. I want to remain free."

Jaruzelski Message to Nonaligned Conference

*AU0609103489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
4 Sep 89 p 1*

[Message to J. E. Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency and chairman of the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Movement, from Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic]

[Text] To J. E. Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency and chairman of the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Movement, in Belgrade.

Mr Chairman,

I wish to convey cordial greetings and sincere wishes for successful and fruitful deliberations to the participants in the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Movement.

The Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Movement is taking place in a new and highly promising international climate. As we stand on the threshold of the 21st Century, there is a growing feeling of joint responsibility for the future of the world on the part of all states and peoples. Processes that may have enormous historical consequences are underway. New thinking is gaining in strength. The principles of peaceful coexistence are obtaining increasingly wider recognition. Regional conflicts are being gradually extinguished, and progress is being achieved in disarmament negotiations.

The nonaligned states have a significant role in this respect. The defense of universal values and rising above parochial and bloc interests bear a special significance today, as we honor the memory of the millions of victims of Nazi genocide on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II.

Poland has always held the principles, goals, and activities of the nonaligned movement states in high esteem. They are close to the principles that our country is guided by in its conduct of foreign policy. Today, we will cooperate even more closely in the realization of the noble ideals of the nonaligned movement in striving to achieve lasting peace and to establish a new political and economic order in the world that is based on the principle that the interests of all states are equal.

Permit me, Mr Chairman, to express the belief that the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Movement will promote the welfare of the nations represented at the meeting in Belgrade.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic.

Foreign Minister Statement on Nonaligned Summit

*LD0609044989 Warsaw PAP in English
2340 GMT 5 Sep 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 5—After his return from the 9th summit of non-aligned states in Belgrade, Poland's Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski made the following statement for PAP:

"My visit to Belgrade was connected with the granting to Poland by the 9th conference of heads of non-aligned states and governments the status of a guest within this movement. We were interested in that because—while remaining a Warsaw Treaty member—we would like to manifest our will to overcome artificial bloc divisions and look at the world as a unity facing numerous common challenges.

there would have been little likelihood of it being settled speedily! Any attempt at producing some more radical moves on our part would have been foiled by well-aimed ripostes that had, more importantly, the backing of international law.

The economic dispute over the Pomeranian Bay is over, and we have gained the maximum economic benefits and did not lose anything when it was in progress. At any rate, that is how the outcome of the Pomeranian issue is viewed abroad, by the Swiss and the FRG press, for example. Anyone who speaks on the subject of Polish foreign policy should be familiar with all of this. Facts are what count. They cannot be interpreted arbitrarily in wrangling over ministerial posts.

Walesa Meets Democratic Party Leader

*LD0109195289 Warsaw PAP in English
1550 GMT 1 Sep*

[Text] Gdansk, Sept. 1—Lech Walesa met Chairman of the Democratic Party CC [Central Committee] Jerzy Jozwiak here today.

The meeting was linked to the process of formation of a coalition government and both sides said it was necessary to speed up steps to strengthen the coalition. Time passes and the coalition that forms a government must be strong and integrated enough to form an effective government of all Poles.

Orzechowski on Party Sejm Group, Constitution

*LD3108133389 Warsaw PAP in English
1211 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 31—TRYBUNA LUDU today carries an interview with PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Political Bureau member and leader of the PUWP Sejm Floor Group Marian Orzechowski.

Speaking about this floor group, Orzechowski said:

“The group is differentiated and multi-coloured. There is a group of deputies who thought and perhaps continue to think that the PUWP Sejm group as such defends not the interests of the state, the nation, the party as a whole, the ideas and values of democratic and humanistic socialism but rather the interests of certain leading groups and apparatuses, and that Sejm group is manipulated by these apparatuses.

“At the same time, a much greater group of deputies are dissatisfied with the pace of changes in the party and think that still more is said than done. They are critical of the fact that we as a party are not vigorous enough and that we still allow ourselves to be taken by surprise and outdistanced. I well understand all these fears and concerns and unfortunately there is much point in this. But I do not agree with a view that the best remedy to this is leaving the group, setting up the ‘PUWP-II’ Sejm group or switching over to ‘independence.’ And such is also an

opinion of the overwhelming majority of the group and that is why we invariably are and want to be together.”

Discussing an initiative by fifteen PUWP deputies to cross out the provision on the PUWP leading role out of the constitution, Orzechowski said:

“The question has existed and been alive in the party for a long time - I think that since the 9th congress. The point No 1 of Article No 3 of the Polish constitution is dead and does not reflect political reality and the real situation of our party. Its role in society does not stem from legal provisions but from the degree of social support and confidence. And after June 4 nobody can any longer have doubts about what this confidence now is.

“The anachronism of this provision is obvious and it happened well that it was we rather than somebody else who forwarded this initiative,” Orzechowski said.

Lech Walesa Speaks at Gdansk Ceremonies

*LD3108194289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] The culminating ceremonies of the August days, organized on the anniversary of the signing of the August agreements in 1980, began with a concert by the brass bands of shipyard workers and miners before the monument to the fallen shipyard workers in Gdansk. [passage omitted]

During the ceremony, Lech Walesa's guest Jan Nowak-Jezioranski made a speech. [passage omitted]

Lech Walesa then spoke. He said, among other things:

[Begin Walesa recording] We want to have a government that is really capable of changing Poland, a government that will really be responsible to Solidarity and its allies, to the nation. It is our duty today to make sure that this is really so and that we are not disappointed. There have been too many disappointments already. Nine years after that August we are facing a greater opportunity. May it fulfil itself. Remember that the nation always has the final say: that of ordinary people. It is difficult today and difficult months await us, but we must have faith that things can be better in Poland. A great deal can be done today for Poland and for ourselves. We are entering a new era. It depends on us when we will be able to say that Poland is a free, democratic, and prosperous country. [End recording]

[Correspondent] After these speeches there was a wreath-laying ceremony at the foot of the monument and the dedication of commemorative tablets. Next, a mass celebrated by Gdansk diocese ordinary, Bishop Tadeusz Gocłowski, began at the monument to fallen shipyard workers.

"Though not participating in formation of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government, our club offers its support for it and thinks that all opposition political forces in the country should back the cabinet.

"In the transitional period from the totalitarian system to parliamentary democracy various social groups will seek the most efficient forms of political activity. Efforts undertaken by activists of the private farmers 'Solidarnosc' independent trade union and its chairman Jozef Slisz in order to find a formula for not only trade union, but also political activities with which people in the country and towns could identify themselves meet with our great attention and support.

"In such a situation it seems necessary to discuss a new conception of a democratic, peasant-and-christian movement open to cooperation with other political orientations.

"The club will support that search and work."

Walesa Says Government 'Almost' Ready by Friday

*AU0509104689 Paris AFP in English
1016 GMT 5 Sep 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 5 (AFP)—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said Tuesday as he left for West Germany that Poland's new government would be "almost" in place by the time he got back on Friday.

Reports from Bonn on Tuesday said the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP, communist) had asked for six places in the cabinet.

Mr Walesa, who had a meeting late Monday with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, refused to comment on their talks. He told reporters: "I pity and encourage Mr Mazowiecki."

He reiterated his call to reformers to unite. He said there were many reformers within the PUWP and if they had a programme and an open mind "there should be room for them" in the cabinet, but as individuals and not representatives of any political party.

He said membership of the Solidarity-led coalition was "closed."

"It has three components: Solidarity, the Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party. However, one could and should let in reformists, whatever their political allegiance".

Emphasising West Germany's "decisive voice in the future of Europe", he said he hoped to convince West German leaders "that we have done everything possible in the political domain."

"Poland is like a pack of cards, which could be blown away by the slightest breeze of discontentment. With the help of the West, we could make a house of concrete".

The PUWP's ideology secretary Slawomir Wiatr, on a visit to Bonn, said Monday that the Communists wanted

foreign, defence, interior, culture and communications as well as the post of deputy prime minister, newspapers reported on Tuesday.

He said Solidarity should also have six cabinet posts and the remaining six ministries be divided between the two smaller parties in the coalition.

He emphasised that the Communists were not interested in taking on the economy portfolio because they hoped others would succeed where they had failed in the past.

In talks with Chancellery Minister Rudolf Seiters, Mr Wiatr emphasised his party's belief that economic development was the key to the reforms' success. He also asked for West German aid in the form of investment.

Walesa Plans To Visit FRG 5-8 September

*LD0409174889 Warsaw PAP in English
1525 GMT 4 Sep 89*

[Text] Bonn, Sept 4—Lech Walesa's twice announced and twice postponed visit to the FRG will finally start on Tuesday, Sept 5th.

The Solidarity leader is to pay a four-day visit to this country at the invitation of the Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB) trade union central organization to hold talks and meetings on the trade-union, political and church levels.

Walesa is to meet with DGB leaders and participate in a meeting of the DGB Federal Committee.

The purely political part of Walesa's stay includes a visit paid to FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker, a talk with chancellor Helmut Kohl and a meeting with ministers of foreign affairs and of economy.

Walesa will also meet with Cardinal Hengsbach who has recently took part in the celebrations at the Polish shrine of the Holiest Virgin of Jasna Gora, and with other FRG church personalities.

Walesa Expresses Desire To Visit Moscow

*LD0109162689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1515 GMT 1 Sep 89*

[Text] Here is Lech Walesa Especially for Teleexpress.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] More and more is said in the press, from both of the so-called sides, about the growing opposition toward your trade union.

[Walesa] Everything that is happening is connected with the difference of concept. Today, many people, including my colleagues from 1980, think that only the union could be the guarantor of reforms. And I repeat: Yes, it is the nucleus and the starting point for reforms, but without economic, legal, and political conditions there will be no conditions for a good union.

[Reporter] Do you envisage visiting Moscow?

[Walesa] Of course. Who wouldn't like to be in Moscow; who wouldn't like to visit this great country? I want to visit it very much—I will—and I hope that my wish will be fulfilled.

[Reporter] But when? Is it not known?

[Walesa] It does not depend on me. It isn't me who sends the invitation. [end recording]

PAP Cites Walesa Interview With London Weekly

*LD0309234389 Warsaw PAP in English
2043 GMT 3 Sep 89*

[Text] London, Sept. 3—the "SUNDAY EXPRESS" today carries an interview with Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa who appealed to the West for an urgent aid for Poland.

"Help us now, today, if you wait still longer, we may lose a chance which will not happen for another time in our lifetime. You encouraged us, now you have a responsibility to lend us assistance, so that this cause may succeed," Walesa told the paper.

Interview With Geremek on New Government

*AU0509143289 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish
30 Aug 89 p 1*

[Interview with Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Club, by Helena Luczywo and Wlodzimierz Slowinski: "The chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Club on the Government and its Program"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The first question is: Who will be in the new government?

[Geremek] I think that for the moment we have to turn our back on that favorite human pastime, namely, speculating as to the final composition of the government. We have chosen the premier, and his parliamentary club, the Citizens Parliamentary Club, has given him a large measure of confidence. The task of forming the government is his responsibility.

[Question] On what principles will this government be formed?

[Geremek] The Citizens Parliamentary Club, the United Peasant Party [ZSL] Club, and the Democratic Party [SD] Club have entered into a coalition. These political parties and their parliamentary representation want to secure a certain number of cabinet posts in the new government. We are also faced by a situation which was created by the outgoing Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] premier, when he offered these two parties a certain number of government posts.

We believe that the composition of the government must reflect a certain program, and this composition should be

subordinate to the demands of this program. Competence and honesty should be the two qualities necessary in order to join this government.

We must immediately prepare a short term program of about 3 months duration—a program that would be conducive to creating a climate of hope. A longer term program is also required—a program of structural transformation that will get the country out of the rut that it is in.

[Question] What influence has the Citizens Parliamentary Club on the composition of the government?

[Geremek] The parliamentary club is not the party. In our talks with the premier we did not demand this or that ministerial post.

We do believe, however, that certain ministerial portfolios must be distributed on the basis of professional qualifications, and not according to any party allegiance.

I am thinking of the following. Of the ministries in the economic sphere; I include the ministries of finance, agriculture, foreign trade, labor, and industry. Of the ministries linked generally with the cultural sphere, national education is the most important here. The club is agreed that we must hold onto these. Finally, there are the political ministries. According to prior agreement, the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs will remain in PZPR hands. It would be good, however, if we could have nonparty undersecretaries of state appointed here. The ministry of justice and ministry of foreign affairs portfolios must be given according to the criteria of qualifications and honesty, without any partisan considerations.

[Question] The ZSL and SD both want to secure the justice portfolio.

[Geremek] In our talk with the premier we indicated that we consider this sphere to be crucial for the processes that were begun at the "roundtable." The appropriate choice must guarantee the deep changes that the public is expecting.

[Question] The ZSL is also contesting the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Industries.

[Geremek] We must bear in mind the important force that Private Farmers "Solidarity" played in the elections, and continues to play in the Citizens Parliamentary Club. It is natural that it is hoping to secure this portfolio, or the position of deputy premier responsible for agriculture for itself.

[Question] The PZPR is also demanding the Foreign Ministry portfolio.

[Geremek] The experiences of Polish foreign policy—especially the recent conflict with the GDR concerning Baltic territorial waters and the access to Swinoujscie—go to show that the PZPR's monopoly is not in the

OKP Foreign Committee Holds First Session

LD3108164689 Warsaw PAP in English
1524 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 31—The Foreign Committee of the citizens' parliamentary Floor Group OKP held its first session here Thursday.

According to Deputy Janusz Onyszkiewicz, the meeting discussed organizational issues connected with Committee's activity and questions that the OKP would like to present to the Sejm. Among them the most important is the question of the Foreign Ministry's structure.

"Another important problem is to review the relations between Poland and the two German states: The FRG and the GDR," Onyszkiewicz said. "We also plan to deal with Polish-Czechoslovak and Polish-Hungarian relations in the same way.

"The Committee deemed it purposeful to familiarize itself with the legal status that regulates the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland. These regulations are very old indeed as they were made over 30 years ago. That is why we would like to reread them and make amendments if necessary," he said.

Poland Requests Overseas Development Loan

OW2808063189 Tokyo KYODO in English
0550 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Tokyo, Aug. 28 KYODO—Poland called on Japan Monday to extend its official development assistance (ODA) and other aid to the deficit-ridden East European country, which has ended more than 40 years of communist rule.

Polish Ambassador to Japan Ryszard Frackiewicz told reporters at the Polish Embassy in Tokyo that Poland hoped to receive an ODA loan. Japan extends low interest loans to developing countries.

He quoted Japanese government officials as saying that Poland does not qualify for an ODA loan. But he said Poland's per capita income is less than 2,000 dollars compared to an average 2,826 dollars in countries that had received aid in 1987.

Frackiewicz said the Polish Government wanted Japan to give "direct investment, technical aid, and joint production" to Poland, which faces a 39-billion-dollar debt and soaring inflation.

Frackiewicz said the Polish Government hoped also to receive Japanese advice on energy and pollution-saving equipment, thermal power station construction, food-processing production, and company management techniques.

"Poland is entirely an open country and has continued to declare its intention to repay debts to donor countries, he said. He said the country is now at the "brink of economic collapse."

Frackiewicz also said Poland wants economic and investment aid but "not in industries which will have any military relevance."

Walesa To Transfer Nobel Prize Money to Poland

AU3108123289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 29 Aug 89 p 6

[Text] PAP—Jakob Sverdrup, director of the Norwegian Nobel Prize Institute, has expressed his satisfaction with the news of Lech Walesa's decision to withdraw the Nobel prize money he was awarded in 1983.

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE reports that Lech Walesa told Norwegian businessmen in Gdansk that on account of the changes in Poland, he had decided to transfer the money there "in order to invest it in a way that is useful to everyone."

Solidarity Local Radio Station in Prospect

LD3008200489 Warsaw PAP in English
1844 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30: The organizing committee of Radio Solidarnosc of the Mazowsze Region is seeking to organize a local union radio station.

After acquiring appropriate permission to operate the Mazowsze Region radio station, the organizing committee will proceed to build a transmission mast, equip the broadcasting studio and to man the editorial staff. The committee plans that these preparations will last for about two months.

In the first stage the station is to beam about four hours of programmes daily. When full operating capacity is gained it is to work round the clock.

1947 Judgment on PSL Leaders Reversed

LD3008205889 Warsaw PAP in English
1850 GMT 30 AUG 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—Having examined the prosecutor's general extraordinary appeal in the rehabilitation case of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) leadership, Poland's Supreme Court reversed today the whole judgment and acquitted the sentenced.

In 1947 Stanislaw Mierzwa, Karol Buczek, Mieczyslaw Kabat, Karol Starmach and Jerzy Kunce had been sentenced to terms ranging from six to fifteen years by virtue of the decree of November 16, 1945 on crimes particularly dangerous in the period of the state's reconstruction.

Walesa Interviewed on Solidarity, Reforms

*AU3108091389 Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG
in German 31 Aug 89 p 12*

[Interview with Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa by Patrick Garber (RIAS Berlin radio station) and SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG correspondent Thomas Urban in the Gdansk Trade Union Headquarters: "If You Do Not Come I Am Lost—And You Too!"; date not given]

[Text] SZ: What are your feelings about visiting the FRG [on 5 September] a few days after the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II?

Walesa: If you want to recall our great tragedy, the tragedy of all of Europe but also of many individual families, I have to say that we still feel the past losses today. We have still not been able to regain what we lost at that time. Today one united Europe is emerging, Europe as a unity. Therefore, we have to draw the lesson from these terrible experiences of how much misery can be caused by human stupidity. We have to make sure that something like this will never happen again.

My family, too, had to pay the price, my father was killed in the war. But I would also like to say that I am going to the FRG above all as trade unionist.

SZ: Let us stay with the trade unions. What is Solidarity in fact—a trade union or a political party?

Walesa: We have been saying for a long time now that we represent the actual reform, the reform which calls itself Solidarity. At different times this reform movement called Solidarity will look different. Of course, we would like very much to be a good trade union. However, under our conditions the climate is very unfavorable for a good trade union. The economy is not suited for this, there are no political and legal bases.

SZ: What could the next steps of the Solidarity reform movement be like?

Walesa: One example of this is that I could have become president or premier, but I did not. What did I tell the world? That it is not a question of the office, it is not a question of replacing one monopoly of power with another, but that we want reforms, not changing some posts or replacing some people.

SZ: Thus, Solidarity has to divide itself into a trade union wing and a political organization. When is this going to happen?

Walesa: Some say: Now! But if this is going to happen now, which structures have to be established then? Polish society is, above all, a Christian society, that means trade unions and political parties, which are oriented toward Christian concepts. In addition, Polish society is also socialist, and I mean good socialism. Therefore, there should also be socialist parties and trade unions. Third, [number as published] there are, in my view, the Communists—again: communist trade unions

and parties. Then there are also Jews and others. A system is only stable and lasting if it comprises all groups that make up society.

SZ: Are the preconditions for the establishment of political pluralism not more favorable after Tadeusz Mazowiecki's election as premier?

Walesa: But what is the price for this? What do we have to give to the other side for this? The way I use our forces will depend on how things develop. I know one thing: We cannot yet be a really good trade union. Because where would we be strong? In the Katowice metallurgical plant, in the shipyards, in the ports, in the large enterprises—there, there is a big proletariat, there one could establish a big trade union. But what would be its attitude toward reforms? If one has to primarily reform the big colossuses and even abolish many things, how would a trade union, that is a pure trade union, act? Because we need reforms in Poland that are more profound than just trade union reforms, we first have to permit political and economic reforms and only in the third place trade union reforms.

SZ: According to you, this also includes a temporary renunciation of strikes. Does a trade union that renounces its right to strike not become a tiger without teeth?

Walesa: The tiger can also bite itself on the tail or on the ear. At this moment we have to be either trade unionists or Poles. My colleagues suggest to me: Let us found a large trade union! But how should this trade union carry out reforms in the Katowice metallurgical plant, for instance, which has to be abandoned? Such a strong trade union would not agree to this at all. How can I get out of this? I am a trade unionist, I want to be a trade unionist, but within certain limits. If there is no longer any enterprise and no work, then there is also no trade union. And one has to abandon the enterprise or divide it into smaller units. Would a trade union permit this? Would I, Lech Walesa, permit this as a trade unionist? No! I could not do this.

SZ: Which way out does Solidarity see?

Walesa: As long as there is no sensible economy, I have to build one up. And there is no one else who can do that. The Communists cannot manage this. They have tried for 45 years to build something up. And what was the result? They have not built up anything! Therefore, we have to do it, but without deciding everything from above as this was done in the past.

SZ: Which tasks do you see for yourself?

Walesa: By being not willing to become premier, even though this had already been set down in writing, I showed that I do not accept this office because I have to push ahead with the reforms—for the premier, but not as premier myself. I rather have to stay in the trade union, clean up the trade union, and build up political and economic structures. If someone suggests a big trade

union to me, this simply means a trade union that does not permit reforms. But how does one want to make demands if one does not have anything? We can do the same as they do in Yugoslavia.

SZ: What do you think is going on there?

Walesa: For instance, the teachers there go to the local authorities and shout: "We want bread!" Then the party secretary comes and says: "Give them bread!" And the prices go up. Hardly have the teachers gone, then the hairdressers come: "We want bread!" Another price hike, and so on. We can form a trade union and do as the Yugoslavs do. This means, first the doctors strike and get something, then the miners, and so on. This path does not lead anywhere.

SZ: What is your trade union to be like?

Walesa: We want to be a trade union that does not destroy the foundations of the economy but which helps. Later on the trade union can become stronger.

SZ: Will the workers, the young workers above all, have enough patience for this?

Walesa: I have already had talks with such people: "My dear people, we can throw stones, we can whistle. This can take half an hour. But what comes afterwards? First we have to pay for new windows, and then we ask ourselves: How do we get out of this again?" But I suggest something else: First we think about what we are going to do. And then we step on the gas.

However, what do the young ones suggest? Faster, we have had enough! I like this. In their place I would probably shout even more loudly. But I want to find a solution for what they want. With or without a bump on the head. They suggest bumps but not solutions. I say no to this. We have to find a solution, if necessary with bumps.

SZ: What is the main problem?

Walesa: Our dilemma is simply that we do not have money to finance all this. Politically we are already able to do this, but—damn it! —we do not have any money. Therefore, I appeal to you, to the West: Stop being like a virgin who is tempted but afraid to take the plunge. Make an effort and help us!

SZ: What form should this help take?

Walesa: Come with your banks! With your companies! I give you buildings for your banks. Bring your secretaries and plug in your computers! If there is an opportunity for a good deal in Poland, which will be profitable for both you and us, seize the opportunity! This also applies to the money that the people here have stashed away at home. It is estimated that this money amounts to \$1.5 to \$5 billion. But no one trusts a communist Polish bank with this money because the Communists cheated the people. The people would trust your banks with their money. Then we could start reforms, with our money

that is in your banks. Therefore we let you into the country for 10, 15 years. You earn money here. We, too. And, in the end, we will pay you off.

SZ: Why is the West hesitating like a virgin?

Walesa: Businessmen from the West tell me: "Dear Lech, to our great chagrin there are no telephones, no telefax, no good roads here!" I can only say to this: Right! Everything is terrible—no telephone, no telefax. But if we had this you could go to blazes! Then we would not need you. We need you because we do not have anything. We let you into the country because we need you, not because we love you. We propose a business deal to you so that you make a profit and we do, too. This has nothing to do with feelings, neither on your side, nor on ours. This is simply business.

SZ: Which guarantees does Poland give?

Walesa: The West says: "Limit inflation, put the price system in order! And then we will come." But we cannot do this because then everything will break down in Poland. We will never get out of this! One has to take certain risks. Our guarantees: My trade union, Lech Walesa, and the premier, who now is one of us. Thus, there are guarantees, but not 100-percent guarantees. I cannot guarantee that the ceiling will not cave in at the next moment. One cannot guarantee anything 100 percent. You in the West cannot do this either, by the way.

SZ: It has been said that Poland needs \$10 billion in initial aid.

Walesa: We do not want money. We want you to open companies here and to invest here. Therefore, I do not understand Chancellor Kohl's attitude. We say we need \$10 billion but not in cash but as investments. With \$10 billion Poland could be joined to Europe, provided the money is invested well and not wasted. If you agree to this you can make good business. But in your country they say: "the Poles are romantics, fantasists, and want \$10 billion!" This is not correct. We want to make deals worth \$10 billion.

SZ: You spoke about the West's coresponsibility toward the reforms in Poland.

Walesa: If Poland fails now, this means that not only Poland has failed but you, too, because you do not have any imagination, because you have not had the necessary interest. If you do not help Poland to do business with you, then not only we will be the losers, but you, too. Our begging is shameful for me and for all of Poland.

SZ: Why will the West also be the loser?

Walesa: The fact that we are inhibiting Europe's development also affects you. Perhaps one will have to say at some time in the future: "You had the chance to make sure that we no longer hold Europe back. You had the chance for a good business deal. Everything was ready

for this. But you missed the chance because you were too comfort loving and, in addition, you kicked us in the teeth."

Then the West and Europe would have to be accused of its short-sightedness, its lack of imagination and business sense.

SZ: But do you not fear that....

Walesa: Of course, we are fearing many things. We are playing a new, unknown card. But I will be less afraid if you come with your banks and joint ventures. But if you do not come, then I am lost—and you, too.

SZ: Why does Solidarity take over the leadership of the government under these difficult preconditions?

Walesa: What would have been my way out? If I had permitted the Communists to go on, I would have had to agree to what they are doing. I only had one chance and I took it. And now I have to continue!

SZ: This policy is being observed with skepticism by your neighbors. Therefore, both Premier Mazowiecki and you yourself quickly professed your support for the Warsaw Pact. Is this the end of the dream of Poland's Finlandization?

Walesa: Why are you always thinking in such hegemonistic terms? You always want everything at the same time, that we secede from the Warsaw pact, Finlandization, that we change to the American camp. Gentlemen, one thing after the other, take it easy! Permit us to develop step by step. Soon alliances like NATO and the Warsaw Pact will no longer be necessary. But today Poland cannot simply secede. Today we cannot even think of that. Because we really have other enormous problems.

Seceding is a beautiful word! How beautiful would it be if Mazowiecki could proclaim that we are seceding from the Pact! And what would it bring? Nothing!

SZ: The Warsaw Pact states call themselves socialist. You once said: "So far no one has followed the path from socialism to capitalism. And this is precisely what we want." What does this mean?

Walesa: Slowly, slowly. I never said in this way that I want to march toward capitalism. I said that we are establishing a Polish model, which is better than capitalism.

SZ: What is this model to look like?

Walesa: We want your economic capacity, your financial power, but we want to continue living comfortably, in the Eastern way. Of course, this is only a joke. I mean that we want to take over some things from the West but not everything. Because there, there are also many bad things. But with your experiences we could build a new, better system. I do not reject capitalism, I do not say that it is bad. I only say that one could make it better.

[Vienna Domestic Service in German at 0500 GMT on 31 August carries an undated 6-minute interview with Polish Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa by Patrick Garber of the RIAS Berlin radio station, which was recorded in Walesa's office in Gdansk. In addition to verbatim passages contained above, the interview adds the following:

[Asked first about his preferences concerning the alternatives of slow or fast reforms, Walesa says: "I do not agree with this alternative. We have to proceed from the premise that in our country the state is very rich, richer than in your country. I will tell you why. In Germany about 10 to 20 percent of the economy is owned by the state and in our country 95 percent is owned by the state. Thus, which state is richer? Ours. But in our country the citizens are poor. Thus, let us make our state have as much as yours and our citizens will get everything else back—privatization, this is how I imagine things. Taking away from the state which manages badly and distributing to the people, like in your country."

[Talking about potential business with the West, Walesa says: "In Poland great things have happened. We even have a premier from our ranks. We have eliminated or will eliminate everything that hampers us."

[Discussing the West's expectations toward Poland, Walesa admonishes: "Let us first form a government and take some steps—privatization and others—so that the government gets a bit of money. Then we can talk about everything else. Then we can also burden ourselves with things for which we simply do not have the strength at the moment."]

Former RFE Chief Arrives at Walesa Invitation

*LD2908195189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 29 Aug 89*

[Text] Jan Nowak-Jezioranski, who for many years was the director of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe [RFE] and is currently a high-ranking member of the American Polonia Congress, has arrived in Poland. At the airport he said he came at the invitation of Lech Walesa and the Citizens Committee. During his 2-week visit Jan Nowak-Jezioranski will meet, among others, Lech Walesa, Sejm deputies, and senators of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club. He will also visit Gdansk, Czestochowa, and Krakow.

No 'Official' British Invitation for Walesa

*LD2908212489 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1541 GMT 29 Aug 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 29 (TANJUG)—Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa did not receive an official invitation to visit London, the Solidarity leadership has said in a statement denying reports, especially those in the West, that Walesa would shortly visit Great Britain at the invitation of Margaret Thatcher's government.

Walesa's foreign policy department announced that the Solidarity leader intends to visit Great Britain in

Michnik Comments on New Premier, Expectations

AU2808163589 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 25-27 Aug 89 p 3

[Commentary by Adam Michnik: "What I Wish Our New Premier"]

[Text] Following the decision made by the Sejm, Tadeusz Mazowiecki has begun to form a government. This marks the end of one process and the beginning of a new one. I was personally involved in this process, so I apologize for quoting myself. A few weeks ago, I had an article published in GAZETA WYBORCZA (2 July 1989) entitled "Your President, Our Premier." I suggested that a governmental arrangement be worked out in which a president who belongs to the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] would exist alongside a candidate from "Solidarity." I wrote: "Such a president would guarantee continuity with respect to government, international treaties, and military alliances. Such a government would have a mandate from the great majority of Poles and would guarantee consistent change in the economic and political system."

The thesis prompted a lot of critical comment. An author who took issue with my suggestion in the columns of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC charged that my article was a "deliberate political fait accompli," and that such a government or "'Solidarity' ministers" would be unable "to effectively direct an apparatus that was alien to them," and that the "National Trade Union Confederation could at any time undermine the actions of such a government."

It was charged that, in the absence of a program of economic action, I was putting at risk "the difficult and uncertain stabilization of the situation that was created by the roundtable contract in favor of concepts that could upset everything that had been achieved." I was also accused of excessive haste in "calling for participation in government," as well as the inability to differentiate between social imagination and a "political stampede," of which my article was meant to be an illustration (that was the situation a few weeks ago). I admit that so far none of my opponents have conceded that they made a mistake as quickly and in as gentlemanly a manner as the author of those critical observations, because a month later Tadeusz Mazowiecki accepted the post of premier.

His first statements were of a general kind and were reassuring to partners from the PZPR, the United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party. However, I am sure that the premier not only has an accurate idea of social realities, but also a program for leading the Polish economy out of the crisis, even if it is only the basic framework of such a program. If he did not, he would certainly not seek to address such difficult tasks. He undoubtedly also possesses his own vision of the political reform of the state. We will no doubt learn about all of these things from his Sejm speech.

However, it is not only a question of what program, but also of how the program will be realized. What I am thinking of is the form that work will take. This government and this premier have a great amount of capital at their disposal in the form of confidence on the part of those millions of people who voted for "Solidarity" candidates on 4 June. He has the support of Lech Walesa, as Walesa has been personally involved in coalition talks with Mr Malinowski and Mr Jozwiak. Walesa has assumed joint responsibility for the composition and policies of this government.

This government does not have much time. Rapid and spectacular results are needed. What are needed are actions that are sufficiently clear so that people understand why they have to be active and patient. These actions need a protective shield in the form of social calm that could be achieved by signing an anti-crisis pact with the trade unions.

It is no secret among Tadeusz Mazowiecki's friends that one literary character of whom he thinks highly is Kutuzov in Lev Tolstoy's "War and Peace." Kutuzov waited. He knew how to wait long and patiently. I think that Tadeusz Mazowiecki's political biography—he is undoubtedly an outstanding politician—has taught him the art of waiting. This is a great skill and a political virtue. It guards against decisions that have not been properly thought through, decisions that are made rashly and hurriedly. It allows one to make forecasts and precludes political adventurism. Combined with an aptitude for pluralism—another of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's virtues—we can imagine that the future government's policy course will be faithful to pluralism and prudence.

This is precisely the position that the present premier represented when he was in "Solidarity's" governing bodies.

However, are these qualities enough for the premier of a government operating under the present conditions? I think that the premier of this government must possess dynamism and a knack for taking risks. He must have enough courage to make difficult decisions quickly.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that he might be a good or a bad premier, but he will not be a puppet premier. What I also wish him is that he will be a premier who makes clear and concrete statements and bold, farsighted decisions.

Poland is waiting for a clear-cut program and schedule for market-oriented changes in the economy and for the equal status of all forms of ownership that goes along with this. Poland is waiting for a similar program and schedule for the democratic reorganization of the state. This applies, for example, to the speeding up of regional self-management body elections, the reform of the judicial system, and the reform of the mass media.

The premier is a well-known journalist and social activist connected with the church, and was editor-in-chief of WIEZ [LINK] for many years, as well as one of the leaders of the ZNAK movement. This bodes well for Polish democracy. The premier is a member of

[Begin recording] [Senator Dole] We also have budget difficulties. I have already mentioned them this morning. We have other problems of our own, but Mr Walesa said that he would be happy if he were able to exchange his troubles for ours. And so, everything is relative. We will do that which is in our power, and we will surely not contribute to the downfall of the transformations in Poland.

[Walesa] The point is not the defeat of communism, for the [word indistinct] our economic system will cause the unblocking and not the braking of the development of [word indistinct]. And so our reforms, our steps, are in the interest of other countries, for they will allow us to take advantage of their achievement.

[Correspondent] Mrs Dole, [words indistinct] you will be visiting the Gdansk shipyard. Why does the U.S. labor secretary wish to visit this shipyard?

[Elizabeth Dole] This shipyard has very great significance. We have the greatest recognition, respect, and admiration for Mr Walesa, for his great influence on the direction of changes in his country. Visiting the shipyard, we want to meet with the workers and quite simply to spend some time in this very historic and important place.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion on the plans of Barbara Piasecka-Johnson?

[Elizabeth Dole] They sound very good. It is probably what you want to have happen, or at any rate most of it. After our return we will be encouraging her in this work. [end recording]

[Announcer] That was a short report from the meeting in Gdansk today between the Doles and Lech Walesa. Elizabeth and Robert Dole, accompanied by Lech Walesa, laid flowers at the monument to fallen shipyard workers and also visited, as was mentioned, the Gdansk Lenin shipyard. They discussed the prospects for the company formed with Barbara Piasecka-Johnson.

Walesa Calls for End to 'Economic Losses'

*LD2508185589 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1730 GMT 25 Aug 89*

[Interview with Lech Walesa, chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, by correspondent Tadeusz Mickiewicz, on 25 August; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Mickiewicz] Mr Chairman, what is your evaluation of yesterday's events?

[Walesa] In the past we shouted about strikes, about various struggles, that we wanted bread and freedom. It has happened that freedom came first—that is freedom from the point of view of democracy, for freedom can be attained in various ways. Poland has shown that this can be done in a cultured way, it can be done intelligently, and that one can reach the highest possible position. The achievement of the premier, who, only in May, slept with

the workers in the shipyard on foam cushions under a table and is today the premier, our premier: this is a great political gain. On the other hand, there is as yet no bread.

Now, in the name of respect for each other we must do everything possible for things to really economically get better in this country. It is necessary to make some statement—I don't know what to call it—for all economic losses to cease. But, at the same time, for the problems behind the just protests, just demands, to be immediately resolved. We will probably appoint a joint mixed commission, of Solidarity and generally an inter-union one and a government one that will at lightning speed, within the bounds of possibility, attempt to even out these excesses. We must do this, and this will bring an end to struggle and economic losses. That is how it seems to me. That is what I will now start to seek at this moment.

Walesa Statement in Support of Mazowiecki

*LD2508210289 Warsaw PAP in English
1906 GMT 25 Aug 89*

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 25—The press office of the Solidarnosc chairman submitted to PAP Lech Walesa's statement which reads in part:

Two weeks ago I supported Tadeusz Mazowiecki's candidature for the post of Polish prime minister for I determined that Poland required a fundamental breakthrough without which we would not stop sliding down in economic and civilizational terms. Today we can say that this breakthrough has become a fact.

[Warsaw Television in Polish report on Walesa's statement at 1730 GMT on 25 August adds at this point: "Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki is one of us. His pedigree is the pain and protest of the world of working people which, pushed to the extreme, had no alternative but to struggle, even when this struggle brought economic losses. We have won this stage of the struggle, and we must leave it behind us."]

This does not mean, however, that problems have been solved. Working people are struggling with poverty, inequality and injustice. All these wrongs can and must be liquidated. This is all the more important as only some workers managed to win better pay conditions. This critical situation of workers requires radical moves on the part of the government, our government. At the same time, however, we must radically reduce economic losses which are a clear consequence of every strike action.

We must save Poland—not some people at the expense of others but together. We have been waiting for this chance for 45 years and we will not waste it today.

Solidarity Calls for 'Patience' for Mazowiecki

*LD2508111589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 25 Aug 89*

[Text] In response to yesterday's election of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, an appeal has been issued by the

during which the latter conveyed greetings also to Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski. Next the Premier talked to Solidarity chairman Lech Walesa on the phone.

Also today Mazowiecki met at the office of the Council of Ministers with its high-ranking officials.

Warsaw TV Interviews Mazowiecki on Issues

*LD2408191189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Interview with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki with unidentified correspondent in Warsaw on 24 Aug]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr Premier, why did you undertake the function of Premier and the mission of forming a government in a situation that is very difficult, some say hopeless?

[Mazowiecki] First, because though it is difficult someone must start. Second, because it is worth it. The matter at hand is a great one, the point is to get out of it quite simply. The point is Poland.

[Correspondent] Where does all this optimism come from, Mr Premier?

[Mazowiecki] I think that one is optimistic when, first, one has faith in people, and second, one has a certain feeling of moderation, one knows that not everything marvelous will be attained, but that one is doing things that are relevant, that will in fact bring, for the people, for my countrymen, for my country, significant changes. Hence, I think that it is necessary to have a little of this optimism, and I would like to as if I have hope that this will not just be my optimism, but that other people too will think that it is worth it. (?in significant measure).

[Correspondent] What will this Poland that you want to create be like?

[Mazowiecki] Above all, this will be a Poland of all Poles, freer, more democratic, and I would like to have the hope that it is also a Poland without frightening lines, without frightening dramas. Not right away, but a more prosperous one.

Walesa Discusses Solidarity Preparedness

*PM2408170589 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
22 Aug 89 p 3*

[Interview with Polish Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa in Gdansk by correspondent Gabriel Bertinotto: "Walesa: 'I Could Not Make the Premier'"; date not specified]

[Text] Gdansk—Sitting in his office, Walesa turns a package over and over in his hands. He pulls at the tape and unwinds the paper. Out falls a little oval gilt box—a

gift from the delegation of U.S. senators who have just paid him a visit, to assure him that U.S. support will not falter.

We are in the vast gray building that houses the Solidarity headquarters in Gdansk, almost opposite the famous Lenin shipyard (although the name of the October Revolution's leader mysteriously disappeared from the signboard one night last week). We asked Walesa what point had been reached in the negotiations on forming the new, Solidarity-led government and what role the communists might play in it. The Nobel prize winner replied in his characteristic rapid and impetuous style: "In the first place, Premier-designate Tadeusz Mazowiecki has to present himself to parliament to secure confirmation of the mandate given to him by the head of state. This is not yet certain to happen, because the period of blackmail and intimidation is now beginning. We have experienced the communists' behavior in the past, so we know that anything is possible."

[Question] To what kind of blackmail are you referring?

[Walesa] It is enough to read the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee resolution. However, if the communists desist from starting rumors and publishing unhelpful statements, then, given that there are some sensible people in the PZPR, there will be room in the government for them and they will find a place in parliament in 4 years' time when we go to the polls. If, on the other hand, they continue trying to intimidate us, there will be no place for them in the leadership now being formed. And they risk being left outside parliament in the next legislature, because society will punish them for their behavior. So, everything rests in their own hands, and, above all, in their minds. It would be difficult to collaborate with them if, instead of occupying themselves seriously with reforms, they were to persist in pressure, blackmail, and intimidation. By doing that, they themselves would forfeit their place in the game. For this reason I appeal to the PZPR, and through you as well: Concern yourselves with the democratic changes which the country needs and think about a program for the government. Demonstrate that you are capable of achieving more than in the past; then you will recover a role in Poland. Indeed, that is my wish.

[Question] The PZPR is asking to enter the government on the basis of a clear, global accord and says that it cannot be content with only the interior and defense ministries. What do you think about that?

[Walesa] The Polish Communist Party is used to monopolizing power and is not succeeding in transforming itself. They are jumping about like fleas trying vainly to escape the comb, when it would be better to stop and think and uncover the causes of their defeat. That is what they ought to be thinking about, and not ways of maintaining command.

[Question] What is your judgment of the new premier as a man and as a politician?

[Walesa] No one will be able to say that I did not contribute to the choice. No one will be able to say that it was not I who proposed him. Mazowiecki is a man of high intellectual class, and I hope that all of us together will be able to set the government on its way so that we can start to solve the problems. I believe in the choice that has been made, and I pressed for it.

[Question] Will you be devoting yourself mainly to the trade union from now on?

[Walesa] I will be where Poland asks me to be, wherever I can be useful to Poland. I have sacrificed my person on the altar of the homeland. No one can say that I could not have been president of the republic. I could have been; I had the best chance to become president. I could even have been head of the government. I was asked in writing by the parliamentary groups of Solidarity, the Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party. But I stood aside—and not because I was not equal to the tasks. But I am sure that, even while holding different jobs, I can work for the president and for the prime minister without actually being either one or the other. There is a lot that I can do, and I will strive to do it.

[Question] Solidarity is in power. How are the union's activities going to change?

[Walesa] Many things will change, but there is no answer to these questions right now, and things could not be otherwise. Only time will produce the right solution. I wonder whether I may have to develop activity that is more political or more trade union-based. I am at the helm of the trade union, but without a good economic policy there will not be a good union. If we have hitherto staked everything on trade union demands and relegated economic reforms to second place, I think we have been mistaken.

[Question] Is not Solidarity afraid of losing some popular support now that it is involved in the government sphere?

[Walesa] Yes, certainly this is a very dangerous maneuver that we have set in motion. It is risky and it is not very prudent. I did not have to do it. I did it in the knowledge that it might be a mistake. So, why ask me? The point is that on three previous occasions, in 1970, 1976, and 1980, I tried to set reforms in motion, but each time everything was nullified by the persistence of the communist monopoly on power. With those experiences behind me, I realized that time was beginning to run out. The communists kept total control of the state and performed about-turns on the projected reforms. The same thing was about to happen this time. We agreed that the president should be a communist because our membership in the Warsaw Pact, among other things, was at stake. Then, on giving up the secretaryship of the PZPR, President Jaruzelski proposed as his successor former premier Rakowski, who is now under parliamentary investigation for his bankrupt economic policy. And what did the outgoing premier do? He proposed another communist leader, Kiszczak, as his successor. It was, in

sum, the rebirth of the classic monopoly. Knowing the history of what went before, we judged it necessary to oppose this. Thus it happened that, although we were not yet ready, we had to agree to take over the government. Otherwise the game would have been lost. It was a low blow. Only when we are actually in government will we know what we are there for. In any case, if we had ducked the blow would have hit us just the same. Now we have a chance, at least. It is a small chance, but we have it.

[Question] You have said that Solidarity has achieved the maximum change possible in Poland under the present system. Do you not fear the hostile reaction of the more conservative East European governments?

[Walesa] No, I am not afraid, because I know that we have to reach that outcome sooner or later. It was not my wish to act in such haste; indeed my position was to oppose it. Simply, there was no choice. We acted under the pressure of events, in conditions of necessity, and not out of a rational choice.

[Question] When are you going to meet Gorbachev?

[Walesa] I would very much like to meet him, but I think that he has a great number of problems right now, and I truly hope that he can solve them. He has more urgent things to do at the moment than to see me. But if he finds it useful some day, I will be glad to meet him.

Paper Questions PZPR Stance on Coalition

LD2408162189 Warsaw PAP in English
1334 GMT 24 Aug 89

["'DZIENNIK LUDOWY' Who Wants Confrontation?"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 24—A reply to this question posed by today's DZIENNIK LUDOWY has been given by Sejm Deputy Aniela Bukala who said among other things:

The PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party/PZPR] Central Committee's stand on forming a new government and the current political situation has aroused at least surprise. The stand is proof that the PUWP's authorities have not drawn any conclusions from the June elections. Let us say it openly: Society rejected the to-date political system. If the United Peasant's Party [UPP] suffered an overwhelming defeat during the first round of elections, then it was first of all because of the fact that the UPP had agreed to a sham coalition in which it had nothing or almost nothing to say.

How many times, even in recent weeks, did the PUWP representatives speak on behalf of the entire coalition without even asking their partners for opinion?

Our new alliance is not motivated by any kind of opportunism, but first of all by the best understood Polish reason of state. Embarking upon the road of confrontation with the PUWP is out of the question. We

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FBIS-EEU-89-163-A
24 August 1989

ANNEX

1

SANKEI SHIMBUN Interviews Walesa

*OW2308045889 Tokyo SANKEI SHIMBUN
in Japanese 22 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 5—FOR
OFFICIAL USE ONLY*

[“Exclusive interview” with Lech Walesa on 21 August, conducted at his office in the Solidarity headquarters in Gdansk by SANKEI SHIMBUN correspondent Masao Nayuki]

[Text] Gdansk (Poland), 21 Aug— Polish National Assembly authorities disclosed on 21 August that the lower house of the National Assembly will begin proceedings to approve the cabinet of the new Mazowiecki government in its plenary session on 23 August. With this, Poland will take a new historical step. On the eve of this event, “Solidarity” Chairman Walesa, who is considered to be the “father” of this historical event, candidly expressed his enthusiasm and anxiety concerning the coalition government in an interview with SANKEI SHIMBUN. The Polish economy, symbolized by about 40 billion dollars in accumulated debts, is on the brink of collapse. Everyone can see that the road ahead will not be easy. However, the people pin great hopes on the vital political skills of Chairman Walesa, who led “Solidarity” through its winter of martial law, arrests, and detentions and made the clever move of embracing the United Peasants Party and Democratic Party to form a coalition of three parties.

The following is a summary of the question-and-answer session with Chairman Walesa:

[Question] What was behind the sudden coalition with the United Peasants Party and the Democratic Party, something which had not been talked about for a while after the general elections (in June)?

[Walesa] The Communist Party was not only after securing the positions of president and premier, but also attempted to maintain its monopoly of power. We shared the identical view that the political monopoly of the party bureaucrats was driving Poland into a very grave situation, and reached agreement on the need to eliminate that monopoly. In the past, the workers and citizens had risen up several times, but in the end these monopolistic powerholders crushed the fruits of the struggle. With that, history retrogressed and economic losses have been increasing. We were not prepared to lead the government, but we had no other choice.

[Question] Some people believe that if some cabinet members are to come from the Communist Party, this will not be different from the “great coalition government” proposed by President Jaruzelski.

[Walesa] The premier will come from Solidarity. Even though this has some resemblance to the “great coalition government”, it is clearly different. Of course, we also want all forces for reform to participate. If the Communist Party undertakes reforms based on freedom and pluralism, the number of communist seats in the cabinet

may further increase. However, if it attempts to seek a solution which is not based on freedom and democracy and policy debates, by force through threats and coercion, then there will be no place for the Communist Party in the government today or 4 years later.

[Question] You have shifted from the offensive side to the side which, in a sense, will have to accommodate the demands of the workers.

[Walesa] This is a very difficult and complicated problem. I myself have anxieties and worries in this respect. However, there was no other choice. I do not know if there is a chance but I want to bet on the possibilities and fulfill my responsibilities.

[Question] What kind of society is Solidarity aiming at?

[Walesa] The question is not that of following any political doctrine, but that the people are free and individuals and groups can work for our country's development and accomplish their mission. For this reason, a society wherein the people can participate is important. The question is not that of names such as communism or capitalism but one of content.

[Question] On relations with the Soviet Union...

[Walesa] I have long since been prepared to meet General Secretary Gorbachev. I have not been invited, but if it becomes necessary I will be happy to meet him. The USSR is a big country with intertwined interests. He has skillfully maintained the balance in a web of interests. He is the world's best acrobat. For him, to maintain this situation is a very difficult job. He has bigger problems than to meet with me.

[Question] Czechoslovakia and East Germany seem to be anxious about the Solidarity government.

[Walesa] This is Poland's internal affair. We have absolutely no intention to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. Therefore, we hope that they will not interfere in our affairs.

[Question] Do you intend to become the president 6 years later (when the term of the incumbent president ends)?

[Walesa] No, I do not. Personally, I do not want to become the president. However, if the people elect me, I will have to take up the post. Even if I become the president, it will not be for my personal benefit, but for the sake of the country and the people.

[Question] You have said before that you would “make Poland a second Japan”. Is that something of the past?

[Walesa] No, not at all. It is indispensable to strengthen relations with Japan. When I mentioned “becoming a second Japan”, it was in the sense of aiming at sensible reforms. We have to learn a lot of things from Japan. I know that Japan also has its problems, but all countries have problems.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Talks Open 'New Stage'

*LD1708205989 Warsaw PAP in English
1958 GMT 17 Aug 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 17—After the Sejm plenary debates, PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met the PUWP Sejm Deputy Floor Group and told PUWP deputies about his talks with President Wojciech Jaruzelski today.

The PUWP CC first secretary stressed that the formula, contained in a communique on the talks of the president with Lech Walesa, Roman Malinowski and Jerzy Jozwiak saying that representatives of all forces represented in parliament would sit in the new government, was beneficial from the point of view of easing government crisis. Rakowski added that today's talks opened up a new stage in forming government.

Walesa Foresees Continuing Communist Role

*AU1708195889 Paris AFP in English
1932 GMT 17 Aug 89*

[Text] Paris, Aug 17 (AFP)—The role of the official party in Poland will remain "quite important" despite formation of any coalition government in Poland, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said.

Mr. Walesa also said in an interview broadcast on French television Thursday that the Communist Party "must become more sincere, without hypocrisy". The interview was recorded before Solidarity and two smaller parties agreed to form a coalition without the ruling United Workers Party.

Mr. Walesa has in any event indicated that the party would retain the Defence and Interior Ministries in the event of a Solidarity-led coalition.

Leaders of the three non-communist parties met Thursday with Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski and put forward the names of possible prime ministers of a coalition administration.

Walesa Interviewed on Formation of Government

*AU1808141189 Mainz ZDF Television Service
in German 2005 GMT 17 Aug 89*

[Interview with Lech Walesa, chairman of the Polish Solidarity movement, by ZDF correspondents Klaus Bresser and Klaus-Peter Siegloch in Warsaw; Walesa answers in Polish with superimposed German translation—live; intercepted in progress]

[Text] [Walesa] ...Those who were under the bandwagon are now on the bandwagon, and those who were formerly on the bandwagon are now under it. These are the laws and the rights [rechte]. We intend to adhere to the principles. You know that we are a Warsaw Pact member. You know that we have obligations, and no

matter who governs the country will have to take these realities into account. We will do so. In addition, there are the economic problems, and in this respect we held different views. That will become manifest. However, we will not forget the principles.

[Bresser] Mr Walesa, at first you said that you would be ready to become prime minister if the people call upon you to do so. Now that the people have called you, you have refused. Who will be the new chief of government? Will it be a Solidarity member?

[Walesa] That is not entirely correct. I told the people that I would remain what I am. I am a man of the people. I do not want to orient myself toward fulfilling my ambitions, nor do I want to think about my career. I only fulfill my obligations; I stay with the masses, I am one of them, and I will be wherever Poland needs help. Now this necessity exists. I stick to this theme, and I continue this theme. I want to help. However, then I will withdraw to my former position. I will go back to the shipyard. I want to remain a worker.

[Bresser] There will be a government in the East that for the first time will have no communist leadership. Your initiative started all of this. Is the electrician from Gdansk aware that he is making history?

[Walesa] I think that you are exaggerating. It is good that you broach this question. One talks at the crucial moment, at the moment of the actual fight. After that, however, one decelerates. Now that we are very seriously thinking about the country's fate, we must also very seriously consider the fact that there is a very strong Polish United Workers Party in this country, which is very influential within the police, within the militia, and among the people. It is not true that we have to consider all of its members bad, or that we have to simply reject all of them. Anyone forming a government must take these realities into account and must consider those forces that are oriented toward reform and are able to lead the institutions. Every prime minister will have to do so. It is natural that people shout very loudly on such occasions.

[Bresser] Mr Walesa, does that mean that there will be a cabinet which will be led by Solidarity and will have a communist interior minister and a communist defense minister?

[Walesa] Look, we are too quick. [as heard] They have put forward certain rules, and we are reflecting on whether we should change them. I think that once we have agreed on them, we must observe them. Once we have elected a president, we must listen to him. He picked Prime Minister Kiszczak, and I have a very high opinion of him. Thus, the president, Jaruzelski, picks a prime minister. We have to accept that. Will Walesa say

that he does not want this person but another one? No. My role is to keep out of it. I am waiting for the president's decision, and then the prime minister will form a government.

[Sieglöch] The Moscow paper PRAVDA has warned that the Warsaw Pact must not be jeopardized by a new government. Can Poland politically afford a government that is led by Solidarity?

[Walesa] I think that Poland can afford a lot. However, Poland must not forget where it stands, and what its obligations are, and it must realistically consider its possibilities and commitments. There is nothing we can do about it, and we have to consider and respect this. Solidarity must and will take these principles into account. Whether it will govern will depend on the president, because he has to decide.

[Bresser] You have repeatedly talked about Jaruzelski. Will he alone decide whether the future prime minister will be a member of Solidarity or a member of another party?

[Walesa] In Poland, the rules of consultations and democracy already apply. Anyone who is trying to assume responsibility and wants to be president, must consider everything. I am convinced that President Jaruzelski will consider everything and will make the best possible decision.

[Sieglöch] You will be going to the Soviet Union soon. What will you tell Mikhail Gorbachev when you meet with him? Will you tell him that no matter what government we will have, Poland will remain socialist?

[Walesa] That depends on how much time I will have. If I have little time, I will just say hello. If I have more time, we will talk. I have a lot to say to Mr Gorbachev, and I also have to listen to what he will say. Mr Gorbachev is one of the greatest political jugglers of this epoch. To lead such a big country with so many problems, one must of course be a very talented juggler, and that is what he is.

[Bresser] At the time, in 1980, following strikes and unrest, you concluded an agreement with the Communists. However, 15 months later, martial law was imposed. That was the end for Solidarity—temporarily. Did you say at that time that such a thing would never happen again, and is that the reason why you intend to ensure power—power for Solidarity?

[Walesa] No, that is not true. I never said it this way. I have always also considered many variants of the further development, including that of Poland's history. One of the best variants was the one that happened. It has proved to be true that reforms are indispensable, and this is true. My work is marked by the pressure of time. Of course, I do not doubt that I will win. Our success does not mean that we defeat somebody. It means that

we have found wise and necessary solutions which are also the result of developments. I see, gentlemen, that you have very many questions. However, I am only half conscious.

[Sieglöch] Could we perhaps just discuss your change of mind which is a mystery to many people? You said 2 months ago that Solidarity is not yet ripe to assume government responsibility—at the earliest, in 4 years. What has changed?

[Walesa] Our development took place in steps, as you know. Whenever I mentioned a date, there was a sort of improvement which was then followed by the rebirth of the monopoly of the Polish United Workers Party. This movement took a course very similar to that at the time of the rebirth of the monopoly. We must embark on the evolutionary road. However, we must not allow ourselves to get caught in the wake of the monopoly again. We must not accept that. What forced us to do so at that time and what happened made it seem that that would be the way things would develop. The lesson of history is that we simply must watch out and prevent the rebirth of the monopoly. The lesson for us must be that we must return to the evolutionary road. Everybody must of course remember that we signed an agreement at the roundtable that we have decided in favor of taking the evolutionary road.

[Bresser] Mr Walesa, the entire communist world is changing. Will there be more market economy, more pluralism, more democracy, and openness in Poland with the help of Solidarity?

[Walesa] I do not have to prove that the political system is responsible for the fact that we do not have a good economy. Therefore, we must have pluralism, democracy, and a new system. Only this system will allow us to have more bread and a better economy. That is a normal development, and that is the direction that we are following. Excuse me, but I am totally exhausted.

[Bresser] Mr Walesa, thank you very much for this brief interview at the end of a very long and difficult day which will continue tonight. Thank you very much, Mr Walesa.

Cardinal Glemp, Walesa Discuss New Government
LD1708210389 Warsaw PAP in English
2015 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 17—Poland's Primate Jozef Cardinal Glemp received Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa during supper time today. Lech Walesa presented his steps taken over the past few days that had aimed to form a new government, the Secretariat of the Polish primate says.

Jaruzelski To Convene Meeting To Seek Solutions
LD1508153189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1515 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski intends to convene a meeting of the principal political and social forces in order to find sensible solutions. He is concerned about the growing instability of the economic and political situation.

Presidential Statement

LD1508172289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Statement from the Office of the President of the Polish People's Republic]

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski expresses concern in connection with the growing instability of Poland's political and economic situation. The president intends to ask the country's principal political and social forces to take part in a joint meeting devoted to finding rational solutions. Being eager for this meeting to take place as soon as possible, at the same time Wojciech Jaruzelski appeals for resistance to sociopolitical emotions that hinder national accord, and as a result, deteriorate the working people's difficult living conditions.

Walesa Interviewed on Government Formation Talks
LD1508143389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] From an interview given in Gdansk today by Lech Walesa, chairman of the NSZZ [Independent, Self-governing Trade Union] Solidarity to a Polish radio reporter, it follows that talks are continuing in Warsaw between Jaroslaw Kaczynski, Lech Walesa's plenipotentiary, and representatives of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD]. The talks concern the formation of a new coalition and the appointment of a government.

Lech Walesa said in the interview, among other things, that Czeslaw Kiszczak's latest statement declaring his readiness to resign the office of premier made it possible, in forming a new government, to search for such solutions as would be more to the satisfaction of the public. At the same time the NSZZ Solidarity chairman added that if a new coalition were to be created, with the participation first and foremost of Solidarity, the ZSL, and the SD, it would be precisely these political forces that would determine jointly the best candidate for premier.

Lech Walesa also stated that it is not a question of removing the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] from power. The key sectors which determine physical continuity should remain with the PZPR. We, he added, do not want to take power away, but we do want to carry out a great reform which the PZPR cannot carry out. This reform can be carried out by new forces, but they have to be forces which do not destroy the European order and which do not represent threats to the Warsaw Pact.

Further on Interview

LD1508155189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1405 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Interview with Lech Walesa, chairman of Solidarity, by correspondent Krzysztof Milewczyk in Gdansk on 15 August—recorded]

[Text] [Milewczyk] Lech Walesa, chairman of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity, yesterday you very quickly returned from Warsaw to Gdansk. Why?

[Walesa] It means I do not like wasting time. I like to get my business done; I like to get the work finished and if I finish it, I like to devote time to nature, the family, and so on. Because I carried out what was possible yesterday I returned home quickly.

[Milewczyk] You did not participate directly in the talks with the ZSL [United Peasant Party] and the SD [Democratic Party]?

[Walesa] That's right, I didn't, because matters have not matured sufficiently for us, those who lead these movements, to make decisions which would satisfy all sides. Simply, in short, I was not yet satisfied with the decisions that had been determined.

[Milewczyk] Since about 12 or so hours ago the political situation in our country has changed diametrically. Could you comment on that and how does that relate to your grand coalition proposals?

[Walesa] Well, the first thing is that I should really say a very big thank you to General Kiszczak. He behaved like a man. This enables us to search for solutions which would be more to the satisfaction of the public. Although privately, as a person, well, he made a real man's decision which was not to his advantage but Poland needed it.

And now, in accordance with what I have proposed, we have to think about it. One thing which worries me is that at the same time he proposed Mr Malinowski [as premier]. That is not the way to do it. If a new coalition is created, and I do hope that it is created, as yet we cannot say that it has been created but it should be created, a coalition first and foremost of Solidarity, the ZSL, and the SD, we shall jointly determine who would be the most suitable [premier] for Poland, who would have greatest opportunities for Poland, and after this is determined by the coalition we shall ask the president to put that candidate forward because everyone is agreed on him. Just as the general did the first part really well, like a man, so is the second part unnecessary. We shall think about who would be most suitable for Polish solutions.

[Milewczyk] Could one say at this moment that you are for the candidacy of Malinowski as premier or not?

[Walesa] (?I didn't say) either for or against, but I am only talking about the methods. One cannot proceed in that way. The forces that want to pull Poland out of the crisis in a coalitionary manner must now decide who has the greatest chance, from the public side and from the coalition side, and not impose someone as is being done. Solidarity does not have the right to impose Mr Malinowski nor does Mr Malinowski have the right to impose himself on Solidarity. We will agree together through compromise who in our opinion is most deserving.

[Milewczyk] Can you see the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] in your grand coalition?

[Walesa] Today with society's anger with the lack of settlement on many issues, and with the PZPR's lust for monopoly, plus the fact that the new coalition will have to firmly come out against many monopolies, the PZPR is not capable—it has connections too great, has worked for too many years—above all it will not carry out what Poland needs. This is not pushing the PZPR from power. I think that the most important ministries, which assure a physical continuity ought to stay within the scope of the PZPR, as we do not want to take power away. We want to carry out a great reform, which cannot be carried out by the PZPR. That is why all the administrative things, all the economic issues, all the things leading to reform must be someone's prerogative other than the PZPR, as the PZPR has no interest and has been in power for too long to be able to do that by its very nature, as has been the case. Only new forces can do that—forces that do not destroy the European order, do not pose threats to those alliances connected with the Warsaw Pact. We understand all that. All those continuous factors should be maintained but allow new forces for new solutions.

[Milewczyk] I have one more question to conclude with. At what stage are your talks with the ZSL and SD?

[Walesa] From what information I have today, the talks and consultations are going on without a break. That is because above all the SD and ZSL must understand that a new coalition is needed, but not to outmaneuver the old one, but to bring in new things. Let there only be agreement to a new coalition and to understanding it, then, for the rest, we are capable of reaching agreement on other matters. To reach agreement on personnel matters and on professional issues—these are secondary matters. Today the important thing is to understand the need for a new coalition.

[Malewczyk] Who from each of the sides is taking part in these talks, and where are they being held?

[Walesa] For the time being the one who leads for my side, who has all the authority, is Jaroslaw Kaczynski; he is helped by his brother Lech Kaczynski. Of course, in the district [obwod] there is our club, and Professor Geremek has returned, among other things. However, I

repeat: On my side, directly and in fact, there is Jaroslaw Kaczynski, who has already been in touch with us today and said that he is holding talks (?with Lech).

[Milewczyk] Where are they being held?

[Walesa] Above all in Warsaw but there will be some in Gdansk.

[Milewczyk] More precisely?

[Walesa] [Words indistinct] of my house and not only.

Walesa Expects 'Early Talks'

*LD1508181189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 15 Aug 89*

[Text] In Gdansk today, during a meeting with journalists, Lech Walesa said:

[Begin recording] [Walesa] Now we are expecting talks, early talks, because we must quickly form a government which will solve Poland's problems.

I am counting on the president to communicate quickly with all major parties, which will assist and together with which we will create something new for Poland.

[Unidentified reporter] Is it a matter of several days, a week?

[Walesa] We are ready for fast action. There is no time. (?We have) less and less time. Now society needs a government of accord and reforms, but fundamental, not cosmetic reforms.

[Reporter] Have you any names in mind?

[Walesa] Well, the name is reform, deep reform. Once we sit down to it, after agreeing on major reform, we'll find names too. [end recording]

Walesa Welcomes Resignation

*LD1508184189 Warsaw PAP in English
1804 GMT 15 Aug 89*

[“Walesa's Statement”—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 15—I welcomed General Czeslaw Kiszczak's statement in which he declared readiness to give up the forming of a government and the post of prime minister as a move resulting from the sense of responsibility for Poland and aiming at opening up new possibilities of solving the present government crisis. I still fully uphold the stance expressed in the statement of August 7.

WASHINGTON WAYS

Nancy Reagan's Diplomatic Silence

By Donnie Radcliffe
Washington Post Staff Writer

They've been friends for more years than probably either of them cares to count, but that didn't keep Nancy Reagan and Mike Wallace from a little sparring on CBS News's "60 Minutes" Sunday night when he interviewed her about her forthcoming memoirs, "My Turn."

Mrs. Reagan left it to Wallace to draw the conclusions about why then-Vice President George Bush declined to tell President Reagan that something had to be done about Donald Regan, Reagan's chief of staff at the time. Describing how Bush had asked to see her in the White House during the Iran-contra scandal to tell her he thought Regan should go, Mrs. Reagan told Wallace that she urged Bush to tell that to her husband.

"And he said, 'Well, no, that's not my role.' And I thought it was," she told Wallace, paraphrasing her book.

"And you felt that George Bush lacked political courage in failing to tell your husband," Wallace remarked.

"Well, whatever, for whatever reason," she replied.

"What do you mean whatever? That was ... that's what you felt," Wallace probed.

"You're putting words in my mouth, Mike Wallace," Mrs. Reagan said.

"You can take them out right now," Wallace countered. Laughing, Mrs. Reagan said, "He didn't do it. So ..."

Yesterday, Wallace said, "She knows what she wants to say. She wasn't about to go any further. We knew, because we talked to various people who worked with her, how she felt about that, but to her credit she was honest enough not to say anything further."

Astrologer Joan Quigley, whom CBS News says former First Lady Nancy Reagan paid \$3,000 a month for her advice, yesterday claimed credit for the momentous meeting of President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. "I definitely affected the relationship between the superpowers by my reading of Gorbachev's horoscope," Quigley said in an interview by Mike Wallace aired last night on the "CBS Evening News." "The minute I read it I knew I had to change the [president's] 'Evil Empire' attitude before they had their first summit."

"I talked to Nancy for two or three hours, convincing her that Gorbachev was the kind of man that was not only tough but intelligent, open to new ideas and that he had vision like Ronald Reagan did. These two had a fantastic chemistry between them."

hairstyle, though her husband's has probably grown out before anybody could photograph it. Asked about his rounder nape line at the Bushes' state dinner for Mexico's President Carlos Salinas de Gortari a couple of weeks ago, Dan Quayle said he hadn't changed his style, only his stylist. Vagelis in the Senate hair salon usually cuts his hair, but when he was busy that day the stylist's sister, Liria, subbed with the scissors.

Elsewhere on the beauty front, Peter Edelman in this week's *Legal Times* is calling President Bush "the Revlon president."

Explains Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.), who first dubbed President Reagan "the Teflon president" six years ago to describe his "seemingly impervious nature," Bush proposes "only cosmetic solutions."

"Edelman scored a bull's-eye," says Schroeder. "Not a week goes by that President Bush does not make some high-sounding or grandiose pronouncement—the education summit, the war on drugs and the Mars launch, to name just three. There is never any plan nor any funding, just the announcement. The Bush presidency is all dressed up and nowhere to go."

A couple of years ago it was "one of the unfortunate houses" that couldn't get Blue Bell ice cream. But then a couple of Texans moved into the White House, so Blue Bell delivered and told. And that's when the trouble started.

Since July the Bushes have been receiving—gratis—monthly Federal Express shipments at \$79.95 each of four Blue Bell half gallons—always homemade vanilla, sometimes with caramel pecan fudge, sometimes natural vanilla bean, sometimes Dutch almond. Then Blue Bell decided to boast a little by putting advertisements in football programs at the University of Texas and at Texas A&M. Over a picture of the White House a headline proclaimed it "The only house in Washington that can get Blue Bell Ice Cream." Which was true, according to Jennifer Eckermann, Blue Bell's advertising manager.

"We don't do a whole lot of print advertising. This was just a regional football program, and for us, it was just a gesture on our part," Eckermann said. "We were having fun because it was a logical step in our advertisement of a couple of years ago when we said that people outside Texas couldn't get Blue Bell Ice Cream."

According to Eckermann, the bumper ads on the ice cream did not do advertising, which is why she says the move to the print ad was a mistake.

had a White House endorsement. When Chief Usher Gary Walters asked Blue Bell's officials to refrain from running the ads again, the Dallas Morning News picked up the story and a bell that merely tinkled started to clang.

"It's like any other product used at the White House," the paper's Kevin Merida quoted Walters as saying. "It puts the president and the presidency in the position of endorsing the product. Any of the vendors we use, we ask them not to put that in their advertising."

Eckermann said yesterday that Blue Bell won't run any more of the ads.

But it will continue to send its ice cream to the Bushes because, as the ad says: "It's the little creamery's way of saying, 'Congratulations, Mr. President.'"

"We were surprised by the hoopla," said Eckermann, who couldn't quite hide her pleasure. "A lot more people saw the story than ever saw the ad."

President Lane Kirkland—not President George Bush, as had been rumored—will introduce Lech Walesa, leader of Poland's Solidarity movement, when he addresses the AFL-CIO at its 18th biennial convention here next month and receives the union's George Meany Human Rights Award. The award was announced by the union in 1981, but then Walesa was unable to leave Poland—if he ever wanted to return. He was given an open-ended invitation to pick it up when he could.

Now, with the political climate considerably warmer in Poland, Walesa is coming at the invitation of both the AFL-CIO and the 3,000-organization-strong Polish-American Conference. And his trip is beginning to sound like a state visit. He's in hot demand on Capitol Hill, at the White House and in three other major American cities—New York, Philadelphia and Chicago. Here he will address Congress and meet with President Bush before flying home Nov. 20.

And just in case anybody got the wrong idea, a spokesman for Nancy Reagan says she wasn't alone in thinking President Reagan's official White House portrait didn't quite have it. "A number of people, including the artist [Aaron Shikler], thought the painting could be improved," explained Mark Weinberg, referring to last week's *Ways* report that Shikler destroyed his first painting of Reagan and painted a second version because Mrs. Reagan was so unhappy with it.

"As for scooping the White House in her back, that's not true," added Weinberg, squashing the rumor that her staff might have done it. "I would have my own White House portrait."

1981-1990th ann
Kempas, Myam, Kikland

Kinda decho - civil rights activities
Student Raigman - Kungwa activities

Sam Kabin
Alman Kramik } 100

independent ~~the~~ - labor unions

Unions

UAW, Miners, Automotive Eng (157)
re-organized

What last Kungwa

All the scattered leaves are
re-organized

Unions
of

1980 Unions - Myam
unions in church

Sam Kabin West + Unions / Educ Comm.

long-term college degree program

AID funds { African labor leaders, French/Eng
Lat Am leaders

Afr. Am labor ltr Pat O'Farrell
~~labor inst.~~ ★ Bill Daugherty
Lat Am Am Inst Free Labor Revell.
Asian Am Free Labor inst Chao May
(all on airt programs)

Pete Turzilo - ret'd. lumber worker

Workers' Voice - without workers'
inst, no voice,
w/ voices = democracy
essential part of dem system
Why unions not govt agency

25th Anniv of Civil Rights Act -

Commitment of Am Labor movement to
adulc -

1990 = 10th Anniv Kirkland Pres AFL-CIO
(10th Anniv of Meany's death)

A. Philip Randolph - 100th Anniv of birth
first major black union
Pullman's Strike

2 labor leaders 1963 March - 1964 Bayard Rustin
Civil Rights

Sept 1943 info - pr. of Randolph + Rustin
taken + civil rights - 2 months, one year
DIGNITY

"Voice of America" - pullman/wides

Randolph - integration of his advice, army
advising recently received

Fullbright - Negro. Govt - funds for awards
of program/line ~~and~~ labor leaders

all selected - all back to the track of
not re-elected

AVIAT

family name, child care - BFW, cut
education

family history - mouse group

Jul 7, 1938 TIME MAG.

100 years of American Labor

✓
Frances Perkins

Pres Wilson, 1917, Buffalo - first Pres. to address annual AFL convention

120 - est by Treaty of Versailles (US sen. never ratified); following WWII became specialized int'l agency of UN

X
p. 19 - Solidarity poster

1924 - La Follette nominated by AFL to run as Progressive candidate for Pres.

AFL-CIO reunited at convention in NY/12/5/55 ^{beginning}

Geo. Meany: commitment to labor's "full contribution to the welfare of our neighbors, to the communities in which we live, & to the nation as a whole."

Gompers: (p. 27) "To be free, the workers must have choice. To have choice they must retain in their own hands the right to determine under what conditions they will work."

Ruth Schneideman, Ladies' Garment Workers:
"... it is the spirit of trade unionism that is most important, the sense of fellowship, the feeling that the hurt of one is the concern of all & that the work of the individual benefits all." (p. 30)

Gompers' "More" quote (actual) - "We want more school houses & less jails; more books & less arsenals ... (p. 30)

Wm Green (p. 31) - "I ask you to look high, look above the petty things ..."

John F. Lewis vowed in 1940 that if his candidate, Repub Wendell Willkie, wasn't elected over FDR, he would resign. And he did. (p. 32)

①

Rept Hartley Act

(p. 37) Philip Murray - 1946 - refused to make Labor Day address in Birmingham, AL until police had taken down rope barriers separating whites & blacks (taking down Idrian curtain; ON speech re: Economics)

Walter Reuther (p. 38) - "~~There is~~ "As an American, I stand for equal opp^s & full constitutional rights for all our people. ^(but) my freedom is in jeopardy ... There is no half way house to human freedom."

Many: (p. 40) "The AFL has long
been active in this field [F.P.]..."
→ On Human Rights

①

Labor Day

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations



815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 637-6000

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

LANE KIRKLAND PRESIDENT	THOMAS R. DONAHUE SECRETARY-TREASURER
Frederick O'Neil Angelo Fesco William H. Wynn Joyce D. Miller Barbara Hutchinson Gerald W. McEntee Owen Bieber Morion Bahr Milton Stone Leah Miller John A. Gannon	Albert Shanker Kenneth T. Blystock John DeCenci John J. Sweeney Richard I. Kiley William M. Bywater John T. Joyce Larry O'Gan Jr. Gene Upshaw Jack Sherrman Edward T. Hanley William W. Winkler Wayne E. Glenn James E. Hatfield Vincent R. Sommarino Mervin J. Seede Lynn R. Williams Robert A. Georgine Jay Magur John J. Barry William J. McCarthy

Date: 11/14/89

To: Peggy Dooley
FAX Phone Number: 456-6218
From: David St John
Department: President's Office

TELECOPIER TRANSMISSION

There is/are _____ page(s) following this cover page.

This telecopy material has been sent via XEROX 7021

Please call us if you have any questions:

AFL-CIO Reproduction & Mailings
202/637-5041

We can automatically receive transmissions 24 hours a day.

The phone number of our FAX is: 202/637-5058

AFL-CIO NEWS UNION YES



DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION 202-637-5010

**Address of Lech Walesa
to the AFL-CIO Convention
Washington, D.C.
November 14, 1989**

Dear American friends, President Kirkland, Executive Council:

Dear Brothers and Sisters of the AFL-CIO:

This is a meeting that has been a long time in coming. The bond of friendship between Solidarity and the AFL-CIO is strong and enduring. It has been shaped over the years, both good and bad.

You have proven to be our most steadfast allies in the trade union struggle for human freedom.

I am honored, at long last, to accept on behalf of my trade union the George Meany Human Rights Award, which I had planned to pick up exactly eight years ago.

A vast movement for democracy and freedom is developing in my country. It is changing the political face of Poland and of the world. And that movement has been made possible only through the peaceful struggle of working people, of trade unionists like you and I.

Today the working people of Poland are struggling to rebuild their country, to create a stable, democratic society. We will need your help. And we know we can count on it. You have been unfailing and reliable allies, and we know you will not let us down.

Today I am here, in the United States, as a trade unionist. I am here also as a Pole. And I am proud that your trade union movement includes so many of my countrymen in its ranks and among its leaders.

For millions of my compatriots, the route across the Atlantic was the route of hope. It was long and exhausting. Millions of Poles travelled for weeks to finally find themselves in an unfamiliar country whose name they associated with freedom. When, in 1619, some of my countrymen--glass workers--staged the first strike in American history in the Jamestown colony, they lit a flame of freedom and human dignity that is burning to this day at home, in Poland, and here in the United States. Here they found the freedom they had so often missed in their own country.

My journey across the Atlantic was entirely different. Not only because it lasted a few hours--which made me realize how much the world had grown smaller. And not only because from the very moment I arrived here, I felt at home. The most important thing is that I travelled across the Atlantic just to tell you that hope has found its way to Poland too. For the first time in several dozen years, Poles can feel the breeze of freedom in their own country--the breeze many people once had to seek on this side of the ocean. We knew that the time would come, and we had been awaiting it full of faith in the power of human dreams. You encouraged us in this belief. You helped us survive the most difficult days, the moments of despair and hopelessness. The help provided by you and some other friends enabled us to continue our struggle for the right to set up legal free trade unions. Thanks to your support at international forums, efforts to isolate us from the world trade union movement failed, and we were not reduced to silence. Now the time has come to thank you; to thank you for your solidarity with Solidarity--with the cause so many people considered lost and which now, thanks to the stubbornness of Poles and the perseverance of our friends, has put us onto the road to victory.

Lech Walesa
November 14, 1989

2

One easily finds friends when one is successful. But when you are in trouble, there is suddenly hardly anybody to be seen. But at least you can know for sure that those who stayed by you are the ones you can rely on. And this is the kind of friendship you value most even when you are again surrounded by new allies and sympathizers attracted by your new success.

Many people considered Solidarity a lost cause. Many analyzed the balance of power and concluded that we had nothing while our opponents had everything. We were presented as Don Quixotes pursuing unrealistic goals. We were advised to reconcile ourselves to so-called realities of life and were condemned when we refused to do so. For many politicians, we were either a troublesome partner or a burdensome obstacle in their diplomatic game. Opinions were voiced that our activities might threaten international stability, thus posing a threat to peace.

We could not agree to this kind of thinking. And not because we lacked realism. We decided to contribute to world peace in a different way--it was realism which told us one could not build enduring peace based on injustice and slavery. We learned this through our Polish experiences, but this is in fact a universal formula valid everywhere, in every geographical latitude and in every culture. This formula applies to all totalitarian and dictatorial systems, regardless of the ideology they profess or the catchphrase they hide behind. None of those systems has the right to pose as a defender of peace. Peace has to be the work of free people who speak for themselves.

To discern this fact and to understand it--this is realism. This same realism told us it was impossible to suppress the desire for freedom in Poland for any long stretch of time. This desire found its reflection in our movement. And this is why we kept repeating the words which became the motto of the last few months in Poland: There is no freedom without Solidarity.

It was realism that made us know that it is impossible to reform the country when peoples' mouths are gagged and their hands are bound, as it is they who must implement reforms. Our movement came into being as a movement of working people. For several dozen years much was done in our country to deprive people of the willingness to work and of faith in work's meaning. Solidarity came into being as a movement whose main task was to restore the value of work and its dignity. This task was our guiding principle in 1980, and later, until the imposition of martial law. We did not lose sight of this principle even as we worked underground and tried to persuade the authorities to choose the road of reforms. Today much more depends on us than ever before in the last 40 years.

Of course, eight years ago everything may have seemed easier. When in August 1980 I jumped over the wall surrounding the Gdansk Shipyard, I did not know what our protests would lead to, but I knew perfectly well what it was that we had to do. Today I often dream that I can find myself in such clear-cut situations as those in the past. Maybe today I would have slightly more difficulty jumping over that wall, but today I would not mind having only that one difficulty.

Of course, we have taken upon ourselves full responsibility for the country. There was no other choice. True enough, nobody with an ounce of common sense in him would be willing to take over a bankrupt enterprise in a hopeless condition, but what can one do if that enterprise happens to be one's own country? We could have said that we didn't ruin it and so we don't have to worry about its rebuilding. But it is we who have had to undertake this task, risking a lot in the process--an awful lot. We had to do it because we owe it to the people who trusted us and who cast their votes for us in the June elections. We were driven to it by our sense of responsibility for our country. We took over a country which was in a catastrophic state. The 40-year experiment with the communist political system caused a devastation which is almost impossible to clear up. For those 40 years, Poland was separated from the road to which she had once belonged. Even book-keeping in enterprises was changed to such a degree that a Polish accountant can hardly communicate with his Western opposite number.

Nobody has ever tried transforming a planned economy into a market-oriented one. There are no handbooks or seasoned experts in this field. Everything has to be

Lech Walesa
November 14, 1989

3

performed for the first time, and not in a laboratory but in a country where people are exhausted by an economic crisis that has lasted 15 years—longer than anywhere else in the world. In addition to all this, we carry a heavy burden of debts incurred on our behalf in the '70s without anyone asking our permission or seeking our opinion on the matter. However, those who gave us money at that time were not bothered by this fact. They did not ask critical questions or express doubts. They did not follow the advice of independent economists who kept warning against investing money in projects aimed at satisfying the megalomania of the authorities rather than the country's economic needs. Today we are being told that the West has had a bad experience with extending loans to Poland and that they have to be careful.

We have nothing against being careful, on the contrary, we tried to encourage this attitude in the 70s. If the West had been more cautious at that time, we would have been in a different situation at present. We are not trying to talk anyone into carelessness. We are only trying to convince our partners that they should not wait too long. In Eastern Europe everything is in short supply, even, or rather first and foremost, time. No one knows how much time we have left to reform our economy, but we all realize it is not much. If we fail to convince people that although things are changing slowly they are nevertheless changing for the better, then this breeze of freedom I spoke of will soon disappear, leaving behind only a sense of bitterness accompanying unaccomplished dreams. It will result in a defeat for us, but not only for us.

Sometimes we feel as if we are swimming chained hand and foot, trying to summon all our energy just to make it safely to the shore. And on the shore there is a cheering crowd of people who offer us their admiration instead of simply throwing a life-belt. We want to make it to the shore, we want to join the community of democratic countries with efficient economies. And I think this would also be to the advantage of these countries. Putting money in dictatorships usually turns out to be a short-term business. Investing money in a democratic country is always profitable, even if it does not bring immediate results. And when a new partner joins the community of market-oriented economies it can only bring profit for everyone. I know that investing money in Poland requires a little bit of courageous thinking, or maybe a bit of imagination. But I also know that in America there are more imaginative and courageous people than anywhere else in the world, and these qualities are indispensable when exploring something new, something as yet unfathomed. I know that the pioneer spirit which made this country big and free is still around. I would like you to transplant this spirit to Poland. I would like Americans to smooth the way for big business with Poland. A friend of Poland should now go into business with her and should encourage others to follow suit. Our country needs your experience, your knowledge, your modern technologies. If you engage in any activity in our country, others will emulate your example. The world is awaiting your signal, it is watching you. Do not let the world and us wait any longer.

Such is the fate of a Polish trade unionist—he has to launch a publicity campaign for private entrepreneurship. I would not like anybody to think that I made an about-face. Nowadays in Poland the defense of workers is not based on demanding more money, which in our country has no real value and for which one cannot buy anything. At present defending workers means building a normally functioning economy that would allow increasing production and letting people earn more money. Such an economy can be only built together with the trade unions; it cannot be built against them.

That is why Solidarity is still indispensable for Poland as a movement of reforms to reshape our country into a European state. A year ago we were saying: "There is no freedom without Solidarity." Today we can say: "There are no reforms without Solidarity."

Within the last few months we have achieved more than we could have hoped for. We have a legally operating free trade union; we are strongly represented in Parliament and even in the government. All this has been achieved through our own efforts, but also thanks to an international solidarity with Poland. Today, when we are threatened by recession and inflation rather than police repressions, we need this international solidarity no less than in the past. Therefore I am addressing my appeal to you, our friends who have proved to be reliable in the most difficult of times: Help Poland make

Lech Walesa
November 14, 1989

4

her way to the shore of freedom. Help realize this hope that finally has come to our country. Uphold your solidarity with Solidarity. Let the road of hope--embarked on by millions of Poles on their way to America--be a road of friendship of two free nations: the Polish and the American.

Dear Brothers and Sisters. Dear Brother Kirkland. Once again I wish to say how honored I am to be here, in the United States, as guest of your great trade union movement. I am delighted to see in this hall the many faces of the movement that has always assisted us in times of need.

I am happy to be able to greet you with the words of the famous American trade union anthem that links our two movements together:

"Solidarity forever"

-30-

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL



815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 637-5000

LANE KIRKLAND PRESIDENT

Frederick O'Neal
Angelo Fesco
William H. Wynn
Joyce D. Miller
Barbara Hutchinson
Gerald W. McEntee
Owen Sieber
Morton Bahi
Miles Stone
Lorene Miller
John A. Gannon

THOMAS R. DONAHUE SECRETARY-TREASURER

Albert Shanker
Kenneth T. Blaylock
John DeConcini
John J. Sweeney
Richard I. Kilroy
William H. Bywater
John T. Joyce
Larry Dugan Jr.
Gene Upshaw
Jack Shoenman
Sigurd Lucassen

Eward T. Hanley
William W. Winkfinger
Wayne E. Glenn
James E. Hallfield
Vincent A. Sombrotto
Marvin J. Boada
Lynn R. Williams
Robert A. Georgino
Jay Mazur
John J. Berry
William J. McCarthy

Date: 11/14/89

To: Peggy Dooley
FAX Phone Number: 456-6218
From: David St. John
Department: President's Office

TELECOPIER TRANSMISSION

There is/are _____ page(s) following this cover page.

This telecopy material has been sent via XEROX 7021

Please call us if you have any questions:

AFL-CIO Reproduction & Mailings
202/637-5041

We can automatically receive transmissions 24 hours a day.

The phone number of our FAX is: 202/637-5058

AFL-CIO NEWS

YES



DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION 202-637-5010

**Keynote Address of
AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland
1989 AFL-CIO CONVENTION
Washington, D. C.
November 13, 1989**

Brothers and Sisters:

As you can tell from the emblems adorning this hall and the badges you wear, the central theme of this convention is the oldest and the most modern bedrock principle of trade unionism -- solidarity.

Today more than ever, the solidarity of labor is the instrument of history and the lever that moves the world. No gathering of trade unionists can have a higher mission than to dedicate itself to the further promotion and enrichment of that principle.

Solidarity has been defined in many ways and in many struggles over the years, and its meaning continues to evolve and to grow. It found expression by pioneers in early forms of worker organization in the old slogan: "An injury to one is the concern of all." Its roots were firmly planted with the creation of this federation 108 years ago; refreshed, after the split, by the merger in 1955, and enhanced by the continued gathering under its roof, of all genuine trade unions in America.

I cannot improve upon the simple and blunt definition of my predecessor, George Meany, who used to say that the key role of the trade union was to see that the big guys didn't kick the little guys around.

The proposition that we are all here to help each other has, over the course of this century, given us the tools to humanize our economic system, expand liberty, democratize privilege, and give voice to the most basic aspiration of working men and women for dignity and justice on the job, in their communities and throughout society.

Solidarity has been our shield against the most primitive and the most sophisticated assaults by the agents of avarice and exploitation. It guided our actions long before the enactment of labor laws, and it has fortified us during their present perversion.

Solidarity has helped us to weather the harsh climate of the 1980s, unimpaired in vigor, and tougher in spirit and resolve for the experience. It has prepared us to enter the last decade of the Twentieth Century and to move with our banners high into the 21st.

If we continue to build and reinforce our internal solidarity, no defeat on any front is permanent, no frustration leaves us short of breath. We will prepare ourselves for the next surge forward, into the next breach in the walls of unjust power and privilege.

We are doing exactly that.

Ten years ago, when you first gave me the high honor of serving as President of this federation, I promised to do my best to bring all trade unions under the banner of the AFL-CIO, where they rightfully belong. With the help of my colleagues in the leadership of this body, I kept my promise.

As I read the names of the unions which have joined us since that time, I ask the delegates from those affiliates to stand to receive your applause and remain standing until the entire roll is called:

2

- o The United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America.
- o The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America.
- o The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.
- o The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.
- o The Writers Guild of America, East.
- o The United Mine Workers of America.

Brothers and sisters, once again, welcome to your natural home.

Today, we can proudly say that this movement is more united in solidarity and is more broadly representative of the whole family of labor than it has been for at least half a century. And, for all our failings and flaws and unmet goals, the plain fact is that the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations is and will remain the largest and most active body of free and democratic trade unionists in the world.

The reunification of the American labor movement has coincided with greater solidarity at every level of this federation. Despite the barriers and assaults mounted by the forces, fronts and hired hands of reaction in recent years, our perseverance has brought significant gains for our movement and for the people we care most about.

We have improved our cooperation and teamwork in the critical task of organizing the unorganized.

In the legislative arena, we did not flinch at vetoes and threats of vetoes, but persisted until we prevailed in our efforts to enact laws assuring working people and their communities advance notice of plant closings and linking preferential trade benefits to a nation's respect for the rights of its own workers.

We did not accept defeat, but returned again and again to the effort to get a raise for those who struggle to survive on the minimum wage, until a compromise measure, acceptable for the time being, was enacted. We accept our responsibility to man the front lines in the campaign to achieve decent health care and housing for all Americans and to rally support for measures to meet the needs of working families for child care and parental leave. We stand with our historic allies in the civil rights movement to resist the efforts of the Reagan courts to turn back the clock on justice.

No matter what or where the front, we remain engaged. We will not take no for a final answer and we will not go away quietly from the scene of any struggle to advance the human condition.

In political terms, solidarity requires that we take our stand together at the side of candidates who have proven that they are on our side. Through a democratic process that flows upwards from our members, we have developed a higher degree of solidarity in the pursuit of our responsibility to give those who are responsive to the concerns of working people, not a guarantee of victory, but a better fighting chance to win.

New approaches grounded in solidarity have enhanced our capacity to bring reinforcements to the support of trade unionists who find themselves locked in a vital struggle with an employer, and to do so while such help can still make a difference. At Eastern Air Lines, at Pittston Coal Company and at NYNEX, you have helped sustain the cause of workers against forces in the service of greed and arbitrary power, bent on the evasion or destruction of the collective bargaining process.

These and other struggles give the lie to the proposition advanced, year in and year out, by the flacks of corporate America, that unions are "no longer necessary" in this new age of warm and cuddly management. If so, why are they so dumb as to waste so much of their treasure and deploy such an army of costly mercenaries against us?

The demise of trade unions at the hands of advancing technology and a changing workforce is one of the great myths that we've had to live with throughout our existence. Years ago, that myth held that unions were only for the highly-skilled and that mass production workers would never organize. Then there was the myth that public employees did not want or need unions. Similar myths have been advanced about immigrant workers, white-collar workers, women and minorities.

Today, the prediction that trade unionism will have no role in post-industrial America brings to mind the wishful thinking of a certain turn-of-the-century businessman, who said: "The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for -- not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian gentlemen to whom God has given control of the property rights of the country and upon the successful management of which so much depends."

That idiot's doctrine is still alive and well. It reveals itself daily in the deprivation of people who toil for poverty-level wages and live on the brink of homelessness. For them, as for so many millions who lifted themselves from despair in this century, hope translates into one thing and one thing only: trade unionism.

We insist that there are no jobs which natural law ordains as inherently poorly paid and devoid of benefits or security. Before trade unionism brought civilization to the mines and mills of America, those jobs were just as cheap and just as bad as those in what is now called the "low-paid service sector." Not management enlightenment but trade unionism made the difference.

In this century, the trade union movement, more than any other force or factor, has been the author of America's quality of life, by organizing the working masses, building their ladder into the middle class, and creating a market based on good wages and conditions that is the mercantile target of the world.

We have fueled the engine of upward mobility as generations of trade unionists gave birth and schooling to the members of today's educated class. They too should be with us and in growing numbers they are. Those who advance the theory that the "individualism" of these workers conflicts with the principle of solidarity simply do not know the territory. The desire of workers to organize does not arise from a longing to submerge their individual identities, but to enhance them. The collective power of workers through their unions has liberated people and given them opportunities for individual freedom, expression and participation which they could otherwise never realize.

They need it now more than ever in an era when the legacy of the Reagan years is exacting its cost in all walks of life.

We never fell for the con game, otherwise known as Reagan's "Riverboat Gamble," inherent in the idea that the nation's problems could be solved by throwing money and license at the rich and powerful, doubling the national debt, and dismantling the government's role, regulation and oversight. We resisted it steadfastly, but in vain. Now the number of those who are finding out, the hard way, that we were right all along grows with each shocking revelation.

The bills are coming due and the ticking time-bombs are going off. Three-hundred billion dollars to rescue the nation's savings and loans from an orgy of greed and speculation. Another hundred billion to fix the neglected nuclear weapons plants that imperil workers and communities. HUD corrupted into a political grab bag while the homeless line the street.

How many billions of dollars will it take to repair our rotting public infrastructure -- our highways, bridges and public facilities -- to say nothing of the vast social decay in the widening gap between rich and poor?

The "City on the Hill" is overrun with drug dealers and addicts, plagued by deteriorating public schools, baffled by its overflowing prisons and its homeless, and saddled with the paralysis of a federal government so deep into hock that few dare to suggest the most feeble attempts at addressing these and other pressing national problems.

It is "morning after in America."

I suppose there is one small sign of progress. Over 200 years ago, our first president, George Washington, is said to have thrown a silver dollar across the Rappahannock River. A few days ago, our latest ex-President, Ronald Reagan, caught two million dollars across the Pacific Ocean.

But he is just the star in a bipartisan galaxy of individuals who have transformed public service into a finishing school for foreign agents and corporate fixers, where they prepare to get rich quick selling the inside knowledge, the influence and access they acquire and cultivate while working on the people's payroll.

I give you, as an example, the words of one former NLRB trial attorney turned professional union-buster who proudly describes her new station in life: "I used to sue all the clients of this firm. And one day I was here. I love it."

Still others have left government service to collect fat fees from the Frank Lorenzo's of the world, lolling in their bankruptcy playpens, or from Third World dictators who need their images polished, or from foreign competitors who need advice on how to get around our trade and labor laws and buy America on the cheap.

What we see is the fleecing of America, with the guidance and protection of some of our most privileged and honored citizens. Sooner or later, those who buy America will run America and our "best and brightest" will be their quislings.

But that bleak prospect is overshadowed by the activities of the financial manipulators and skimmers, corporate raiders and other parasites who feed off America's productive capacity in the current rampage of mergers, acquisitions and leveraged buyouts.

Last year, the price of these transactions soared to more than a quarter of a trillion dollars, without producing one new or better product, service or job.

That figure doesn't even include the assumption of billions more in debt by corporations that are trying to prevent hostile takeovers from happening to them.

These sharks have discovered how to buy a company with its own money and credit, turn equity into debt, strip assets and saddle the burden of servicing that debt on the back of a shrunken and weakened workforce. They finance these deals by erecting a junk-bond tower of jello whose every wiggle makes Wall Street quake.

They, too, are eagerly serviced by the "best and the brightest." When the whole thing comes tumbling down, they'll be long gone, having pocketed their greenmail, stashed their loot or bailed out with their golden parachutes, leaving neither bodies to kick nor souls to damn. The price will be paid, as it usually is, by everyone else.

Wrote Oliver Goldsmith two centuries ago: "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey, Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

We stand as a rallying point of resistance to this madness, and of the fight for a more responsible, responsive and democratic government. We sound the call for attention to real problems and away from the false alarms of diversionists who blow the smoke of phony patriotism in the eyes of the public.

As members of a movement that is inherently tied to the communities in which people live, love of country is more than a duty, it is a matter of self-preservation. Yet we are not persuaded when we see politicians who have shown no deep attachment to the idea of "liberty and justice for all" become so hysterical when some nut case grabs for attention by setting a match to the American flag, as to play cheap games with the Bill of Rights.

But this is the new political sleight-of-hand, best described by George M. Cohan more than a half-century ago when he said: "Many a bum show has been saved by the flag."

Is it not time that our elected representatives turn their attention to the real flag-burners in our country? What about those employers who practice transitory allegiance to the flag of any nation that will provide them with the cheapest and most repressed labor in the world? What about those who will pay starvation wages and no benefits to decent, hard-working Americans and thus deny them the chance to join the mainstream of American life?

Where is all this sanctimonious outrage when the Chief Financial Officer of a major American corporation proclaims -- and I quote -- "the United States does not have an automatic call on our resources"?

He means, of course, that in the pursuit of super-profits, his company reserves the right to shift jobs overseas to find immunity from the American standards, values and opportunities that exalted him to his present state of self-righteous ease. I hope, but I doubt, that the next time this citizen of the world feels compelled to seek the assistance of one of our embassies abroad, he is referred to the United Nations.

This is only one case-in-point of a much wider truth about the economic future we face together. The march of technological progress and the lure of profit have given birth to a new age of global finance in which vast amounts of capital can be moved anywhere at the mere push of a computer button. Working Americans are increasingly affected by events that occur beyond our borders and which impel us toward a new spirit of solidarity with workers throughout the world.

At our convention two years ago, I noted that "Wherever workers are struggling for freedom of association and seek our help, they will have that help to the limit of our means."

In defiance of the passing fancies, abstractions and absolutisms of think-tanks and ideologues, we have been steadfast in our insistence that the right to associate freely is a

6

universal human need, and that the suppression of it by any government or private power is an assault on the human spirit.

Tomorrow, more than a half-dozen trade unionists from around the world will stand before you and testify to the wisdom of that policy.

Today, history is moving before our eyes. In every quarter of the globe, events are in the saddle and are driving the reluctant leaders they have overtaken.

We are proud and inspired that trade unionism is a key element of this dynamic trend. Everywhere you look -- in Poland, in Chile, Hungary, South Africa, South Korea, even in the Soviet Union and China -- workers are in the vanguard of movements that are propelling these nations toward freedom, democracy and a new hope for lasting peace and harmony among nations.

The AFL-CIO has been a staunch ally and resource upon which these movements have drawn, and the demands upon us will multiply as more and more of the world's workers rise to their feet and assert their rights.

Over the last three days, the eyes of the world have been transfixed by the spectacle of millions passing through a wall in Berlin.

But that all began nine years ago when one electrician climbed over the wall of a shipyard in Gdansk.

Tomorrow, that electrician will speak to you here, as your Brother in trade unionism.

Is it not reasonable to hope, at least, that American labor's movement toward democracy in the world will provide a new lesson for Americans regarding the role of trade unions in promoting and preserving freedom in our own country?

Maybe more will understand why we abhor the actions of American businessmen who rushed back into China before the smell of gunpowder had dissipated at Tiananmen Square.

Maybe more will share our indignation at the prospect of American electronics companies fleeing to Malaysia because that nation has promised to keep its boot on the necks of trade union organizers.

Maybe more will truly appreciate the fact that real freedom does not exist in documents and mere declarations of the rights of man, but in the translation of those rights into actions by free institutions such as a free labor movement.

I've heard it said that trade unionists are realists because we believe in miracles. This is why we shall persevere on a course that has helped to produce such events in places where many believed that freedom would never ring again.

We can look forward to the 1990s with the expectation that it will truly be the "Decade of Democracy," and a new century will dawn on a bright new day for the rights of man and woman.

I give you the words of the American poet Edwin Markham, first published on Labor Day, 1922:

"Tyrants, the tools begin to think;
And the long bondage, link by link,
Is breaking. Out of the ancient night
A new world rises, fast with might
A star breaks on the chaos -- lo,
The shapes of the dark begin to go!"

7

Brothers and sisters, our best days lie ahead. Let us always be proud of the side we're on -- the side we've chosen for ourselves -- and that is the side of greater freedom and justice and peace at home and throughout the world.

And now to work!

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

LANE KIRKLAND. TOM DONAHUE. LECH WALESIA.
MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. AND ASSEMBLED
DELEGATES.

THIS IS A GREAT MOMENT FOR THE AFL-CIO. AFTER
EIGHT LONG YEARS OF STRUGGLE, LECH WALESIA ~~IS HERE TO~~ *has*
~~ACCEPT~~ *accepted* THE GEORGE MEANY HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD, FIRST
INTENDED FOR SOLIDARNOSC. BACK IN 1981, YOU REMEMBER,
LECH WASN'T ALLOWED TO BE HERE, TO CLAIM THAT PRIZE.
AND THE WAITING BEGAN.

((YOU KNOW, I CAN REALLY IDENTIFY WITH LECH. I
UNDERSTAND WHAT IT'S LIKE, TO WAIT SO LONG TO GET
HERE...

BUT I DON'T REGRET A MINUTE OF IT. BECAUSE AFTER
ALL THOSE YEARS, IT'S GREAT TO BE WITH YOU -- AND TO
SEE THE MEMBERS WHO ENDORSED ME, SITTING BACK THERE IN
THE LAST ROW...

SO LATELY I'VE BEEN FEELING PRETTY CONFIDENT.
BARBARA HAD A HUNCH I'D BE ADDRESSING THIS GROUP TODAY.
THIS MORNING SHE CAUGHT ME IN THE SHOWER SINGING THE
"UNION YES" THEME SONG...))

LET ME BEGIN BY CONGRATULATING THE LEADERSHIP.
BECAUSE OF LANE KIRKLAND -- NOW SERVING HIS TENTH YEAR,
CONTINUING THE WORK BEGUN BY GEORGE MEANY BEFORE HIM --
YOUR UNIONS TRULY ARE UNITING UNDER THE BANNER OF THE
AFL-CIO, AS LANE PROMISED: THE U.A.W., THE MINE
WORKERS, THE TEAMSTERS, THE BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE
ENGINEERS, THE LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION,
THE WRITER'S GUILD EAST -- ALL HAVE AFFIRMED THEIR TIES
TO THIS GREAT ORGANIZATION. LANE KIRKLAND HAS DONE --
AS HE CONTINUES TO DO -- OUTSTANDING WORK ON BEHALF OF
ORGANIZED LABOR. [PAUSE]

LANE'S WORK TO CONSOLIDATE AND RENEW LABOR'S STRENGTH GIVES THE AFL-CIO THE POWER TO PLAY ITS BEST ROLE: PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF WORKING AMERICANS AT HOME, AND STRIVING FOR THOSE RIGHTS ABROAD THROUGH THE SUPPORT OF DEMOCRACY AROUND THE WORLD.

LABOR HAS BEEN AN ENDURING FORCE FOR FREEDOM -- AT TIMES A CRY IN THE WILDERNESS, AT TIMES THE CONDUCTOR OF A THUNDERING CHORUS -- REJECTING ALL FORMS OF TOTALITARIANISM, FASCIST AND COMMUNIST ALIKE. WITH EACH PASSING YEAR, THROUGH THE LABOR MOVEMENT, FREEDOM IS FINDING ITS VOICE.

YOU UNDERSTAND THAT DEMOCRACY RESTS NOT ON COLD MARBLE AND PIECES OF PAPER, BUT ON INSTITUTIONS FREELY FORMED -- AND FULLY FREE. LOOK DOWN THE MAIN STREET OF ANY SMALL TOWN, AND YOU SEE THEM: CHURCHES. LIBRARIES. SCHOOLS. UNION HALLS. FREE ASSOCIATIONS THAT ARE THE BEATING HEART OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

SUCH LIBERTY CALLS FOR A DEMOCRACY CREATED LESS BY GOVERNMENTS THAN BY PEOPLE -- THROUGH THE GIVE AND TAKE OF COMPETING INTERESTS, INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE. A DEMOCRACY THAT REJECTS MANAGEMENT-BY-DECREE OR INTERVENTION FROM ANY CENTRALIZED, ALL-KNOWING GOVERNMENT. A DEMOCRACY WHERE PEOPLE SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES, RATHER THAN A GOVERNMENT WHICH SPEAKS FOR THEM.

YOU AND I MAY HAVE DIFFERENCES. BUT THOSE DIFFERENCES ARE SIGNS OF DEMOCRATIC LIFE. A WAY OF LIFE THAT DEMANDS RESPECT FOR DIFFERENCES -- AND RESPECTS AN HONEST OPINION, AS MUCH AS IT RESPECTS AN HONEST DAY'S WORK.

STILL, THERE ARE TIMES WHEN THE NEED FOR PROGRESS DEMANDS THAT WE PUT DIFFERENCES ASIDE. WHERE POLAND IS CONCERNED, NOW IS SUCH A TIME.

LAST JULY IN GDANSK, STANDING WITH LECH WALESA AT THE WORKER'S MONUMENT, I PLEDGED TO THE ENORMOUS CROWD BEFORE US THAT "AMERICA STANDS SHOULDER-TO-SHOULDER WITH THE POLISH PEOPLE IN SOLIDARITY." IN WARSAW, WE ANNOUNCED OUR INITIATIVE TO ASSIST SOLIDARITY AND POLISH WORKERS IN MAKING THE DIFFICULT TRANSITION FROM A DISCREDITED CENTRALLY-PLANNED ECONOMIC SYSTEM, TO ONE OF FREE MARKETS -- AND HOPE FOR A BETTER FUTURE.

LABOR SECRETARY DOLE -- WHO MET TODAY WITH PRIME MINISTER THATCHER AND BRITAIN'S LABOUR MINISTER -- ALSO VISITED GDANSK IN AUGUST: TO DISCUSS THE WAYS THAT OUR GOVERNMENT, WORKING TOGETHER WITH ORGANIZED LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES, CAN HELP. IN JUST TWO WEEKS, SECRETARY DOLE, LANE KIRKLAND AND OTHERS WILL JOIN FORCES ON A PRESIDENTIAL MISSION TO POLAND: OUR GOVERNMENT, TOGETHER WITH THE AFL-CIO, IN SOLIDARITY WITH POLISH WORKERS.

TODAY, I CALL ON THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY, AND GOVERNMENT, TO LOOK FOR WAYS TO SUPPORT A PARTNERSHIP FOR PROGRESS IN POLAND -- FOR THE SAKE OF A NATION, AND A PEOPLE, THAT NEED AND DESERVE OUR HELP. LABOR, BUSINESS, AND GOVERNMENT CAN AND SHOULD BE PARTNERS AND ACTIVISTS FOR POLAND'S FUTURE.

LAST NIGHT LECH WALESZA CAME TO DINNER AT THE WHITE HOUSE. BARBARA AND I WANTED TO RECIPROCATATE FOR THE WARM HOSPITALITY HE AND HIS WIFE DANUTA GAVE US IN HIS OWN HOME AT GDANSK. WE TALKED ABOUT INVESTMENT -- THE NEED TO ATTRACT NEW CAPITAL TO POLAND -- MUCH IN THE SPIRIT OF LECH'S WORDS TO THIS CONVENTION.

YESTERDAY LECH SAID, "SUCH IS THE FATE OF A POLISH TRADE UNIONIST -- HE HAS TO LAUNCH A PUBLICITY CAMPAIGN FOR PRIVATE ENTREPRENEURSHIP." WELL, LECH IS ONE SMART TRADE UNIONIST. LAST NIGHT, LABOR'S SON AND DEMOCRACY'S ADVOCATE WAS TALKING ABOUT BANKS AND INVESTMENT -- BECAUSE HE KNOWS THAT MEANS ECONOMIC REFORM -- AND HE KNOWS ECONOMIC REFORM MEANS JOBS.

BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT CAN LEARN FROM -- AND LEND
MOMENTUM TO -- LABOR'S UNFLINCHING DEMAND FOR DIGNITY
ON BEHALF OF EVERY WORKING MAN AND WOMAN: NOT JUST IN
POLAND, BUT AROUND THE WORLD. LET US JOIN HANDS. LET
US WORK TOGETHER AS NEVER BEFORE -- TO FULFILL THE
GREAT PROMISE OF FREEDOM. //

THERE IS SO MUCH TO LEARN FROM LABOR'S HISTORY OF
DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE. DURING HITLER'S RISE TO POWER IN
THE 1930S, AMERICAN LABOR WAS AMONG THE FIRST TO
RECOGNIZE THAT GREAT EVIL. YOU EXTENDED YOUR HAND IN
SOLIDARITY TO THOSE FIGHTING IN THE EARLY UNDERGROUND
MOVEMENT.

WHEN THE NAZI REGIME WAS FINALLY DESTROYED,
AMERICAN LABOR WENT TO WORK REBUILDING DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTIONS AND INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS.

LATER, WHEN POSTWAR WESTERN EUROPE WAS THREATENED
BY THE SPREAD OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM, AMERICAN
LABOR STOOD FIRM. TOUGH, BEHIND-THE-SCENES
OPERATORS -- LIKE IRVING BROWN, THE AFL'S EUROPEAN
REPRESENTATIVE -- SAW TO IT THAT THE ALLIANCE WAS
PRESERVED AND DEMOCRACY PREVAILED IN WESTERN EUROPE.

WHEN IRVING BROWN DIED LAST WINTER, AFTER FOUR DECADES OF FIGHTING FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS, HE WAS WIDELY RECOGNIZED AS AN ARCHITECT OF WESTERN DEMOCRACY -- SYMBOLIZING AMERICAN LABOR'S COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM AROUND THE WORLD.

TODAY THE TRADITION CONTINUES -- NOWHERE MORE POWERFULLY THAN IN POLAND. THE AFL-CIO WAS AT THE FOREFRONT, STANDING WITH SOLIDARITY IN ITS DARKEST HOUR -- FIRM IN THE BELIEF THAT THE DAWN WOULD COME. BECAUSE OF THAT SUPPORT, COURAGEOUS LEADERS LIKE LECH WALESZA ARE NOW TRANSFORMING POLAND BEFORE THE EYES OF AN ADMIRING WORLD.

STORIES OF THAT TRANSFORMATION CONTINUE TO UNFOLD. EARLY IN THIS CENTURY, IN THE POLISH TOWN OF LODZ [WOODZH], DAVID DUBINSKY -- LATER TO BECOME THE RENOWNED HEAD OF THE I.L.G -- WAS ARRESTED FOR ORGANIZING. IN 1908, THAT WOULD-BE ORGANIZER WAS SENT FROM LODZ [WOODZH] TO SIBERIA, BY THE CZAR. LAST WEEK, A SOLIDARITY UNION CANDIDATE WAS ELECTED MAYOR OF LODZ. [WOODZH]

IN POLAND, SOLIDARITY UNLOCKED FREEDOM'S DOOR.
TODAY, HOLDING POLAND IN THEIR HEARTS AS AN EXAMPLE AND
INSPIRATION, WORKERS AROUND THE WORLD ARE RISKING
EVERYTHING FOR DEMOCRACY. THE DOOR CANNOT BE LOCKED
AGAIN.

MINERS ARE STRIKING PEACEFULLY IN THE SOVIET UNION
FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE EARLY 1920S, ONE OF THEM
EVEN CALLING THEIR INDEPENDENT UNION -- AND THIS IS
HIGH PRAISE FOR LECH WALESIA -- "SOLIDARITY."

THEY AND THOSE LIKE THEM OFFER HOPE FOR PEACEFUL
CHANGE, WHICH THE AFL-CIO IS SUPPORTING ACTIVELY --
THROUGH DIRECT CONTACT, AND ASSISTANCE ON WORKERS'
RIGHTS, UNION ORGANIZATION, AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.
THESE ARE THE TOOLS YOUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS ABROAD
NEED MOST, TO HAMMER OUT JUSTICE ON THE ANVIL OF
FREEDOM.

WITH NEW LEGISLATION IN THE SUPREME SOVIET RECOGNIZING THE RIGHT TO STRIKE IN ALL BUT A HANDFUL OF ESSENTIAL INDUSTRIES, THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION NOW HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO VOICE THEIR GRIEVANCES. THIS WILL BE A CHALLENGE TO PRESIDENT GORBACHEV, AS HE WORKS, THROUGH PERESTROIKA, TO RAISE PRODUCTIVITY AND LIVING STANDARDS AT THE SAME TIME.

ACROSS EASTERN EUROPE, WE SEE VINDICATION OF THE AFL-CIO'S REFUSAL TO DEAL WITH PUPPET UNIONS CONTROLLED BY EITHER EMPLOYERS OR GOVERNMENTS. HUNGARIAN WORKERS ARE TURNING TO THE DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE OF FREE UNIONS. BULGARIAN WORKERS ARE LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS OF A NASCENT FREE TRADE UNION, TO BE CALLED "SUPPORT." EAST GERMAN WORKERS HAVE CREATED THEIR FIRST INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION, FREE OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE, TO BE CALLED "REFORM."

THE IDEA THAT MOTIVATED LECH WALESZA AND THE MEMBERS OF SOLIDARITY, AS THEY SAT DOWN TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE POLISH GOVERNMENT, IS A POWERFUL ONE: THAT MEN MUST BE FREE IN ORDER TO PROSPER. THAT IDEA SPREAD TO HUNGARY WHERE THE PHYSICAL DISMANTLING OF THE IRON CURTAIN BEGAN.

UPLIFTED BY THE HOPE THAT EUROPE WILL ONE DAY BE WHOLE AND FREE, LAST WEEK WE WATCHED IN AWE AS BERLINERS DANCED ATOP THE BERLIN WALL. WE WATCHED AS A DEEP WOUND -- A WOUND THAT HAS SCARRED THE HEART OF EUROPE FOR 28 YEARS -- BEGAN TO HEAL. WE SAW IT IN THE JOYFUL FACES OF FAMILIES REUNITED. IN THE SMILES, LAUGHTER, AND TEARS OF PEOPLE GREETING FREEDOM LIKE A LONG-LOST FRIEND. IN THE WONDER OF CHILDREN GETTING THEIR FIRST TASTE OF FREEDOM.

LATE LAST SUMMER I REMEMBER PREDICTING THAT THE WALL WOULD COME DOWN. I EXPECTED IT DURING MY LIFETIME. I HOPED FOR IT DURING MY PRESIDENCY. BUT YOU KNOW, QUITE APART FROM PREDICTIONS, CHANGE HAS A WAY OF SWEEPING THROUGH LIKE A FAST-MOVING TRAIN. NO ONE -- AND NO GOVERNMENT -- SHOULD STAND IN THE WAY.

JUST YESTERDAY WE WELCOMED THE NEWS OF FREEDOM OF TRAVEL FOR THE CITIZENS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AS A POSITIVE STEP FORWARD. BUT IN THAT COUNTRY -- WHERE THE TRADITION OF DEMOCRACY RUNS DEEP -- AND IN OTHERS, FREEDOM OF TRAVEL IS NOT ENOUGH. ONLY FREE AND UNFETTERED ELECTIONS CAN SATISFY THE YEARNINGS OF FREE PEOPLE.

IT IS AGAINST THIS BACKDROP OF CHANGE THAT I WILL MEET WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV NEAR MALTA NEXT MONTH. WE ARE NOT MEETING TO NEGOTIATE THE FUTURE OF EUROPE. THE PEOPLES OF EASTERN EUROPE ARE SPEAKING THEIR OWN MINDS ABOUT THAT FUTURE. THEY ARE CALLING FOR DEMOCRACY. FREEDOM OF PRESS, AND OF CONSCIENCE. THE RIGHT OF THE GOVERNED TO CHOOSE THEIR LEADERS.

AT MALTA, I WILL WORK TO ADVANCE THE PROCESS OF REFORM AND DEMOCRACY. I ALSO WANT TO KNOW WHAT PRESIDENT GORBACHEV THINKS OF THE CHALLENGES THAT HE FACES AT HOME -- AND OF THE NEW COURSE THAT HE HAS SET OUT FOR SOVIET POLICY IN EASTERN EUROPE. I PLAN TO DISCUSS WITH HIM THE IMPORTANCE OF FREE TRADE UNIONS IN BUILDING A FREE COUNTRY. THE AFL-CIO HAS FOUGHT FOR THAT FREEDOM AROUND THE WORLD, AND I WILL CARRY THAT MESSAGE TO MR. GORBACHEV. I ALSO WANT TO TALK WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV ABOUT THE OPPORTUNITIES TO MOVE BEYOND CONTAINMENT IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS -- TO FIND AREAS OF MUTUAL ADVANTAGE IN OUR RELATIONSHIP.

EVERYWHERE YOU LOOK IN THE WORLD, MEMBERS OF THE AFL-CIO ARE FIGHTING TO KEEP THE DOOR TO FREEDOM OPEN FOR ALL. WORKING AGAINST SUCH EVILS AS APARTHEID. STRUGGLING FOR PEACEFUL DEMOCRATIC CHANGE TOWARD A SYSTEM OF ONE MAN, ONE VOTE. SUPPORTING FREE TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS IN PARAGUAY. GUATEMALA. EL SALVADOR. NICARAGUA.

AND HELPING WORKERS IN CHILE'S PLEBISCITE LAST YEAR, FIGHTING FOR FREE ELECTIONS, NOW SCHEDULED FOR NEXT MONTH. MANUEL BUSTOS, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED LABOR CONFEDERATION THERE, WAS UNTIL RECENTLY EXILED IN HIS OWN COUNTRY. THANKS TO THE AFL-CIO, HE IS NOW FREE. FREE ENOUGH TO BE ~~WITH US~~ TODAY.

attend this great convention

YOUR WORK IS OFTEN ACCOMPLISHED AT GREAT SACRIFICE. INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS ARE OFTEN CAUGHT IN A VISE BETWEEN DEATH SQUADS ON THE RIGHT AND GUERRILLAS ON THE LEFT. IN EL SALVADOR, TWO OF YOUR OWN -- MIKE HAMMER AND MARK PEARLMAN -- DIED AT THE HANDS OF A RIGHT-WING DEATH SQUAD. AND IN NICARAGUA, THE CONFEDERATION OF TRADE UNION UNITY HAS BEEN HARRASSED AND BRUTALIZED BY THE SANDINISTA REGIME'S LEFT-WING THUGS.

IT TAKES UNCOMMON COURAGE FOR WORKERS TO FIGHT THE SCOURGE OF TYRANNY. BECAUSE DICTATORS KNOW THAT FREE UNIONS MEAN PLURALISM. AND PLURALISM DENIES COMPLETE CONTROL. SO THE TYRANT'S FIRST TARGETS FOR SUPPRESSION, ARREST, OR MURDER ARE OFTEN INDEPENDENT UNIONS AND THEIR MEMBERS.

IN ALL, OVER 200 FREE TRADE UNIONISTS WERE MURDERED LAST YEAR AROUND THE WORLD. WE GRIEVE DEEPLY FOR THESE SACRIFICES. LET THERE BE NO MISTAKE: WE CONDEMN ANY EFFORTS, BY ANY GOVERNMENT, TO TRY TO INTIMIDATE DEMOCRATIC UNIONS OR THEIR MEMBERS.

IN THAILAND, SOUTH KOREA, MALAYSIA, THE PHILIPPINES: THE AFL-CIO'S SUPPORT OF WORKER EDUCATION, LIBRARIES, AND CONFERENCES ON HUMAN RIGHTS ALL ADD TO THE INEVITABLE MOMENTUM TOWARD WORKER REPRESENTATION AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

WORKERS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA BY THE MILLIONS -- ESPECIALLY CHILDREN AND YOUNG WOMEN -- ARE BEING USED, ABUSED, AND ABANDONED. LOOKING FOR A SOLUTION, WE'VE ENFORCED WORKER RIGHTS AS PART OF THE GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF PREFERENCES -- AND IN OUR TRADE POLICY REVIEW MECHANISM UNDER THE GATT, WE'VE INCORPORATED WORKER RIGHTS.

IN THE LONG RUN, THE SUREST SOLUTION TO THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKER RIGHTS IS TO SUPPORT THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS LIKE FREE LABOR UNIONS -- AND TO ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT THAT WILL RENDER CHILD LABOR AND NIGHTMARISH WORKING CONDITIONS NOT MERELY ILLEGAL, BUT UNTHINKABLE.

JUST AS A HOUSE IS BUILT FROM THE GROUND UP, LABOR'S HOUSE RESTS ON A BEDROCK PRINCIPLE OF FREE ASSOCIATION -- AND RISES BY THE STRENGTH OF ITS MEMBERS. FREE TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS TODAY STAND ON THE THRESHOLD OF CHANGE -- AS A LEADING FORCE FOR DEMOCRACY. LABOR'S STRENGTH HAS OPENED THE DOOR TO FREEDOM FOR MILLIONS. THE DOOR MUST REMAIN OPEN.

LAST WEEK THE SOVIET UNION CELEBRATED THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION. IN A PROTEST MARCH, A BANNER WAS CARRIED THAT SAID, "WORKERS OF THE WORLD, WE APOLOGIZE." IT WAS THE FIRST TIME IN MEMORY THAT SOVIET AUTHORITIES ALLOWED SUCH DEMONSTRATIONS ON THAT HOLIDAY. THAT BANNER IS ANOTHER SIGN THAT DEMOCRACY IS DOING THE UNTHINKABLE, BY SAYING THE UNSPEAKABLE.

THE NINETEEN EIGHTY-FOUR OF GEORGE ORWELL HAS COME AND GONE. I AM HOPEFUL THAT 1989 WILL BE REMEMBERED AS THE YEAR WHEN AMERICAN LABOR, BUSINESS, AND GOVERNMENT FIRST BEGAN TO WORK TOGETHER, IN A REAL PARTNERSHIP, FOR THE FREEDOM AND DIGNITY OF WORKERS EVERYWHERE. NOT OUT OF SOME UTOPIAN VISION -- BUT BECAUSE WE SIMPLY BELIEVE IN THE SAME BASIC VALUES.

THE KEY TO FREEDOM RESTS IN OUR HANDS. WITH THAT
KEY, NOTHING IS IMPOSSIBLE. THE DOOR TO DEMOCRACY WILL
REMAIN UNLOCKED: TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS ABILITY...
TO DREAM.

THANK YOU. GOD BLESS YOU. AND MAY GOD BLESS
WORKING PEOPLE EVERYWHERE.

#