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Mark:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

11-7-89

RE: Encyclopedias w/ razor blades:

1) Prof. Wolfgang Leonhard, Yale Univ.

In his Soviet history course he tells of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia sending out razor blades to remove the entry on Beria — who had been liquidated — and enclosing an entry on the Bering Strait to replace it.

2) Prof. Richard Pipes at Harvard will be able to confirm. His # is 617/495-2556

— Austen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

11-3-89

P.D.:

I gave Mark a copy of this stuff:

1) Tocqueville on associations in America, and (you'll recognize the quotes)

2) Peter Berger on why these associations — "mediating structures" — are important to democratic capitalism.

— A.

P.S. — The point, of course, is that America is a model to a world in transition on this issue, and American unions are part of that.

AUSTEN FURS

deTocqueville Quotes on voluntary associations

"Wherever at the head of some new undertaking you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association." (p. 114)

"If men living in democratic countries . . . never acquired the habit of forming associations in ordinary life, civilization itself would be endangered." (p. 115)

"[B]ut what political power could ever carry on the vast multitude of lesser undertakings which the American citizens perform every day, with the assistance of the principle of association?" (p.116)

"The more it [government] stands in the place of associations, the more will individuals, losing the notion of combining together, require its assistance: these are causes and effects that unceasingly create each other." (p. 116)

"The first time I heard in the United States that a hundred thousand men had bound themselves publicly to abstain from spiritous liquors, it appeared to me more like a joke than a serious engagement, and I did not at once perceive why these temperate citizens could not content themselves with drinking water by their own firesides. I at last understood that these hundred thousand Americans, alarmed by the progress of drunkeness around them, had made up their minds to patronize [i.e. promote] temperance. They acted in just the same way as a man of high rank who should dress very plainly in order to inspire the humbler orders with a contempt of luxury. It is probable that if these hundred thousand men had lived in France, each of them would singly have memorialized [i.e. called upon] the government to watch the public houses all over the kingdom." (p. 118)

"This . . . country is the only one in the world where the continual exercise of the right of association has been introduced into civil life and where all the advantages which civilization can confer are procured by means of it." (p. 123)

proached in a rationally calculating and planning manner.[28] This individual is also animated by a strong sense of ambition and the goals of this ambition are to be reached by way of competitive achievement.[29] Finally, here is an individual who is open to innovation, as against one bound by the past. Indeed, there is a tendency within this individual to regard anything as better just because it is new. This trait, of course, is highly relevant to the "creative destruction" of capitalism.

There should be little doubt that the social-psychological gestalt just described has indeed been associated, probably importantly so, with the development of modern Western capitalism. Further, it is very plausible that individual autonomy must be seen as an important component within this overall gestalt. The matter becomes much less clear when one asks whether the gestalt in general and the component of individual autonomy in particular should be understood as intrinsically or only extrinsically linked to capitalism. Anyone familiar with modernization theory will likely hypothesize that at least some of the aforementioned features, and perhaps even individual autonomy itself, should be primarily ascribed to modernization, no matter whether the latter occurs within a capitalist or noncapitalist economy.[30] Even if one concedes that Western capitalism had its roots in a premodern Western "individualism," it does not follow from this that capitalism elsewhere must have a similar sociocultural matrix. But, conversely, even if one supposes that there could be a non-"individualistic" capitalism in non-Western society, it does not necessarily follow that Western individual autonomy could survive the demise of capitalism.

In the West itself, it can be plausibly argued that the decline of entrepreneurial "individualism," and its widespread replacement by a managerial-bureaucratic ethos, has created a threat to the survival of a capitalist economy and has made a socialist future more probable.[31] Such an argument suggests the hypothesis that, at least in the West, the linkage between capitalism and individual autonomy is an intrinsic one. On the other hand, the emergence in recent decades of a successful East Asian capitalism puts a serious question mark behind the notion that this linkage holds cross-culturally. As will be discussed in a later chapter, a number of East Asian countries, notably Japan, have developed highly successful capitalist economies on the basis of emphatically non-"individualistic" cultures, though the evidence is as yet inconclusive whether the traditional cultures of these countries are being

changed in an individuating direction by these capitalist successes. And then there are the industrial socialist societies, which are characterized by a strong denial of individual autonomy both in theory and in practice. It may again be argued that their economic weaknesses can at least in part be ascribed to the way in which their polities suppress the individual and thus negate the economic benefits stemming from the creativity of individual enterprise.

Proposition: *Given the social and cultural bases of Western civilization, capitalism is the necessary but not sufficient condition for the continuing reality of individual autonomy.*

The question of what additional conditions may be necessary would lead one into a variety of areas, including the theory of democracy and various reflections about the social-psychological dynamics of major cultural institutions.

Certain components of Western bourgeois culture, notably those of activism, rational innovativeness, and self-discipline, are prerequisites of successful capitalist development anywhere.

This hypothesis does not imply that non-Western societies embarked on capitalist development must become culturally Westernized, but rather that, even if they reject such Westernization, they must find "functional equivalents" in their own cultural traditions that are capable of supplying the aforementioned prerequisites.

But, for the moment, let us return to the West. As Georg Simmel argued many years ago, the development of the capitalist money economy went hand in hand with the liberation of the individual—or, perhaps one could say more accurately, with a whole set of liberations of the individual.[32] In an ingenious reversal of the Marxian view of money as an instrument of "reifying" oppression, Simmel argued that the very abstraction of money (which becomes generalized in a money economy) frees the individual from the bondage of concrete social allegiances. As we have seen before, capitalism allowed individuals to purchase, with "cash on the barrel," not only commodities but status and status symbols that had previously been nonpurchasable accoutrements of noble birth or royal favor. This meant liberation, socially and economically and, eventually, politically as well. Once again the archaic Greek frieze may be taken as a paradigm of non-"individualistic" existence—the individual embedded firmly in the

collective structures. Capitalism liberates the individual by letting him step out of his particular frieze—provided, of course, he acquires the money to do so. Money, with its great power of abstraction, makes it possible to convert all socially relevant phenomena (goods, services, statuses, even identities) into units of specific monetary worth. The individual too can be so converted. The American phrase "What is he worth?" illustrates this monetary conversion very graphically. Often this phrase has been cited as evidence of the "dehumanizing" effects of capitalism. Maybe so, depending on one's ideal of "humanity." But the same phrase illustrates the liberating effect of capitalism. To assess a man's "worth" in terms of the money he possesses ipso facto puts in brackets whatever "worth" he may have by way of congenital and collective ascription: Nobody chooses his parents, but anyone, in principle, can accumulate capital. And just as the capitalist market transcends old boundaries of clan, tribe, and even nation, so the individual in a capitalist society can continuously transcend the boundaries of his biographical starting point. If Simmel is right, individual autonomy developed in Western civilization in a dialectical interaction with the autonomy of market forces. The necessities of the entrepreneur become the rights of the individual, and vice versa.

The critics of capitalist modernity, both from the right and the left, have nevertheless been quite correct in claiming that this liberation from collective solidarities has been costly. The cost is precisely what Marx called "alienation" and Durkheim *"anomie."* It is the emergence of individuals severed from communal moorings, thrown upon themselves, interacting with other equally isolated and mobile individuals. If those costs are not somehow minimized, the emerging constellation is the one earlier labeled as "hyper-individualism"—which, not surprisingly, is perceived as *the* pathology of contemporary Western societies by both non-Western observers and critics of those societies from within (where we find a curious agreement between Marxists and ultra-conservatives). Durkheim, following Henry Maine, believed that a major institutional concomitant of this liberation of the individual was the proliferation of contractual relations between people.[33] A contract specifies what is required in any particular relationship between individuals: A owes B *this*, no more and no less. The contract, in other words, spells out all rights and obligations in a precise and exclusive manner. This stands out in sharp distinction from the imprecise, diffuse networks of rights and obligations that characterize most if not all premodern societies. The capitalist market, of course, could not exist without a mature development of contract law. But there is a carry-over from the market to all other human relations. One may speak, then, of the "contract society" as a hyperbole of market individualism.

It is thus not surprising that hyper-individualism today is expressed in a proliferation of contractual arrangements. All individual claims become codified in entitlements. The rise of the welfare state, of course, has greatly fostered this process. But it can also be observed throughout the private sphere. The notion of the marriage contract, as advocated by feminists, is an example of this, and so is the burgeoning movement of "children's rights." Where there are contracts, there must be lawyers. The astronomical increase in litigation in American society is, at least in part, due to its becoming more and more a "contract society." To a lesser extent, though, the same "juridification" of social life can be observed in other Western societies as well. The presupposition for all this is that older, more imprecise and diffuse rights and obligations decline. Less and less can be assumed to be "understood"; therefore, more and more must be contractually, legalistically spelled out.

Hyper-individualism and the "contract society" can properly be understood as fruits of capitalism. But their relationship to capitalism, as Daniel Bell has pointed out, constitutes a "cultural contradiction."[34] Individual enterprise, on which Western capitalism has depended, requires innovation and mobility, a freedom from collective ties. A system of entitlements, however, reconstitutes a new system of collective ties, all spelled out in contracts, codified in law and relentlessly expanded by all those lawyers. Such a system of entitlements contradicts the freedom of enterprise. Thus it is not surprising, even if it is paradoxical, that the movements of hyper-individualism and entitlement-enhancement tend to be anticapitalist in effect if not in original inspiration.

Take, for example, an American businessman, one whose success could plausibly be traced to old-fashioned individual entrepreneurship. What are his complaints? Of course he complains about the burden of innumerable laws and regulations imposed on his business by various levels of government, forcing him to expend time and energy on bureaucratic activities that are uncongenial to him—and quite possibly

forcing him to hire bureaucratic types (accountants, tax lawyers, and the like) who tell him how to run his business. All of this acts as a brake on his entrepreneurship, as do various institutions of the welfare state (such as those dealing with employee rights of one kind or another). But now, in addition, he will probably complain about additional constraints deriving from seemingly ever-expanding entitlements—affirmative action constraints to safeguard entitlements based on race and gender, protections of consumers (with every one of whom he is now supposed to have complex contractual relations), protections of the environment (or, more precisely, various individuals and groups upon whose environment he is presumed to impinge), and so on. And as his luck would have it, he may come home to be accused by his wife to have violated this or that provision of their marriage contract, his children will clamor for *their* rights (perhaps, who knows, with the support of a "children's rights advocate"), and his mistress may slap him with a "palimony" suit. Such a man may be forgiven if he feels that he has misunderstood the meaning of a "free society."[35]

Now, if one imagined these "contradictions" operating without countervailing forces, one would certainly predict the collapse of capitalism along with the final demise of bourgeois culture. The empirical reality, however, is that there are countervailing forces of considerable strength in Western societies. Individual autonomy depended historically on a subtle balancing act between liberties and responsibilities, between liberation from communal ties and security within communities. This balancing act was not simply an individual feat; rather, it was grounded institutionally. Put differently, individual autonomy depended upon *balancing institutions,* whose function it was to provide the individual with a secure "base" to venture out into the turbulent public world created by capitalist modernity, as well as to mediate between the private world of *Gemeinschaft* and a public world dominated by "cold" contractual relationships. That is why these balancing institutions may also be called "mediating structures."[36]

There is no mystery as to the nature of these institutions. Most important among them were family and religion. Nor has this changed, despite all (highly premature) obituaries for these two institutions. The family in question here, of course, is not just any form of kinship pattern but the *bourgeois* family. This family was decisively legitimated and sustained by religious values, in all Western societies (though in

Peter Berger on "mediating structures" (voluntary associations)

the Protestant societies these values were particularly congenial to capitalist culture). At least in the Anglo-Saxon countries, and especially in America, these two central institutions were further assisted in their balancing and mediating functions by an array of voluntary associations, which allowed the individual to stake out a zone of liberties and at the same time provided a social base from which to sally out into the turbulent world of capitalist enterprise.[37]

What is at issue here is quite simple. The world created by capitalism is indeed a "cold" one. Liberating though it may be, it also involves the individual in countless relations with other people that are based on calculating rationality ("What is this person worth *to me*?"), superficial (the "personalizations" of salesmanship), and inevitably transient (the very dynamics of the market ensures this). Human relations too become subject to the "creative destruction" of capitalism. There is, therefore, an overriding need for a world of "warmth" to balance all this "coldness." Family, church, private friendships, and freely formed associations have provided this balance throughout the development of bourgeous culture; they continue to do so today, despite the tensions and "contradictions" of this culture. Those who overlook these balancing institutions misperceive essential qualities of these societies in question.[38]

Proposition: *Capitalism requires institutions that balance the anonymous aspects of individual autonomy with communal solidarity. Among these institutions are, above all, the family and religion.*

At least in Western societies, this requirement is reciprocal. Threats to the bourgeois family and to the religious values underpinning it are ipso facto threats to capitalism, because such threats undermine the social setting in which individuals geared toward enterprise can emerge. Conversely, the capitalist economy provides the context within which personal liberties can thrive and institutions fostering these liberties, including the bourgeois family and organized religion, can function without pervasive state controls.

In sum, liberation and "alienation" are the reverse sides of the same capitalist coin. The liberation of the individual, which capitalism in the West has fostered, must be "contained" within structures of community if it is not to liquidate itself, be it in the anarchy of hyperindividualism or in a network of ever more constraining entitlements. Capitalism depends on this balance. Progressive anarchy, with each

individual out "on the make" by and for himself, undermines capitalism, because it deprives it of the fabric of trust and value without which it cannot function effectively. On the other hand, the imposition of collective controls on the individual by authoritarian or totalitarian polities, quite apart from other costs, also incurs economic costs and finally makes capitalism impossible, because such polities cannot permit that free enterprise upon which capitalism depends.

6

CAPITALISM AND DEVELOPMENT

CAPITALISM has become a global phenomenon. From the enclaves of capitalist enterprise, superimposed on the centuries-old feudal and subsistence economies of Europe, it first conquered those economies and then thrust out beyond them—through trade, imperial expansion, and cultural penetration—until today it has reached virtually every part of the world not ruled by Communist regimes (and even there its outposts are to be found). Capitalism has been one of the most dynamic forces in human history, transforming one society after another, and today it has become established as an international system determining the economic fate of most of mankind and, at least indirectly, its social, political, and cultural fate, as well. Yet, evidently, contemporary capitalism has different faces in different parts of the world. Its image, everywhere, is that of the horn of plenty that heaped such immense material wealth on the countries in which it originated. This image contrasts sharply with the reality of many other countries that have become part of the international capitalist system. There the dynamism of capitalist economics coexists with perduring and, in some cases, increasing poverty. The capitalist horn of plenty is an image of hope, a promise of wealth and well-being. When the reality fails to catch up with the image, when the promise remains unfulfilled, the dream easily turns into bitterness and hatred. The dialectic of hope and disappointment is the great drama of the so-called Third World (an

September 8, 1989

Memorandum

Subject: Suggested Speech: The Trend Toward Working At Home

I have said that I am not one for airy abstractions. I am a practical person who likes what works. But any practical person can see that large forces are at work in the world today -- the winds of change are blowing. You don't have to have a taste for abstractions to know that this is an age of transformation -- in world politics, in the economy at home and abroad, in technology, and in American society, -- transformation, the likes of which have never been seen before.

The changes represented by the new technologies of information and communication: personal computers, fax machines, modems, microchips, optical fibers, microwaves, and lasers -- these and the other new symbols of what many call the Information Age are already allowing Americans greater choice in determining their own destinies. They are changing the way America is doing business. They are transforming the way we compete in the global economy on the one hand, and the way we live our personal lives, on the other. It is the effect of the Information Age on the way we live our own lives that I want to talk to you about. Because the Information Age is moving closer to home -- literally.

(more)

More and more, people are choosing to do their day to day work at home. Through these incredible new technologies, ordinary people can work closer to the people they are really working for: their families.

We see the effects in the recent phenomenon of so-called "telecommuting." People are making their own homes their offices, and communicating with their co-workers through the new technologies. In doing so, they are increasing their own quality of life by avoiding congested urban areas, and increasing the quality of life for other people by reducing that congestion and the pollution that comes with it.

Work can be organized around the regular rhythms of family life. Parents can spend more time with the kids before it's bedtime. And time that might have been spent waiting in a traffic jam on the way to work is suddenly free for family. Imagine -- instead of listenening to the traffic report, you listen to "What I learned in school today."

And the same is true of caring for infants and toddlers. Instead of always just looking at ways to change child care in order to suit work, we also ought to be able to look at ways of changing work to suit child care.

(more)

For many people this is an old story: they've always worked at home, whether it was harvesting the back-forty behind the house in the Midwestern autumn, or knitting piece-work at the kitchen table in the New England winter, or, year-round, the noblest occupation of all, the job of looking after the kids. Come to think of it, I do most of my work around the house myself.

According to one study, today, over one out of every five persons in the labor force works at home -- about 26 million people. Most of these homeworkers are employed by small businesses. As many of you know, America's economic boom has been fueled in large part because of these businesses. Since the boom began, we have created over 20 million new jobs in this country, more than Western Europe and Japan combined. And guess where most of these jobs were created. That's right, in small businesses.

It is no knock against big business to say that there is something special about working in a small business -- maybe it's that there more interaction among the personnel, more sense of connectedness and being part of something.

You're closer to the ground in a small business, so its easier to see where the business is going and how you can help get it there. I should know. Some of the happiest days of my life were spent running the company I created out in West Texas.

Now I work for a somewhat bigger operation, but the lessons have stayed with me. You realize in a small business, the value of flexibility in your workforce. There's usually less margin for error in a small outfit, so a happy, productive workforce is critical. When the management knows its workforce well, it can be more flexible. It can make the little adjustments here and there to accommodate change, or maybe help an employee out who's going through a rough patch in his or her personal life.

Today, as we approach a new century, the benefits of flexibility in the workforce are not just incidental, they're downright critical to competitiveness. As I've noted before, the great American job machine is increasingly making it more likely that people who look for jobs can find jobs. More and more, businesses will be looking harder and harder for the people with the skills they need to compete. More and more, it will be a matter of jobs looking for people, rather than people looking for jobs.

In this new labor market, business has an interest in being as accommodating as possible to its potential employees in order to attract the necessary talent. That's where working at home comes in: it's not just that employees are demanding to be allowed to work at home, it's that businesses see that it is in their own interest.

Just as, more and more, we will be looking for people to fit the jobs rather than for jobs to fit to people, in a similar way, we will no longer be moving people to work, but moving work to people.

This is good news for everybody, for employees and for the businesses that hire them -- businesses which are looking for new ways to improve their employee's productivity. Because a more flexible workforce is usually a more productive workforce.

Business are trying all kinds of ways to enhance their workforce flexibility: part-time employment, job sharing, flexible hours -- so-called "flextime," and increasingly, encouraging work to be done outside the office, including at home. All these methods reflect the realization by employers that people work not to pass the time away, but to get the job done.

We cannot know whether any of these particular methods of increasing flexibility will prove their usefulness in every case. But the signs so far are positive. Particularly for the majority of the workforce: of course, I mean women.

You got the answer to my first question about what kinds of businesses have created the bulk of America's stupendous number of new jobs. Here's another one for you: who runs most of those businesses? Right again. Women.

As in so many areas of the emerging economy of the information age, women are taking the lead. It was women, often on maternity leave, who first started the telecommuting trend. And it is often women who are pioneering the new forms of working at home. But the larger point is that, both women and men, particularly if they're parents, will benefit from a more flexible workplace.

What it all means is greater choice: you can choose to stay at home and take care of the kids, and you can choose to stay at home and take care of the company as the Chief Executive Officer, entrepreneur, or part-time worker. Choice is the key.

Greater choice for parents is why earlier in the year I proposed a child care tax credit. This credit will give parents a choice of whether to care for their kids at home, or with Grandma, or with a neighbor, or in a church-- or synagogue run center, or in a day care center. Greater choice for parents is why I proposed giving parents greater say in choosing the schools their children attend -- with magnet schools, for example. And greater parental choice of how to care for their kids will result from the trend towards working at home.

The convergence of workplace with livingspace made possible by the Information Age also extends to the consumer. Today the old American tradition of ordering by mail is taking on new dimensions made possible by the same technologies that created the work-at-home movement. The practice of "home shopping" is now commonplace and, we can confidently predict, will soon come to include all sorts of goods and services that were hard to obtain in the past.

These are the promises of the tomorrow that's practically arrived on our doorsteps. But here's my promise to you today: whether at home as the mom, or at home as the CEO, we will ensure that the woman's choice is her own, not one unreasonably imposed upon her. Whatever we can do to ensure the opportunities of greater flexibility in the workforce, including the flexibility of working at home, without unduly interfering in the private sector, we will do.

That is why I am directing Secretary Dole, to study ways to make working at home easier; and to remove any unreasonable barriers that may prevent people from taking full advantage of the opportunities to pursue their vocations at home where they can be closer to their families.

At the same time, the Director of the Office of Personnel Management, Connie Newman, will undertake an examination of ways to encourage flexible work practices, including working at home, in the workforce of the Federal government. Both of these initiatives will be undertaken will a special eye towards better accommodating the needs of women in the workforce.

Finally, with the interests of consumers in mind, I am directing my Consumer Advisor, Bonnie Guiton, to make recommendations on any changes that may be needed as a result of the trend toward "home shopping" or purchases transacted from the home.

Let me leave you with one final thought. The dramatic changes we are privileged to witness in technology and in the economy, have their counterpart in social and political changes around the world.

Look at Central Europe, look at Latin America, look at the Far East. And remember that America is the fountainhead of the technological and economic change that is sweeping the globe. And America is the source of what I call the New Breeze of freedom and democracy that gives hope to millions of people "yearning to breathe free."

But before we indulge in self-congratulation, we must rededicate ourselves to the ideals that made all this propitious change possible. Because the more the rest of the world changes, the more the world's people look to us, to America, as a model of how to organize themselves in ways that will ensure prosperity, peace, and freedom.

10-10-10

Americans are a practical people. We know what works. Freedom works. Let's get to work, then, to use these new practical tools of the Information Age in ways that other nations can emulate to the benefit of all humanity.

###

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 1, 1989

Memorandum

Subject: Suggested Draft Speech On The Information Age

It is evident to everyone that we live in a time of momentous change. The recent events in Central Europe alone are cause for wonder and would never have been predicted only a short time ago. All of the recent dramatic changes have led a good many observers to seek a common thread in all the confusion, to explain what really is behind all the political and social transformation around the globe. I believe that all Americans who have compared what's happening in other countries to our own, know the explanation in their bones. It has been said before: freedom works.

Freedom works because it is in mankind's nature to be free. Our forefathers knew that when they began the great experiment that is America. But they knew that freedom is vulnerable and for freedom to fully flower we must cultivate it with every useful tool we can devise. Today we are witnessing the development of new tools and new mechanisms that can help promote freedom, just as the magnificent institutional mechanisms which our founders devised -- our system of checks and balances, for example -- have preserved and enhanced freedom on this continent.

(more)

These new tools I speak of are especially evident in the emergence of new technologies that have made the spread of information much easier and more widespread. Like any instrument, these new information technologies can be used for good or evil purposes. But by and large, they are tending to overcome the barriers to free expression around the world, and to develop new forms of useful wealth based less on material things, and more on ideas and knowledge.

These new technologies have allowed information, ideas, and capital to be transmitted from one place in the world to another in the blink of an eye. The new technologies of communication: computers, lasers, fax machines, lasers, optical fibers, satellites -- all these wonderful new things have symbolized what has come to be known as the Information Age, a new era marked by investment in human capital and the creations of the mind: services and software, ideas and information.

Many of us see the new technologies in our everyday work: for example, in the personal computers that existed only in the imagination a short time ago. I am reminded of an incident that took place in the Soviet Union where some American journalists were reporting on a scientific conference. The American reporters were approached by the Soviet scientists they were covering.

The scientists, it seemed, had never before seen the laptop computers the reporters were using. They wanted to know how it worked. When the Americans explained that they could send their stories back home via the phone lines, the Soviet scientists were amazed. It must have occurred to some of them that the old saying could be updated to read "The keyboard is mightier than the sword." Today, of course, these kinds of computers are becoming common, characteristically as the latest tool of expression for the free press that is America's pride.

Freedom of expression has always been the hallmark of American democracy. The only difference is that today we have technologies like those personal computers that make expressing and transmitting information much easier as a practical matter.

But, of course, vast numbers of the world's people have never known the access to information, to knowledge, that we in the free world enjoy. For them the facts of the world have always been smothered -- or more accurately -- twisted and stretched, manipulated beyond recognition -- by the brutal hands of tyranny and ignorance. Particularly in the totalitarian world has that most critical source of information -- history -- been held hostage for sinister political purposes.

For decades, the most eloquent voices in both the West and the East have told us about the workings and implications of official thought control. From George Orwell to Arthur Koestler to Alexander Solzhenitsyn to Czeslaw Milosz, we have all learned the nature of the atrocities that tyranny has committed not just in the past, but on the past: the names of ancient cities, towns, and streets changed to reflect the latest officially-approved personage -- the encyclopedias that come with razor blades to remove the entries on those whom the state has decided to condemn -- the banned books and periodicals -- the silenced tongues -- the unmarked graves -- the Big Lie.

All these are symbols of the ultimate tyranny, the tyranny of the state over the free expression of mankind. But suddenly there is a dawning awareness that something has changed. Not only has tyranny been thrown on the defensive, but the agents of tyranny realize it themselves.

For years the brutal hands of state authority have hurled sand into the eyes of history itself. But now a New Breeze blows it back in the form of silicon chips and optical fibers -- the symbols of the Information Age.

(more)

I have often spoken about the New Breeze. Very simply it is the force of an idea: the idea of freedom and democracy. Technological change can reinforce freedom -- it actually does, at this very moment. The technological change of the Information Age is helping to fan the New Breeze and ventilate long-stifled centers of expression. Together, the Information Age and the New Breeze reinforce each other.

The darkness that for many nations has long obscured vast areas of history and knowledge -- what the Czech writer, Milan Kundera has called the "Kingdom of Forgetting" -- is suddenly being dispelled and blown away. Whole peoples are awaking from an artificial amnesia imposed upon them by brute force of the state.

What emerges to take its place will depend mainly on what the people themselves do in those places in which the New Breeze has been blowing. But what emerges will also depend in part on us: on all those who have long treasured the traditions of the free exchange of ideas and information -- we who live in the societies that have created the knowledge-based economy and the technologies of the Information Age. We, by our own actions and our own example will help determine whether the Kingdoms of Forgetting develop into, as it were, the Republics of Remembering.

(more)

As an example, let me return to the those journalists with their laptop computers. I believe that in many ways American journalism represents the cutting edge of what many have called the New Information Age. Peace, prosperity, and above all, freedom, depends upon the people's access to truth. A free press serves to protect and preserve the truth. In this time of dramatic world change, it is all the more critical that we meet our obligation to reveal the truth and remove the barriers to the flow of information.

Therefore, we must not forget that the free press we have in America is not only the envy of the world for its pursuit of truth, it is also increasingly the model for those seeking greater access to the sources of information. In a larger sense, America is itself a model to the world in this age of change. That is a heavy responsibility for us all. But I am confident that we can meet it. We can meet it because we have the winning ideas, the ideas I symbolize as the New Breeze. And because, to borrow a phrase from an old TV show, "we have the technology."

[That is why I am calling on the institutions of American journalism to volunteer in sharing their techniques and their technology with fellow journalists in countries, like Poland, which seek to establish -- for the first time in decades -- the foundations of a truly free press. We already have the admirable example of American labor unions helping their sister organizations in other countries. And here at home American reporters already represent, in a myriad of ways, the spirit of A Thousand Points of Light. Let us take that spirit and apply it to help lift the darkness that has enshrouded too many nations.]

[Other possible initiatives: TV Marti; Direct Satellite Broadcasting to Eastern Europe; urging prevention of barriers to American radio/TV programming in the European Community; U.S. rejoining UNESCO]

Take another example of the Information Age that is, literally, closer to home. More and more, people are choosing to do their day to day work at home. Again, the Information Age has made this possible. Through personal computers, modems, fax machines, and the like, ordinary people can work closer to the people they are really working for: their families.

We see the effects in the recent phenomenon of so-called "telecommuting." People are making their own homes their offices, and communicating with their co-workers through the new technologies. In doing so, they are increasing their own quality of life by avoiding congested urban areas, and increasing the quality of life for other people by reducing that congestion and the pollution that comes with it.

For many people this is an old story: they've always worked at home, whether it was harvesting the back-forty behind the house in the Midwestern autumn, or knitting piece-work at the kitchen table in the New England winter, or, year-round, the noblest occupation of all, the job of looking after the kids at home. Come to think of it, I do most of my work around the house myself.

[That is why I am directing my Secretary of Labor, Elizabeth Dole, to study ways to make working at home easier, and to remove any unreasonable barriers that may prevent people from taking full advantage of the opportunities to fulfill their vocations at home where they can be closer to their families.]

The Information Age holds the promise not only of new ways to ensure that the New Breeze of freedom and democracy blows around the world, but that here at home the promise of economic opportunity is enhanced in every corner, every hearthside, of America. This nation which started the information revolution should also be the nation which shows how to use these new technologies for the benefit of all mankind. That's all the more important because, in this era of political and social change around the world, more and more countries will be looking as never before to the United States as their model for reshaping their own destinies.

We have the tools. We have the technology. We have the winning ideas. We have freedom. And we have the promise of greater freedom for ourselves and for unseen millions around the globe. Let's get to work.

###

American Institute for Free Labor Development

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November 6, 1989

Mr. Mark Lang
Old Executive Office Building
Room 116
17th and Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mark:

Attached is the information you requested. I included newsletters on El Salvador, Nicaragua and Chile, a report on worker rights in Paraguay and a speech by AIFLD's Executive Director William Doherty on our Central America policy. I hope this will give you some background on Latin American trade unionists who struggle for peace and democracy every day.

I was unable to locate a copy of Adrian Karatnycky's op-ed on Poland. If the AFL-CIO International Department is unable to furnish it, please let me know, and I'll do some further digging.

Please give me a call if I can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Emily Hurst

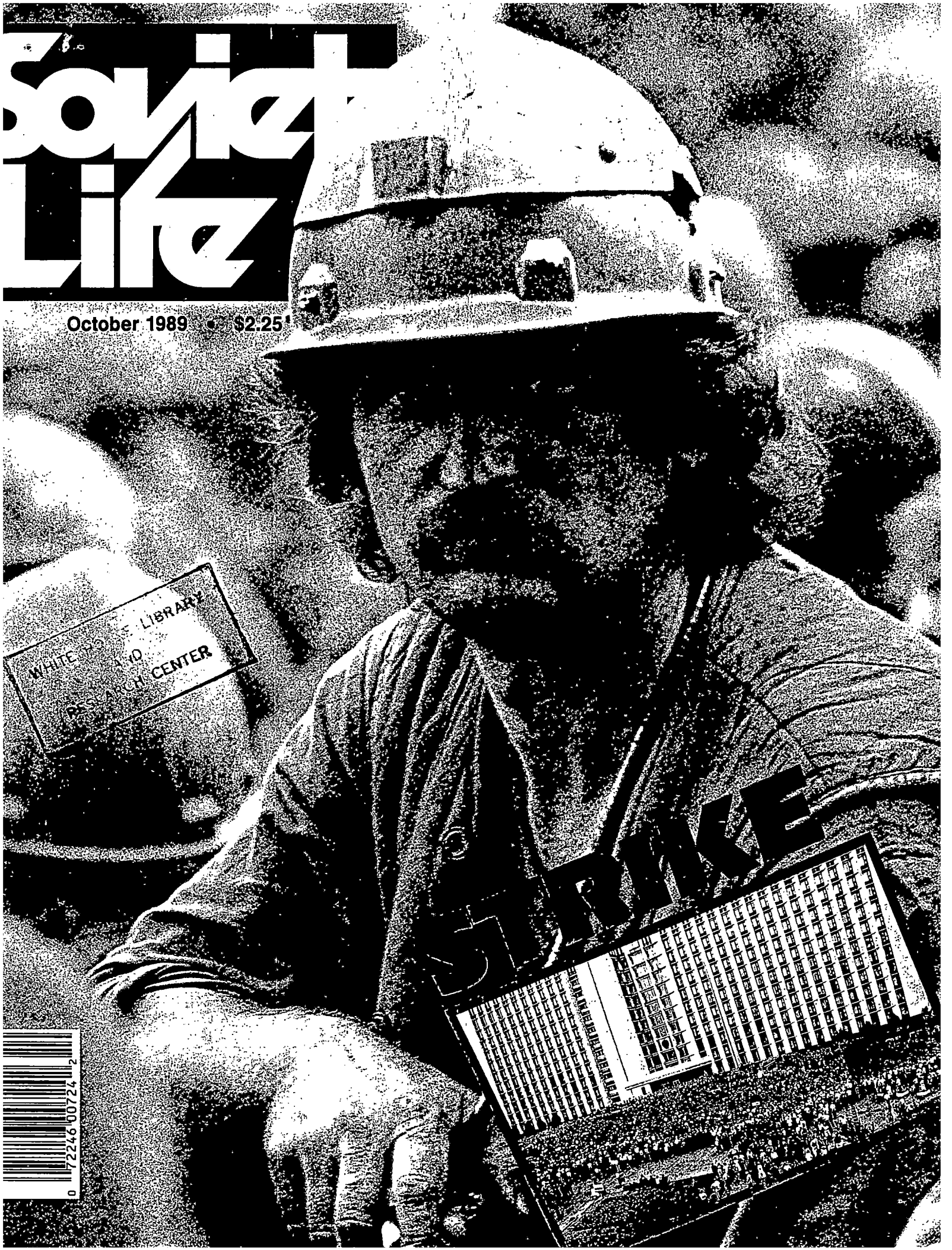
Emily Hurst

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Soviet Life

October 1989 • $2.25





A strike committee gets to work.

Last January, almost as if it had a presentiment of the events that would take place six months later, the Soviet journal *Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniya (Sociological Studies)* printed a debate on the possibility of strikes in the USSR and the justification for them. "In our attempts to correctly understand and assess the nature of strikes," one participant in the debate said, "we have been hindered by the deep-rooted and stereotyped attitude that strikes are peculiar to capitalist countries. It's time now to include the concept of strikes in our economic lexicon, analyze them objectively, and find effective ways of preventing them from happening."



Mikhail Shchadov, USSR Minister of the Coal Industry, talks with strikers.

STRIKE

By Felix Alexeyev
Photographs by Alexander Kurbatov and Dmitri Korobeinikov

At nine o'clock in the morning on July 10, in the town of Mezhdurechensk in the Kuznetsk Coal Basin, Western Siberia, approximately 80 miners refused to hand in their lamps at the end of the night shift. Over 200 men on the morning shift decided to join in, and a strike committee was set up. The strikers demanded an immediate meeting with Mikhail I. Shchadov, USSR Minister of the Coal Industry. Shchadov arrived in the area the next day, but he failed to find common ground with the strikers. When Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Nikolai Ryzhkov issued an appeal to return to work, most of the miners thought the request came too late.

Within a few days the entire coal field was affected by the strike. By the following week about 180,000 miners were on strike, and a 26-member regional strike committee was elected, with People's Deputy Teimuraz Avaliani as its leader. The squares in the region's cities—Kemerovo, Mezhdurechensk, Novokuznetsk, and Prokopyevsk—became the sites of nonstop rallies.

Though workers in other industries wanted to join the strike, the miners allowed only expressions of support. Banners in the streets proclaimed: "The Gornyachka Clothing Factory supports the miners strike"; "In support of the miners, we are donating 50,000 rubles to the strike fund." Virtually everything in the coal fields was at a standstill.

A government commission headed by Nikolai Sliunkov arrived in Kemerovo, the regional capital, on July 17. "Getting talks going wasn't easy," Sliunkov said. "The regional strike committee proposed a list of 35 points. We spent four hours thrashing out the first point before passions began to cool and we were more able to get down to business. The second point took two hours to sort out; the third, one. In this way we reached agreement on the first eight of the miners' demands. By the time the first night of talks was drawing to a close, a way to a settlement had been opened, and life in the region had begun to return to normal."

A plenum of the Kemerovo Party Committee resolved "to support the miners' economic demands, which are aimed at achieving a radical solution to their social problems, while, at the same time, to condemn the use of the strike weapon, which is bound to destabilize the economy." However, the participation of party members in the strike was accepted as justifiable.

The government commission and the regional strike committee signed a 35-point protocol, which includes the following provisions:

- Full economic and legal independence for industrial enterprises, mines, and open-cast mines in the Kuznetsk Coal Basin;
- Entitlement for the basin's industrial enterprises, as of August 1, 1989, to sell surplus products according to agreed-upon plans at contract prices on the domestic and foreign markets; and
- Authority for the mining enterprises, as of August 1, 1989, to set production targets, wages, and service levels.

The protocol also provides for transfer of the coal field to regional cost accounting as of January 1, 1990; increased pay for night and evening work; benefits for the families of miners killed in mine accidents or disabled by diseases; and much more.

Strike committees have been charged with the task of monitoring compliance with the protocol. Winding up a speech to the last of the strikers, Vladimir Makhanov, chairman of the Prokopyevsk strike committee, said, "Men, do you trust your trade union committee? Won't the trade unions crush us? You know what a powerful bureaucratic machine they have, with their own printing presses and apparatus, their power, and money. Yet they're ineffective—and our strike committee is a worthy alternative to them."

Few kind words were said of the trade unions, the general sentiment being that they had been caught off guard by events, to put it mildly. Their structure is obsolete and well overdue for change. The alternative arose on its own. The strike brought many bright and forward-thinking people to the fore, and it's now up to them to provide leadership.

The Kuznetsk Coal Basin strike ended on July 20, but work stoppages continued to ripple across the mining regions of Lvov, Donetsk, and Pechora. In response, the government decided that the Kuznetsk protocol would apply to all other mines in the country as well.

What aroused such a powerful strike movement? To put it bluntly, people were just plain fed up—fed up with official indifference, with working in extremely arduous conditions for meager wages, with the chronic shortage of decent housing, and with

Continued on page 54

Strike

Continued from page 31

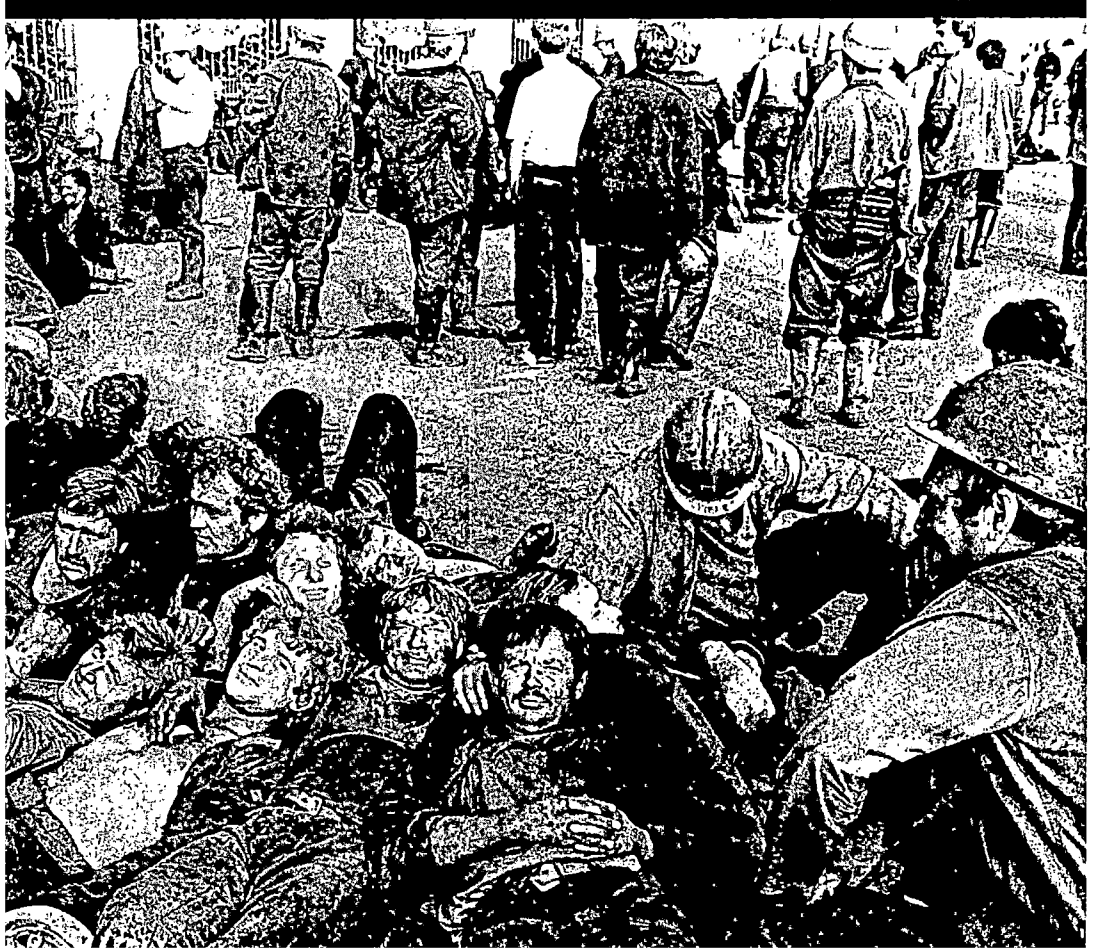
chronic shortages in general. During the Kuznetsk strike, the following statistics appeared in the press: Approximately 15,000 Soviet soldiers died during the nine years of war in Afghanistan. During the same nine years 10,000 Soviet workers died in the mines—one death per every million tons of coal produced. The Kuznetsk mines lost 152 men last year alone.

The strike not only demonstrated the inability of many of those in charge, including state, party, and union leaders, to respond to a critical situation, but also showed up the inexperience of the strikers themselves.

Summing up the results of the work stoppages, Avaliani said, "The events made us see just how inexperienced we are. It was only after we had made our move that we started thinking about what we wanted. The strike began on the eleventh, but a strike committee was elected only on the sixteenth. We tried to sum up our towns' demands, but every town put forward dozens of points, from the most parochial to the most general. We need legislation governing strikes, and we need to learn more about them."

Experts estimate the over-all economic losses due to the strike at 66 million rubles. Still, in seeking a solution to their difficulties, the miners gained invaluable experience, self-esteem, and solidarity. In a televised speech on July 23, Mikhail Gorbachev said, "The workers have been encouraged by events to take matters into their own hands. And despite the dramatic nature of the events, the fact that the miners have done this has heartened me greatly." ■





Wives and children came out to show their support. Left: Strikers post a sign—"Stand firm until the end!" Below left: A feeling of camaraderie united the miners.



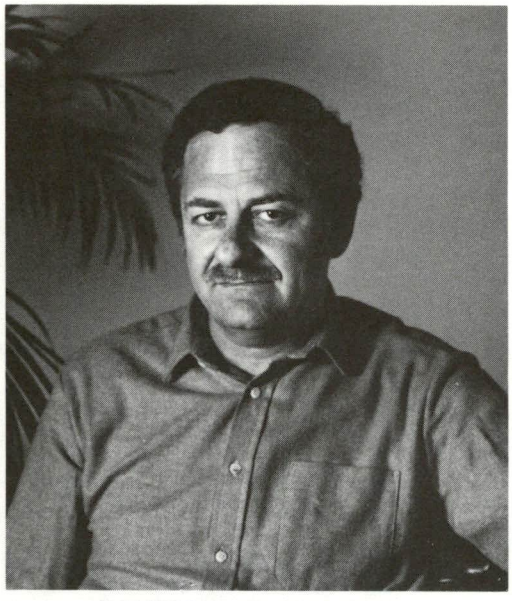
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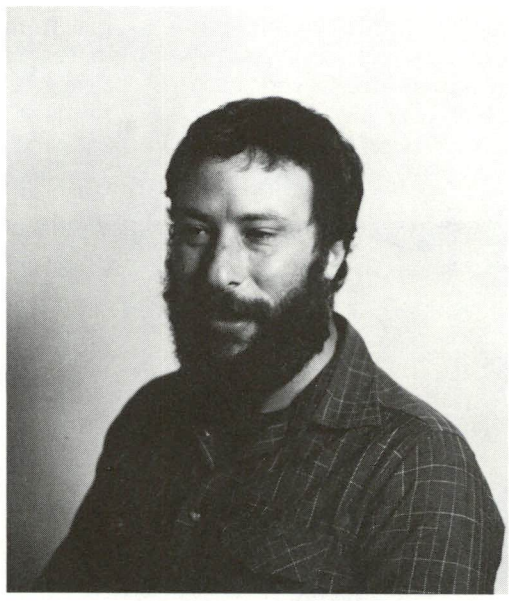
"... Those who love,
Build—
Those who hate,
Destroy ..."
—*Jose Marti*

CAMPESINOS LOSE TRUE FRIENDS



MICHAEL P. HAMMER

1938–1981



MARK D. PEARLMAN

1944–1981

"The greatest appreciation we can show for Mike Hammer and Mark Pearlman is to continue the work they started and to uphold the ideals they cherished."

From the Remarks of Edmund S. Muskie
Secretary of State

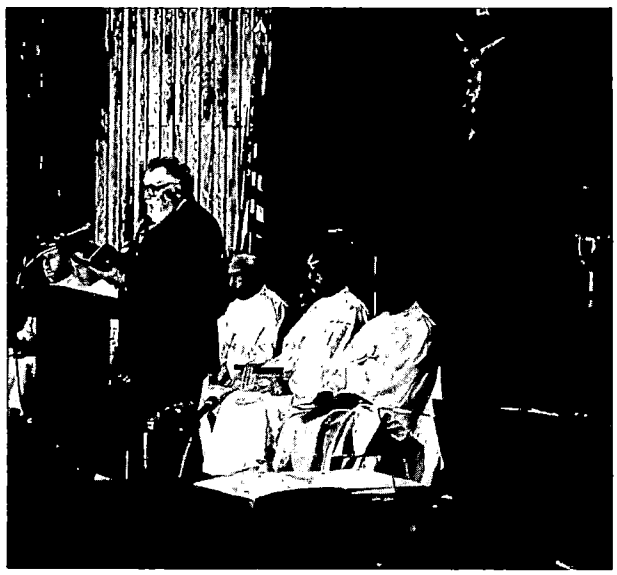
REMARKS BY
The Honorable Edmund S. Muskie – Secretary of State
At the Funeral Services for
Michael P. Hammer
Fort Myer Memorial Chapel – Arlington, Virginia
January 9, 1981

Secretary Muskie... They devoted their careers to helping people in distant lands. That devotion cost them their lives. Their murder shocked and saddened all of us at the State Department, and friends and colleagues throughout the government. We honor their memory. We will not forget this sacrifice, we will not abandon their work. To Mrs. Hammer, to Mike Junior and to all of Mike's friends here today, I know my words cannot ease your burden of grief but I ask you to remember this about Mike's work and his death – Mike gave his life for his country and the service of the American Labor Movement. He was making solidarity a reality by helping workers in other countries build stronger institutions and better lives. Our government supported his work and we commit ourselves to it once again in his memory. Mike Hammer also gave his life for the working people of Latin America. He dedicated himself especially to helping poor and landless farmers – the vast majority of the people. In the field and later from Washington he helped them organize, strengthen their organization, struggle for land and credit to improve their lives and those of their children. Above all Mike Hammer gave his life for his ideals. The democratic ideals on which our country was founded and the ideals of the American Labor Movement. He strove to make democracy, equal opportunity and human dignity a reality in El Salvador and throughout the hemisphere. The greatest appreciation we can show for Mike Hammer and Mark Pearlman is to continue the work they started and to uphold the ideals they cherished. We are grateful their lives have touched ours. Their courage and dedication would inspire all of us to carry forward the cause for which they gave their lives.



Archbishop James A. Hickey of the Washington Archdiocese, officiating at the Hammer funeral services at the Memorial Chapel at Fort Myer, sprinkles holy water on the casket. Seen from left to right are Vice President Walter F. Mondale; Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie; James Theberge, former U.S. Ambassador in Nicaragua; Henry Geyelin, president of the Council of the Americas; AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Mrs. Kirkland; AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Tom Donahue and Mrs. Donahue.







(Upper left) Vice President Mondale meets privately with Mrs. Hammer and son Mike.

(Above right) Executive Director Doherty gives the first reading at the funeral mass on January 9.

(Center, left) Secretary of State Muskie eulogizes Mike Hammer and Mark Pearlman.

(Immediately below) Honor guard folds the flag.

(Lower left) Mrs. Hammer is presented the flag by the honor guard sergeant.

(Lower right) Mike Hamnmer, Jr., flag in hand, escorts his mother from gravesite.







HOMILY

Memorial Mass for Michael P. Hammer
Dahlgren Chapel – Georgetown University
January 16, 1981

By Msgr. George G. Higgins

We know that we have left death and come over into life; we know it because we love our brothers. . . . This is how we know what love is: Christ gave His life for us. We, too, then, ought to give our lives for our brothers. . . . And greater love than this no man hath than that he lay down his life for his friends.

(I John 3)

By sheer coincidence, on the day that our good friend Mike Hammer tragically but heroically laid down his life for his brothers and sisters, the impoverished, long-suffering campesinos of El Salvador, I happened to be reading a new book by a young American theologian, a very perceptive study on the meaning of sanctity, the meaning of saints in the modern world. Quoting Thomas Merton, the author defines a saint as a sign of God. "The saint," he says, "is a sacrament, a sign mediating grace." The argument of his book is that, while continuing to honor and to learn from the more stylized forms of sanctity which may have flourished in the past, "we should watch for (new) signs (in our own day and age) and should be looking not just for the latest saint proclaimed (canonized) in Rome; we should be looking at the poets, novelists, diarists, prisoners of conscience, prophets, (social reformers), fools and other wrestlers with God. They may be the true signs of how God is speaking to us today."

Mike Hammer, an unassuming, self-effacing man who was the very soul of modesty, would object to my saying so, but I think you will all agree that he was most assuredly such a sign, a true sign of how God is speaking to us today. In all humility, Mike would have gagged at the word sacrament if he had ever heard it applied to his own person, but he was indeed a sacrament in the sense in which we are using the word here, a sign mediating grace to those for whom he laid down his life in El Salvador and for those of us who were privileged to know him and who are left behind to mourn his passing.

To say that Mike Hammer was, is, and will continue to be a sign of how God is speaking to us today is not to indulge in maudlin funeral rhetoric or to manipulate our emotions by resorting to sentimental piety as though we could hope to assuage or to sooth our common grief with this kind of superficial therapy. To do that would be to cheapen, if not to betray the faith which we profess, the faith which motivated Mike Hammer to dedicate his entire life to the service of the poor and the oppressed and which alone can account for his willingness to make an emergency trip to El Salvador two weeks ago on very short notice, knowing in advance, as he must have known, that this might well be his last trip to that devastated country and that in going back there to lend support to his campesino friends, he was literally putting his life on the line. That he was willing to do so even at the conscious risk of having to pay the supreme sacrifice warrants our saying, without getting bogged down in theological niceties or technicalities and, again, without indulging in empty pietistic rhetoric, that his tragic death was an example of martyrdom, at least in the extended contemporary sense of the word. The root meaning of the word martyr is witness, one who gives testimony. Theologians tell us that in the New Testament the word means giving witness or testimony to the faith by word and example. In the course of time, the word took on, in the Christian lexicon, a more restricted meaning and was applied only to those who had shed their blood for the faith.

Permit me to say that Mike Hammer was a martyr in both senses of the word. He was a witness, he gave testimony to the Gospel values of justice and peace and, in the end, was prepared to die for them. I do not say—and, again, Mike himself would object to my saying—that he consciously put his life on the line in defense of his religious faith as such. Let me repeat, however, that throughout his entire lifetime he witnessed to values which are an essential and integral part of the Christian message of salvation and proved that these values were more important to him than life itself.

It is important, I think, thus to bring our understanding of sanctity and martyrdom up to date, important to look to the example of ordinary men and women who may not think of themselves and may not be thought of by others as being very "religious" in the traditional stylized sense of the word but who, by the grace of God, have been given the courage to stand up in support of human rights and, even at the risk of death, openly to defy the forces of tyranny and oppression on both the Left and the Right. These men and women, to repeat, are true signs of how God is speaking to us in our own century—a century which, for all of its technological progress has experienced an almost unparalleled degree of violence, political oppression, and economic servitude. The author of the book I referred to earlier on the meaning of sanctity and the meaning of saints in today's society put it very well when he wrote that "the very presence of such individuals among us has been a sign that the human spirit still thirsts for a transcendental affirmation of the worth of the individual and the right of the individual to live with a modicum of personal dignity and in some communal bond with others. Such persons are not merely heroic. . . but saintly, that is, they act as models by being set apart in their thirst for the true and the good, and this thirst derives from a deep sense that such rights are grounded . . . in the very nature of being in the world. Beyond that, these saintly protesters are willing to give all to testify to that right."

Mike Hammer was one of those who was willing to run the risk of giving all to testify to that most fundamental of all human rights. Our theological vocabulary has become so culturally conditioned—so calcified if that's not too strong a word—that we find it rather difficult to articulate, to put into words the religious meaning of such witnessing in support of human rights. All too frequently we tend to draw an arbitrary



Msgr. George G. Higgins

and artificial distinction between evangelization on the one hand—preaching the saving message of Jesus Christ—and commitment to justice and human rights on the other. The spiritual insights of a Ladislas Boros, to cite but one of the more discerning spiritual writers of this generation, are a salutary corrective in this regard. Father Boros might have been thinking of the Mike Hammers of this world when he wrote very simply, for example, "If we are Christians, we must prove to others that tomorrow will be a better day. In this they experience God: total benevolence and infinite love. There are proofs of God that refute unbelief with logical impeccability. But [let theologians and philosophers and all of us so-called religious professionals take note of this for the good of our souls] in the grave crises of human existence (these logical arguments) mean nothing, or very little. In such times there must be a man whose life is at least a sign that humanity is respected and honored, that it is taken up into an unconditional friendship, that is, that he really exists who makes all possible: God."

Let me say again that Mike Hammer's life was most assuredly such a sign. Early in his adult life, like the author of the Book of Ecclesiastes, Mike "looked... at all the injustice that goes on in this world. The oppressed," he discovered in the words of Ecclesiastes, "were crying and no one would help them. No one would help them, because their oppressors had power on their side."

Mike Hammer was one of those—and, thanks be to God, their numbers are increasing—who decided to help them in defiance of the oppressors who had power on their side. As a very young man, when he was deciding what to do with his life and how best to use his extraordinary talents, he must have asked himself, in the words of the Book of Micah: "What shall I bring to the Lord, the God of Heaven, when I come to worship Him? Shall I bring the best calves to burn as offerings to him? Will the Lord be pleased if I bring him thousands of sheep and endless streams of olive oil....?" He responded with Micah: "No, the Lord has told us what is good. What he likes of us is this: to do what is just, to show constant love, and to live in humble fellowship with our God."

This, it seems to me, would be a fitting epitaph for a tombstone: He did what was just, he showed constant love, and he lived in humble fellowship with his God.

We mourn his passing. Of course we do, but none of us so much as his bereaved widow Marita and his heartbroken son Michael, Junior. In your name, I extend to them our deepest sympathy and the promise of our prayers. May God whose name is Love and who knows our frame and remembers that we are dust, look upon them with mercy in these difficult days, His mercy being but another name for His love bending over our human misery to relieve it, to redeem it, to raise it up to Himself.

But if we have come together in the campus chapel of Mike Hammer's Alma Mater to mourn his passing, we do so as men and women of stalwart faith who know that Jesus Christ by his death and resurrection has freed us from the grasp of death and has called us to an endless sharing in his own divine life beyond all corruption. Our purpose, then, as we proceed to offer the Mass of the Resurrection in memory of Mike is not to wallow in fruitless and unavailing grief but, in the spirit of the faith, to celebrate Mike's return to the Father, his entry into heaven where, please God, we shall all one day be reunited with him for all eternity.

In purely human terms, it might appear at first glance that our Christian optimism in the face of Mike Hammer's tragic death is pure escapism. It might appear, in other words, that his tragic death was completely in vain. Even the Psalmist seems at first to sound an uncertain trumpet in this regard. Psalm 41, in a passage so relevant to this memorial service as to be almost scary, starts off as follows: "Blessed is he (Mike Hammer in our case) who considers the poor! The Lord delivers him in the day of trouble."

But then we begin to wonder, for the Psalmist goes on to say: "The Lord protects him and keeps him alive; he is called blessed in the land; thou dost not give him up to the will of his enemies."

Humanly speaking, this doesn't make any sense at all, for Mike Hammer was, tragically, given up to his enemies in the very prime of life and was martyred by them precisely because, in the words of the Psalmist, he had always considered the poor.

Surely this must give us serious pause. In the light of our faith, however, we know that his enemies did not in fact triumph over Mike. "By this I know," the Psalmist concludes, "that thou art pleased with me, in that my enemy has not triumphed over me. But thou has upheld me because of my integrity, and set me in thy presence forever."

Mike Hammer, with whom the Lord was certainly pleased, and who is now in God's presence forever, would want me to say, in conclusion, that if his enemies did not in fact triumph over him—and we know that they did not—neither must they be permitted to triumph over the cause for which he sacrificed his life. He would not want us to lose courage because of his tragic death or to give up the struggle for justice and human rights, for, in that case, his death would surely prove to have been in vain. Rather, he would want us to rededicate ourselves to the cause of human rights not only in El Salvador but wherever men and women are held in political bondage and economic servitude. In honor of Mike, then, and with deep affection for his memory, we make this commitment today. We do so fully confident that the Lord was speaking not only to his people Israel but to each of us when he said through the prophet Isaiah: "I, the Lord, have called you and given you power to see that justice is done on earth."

We shall take up the struggle, then, where Mike Hammer left off with confidence in the word of the Lord who "will not forsake his people... or abandon his heritage; for justice will return to the righteous, and all the upright in heart will follow it."

Remarks by William C. Doherty, Jr. at the Memorial Services for Mark Pearlman January 8, 1981 AFL-CIO Headquarters, Washington, D.C.

Little did we know, only a few short weeks ago, when Mark Pearlman joined his brother AIFLD Directors around the nightly poker table at the George Meany Labor Studies Center that traditionally accompanies our annual meeting, that he would soon be paying the ultimate price. We could not have imagined that this amiable, affable, dedicated and brilliant young man was gracing us with his company for the last time. But we full well knew, that for the short time he was among us that our lives were enriched by our friendship with him, and we are all better people because Mark Pearlman crossed our path.

The free trade union principles for which he lived were noble and the circumstances of his tragic death can serve no other purpose but to renew our commitment to fulfill those principles.

Let us remember Mark for his warm smile, gentle wit, scholarly mind, and great compassion for his fellow man. Let us remember that he was a man who could have chosen to be a comfortable lawyer in California, or any other safe place in this world, but instead chose to confront the danger and difficulties of El Salvador in order to serve an impoverished constituency far removed from his own culture and background. Mark was a man, a real man! I believe, Rabbi, in Yiddish you have an expression that summarizes such a person. He was a mensch!

Mark, your spirit lives on in all of us and in all of those who were fortunate enough to be touched by you. Despite all the problems in El Salvador, there are today thousands of campesinos living just a little bit better because you gave of your enormous talent to help them get on their plots of land. When they get clear title to it—as surely they will in the near future—this will be a fitting memorial for your efforts in El Salvador.

Dear brothers, sisters and friends, let us pray for our departed compañeros, let us meditate upon the meaning of the lives of brothers Pearlman, Hammer and Viera, and draw great inspiration from what they did and tried to do. They have not died in vain and I know within my heart that they from their exalted position in God's heaven and we, will all see their dream become a reality.

Thank you.



AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland on January 5, 1981, issued the following statement on the murders of Michael Hammer, Mark Pearlman and Jose Rodolfo Viera in El Salvador:

The AFL-CIO is outraged and saddened by the cold-blooded murders of American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) representatives Michael Hammer and Mark Pearlman by extremist forces in El Salvador. These good men were in El Salvador to assist that nation's peasant unions to participate in a land reform program designed to improve the lives of hundreds of thousands of small farmers and to lay the foundation for a stable democratic society.

We are equally grieved by the assassination of our brother and friend Rodolfo Viera, president of the Union Comunal Salvadoreña, the largest democratic peasant organization in the country.

The AFL-CIO calls upon the government of El Salvador to bring those responsible for these brutal murders to justice, and to redouble its efforts to bring about agrarian reform for the benefit of El Salvador's impoverished workers. Clear title must be granted to the 210,000 poor farmers who have been promised land.

The forces of extremism, the totalitarian right and left, must not be permitted to destroy the prospects for democratic reform, upon which depend the hopes of farmers and workers for a more peaceful and prosperous life. These brutal assassinations, coming within weeks of the similar cold-blooded killing of Felipe Zaldivar, president of the major democratic urban trade union center, are further proof of the determination of the extremists to destroy democratic institutions.

The AFL-CIO will continue its support to the rural and urban trade unions of El Salvador so long as they need and desire our help. We call upon the U.S. government to reiterate its support for the land reform program for which our brave friends gave their lives, and the success of which would be their best memorial.

We extend our deepest, heartfelt condolences to the families of Brothers Hammer, Pearlman and Viera.

theWeekly
Seattle's Newsmagazine
Vol. 6 No. 2
January 14, 1981

SISTER OF SLAIN LAWYER ADDRESSES SALVADOREAN PEOPLE

January 6, 1981

To the People of El Salvador:

My brother lost his life in your country. I want you to know that my family in no way holds the people of El Salvador responsible. There are individuals who commit acts of senseless violence everywhere. My brother was a warm, gentle bear. He loved you and wanted to help in your dream of prosperity and peace.

To those of you who knew and loved him, to his Salvadorean family, may I extend my sympathies, and say that we consider you a part of our family.

I pray that the death can stop so that no one will have to know the grief we feel. And may his dream of peace and human rights become a reality and, in that way, my brother will live forever.

In Sincere Friendship,
Anne P. Morton

EL SALVADOR

Our martyrs for democracy

Mike Hammer and Seattle's Mark Pearlman died defending America's best ideas

When he talked to me about El Salvador three weeks ago in Washington, D.C., Mike Hammer was tired and depressed. He had spent the better part of the past year shuttling back and forth between a disintegrating Central America and his D.C.-based office at the American Institute for Free Labor Development, working on the agrarian-reform program that he thought would begin to show the way toward a pluralistic, democratic El Salvador.

Hammer's combination of finely tuned politics, democratic values, and hard-headed realism was a bracing counterpoint to the revolutionary romanticism that traduces so many American liberals, especialy churchpeople, when they try to deal with a world described by Hobbes as one in which "the condition of man. . .is a conditon of war of everyone against everyone." Hammer knew that you don't go into violent anarchy just wearing your heart on your sleeve, or you're just going to add to the destruction. What was needed in countries like El Salvador was to combine moral commitment with political sophistication: to work for reforms that would empower the dispossessed with a measure of control over their own lives, and in so doing, create the structures out of which a democratic society could resolve its arguments over justice without mass, indiscriminate murder.

That was the purpose of the A.I.F.L.D. land reform program on which Hammer and Seattleite Mark Pearlman had been working. On December 22, Hammer wasn't very hopeful. He told me that unless President Duarte signed the entitlement decrees in the second phase of the "land-to-the-tiller" reform within the next two weeks, the "nightmare would really begin."

The nightmare didn't wait quite two weeks. On January 3, hours after he had arrived back in El Salvador, Hammer, Pearlman, and Rodolfo Viera, the Salvadorean who headed his country's Agrarian Transformation Institute, were gunned down in a hotel restaurant.

Given a desperately bloody situation like El Salvador, in which some 9,000 people have

(Cont'd on p. 8)



RODOLFO VIERA
1942–1981

To the family of Rodolfo Viera
and to the
Unión Comunal Salvadoreña

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

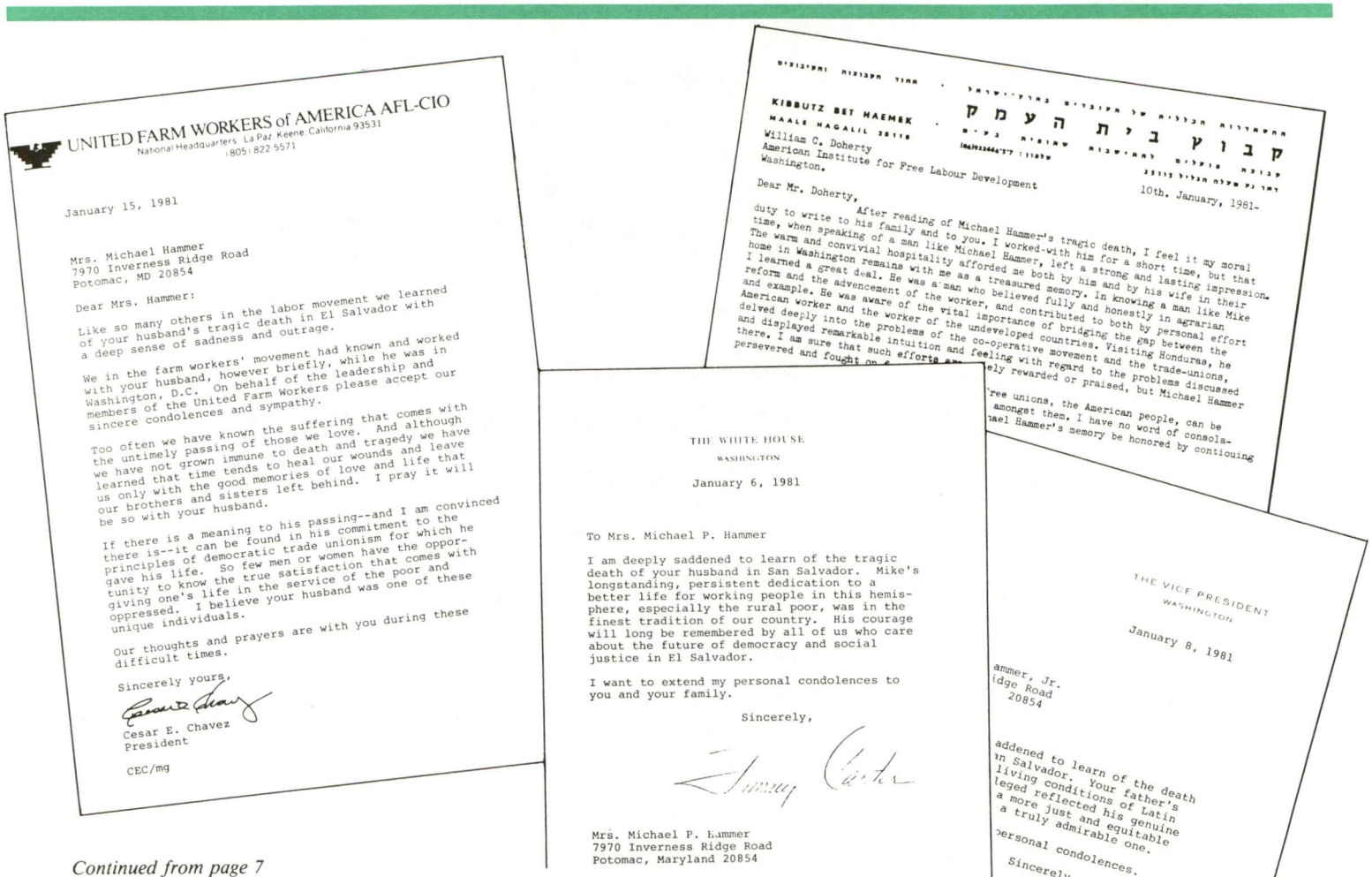
All of us at the AIFLD who had the privilege of knowing and working with Rodolfo share your burden of grief at his loss. His contribution to his country by building the Union Comunal Salvadoreña was immense, and it is an honor for us to have a part in the cause that he led. Tragedy knows no national boundaries, and we in the United States mourn Rodolfo as a fellow member of that community of human beings who believe in his ideals of dignity, justice, and compassion.

These ideals are embodied in the organization which Rodolfo built, and we are determined that the USC will live and grow as his memorial. The social sickness which has depraved the minds of those who brought Rodolfo down will not prevail, for it will be overcome by the faith of the great majority of Salvadoreans—and North Americans—that love can conquer hatred. Rodolfo was a man of love, and therefore he was loved, as his memory will be loved in our hearts as we carry on the work he began.

Please accept our sympathy and condolences as you face this difficult time of loss.

Sincerely,

William C. Doherty, Jr.
Executive Director



UNITED FARM WORKERS of AMERICA AFL-CIO
National Headquarters La Paz Keene California 93531
(805) 822-5571

January 15, 1981

Mrs. Michael Hammer
7970 Inverness Ridge Road
Potomac, MD 20854

Dear Mrs. Hammer:

Like so many others in the labor movement we learned of your husband's tragic death in El Salvador with a deep sense of sadness and outrage.

We in the farm workers' movement had known and worked with your husband, however briefly, while he was in Washington, D.C. On behalf of the leadership and members of the United Farm Workers please accept our sincere condolences and sympathy.

Too often we have known the suffering that comes with the untimely passing of those we love. And although we have not grown immune to death and tragedy we have learned that time tends to heal our wounds and leave us only with the good memories of love and life that our brothers and sisters left behind. I pray it will be so with your husband.

If there is a meaning to his passing--and I am convinced there is--it can be found in his commitment to the principles of democratic trade unionism for which he gave his life. So few men or women have the opportunity to know the true satisfaction that comes with giving one's life in the service of the poor and oppressed. I believe your husband was one of these unique individuals.

Our thoughts and prayers are with you during these difficult times.

Sincerely yours,

Cesar E. Chavez
President

CEC/mg

קבוץ בית העמק

KIBBUTZ BET HAEMEK
MAALE HAGALIL 20116

William C. Doherty
American Institute for Free Labour Development
Washington.

10th. January, 1981-

Dear Mr. Doherty,

After reading of Michael Hammer's tragic death, I feel it my moral duty to write to his family and to you. I worked with him for a short time, but that time, when speaking of a man like Michael Hammer, left a strong and lasting impression. The warm and convivial hospitality afforded me both by him and by his wife in their home in Washington remains with me as a treasured memory. In knowing a man like Mike I learned a great deal. He was a man who believed fully and honestly in agrarian reform and the advancement of the worker, and contributed to both by personal effort and example. He was aware of the vital importance of bridging the gap between the American worker and the worker of the undeveloped countries. Visiting Honduras, he delved deeply into the problems of the co-operative movement and the trade-unions, and displayed remarkable intuition and feeling with regard to the problems discussed there. I am sure that such efforts ... ely rewarded or praised, but Michael Hammer persevered and fought on ...

...ree unions, the American people, can be ...amongst them. I have no word of consola... ...ael Hammer's memory be honored by contiouing

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 6, 1981

To Mrs. Michael P. Hammer

I am deeply saddened to learn of the tragic death of your husband in San Salvador. Mike's longstanding, persistent dedication to a better life for working people in this hemisphere, especially the rural poor, was in the finest tradition of our country. His courage will long be remembered by all of us who care about the future of democracy and social justice in El Salvador.

I want to extend my personal condolences to you and your family.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter

Mrs. Michael P. Hammer
7970 Inverness Ridge Road
Potomac, Maryland 20854

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

January 8, 1981

...ammer, Jr.
...idge Road
... 20854

...addened to learn of the death
...n Salvador. Your father's
...living conditions of Latin
...leged reflected his genuine
... more just and equitable
... truly admirable one.

...personal condolences.

Sincerely,

Walter F. Mondale

Continued from page 7

died this past year as victims of random violence or as political targets, it may seem curious to be moved so deeply, as I was, by three more deaths. I am not used to having colleagues I admire assassinated. And beyond the shock lies the fact that these murders were in fact *assassinations*: deliberate attempts to cut the heart out of the land-reform program by eliminating its leadership.

So, unlike the victims of random violence —even unlike the American women missionaries killed earlier last month—the murders of Hammer, Pearlman, and Viera were a brutal attack on democracy and on the brave possibility that, in time, the people might indeed prevail because they had built the legal, political, and economic institutions through which their will could be expressed in terms other than the bloody deeds of the executioners. Hammer, Pearlman, and Viera died because they were democrats—not oligarchs struggling to maintain their privilege, not Marxists fighting to establish a new order of privilege, but bearers of a genuinely revolutionary faith that people in fact ought to have the power, through nonviolent means, to settle their own futures.

In an age where "politics" has been reduced to a dirty word, or at best a meretricious one, Hammer and his colleagues stood against the Hobbesian tide, refused to concede that the life of man is necessarily "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." They acted with an intelligence and courage that recall Lippmann's insight that "liberty is not the natural state of man, but the achievement of an organized society." The A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s Rupert Scofield was right on the mark when he said, at Mark Pearlman's memorial service in Seattle last Thursday, that these men represented "the highest form of patriotism. . . the very best that America has to offer the world."

The image of the Ugly American has, over the past 20 years, sunk deep into our national soul, and not without reason, if "America for the world" means only the export of Tupperware, designer jeans, disco, and $15-billion worth of arms. But if America is more than a fact, if America is, as Jefferson, Madison, and the Founders declared, an *idea*—the idea of free men and women prospering under liberty through the exercise of politics and law—then the Ugly American need not be the face we turn toward the world. It was certainly not the face of a Mike Hammer or a Mark Pearlman.

The U.W.'s Roy Prosterman said that the deaths of these men will be given meaning when the land reform they died for is completed. I would add that their deaths have already been given meaning by the quality of their lives. Democratic values are our most precious political patrimony, and our most important gift to a world threatening to come apart at the seams. To work for those values, without messianic delusions, is an exemplary way to live. And to die for them is, in this world, an exemplary way to die.

—George Weigel

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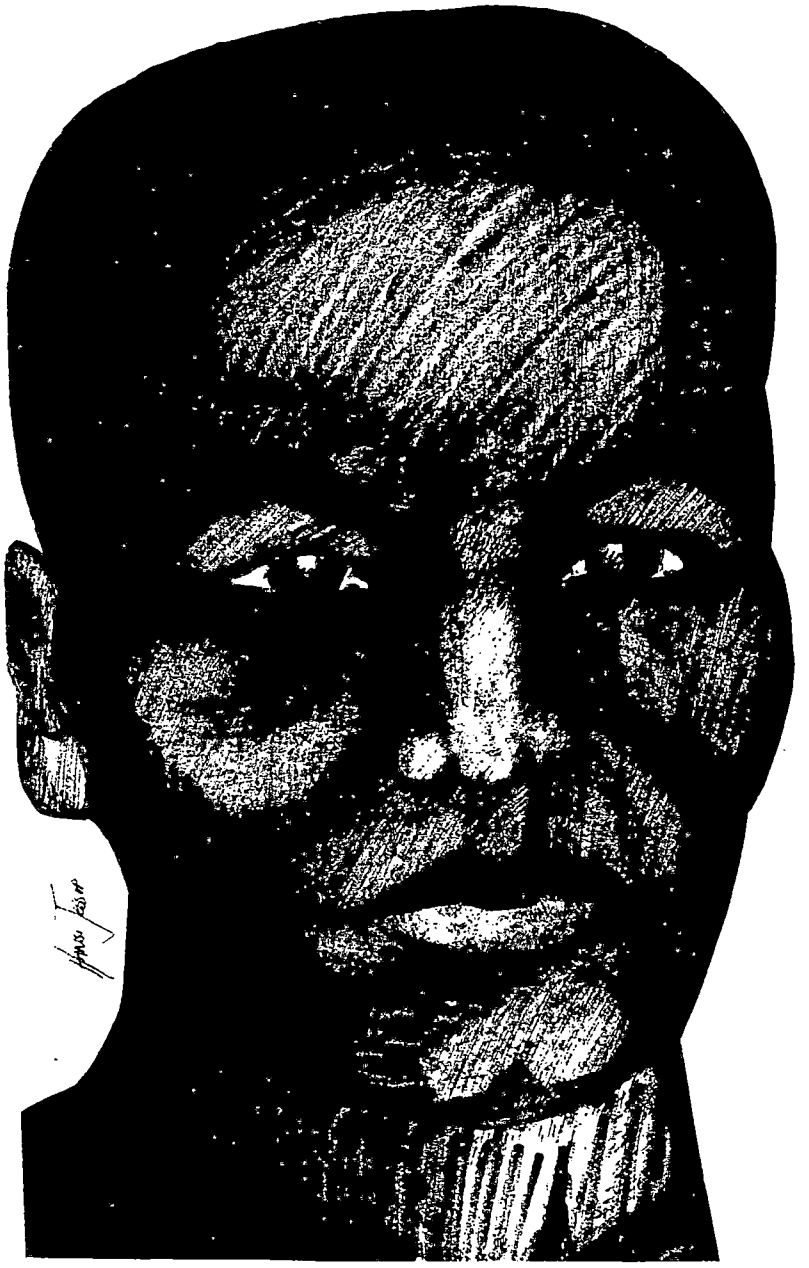
American Institute for Free Labor Development

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ALVIN GUTHRIE:



"WE DEMAND PEACE, BREAD AND FREEDOM"

NICARAGUA, MAY DAY, 1987

American Institute for Free Labor Development
1015 Twentieth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 659-6300 •

WE DEMAND PEACE, BREAD AND FREEDOM

Speech by Alvin Guthrie, General Secretary of the Nicaraguan Confederation of Trade Union Unity (CUS), before seven thousand union members participating in the May First, 1987, demonstration in Managua.

Note: Alvin Guthrie is the 40-year-old General Secretary of the Nicaraguan Confederation of Trade Union Unity (CUS). He was active in the effort to overthrow the Somoza dictatorship, and was a member of the first Sandinista Council of State. When the Sandinistas tried to incorporate all trade unions into a government-controlled labor federation immediately after the revolution, Guthrie's union decided to remain independent. In retaliation, the Sandinista Front arrested and jailed many CUS members, sent mobs to attack their homes, and took over their offices and union halls.

This document, first presented as a speech and later circulated in "samizdat" form because the CUS union's regular publication was banned, is remarkable in several respects. First, it is an eloquent affirmation of workers' rights, with universal resonance. Second, in a country where criticism is often viewed as traitorous, it represents an act of courage. Finally, in a political climate that requires all organizations to blame hardships on "the U.S. war," it represents a forceful decision to speak the truth.

Fellow workers:

At this moment, as we are gathered in the place in Managua where our dear brother, Luis Medrano Flores, was assassinated, workers throughout the world are also celebrating May First. That is undoubtedly the most important date that we, the men and women who earn the bread for our families with the sweat of our brows or our hands - the workers - have in the calendar of our historic struggles.

No government, no political party, no person can dare deny now in 1987 that the wealth of the country and the benefits or conveniences that the society, that is, the entire population of a country, has obtained are due to the workers. It is our hands, our sweat, our blood that produce such wealth.

In a country such as Nicaragua, the largest part of that wealth is produced in the rural areas and is the result of the work of our campesino brothers. If one day the campesinos should decide not to seed the fields, we Nicaraguans would have nothing to eat, nor would the government have anything to sell or export abroad to obtain the foreign exchange necessary to buy the articles we do not produce. If the construction workers refuse to work, it would be impossible to build schools, public office buildings, hospitals, private homes, mansions, convention centers, barracks, anything. It is, indeed, the hands of the workers that are the principal means for the creation of the national wealth. And this condition, that is well known by all, has always been so, from the time mankind began by means of labor to try to improve his living conditions.

At the time of the establishment of what is known as the social division of work, there also emerged a sector of society that assumed the role of what was known later as the managerial or employer class. When this occurred the living and working conditions of the workers were harsh and difficult. The working day was extended to more than 15 hours. Children and women were obligated to work, and they aged and died while still young due to these conditions.

It was precisely to change such a situation -- little different from slavery -- that the struggle of the workers emerged against exploitation. This struggle was carried forward with sacrifices and blood. Exactly 101 years have elapsed since May First became celebrated as International Labor Day, in memory of several workers who were hanged for having demanded better living conditions. History has consecrated them forever as the "Martyrs of Chicago," whose deaths were fundamental in gaining the 8-hour working day. Their martydom became a new banner for the struggle of workers throughout the world. This means that the sacrifice of the "Martyrs of Chicago" was not in vain. Nor was it in vain for workers to struggle to improve their lives, the lives of their families, and society in general.

Luis Mendrano Flores, our former General Secretary, who was assassinated here on this site by the Somoza Guard in 1979, is now a member of the group of immortal fighters who died for the cause of the workers. He stands along side the workers who were hanged in Chicago, and workers who are currently suffering imprisonment or tortures in their struggle to achieve a favorable standard of living - in other words, with those who are struggling against exploitation and the negation of the rights of workers.

Those that struggle for freedom may not belong to the same trade, or even know each other personally. However, they are bound by the ideal of combating injustice and the aspiration to build a more just society. At this moment I am thinking about Dr. Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Cardenal and our brother Luis Medrano Flores, two martyrs in the struggle for freedom in Nicaragua.

As you know, Luis Medrano Flores was assassinated while organizing the commemoration of the first anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Chamorro. The bullets fired by the Somocista Guard ended Luis' life while engaging in the struggle. But those bullets were not fired

only because of that. The Somocista Guard knew that Luis was a worker, a trade unionist and one of the most cherished labor leaders in Nicaragua. He was the leader of our Confederation of Trade Union Unity (CUS). What the Somocista Guard took away from him through that criminal act was the dedication of Luis' life to defending Nicaraguan workers against injustice in general and the injustices of the Somocistas in particular.

While it is true that after the sacrifice of the Chicago Martyrs 101 years ago, there was some improvement in the conditions of exploitation that prevailed against workers in the society and the work place, it is also true that winning an 8-hour work day did not end the general panorama of exploitation or injustices in the world. The laborer would continue to be the principal producer of wealth, but he would not be the one to take advantage of it. Other persons would benefit. In short, exploitation would be prolonged under a variety of guises and degrees up to our present days, in other countries as well as in Nicaragua.

For this reason, as long as injustice continues to exist, we the workers will continue to celebrate the First of May and make this day a symbol of struggle to defend the interests of the working class; that is, the interests of the majority being exploited in our countries.

NICARAGUA UNDER THE SOMOZA REGIME

In the years immediately prior to the assassination of our brother Luis Medrano Flores, Somoza injustices had reached unbearable levels. Lack of freedom and democracy was one of the characteristics of the Somoza regime. In order to regain worker rights it was necessary to overthrow the dictatorship...and this was gradually understood by each and every Nicaraguan. The Sandinista Front (FSLN) emerged at that time and adopted the aspirations of liberation of the workers and the people as its main standard. It offered to to change the unbearable conditions to which the Somocista regime had subjected the country to a new situation in which worker exploitation, the absence of freedom and the negation of citizenship rights would cease to exist. Nicaragua would no longer continue as the country without citizenship rights, the country of exploitation and poverty. It would become a country respecting such rights, a country of opportunities to live in peace, to work in liberty, and to educate our children and prepare them for the future.

PARTICIPATION OF THE CUS

This future should have been aimed at eliminating all forms of injustice and giving every Nicaraguan the opportunity to fulfill his aspirations. In January, 1979 - when Luis Medrano Flores was assassinated - the war of liberation was already underway. The members of the Confederation of Trade Union Unity, our cherished CUS, had been involved in it for some time. Our brothers in the CUS gave without reservation our support to that war waged by the FSLN (Sandinista Front), sincerely hoping that immediately after the victory there would occur in Nicaragua a change for the better that all of us wanted and the country needed.

Luis Medrano Flores was not the only one to lose his life in that war of liberation. Others lost their lives fighting with guns in their hands: brother Alberto Martinez Tapia, the Secretary General of the Federation of Campesino Workers of Chinandega; Ricardo Ulloa, also a campesino worker; Ramon Vargas, an electrician; Roberto Gonzales and Faustino Martinez - whose name has been adopted with pride by the San Antonio Sugar Mill Workers Union. Those are the martyrs of the CUS, the combatants for the new Nicaragua we hoped would emerge after the fall of the Somoza tyrany. Because of the lives that were fortfeited by these and other CUS brothers, because of the blood spilled by all

Louder than words and more painful than statistics is the clamor of empty stomachs and the sight of sad little faces of our children asking us to give them food we cannot give.

Nicaraguans who lost their lives in that war, there came, at last, a first of July without Somoza, and the FSLN became the government.

Along with ourselves in the CUS, the majority of Nicaraguans felt certain that the new government would change from one of arbitrary action to the exercise of rights, from the absence of respect to actual respect, from exploitation to social justice, from the violation of human and trade union rights to union freedom and respect for unions. We felt confident that the shameful past would give way to a bright future. We imagined that our people would be working with great enthusiasm for the reconstruction of the country that the Somocista regime had left in shambles, for a new country that we could pass on to our children - a country with peace, bread and freedom, as we proclaim in our motto for our struggle.

FRUSTRATED IDEALS

We in the CUS believed and hoped that the reconstruction of Nicaragua would occur with the participation of all social sectors legitimately interested in such reconstruction. We could not imagine that reconstruction, for which we went to war and for which was required a continuation of the national unity that made victory possible, would be confiscated by the government itself as the only entity to take advantage of the victory.

Despite our dreams and hopes, that was, unfortunately, what occurred in our country. The old hopes became new frustrations. The old wishes became new calls to continue the struggle. The long-standing aspirations for which CUS workers gave their lives, as did students of the university and journalists like Dr. Chamor-

ro, would remain aspirations. We would continue to be called to struggle together until we turned those aspirations into reality.

In this way, I wish to let you know that the CUS is actively involved in this new phase of this age-old struggle. Our leaders and members are involved, and we are certain that this attitude is shared by the majority of Nicaraguans.

WE, THE WORKERS, KNOW WHAT IS HAPPENING

It is not necessary to be an intellectual or a person of high culture to understand the causes of the tremendous crisis that afflicts our country and our people at the present time. Perhaps an intellectual could explain with more elegant words the causes of this crisis. Perhaps such causes could be analyzed with elaborate academic studies and explained to other persons. As workers and as ordinary men and women, we do not need rhetoric to know there is a tremendous crisis and to identify those who are responsible for it. Nor do we need statistics to compare what we were able to purchase in the past with ten or a hundred cordobas with what we can purchase now with the same amount of money.

Louder than words and more painful than statistics is the clamor of empty stomachs and the sight of sad little faces of our children asking us to give them food we cannot give, because it is not available or because it cannot be purchased or because the government has it under control. The same feeling of indignation comes over us when our children get sick, and we are unable to buy the medicines they need to get well.

Juan's wife or Pedro's wife, as well as my wife or your wife, can identify the crisis every hour of the day, from the moment they get up in the morning and go to stand in line at the super market or the state store, to the time they go to bed exhausted without having been able to get anything, certain that tomorrow the painful crisis will not only continue, but will become worse. Juan's wife or Pedro's, mine or yours know and resent the fact that in order to get a loaf of bread, piece of cloth, pound of meat or a handful of beans, she will again have to humiliate herself standing in endless lines of people, just as humble as our families, with their heads exposed to the fiery tropical sun because they are unable to get a piece of cloth to cover them. If someone is fortunate enough to get a piece of cloth, it would be used to make a blouse for a little child who needs it more.

THE SLAVERY OF STANDING IN LINES

A line to buy beans. A line to find out if we can get some rice. A line to find out what is available at Anabas, only to be told when our turn comes, "there is no more" of whatever we were looking for. The slavery of standing in lines is nowadays the worst form of exploitation and humiliation our spouses can imagine. And the saddest thing is that the lines cannot be abolished because the government has sole control over the supply of food.

The government is so inefficient that it has been incapable of maintaining even the food supply level that existed at the time it assumed power in 1979, the year of the most unbearable conditions caused by the Somoza regime.

The government is so inefficient that it maintains schools without desks. Students have no text books and school supplies with which to study, even under the minimum conditions necessary to assimilate the subjects they are supposed to be taught. What merits can be claimed by a government that has actually reduced the food rations to which the people were accustomed? What accomplishments can it boast about when it is not even capable of maintaining the same level of exploitation excused by the previous regime, and when the new level of exploitation is even more aggressive and cruel than the previous one? What arguments can it possibly find to justify or defend the pitiful reality that constitutes the life of the Nicaraguan people today?

The FSLN [Sandinista Front] held in its hands the greatest treasure, popular support... Yet it squandered that treasure. It presumed that because it had power, the FSLN was the sole and absolute master of Nicaragua and the Nicaraguans.

No honest Nicaraguan defended Somoza in 1979. On the contrary, Nicaraguans were determined to put an end to the Somoza regime. This aspiration materialized very clearly starting in 1977. And it materialized in the unity of all honest Nicaraguans who had decided to expel the dictator from power. Hence, the victory against Somoza was a victory of all honest Nicaraguans and not only of the FSLN. It was the victory of all Nicaraguans unified with the hope of a future of freedom and democracy.

All that was necessary to turn hopes into reality was to maintain this unity, to define the tasks each social sector must assume in the reconstruction of the country, and to permit the tasks be accomplished without any imposition or pretension of hegemony by anyone.

Those of us who lived through those days can testify that the majority of Nicaraguans were ready without reservations to help the government reconstruct this country. The CUS demonstrated this unity from the beginning by generously donating to the government, and even to the Sandinistas, the aid that workers throughout the world - organized under the banner of free labor - were sending us. Such solidarity assistance included thousands of preventive vaccines against infant diseases, hundreds of thermos containers for vaccination drives, tons of refrigerators, camp houses, cots, and many other items.

No one, therefore, can honestly argue that we refused to cooperate in the effort to reconstruct the country. Besides the CUS there were many other labor, business, professional and religious organizations willing to give their cooperation. The Nicaraguan Catholic Church did this in an unforgettable manner.

The FSLN held in its hands the greatest treasure, popular support, needed to make Nicaragua great. No other government, from the time we have existed as a nation had this advantage. Furthermore, the FSLN had available the most generous international support imaginable, ready to fulfill the promises of well-being, peace, bread and freedom, made during the war. Yet it squandered that treasure. It presumed that because it had power, the FSLN was the sole and absolute master of Nicaragua and the Nicaraguans.

Instead of accepting the spontaneous, patriotic and collective cooperation being offered, it decided to push aside those forces that had made possible the overthrow of the dictatorship.

Under the heady euphoria of newly acquired power, and ignoring that such powwer had reached its hands because of a nation unified against the Somoza regime, it created the illusion that it alone could run the government in accordance with its own expectations and whims. And it embarked on a policy of eliminating all other sectors. The result is the tremendous crisis that confronts our country today - the dark crossroads at which we now find ourselves.

By adopting methods suitable to fascism and the enemies of the working class, the FSLN turned the Ministry of Labor into a whip against the free and independent labor movement.

THE CONQUEST OF THE RIGHT OF THE WORKERS

On August 23, 1945, 42 years ago, Nicaraguan workers, for the first time in our history, won the adoption of a labor code to regulate labor-management relations. This code was enacted during the time of the old founder of the dictatorship, the tyrant Anastasio Somoza Garcia. For this reason, it would not be expected that this code would be perfect or that it would favor the working class. Yet it was an instrument for regulating labor-management relations, and between the year of its enactment and 1979 it fulfilled its objective, to the degree possible. The workers utilized this code in the various conflicts that occurred as a logical consequence of the relations between workers and employees.

With the triumph of the popular will in 1979, it was expected that the imperfect Labor Code of the Somoza regime would be cast into oblivion, and that new laws, favorable to the workers, would be enacted. It was expected that the previous injustices would cease. But, in the heady euphoria of power, or for other causes, the FSLN instead reduced the rights of the workers. For example, it abolished freedom of association and the right to strike.

By adopting methods suitable to fascism and the enemies of the working class, the FSLN turned the Ministry of Labor into a whip against the free and independent labor movement. In addition, it created or imposed what some labor organizations refer to as "the labor movement of the barracks." It imposed its hegemony over the heads of the nicaraguan labor movement. And yet some defenders of the FSLN are foolishly asking themselves what is the reason for the labor indiscipline that is observed in practically all labor centers throughout the country.

Except for official or pro-government unions, there is no labor sector in the country that does not oppose the FSLN impositions on the Nicaraguan labor movement.

The CUS - historically the standard bearer of free and democratic labor in our country - places itself at the forefront of this opposition with the same determination with which it rejected the repression of the Somoza regime. We do this as men and women who respect our own dignity - as free men and women opposed to any repression. In this new phase, our opposition began effectively and conclusively from the first moments the FMLN embarked on the adventure of impositionism and unilateralism I referred to previously.

In other words, we began with a sincere desire and willingness to share in the tasks of reconstruction we thought would be part of the FSLN policy, and ended by raising our banners and ideals to continue the struggle in favor of our brother workers and our people.

The CUS will never support a government that sets itself against the workers and the people!

In the history of our organization, loyalty to the working class, the laborers, the campesinos and the people in general will always be the guiding force behind our activities. It is simply a question of being consistent in favor of popular interests. It is simply a question of maintaining alive the hopes for the people to redeem their aspirations. It is simply a question of complying with the mandate we received from the blood sacrifice of the Martyrs of Chicago and our own martyrs. That is why we are here at this site: to renew our promises of loyalty and determination as we pay tribute to the blood shed by Luis Medrano Flores, the blood of the Chicago labor martyrs and the blood of the martyrs of our own people.

We are struggling - and will continue to struggle as hard as necessary - for the establishment in our country of a political and social system based upon freedom and social justice. We know and believe with infinite conviction that free labor will produce justice. That free labor is the yardstick of freedom and democracy in a country. That free labor means freedom of organization and freedom to bargain collectively. Freedom of mobility and freedom of religion. freedom of expression and freedom of information.

There was a time, at the Port of Corinto, when an official of the Somoza regime named Tommy Thompson, exercised, for all practical purposes, a reign of terror

among the working class and the port workers. We now condemn with justified indignation the advent of the new "Tommy Thompson's" in Corrinto and elsewhere. We condemn the systematic violations that Ministry of Labor authorities are perpetrating continuously against the right of organization by refusing daily to recognize our unions as authorized judicial entities - that is, to legalize them.

Furthermore, we denounce the violations perpetrated by FSLN authorities of Convention 87 of the International Labor Organization. We condemn the systematic rejections and violations of collective bargaining agreements in flagrant violation of Convention 89 of the ILO.

We believe that peace is the product and the consequence of the freedom and democracy that exists in a country.

We condemn the anti-labor repression practiced systematically by the Sandinista regime. We defend, and will always defend, the gains achieved by labor, and we will continue to struggle until there is in Nicaragua a true power of the people -- not merely in words, but in concrete actions that can be translated into satisfying the needs of our people.

We, the leaders and activist members of the CUS, have come of our own accord to this site immortalized by the blood of Luis Medrano. We have come without ration cards, without riding any state buses. We are not here by "invitation"of the Sandinista Defense Committees. We have come because we are furthering the legacy of struggle and combat handed down by Luis Medrano and all the labor martyrs.

We would have preferred that this First of May be celebrated in Nicaragua with a strong and united working class, with all labor organizations struggling together to achieve peace, the right to employment, and the freedom to which we have aspired for so long. We believe that this is a propitious moment to voice, once again, the open and fraternal call of working people, directed to the remaining labor organizations, to unite ourselves in the struggle in order to overcome the present crisis, and in turn, achieve peace.

We want to see the return of the thousands of Nicaraguans who have gone abroad to endure the hardships of exodus, the sadness and suffering of abandoning their loved ones whom they will perhaps never see again. The return of those who have gone in search of new horizons for their lives and safety for the lives of their children! We want to see the return of those brothers! We want them to be able to resume the huge tasks that currently confront each and every Nicaraguan, particularly working people.

We want peace. We know that peace is the first and most urgent problem to be solved. We believe that peace is the product and the consequence of the freedom and democracy that exists in a country. Neither can there be peace in Nicaragua as long as it is immersed in conflict of the great powers, each of which provides arms to a given sector, while we Nicaraguans supply the dead bodies. We repeat, today as yesterday: we reject violence and the intrusion in our internal affairs by the great powers, and we support, as we have said on countless occasions, the negotiations of the Contadora group.

We demand that the FSLN government reflect upon and proceed to adopt a national reconciliation policy that can rekindle in all of us the confidence we had in 1979 that now is lost. We demand that the FSLN act in conformity with its promises and rectify in practice the gigantic errors it has committed up to now, including the greatest error of all: the attempt to promote a political-economic-social project that has already collapsed and that cannot be rescued by humane means.

We speak not only as workers but primarily as Nicaraguans. We say to the FSLN: the road you have taken has led Nicaragua to a place named disaster. This cannot be the destiny of a generous people who have given fifty thousand lives for the right to be free and to live in peace.

We say to the FSLN: have confidence in the patriotism and generosity of the people who were born under the flag and the blue and white sky of Nicaragua.

National reconciliation is the right road. This is the road on which the CUS is traveling. This is the road where we will always be found. Long live the memory of the Martyrs of Chicago! Long live the First of May! Long live forever in Nicaragua the ideals of free labor nurtured by the blood of Luis Medrano Flores! Thank you brothers and sisters.

Managua, May 1, 1987

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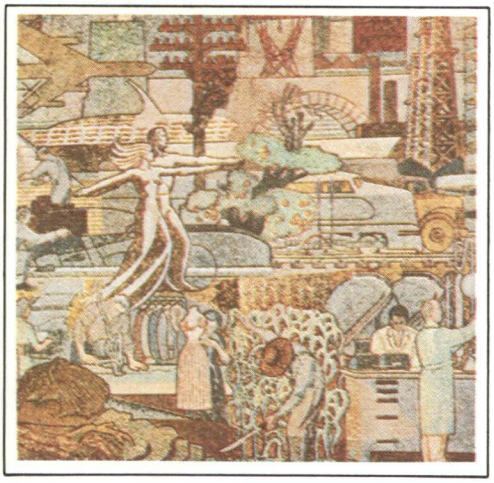
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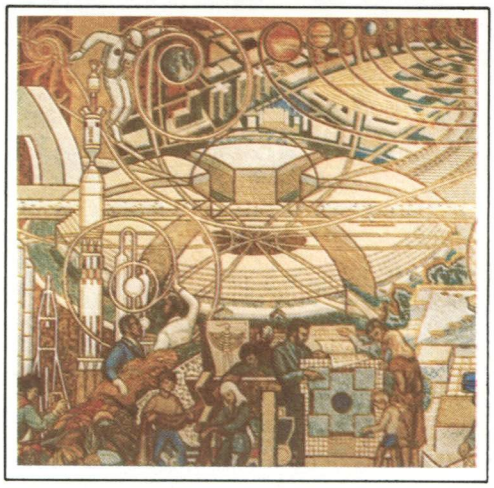


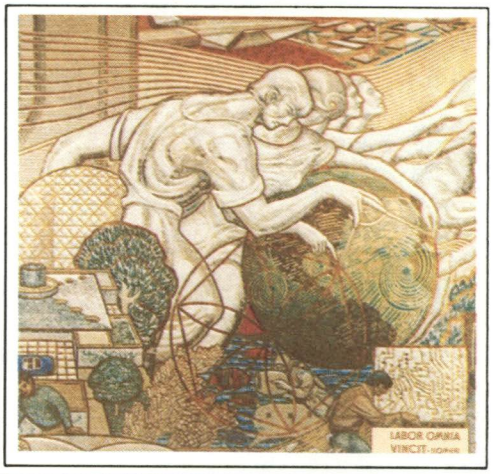




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IN MEMORIAM

IRVING BROWN (1911-1989)



Berlin 1947: Irving Brown at the Brandenburg Gate.

"We have lost a giant." With these words, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland announced the death at the age of 77 of Irving Brown, Senior Adviser to the AFL-CIO President, former AFL-CIO Director for International Affairs, and U.S. labor's preeminent foreign affairs specialist.

Irving Brown was well-known to many trade unionists in the United States and throughout the world as a tireless fighter for democracy and worker rights. Widely admired in the free world, he was anathema to those seeking to dominate trade unions for anti-democratic ends, especially the *apparatchiks* of the world's Communist unions. For five decades Brown, in an enormously rich and varied life, was on the front lines of the struggle for free trade unions and freedom of association.

A skillful organizer for the AFL's Automobile Workers' Union and for the AFL's Organization Department in the early 1940s, Brown spent the Second World War at the War Production Board in Washington, D.C. That done, he began the work which was to make his name synonymous with the struggle for free trade unionism, worker rights, and democratic institutions.

In 1945 Irving Brown arrived in Europe to represent the AFL. In key areas of Western Europe the unions were Communist-dominated. Brown's grasp of the intimate relationship between the labor movement and the prospects for the recovery of Europe and for the regeneration of democratic institutions in a prostrate continent was quick and effective. Working with Frenchmen of goodwill and good sense, an independent labor force, which has endured, was created in France. In a series of adept maneuvers the Christian Democrat Giulio Pastore, later assisted by Giuseppe Saragat and the independent Socialists, with active support from Irving Brown and the AFL, broke the Communist stranglehold on Italian labor. The German DGB, whose persecuted comrades had been assisted by the AFL during the Second World War, was rebuilt and launched on the vital role it plays today in the West German democracy.



1949: Fellow contributors to the success of the Airlift. Irving Brown, after a rousing May Day address to West Berlin workers, with Ernst Reuter (l.). Ruling Mayor of Berlin.

It was through the unions that Stalin's opposition to the Marshall Plan for the recovery of Europe was largely made manifest. Irving Brown's work on behalf of free trade unionism throughout Western Europe proved an effective block to the Stalinist strategy. Brown was especially active in the founding, formalized at London in July 1948, of the Trade Union Advisory Committee (TUAC) of the European Recovery Program, and shortly thereafter, with joint AFL and CIO support, of the International Confedera-

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tion of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). TUAC brought together European and American democratic trade unionists in support of the Marshall Plan. The ICFTU created an international rallying point for democratic trade unionism. As with so much of Irving Brown's work, these achievements were lasting. TUAC exists today—its current President Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO—and brings labor's voice to the deliberations and work of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The ICFTU, vigorous proponent of free trade unionism, is an effective champion of oppressed workers worldwide.

In this same period Irving Brown expanded his efforts to include rebuffing the threat of the tragic civil war in Greece to free trade unionism, while supporting at every turn the cause of free trade unionists in Eastern Europe whose independence was succumbing to the bloody Stalinist destruction of traditional institutions there. Many of the survivors were given refuge and assisted by Brown's colleagues at the French Force Ouvriere and the ICFTU.

With West European economies and democratic institutions reviving, Irving Brown foresaw the next great issue: colonialism. An ardent advocate of decolonization in Africa and Asia, his efforts on behalf of Algerian and Tunisian independence and of free trade unions in the Maghreb were particularly effective. In 1956 he was banned from Algeria by the French Governor-General and later, after independence was achieved under De Gaulle, Brown became the target of a number of assassination attempts by French ultra-nationalists.



Abidjan. Irving Brown, while Executive Director of the AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center, explains to Ivory Coast union leaders the equipment of a mobile medical clinic (a fully equipped minibus) donated by the AALC.

In the early 1960s Irving Brown moved to New York, as ICFTU representative at the United Nations. In 1966 he also became Director of the AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center, helping to build free trade unions in Africa's new states. In the 1970s Brown was a leading force behind the International Sakharov Hearings, a set of tribunals that examined aspects of human rights, worker rights, workplace issues, and cultural rights in the U.S.S.R. In the mid-1970s, as Spain and Portugal emerged from fascist dictatorship, Brown, back in Europe as Representative of the AFL-CIO, was instrumental in assuring that the two newly liberated Iberian labor movements not succumb to Communist domination.

From 1974 until 1986, Brown served as the U.S. Worker Delegate to the International Labor Organization. He led the AFL-CIO out of that body in 1975, which was followed by U.S. withdrawal from the ILO until 1980. At the ILO, Brown was widely respected by allies and adversaries alike. The esteem in which he was held culminated in his election to the chairmanship of the ILO Workers' Committee. Both in the ILO and outside he vigorously supported Poland's Solidarnosc and the right of Polish workers to freedom of association.

From 1982 to 1986 Brown added to his European and ILO posts that of Director of the International Department of the AFL-CIO in Washington. In the latter position he recognized the need for worldwide United States support for democracy, pressing for the 1983 establishment of the National Endowment for Democracy. He played a leading role in launching the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute to promote freedom of association and worker rights.



1980: Back at the ILO. Irving Brown, in a characteristic attitude of concentration, consulting with Sol Chaikin, AFL-CIO Vice President (l.). at the annual Geneva Conference.

Brother Brown preferred to let his work speak for him. To those of us who knew and worked with him, he was quiet and self-effacing in his person, appreciative in humor, and the willing victim of a bruising schedule of travel, meetings, and voracious reading. The latter habit reflected a first-rate intellect. Among his friends were the great French philosopher, historian, and sociologist Raymond Aron, and the writers Jean-Francois Revel and Arthur Koestler.

In recent years, the importance of Brown's behind-the-scenes work was publicly honored. In 1987, he received the Jefferson Prize for "Greatest Public Service Performed By A Private Citizen" from the American Institute for Public Service. In 1988, he was awarded this country's highest civilian honor—the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

As Lane Kirkland put it: "No other individual did more than Irving to advance workers' rights in every nation around the world." Today the free trade union movement throughout the world mourns the loss of a great fighter for freedom. We, his associates and friends, sharing this loss, extend our condolences to Irving's wife and son. ■

POLAND

A CHANCE FOR REAL CHANGE&

Poland is once again on the front pages. The Government, faced with continued worker unrest and mounting economic crisis, is showing signs that at long last it may again legalize the independent democratic trade union movement Solidarnosc.

The Roundtable Negotiations

Most of the current air of combined anticipation and prudence in Poland revolves around Roundtable talks being held daily in Warsaw between representatives of the Polish Government and representatives of the Polish people, headed by Lech Walesa and Solidarnosc members. Present for the Government are officials such as Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, Minister of the Interior, who imprisoned most of Solidarnosc's national leadership in the aftermath of the 1981 declaration of martial law. Facing them are the Solidarnosc leaders he imprisoned: Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, leader of the industrial and mining region of Silesia, Zbigniew Bujak, the charismatic leader of the union's Warsaw region, and Mieczyslaw Gil, a steelworker and leader of the Cracow region.

While Solidarnosc is still not a legal entity, there is no question that, as its presence at these talks show, it is a vibrant and major force in Polish society. That it is such despite having been subjected to severe repression and intimidation for the better part of this decade is the result of the vision and perseverance of its leaders, the courage of its vast network of underground activists and members, and the consistent solidarity and support of free trade unions throughout the world. What recent months have shown without question is that Poland's workers will not be denied their free and independent trade union movement, no matter what the odds. They have proven wrong the naysayers in the West who were prepared to bury the union as a spent force.

The Road to Negotiation

A long and tortuous course has led to the Warsaw Roundtable. But in recent months the elements favoring the potential for change have multiplied. This improvement was due to a sequence of events and factors on both sides of the equation. Strikes in May and August of last year, in which tens of thousands of Poland's workers participated, persistent and accelerated organizing efforts in hundreds of workplaces that have revived Solidarnosc structures on the shop floor, and a vast underground alternative press that has spread the word to Polish workers strengthened the position of Solidarnosc. On the Government side the absence of any improvement in the country's catastrophic economic situation had the same ultimate effect.

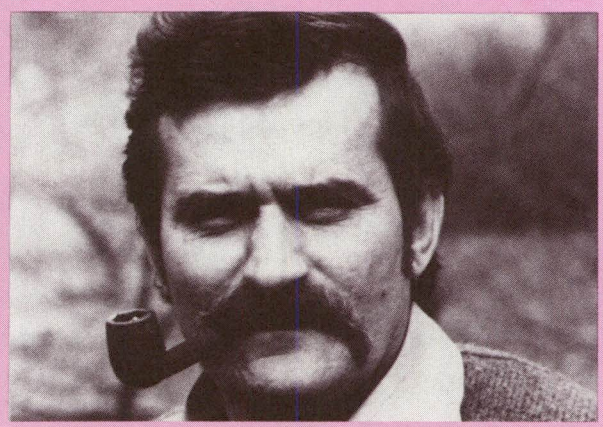
But there was one dramatic event that appeared to open this new chapter in Poland's struggle for freedom. It was an extraordinary televised debate between Solidarnosc Chairman Lech Walesa and the leader of the Government and Party's puppet trade union front, OPZZ, Politburo member Alfred Miodowicz.

A *Real* Debate

For forty minutes on November 30, all Poland sat in front of the TV—and watched as Walesa, speaking politely but forthrightly, tore the positions of Miodowicz and the Polish authorities to shreds. Walesa used the debate to denounce the centralized system of Communist control and to press for political, economic, and trade union pluralism. He argued that the Communist authorities are sitting still while history passes them by. Solidarnosc, Walesa said, was ready for "great sacrifices, but there can be no overlooking the most important things. After all, it's no accident that all our countries have a similar situation. It's time at last to consider why. It is, in fact, because of the monopoly in trade union affairs, the monopoly in economic affairs toward which you strive today, Mr. Central Committee Secretary . . ."

Walesa's Triumph

Walesa used the debate to speak to the millions of Solidarnosc members who had flocked to the union in 1980 and 1981. For many the debate was their first opportunity to see their leader since the union was driven underground by martial law. And his performance was a triumph.



Lech Walesa in the difficult days of 1983.

In the days that followed, the Polish authorities, who had hoped the debate would show Solidarnosc as at least inarticulate, if not actually incompetent, instead began to realize that Walesa's prestige and support was growing with every day. By the end of 1988, the attitude of the Polish authorities toward Walesa changed noticeably. He began to be regularly interviewed by the State-run propaganda media. The Polish Government's press spokesman, Jerzy Urban—who had often taunted Solidarnosc as a discredited and spent force—began to speak of Walesa as a "partner" for negotiations.

For his part, Walesa and other Solidarnosc leaders continued to speak in clear and uncertain terms as to what was necessary. "For the moment our weapons are arguments and not strikes," Walesa said. But he warned that he would back a renewal of strikes and other "peaceful means" of protest if the authorities did not allow pluralism.

Solidarnosc Agrees to Broad Negotiations

In mid-January the Polish Communist Party for the first time agreed that it would begin roundtable talks with Solidarnosc and other democratic groupings. Following a two-day meeting of the union's National Executive Commission on January 21-22, Solidarnosc accepted the Communist offer of negotiations on a broad series of political and economic issues, including the legalization of the union.

But even as the talks have proceeded, a wave of strikes has again gripped the country, an outgrowth of the exhausted patience of Poland's workers. In this situation, Lech Walesa and other Solidarnosc officials have traveled to various flashpoints to urge workers to give up their strikes and give the negotiating process a chance.

The "Rough Road" Ahead

The months ahead will be full of critical challenges to the unity and cohesiveness of the independent union movement. Already there have been a number of incidents that suggest efforts are being made to derail the negotiation process. In late January, a 74-year-old priest with a long record of support for Solidarnosc, Father Stefan Niedzelak, was murdered by a blow that cracked his spine. He had been severely beaten and bruised, and had several nails torn from the fingers of his left hand. Ten days later a 31-year-old pro-Solidarnosc priest, Stanislaw Suchowolec, was found dead of smoke inhalation in suspicious circumstances. While the Communist authorities have denounced these deaths, some in the West believe there may be factions within the Party and secret police seeking to provoke violent confrontation.

Solidarnosc does not foresee a quick resolution to the negotiating process. As Lech Walesa put it in an address that was televised to the Polish people on February 6: "The road before us is long and rough, the results of our work uncertain. . . Europe and the world are developing at a fast pace before our eyes. . . " Meanwhile in Poland "it is difficult to feed a family; it is still more difficult to clothe it; it is not easy to nurse it when it is ill. Those who are to nurse us and those who are to teach our children live in humiliating poverty. The water is poisoned; the earth is poisoned; the air is poisoned. . . " All this, Walsea asserted, "is the result of a bad system, the result of a lack of freedom. We continue to feel on our backs the breath of Stalin. . . " Nevertheless, Walesa said, Solidarnosc's goals in the Roundtable talks, are "the reinstatement of trade union pluralism, with the reinstatement of Solidarnosc. . . [and] of Rural Solidarnosc and the Independent Student Union" and the creation of "real freedom of association." ■

BULGARIA

A NEW UNION EMERGES

With a population of some nine million, Bulgaria seems to be a case unto itself, an isolated Communist state, immune to public pressure, and historically pro-Russian. Since its 1944 conquest by the Red Army it has been a redoubt of Stalinist total control. In this unlikely soil has sprouted a small and embattled free trade union movement.

In early February, a group of Bulgarian democrats, running great risks, announced the establishment of *Podkrepa* (Support)—that country's first independent trade union. The founders have filed for official registration in the industrial city of Plovdiv. As *Podkrepa's* basic document declares, the new union aims to protect scientific and technical workers, artists, and cultural workers against "arbitrariness and encroachments by unscrupulous colleagues, firms, and State enterprises." The union also intends to protect its members from political interference. Several of the founders of *Podkrepa* are associated with the Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights, founded in 1987. ■

HUNGARY

DEMOCRATIC UNIONS PRESS ON

Developments in Hungary's free trade union movement continue to move forward at a rapid pace. Since last month's report on a recent AFL-CIO visit to Hungary(*See* The Bulletin, *January 1989, pp. 2-3*). several new trade unions have announced their formation. The number of the new and independent unions is now seven. The current roster of unions independent of Hungarian State control includes: the Scientific Workers Union (TDDSZ); Motion Picture Union (MODESZ); Democratic Teachers' Union (PDSZ); Humanitas (the union of teachers of the handicapped); Building Maintenance Workers Union (IKV); Independent Ambulance Workers' Union (Mentok); and a health care workers union. Most of the new unions are working together in a coordinating body, the Democratic League of Independent Unions.

Moreover, even one of the union linked with the State-controlled SZOT labor federation, has broken ranks with its parent and joined Hungary's independent unions in a statement against draft legislation now before the Hungarian Parliament that "attempts to limit strikes." The legislation has prompted the independent unions to write to the AFL-CIO requesting international solidarity and support in their campaign to reverse the anti-strike legislation. "The [strike] bill," their appeal asserts, "is aimed at weakening organized workers in a period when, owing to a sequence of mistaken steps in economic policy, the population has to bear increasingly intolerable burdens." In a cautionary note well understood in Hungary, the appeal adds, "The explosion dreaded by every responsible person can only happen if the workers are unorganized and have no means to negotiate their just demands as partners on an equal footing."

Late February is to bring the creation of a new free trade union for Hungary's industrial workers, who have been leaving the official "unions" by the thousands. As of now the Hungarian free trade union groups primarily represent white collar workers and professionals. The broadening of labor activism into the industrial sector should greatly strengthen the emerging Hungarian independent union movement. ■

Latin America & the Caribbean

PARAGUAY

HOPES FOR CHANGE

On February 3 General Alfredo Stroessner, dictator of Paraguay since 1954, was ousted in a violent coup led by his long-time collaborator, General Andraas Rodriguez.

The Repression of Worker Rights

Under Stroessner, the trade union rights of Paraguayan workers had been denied by severe repression. Government-controlled "trade unions" are grouped in the Paraguayan Confederation of Workers (CPT). which was expelled from the ICFTU/Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT) in 1979 after it named Gen. Stroessner "Worker of the Year" in 1978. Many of the unions affiliated to the CPT exist only on paper. When workers have attempted to organize their own, independent unions, the police usually broke up their meetings and arrested their leaders. The CPT then established a Government-controlled union in the enterprise. The Government then gave the employer the names of the independent organizers who, once they emerged from jail, were fired.

The MIT

Despite the harassment and arrests, determined Paraguayan workers in several sectors have maintained independent unions, which in 1981 joined in the Inter-Union Workers' Movement (MIT). The AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) has been assisting the MIT with educational programs and social projects since its inception. In 1985 the MIT was declared the "valid voice of the Paraguayan working class" by the ORIT. The MIT groups independent unions of workers in the banking, metal, journalism (*see* The Bulletin, *January 1987, p. 3*). graphic arts. commercial, and construction sectors. MIT's Secretary-General is Victor Baez Mosqueira of the bank workers. Brother Baez is a graduate of AIFLD's University Program, held at Georgetown University in 1978.

Paraguay And The GSP

In response to detailed complaints filed by the AFL-CIO in 1987 and 1988, the United States Trade Representative (USTR) in April 1987 suspended Paraguay's privileges to export certain goods duty-free to the U. S. under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP). In the fall of 1988 AIFLD prepared a detailed report, *Worker Rights in Paraguay*, documenting the extreme violations of the rights of association, collective bargaining, and union autonomy there. On the basis of this information, the AFL-CIO called on the USTR to make Paraguay's suspension from GSP privileges permanent.

AIFLD Executive Director William C. Doherty, Jr., termed Paraguay "the closest thing in our hemisphere to a kind of totalitarianism of the right—as in Cuba and Nicaragua, Gen. Stroessner forced workers to join Government-controlled unions in the CPT, while denying legal recognition to independent democratic unions. Next to Cuba and Nicaragua, Paraguay has one of the worst records on human and trade union rights in Latin America."

MIT Seeks Meeting With Government

Since the fall of Gen. Stroessner, MIT leaders have asked for a meeting with the new Government, expressing the hope that the change in government will provide conditions for a new democratic opening, with an end to the imposition on the workers of Government-controlled unions. The MIT indicated that should this democratic opening occur, Paraguay's independent unions would ask the AFL-CIO to withdraw its petition to the USTR that Paraguay's suspension be made permanent. The MIT's Victor Baez stated after the coup in Asuncion, "We hope that this change will offer us new opportunities to exercise our human and trade union rights. We have been denied these right at every turn for thirty-five years, and look forward to a meeting with Government officials to review the new possibilities." ■

Africa

NIGERIA

The year-long conflict within the Nigerian labor movement was resolved in December by elections for twelve national offices on the Executive Council of the Nigerian Labour Congress (*See* The Bulletin, *October 1988, p. 6*). Although the candidates ran unopposed, their selection represented a compromise between the opposing factions of the NLC. Paschal Bafyau, General Secretary of the Nigerian Union of Railwaymen, was elected NLC President. In his acceptance speech he promised to work for labor unity and respect for the rights of workers in Nigeria. The AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center anticipates that cooperative relationships with the NLC can now be renewed and strengthened. ■

WORKER RIGHTS

THE COUNTRY REPORTS

Worker Rights Included With Human Rights

The 1988 issue of the United States State Department's *Country Reports On Human Rights Practices* for the first time includes sections on worker rights. The right of association, the right to organize and bargain collectively, forced or compulsory labor, minimum age for employment, and acceptable conditions of work are all discussed. In collecting the information included in the *Report* many of the American Embassies in Africa consulted with local or regional representatives of the AFL-CIO's AALC.

This inclusion of worker rights as a part of human rights is a significant step forward in the AFL-CIO's campaign to convince others that the recognition and respect of a free and democratic labor movement is a key element in the recognition and respect of human rights in general. ■

TURKEY

GOVERNMENT FLOUTS WORKER RIGHTS

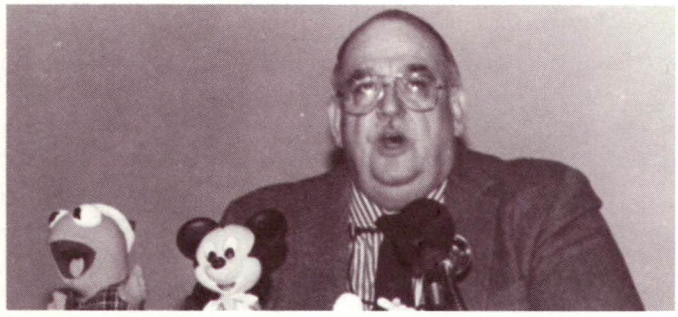
Democracy Endangered

Sevket Yilmaz, President of the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (Turk-Is). has declared that the Turkish Government's continued flouting of trade union rights would imperil Turkey's fragile democratic political system. Yilmaz pointed out that, lacking legal safeguards, unions could not hope to negotiate adequate wage increases. He predicted that there would be social explosions if workers could not keep up with Turkey's rampaging inflation. In a speech widely noticed in Turkey Yilmaz said that the Government does not understand that in order for the economy to develop in a healthy manner, trade unions must have the legal tools to represent workers' interests. He noted that such tools were taken for granted in democratic countries, and are, in addition, enshrined in Conventions of the International Labor Organization.

AAFLI Seminar

The Turk-Is President's speech was delivered at a seminar on "The Role of Trade Unions in a Democratic Society," sponsored by the AFL-CIO's Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI). The seminar's purpose was to help top officials from Turk-Is and its affiliates explore how unions play a role in strengthening democratic processes. In an atmosphere where foreign and domestic human rights groups have repeatedly criticized the Government for abuses of human rights, Yilmaz's speech received extensive media coverage. The Turk-Is Education Secretary, Mustafa Basoglu, called the seminar one of the most important activities ever sponsored by AAFLI in Turkey. ■

CHILD LABOR



Charles D. Gray, Executive Director of the AFL-CIO's Asian-American Free Labor Institute, shows products of Chinese child labor while speaking to students at the University of Minnesota on worker rights and child labor. As part of an AFL-CIO Frontlash campaign, Gray also described Asian child labor to students at Ohio State University. ■

ICFTU NOTES

GENEVA

Michel Hansenne, Belgium's Minister of Public Services, was appointed Director General of the International Labor Organization (ILO) at a meeting of the ILO's Governing Body on February 13. Hansenne takes over from Francis Blanchard of France, who is retiring after fifteen years as Director General.

SOUTH AFRICA

The ICFTU has expressed full support to the 300 political detainees on hunger strike in South African jails and urged South Africa's Acting President Heunis either to bring them to trial or to release them immediately. The ICFTU noted that some of the prisoners have been held without trial since June 1986.

BRUSSELS

The European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) is to launch a campaign to draw European workers' attention to the need to include a social dimension in the present debate on Europe's planned single economic market in 1992. The single market provides for the free flow of capital, goods, and workers throughout EC member states, and unions want to ensure that workers' protection is guaranteed in the process. The campaign will culminate with next June's European Parliament elections.

COLOMBIA

The ICFTU's Inter-American Regional Organization, ORIT, has demanded urgent Government action to stem the tide of violence sweeping the country. The call follows a series of murders of trade union leaders. Yet another trade union leader, Jorge Martinez, the President of Sintagro, the agricultural workers' union, was shot dead on January 22. Then on Monday, February 13, Francisco Dumar, a leader of the Cordoba regional trade union federation,, was shot dead at 8:30 a.m. The Colombian trade union center, CUT, to which Dumar's federation is affiliated, says he was killed by members of a paramilitary group. Dumar's assassination came only days after that of his federation's President, Fermin Melendez.

SAN SALVADOR

A bomb ripped apart the offices of El Salvador's National Union of Workers on February 15. A leader of the union said that a new right-wing death squad had claimed responsibility. Two people were injured in the explosion, which damaged six nearby houses.

ORIT

The ICFTU's Inter-American Regional Organization, ORIT, appointed Olga de Hammar, from the Argentine trade union center, the CGT, as their new coordinator for women's affairs. She will be based at ORIT's office in Mexico, and has already set in motion plans for a series of seminars on the integration of women into trade unions in the regions.

(From ICFTU despatches)

HUMAN RIGHTS AND TRADE: A TEST

by Charles D. Gray
Executive Director, Asian-American Free Labor Institute

Ever since foreign electronics companies first arrived in Malaysia in 1972, they have successfully insisted on a special concession from the Malaysian Government: workers in their factories could not form trade unions. Finally, after being threatened with the loss of duty-free trade privileges to the U.S. because of worker rights violations, the Government last year decided to lift its ban on unions in the electronics industry. Freedom of association would no longer be denied to the 85,000 workers in the thriving industry.

Labor Minister Lee Kim Sai announced at a press conference on September 23 that the industry was now "strong and stable" enough for its workers to have a union. In fact, he invited the Malaysian Trades Union Congress (MTUC) to help set up the union. The reaction among electronics workers was so positive that the MTUC quickly went ahead with the formality required under Malaysian law, filing an application with the Registrar of Trade Unions for recognition of the National Electronics Industry Workers' Union.

The reaction of employers—American, Japanese, and European—was strongly negative. Wherever possible, they prevented union organizers from distributing leaflets. Inside the plants, they spread fear and threats. "Third parties" would make trouble. Union activists would lose their jobs. Forming a union would force companies to move to Thailand or the People's Republic of China. The multinational firms also concentrated pressure on the Malaysian Government. The Malaysian-American Electronics Industry association, headed by an American executive from Texas Instruments, made clear that, unless the ban on unions was reimposed, many businesses would pick up their investment and go elsewhere.

Soon the Government capitulated. On October 19 the Labor Minister announced a new Cabinet decision: "Only in-house unions will be allowed" in the electronics industry. This was no favor to the workers, because the so-called "in-house unions" are favorite management tools to keep out genuine unions.

The issue will not die there. The International Metalworkers Federation in Geneva has filed a complaint against Malaysia for violating International Labor Organization Convention 98 on the right to organize, an international legal instrument that Malaysia has signed.

A petition filed by the AFL-CIO with the U.S. Government on June 1, 1988, caused the Malaysian Government to reconsider its labor policies. That pending petition still has the potential to induce the Malaysian Government to pursue reforms. Under U.S. legislation, developing countries are entitled to import products duty-free into the United States, but for their part the developing countries must respect certain human rights, one of which is the freedom of association of their workers. The AFL-CIO petition charges that the Malaysia Government has ignored that obligation, most blatantly in the case of the electronic industry, and that therefore Malaysia's duty-free privileges should be cancelled, unless it mends its ways.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland recently said: ''We see no reason to grant privileged access to the American market to a nation which sells out the rights of its own people, particularly to American businessmen, who have enjoyed in such full measure the opportunities of American life.''

The final decision on the petition, due April 1, will test how highly the Bush Administration values freedom of association in its human rights policies. The Malaysian case is admittedly a sensitive one for the U.S. Government: not only is a friendly country, Malaysia, charged with violating the rights of its people, but clearly American businessmen pressured the Malaysian Government to do so.

Some critics charge that the motivation behind the AFL-CIO petition is simply ''protectionist,'' aiming to restrict imports. Lane Kirkland has responded: ''We do not seek to diminish trade between nations, but to enhance and enrich it. After all, what purpose of enterprise can there be more worthy of promotion by democratic societies than the improvement of the lot of those who work and create the values to be exchanged? The elevation of [labor] standards and the institutions of that purpose broadens markets, and enlarges trade as a channel of progress for all rather than the gross enrichment of a few.'' ■

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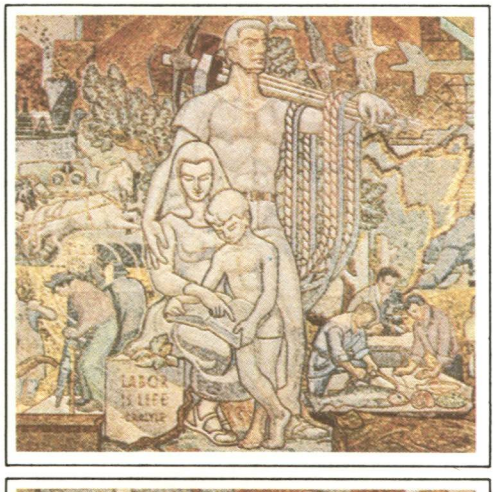
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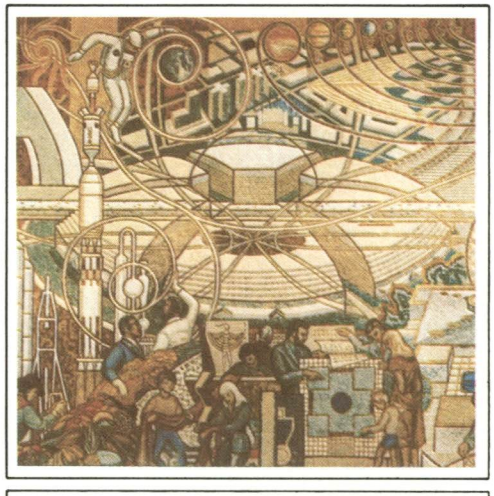




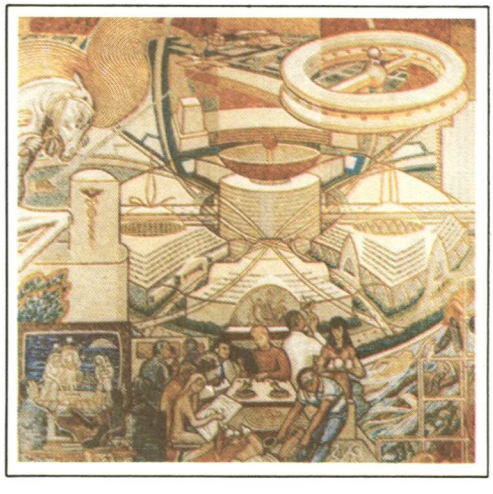


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HISTORIC MEETINGS

HUNGARY'S EMERGING UNIONS

A small miracle is unfolding in Hungary. An independent trade union movement is quietly being reborn in that country. This is the conclusion of an AFL-CIO delegation that visited that country in mid-December.

Forty Years On

A new and independent Hungarian trade union, the Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers (TDDSZ) held its first convention December 17-18. The meeting took place in the ornate elegance of the Conference Hall of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest. Two hundred union delegates gathered for what was the first open, democratic trade union convention in Hungary since the consolidation of Communist power there forty years earlier.



Delegates in Budapest at the convention of the Hungarian Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers voting.

Also present at the Budapest union meeting were some two hundred observers—among them our AFL-CIO delegation headed by Director of International Affairs Tom Kahn. We watched as the elected delegates, representing over 4,000 scientists, researchers, professors, independent scholars, librarians, and curators throughout Hungary debated such basic workplace issues as the need for increased Government funding for research and higher education, an end to excessive secrecy surrounding research, and the right to paid sabbaticals for scholars.

"We Have Broken The Ice"

While the delegates' discussions revolved around what we would call basic bread and butter issues, the convention was itself an affirmation of the basic principle of freedom of association. And that in a Communist country was an event of historical importance. As Pal Forgacs, one of the union's able leaders put it in an opening address to the union: "Our union is the first democratic union in Hungary in forty years. We have broken the ice in the field of organized labor."

The AFL-CIO Speaks In Budapest

Invited to address the meeting, Tom Kahn conveyed the greetings of AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, and expressed our solidarity with the aims of the TDDSZ. He offered the Federation's "moral support and whatever assistance you deem appropriate within the limits of our capacity." Later Brother Kahn was interviewed by Radio Budapest. There he spoke of the AFL-CIO's view of what constitutes a real trade union in contrast with the Party fronts that have dominated the labor scene in the Soviet bloc. The interview was broadcast two day's later by Radio Budapest.



AFL-CIO International Affairs Director Tom Kahn addressing the convention with TDDSZ leader Endre Hann.

The Observers

Underscoring the significance of the Budapest gathering, were the large numbers of trade unions that sent observers. Among them were representatives of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the International Federation of Free Teachers Unions, the French Force Ouvriere, and an Austrian union of professors. Still another observer present was a representative from Moscow of the Democratic Perestroika Club.

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Lane Kirkland
President

Thomas R. Donahue
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Department of International Affairs
Tom Kahn
Director

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The TDDSZ convention denounced the official State-controlled trade unions for partial responsibility for the deepening Hungarian economic crisis; established a commission to fight for the rights of academic victims of political repression; chastised Communist Party General Secretary Karoly Grosz for a sharp attack on the democratic opposition; and loudly applauded a written message of greetings from Poland's Solidarnosc and its leader Lech Walesa.

Another Independent Union Demonstrates

The Monday before Christmas our delegation watched as well over a thousand young teachers marched beneath a steady and bone-chilling rain through Budapest's center. Their large, colorful free union banners unfurled, the members of the Democratic Teachers Union (PDSZ) were protesting their country's mounting educational crisis, which has led to the cramming of an average of forty students into each classroom. The speakers denounced Government policies that have put Hungary in next-to-last place among European nations in the proportion of national income devoted to education. (Last place is occupied by Albania.) As a remedy, the protestors called for a fifty percent increase in the budget for education.

Many marchers were manifestly uneasy. But the police presence was slight and the march went ahead largely unimpeded by the authorities, who politely prevented the demonstrators from coming too near the Parliament building. Later the State-controlled media accurately reported the event. The Government daily newspaper *Magyar Hirlap* published a front-page photo of the demonstration.

A New Trade Union Federation

Our delegation came to Budapest at what turned out to be a triply historic moment. Just hours before what had been Hungary's first free trade union demonstration since the brief hours of freedom in 1956, the Scientific Workers, the Teachers, and newly-formed free unions of film industry workers and of teachers of the handicapped had formed the Democratic League of Independent Unions, the first free trade union federation in the Soviet bloc since Poland's Solidarnosc.

Contrasts With Poland

Yet unlike Poland, where a mass labor movement arose virtually overnight in a wave of strikes in August, 1980, Hungary's free unions are emerging steadily and slowly. Their impetus is coming, not from industrial workers, as in Poland, but from Hungary's underpaid white collars and professionals. Unlike Poland, the gap between workers and the intelligentsia continues to be very wide. But the growing economic crisis, coupled with higher taxes and Government-inspired price rises are squeezing blue-collar workers as well, thus increasing the chances for common action.

Decline Of The Official Unions

Already, small numbers of mineworkers have staged strikes in recent months. On December 14 bus drivers in the city of Pecs won large wage increases not by striking, but by calling for a free trade union. In the town of Tapolcs young miners created a workers' group. The workers' section of the Democratic Youth Association (FIDESZ) has begun to assist workers in organizing through a newsletter published in an edition of 5,000 copies. The new Democratic League of Independent Unions is also likely to become a focal point for disgruntled workers. In its founding statement, the League pledged to assist workers in the creation of new labor organizations free of Party and State control. In the midst of all this activity as many as 300,000 workers, in growing disenchantment, have quit the discredited official "unions."

A Matter Of Policy

For many years the AFL-CIO has shunned contact with the official, Party-controlled unions of the Communist bloc as instruments of the State designed to extract greater worker discipline and productivity. The events we observed in Hungary, like the earlier emergence of Solidarnosc, appear to vindicate this approach. In Hungary today even some Communist Party officials are calling for an end to the "transmission belt concept of trade unions"—an invention of Lenin to make unions pliant tools of the Communist Party instead of the voice and instrument of working people. ■

AFL-CIO/SOLIDARNOSC

KIRKLAND-WALESA MEETING



After years of delay since their initial efforts to meet were obstructed by the Polish Government, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland (left) and Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa (right) finally meet for the first time. With Kirkland and Walesa is Solidarnosc's representative in Brussels, Jerzy Milewski. Walesa, invited by French President Mitterrand to an international human rights conference in Paris, while there had an hour-long private meeting with President Kirkland, who was accompanied by AFL-CIO Vice Presidents John J. Barry and Albert Shanker. Walesa thanked the AFL-CIO for its steadfast support of Solidarnosc. ■

THE PHILIPPINES

MURDERS OF UNION LEADERS

Cited On Human Rights Anniversary

In a deliberate and moving contrast, Democrito Mendoza, President of the *Katipunang Manggagawang Pilipino*—the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP)—chose December 9, the 40th anniversary of the signing of the International Declaration of Human Rights to decry the continuing murders of democratic union leaders in the Philippines.

Mendoza said that the anniversary of the Declaration should bring into focus the increasing human rights violations committed by extremists against defenseless advocates of free trade unionism in the Philippines. He urged the Philippine Government, human rights organizations, and other non-governmental organizations to forge a consensus on the human rights issue, and to curtail the country's worsening human rights situation.



Democrito Mendoza, President of the TUCP

Philippine labor, according to Mendoza, has borne the brunt of human rights victims. Their murders have been perpetrated by both the New People's Army hit squads and rightist vigilantes. This violence in the labor sector was attributed by Mendoza to the increasing polarization of the labor movement between the democratic trade unions and the extreme left unions, as well as the inability of the Government to prosecute human rights violators.

The President of the TUCP reported that in 1988 nine TUCP leaders have been killed or abducted by either the Philippine military or the Sparrow Units of the New People's Army.

The litany recited by Mendoza for his fellow workers is tragic—and a warning:

■ **TATUA SIAO,** 32, organizer, Associated Labor Unions (ALU) Davao. Abducted by the military on February 28, 1988, together with a co-worker, while having a snack in Davao City. His companion, Gerry Tanlag, reported that they were taken by their abductors to an undisclosed place, and that he heard a gunshot when the military separated Siao from him. During the organizational drive at the North Cotabato Transportation Corporation, Siao was a vocal and strong leader. His murder put an abrupt halt to the union organizing.

■ **CARLOS FAJARDO,** 48, Board Member, Associated Labor Unions (ALU—TUCP). Shot dead by three unidentified gunmen on March 25, 1988, in Barangay Mayamot, Antipolo, Metro Manila. He was about to board his car when three men approached and peppered him with M-16 and .45 caliber bullets. He succumbed to 13 gunshot wounds at the V. Luna Medical Center. He was the president of the 3,000-strong Universal Textile Mills Workers Union in Marikina, Metro Manila.

■ **MARIANITO BURNEA,** organizer/board member of Local 156 National Association of Free Trade Unions (NAFTU—TUCP). Burnea was on his way home from a union meeting July 17, 1988, when he was killed. He suffered two gunshot wounds. He was the board member at the Green Forest International in Baan, Butuan City, Mindanao.

■ **DAVID MENDIOLA,** vice president, National Association of Free Trade Unions (NAFTU—TUCP) Local 138. Mendiola was shot and killed while driving his passenger bus on the way to San Pedro Laguna in southern Luzon July 27, 1988. The assassins are suspected members of KMU who lost their organizational drive at the JAM Transportation the previous year. At present, the rival unions are intensifying their campaign in Laguna.

■ **EVACUETO GAKO,** 46, local leader, National Congress of Unions in the Sugar Industry of the Philippines (NACUSIP—TUCP). Gako was abducted by three armed men and forcibly taken in a tricycle from downtown Bais City to Barangay San Isidro on August 23, 1988. He was hacked to death using an iron bar and a hunting knife. His body was found with stab wounds and the head crushed. It is strongly suspected that the killers were members of the National Federation of Sugar Workers (NFSW-KMU). a radical leftist group. Gako was instrumental in NACUSIP's winning the certification election against the NFSW-KMU held at the Hacienda Arnaiz-Hermanos in Bais City.

■ **GREGORIO CALUPAS,** 34, lawyer and leader of the group of cargo handlers, Associated Labor Unions (ALU—TUCP). Calupas was shot dead on September 8, 1988, by an unidentified killer suspected to have been hired by a rival labor group. He sustained two gunshot wounds in the back from a .45 caliber pistol and died before arrival at the Tacloban Medical Center. The murder of Calupas was reportedly an offshoot of the bloody rivalry between two groups fighting for control and domination of porterage and cargo handling operations at the Tacloban wharf in the province of Leyte.

■ **BUENAVENTURA CARREON,** 41, president Solidbank Employees Union. Carreon was reportedly abducted by hired goons while riding a DMTC bus September 22, 1988. He was scheduled to attend another union meeting. Before his disappearance Carreon was discussing with his members the additional benefits they were going to ask from management.

■ **RENATO "ELMER" CONSING,** field organizer, National Congress of Unions in the Sugar Industry of the Philippines (NACUSIP—TUCP). Consing was abducted by the New People's Army on October 12, 1988, and killed three days later. He was a field organizer of NFSW-KMU before he joined the NACUSIP-TUCP. It is strongly possible that Consing was liquidated to warn other NFSW-KMU leader who had thoughts of similarly abandoning NFSW-KMU. The New People's Army is sympathetic to the NFSW-KMU, some leaders and members of which have left that organization in protest at alleged Communist control over union affairs.

■ **RODOLFO VILLANUEVA,** core leader of Associated Labor Unions (ALU—TUCP) in Atlas Mines, Cebu City. Villanueva was shot by a .45 caliber handgun while playing Scrabble at home on October 25, 1988. He lived a few yards away from the office of the ALU-TUCP in Don Andres Soriano (DAS) in Toledo City. The assassins are allegedly elements of the Sparrow Units of the New People's Army operating in the city.

Mendoza emphasized that most of the leaders lost in these murders had excellent track records in defeating radical unions in certification elections. He concluded that the TUCP leaders who are being liquidated compose the second echelon leadership of the TUCP, giving substance to suspicions that an extreme left labor organization has forged a *modus vivendi* with the armed elements of the left to destroy the TUCP. ■

SOUTH KOREA

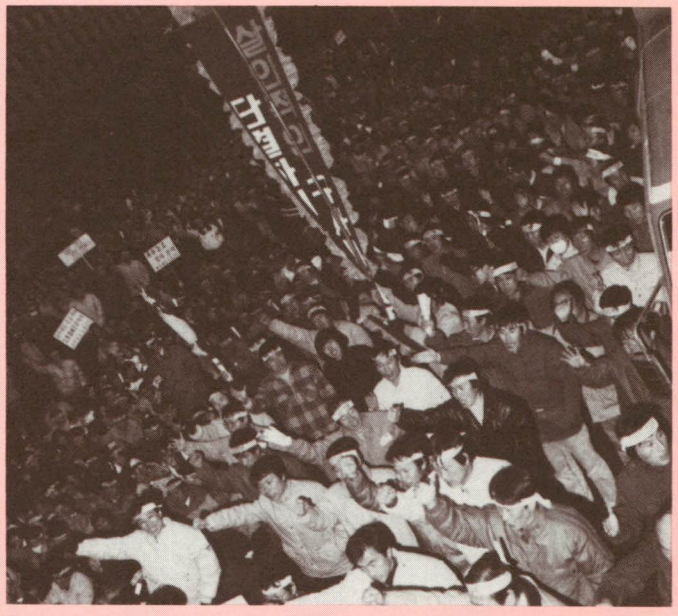
ICFTU DELEGATION'S VISIT

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in November dispatched a special mission to South Korea to assess the impact on trade union rights of the rapid, and positive, political developments of the past year. The mission was led by ICFTU General Secretary John Vanderveken, and included Tadanobu Usami, President of the ICFTU's Asian and Pacific Regional Organization (APRO). V.S. Mathur, ICFTU-APRO's General Secretary, and Herman Rebhan, General Secretary of the International Metalworkers' Federation. The AFL-CIO was represented by Charles D. Gray, Executive Director of the Asian-American Free Labor Institute.

The Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU). an ICFTU affiliate, arranged meetings with opposition political leaders such as 1987 George Meany Human Rights Award winner Kim Dae-jung, with the Minister of Labor, representatives of unions in the auto and garment industries, and members of a militant new journalists' union.

During the past year, union membership in South Korea has grown more than 40% and the FKTU has pushed successfully for major reforms in the labor laws. Unions also are playing a far greater role in broader economic questions, such as the minimum wage, sex discrimination, and social security. But unions still are forbidden by law to take part in the electoral process, and face other restrictions as well.

Nonetheless, many union and opposition leaders are optimistic that the remaining restrictions on workers and their organizations will be lifted by the National Assembly during its next session. A major lobbying effort is planned.



Typical of FKTU activism, a recent rally for labor law reform and a boycott of Samsung products (the powerful Samsung enterprise is probably the most anti-union company in Korea), held in front of the National Assembly building in Seoul.

The ICFTU Mission reported to the ICFTU Executive Board, at its December meeting in Madrid. The Executive Board adopted the report as presented. In it, the Mission noted that in the "liberalization and democratization of the South Korean society . . . the trade union movement as a whole, and the FKTU in particular, has an important role to play . . ."

On **political developments** the report observed that "continued reforms for the establishment of a truly democratic society in South Korea are needed, in particular as regards changes in the security legislation, judicial and parliamentary controls over the administrative authorities, strengthening of the independence of the judiciary and freedom of the press" and "the release of political prisoners . . . in particular the remaining trade union detainees arrested for legitimate trade union activities . . ."

On **labor legislation** the report stated that further improvements over the labor legislation adopted at the end of 1987, "as proposed by the FKTU, are to be strongly supported, in particular as regards the right to organize in the public service and defense-related industries, . . . the lifting of the ban on political action . . . [and] the exercise of the right to strike." Additional needs were noted.

On **trade union developments** the Mission recognized efforts to date, adding that "it is of great importance that the FKTU and its [affiliates] strengthen their action in order to take the lead in the movement towards democratization and to further the unity . . . of the trade union movement . . ." It stated that "the role of the ICFTU, its affiliates and the ITS . . . should be a supportive one," focusing "on the area of education and training . . ." ■

BRAZIL

NEW UNION CONFEDERATION

The Brazilian Confederation of Labor (CGT) has brought to maturity a new confederation of service industry unions. Baptized the National Confederation of Tourism and Hospitality Workers, the names belies its broad coverage throughout the Brazilian economy. Unions in the building maintenance trades and several branches of the service industry make up the new Confederation. Approximately three million workers throughout Brazil are represented—double the number covered by the new Metalworkers Confederation. Leading this newest of Brazil's union confederations is President Roberto Santiago, head of a large custodial workers' local in Saô Paulo. In November he traveled to Geneva for the first international meeting of building maintenance and related service workers sponsored by the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, and Technical Employees (FIET). and began the procedures for affiliating the new confederation to FIET. ■

NICARAGUA

HURRICANE RELIEF COMPLAINTS

In October Hurrican Joan devastated Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. The economic loss was enormous. In the Bluefields area 52,000 of the town's 60,000 residents were left homeless. In all, the homes of almost 400,000 people were destroyed. Domestic and international reluctance to channel aid through the Government led to formation of the non-Governmental Commission for Emergency Assistance headed by Cardinal Obando y Bravo. Subsequently, the Sandinista Government has complained about the amount of international assistance received. In mid-November President Ortega said that the National Assembly prohibition on aid originating with the U.S. Congress was specifically directed at aid to the "contras," and not at humanitarian assistance.

During a recent exchange visit to Nicaragua, Robert McGlotten, Director, AFL-CIO Legislative Department, presented a check to Alvin Guthrie, General Secretary of the Nicaraguan Confederation of Trade Union Unity (CUS), for CUS-sponsored hurricane relief. Rice, beans, sugar, and galvanized roofing sheet were purchased and shipped to CUS affiliates in Bluefields. ■

AFL-CIO FUND APPEAL

Alvin Guthrie, CUS General Secretary, has appealed to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) to help sustain free trade unionism in Nicaragua. CUS programs include vocational training schools, agricultural cooperatives, health clinics, and hurricane relief. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland responded with a letter to all affiliates requesting funds. As of December 16 over $60,000 had been raised from the Bricklayers Union, IBEW, HERE, the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, CWA, ILGWU, and ACTWU. ■

OATUU

AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH AFL-CIO

The AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center (AALC) and the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) signed an agreement in December in Harare, Zimbabwe, to strengthen cooperation between the two organizations and to carry out more effectively programs of common interest. The agreement, the first signed in over ten years between AALC and OATUU, states that both parties agree to cooperate in furthering the development of trade union movements in Africa according to the principles of free and democratic trade unionism. Also stipulated are exchanges of representatives to attend the congress or convention of the two organizations, and of more information about activities and programs.

Cooperation will be carried out in the areas of workers' education, trade union and human rights, trade union research and information, programs for women workers, and the elimination of apartheid in South Africa. The AALC/OATUU agreement also calls for the establishment of a joint working committee comprising representatives from both organizations that will meet once a year at the ILO Conference to discuss matters of common concern and to prepare working programs and joint activities. Secretary-General Hassan Sunmonu signed the document on behalf of OATUU, and Executive Director Patrick O'Farrell on behalf of the AALC.

End Of A Hiatus

The December agreement marks a renewal in relations between the AFL-CIO and OATUU. The Organisation of African Trade Union Unity was created in 1973, after years of failed attempts to achieve unity among the continent's workers' organizations, and resulted from the merger of a number of hitherto rival groups. Today, fifteen years later, OATUU has sixty-four affiliates, including the National Union of Namibian Workers. Headquarters are located in Accra, Ghana.

One of the driving forces behind OATUU's creation was the desire to eliminate political differences among African unions stemming from East-West rivalries. A founding principle, therefore, was a condition of membership requiring abandonment of other international ties, which some organizations never did. A December 1986 consensus modified this requirement by giving an extra vote to those observing the principle. Subsequently, relations between the AFL-CIO and OATUU deteriorated as OATUU leaders adopted the rhetoric and political ideology of their Libyan and East Bloc benefactors. Dissatisfaction over this orientation, and charges of financial irregularities, led to a split in the organization in 1985. New elections over the next two years,resulting in a more moderate leadership, and the assignment of key functions to pro-democratic officials (*See*The Bulletin,*December 1986, p. 3, and April 1987, p. 6*), led to renewed AFL-CIO/OATUU relations and modest support of some programs. The first such support was for a meeting of OATUU's Commission on Working Women last August. ■

POLAND

HEALTH CARE FOR SOLIDARNOSC

It is well known that Solidarnosc, Poland's democratic trade union, receives substantial material support from the AFL-CIO through the Federation's Free Trade Union Institute. That support goes through the Brussels-based Solidarnosc Coordinating Office Abroad, and provides the outlawed union with material assistance for workers' legal aid, printing presses, copying machines, and the wherewithal to break the Communist authorities' monopoly on information. But the union has requirements other than keeping its members informed and providing for their legal defense. Its leaders therefore established a Solidarnosc Social Fund to provide Polish workers with medical care and to train them in basic issues of workplace safety and health. For the U.S. Fiscal Year 1989 the Congress agreed to and the President signed Foreign Aid legislation providing $1 million for medical aid to Poland, to be furnished through Solidarnosc. This was the second such provision.

Advisory Committee on Medical Assistance

For more than a year now, a small group of U.S. physicians, occupational health specialists, representatives of charitable organizations, and trade unionists, has attempted to assist the Social Fund. Operating as the Advisory Committee on Medical Assistance to Poland and working under the aegis of the non-profit International Rescue Committee (1983 winner of the George Meany Human Rights Award) the group works closely with a counterpart group of physicians and health care specialists selected by Solidarnosc chairman Lech Walesa.

The Advisory Committee's Director, William Buell, and Dr. Michael Harbut, Medical Director of the Michigan AFL-CIO, have travelled to Poland to meet with Solidarnosc physicians and health care practitioners, and to provide needed medication, ambulances, and diagnostic tools. To date this assistance has included three fully equipped ambulances, four portable electro-cardiographs, fiber-optic colonoscopes and gastroscopes, medicines, and three self-help libraries of medical textbooks. Currently three independent diagnostic clinics with state-of-the-art equipment are planned. The assistance program also includes visits to Poland by prominent medical and occupational health care specialists, who lecture under the sponsorship of pro-Solidarnosc doctors.

While assistance is reaching Polish workers, who face a severe decline in basic health care as a result of Poland's mounting hard currency debt burden, the Polish authorities continue to refuse to register the Solidarnosc Social Fund and to closely monitor its leading activists. On their most recent visit to Poland in December, the American medical teamreported heavy police surveillance and harassment in Warsaw, Wroclaw, and, on departing, Gdansk. It seems an unusual way for a Government acknowledging a severe health care crisis to treat visitors who are in Poland to provide needed medical care. But then, Poland today is no ordinary country.

Health care practitioners interested in the program of medical assistance to Solidarnosc can write to *The Bulletin*, Room 705, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006, for further information. ■

DEFENSE

THE BASE CLOSINGS

The AFL-CIO Defense Committee has been briefed by Jay Winik, Deputy Executive Director of the Commission on Base Realignment and Closure, and Wallace Bishop, of the Economic Adjustment Office at the Pentagon, on the Commission's report calling for closure and realignment of 145 bases in the United States. AFL-CIO Vice President and Bricklayers Union President John T. Joyce, Chairman of the Committee, called the meeting to coincide with release of the Commission's report on December 29. The AFL-CIO was one of the first organizations to receive a thorough briefing on the meaning and estimated results of the Commission's recommendations.



Jay Winik of the Commission on Base Realignment and Closure briefing the AFL-CIO Defense Committee.

The two representatives informed the Committee that the proposed closures will cost American workers 8,000 jobs, and realize annual savings of $693 million in perpetuity, mostly through cuts in personnel, maintenance, and operations. The Government anticipates that 60% of those losing their jobs will find new employment in the Federal system, 20% will opt for early retirement, and the remainder will need help in obtaining new employment. It is estimated that 7,000 of these people are members of AFL-CIO affiliated unions.

Mr. Bishop told the Committee that the Department of Defense would work very closely with those affected to minimize the economic impact, to help communities and workers during the transition, and to find new sources of economic growth and new jobs. Mr. Winik pointed out that closures begin only in 1990—much longer advance notice than the 60 days required for private plant closings. The closures must be completed within six years. The Commission's recommendations, having been approved by the Secretary of Defense, now await the Congress's approval or rejection. ■

A CHILEAN VIEW

WORKERS' RIGHTS AND TRADE

On January 5 the International Labor Rights Coalition, with the cooperation of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, held an International Workers' Rights and Trade Conference in Washington. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland was the Keynote Speaker. The Honored Guest Speaker was Hernol Flores, Secretary General of the Democratic Workers Central (CDT) of Chile (see The Bulletin, November 1986, p. 5, and October 1988, pp. 2-3). Following are excerpts from Sr. Flores's address:

. . . Allow me to begin . . . by calling attention to the fact that 15 years ago the issue of human rights was not as important in my country as it is to us today. During our long democratic life we Chileans in general never felt our fundamental rights threatened and, isolated in our own egoism, we sustained an irresponsible indifference to the drama . . . being lived out in many parts of the world, especially in the countries surrounding us.

To feel in one's own flesh the horror of the loss of liberty has been an experience we Chileans are not ready to forget. We want to keep it alive as an example to ourselves and to all those who still do not understand that human rights are universal in nature, and . . . are also part of the moral and social inheritance of all men and women no matter where they may live or what their race, religion, or ideas . . .

We Chileans have the sad privilege of being experts in the tragic consequences resulting from the failure to exercise essential rights. In my country they trampled without mercy on the most historically felt ethical, moral, and spiritual values of our citizens . . . The Catholic Church was persecuted without scruples . . . A dehumanizing and immoral economic model . . . condemned millions of women, youth, and children . . . to the margins of society . . . There was . . . privatization of the universities and secondary schools, forcing young students to become brave fighters for liberty. Many of them were cut down by bullets or burned alive in the streets . . . Distinguished professionals, artists and intellectuals, the pride of the sciences, technical fields, and national art, were sent to prison, suffered repression, and death.

Chilean workers merit a separate paragraph: long-suffering and modest, patient and self-sacrificing, honorable and respectable, loyal defenders of the Rule of Law and the democratic system . . . All of their rights were swept away . . . Massive and arbitrary firings, false accusations, informers and denunciations, banishment, exile, prison, torture, and cruel assassination were such frequently applied elements in the labor sphere, that to remember them, denounce them, and condemn them will be an obligatory duty for future generations of Chileans . . .

The suspension of some Chilean products from the Generalized System of Preferences, invoked by the United States in 1986, was without doubt a strong signal to the dictatorship and its business allies, which . . . were forced to lessen the severity of their abuses and begin to recognize the injustices of the labor law applied to the workers. This fact, moreover, encouraged the fighting spirit of Chilean democrats and allowed them to believe in the sincere motives of the American Government . . .

A third experience we Chileans have had . . . is the discrimination exercised against workers' rights each time human rights are discussed . . . The sectarian forces of our time and totalitarian governments have tried to formulate distinctions . . . to classify . . . inalienable rights into those which are essential, and those which are not . . . Faced with the list of international agreements which have consecrated, among human rights, the rights of those who work, there remains no room for discussion about the fact that . . . violation of the rights of workers implies the violation of human rights . . .

The negation of liberty and the violation of rights do not appear in the economic bulletins of the large international consortia, but no one should be deceived by this. Tyrannical governments are never morally right, however much they try . . . to show that the unjust is just. Tyranny is a serious moral wrong . . . which inevitably repels the conscience of free people. Abraham Lincoln said, "Each time I hear someone argue in favor of dictatorship I feel a strong impulse to make him feel it with his own body." . . . Those of us who have been victims of the harshness of . . . dictatorship are many times tempted to repeat Lincoln's thought, especially when we see those who accept the exchange of easy money for the most sacred human rights . . . ■

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Remarks of AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland
to the International Labor Rights Coalition
International Workers Rights and Trade Conference
Washington, D.C.
Thursday, January 5, 1989

Thank you, Howard Samuel and Ray Marshall, for organizing this conference. It comes at a pivotal juncture for those of us with a steadfast interest in the cause of human freedom and basic worker rights throughout the world.

Today we hope to rally further support for our efforts to establish a firm link between the advancement of these rights and U.S. trade policy--most recent and, perhaps, most notable among them being the passage of the worker rights provisions in last year's Omnibus Trade Bill.

Despite our own government's continuing failure to ratify the most significant conventions of the International Labor Organization, we are encouraged by the fact that our trade laws now call for the observance, by nations enjoying access to our market, of the principles and standards of those conventions, namely the right to associate, the right to organize and bargain collectively, protection from forced labor, a minimum age for child labor, and acceptable conditions with respect to minimum wages, hours of work, and occupational health and safety.

This accomplishment, along with the incorporation of ILO minimum labor standards in legislation governing the Generalized System of Preferences and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, was the result of an intensive effort by the American labor movement and its allies, many of whom are represented here today. We can all be proud of our work so far, but as good as it looks on paper, the reality remains elusive. The translation of principle into fact will require hard relentless work for a long time yet.

What we have gained amounts to little more than words if not aggressively pursued by an Administration whose appointees really believe in them. Words, gestures, promises and formal procedures in and of themselves do not bring relief to exploited workers nor freedom to anyone. The mouths that utter the words must have teeth as well as tongues, and those teeth must be used where the circumstances demonstrably warrant their use.

As we embark upon a new Presidential Administration in Washington, a new opportunity emerges to frame a foreign policy worthy of the purposes for which democratic government was brought forth on this continent. There can be no better test of that policy than the extent of its commitment to the advancement of human rights, beginning with the basic rights of working people. The enforcement of the workers rights provisions of our trade laws will and ought to be the crucible of that test.

We want such a policy because practical idealism works better than unprincipled "pragmatism" and because it most becomes the United States of America.

We'll gladly take our stand in the corner opposite those who argue that political rights are somehow countervailing to economic progress in struggling societies, that the condition of our brothers and sisters in the world at large is none of our business as Americans, or that what's good for the convenience and profit of multinational enterprise must be presumed to be good for everybody.

Perhaps it is naive, in this day and age of lingering Reaganism and Thatcherism, to challenge the proposition that the rich, the powerful and the privileged are most needful or worthy of the benign attention of policy-makers, or to ask whether this is the purpose for which governments are instituted among men. Nevertheless, we must persevere with the proposition that by far the greater good will be served by policies that promote the aspirations of plain working people for freedom, a better life and a fair share in the fruits of their labor. If such policies are elevated in the councils of state and vigorously pursued, I am quite confident that the fortunate few will continue to do all right on their own.

We do not seek largess or gifts from on high. Our aims are modest. Essentially, we ask that the leverage of trade policy be used not to reinforce but to break the shackles of private or state power that now restrain untold millions from the exercise of the right of freedom of association and the creation of the institutions and instruments of progress that spring from it.

Rather than looking to governments to reform themselves, or expecting the pursuit of profit to embrace a loftier mission, we look to the organization of independent democratic institutions to advance the interests and aspirations of ordinary people against hostile state power and entrenched privilege.

A foreign policy which encourages or tolerates the spectacle of corporations roaming the world in search of the cheapest and most repressed labor is more perversely protectionist than any tariff or quota, and serves in the last analysis to restrict and undermine markets and lower standards the world over. In the interest of basic fairness and the continued elevation of the human condition, the denial of workers' rights should be clearly defined internationally as the unfair trading practice that it is, through the incorporation of a social clause in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

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

Inaction being wholly unacceptable to us, the continuing absence of multilateral agreement on the social clause leaves us no choice but to address the issue unilaterally. We have urged the same course upon our ICFTU colleagues with respect to their countries' trade policy. If but a few other democratic nations did the same, I believe that international action would soon follow.

The American labor movement, having vigorously sought and won the establishment of those provisions, now accepts the responsibility for seeing to their aggressive enforcement.

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

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

We also maintain that a just policy cannot ignore the urgency of a solution to the ponderous and oppressive burden of Third World debt. A way must be found to end the recycling of capital from banks through the pockets of tyrants, criminals, frauds and exploiters, and by capital flight back to other external banks. This cycle leaves in its wake no value, but mounting debt to be serviced endlessly by the sacrifice of the innocent and the further impoverishment of the poor. Our policy ought to include proposals for the creation of a new international mechanism to acquire this debt at its discounted market value and to negotiate a new deal with the nations now staggering under this load.

Whether or not any of our suggestions are heeded by the incoming Administration, we in the labor movement will continue to defend and advance the cause of working people everywhere.

We understand that in this day and age the world will not allow a good trade unionist to faithfully discharge his duties to working people without becoming, to some degree, an internationalist.

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

We ask for very little from our national government, save adherence to a consistent and forceful policy of superior regard and respect for the aspirations of real people over financial, mercantile and government elites. We do this not only because it is faithful to the American ideal, but also because we know from our own experience that it is the right course and that it works.

In the words of Albert Camus:

"...since the Nineteenth Century, the workers' movements have assumed responsibility for the double honor of freedom and justice without ever dreaming of saying they were irreconcilable."

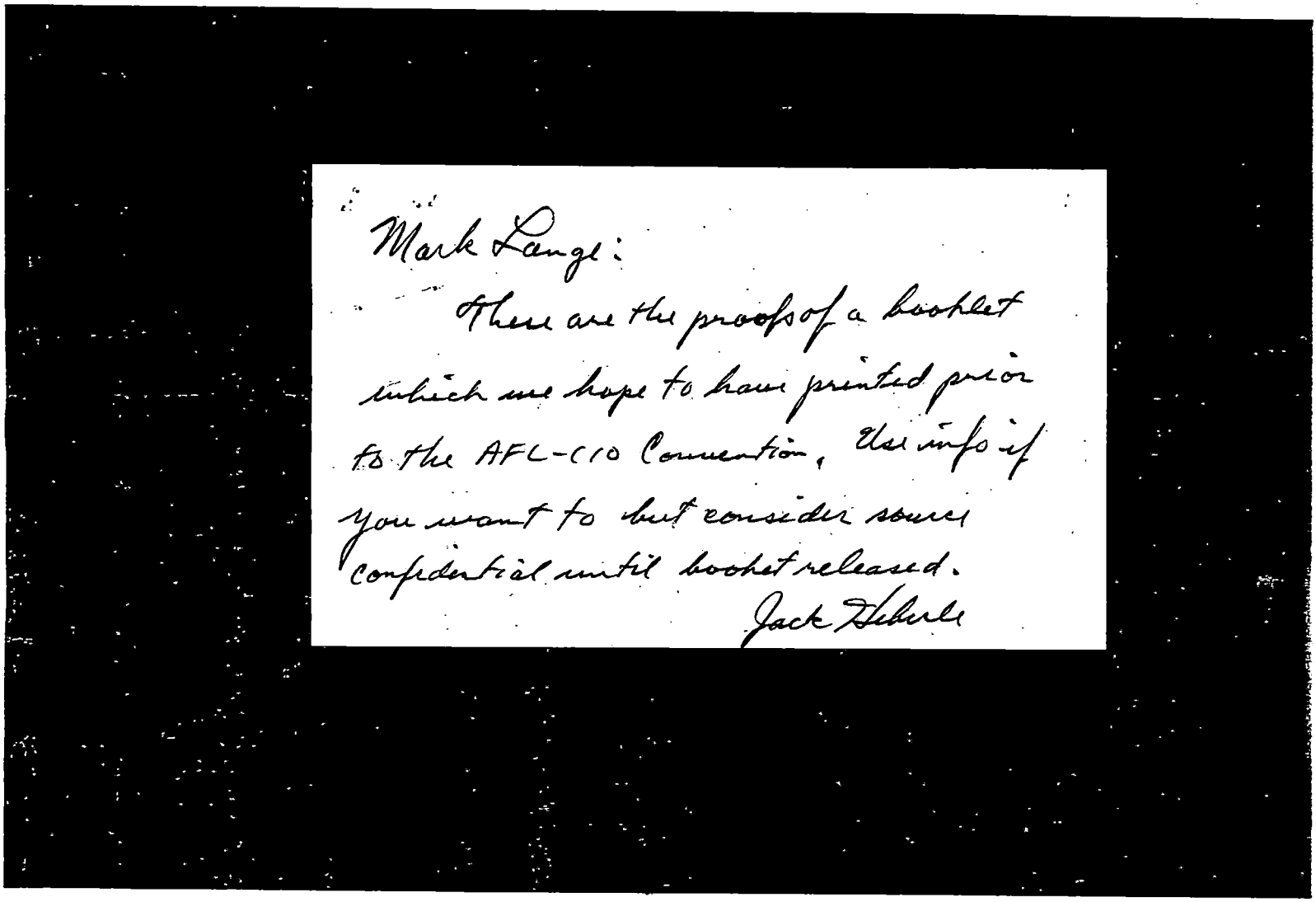
We must and we shall continue. Thank you.

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DAVID ST. JOHN
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SUPPORTING THE DEMOCRATIC CENTER:

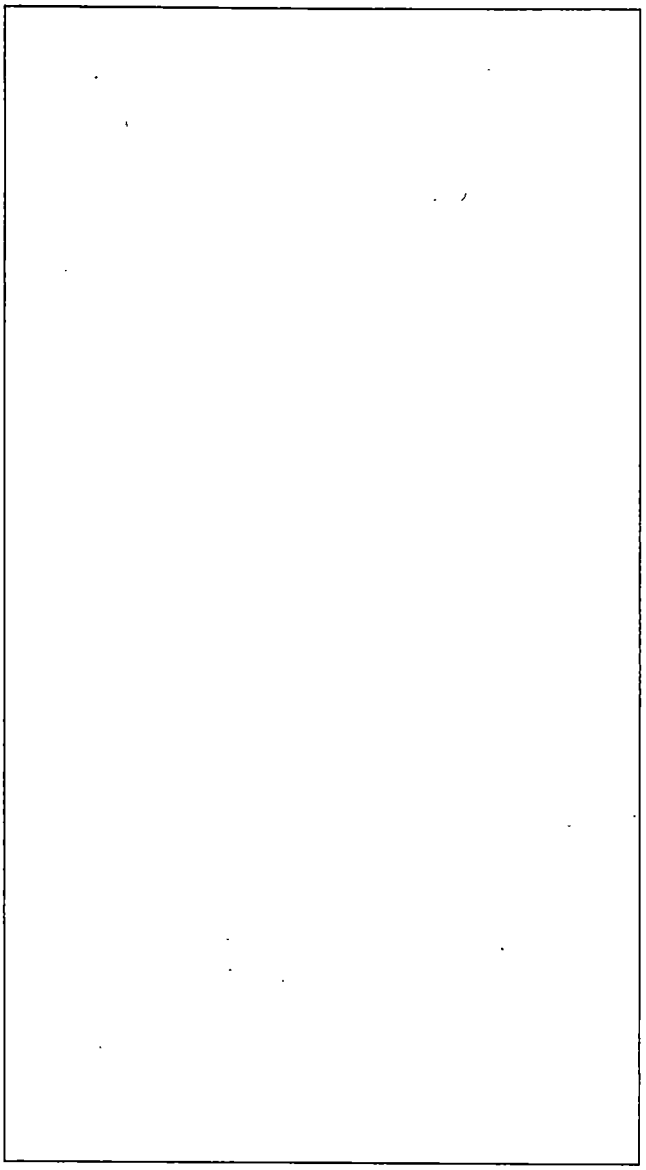


The AFL-CIO and Central America During the 1980s

SUPPORTING THE DEMOCRATIC CENTER:

The AFL-CIO and Central America During the 1980s

During this turbulent decade, the AFL-CIO has assisted Central America's democratic trade unions in their struggles to survive onslaughts from violent dictatorial forces of both left and right, and to build societies characterized by political democracy, economic growth, and social justice.



Democracy in action: a polling place in El Salvador.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR FREE LABOR DEVELOPMENT

Lane Kirkland, *President*
Albert Shanker, *Vice-President*
Thomas Donahue, *Secretary-Treasurer*
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1015 20th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
October, 1989

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THE POLITICAL SETTING

Central America encompasses five nations which resulted from the breakup of the Central American Federation in 1839: Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. During the 1970s these countries did not figure prominently in the world news. Under the surface, however, social tensions and economic changes were building which propelled the region onto the front pages of the world press in the 1980s.

Most Central Americans are Spanish-speaking mestizos of Hispanic culture. Only in Guatemala and in the northeast of Nicaragua do we find important groups of indigenous peoples, with their own Indian languages and cultures.

Economies

At the end of the 1970s, Central American production came about one quarter from agriculture, one quarter from industry, and half from services. However, with much of the industry based on processing of agricultural products, and many of the "services" consisting of street-vending and domestic work, the region's economies were still based on farming, and power was still in the hands of those who held land—or rifles.

In all five nations, over 75% of exports were primary commodities such as bananas, coffee, sugar, and beef.

Guatemala had the largest economy—over twice the size of that of any other Central American nation.

Societies

At the end of the 1970s Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua could all still be characterized fairly accurately as "oligarchies." A small number of families owned most of the land, held most of the capital, received much of the national income, and in alliance with the military, controlled the government.

The oligarchies ruthlessly suppressed efforts at social reform backed by labor and by liberal political groups. The repression was usually excused by lumping Marxist-Leninists and democrats together as "Communists," and viewing workers and peasants as "incapable of governing themselves."

Costa Rica was the exception to the pattern of oligarchy. There a broad middle class of family farmers was dominant,

leading to the common remark that Costa Rica possessed not an "aristocracia," but a "cafetocracia."

Politics

Military dictatorship prevailed in the 1970s in all the Central American nations except Costa Rica, which had long been a free, pluralistic democracy with competitive elections. Traditionally the three principle players in Central American politics had been the oligarchy, the army, and the church. Though liberal and even radical elements grew stronger in the Church in the 1970s, the alliance of oligarchs and generals remained in control of the dictatorial regimes in Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. In both Honduras and El Salvador, however, the military officer corps included some young reformist officers, who gained enough influence to launch abortive attempts at land reform in El Salvador in 1973 and Honduras in 1968-71.

Trade Unions

In most of the Central American countries the labor movements were divided into three ideological camps, reflecting the same divisions at the regional and global levels: social democratic, Christian Democratic, and Communist. The social-democratic unions, affiliated to the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT) formed the largest of the three camps.

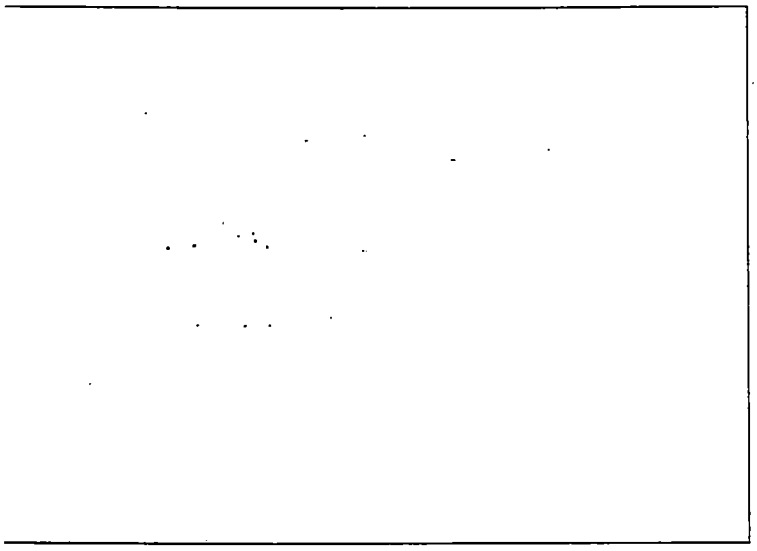
Trade unions were strongest in Honduras, and weakest in Nicaragua, with labor in middle-class-dominated Costa Rica weaker than one would expect in such a democratic nation. The strongest agrarian union groupings were in El Salvador and Honduras.

AFL-CIO Programs

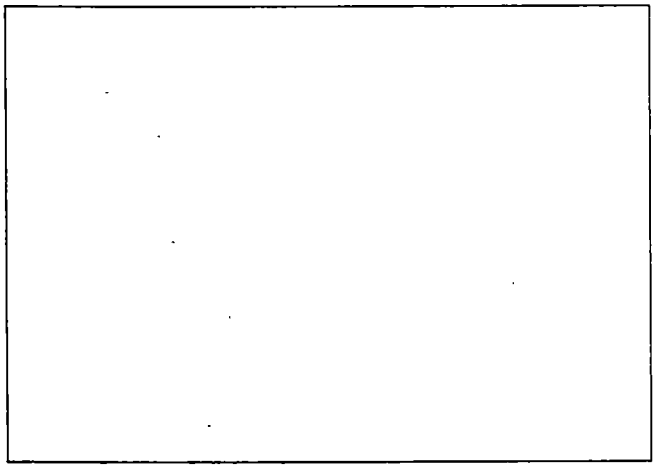
Throughout the 1970s the AFL-CIO-sponsored American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) maintained field offices and active programs of labor education and worker social projects in all five countries of Central America. The AIFLD programs were primarily with the social-democratic trade unions, which like the AFL-CIO were affiliates of the ORIT. The Institute also worked with some important independent unions, such as the ANDE teachers' federation in Costa Rica, and the Salvadoran Communal Union (UCS), a major peasant organization which had been founded with AIFLD help in the early 1960s.

In the four countries under dictatorial rule the AIFLD programs helped the unions maintain their positions in the face of the oligarchy's socio-economic domination and the military governments' varying degrees of political repression. Of the four dictatorships, that in Honduras was the most liberal in respecting workers' rights to organize, bargain, and strike.

In Costa Rica the AIFLD assistance strengthened unions in their fight for legitimacy and organizational power in a basically conservative, middle-class, paternalistic society.



Salvadoran peasants rally in 1983 in front of the National Assembly building, demanding legislative progress on land reform.



A local instructor teaches in an AIFLD course for Salvadoran postal workers in 1984.

EL SALVADOR

AFL-CIO Policy on U.S. Aid to El Salvador

The Junta Period—1980-81

In October, 1979, younger officers in the Salvadoran army staged a simultaneous mutiny and coup. The mutiny forced the retirement of nearly sixty senior officers (all the generals and most of the colonels). The coup ousted the repressive government of Gen. Carlos Romero and produced a junta which by March, 1980 constituted a co-government of the reformist officers and the Christian Democratic party led by Jose Napoleon Duarte.

The younger officers left in the military included both social reformers and rightist allies of the oligarchy. The reformists sat on the governing junta, which promised free elections and launched three reforms aimed at breaking the oligarchy's hold on the economy: land reform, nationalization of the banks, and nationalization of export sales of coffee, the nation's prinicipal earner of foreign exchange.

Political forces on both the right and the left reacted violently to these initiatives. The oligarchy and the rightist army officers countered the wave of reform with a wave of terror. Liberal politicians, trade unionists, peasant leaders, and even the nation's Catholic Archbishop were labeled "Marxists" and

The oligarchies ruthlessly suppressed efforts at social reform backed by labor and by progressive political groups.

gunned down by death squads and rightist-officered units in the nation's multiple security forces.

The guerrilla groups of the actual Marxist left joined in the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front in March, 1980, and launched an all-out insurgency against the government and the army. Each of these Marxist groups had previously formed associated trade-union organizations, most of which now went underground.

To win peasant support and to help carry through the land reform, the junta named Rodolfo Viera of the UCS peasant federation to head up the agrarian reform institute (ISTA). Brother Viera called on the AFL-CIO for help. Seeing that two

major forces of the democratic center—the UCS and the Christian Democratic Party—were involved in the land reform effort, U.S. labor began a major program of assistance, administered by the AIFLD.

With both civil war and the rightist terror campaign going on simultaneously, El Salvador became engulfed in violence. In the next two years, almost ninety UCS land-reform organizers were murdered. On January 3, 1981 a group of rightist businessmen and army officers assassinated Rodolfo Viera of the UCS and Michael Hammer and Mark Pearlman of the AIFLD as they discussed the land reform program.

Military dictatorship prevailed in the 1970s in all the Central American nations except Costa Rica.

With the civilian government in liberal hands, a pro-Soviet insurgency under way, and the army an antagonistic mixture of reformist and rightist officers, the AFL-CIO sought to strengthen the reformers against the pro-dictatorial terrorists of both right and left. U.S. labor accordingly pressed the U.S. government to adopt a policy of "conditionality"—providing economic and military aid to the government side in El Salvador, but only on condition that progress be made in five areas: the holding of free and honest elections, curtailment and eventual elimination of death-squad activity, establishment of an honest judicial system, justice in the Viera-Hammer-Pearlman murder case, and progress in the land reform. The aid would help the government to avoid defeat by the pro-Soviet Marxist guerrillas, and the conditions on the aid would strengthen the hand of the reformists against the intransigent rightists within the army.

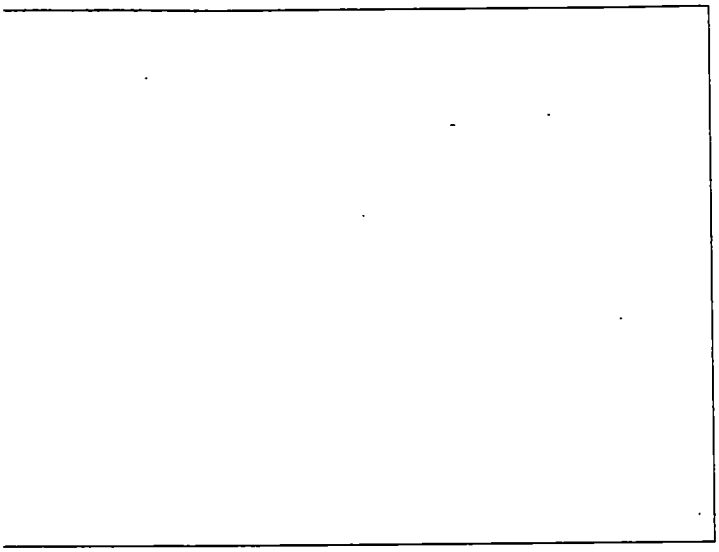
The Provisional Government—1982-84

This policy suffered a setback when the governing junta complied with its initial promise of free elections and held voting in March, 1982 for a Constituent Assembly to write a new constitution. Salvador's conservative parties, capitalizing on the electorate's desperate craving for order, together won a majority of the seats in the Assembly. The Assembly then not only drafted a constitution, but also formed a conservative government headed by interim President Alvaro Magaña.

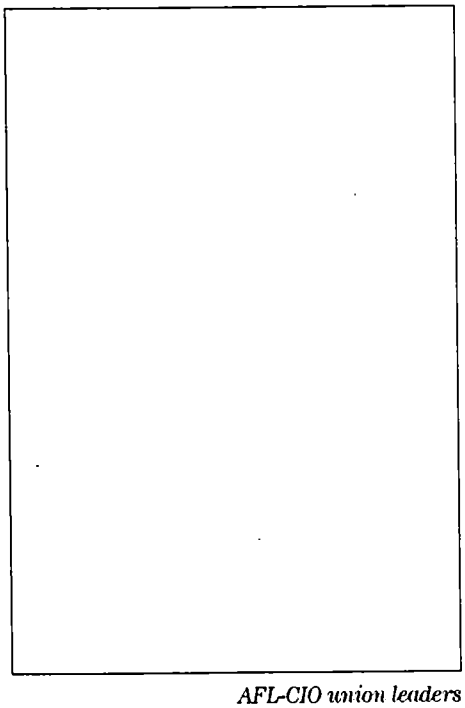
This shift from liberal to conservative control of the government induced some shift to the right in the balance of forces within the army. As a result of this political situation, the progress of the existing land reform program was slowed, the majority in the Assembly tried to pass laws blocking any expansion of the reform, and the rightist terror continued, with the terrorists, both civilian and military, immune from effective prosecution.

A fraternal delegation of AFL-CIO union leaders in 1988 tours a Salvadoran agricultural cooperative created under the land reform.

An AIFLD representative speaks at a ceremony in 1984 laying the cornerstone for a community center and school built by the Salvadoran construction workers' union with AIFLD assistance.



Leaders of Salvador's UNOC labor center thank AFL-CIO Secretary Treasurer Thomas Donahue for earthquake relief supplies.



AFL-CIO union leaders meet with Salvadoran construction workers in 1988 in a vocational training center created with assistance from the U.S. International Union of Bricklayers.

This lack of progress on the conditions placed by the AFL-CIO on its support for aid led the Executive Council in February, 1983 to call for suspension of all U.S. military aid to El Salvador. U.S. labor, through the AIFLD, increased its assistance to the beleagured Salvadoran trade unions, both urban and rural. These two moves were designed to increase pressure on the Salvadoran right, while shoring up the trade-union forces of the democratic center.

These two moves were designed to increase pressure on the Salvadoran right, while shoring up the progressive trade-union forces of the democratic center.

The Christian Democratic Government—1984-88

By the spring of 1984 the new constitution was ready, and elections were held to choose a president to serve a full five-year term. Jose Napoleon Duarte of the Christian Democrats won, and after his inauguration progress was made on retiring some of the rightist army officers, implementation of the land reform, and investigations of the Viera-Hammer-Pearlman murders. Consequently, the AFL-CIO in August, 1984, resumed *conditional* support for military aid.

In November, 1984, however, the Salvadoran Supreme Court, controlled by rightists, dismissed the case against Lt. Lopez Sibrian, one of the murderers of Brothers Viera, Hammer, and Pearlman. The AFL-CIO reacted to this reversal by again suspending its support for military aid.

Trade-union rights to organize, bargain, and strike, which had been severely curtailed under the conservative provisional government, were much more freely exercised under President Duarte.

In March, 1985, legislative elections turned out the conservative majority in the Salvadoran National Assembly and put the Christian Democrats in control. This shift allowed liberal programs to move ahead. Trade-union rights to organize, bargain, and strike, which had been severely curtailed under the conservative provisional government, were much more freely

exercised under President Duarte. Even the leftist unions associated with the guerrilla groups of the FMLN, which had gone underground when the rightist terror and the civil war had begun, began to re-emerge and function openly.

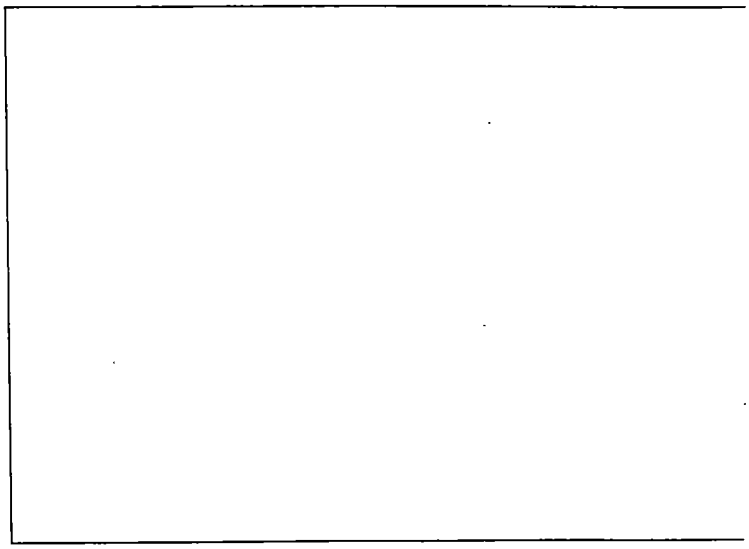
Reflecting this shift towards greater respect for human rights and more progressive social policies, the AFL-CIO convention in October, 1985, resumed support for military aid to El Salvador, conditioned as before on progress on trade-union rights, land reform, ending death-squad attacks, and justice in the Viera-Hammer-Pearlman case. This stance was continued by the 1987 convention, which emphasized that U.S. military aid should be reduced if there were no further improvements in these four areas.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council in February, 1988, called for immediate suspension of all further military aid to El Salvador, and reiterated this call in February, 1989.

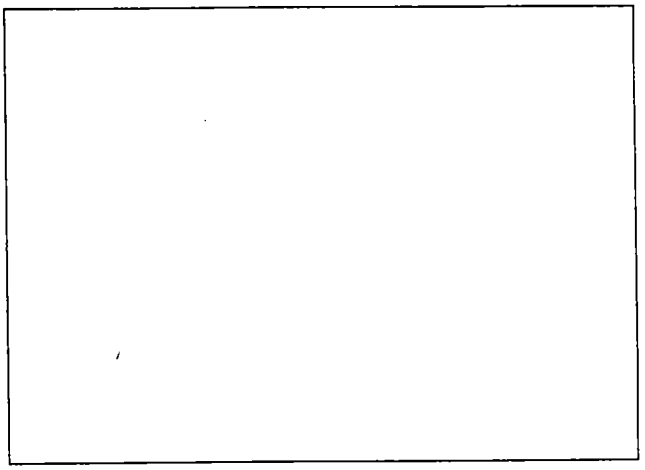
During subsequent months things got worse instead of better in the area of reform of the judicial system. Efforts to prosecute military officers responsible for human-rights violations remained stymied, and the two triggermen in the Viera-Hammer-Pearlman murders were released from prison. Consequently, the AFL-CIO Executive Council in February, 1988, called for immediate suspension of all further military aid to El Salvador. In March, 1988, legislative elections were held, and the Christian Democrats lost control of the National Assembly to the conservative parties. The deterioration of the legal situation continued, so the AFL-CIO Executive Council in February, 1989, reiterated its call for the aid suspension.

1989—The ARENA Government

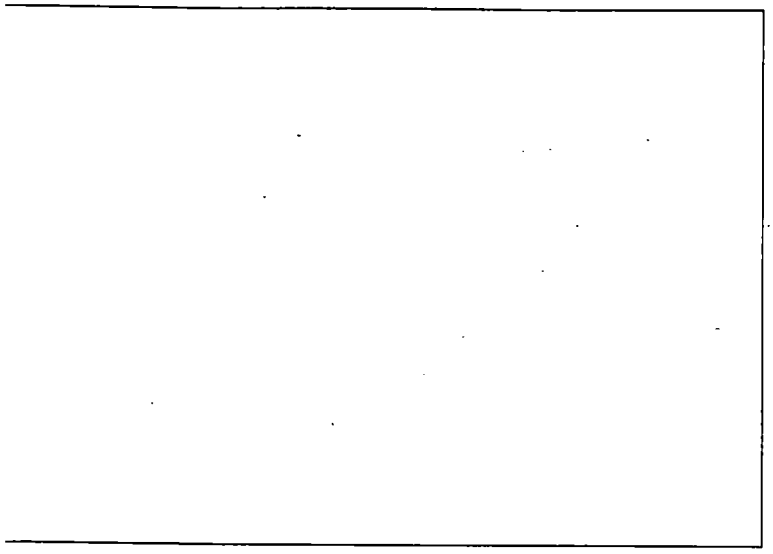
In the March, 1989, presidential elections the Christian Democratic candidate lost to Alfredo Cristiani of the right-wing ARENA party, formed in 1981 by Roberto d'Aubuisson, widely accused of also being one of the organizers of the death squads. The outlook thus remained bleak for progress on the four conditions set out throughout the 1980s by the AFL-CIO for its support of military aid to El Salvador. That position of conditionality was held to consistently throughout the decade, with the AFL-CIO supporting aid when progress was being made, and calling for suspension of the aid when, as in 1989, progress was blocked. With this policy, as in its provision of technical assistance to El Salvador's democratic unions, U.S. labor's goal was to strengthen the democratic center in its struggles against the violent, pro-dictatorial forces of the guerrillas on the left and the oligarchs and the reactionary elements among the military officers on the right.



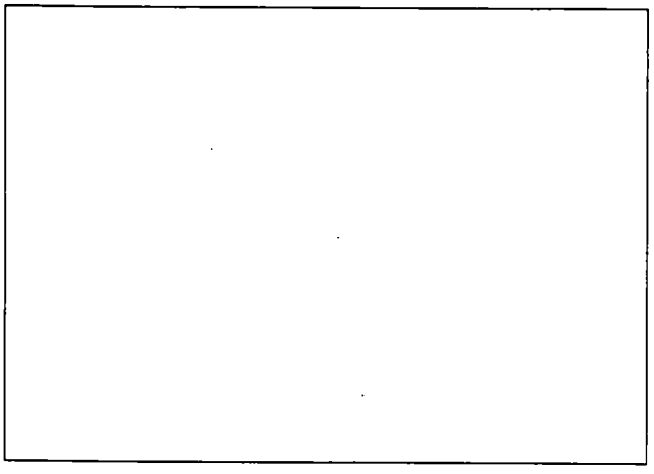
Despite threats of violence from Marxist-Leninist guerrillas, Salvadoran voters lined up by the hundreds for the March 1989 presidential election.



Salvadoran trade union volunteers load relief supplies donated by the AFL-CIO after the 1986 Salvadoran earthquake.



A 1983 rally of Salvadoran peasants in defense of the land reform, then-endangered by conservatives in the Constituent Assembly.



A delegation of AFL-CIO union leaders visits the fields of a Salvadoran cooperative.

The Land Reform

The land reform decreed by the Christian Democratic/reformist military junta in March of 1980 aimed at eliminating tenancy in El Salvador and putting legal ownership of farmland into the hands of those who actually tilled the soil. Phase One of the program expropriated all large *haciendas* over 1,253 acres in size and converted them into 317 production cooperatives operated by the peasants who had been working on the haciendas. The "Land to the Tiller" part of the reform, launched by the junta's decree 207, allowed tenant farmers to apply for ownership of up to 17.5 acres of the land they had been tilling for landowners. Over 56,000 peasants did so, receiving an average holding of 4 to 4.5 acres each.

The land reform has drastically altered the pattern of agricultural land-holding in El Salvador. The huge haciendas owned by El Salvador's oligarchs are a thing of the past. Tenancy and sharecropping, previously widespread, have been sharply reduced. Approximately 87,000 peasant heads of household now own the land they till, either on the Phase I cooperatives or on their own farms obtained under the Land to the Tiller program. With peasant families averaging about six persons, this means over 500,000 people have been involved in the reform—14% of the country's entire population.

AIFLD's technical-assistance role in the land reform has been mainly in the Land to the Tiller portion. Following the request by Rodolfo Viera of the UCS in 1980, AIFLD helped train over 400 land-reform organizers ("promoters"). From 1980 through mid-1984 these organizers explained to the tenant farmers their rights under the reform and helped them with the legal procedures for obtaining land titles. They also helped the peasants fight the wave of illegal evictions from their land which were organized by the former landowners through their connections with conservative officers in local military units. In the latter half of the decade the organizers have helped the peasants obtain the credit, fertilizer, seed, and technical services they need to farm their lands successfully.

Throughout the 1980s the Salvadoran peasant organizations assisted by AIFLD have tried to help protect the peasants from assaults committed first by disgruntled former landlords and their military sympathizers, and in more recent years by armed units on both sides of Salvador's civil war during military operations in the rural areas. By investigating and publicizing human rights violations suffered by the peasants, and calling for punishment of those responsible, the UCS and other democratic peasant organizations fought against the abuses.

Obstacles Surmounted

Because the land reform was launched in a poor society during a civil war, had the support of only part of the military officers, and was bitterly attacked by a landed oligarchy willing to use terror as a political instrument, the land reform pro-

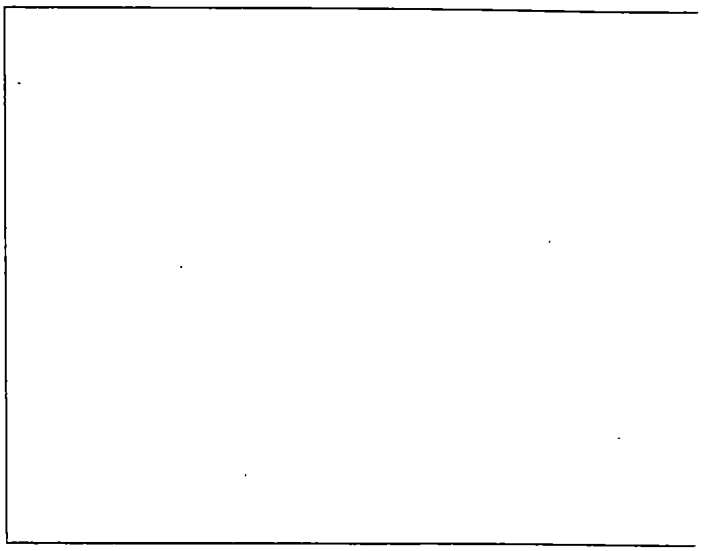
gram obviously has encountered severe problems. Most obvious are the facts that in the early years almost ninety of the democratic land-reform organizers ("promoters") were murdered, and that some of the farms are in combat zones. More prosaic problems are the government's shortage of funding for agricultural extension programs, the peasants inexperience in administration, and the burden of debt assumed by some of the cooperatives and individual farms when they took over the land.

Despite all these obstacles, the land reform program has moved ahead. Even though many of the 317 Phase I cooperatives are in combat zones and can be farmed only at considerable risk to the peasants' lives, in mid-1989 only 33 were abandoned. Of the other 284 co-ops, thirty percent have already developed to the point that the peasants are administering them completely on their own, without government administrative help. Compared with programs in other developing nations to form agricultrual co-ops, this is rapid progress. Despite the on-going machinations of the oligarchy, only about 23 of the co-ops are still involved in legal battles over ownership or compensation levels. Even with all the problems and turmoil, by 1987 crop yields on the Phase I cooperatives were consistently as good or better than pre-reform national averages.

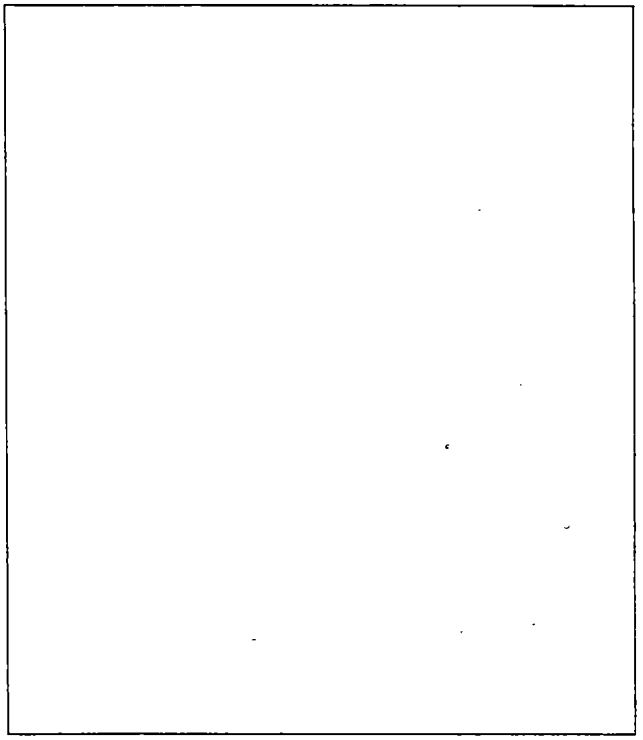
The smaller, individually-owned farms under the Land to the Tiller program have also done well. The percentage of El Salvador's total production of basic grains produced on these lands rose from 11 percent to 25 percent just in the five years between 1982 and 1987, even while diversification by the peasants out of basic grains into far more profitable alternative crops was proceeding apace. The peasants are also improving their farms through irrigation and soil conservation, and are devising better marketing techniques.

The survival of the reform process resulted primarily from the tenacity and perseverence of the Salvadoran peasants, but U.S. workers can take satisfaction from the fact that the AFL-CIO and the AIFLD played a major supporting role.

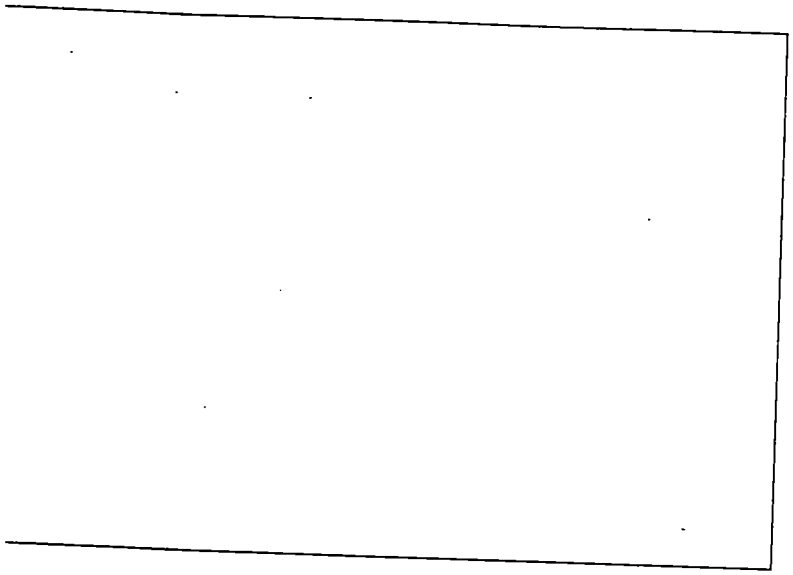
For all its troubles, the land reform program was so well established by 1989 that the incoming conservative ARENA government of President Cristiani felt constrained to promise it would "perfect" the land reform, not abolish or even just reverse the process. The survival of the reform process resulted primarily from the tenacity and perseverance of the Salvadoran peasants, but U.S. workers can take satisfaction from the fact that the AFL-CIO and the AIFLD played a major supporting role.



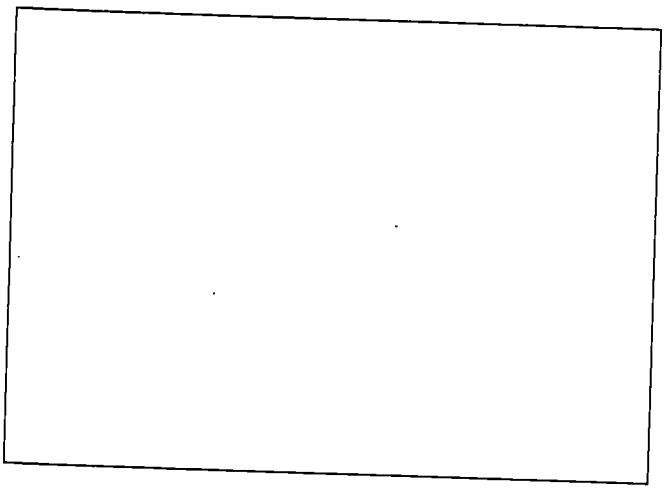
Salvadoran peasant children with a member of a visiting AFL-CIO fraternal delegation in 1985.



A member of a land-reform cooperative in El Salvador regards with satisfaction part of the co-op's harvest of coffee and corn.



Salvadoran construction workers celebrate the successful conclusion of their union's 1986 convention.



Salvadoran workers wait patiently to exercise their right to vote.

Workers' Rights in El Salvador

Respect for workers' rights to organize, bargain, and strike has obviously varied in El Salvador during the 1980s depending on whether liberal or conservative forces were in power at a given time. Even under a particular government, however, the absence of full civilian control over the military, and the fact that liberal and conservative officers are interspersed within the Salvadoran military, have produced great inconsistencies in the treatment of workers from one instance to another.

Under the Christian Democratic/reformist military junta of 1980-82, the primary obstacle to excercise of their trade-union rights by workers came not from the junta and its government ministries, but from the murderous attacks by the death squads and rightist military and police units bitterly opposed to the junta's progressive policies. A Freedom House survey in October, 1981, ranked El Salvador about in the middle of twenty Latin American countries in regard to respect for worker rights by the incumbent governments themselves. As mentioned above, the rightist terror campaign obliged the leftist unions associated with the guerrillas to go underground.

Under the conservative provisional government of 1983-84, government labor-relations bodies came to favor the employers more than had been the case under the junta, but democratic unions continued to organize, bargain, strike, and mount political demonstrations, despite the technical illegality of many of these actions under state-of-seige legislation. Rightist terror, not government suppression of worker rights, continued to be the main concern of Salvadoran democratic labor, and the cause of the leftist unions' continued resort to clandestinity.

Forced to choose between the guerillas and the leftist parties, the UNTS endorsed the guerrillas' call for a boycott of the elections...

Respect for workers' rights greatly increased after the liberal Christian Democratic president, Jose Napoleon Duarte, took office in 1984. Newly-organized unions found it much easier to obtain legal recognition, collective bargaining was greatly expanded, and strikes became less risky endeavors. The most dramatic change was the re-emergence of the leftist unions associated with the guerrilla groups. They re-opened their offices and began openly conducting both economic and political-action work.

In 1986 many of El Salvador's trade unions joined into two umbrella coalitions. The democratic unions formed the National Union of Workers and Peasants (UNOC), which in-

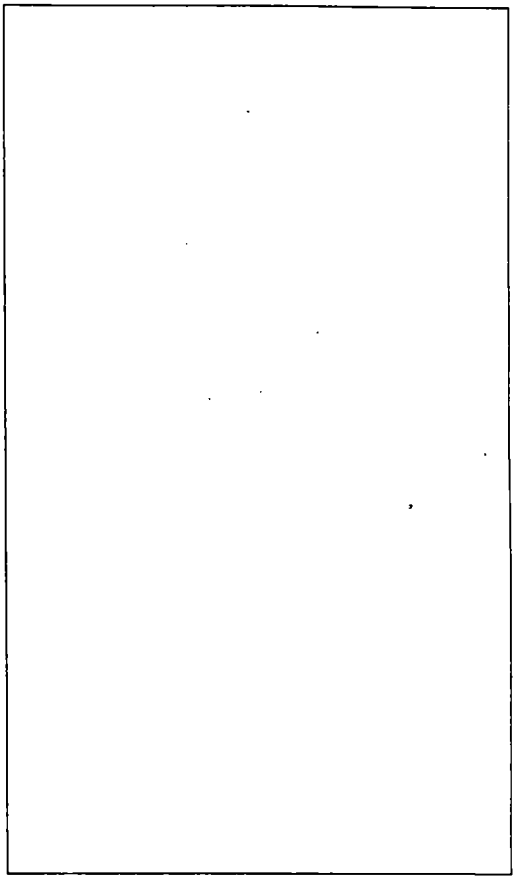
cludes both the social-democratic confederation (CTD) affiliated to the ORIT and the ICFTU, and the Christian Democratic confederation (CGT) affiliated internationally to the Christian Democratic regional and global labor organizations. On the left, the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS), was formed, which includes several union federations associated with one or another of the five guerrilla groups making up the FMLN, plus some leftist unions without such ties.

The UNOC served notice on the Cristiani government that if the situation of worker rights does indeed deteriorate, it will request the AFL-CIO to petition for denial of El Salvador's GSP privileges.

The pro-FMLN stance of the UNTS indicates that the unions associated with the guerrillas dominate the group. For example, the UNTS condemns human-rights abuses committed by the government side in the civil war, but unlike the democratic UNOC, does not also denounce abuses by the guerrillas. The decisive test of where UNTS stood in relation to the FMLN came in the March, 1989, presidential election campaign, when the FMLN called on Salvadoran voters to boycott the election, whereas some civilian political parties long associated with the guerrillas decided to run candidates in the elections and called on all Salvadorans to turn out to vote. Forced to choose between the guerrillas and the leftist parties, the UNTS endorsed the guerrillas' call for a boycott of the elections (a decision which must have displeased the minority of leftist unions in the UNTS which are not associated with the guerrillas). The UNTS-supported boycott kept many people from the polls and thus contributed to the rightist ARENA's victory.

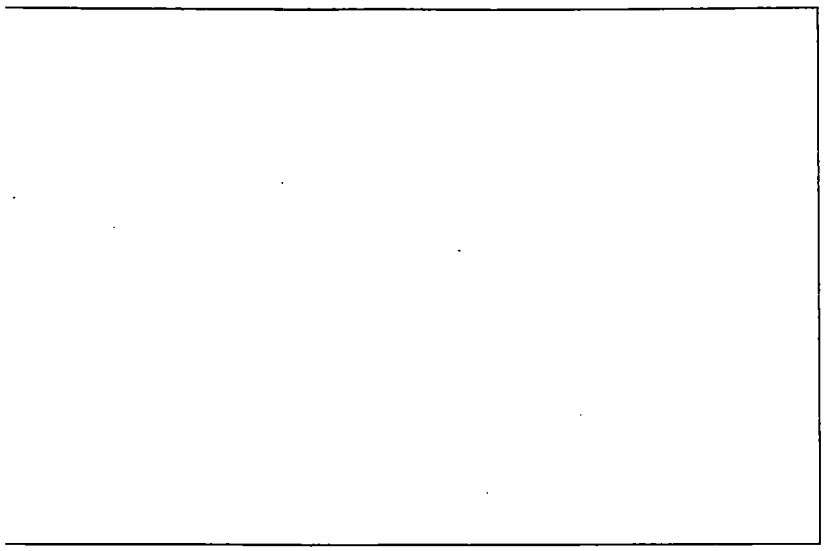
The fact that the Duarte administration basically respected workers' rights to organize, bargain, and strike, did not mean that all was peaceful on the Salvadoran labor scene. The military and the various security forces were still not under the civilian government's control, and conservative military elements often struck out violently against some trade unions, most of them members of the leftist UNTS, but some of them with the democratic UNOC. In addition, the Duarte government itself cracked down on some UNTS unions when it felt they were mounting illegal political actions designed to help the FMLN insurgents overthrow the elected government.

The AFL-CIO after 1984 took some complicated decisions concerning the complex situation in regard to worker rights in El Salvador. In that year the U.S. Congress passed a law



Luis Grande Presa, leader of El Salvador's Christian Democratic labor confederation, speaks at a 1989 strike rally in front of a plastics factory.

Salvadoran workers demonstrate for trade-union rights.



An AFL-CIO delegation visits a peasant trade-union member wounded by machine-gun fire from unknown assailants while traveling to the polls on election day in March, 1989.

allowing private organizations in the U.S. to petition the U.S. government to deprive a country of tariff privileges given under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) if the government of that country was violating its workers' trade-union rights. Given the fragmentation of political power in El Salvador, could the Duarte administration be held responsible for violent assaults on union leaders committed by certain military units? Or should the Duarte administration be given credit for its own greatly-improved record on workers' rights and its toleration of the strictly trade-union aspects of the leftist unions' activities? With a civil war under way, was it legitimate for the civilian government to crack down on unions mounting political strikes and demonstrations supportive of the guerrilla insurgency?

When the AFL-CIO consulted with the democratic UNOC unions on this issue during the Duarte administration, they asked that the AFL-CIO not file a petition against El Salvador under the GSP law, because the civilian government was not seriously violating labor's rights. However, they were outraged at the murderous attacks by elements of the security forces on both UNTS and UNOC trade unionists and urged the AFL-CIO to continue its policy of conditioning support for military aid to El Salvador on an improvement in the human rights situation. The AFL-CIO accepted both recommendations, refraining from filing a petition under the GSP law, but continuing its policy of conditionality on military aid, calling for suspension of that aid when the conditions were not being fulfilled, as in 1988 and 1989.

Throughout the 1980s the AFL-CIO has urged that Salvadorans use ballots, not bullets, to decide who should govern their nation.

With the election of the conservative ARENA government of President Cristiani in March, 1989, both the AFL-CIO and the UNOC unions were concerned about the fate of human rights in El Salvador, given the ARENA's historically close ties to the death squads and the conservative military officers. Accordingly, the U.S. and Salvadoran unions established a joint "state of alert" regarding human and trade-union rights in El Salvador, and the UNOC served notice on the Cristiani government that if the situation of worker rights does indeed deteriorate, it will request the AFL-CIO to petition for denial of El Salvador's GSP privileges. To monitor the human-rights situation, the AIFLD posted a special representative in El Salvador in June, 1989, and trained staffers for a new human-rights office established by UNOC. These moves will allow a continuous flow of detailed information on how worker rights fare under the ARENA government.

Peace Negotiations

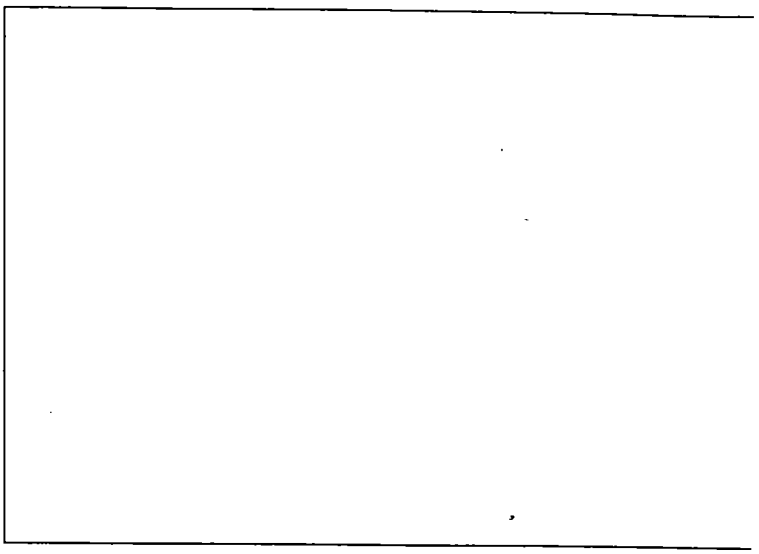
Throughout the 1980s the AFL-CIO has urged that Salvadorans use ballots, not bullets, to decide who should govern their nation, with what domestic social and economic policies, and with what foreign policy stance. To that end U.S. labor has consistently supported negotiations to find a formula to end the fighting and bring all contending parties into the voting. As to what that formula should be, U.S. labor did not support the version offered by the guerrillas from the beginning of the civil war through 1988: "power-sharing," that is, formation of a coalition government with power shared between the guerrilla insurgents and the elected civilian government of El Salvador. Such a formula would have still left bullets, not ballots, as the means by which the guerrillas would come to share power.

The convention concluded that "a negotiated settlement, rather than a military victory" was the best hope for peace and justice in El Salvador...

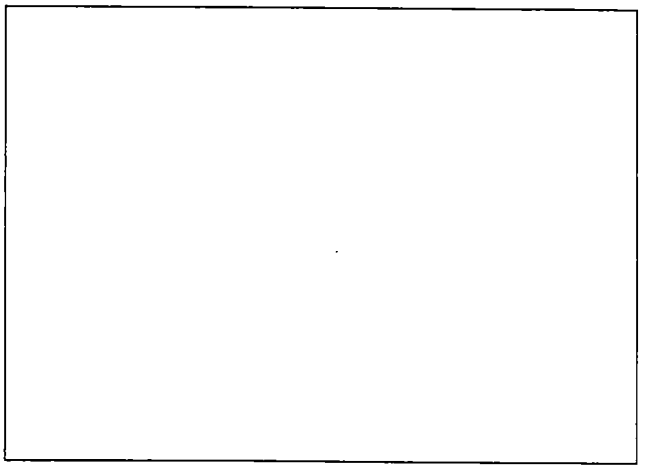
If voting, not violence, is to determine who will govern in El Salvador, then elections must be open to participation, with full physical security, by all political contenders, and the Salvadoran military must be prepared to accept the voters' will, whatever the outcome of the elections. As a means towards creating these necessary conditions for ending the war through voting, the AFL-CIO's policy of conditionality on military aid has sought to strengthen the hand of the civilian government vis-a-vis the Salvadoran military, and within the military to strengthen the position of the reformist, democratic officers over the officers of the terrorist right.

Throughout the 1980s the AFL-CIO has supported negotiations to find a formula for ending the fighting which would be acceptable to all the contending parties. The 1981 AFL-CIO convention called for giving the Salvadoran leftist opposition a role in arranging free elections, if the guerrillas agreed to participate in such elections after a cease-fire. The 1983 convention called for the warring parties to negotiate an end to the conflict based on arrangements to elect a democratic government.

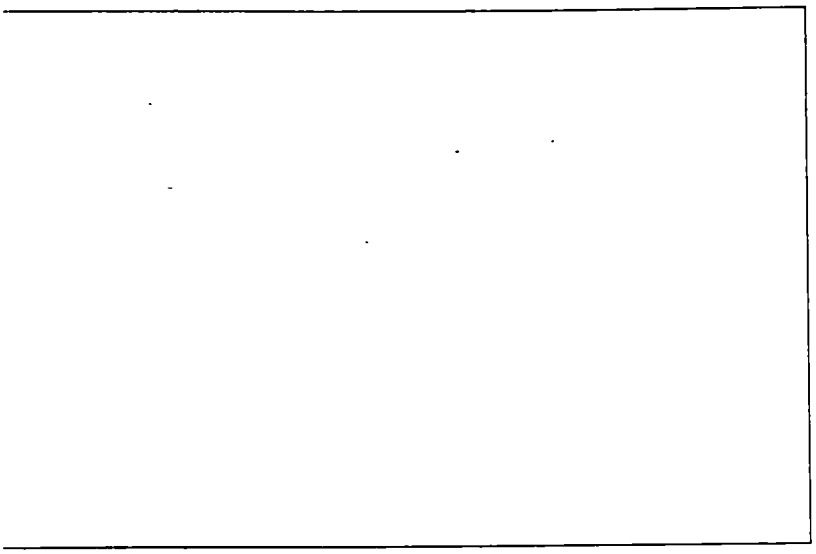
Earlier in 1983 the foreign ministers of Mexico, Colombia, Panama, and Venezuela had met and launched the "Contadora peace process," which over the next three years produced a series of negotiations and proposals to end the violence in Central America, including the civil war in El Salvador. The 1985 AFL-CIO convention, after again urging the warring parties to negotiate a democratic settlement, ex-



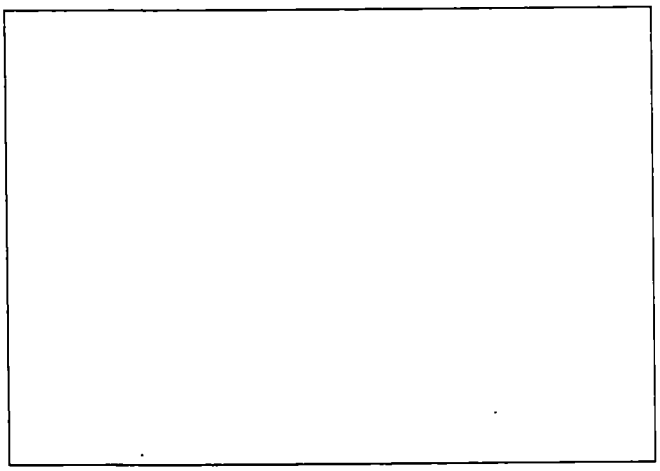
Salvadoran voters lining up to vote in their nation's March, 1989, presidential elections.



Voters at a polling place receive instructions on voting procedures.



AIFLD Executive Director William C. Doherty, and his wife Jane, with Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte at a ceremony in April, 1989, at which Brother Doherty was awarded El Salvador's higest medal.



A town square in March, 1989, is filled by hundreds of Salvadorans waiting to vote.

pressed its support for the Contadora peace process, noting that it had produced a 21-point plan for a negotiated peace based on democratic pluralism. The convention concluded that "a negotiated settlement, rather than a military victory" was the best hope for peace and justice in El Salvador and the rest of Central America. This position on the Contadora process was reiterated by the AFL-CIO Executive Council in February, 1987.

"We are now hopeful that the senseless killing will stop and that the long-standing problems of poverty, hunger, and exploitation of the workers and campesinos will now be addressed."

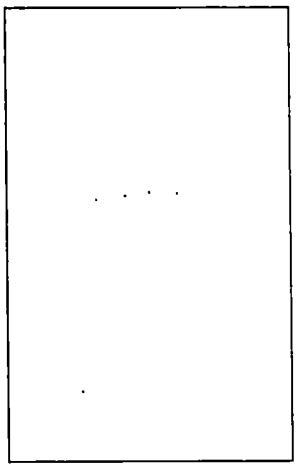
Unfortunately the Contadora proposals did not produce any agreements, and in the spring of 1987 Costa Rican President Oscar Arias launched a new peace effort based on the premise that "without democracy, there can be no peace in Central America." His proposals led to the signing of an agreement by the five Central American presidents in Esquipulas, Guatemala, in August of 1987. The 1987 AFL-CIO convention endorsed the Esquipulas agreement and urged the Reagan administration in the U.S. "to pursue in good faith a diplomatic rather than a military solution to the conflict." This endorsement was repeated by the Executive Council in February, 1988.

As presidential elections in El Salvador neared in early 1989, the guerrillas in February offered a new peace proposal which altered in some respects their previous insistence on entering a coalition government without being elected. The FMLN agreed to participate in and accept the results of elections if they were postponed from March to September, 1989, and if major reforms were made in the Salvadoran army. The AFL-CIO Executive Council, meeting shortly after the guerrillas' proposal, called for a cease fire and negotiations for free elections with participation by all parties to the Salvadoran civil war, with postponement of the elections if necessary.

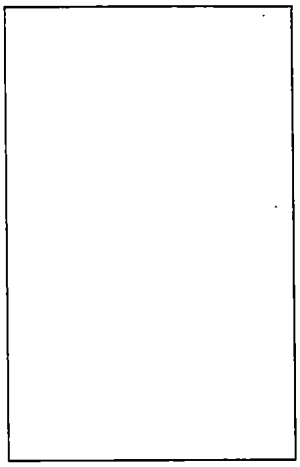
By mid-1989 none of the various peace initiatives had yet ended the fighting in El Salvador. In August the five Central American presidents, meeting in Tela, Honduras, called on the FMLN to enter into a cease fire and negotiate peace with the Salvadoran government. The same month the AFL-CIO Executive Council endorsed the presidents' call, noted U.S. labor's support of all the peace efforts from Contadora onwards, and concluded: "We are now hopeful that the senseless killing will stop and that the long-standing problems of poverty, hunger, and exploitation of the workers and campesinos will now be addressed."

JUSTICE REMAINS ELUSIVE

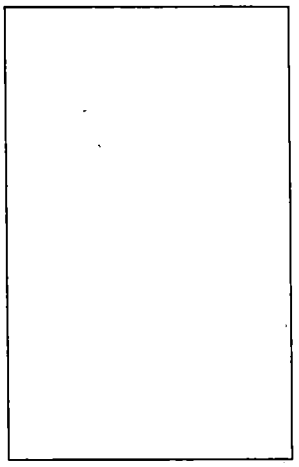
Murderers in 1981 El Salvador Assassinations Still Not Prosecuted



Michael P. Hammer



Jose Rodolfo Viera



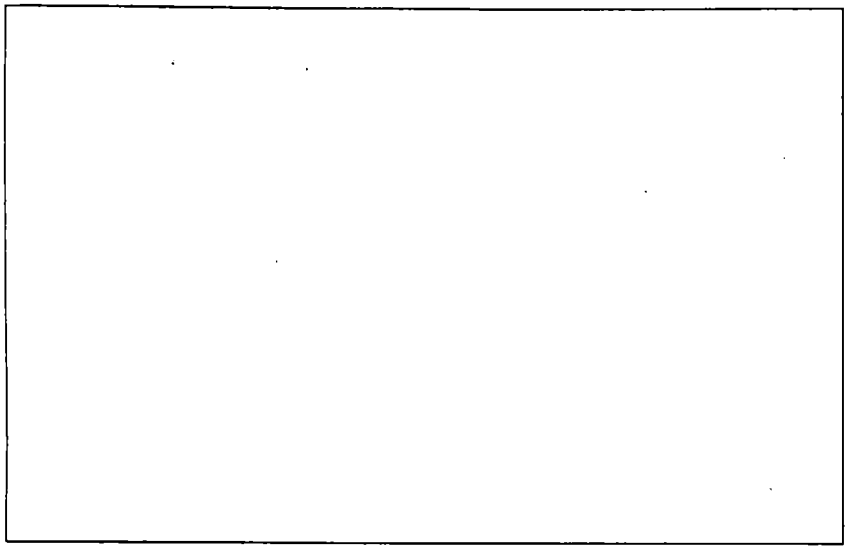
Mark D. Pearlman

On January 3, 1981, three trade unionists were shot in the coffee shop of the Sheraton Hotel in San Salvador while discussing the progress of the Salvadoran land reform. One was Rodolfo Viera, president of the Salvadoran Comunal Union (UCS). Two were North American staffers of the AIFLD: Mike Hammer, Director of Agrarian Services, and Mark Pearlman, a young legal adviser on land-reform issues.

The AFL-CIO immediately hired a private investigator and was able to identify a group of Salvadoran businessmen and army officers as those who ordered and directed the triple assassination, which was carried out by two Salvadoran National Guardsmen.

Over the past eight years, during an endless series of legal steps, the AFL-CIO has doggedly sought to obtain the prosecution and conviction of the murderers, but so far, to no avail. The conservative oligarchs and military officers who control the Salvadoran judicial system have blocked every attempt to bring to justice those who murdered our three colleagues. Neither has any other Salvadoran military officer been convicted for the thousands of other political assassinations committed by rightist elements during Salvador's civil war.

In February, 1988, the AFL-CIO Executive Council stated: "We call on the U.S. government to suspend immediately all further military aid to El Salvador until its judicial system is significantly reformed, and justice is obtained in the Hammer-Pearlman-Viera murder case." In February, 1989, the Council reaffirmed this position.



Alvin Guthrie, President of the CUS labor confederation, explains to Tom Donahue and other visiting AFL-CIO labor leaders how his house in Managua had been painted with death threats by Sandinista "divine mobs."

NICARAGUA

The Democratic Revolution Against Somoza, 1978-79

The unions with which the AIFLD program in Nicaragua had been working throughout the 1960s and 1970s were very much involved in the popular revolution against the Somoza dictatorship. The struggle, reflecting deep social and political forces, was triggered by the assassination in January, 1978 of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, the respected editor of the opposition newspaper *La Prensa*. The opposition staged mass street demonstrations and organized two general strikes during 1978, in which both the social-democratic unions of the Confederation of Trade-Union Unity (CUS) and the Christian Democratic confederation (CTN) participated. To organize the popular campaign, opposition groups formed the Frente Amplio Opositora (FAO), a coalition which included the CUS and CTN, business groups, democratic political parties, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), and other civic and political organizations.

The unions with which the AIFLD program in Nicaragua had been working were very much involved in the popular revolution against the Somoza dictatorship.

In November, 1978, the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), with strong AFL-CIO support, called for an international boycott on all shipments by land, sea, and air to and from Nicaragua, Chile, and Cuba. In January, 1979, the AFL-CIO hosted a meeting of an ORIT committee to plan the boycott. Participating in the meeting was Luis Medrano, Secretary General of Nicaragua's CUS labor confederation. Upon his return to Nicaragua he was shot and killed on a Managua street by Somoza's henchmen. During the first months of 1979, U.S. longshoremen refused to unload a number of Somoza's ships in U.S. ports.

When peaceful demonstrations and strikes failed to oust Somoza, Nicaraguans realized that force would be required to do the job, and a general popular uprising began against the regime. The only element in the FAO opposition coalition which possessed armed units on the ground was the FSLN. Young men flocked to join its forces, and the political initiative passed from the democratic parties and trade unions in

the FAO to the Sandinistas. After a bloody civil war in which over 10,000 people were killed, Somoza finally fell on July 20, 1979.

Sandinista Repression and Public Resistance, 1980-83

After Somoza's departure, Nicaragua was governed at first by a five-person junta composed of three Sandinistas and two democrats. Nicaragua's democratic unions were strongly supportive of the new government, as was the AFL-CIO, which helped persuade the U.S. Congress to approve a grant of $75 million in emergency humanitarian aid to Nicaragua. It appeared that Nicaragua was finally on the road to democracy and respect for workers' rights.

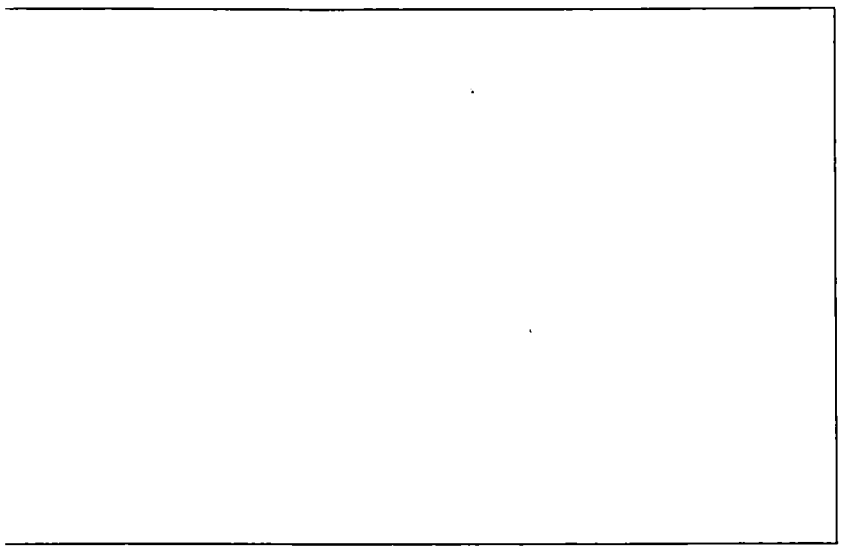
CUS and CTN leaders were arrested, their homes were bombed, union offices were shot up, and union halls were occupied by Sandinista mobs and police units.

Soon, however, the Sandinistas, who controlled the police and the armed forces, moved to set up an appartus of full dictatorial control over the populace. One of the first sectors to suffer Sandinista repression was the labor movement. The FSLN created the Sandinista Workers' Central (CST) as the regime's official trade-unon structure, modeled on the government labor fronts in Cuba and other totalitarian countries. The Sandinistas used political pressure and strong-arm tactics to force existing trade unions affiliated to the social-democratic CUS and the Christian democratic CTN to affiliate with the new CST. CUS and CTN leaders were arrested, their homes were bombed, union offices were shot up, and union halls were occupied by Sandinista mobs and police units. By late 1980 the CST was affiliated with the Moscow-line World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

Other social sectors also suffered from Sandinista repression as the FSLN built up its dictatorial power. The press, the Church, and business associations were all subjected to the same kind of pressure, intimidation, and force as was the labor movement. The greatest suffering was inflicted on the Miskito, Sumu, and Rama Indian minorities on Nicaragua's northeast Atlantic coast. Hundreds of Indians were killed in forced resettlements and indiscriminant bombing of their towns.

When subjected to Sandinista repression, the Nicaraguan people resisted. The resistance took two forms. Internally, in the spring of 1980 opposition elements coalesced into the Democratic Coordinator group, dedicated to opposing the re-

A march organized in 1988 by Nicaraguan democratic trade unions protests Sandinista repression of workers' rights.



AIFLD's Jack Moya presents musical instruments purchased with AFL-CIO help to Managua's musicians union in 1980.

gime through peaceful means. Included in the Coordinator were both the CUS and CTN labor confederations, Nicaragua's main business association (COSEP), and several of the democratic political parties.

When subjected to Sandinista repression, the Nicaraguan people resisted.

The AFL-CIO gave full support to the Coordinator in general and to the democratic unions within it in particular. AFL-CIO statements in 1980 and 1983 decried the threat from Soviet-backed extremists to the Nicaraguan people's efforts to build a democracy, and promised continued support to Central America's free trade unions. Unfortunately, in Nicaragua after 1981 this support had to be provided from outside the country, because in November the AIFLD was forced to close its office in Managua after threats to its staff were printed in the Sandinista-controlled press.

From its Washington D.C. office the AIFLD maintained a program of education courses and technical assistance for Nicaraguan workers, especially rural workers trying to maintain independent cooperatives in the face of Sandinista efforts to control the rural labor force. Nicaraguan trade unionists also continued to participate in AIFLD's international courses held at the George Meany Center in Silver Spring, Maryland.

The AFL-CIO in 1981 and 1982 took no position in the prolonged controversy over U.S. aid to the armed resistance offered by Nicaraguans to Sandinista rule, and maintained no relations with the insurgents.

Outside of Nicaragua, resistance to Sandinista repression resulted in the formation of armed insurgent groups, both among the Miskito Indians and among Nicaraguan exiles. In 1981 the U.S. government began an initially-covert program of aid to the insurgents. By early 1982 guerrillas of the Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN) began making commando raids into northwestern Nicaragua from camps across the border in Honduras. In the middle of 1982 Miskito Indian units began their own cross-border raids into northeastern Nicaragua, and by early 1983 both insurgent groups had forces operating permanently on Nicaraguan territory. In April, 1983, a third

insurgent movement, led by fomer Sandinista commander Eden Pastora, began military actions along Nicaragua's southern border with Costa Rica.

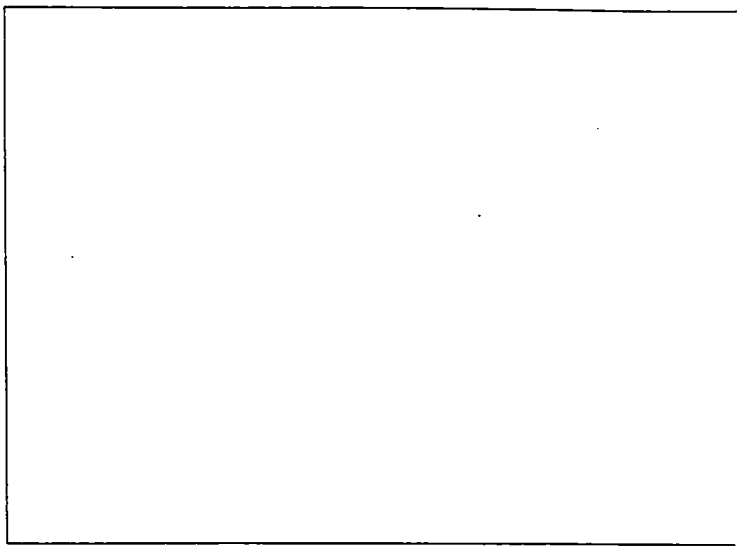
The AFL-CIO in 1981 and 1982 took no position in the prolonged controversy over U.S. aid to the armed resistance offered by Nicaraguans to Sandinista rule, and maintained no relations with the insurgents. U.S. labor confined its efforts to showing solidarity with the internal opposition of the Coordinator group and its associated trade unions which practiced non-violent methods of organization, publicity, demonstrations, and strikes. In mid-1983 the AFL-CIO supported a resolution of the General Board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) which called for an end to outside support for the various anti-Sandinista insurgent forces. Later, in February 1984 President Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO stated at a press conference his personal opinion that if he had been asked at the beginning whether U.S. support should have been given to the insurgents, he would have opposed it.

"The deep-seated social and economic problems in (Central America) cannot be solved by military means alone."

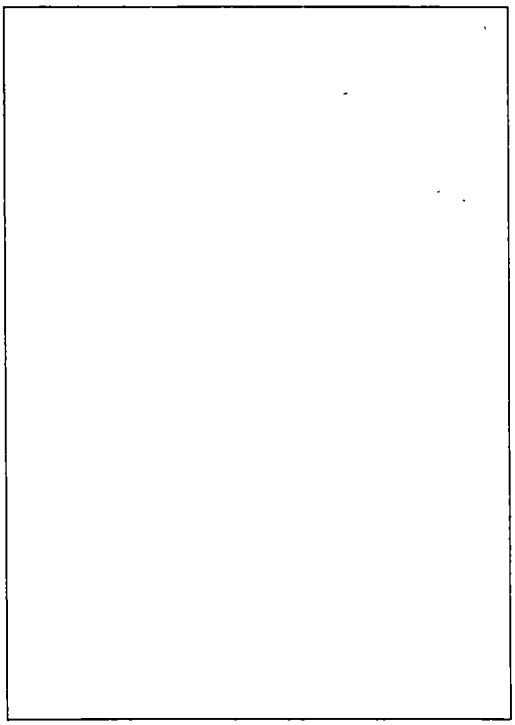
In regard to the Nicaraguan conflict, the countries involved in the Contadora peace process issued a 21-point statement in October, 1983, in which they called for an end to the fighting and negotiations for a peaceful settlement in Nicaragua. The AFL-CIO supported this stance in a number of trade-union fora on both the international and regional levels. The October, 1983 AFL-CIO convention, in keeping with this position, stated that "the deep-seated social and economic problems in (Central America) cannot be solved by military means alone."

Nicaraguan Stalemate—Sandinista Repression, Internal Opposition, and Civil War, 1984-1987

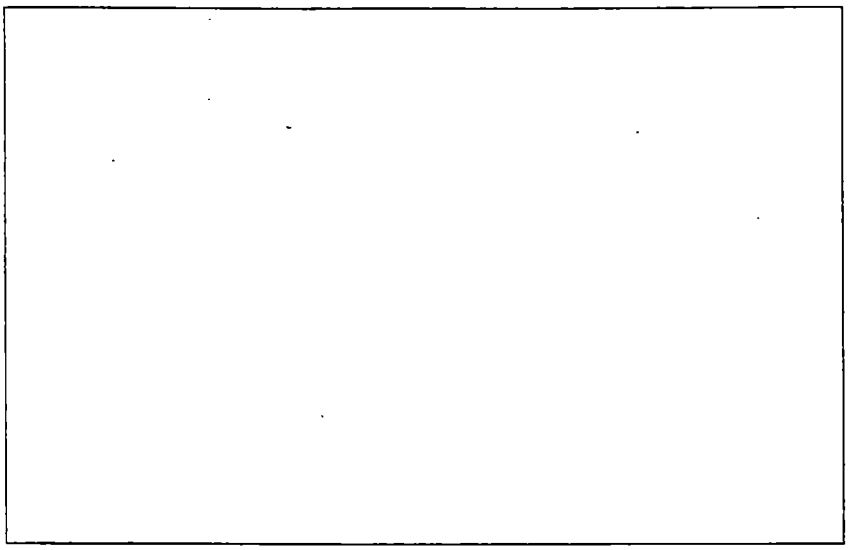
Despite having the support of free labor world-wide, the Contadora process did not succeed in ending the fighting in Central America, and the civil war in Nicaragua continued. So did Sandinista repression of the democratic trade unions of the CUS and the CTN, and also the non-violent resistance of the organizations in the Coordinating group. In 1984 and 1985 the AFL-CIO published a series of articles and pamphlets listing repeated Sandinista violations of workers' rights—arrests of democratic trade unionists, occupations of union headquarters by Sandinista mobs and army troops, threats of as-



Workers of a tailoring production co-op in Managua put to good use sewing machines purchased with AFL-CIO help.



Nicaraguan trade unionists confer outside the new CUS headquarters building in Nindiri, built in 1987 with AIFLD assistance.



In a CUS demonstration in January, 1988, 3,000 workers marched through the streets of Chinandega, demanding an end to war and hunger in Nicaragua.

sassination of union leaders, and beating of democratic union organizers.

In November, 1984, five years after promising to hold early elections, the Sandinista regime finally convoked national legislative and presidential elections, nominating a Sandinista commander, Daniel Ortega, for president. The Democratic Coordinator group, with the support of Nicaragua's democratic trade unions, nominated one of its leaders, Arturo Cruz, as the internal opposition's candidate for president. When Sr. Cruz tried to campaign, however, he found his campaign rallies broken up, the media under government control, his campaign workers frequently arrested by the Sandinista police, and pro-opposition voters intimidated by Sandinista block committees. When negotiations on guarantees for fair campaigning conditions were broken off by the Sandinistas, the Coordinator withdrew from the rigged political process.

There were repeated Sandinista violations of workers' rights—arrests of democratic trade unionists, occupations of union headquarters by Sandinista mobs and army troops, threats of assassination of union leaders, and beatings of democratic union organizers.

Daniel Ortega was elected president, and although facing only token opposition, received less than two-thirds of the votes. Neither the internal, non-violent Nicaraguan opposition nor the insurgent forces recognized the 1984 elections as legitimate. The civil war and the internal opposition's struggles therefore both continued, and the AFL-CIO continued to assist Nicaragua's democratic trade unions and call for a negotiated end to the fighting. The 1985 AFL-CIO convention reiterated U.S. labor's support of the Contadora process' 21 points and called on the Sandinista government to enter into negotiations with its Nicaraguan opponents for a political settlement based on "peaceful participation of all parties in democratic electoral processes." This position was reaffirmed by the AFL-CIO Executive Council in February, 1987.

Negotiations, Cease Fire, and Hopes for Free Elections—1988-89

With the failure of the Contadora negotiations to produce peace, President Arias of Costa Rica offered his new initiative which led to the signing of the Esquipulas Agreements by the five Central American presidents in August, 1987. As a result of this agreement, direct negotiations between the Sandinista

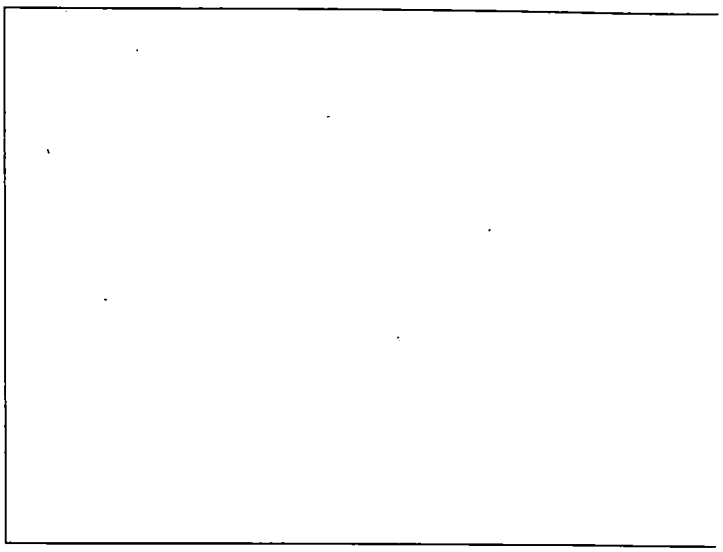
government and the insurgents began in early 1988. In March an agreement was reached during talks in the town of Sapoa for a 60-day cease-fire and further negotiations toward including all Nicaraguan political forces in a fully democratic process. This agreement was consonant with the AFL-CIO formula of substituting ballots for bullets which U.S. labor had urged since the beginning of the Nicaraguan conflict.

The subsequent talks among the Nicaraguans failed to achieve an agreement in 1988, but fighting in the civil war remained suspended during the negotiating stalemate. In February, 1989, the Sandinista government and the internal Nicaraguan opposition parties signed an accord on procedures for free elections to be held in February, 1990. Thirty points covering registration, campaign conditions, and voting arrangements were covered in this detailed accord. Two days later the five Central American presidents met in El Salvador and reached agreement in principle for demobilization of the anti-Sandinista insurgent forces, coupled with a Sandinista promise to fulfill their agreement with the internal opposition to hold free national elections under democratic conditions in February, 1990. The AFL-CIO Executive Council at its February, 1989, meeting welcomed this agreement, endorsed the plan to demobilize the insurgents, and called on the Nicaraguan government to fulfill its promise of free and open elections.

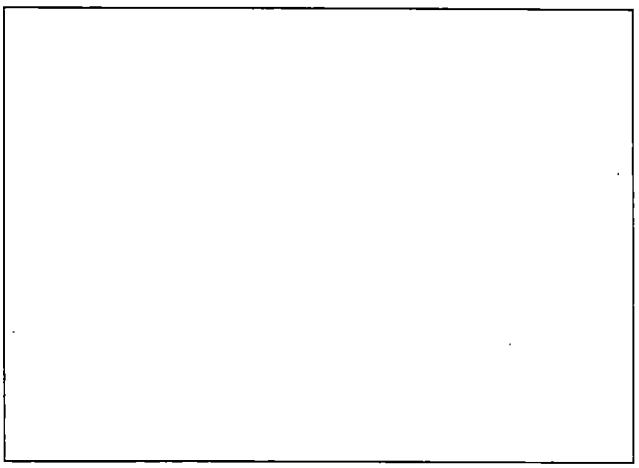
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On August 7, 1989, another meeting of the five presidents held in Tela, Honduras, set a deadline of December 5th for the voluntary demobilization and repatriation of the Nicaraguan insurgents, and called on the OAS and the United Nations to create a commission to oversee the process. The AFL-CIO Executive Council on August 9th congratulated the Central American presidents on the Tela accord, stating that "when implemented, it can lead to lasting peace with democracy in the long-suffering region."

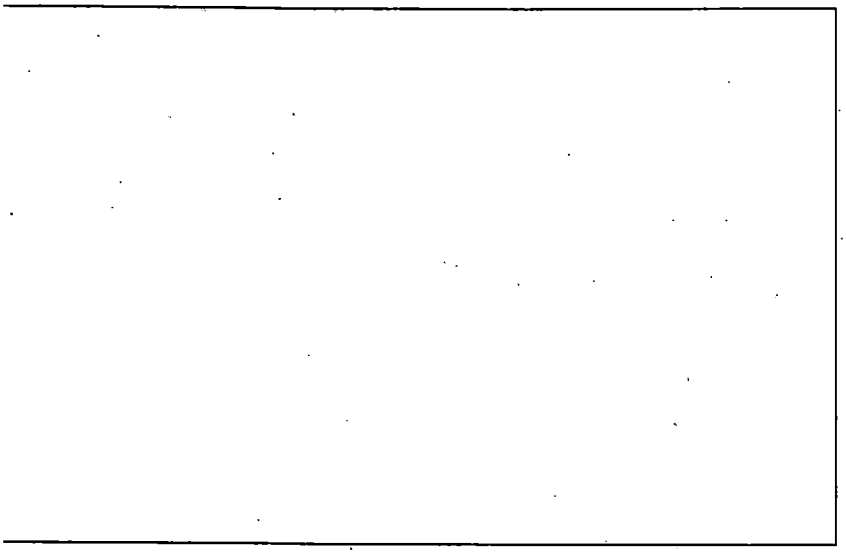
During the summer and fall of 1989, the AFL-CIO, through the AIFLD, provided training and support to the democractic trade unions in Nicaragua, helping them prepare for full participation in the promised 1990 democratic electoral process. Whether the democratic promise of the Nicaraguan popular revolution against the Somoza dictatorship will now be fulfilled depends on whether the 1990 election will be a replay of the "managed" elections of 1984, or a truly-competitive campaign and vote in which Sandinista power will be put at stake, subject to the decision of the Nicaraguan people.



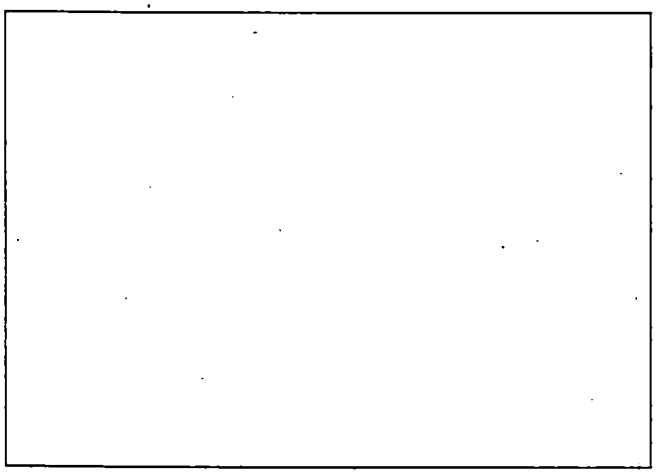
Nicaraguan trade unionists study political-action techniques during a course offered for them in Venezuela by the AIFLD and the Venezuelan Workers' Confederation (CTV).



The 1988 Chinandega march ends in a rally for peace and economic reforms, held in one of Chinandega's main plazas.



AIFLD Executive Director Doherty meets in 1986 with Costa Rican President Luis Alberto Monge, himself a former trade-union leader.



As agricultural technicians from Costa Rica's CNT labor confederation look on, the head of an association of family farmers in Pital shows his pride in a shipment of pineapples ready to be sold under a new marketing system organized with AIFLD help.

COSTA RICA

Strengthening Democratic Unions

Costa Rica at the beginning of the 1980s had three established labor confederations corresponding to the three prevailing ideological outlooks in world labor. The CCTD was affiliated to the social-democratic ORIT and ICFTU, the CUT to the Moscow-line Communist regional and world organizations, and the CTC to the Christian Democratic CLAT and WCL. An additional confederation was being established, the politically-independent CATD, based mainly among secondary-school teachers. The AFL-CIO, through the AIFLD, conducted education and social project programs primarily with its co-affiliate, the CCTD, and with the large, independent teachers federation, ANDE.

During the 1970s the democratic trade unions had been trying to build up their economic and political strength so as to obtain reform of Costa Rica's very restrictive labor code. Reflecting the political influence of the country's large middle class and the small size of the industrial work-force in a basically agricultural economy, the code provided no job security for workers active in trade-union work, and empowered employers to apply severe penalties against workers who incited strikes. Through organizing campaigns, training of its members, and building of labor political-action capability, the CCTD and independent unions, with AIFLD help, hoped to make Costa Rica's political environment as propitious for free trade unions as it already was for electoral democracy.

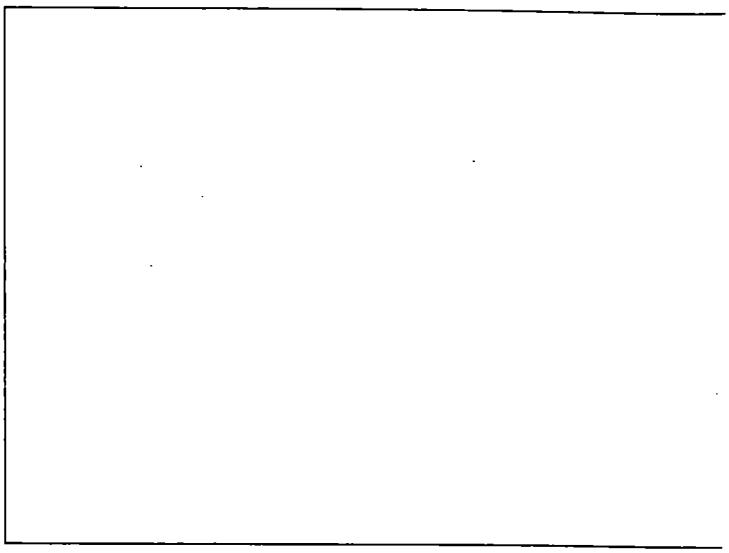
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In 1983 internal disputes caused a split in the social-democratic CCTD, with the majority of its unions leaving to form a new confederation, the CNT, with which the AIFLD continued to conduct educational and social-projects programs. In 1988 the CNT affiliated to the ORIT/ICFTU (which also continued the affiliation of the CCTD). The Institute has assisted a number of agricultural unions affiliated to the CNT to diversify their crops and move into packaging and marketing for local and foreign markets, so as to increase the incomes of

their members. In 1985 AIFLD also began working with the teacher-based CATD as it became a well-established organization, which in 1988 also affiliated with the ORIT.

Challenge From the Right—"Solidarismo"

In the mid-1980s an employer-sponsored alternative to trade unions was gaining ground in Costa Rica— the "Solidarista" associations. The "Solidarismo" movement is a grotesquely-distorted version of ideas advanced in the 1940s for Costa Rican labor-management relations by Alberto Marten, a social thinker and politician. Sr. Marten aimed at democratizing capital through a significant degree of worker ownership of the means of production, distributing income more equally by means of the returns on the capital the workers would own, elevating the dignity of the worker by making him a true partner in the work-place, and raising workers' living standards by means of services provided to them through a joint employer/employee capital fund. The fund would be managed by a Solidarista association controlled jointly by workers and employers, which with returns on the fund's investments would provide credit, savings, and consumer services to the workers.

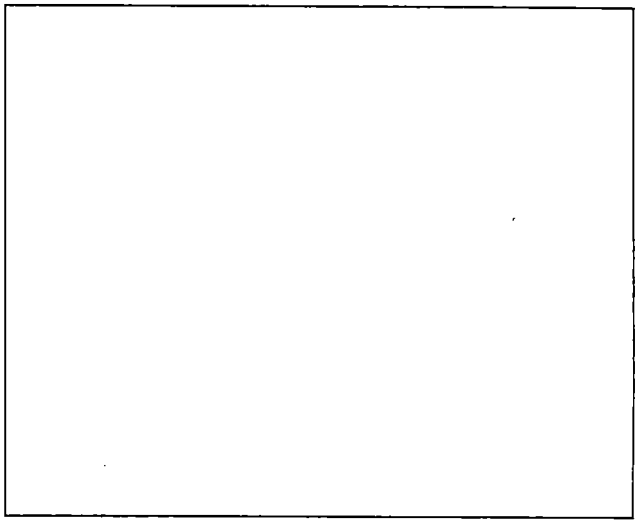


A fraternal delegation of AFL-CIO trade unionists in 1988 sits with children of Costa Rican workers to view a folklore show presented in honor of the U.S. visitors.

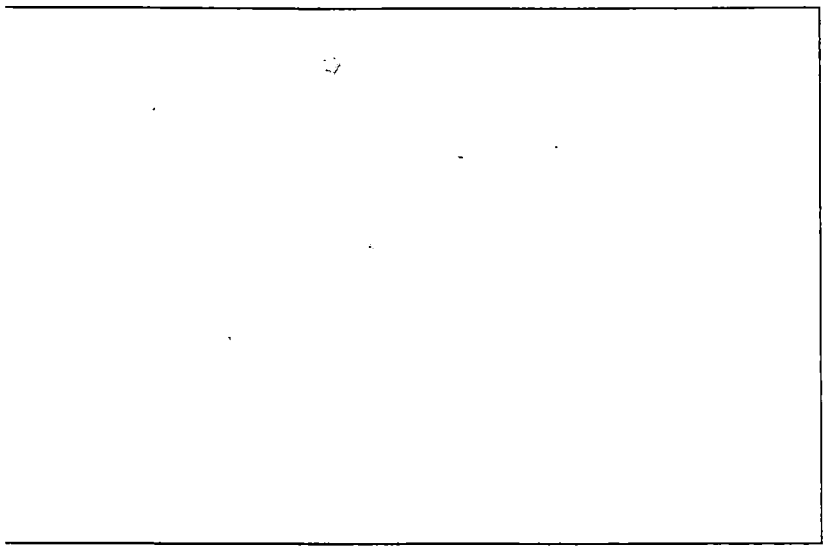
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As promoted in the 1980s by conservative businessmen, the Solidarista associations have very different functions. They are touted primarily as a means by which firms can avoid unionization of their workers. Instead of collective bargaining and contractually-determined grievance procedures, workers are hired through individual contracts. If a worker has complaints, he must usually present them individually to management. The Solidarista associations recognize no right to strike. In short, Solidarismo gives the employer complete control of the workplace.

To persuade workers to forgo unions and join Solidarista associations, the employers offer some of the savings, credit, health, and education services originally envisioned by Sr. Marten. In addition, workers are assisted in obtaining ownership shares in Costa Rican firms (though never anything approaching a controlling interest). Naturally, the employers keep the costs to them of providing these services lower than their estimates of what they would have to yield to the work-



Costa Rican children demonstrate a typical folk-dance.



AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland greets newly-elected Costa Rican President Oscar Arias at AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington, D.C.

ers under collective bargaining with free trade unions. The employers' enthusiasm for Solidarismo is based on close attention to the bottom line of their profit-and-loss statements.

In February, 1987 the AFL-CIO Executive Council condemned "the management-inspired development of company unions, called Solidarista Associations, as alternatives to union representation."

By the late 1980s the Solidarista associations were being spread aggressively by employer groups into Guatemala and Honduras, with initial organizing efforts also under way in El Salvador and Panama. The AFL-CIO has strongly supported the stand of Central America's trade unions that Solidarismo represents a threat to workers' rights to organize, bargain, and strike. In February, 1987, the AFL-CIO Executive Council condemned "the management-inspired development of company unions, called Solidarista Associations, as alternatives to union representation." This position was confirmed in October, 1987, by the AFL-CIO convention, which termed Solidarista associations as "company unions that do the bidding of the employer," stifling "legitimate expression of worker interests." In December, 1987, the AFL-CIO endorsed a request by Costa Rican labor to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) that it investigate Solidarismo's attack on free trade unionism in Costa Rica. In January, 1988, an ICFTU delegation visited Costa Rica and wrote a report which led the ICFTU Congress in March of 1988 to pass a strong resolution condemning Solidarismo as an instrument of employers' domination of the workforce.

Thus Costa Rican labor, in both its struggle for reform of its nation's labor code, and its confrontation with Solidarismo, has been bolstered by the AFL-CIO, and by AIFLD education and social-projects programs throughout the 1980s.

HONDURAS

Helping Strong Unions Grow Stronger

Although Honduras is the poorest and least industrialized of the Central American nations, it has long had one of the strongest and best-organized labor movements in the region. The three labor confederations in Honduras mirror world labor's three-way ideological split. The smallest group is the Moscow-line FUTH, the Christian Democrats are represented by the CLAT-affiliated CGT, and the oldest and largest confederation is the social-democratic CTH, affiliated to the ORIT/ICFTU. During the 1980s, the AFL-CIO, through the AIFLD, has worked primarily with its fellow ORIT affiliate, the CTH.

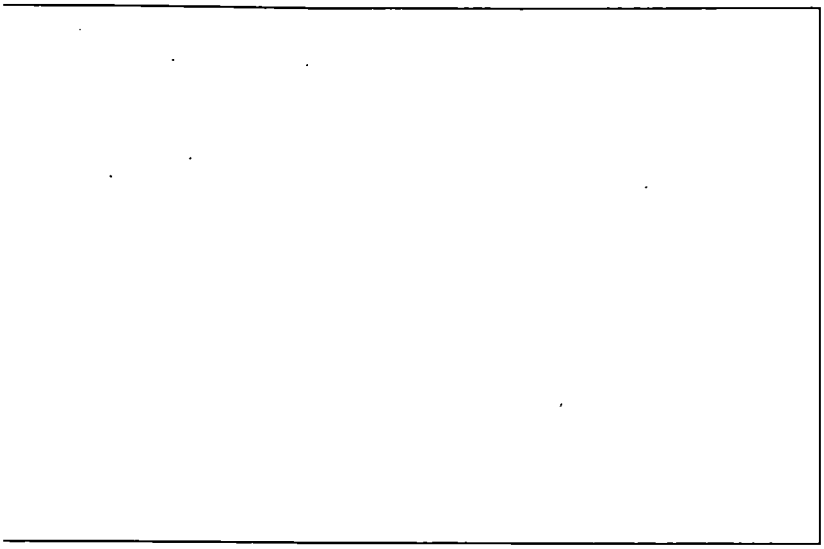
In the early 1980s the democratic leadership of several major CTH affiliates had to fend off challenges from extremists of both the left and the right. For example, a far-left coalition including some Moscow-line Communists and some Castroites contested every election in every local section of SITRATERCO, the union of United Brands banana workers. This coalition had won control of the union once in the 1970s, and competition between the leftists and the democrats has remained fierce throughout the 1980s, but with the democrats maintaining a majority in the union's leadership.

AIFLD and CTH officials preside at the 1987 inauguration of the La Ceiba, Honduras, cannery workers' community hall.

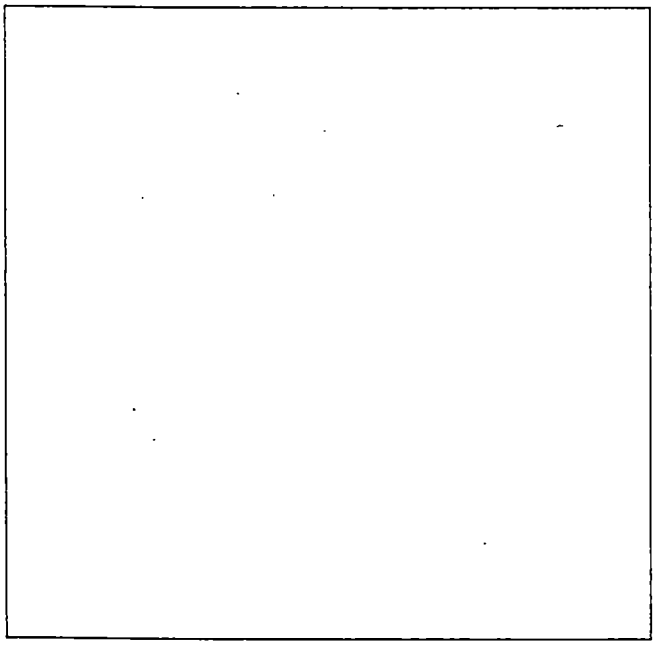
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From 1981 through 1984 the right-wing and politically-ambitious Honduran defense minister, Gen. Gustavo Alvarez, promoted a "civic movement" called APROH as his political launching pad. The APROH worked in close collaboration with CAUSA, an international anti-Communist group sponsored by the Rev. Sung Myun Moon's "Unification Church" in the U.S. This odd coalition mounted a strong drive to elect its supporters to important positions in Honduran trade unions, targeting mainly affiliates of the CTH. Fortunately, Gen. Alvarez was ousted by his fellow officers, who feared both his rightist politics and his dictatorial ambitions, and APROH was then disbanded.

During these struggles the AIFLD assisted the democratic CTH leadership in fending off the leftist and rightist chal-



La Ceiba's cannery workers meet in 1987 to inaugurate their new community hall, which they built with help from the AFL-CIO Impact Projects Fund.



Cannery-worker volunteers in La Ceiba, Honduras, help construct their union's new community hall, built in 1987 with AFL-CIO assistance.

lenges. In labor education, the AIFLD trained an average of 2,000 Honduran workers annually in courses on topics ranging from basic trade-union skills to international economics and political theory. AIFLD has also conducted major programs in the 1980s with ANACH, the CTH's campesino affiliate. Most of ANACH's members are independent smallholders, who have formed production and marketing cooperatives to enhance their productivity and income. AIFLD has provided loans, technical advisors, and training courses to these cooperatives, helping them to sustain their member's living standards during Central America's hard economic times of the 1980s.

Helping Labor Defend Honduran Democracy

Having endured seventeen years of military rule, Honduran democratic trade unions have made great efforts to support the democratization process which began in their country in 1980. The unions of the CTH confederation, in particular, have emphasized building a political-action capability. The AIFLD has assisted in this effort throughout the decade. In 1984, for example, with support from the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), the AIFLD and the CTH sponsored voter-awareness courses for hundreds of CTH members in six regions of Honduras. The courses covered voter rights, current political issues, and democratic political processes. Many leading Honduran politicians, journalists, and university professors taught in these courses, attracted by the chance to reach a grass-roots audience of organized workers.

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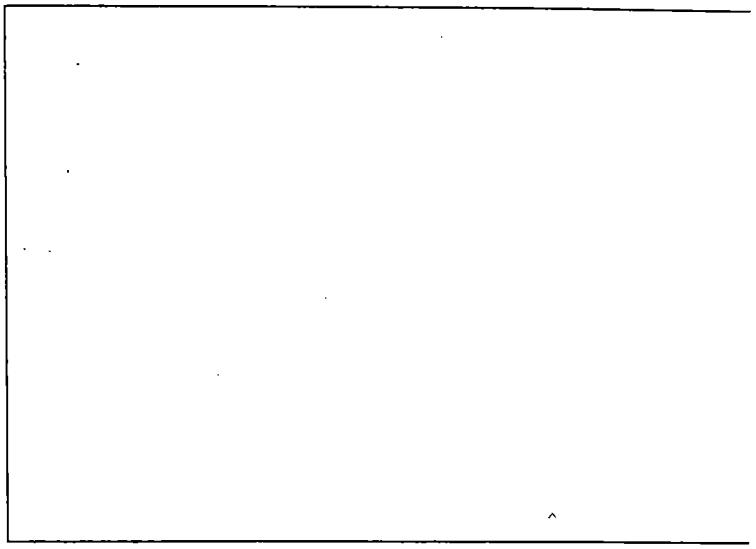
In May, 1985, this preparation paid off when the CTH unions played a significant role in resolution of a political crisis which threatened Honduras' new democratic system. Incumbent president Roberto Suazo Cordoba, banned by the Honduran constitutuion from running for re-election in the scheduled 1985 elections, began a series of maneuvers to evade the ban and perpetuate himself in office. Fearing massive public unrest or a possible coup, the democratic trade unions and political parties formed a civic coalition which forced the president to abide by the constitution and proceed with the electoral process.

During the ensuing political campaign, the CTH in September, 1985, invited all nine presidential candidates to ad-

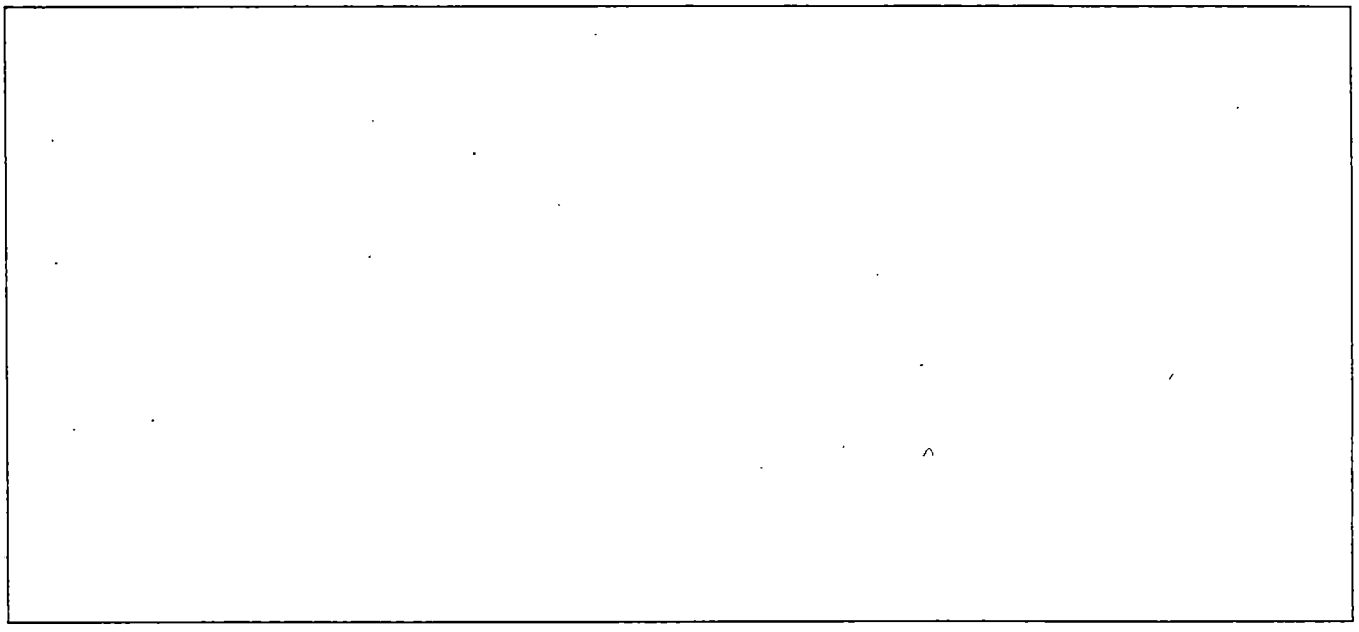
dress a forum of 450 graduates of the CTH political training courses and to submit to questioning by the audience. Seven of the nine candidates participated, and press coverage of the event stressed the acuity of the questions put to them by the workers. In Honduran political campaigning, such attention paid by politicians to the organized workers was unprecedented.

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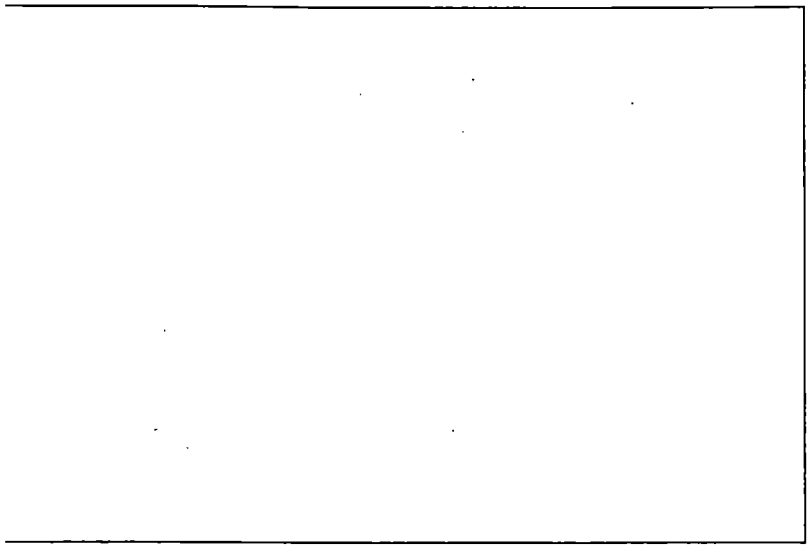
The AFL-CIO's policy in Honduras, as in the rest of Central America in the 1980s, was aimed at strengthening the progressive unions of the democratic left, thereby helping them to withstand challenges from both leftist and rightist extremists, and to bolster the country's fledgling democratic process.



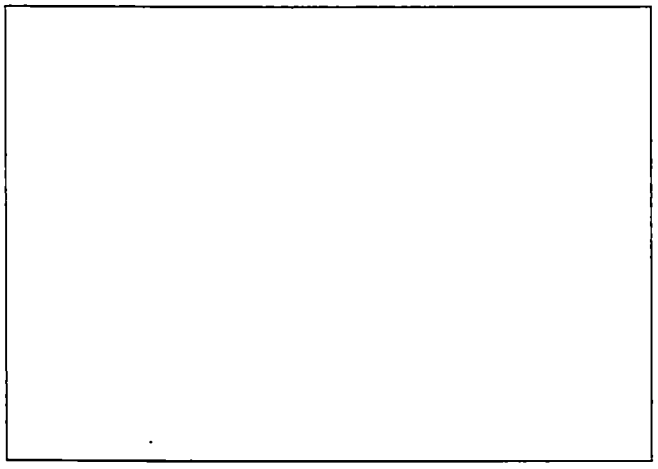
Representatives of AIFLD, the Honduran CTH labor confederation, and the Honduran government cut the ribbon at the inauguration of a school sports field constructed in 1981 with AFL-CIO assistance.



An AIFLD local instructor teaches Honduran campesinos in an on-the-farm training course in 1982.



Guatemalan campesinos proudly inspect their new farm-to-market road, which they built with their own labor, plus AIFLD technical and financial aid.



Inauguration ceremony of an AFL-CIO-assisted electrification project in Quezaltenango.

GUATEMALA

Helping Trade Unions Survive, 1980-82

During the first two years of the decade the rightist dictatorship of Gen. Romeo Lucas Garcia unleashed a reign of terror against all democratic elements in Guatemala, including the democratic labor movement. Many labor leaders were murdered, often being subjected to grisly tortures before being shot or strangled. In the first half of 1980, seventy-six trade unionists were killed. In one incident twenty-nine leaders were kidnapped from a single union meeting and subsequently "disappeared." Many trade unions went out of existence, and labor leaders could only meet secretly.

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During this period the AIFLD maintained its office in Guatemala, tyring to provide a foreign presence as some kind of protection for threatened trade unionists. Naturally, AIFLD's programs had to be severely curtailed, as workers could attend labor education courses only at considerable risk. The AFL-CIO kept up a running campaign of protests and articles about the outrages in Guatemala, trying to bring the glare of international publicity to bear on the situation and thus diminish the severity of the terror.

In March, 1982, a military coup ousted Gen. Lucas. Under the generals who succeeded him, repression against urban labor was greatly eased, but in the countryside the military applied a scorched-earth policy, trying to deprive leftist insurgents of their peasant support networks. Thousands of peasants were killed and many more fled into exile as refugees.

Under the Cerezo administration, respect for workers' rights improved greatly.

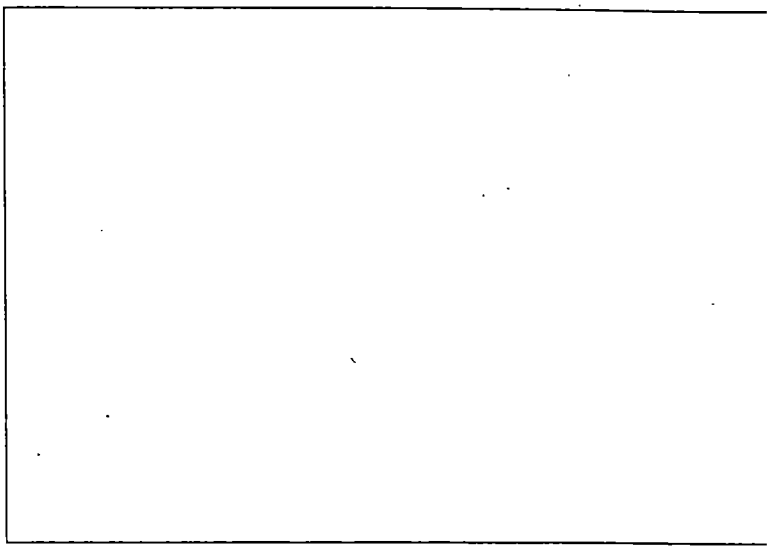
Finally, in 1984 the military allowed free elections, first for a constituent assembly to write a new constitution, and then to choose a new congress and president. Vinicio Cerezo of the centrist Chirstian Democratic Party was elected president.

Helping Unions Rebuild, 1985-89

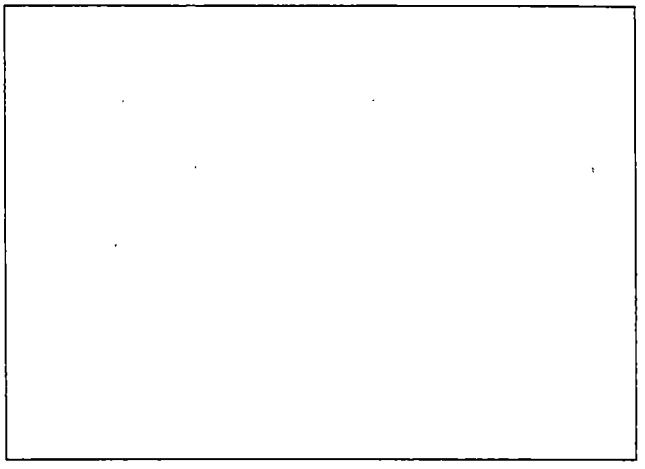
Under the Cerezo administration respect for workers' rights improved greatly. Many dormant unions were revived and new ones founded. Complaints in 1985, including one lodged by the AFL-CIO, alleging government partisan favoritism in approving applications for union recognition reflect the fact that unions were organizing freely, rather than being driven underground as they were in the beginning of the decade. By 1986 three national labor groupings had been formed: the CUSG which is affiliated to the social-democratic ORIT-ICFTU, the CGTG which belongs to the Christian Democratic CLAT/WCL, and UNSITRAGUA, a coalition of unions to the left of the CUSG and the CGTG. The AFL-CIO and the AIFLD have cooperated mainly with the social-democratic unions of the CUSG, providing labor education courses in the city and a major program to help strengthen peasant production and marketing co-ops in the rural areas.

The stronger and better-organized Guatemala's democratic unions become the faster the country can progress toward civil peace and civilian governments with full policy independence.

The task of free labor in Guatemala is to maintain the democratic opening against repeated rightist coup attempts, and to widen that opening, year by year. At present the Guatemalan military retains de facto veto power over social policy, permitting no serious action on such key issues as land reform, or prosecution of death-squad terrorists who began expanding their terrorist activity again in 1988 and 1989. The stronger and better-organized Guatemala's democratic unions become, the faster the country can progress toward civil peace and civilian governments with full policy independence. The AFL-CIO in the 1990s will stand shoulder-to-shoulder with its Guatemalan trade-union brothers in pursuit of such progress, just as U.S. labor stayed the course during the grim opening years of the 1980s.



AIFLD's country director in Guatemala stands aside as workers' children pour into their newly-dedicated classroom, built in 1981 with AFL-CIO assistance.



These Guatemalan workers in an Arrow shirt factory are represented by a union affiliated with the democratic CUSG. The union won new health benefits for its members in a contract negotiated in 1988.

GLOSSARY

Global and Hemispheric:

AFL-CIO - American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations
AIFLD - American Institute for Free Labor Development
CLAT - Central Latinoamericana de Trabajadores (Latin American Workers Central)
ICFTU - International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
OAS - Organization of American States
ORIT - Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores (Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers)
WFTU - World Federation of Trade Unions

El Salvador

ARENA - Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (National Republican Alliance)
CGT - Confederación General del Trabajo (General Confederation of Labor)
CTD - Central de Trabajadores Democráticos (Democratic Workers Center)
FMLN - Frente Farabundo Marti de Liberación Nacional (Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front)
GSP - Generalized System of Preferences
ISTA - Instituto Salvadoreño de Transformación Agraria (Salvadoran Institute of Agrarian Transformation)
UCS - Unión Comunal Salvadoreña (Salvadoran Communal Union)
UNOC - Unión Nacional Obrero Campesina (National Union of Workers and Peasants)
UNTS - Unión Nacional de Trabajadores Salvadoreños (National Union of Salvadoran Workers)

Nicaragua

COSEP - Consejo Superior de Empresa Privada (Superior Council of Private Enterprise)
CST - Central Sandinista de Trabajadores (Sandinista Workers Central)
CTN - Central de Trabajadores Nicaragüenses (Nicaraguan Workers Center)
CUS - Confederación de Unificación Sindical (Confederation of Trade-Union Unification)
FAO - Frente Amplio Opositora (Broad Opposition Front)
FDN - Fuerza Democrática Nicaragüense (Nicaraguan Democratic Force)
FSLN - Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (Sandinista National Liberation Front)

Costa Rica

ANDE - Asociación Nacional de Educadores (National Educators Association)
CATD - Confederación Autentica de Trabajadores Democráticos (Authentic Confederation of Democratic Workers)
CCTD - Confederación Costarricense de Trabajadores Democráticos (Costa Rican Confederation of Democratic Workers)
CNT - Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores (National Workers Confederation)
CTC - Central de Trabajadores Costarricenses (Costa Rican Workers Central)
CUT - Confederación Unitaria de Trabajadores (United Confederation of Workers)

Honduras

ANACH - Asociación Nacional de Campesinos Hondureños (National Association of Honduran Campesinos)
APROH - Asociación Pro-Honduras (Association for Honduras)
CAUSA - Confederation of the Associations for the Unification of the Societies of the Americas
CGT - Central General de Trabajadores (General Workers Central)
CTH - Confederación de Trabajadores de Honduras (Honduran Workers Confederation)
FUTH - Federación Unitaria de Trabajadores de Honduras (United Federation of Honduran Workers)
SITRATERCO - Sindicato de los Trabajadores de la Tela Railroad Company (Tela Railroad Company Workers Union)

Guatemala

CGTG - Co-ordinadora General de Trabajadores de Guatemala (General Coordinator of Guatemalan Workers)
CUSG - Confederación de Unidad Sindical de Guatemala (Guatemalan Confederation of Trade-Union Unity)
UNSITRAGUA - Unión Sindical de Trabajadores de Guatemala (Labor Union of Guatemalan Workers)

Presentation of
William C. Doherty, Jr.
Executive Director, American Institute for Free Labor Development
before the
Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations
and the
Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs
of the
Committee on Foreign Affairs
U. S. House of Representatives
concerning Trade Union Rights in Chile
Washington, D.C.
May 17, 1988

I wish, first, to thank the distinguished chairmen of the Subcommittees on Human Rights and International Organizations and of Western Hemisphere Affairs for the opportunity to appear before you and to present the AFL-CIO's view of the status of trade union rights in Chile. Trade union rights depend in large measure on the degree to which political and civil liberties are respected, and it will be necessary from time to time to comment on conditions generally in the Chilean society. With this qualifier, however, we will attempt to restrict our remarks to a review of trade union conditions.

Prior to the events of the early 1970s which led to a military takeover, Chile had experienced almost 140 years of democratically elected governments. There had been brief exceptions to democratic rule but, in general, Chileans had enjoyed freedoms throughout their history that were the envy of most of their Latin American brothers. This is one of the reasons why restrictions now placed, sometimes brutally, on the Chilean labor movement are so strongly fought by trade unionists there and supported to the extent possible by all the democratic union movements of the world.

The freedoms generally prevailing in Chile during 140 years had led naturally to a body of labor legislation and rights which protected workers and

allowed them to organize unions, negotiate collective contracts, represent labor interests and, generally, to participate in the country's political life. It would be a rewriting of history, of course, to portray Chile prior to the 1973 coup when Augusto Pinochet grabbed power as a "workers' paradise." Beginning with the advent of the Salvador Allende regime at the end of 1970, the political and trade union freedoms which existed in Chile began a decline which continues to the present.

The current labor legislation in Chile dates back to 1978, five years after the military coup. It was devised by technicians serving the interests of employers and imposed by the Pinochet government without consulting the workers. These laws have been soundly rejected by Chilean workers and by international union organizations because they do not adhere to the basic principles of labor legislation that are accepted by the Western democracies. Labor legislation of this type could not have been imposed on Chileans had it not been done by force of arms.

Deceptive wording in the law itself, combined with interpretation favoring employers and inconsistent application seem best to describe the status of labor legislation. The legislation, for example, recognizes the freedom to form unions. It is deceptive, however, in the sense that it creates the possibility of forming four categories of unions, only one of which can negotiate collective contracts. In 1973, 27% of the labor force was organized, in comparison with 9.6% today. This represents a 60% reduction in the number of Chilean workers in unions in a little less than 15 years. Of the 9.6% of the workforce which is organized (403,200) only a little more than 10% have collective contracts and therefore the possibility of making improvements in their salary situation.

These numbers are the legacy of the Pinochet rule. The systematic exclusion from the collective bargaining process of huge numbers of Chilean workers

is the result of the imposition of repressive labor legislation and constitutes a clear violation of Conventions 87 and 98 of the International Labor Organization dealing with internationally accepted labor rights to organize and to bargain collectively.

The labor code deceptively allows for the formation of confederations but denies to them the right to aid their affiliates in the chief function of unions: collective bargaining.

The labor code deceptively allows the right to strike; then allows strikers to be fired after sixty days. This "right to strike" permits the employer from the very first day to direct and manage his company in such a way, including the hiring of new workers, as to break the strike. This "right to strike" legislation has legitimized strike-breaking and scabbing.

Strikes are absolutely prohibited in industries designated by Chile's military government as being "strategic state enterprises." Last year, the number of such industries rose from 23 to 25.

During April, 1988, the railroad workers of Santiago conducted a 12 hour strike to protest the contracting out of work to non-union establishments. Seventeen union officials, including the president of the union, were fired almost immediately and subsequently 101 workers were fired as the railroad company was declared to be a strategic state enterprise.

The law allows for authorized labor demonstrations. Military men decide whether a demonstration is authorized or not. Union leaders who do not seek authorization to demonstrate or who lead demonstrations when authorization is denied are subject to imprisonment. Manuel Bustos, Arturo Martinez, and Moises Labrana, leaders of the Comando Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT), were jailed in late October 1987 and denied bail until mid-November. In general, the approval or

withholding of authorizations to demonstrate are inconsistently applied.

Also inconsistently applied is the state security law which may prohibit a trade union leader from traveling outside his country once he has been charged with violations of the law governing demonstrations.

Trade union leaders are subjected to discrimination by the Political Parties Law which establishes that union officers may not also be members of a political party. The law is designed to eliminate trade unions from the political process.

The deplorable state of worker rights in Chile has led to complaints being filed in the ILO against the Government of Chile for violations of the freedom of association and freedom of expression; the latter, in particular, regarding the prohibition of union leaders from participating in political parties. In December of 1987, the Government of the United States suspended Chile from the list of countries eligible to benefit from import tax reductions under the Generalized System of Preferences because of that government's constant violation of internationally accepted worker rights.

"Illegal" strikes in Latin America are not abnormalities. It normally means simply that the union has not complied with all the requirements of the labor code; a code designed to make it difficult if not impossible to legally strike. Usually the minister of labor has formally declared the action to be illegal. In Chile this has special significance. Workers as well as trade union leaders who participate in a strike declared to be illegal and regardless of their motives, are generally dismissed by their employers with the support of government.

The persecution does not end with dismissal. Blacklisting then is employed and the trade unionist finds it extremely difficult to obtain other

employment --even in another industry. Scores of trade unionists are currently in exile or relegated to remote areas of the country because of these blacklisting tactics.

The number of arbitrary arrests seems to have declined in recent months, and beating and murder have become less prevalent in the last two years. But no Chilean trade unionist has forgotten Tucapel Jimenez, the labor leader brutally murdered in 1982. The circumstances of his murder and the subsequent actions of the Chilean government have convinced most Chilean trade unionists of the culpability of the Pinochet government. Based on its knowledge of the incident, the AFL-CIO concurs with this assessment.

The AFL-CIO has called for the withholding of all aid to Chile and U. S. Government opposition to loans by international lending organizations. (Please see Appendix No. I). In addition, the AFL-CIO has vigorously and successfully sought the suspension of GSP privileges for Chile. (Please see Appendix No. II).

It is our fervent hope that time is running out for the few remaining right-wing military dictatorships in this hemisphere. The AFL-CIO will continue to do everything in its power to support free democratic worker organizations in Chile. (Please see Appendix No. III for chronology of AFL-CIO actions towards Chile). In so doing, it hopes to hasten the day when Chilean citizens can again elect their own political leadership, represent their own interests through their own institutions, and rejoin the family of democratic nations. We urge the Government of the United States to increase its efforts to encourage a return to democracy in Chile, promoting a transition to democracy through a plebiscite later this year.

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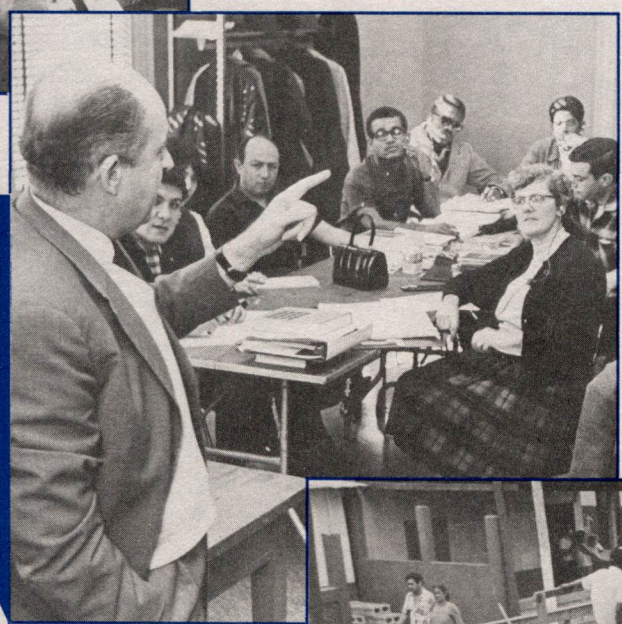
A · I · F · L · D

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF SOLIDARITY WITH LATIN AMERICAN WORKERS

1960s



1970s



1980s



"FOR THE UNION MAKES US STRONG"

AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR FREE LABOR DEVELOPMENT



Lane Kirkland
President, AIFLD



Thomas R. Donahue
Secretary-Treasurer, AIFLD



William C. Doherty
Executive Director, AIFLD

INTRODUCTION

In 1987 the American Institute for Free Labor Development celebrates the 25th anniversary of its founding. Throughout this quarter-century the AIFLD has worked in a partnership of solidarity with democratic trade unions throughout Latin America and the English-speaking Caribbean. All of AIFLD's programs have the purpose of strengthening those unions so they can be more effective in promoting social justice, equitable economic growth, and political democracy in the hemisphere.

AIFLD's labor partners are the trade unions of what is referred to in Latin America as the "democratic left," that is, those forces which seek social justice and growth through democratic politics. On the global level, the world labor scene is divided into three ideological camps: the mainly social-democratic unions affiliated to the predominant International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the Christian Democratic unions grouped in the smaller World Confederation of Labor (WCL), and the Moscow-line Communist unions affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). On the hemispheric level, the same three-way ideological division is found. The ICFTU's affiliates (including the AFL-CIO and the Canadian Congress of Labor) are grouped in the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), the Christian Democratic unions in the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CLAT), which has a membership under a quarter of that of ORIT, and the Moscow-line Communists in the Permanent Commission for the Trade Union Unity of Latin American Workers (CPUSTAL).

The democratic-left unions in Latin America are those of the ORIT and the CLAT. AIFLD has always worked primarily with its fellow-affiliates of the ORIT, but despite a fierce rivalry between the ORIT and the CLAT, has also carried out programs with a number of CLAT affiliates, most often at the local level, and at times with national confederations of Christian Democratic unions. The unions of the democratic left are often associated with what are referred to as the "popular parties" of Latin America—those which call for achieving equitable distribution of the wealth through political democracy. Again, at the international level these popular parties are often affiliated with either the Socialist International or the Christian Democratic International. The workers of AIFLD's partner unions venerate such founding fathers of the democratic left as Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela, Eduardo Frei of Chile, Victor Raul Haya de la Torre in Peru, Jose Figueres in Costa Rica, and Ramon Villeda Morales in Honduras. Today they vote for Vinicio Cerezo in Guatemala, Alan Garcia in Peru, Jose Napoleon Duarte in El Salvador, and Jaime Lusinchi in Venezuela.

The democratic-left unions in Latin America and the Caribbean find themselves constantly challenged from the dictatorial left—the Communists and other pro-totalitarian movements—and from the dictatorial right—conservative military regimes and reactionary death squads. The relative political strengths of the democratic and dictatorial forces have shifted frequently in each country of Latin America over the past quarter-century. Through both good times and bad, AIFLD has stood shoulder-to-shoulder with its trade-union partners—helping them push ahead with political democracy and social reforms during the good times, and supporting their resistance to repression during the bad times. The following pages will chronicle the swings of the political pendulum in Latin America—and the AIFLD's program emphases—during the last quarter-century.

ICFTU

CIOSL

AIFLD'S ORIGINS

In 1957, Joseph A. Beirne, President of the Communications Workers of America, was on a trip to Latin America to visit fellow affiliates of the Postal, Telephone, and Telegraph International (PTTI). Reflecting on the poverty afflicting many workers and peasants there, he saw the need for his union to strengthen brother trade unions in Latin America by providing labor education courses for them. The result was a three-month training course in 1959 for sixteen Latin American communications workers' leaders, held at the CWA's educational center at Front Royal, Virginia.

Impressed by the CWA's initiative, AFL-CIO President George Meany in 1960 persuaded the AFL-CIO Executive Council to fund a feasibility study of a permanent AFL-CIO labor leadership training program for Latin Americans. On the basis of the study the AFL-CIO decided in May, 1961, to go ahead with the creation of a new organization to conduct the training effort.

Meanwhile, on March 13, 1961, President John F. Kennedy gave his historic speech calling for a hemispheric Alliance for Progress under which expanded U.S. aid to Latin America would support programs of social reform and accelerated economic growth there. American trade-union leaders such as George Meany and Joe Beirne were determined that labor be part of the new Alliance—both in the donor nation and the beneficiary countries. This had been true in the Marshall Plan for Europe, and the AFL-CIO was convinced by that experience that pluralistic participation produces far more effective foreign-aid programs than could any strictly government-to-government effort. The latter would build statism rather than pluralism. Also, the U.S. experience and know-how which might be useful to Latin American groups was available primarily in the cooperatives, trade unions, universities, and businesses of the U.S. private sector, not just in the ranks of government itself.

U.S. labor knew from long experience in Latin America that if U.S. aid were provided only to governments and rich elites at the top of society, none of it would really "trickle down" to the worker and peasant majorities there. If the new Alliance was to help the people, the aid would have to be delivered directly to those people through their own organizations, among them, trade unions. This came to pass, with the nascent AIFLD becoming the organizational basis for American labor's participation in the Alliance. AIFLD is thus a child of both the U.S. labor movement's own long-term involvement in Latin America, and of President Kennedy's progressive vision.



George Meany
President, 1955-1979
AFL-CIO

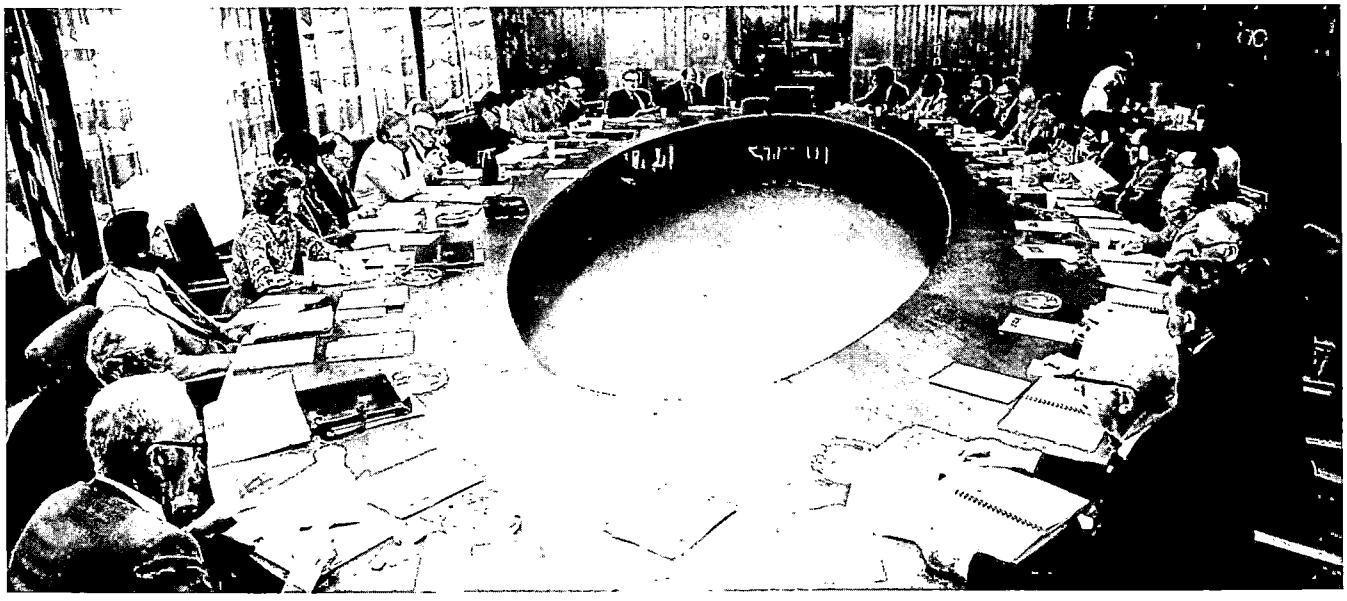


Joseph A. Beirne
President, 1947-1974
Communications Workers of America



Serafino Romualdi
Executive Director, AIFLD
1962-1965

AIFLD'S STRUCTURE



President Meany presides at an AIFLD Board of Trustees meeting at the AFL-CIO building during the 1970s. On the right are the Latin American Board members



Thomas W. Gleason
AIFLD Vice President from 1984 through 1987

Although it is a creation of the AFL-CIO, the AIFLD is technically a non-profit corporation with its own Board of Directors composed of U.S. and Latin American trade-union leaders. AIFLD's officers are elected by the Board at its annual meetings. They are a President, Vice President, Secretary-Treasurer, and a full-time Executive Director. During the 1960s the AFL-CIO's George Meany served as AIFLD's President. In 1980 Mr. Meany was succeeded in the AIFLD position by the new AFL-CIO President, Lane Kirkland. The first AIFLD Executive Director was Serafino Romualdi, who had been the AFL-CIO's Inter-American Representative since the Second World War. In 1965, upon Mr. Romualdi's retirement, he was succeeded as Executive Director by William C. Doherty, Jr.

When AIFLD was incorporated in August of 1961, its Board had a minority of U.S. business executives from firms active in Latin America, symbolizing that the organization had the endorsement of business, even though labor was calling the shots. The support of the U.S. business community was solicited by the AFL-CIO for the new venture out of a realization that it could succeed only if it reflected a pluralistic consensus within American society. As AIFLD grew, the business element within that consensus helped create support among U.S. conservatives for the use of U.S. foreign-aid funds to promote trade unionism. Even more importantly, it showed Latin America, where some conservative businessmen had previously equated trade unionism with Communism, an example of labor-management cooperation and of U.S. business' acceptance of trade unions as a legitimate and necessary part of a modern economy. In 1980, with AIFLD firmly established, along with AFL-CIO sister institutes for Africa and Asia, the business participation on the AIFLD Board was phased out, leaving the Institute a purely labor-directed organization.

The AIFLD has two principal operating departments:

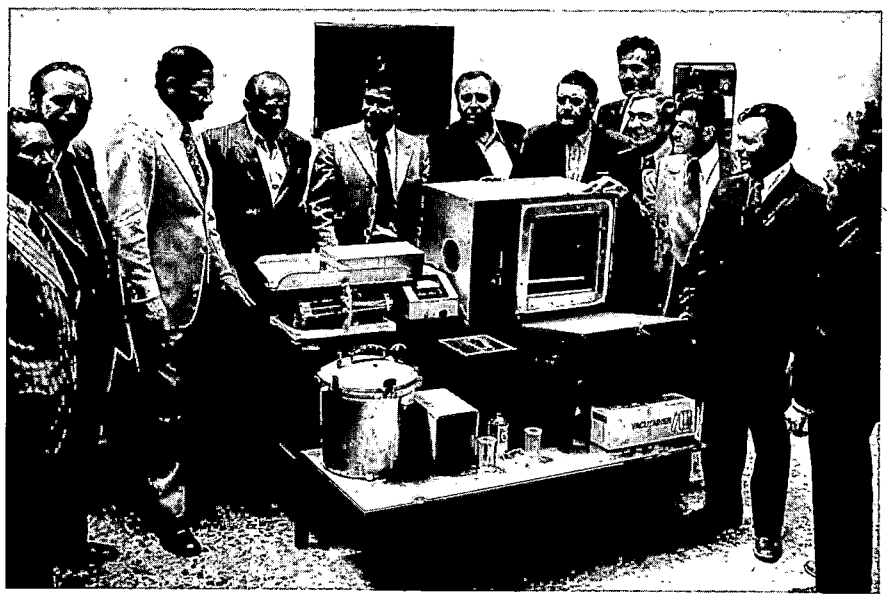
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Education and Social Projects. The Education Department has direct responsibility for AIFLD's international courses held in the U.S., and provides technical support to all the national educational programs in the field. The Social Projects Department helps Latin American unions fill the social needs of their members, for example: low-cost housing for workers living in slums, credit unions for those being gouged by loan sharks, consumer cooperatives where consumers lacked stores or were paying monopoly prices, and medical clinics and primary schools where these facilities were lacking. In addition, AIFLD's home office in Washington, D.C. has departments of Finance, Information, and Personnel, plus the central office of the Agrarian Union Development Service.

The great bulk of AIFLD's work takes place within the countries of Latin America and the English-speaking Caribbean. To conduct these activities, the Institute maintains offices in a given year in about seventeen countries. Each office is managed by an AIFLD Country Program Director, who reports to the AIFLD Executive Director through one of his two assisting Regional Directors.

Over the years, AIFLD's funding has come principally from the U.S. foreign-aid program, under contracts with the Agency for International Development, with supplementary contributions from the AFL-CIO and from American business firms. These sources have been supplemented by funds from the U.S. government-financed National Endowment for Democracy since its creation in 1983. Thus the Institute has remained the organizational vehicle for U.S. labor's participation in the U.S. foreign-aid program in Latin America.



SOCIAL PROJECTS:

AIFLD Country Director Michael Hammer presents laboratory equipment donated by the AFL-CIO to Colombia's telecommunications unions in 1972.



EDUCATION:

Graduates of a labor leadership course in Panama pose with their diplomas at the graduation ceremony.

THE SIXTIES—The Alliance for Progress Period

AIFLD was born during the early years of the 1960s, which were characterized by the ideals and programs of the Alliance for Progress. In Latin America this was a period of ascendancy for the forces of political democracy in general, and for the democratic-left parties and trade unions in particular. In 1962 Romulo Betancourt of the social-democratic Accion Democratica party was President of Venezuela, with enthusiastic labor support. Ramon Villeda Morales, the most reform-minded president Honduras has yet had, governed with the Honduran labor movement forming part of his political base. In Bolivia the social-democratic MNR government continued Bolivia's longest stretch of political democracy, begun in 1952. In 1964 the Christian Democrats' Eduardo Frei won the presidency of Chile on a platform of a "revolution in freedom," and the Christian Democrats began making inroads on the Communist domination of the Chilean labor movement.

Indeed, every South American country except Paraguay enjoyed at least a few years of democratic government during the 1960s, and even in traditionally-autocratic Central America there were some years of democracy in four of the six isthmian nations. The political setting was thus generally propitious for democratic trade unionism when AIFLD began its work. The AFL-CIO had long-standing political ties with many of the ascendant democratic-left parties and leaders. Unfortunately, as the decade continued, military coups ended the democratic openings in several important countries.



With his arm around AIFLD's Serafino Romualdi, President Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela makes a point to President and Mrs. Kennedy.

In 1962 the Honduran military overthrew progressive President Villeda Morales, in 1964 civilian governments fell in Brazil and Bolivia, in 1966 a coup made General Ongania the ruler of Argentina, and in 1968 General Omar Torrijos seized power in Panama and General Juan Velasco in Peru. This turn towards military regimes was strongly opposed by the AFL-CIO, which lamented the fall of democratic systems which had provided the political freedoms which the unions and parties of the democratic left needed in order to organize for greater strength and to exert pressures for social reforms.

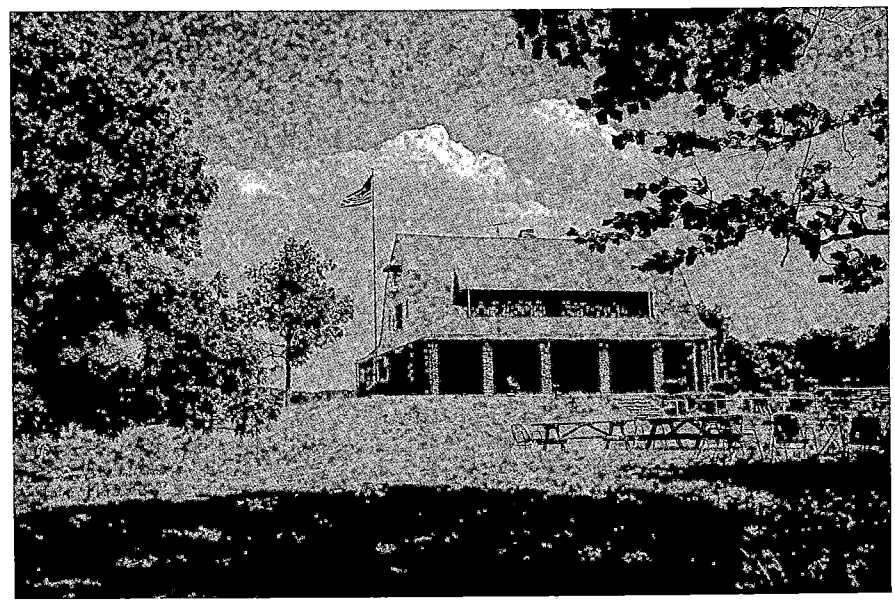
This general hostility of the American labor movement to military regimes in Latin America has been a consistent feature of U.S. labor's foreign policy over the decades. In later years it was manifested in the AFL-CIO's bitter opposition to Somoza in Nicaragua, General Lucas Garcia in Guatemala, General Garcia Meza in Bolivia, General Videla in Argentina, General Romero in El Salvador, and General Pinochet in Chile. This stance reflects the recognition that the military and the AIFLD's democratic-left union partners in Latin America are natural political enemies. Whereas some conservative commentators have seen military regimes as "bulwarks against Communism," U.S. labor has viewed them as incubators of Communism. Thus the ebbing of the democratic tide in Latin America during the 1960s was viewed by American labor as a political disaster.

Economically, the 1960s saw considerable progress in Latin America. The region's total production grew 5.5% annually in real terms during the decade, and even with high population growth, Latin America's real per capita income grew at a 2.75% annual rate. Through collective bargaining, provision of social projects to their membership, and considerable freedom for trade-union political action, the hemisphere's democratic unions grew in size and competency, and delivered rising living standards to many of their members.

AIFLD's Program Emphases in the Sixties

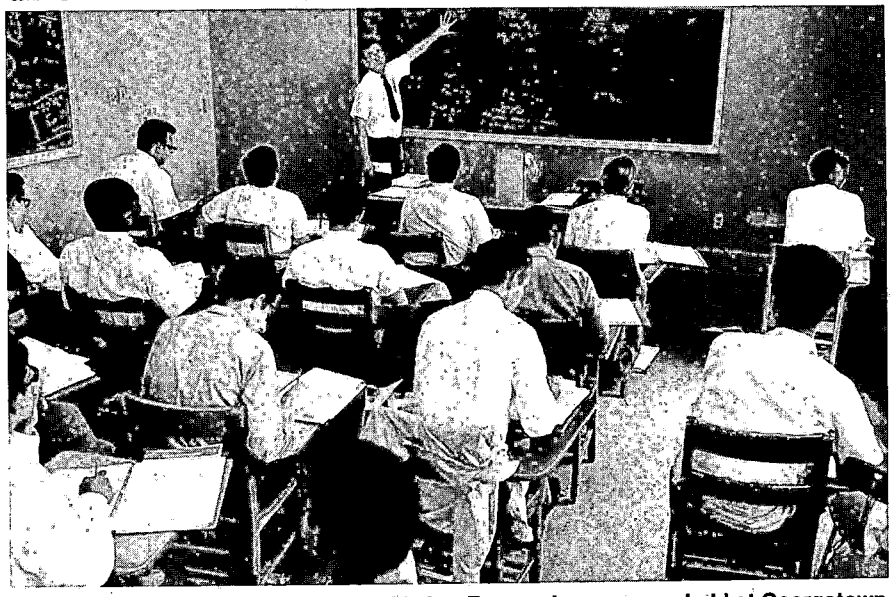
Labor Education

By the latter 1960s, AIFLD's education program was holding over seven hundred courses per year in seventeen Latin American nations plus the English-speaking Caribbean, with over 20,000 participants trained annually. These courses were at three main levels—introductory courses offered in the evenings and on weekends for newly-elected officers of local unions, intermediate courses of one or two weeks of full-time study, and advanced courses, also full-time, lasting as long as a month, for officers and staff of national-level union federations. Participants at each level were often graduates of lower-level AIFLD courses. The apex of this educational pyramid was—and remains today—the international course, held in the United States for the best graduates of the various in-country courses.



AIFLD's Front Royal Institute, located on the banks of the Shenandoah River in Virginia, locale of AIFLD International Programs, 1965-79.

At all levels of the training program in the 1960s emphasis was on "tool subjects," that is, the basic skills needed to function as a trade unionist. The most common topics in the country programs were Collective Bargaining, Organizing, Union Administration, Labor Law, Financial Accounting, Cooperativism, Press and Public Relations, Public Speaking, Parliamentary Procedure, and Leadership Skills. At the intermediate and advanced levels, specialized topics were sometimes offered, such as Job Evaluation Systems, Adjustment to Automation, and Statistics. In addition to the tool subjects, about one-tenth of the course hours were devoted to political theory, mainly basic democratic thought, Marxism/Leninism, and the differences between them. The same topics were generally offered, in somewhat greater detail and with more cross-country comparisons, in AIFLD's international courses during the 1960s.



A classroom scene during the second Labor Economics program, held at Georgetown University in 1968.

These international courses were held in Washington, D.C. from their initiation in June, 1962, through 1965. In 1966 the AIFLD acquired from the Communications Workers of America a residential facility located on 76 acres along the Shenandoah River, near Front Royal, Virginia. The international courses moved there, and with the construction of new dormitories, soon expanded to comprise two separate courses with twenty participants each, on different topics, in each six-week program.

In the latter 1960s Latin American unions trying to build modern research

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departments were hampered by a shortage of labor economists in the region. The few that existed were seldom sympathetic to the labor movement. To fill this gap, the AIFLD in 1967 created the Inter-American Labor Economics Program (IALEP). This was a full academic year of university-level courses in labor economics, statistics, manpower planning, and international economics. The first program was held at Loyola University in New Orleans in 1967, and subsequently, throughout the 1960s, on the campus of Georgetown University, in Washington, D.C. Twenty trade unionists with enough preparation to do university-level work were selected for each annual program at Georgetown.

Social Projects Programs

AIFLD's social projects work initially took its direction from a survey of hundreds of trade-union projects which had been submitted by Latin American trade unions after the announcement of the Alliance for Progress. Over ninety percent were requests for help in providing organized workers with low-cost housing. Worker housing projects thus became the main focus of the Social Projects Department during the 1960s.

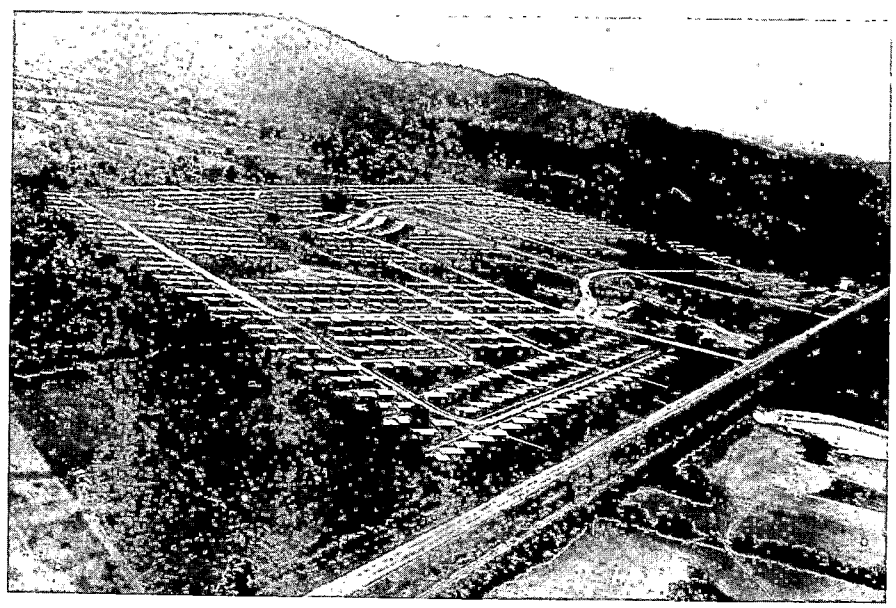
AIFLD provided assistance to the Latin American unions in setting up worker housing cooperatives, drawing up project plans, obtaining the necessary government approvals and financial guarantees, and finding loan financing. The loans came from national housing and development banks, the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Inter-American Development Bank, and private-sector U.S. sources under AID's Investment Guarantee Program. In several countries capital from the pension and welfare funds of AFL-CIO affiliated unions, guaranteed by AID and the host government, were used to finance housing projects.

Both single-family homes and apartment buildings were constructed with AIFLD's help. The typical unit cost about $4,000, which the worker purchased with a ten percent downpayment saved through his housing cooperative, plus a 20-year mortgage. The workers depended on their trade unions to develop these projects, because commercial home-builders in Latin America were not constructing such low-cost units in the 1960s, despite the existence of a market for them.

AIFLD's assistance eventually resulted in the construction of 18,048 units in fourteen countries, with total financing of over $77 million dollars from various sources. A program of this scale could not hope to significantly reduce Latin America's housing deficit, but it did strengthen the trade unions involved by enabling them to fill their members' housing needs, something those workers could not have done without their union.

On a much smaller scale, but also of importance to union-building, was the "Impact Projects" program begun by AIFLD in 1964, using AFL-CIO funds. Up to $5,000 is provided for a given project, as a grant or an interest-free loan depending on whether the project generates income. The Impact Projects are usually of a community-service nature: medical clinics, schoolhouses, rural water systems, seed money for credit cooperatives, and disaster-relief after earthquakes, floods, and fires. Each project requires a self-help contribution, in money, labor, or materials, by the workers of the sponsoring trade union. By the end of the 1960s, the AFL-CIO had aided 232 impact projects in over seventeen countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. AFL-CIO contributions

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Aerial view of the AIFLD-assisted FESITRANH housing project—a 1,000-unit complex constructed near San Pedro Sula, Honduras, in the late 1960s.

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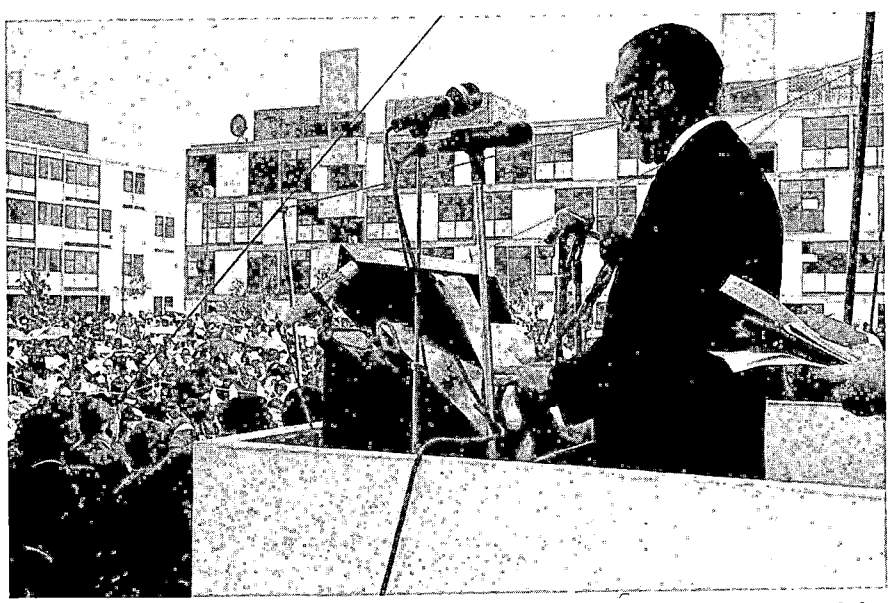
to the Impact Projects fund for Latin America averaged $50,000 annually during the decade. Because loan repayments were put back into the fund, by the latter 1960s it was able to disburse an average of $67,000 on projects annually.

In 1968 another facet was added to AIFLD's social projects programs: the Regional Revolving Loan Fund (RRLF). Many Latin American trade unions planning medium-size projects found that while the limit on AFL-CIO Impact Projects was $5,000, the Agency for International Development was reluctant to process projects below $50,000 in value. To fill this gap, A.I.D. provided an initial grant to the AIFLD to set up a revolving fund for low-interest loans for trade-union projects in the $5,000-to-$50,000 range. As with the Impact Projects, RRLF projects require a significant self-help contribution. Five of these projects were approved in 1968-69, including seed-capital for a major credit union in Colombia, construction of a community center in Brazil, and other projects in Ecuador, Honduras and Argentina.



Final construction phase of the Timisa housing project in Bogota, Colombia, for members of the democratic UTC and CTC labor confederations.

The AIFLD soon recognized that the social-reform goals of the Alliance for Progress could not be achieved through pressure by the organized urban workers alone. In the 1960s, over half the population of Latin America was composed of peasants. Being even poorer than their city brothers, they needed organization even more, but in only a few nations, primarily Venezuela and Chile, were there powerful peasant organizations at the beginning of the 1960s.



AIFLD Secretary-Treasurer Joseph Beirne speaks at the opening ceremonies of the 3,100-unit apartment complex for Mexico City's Graphic Arts Workers Union.

In 1965 AIFLD launched its Agrarian Union Development Service (AUDS). The staff of rural specialists hired for the AUDS helped nascent peasant movements in Latin America in organizing, training their officers, establishing production-and-marketing cooperatives, providing legal aid to peasants dealing with government titling and land-reform agencies, and sponsoring community-development projects in such areas as literacy, health, and sanitation.

In 1965 and 1966 the AUDS also helped peasant unions to build three multi-functional campesino service centers in northeast Brazil and one in Colombia. In El Salvador, the AIFLD education and AUDS programs helped strengthen a peasant movement called the "Salvadoran Communal Union" (UCS), an effort which in 1980 turned out to be crucial to implementation of a land reform there.

The Union-to-Union Program

In June, 1968, the AIFLD began coordinating A.I.D. support for various U.S. trade unions to assist their Latin American counterparts

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An instructor from the AIFLD/Bolivia staff instructs Bolivian peasants concerning agrarian-union organization.

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in their respective industries, through the work of the appropriate International Trade Secretariat (ITS). The ITS are world-wide organizations grouping trade unions in the same industry, such as transport or communications. Under the new "Union-to-Union Program," several U.S. unions such as the Communications Workers of America, the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, and the Retail Clerks International Association were able to provide qualified personnel to work within the appropriate ITS in assisting Latin American counterpart unions in labor education, organizing, collective bargaining, plus specialized projects related to the industry concerned, such as adjustment to containerization on the docks for stevedore unions, or automation of banks for unions of bank workers.

Thus by the end of the 1960s, the basic program structure of the AIFLD was well-established: primarily labor education and social projects, for both urban and rural trade unions, through both direct AIFLD contacts and the more specialized channels of the Union-to-Union program. All of these programs, to answer the question posed in an old U.S. labor song—"Which side are you on?"—were carried out in support of the trade unions of Latin America's democratic left, most of them associated with the region's popular parties which saw creation of democratic political systems as the means to achieving equitable economic growth and a fair distribution of the wealth thus produced.

These democratic unions were often locked in political struggle both with pro-totalitarian union organizers on the left, and authoritarian union-busters on the right. Despite the difficulties and perils of this struggle, U.S. labor and its Latin American partners maintained the belief that it is the democratic center which produces real progress for workers.



Peasants on a production cooperative affiliated to the newly-founded Union Comunal Salvadorena (UCS) using a tractor financed through an AIFLD loan which the peasants paid in full by the end of the 1960s.

THE SEVENTIES—The Night of the Dictators

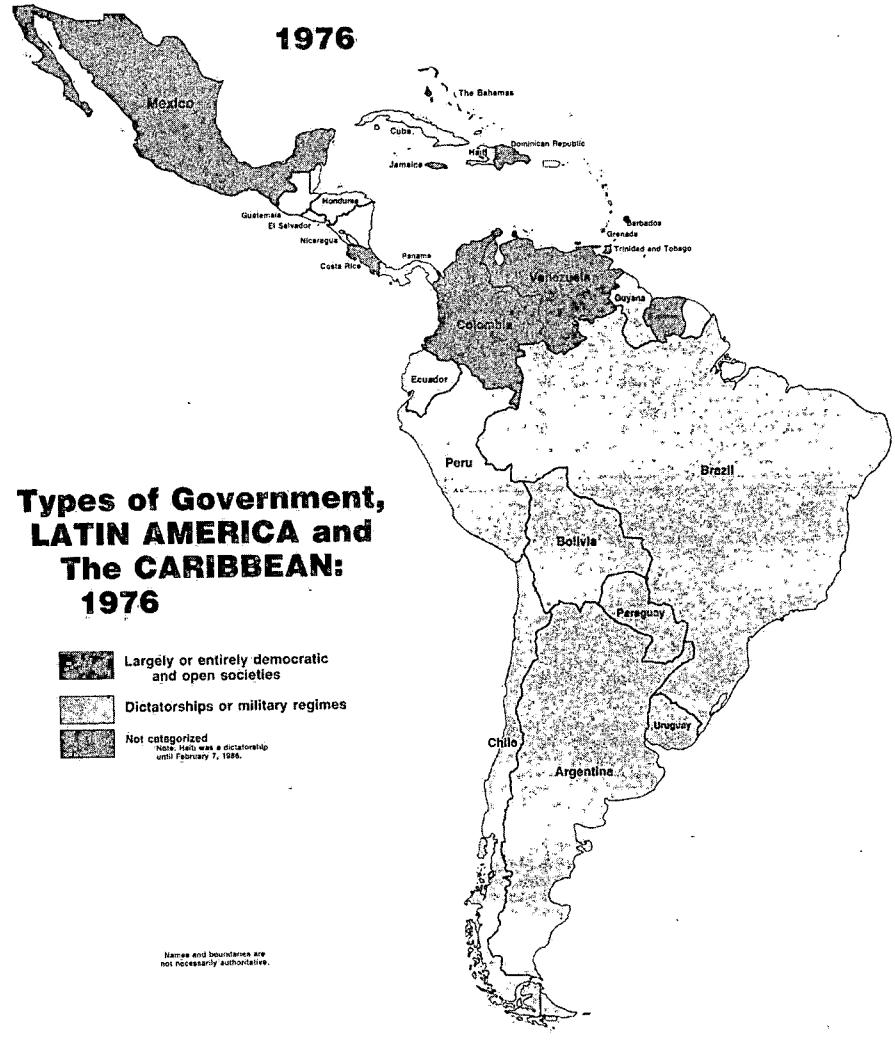
The political and economic setting for Latin America's democratic left was as hostile during the 1970s as it had been promising in the early 1960s. The tendency for democratic openings to be snuffed out by political turmoil and military coups had begun in the previous decade. Democratic governments were replaced by military regimes in Honduras in 1963, in Bolivia and Brazil in 1964, in Argentina in 1966, and in Peru and Panama in 1968. In the 1970s, even the "southern cone" nations succumbed to the trend, despite their more "European," middle-class political and social structures. Most shocking to the forces of Christian and social democracy were the coups in Chile and Uruguay in 1973. Both had long democratic traditions, and Uruguay had been called "the Switzerland of Latin America." In addition, Argentina's chaotic return to democracy in 1973 was terminated by another coup in 1976.

In almost every country under military rule, the democratic trade unions suffered repression. In some cases, trade unions lost their right to bargain collectively and strike, but their leaders were not physically harmed. In many other cases, arrest, physical abuse, and long-term imprisonment became commonplace fates of labor leaders. In the worst cases, such as Guatemala and Argentina, many trade unionists simply "disappeared."

With many unions fighting for survival, the AIFLD stayed on the scene in most Latin American nations, trying by its presence to provide a protective umbrella for beleaguered labor leaders, and continuing with as many education and social projects programs as possible, to help unions maintain their support and prepare for the time when labor rights might be restored. Only the military regimes of Peru (in 1971) and El Salvador (1973) actually expelled AIFLD from their nations.

The economic scene also turned hostile to Latin America's working and peasant classes during the 1970s. In 1974 the first oil shock hit, with spiraling energy prices disrupting Latin America's economic growth. Instead of growth rates well above five percent which had prevailed in the 1960s and early 1970s, the region's growth slowed to only 3.1% in 1975, and a weak average rate of 4.7% in 1976-78. In 1979 the region's growth returned briefly to a healthy 5.8%, but the "second oil shock" of that year set the scene for the economic depression Latin America suffered after the turn of the decade. Slow growth meant more unemployment and consequently greater difficulty in building up union membership. It also meant less incremental wealth for which workers could bargain collectively.

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One particular economic issue which was of priority concern to both the U.S. and Latin American labor movements during the 1970s concerned the activities of the multinational corporations (MNCs) in the hemisphere. The size, power, and mobility of these new economic giants put workers and their trade unions at a disadvantage. Factories, technology, and capital became mobile, while the workers were not. The MNCs moved production to countries in Latin America where wages were far lower than in the U.S. for work of comparable productivity per man-hour. The AFL-CIO objected to this practice because it cost U.S. workers jobs, and the Latin American trade unions objected because, while it did provide some employment in their countries, the permanence of those jobs was conditioned on continuation of the cut-rate wages which attracted the MNCs in the first place. The Latin Americans doubted that their countries could achieve the goal of higher living standards through the means of holding wages down!

In the U.S. the AFL-CIO led efforts to regulate the MNCs and put their power to work for the general good rather than for the profits obtained through exploitation of vulnerable Latin American workers. In 1971 and 1972 U.S. labor supported the Burke-Hartke bill, which would have limited imports, ended tax incentives for U.S. corporations to move abroad, and regulated the outflow of U.S. investment capital. Frustrated by the failure of the Congress to address the problems caused by the MNCs, the AFL-CIO in 1978 called for a fifteen-point program of trade legislation expanding on the Burke-Hartke measures.



Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, veteran leader of Peru's APRA party, stands with hemispheric labor leaders at the opening of AIFLD's Fourth Hemispheric Economic Conference.

Both U.S. and Latin American trade unions in the 1970s worked for adoption of codes of conduct to regulate the MNCs. Such codes were adopted by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development in 1976, and the International Labor Organization in 1977. Both codes obligated the MNCs to observe such rules as respecting the workers' right to organize unions, bargaining collectively with those unions, giving prior notice on plant closings, and providing the workers annually with information on the firm's employment, sales, structure, and activities. While welcoming the passage of these voluntary codes, labor in both North and Latin America continued to press for national legislation to compel local compliance with their principles.

In response to the intensity of labor's concerns on the MNC issue, AIFLD in the 1970s included analysis of the MNCs' damaging effects on workers world-wide in its labor education programs, in both its international and in-country courses. The Institute also hosted five hemispheric trade-union conferences from 1975 through 1979 on the international economic situation, at which labor's problems with the multinational corporations were a central point of discussion. Labor's concern about the MNCs thus continued throughout the difficult decade of the 1970s, and on into the 1980s, when it became an issue in the larger problem of Latin America's debt crisis.

Given the hostile political and economic conditions in the 1970s, the trade unions of Latin America's democratic left were on the defensive, and made little progress towards their goal of social justice and equitable economic growth achieved by means of political democracy. Most union leaders, however, remained optimistic that the "long night" of dictatorship would end, and the AIFLD helped them see it through. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland later said:

"In Latin America and Asia we have helped workers' movements hang on for the future, through all the cycles of assorted autocratic political or military regimes."

AIFLD'S PROGRAM EMPHASES IN THE SEVENTIES

Labor Education

The set of programs developed in the 1960s by AIFLD in the education and social projects areas continued, with some modifications, during the 1970s. In labor education, the Institute continued at a program level of over 700 courses per year in seventeen countries plus the English-speaking Caribbean, with participation by about 20,000 trade unionists annually.

A significant shift was made late in the decade in the content of the Institute's education programs. At a meeting of the AIFLD Board of Directors in 1978 the Latin American labor leaders on the Board called for supplementing the emphasis on "tool courses" with more discussion of the political, social, and economic values of the democratic labor movement. They argued that AIFLD courses were turning out technically-competent trade unionists who were not always sure what they stood for philosophically. Accordingly, during 1979 two of the twelve international courses offered at Front Royal were on "Ideologies and the Labor Movement."



Participants in the 1974 womens' course at the AIFLD Front Royal Institute studied Labor Leadership, and Trade-union Communications.

To accomplish a similar curriculum shift in the field courses, AIFLD in 1979 began a program to send instructors from the U.S. to conduct courses on Political Theories. Four courses were offered the first year for almost 100 participants in Colombia, Costa Rica, Honduras, and the Dominican Republic.

1979 also saw a change in the setting for AIFLD's international programs. AIFLD sold the Front Royal facility and moved the courses to the George Meany center for Labor Studies, in Silver Spring, Maryland, just outside of Washington, D.C. The Meany Center is the AFL-CIO's residential center for training officers of its affiliates. Holding the Latin American programs on the same campus where American trade unionists are studying allows greater exchange of views and creation of solidarity ties among the hemisphere's trade union leaders. In addition, the closer proximity to Washington, D.C. made it easier to utilize instructors from area universities, the AFL-CIO staff, and the several major U.S. unions with headquarters in the nation's capital.



Participants, Colombian labor leaders, instructors, and AIFLD staff at the graduation of the first Political Theories course—Bogota, Colombia, 1979.

In 1971 AIFLD offered its first program at Front Royal for women trade unionists. In the 1960s most Latin American unions had few women leaders. Usually the executive committee of a

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Kathrine ("Katya") Ashworth, secretary and "mother hen" for the Labor Economics programs from 1969 through 1975, chats with some of the 1973 participants.

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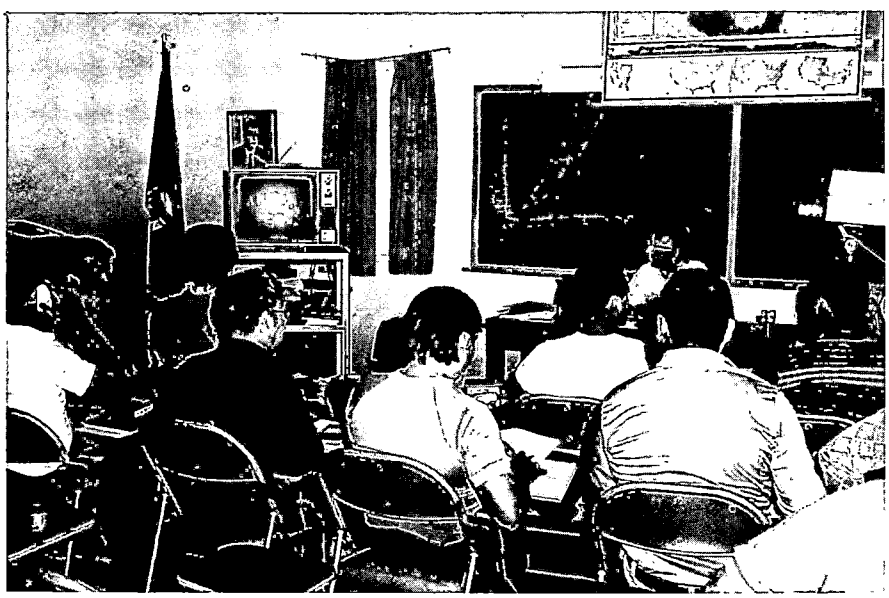
union or labor federation had one token women in the post of "Secretary for Women's Affairs." However, as Latin America's economies industrialized, more and more women entered the formal labor force, and thus came to constitute a larger portion of the unions' membership. AIFLD's women's course was designed to help these new women workers rise to higher levels of responsibility in their organizations. From 1971 on, a women's program was held annually, first at Front Royal and then at the Meany Center. By the end of the decade, Latin American women were being elected to such key positions as Secretary of Organization or Secretary-General, not only in unions with a majority of female members, but also in unions in which men were the majority. While shifts in the labor force and in Latin American social attitudes were the major causes of this revolution in the role of women in Latin American trade unions, the AIFLD's women's leadership programs can at least be considered to have accelerated this process.

The university-level Inter-American Labor Economics Program (IALEP) continued through 1974, training labor economists for use in trade-union research departments.

In 1971 and 1972 the courses were divided into two groups, half from Spanish-speaking nations and half from the countries of the English-speaking Caribbean. The following year, all participants were Central Americans, with the course material geared to the special needs of their countries and the role of labor in efforts at the economic integration of the isthmus.

In 1976 the content of the program changed from emphasis on labor economics for research officers to general mid-career education for elected labor leaders. The course provided them with an opportunity to up-date their education and obtain background in macro and micro economics, world politics, industrial-relations systems, and labor's role in economic and political development.

This University Program was repeated in 1977 and 1978, when budget limitations forced its termination. Throughout the 1970-1978 period, the various labor-economics and university programs trained a total of 150 participants, 28 of them from the Anglophone Caribbean, and 13 of them women.



At an AIFLD Front Royal Institute course in 1974, David Lasser teaches how unions can deal with job evaluation systems.

Organizing

Another innovation in the 1970s was AIFLD's program to help Latin American unions organize more members. This was a two-pronged effort that commenced with a specialized course on organizing techniques at the Front Royal Institute. Topics included how to make a socio-economic study of the workers to be organized, how to survey a work-site before launching the campaign, how to budget for a major organizing effort, etc. The first two such courses were offered in March of 1976, and others followed at the rate of two or three annually.

The second aspect of the organizing program consisted of contracts between AIFLD and labor confederations in Latin America under which the confederations received funds to employ the graduates of the organizing courses full-time for a year after their return. Under these arrangements the organizers did not work for AIFLD. Rather, they received their assignments, their supervision, and their discipline from their respective confederations.

AIFLD's organizing program helped Latin American unions maintain and increase their membership despite the frequent restrictions imposed on their activities by military regimes, and the erosion that would otherwise have occurred in their ranks because of unemployment and economic recession after the 1974 "oil shock." For example, during 1976 the first group of organizers, graduated in March, signed up 19,000 new members, organized 85 new unions, and re-activated 37 other unions which had been dormant. With an average of forty new organizers being trained and supported in the field each year, by the end of the decade the new program had resulted in enrollment of 89,000 new union members and the formation or reactivation of 727 unions.

Social Projects

In the early 1970s, AIFLD continued to assist Latin American unions both with a variety of small social projects and with major worker housing programs. Housing projects begun in the late 1960s moved through the planning and construction stages, and some smaller projects were begun in the early 1970s. However, when U.S. interest rates jumped in the latter 1970s from the 5.5% range up to above 7%, this put housing financed with private capital beyond the means of many Latin American workers. It was no longer feasible to use U.S. pension funds, or private capital, even with A.I.D. guaranties. Thus by 1978, when the last of the various projects begun earlier was completed, AIFLD phased out of worker housing. As mentioned earlier, the total result was construction of 18,048 units in fourteen nations.



Charles Wheeler, in 1974 AIFLD's Director in Bolivia, presents officers of that nation's railroad workers' federation with radio equipment financed by an AFL-CIO Impact Project.

The AFL-CIO Impact Projects program, and the AID-financed Regional Revolving Loan Fund effort, continued vigorously throughout the decade of the 1970s. This sphere of labor work did not suffer as much from the hostile political environment of military rule, because projects such as school buildings, medical clinics, credit unions, and emergency relief are not political in nature, and thus had the toleration, and sometimes even the cooperation of Latin American governments. Such projects did, however, deliver needed social services to workers and lower-income communities, through the unions, and thus helped maintain labor's strength and image during the years when few advances could be made in wages and benefits, much less in the sphere of promoting major social reforms.

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During the 1970s the AFL-CIO Impact Projects program, administered by the AIFLD, assisted with 274 projects throughout Latin America and the English-speaking Caribbean. As in the 1960s, there was a great variety of projects. One of the most numerous categories of impact projects in the 1970s was funding the costs of transporting donated medicines to union medical clinics in Latin America. The medicines were obtained as donations from U.S. pharmaceutical firms by the Direct Relief Foundation, which provided them without cost to AIFLD.

The AID-funded Regional Revolving Loan Fund allowed AIFLD to support 75 projects with low-interest loans during the 1970s. As with the Impact Projects, the RRLF projects ran the gamut from seed-capital for credit unions, to hospital buildings, disaster relief, and union vacation centers. The average loan for a project was about $24,000, about half of the $50,000 maximum allowed per project.

The decade of the 1970s unfortunately saw a number of major natural catastrophes in Latin America, and AIFLD's Social Projects Department was involved in disaster-relief efforts in several countries. In 1970 a severe earthquake hit Peru, producing not only a huge loss of lives, but destruction of homes and factories. In the same year, serious floods inundated large areas around Recife, Brazil. In both cases, AIFLD mounted programs to provide affected workers with food, medicines, and materials for temporary shelters. In 1972 much of Managua, Nicaragua was destroyed by an earthquake, and disaster relief was sent by many nations intending to help those who were suffering. Unfortunately, the Somoza regime misused much of the foreign funds provided. AIFLD, through its contacts with local trade unions, was able to assure that its relief supplies were delivered directly to workers and peasants affected by the disaster. In 1976 it was Guatemala's turn to suffer a major earthquake. Much of the damage was in rural areas, and AIFLD assisted the urban unions in getting emergency supplies distributed to their rural brothers throughout the affected area. In disaster-relief as in its regular programs, AIFLD does not count on aid to "trickle down" through government or corporate bureaucracies to the popular classes. AIFLD believes in putting help directly in the hands of workers, peasants, their families, and their communities.



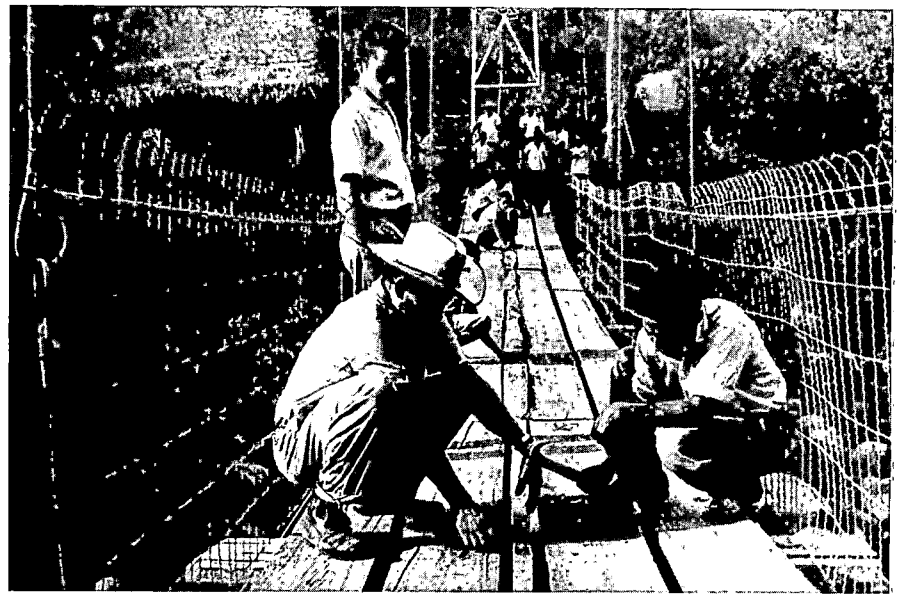
AIFLD's Bruce Jay speaks at the ceremony marking delivery of medical supplies in 1970 to four union federations in Northeast Brazil. The supplies were provided by an AFL-CIO Impact Project, with the cooperation of the Direct Relief Foundation.



AIFLD's Donald Kessler presents Guatemalan labor leaders with tools and supplies to help in the rebuilding after the disastrous 1976 earthquake.

AIFLD's Agrarian Union Development Service (AUDS) concentrated its efforts in the decade of the 1970s on aiding two major peasant organizations in Central America: the National Association of Honduran Campesino (ANACH) and the Salvadoran Communal Union (UCS). In El Salvador the UCS, formed in 1968 as a federation of local peasant groups, in the 1970s grew to be a major voice of the Salvadoran campesinos, especially the tenant farmers. In 1974 the UCS obtained passage of a Land Rental Law which offered protections to the tenants, and in 1976 supported a land-reform plan proposed by the government of President Molina, but subsequently aborted due to pressure from the Salvadoran oligarchy. In addition, the UCS formed 20 production cooperatives which were farmed by 5,000 formerly landless peasants.

The AIFLD's AUDS assisted the UCS in both its politico/social and technical production roles. As a result, the Salvadoran government in 1973 expelled AIFLD from the country, citing work with peasant organizations as the cause. AIFLD had no in-country office or budget for the following six years, but the AUDS continued to aid the UCS from outside, using funds from regional programs. During the mid--1970s, for example, the AUDS supported five UCS staff members and activists. In addition, AIFLD gave a $50,000 RRLF loan in 1976 to the UCS for a revolving agricultural credit program. The following year the AUDs used regional program funds to help support UCS projects with rural women. Thus AIFLD continued to assist the UCS to survive and grow, and in 1979 pressure from the Salvadoran labor movement obliged the military government to acquiesce in AIFLD's return to El Salvador with an office and an in-country program.



ANACH-affiliated campesinos in Honduras construct a bridge as their graduation project in an AIFLD-sponsored rural training program in the early 1970s.

In Honduras, the ANACH in the 1970s went through developments similar to those of the UCS in El Salvador. The ANACH also increased its membership sufficiently that it became one of the major peasant organizations in the country. Like the UCS, the ANACH supported a land-reform effort proposed by progressive officers within a military regime. This occurred in 1973 under the government of General Osvaldo Lopez Arellano. As was the case in El Salvador, the Honduran land reform was hobbled by conservative opposition. The ANACH also established a number of agricultural production cooperatives. The AIFLD's AUDS assisted the Honduran campesinos

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In La Libertad, El Salvador, participants in an AIFLD campesino course construct a schoolhouse during the course's "Action Week."

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throughout the decade, with numerous education courses, provision of support for full-time activists, and training for cooperative managers to better utilize supervised credit programs.

In addition to its major programs in Honduras and El Salvador, the AUDs also helped peasant organizations in eight other Latin American nations during the 1970s. This work was expanded after AID created a $150,000 fund in 1977 to provide seed capital for rural production and marketing projects.



Campesinos of ANACH in Honduras apply fertilizer to an experimental cornfield, part of a project financed in the early 1970s under an AIFLD revolving agricultural loan program.

The Union-to-Union Program

Throughout the 1970s the AIFLD continued to provide support to the work of U.S. trade union federations with their respective International Trade Secretariats (ITS). The various ITS were enabled to provide advisors to Latin American affiliates on collective bargaining and organizing, as well as offer a number of labor education courses for unions in a given occupational sector, emphasizing the particular problems those workers were facing. During the 1970s the principal U.S. unions involved were the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers of America, the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, the Communications Workers of America, the Glass Bottle Blowers Association, the Retail Clerks International Association, and the American Federation of Teachers.

Thus the 1970s saw AIFLD continue the basic program patterns established in the 1960s, with modifications to adjust to changing economic and political situations, and to meet new needs emerging within the labor sector in Latin America. Although in the many nations under dictatorial rule the labor movements which AIFLD aided were basically conducting holding actions, they still looked forward to a new dawn of freedom in Latin America, and took all available steps to prepare themselves for that day.



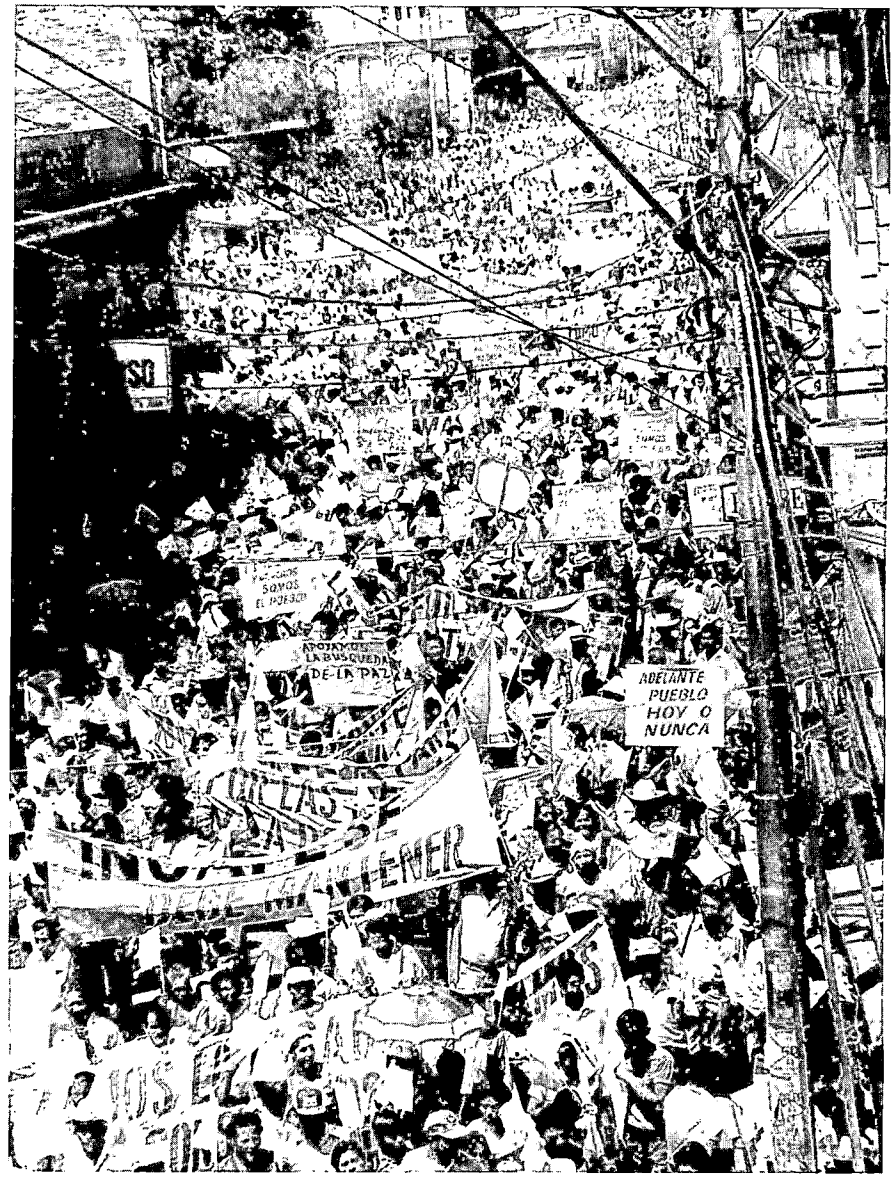
AFL-CIO and AIFLD-President George Meany addresses a dinner held on the occasion of AIFLD's fifteenth anniversary, in 1977.

THE EIGHTIES—THE RENAISSANCE OF DEMOCRACY

The 1980s in Latin America marked a resurgence of the democratic left, even as U.S. politics moved in a conservative direction. One by one, dictatorial regimes were replaced with democratically-elected governments. These transitions began with Ecuador and Peru in 1980, followed by Bolivia, El Salvador, and Honduras in 1982, Argentina in 1983, Panama and Uruguay in 1984, and Brazil and Guatemala in 1985. By 1986 only Chile, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Suriname, and Cuba remained under full dictatorial control.

The new democratic governments offered a political setting propitious for the growth of free trade unions. They respected workers' freedom of association and took steps to restore their right to collective bargaining. Equally important, through the ballot box workers could play a role in deciding who should govern their countries.

Economically, the bad situation of the late 1970s became even worse in the early 1980s, with many Latin American nations plunged into serious economic depressions as a result of 1979's "second oil shock." The Latin American economy grew only 1.4% in 1981, and declined by 1% in 1982 and a disastrous 3.1% in 1983. Positive growth rates were regained in the mid-1980s, but only in the mid-3% range. Given continued population increase while production declined, per capita income in some countries dropped back to the levels of 1960. On top of the collapse in employment and production came the external debt crisis of the 1980s, with even oil exporters like Mexico subjected to recessionary economic austerity policies in attempts at supposed "stabilization."



Salvadoran workers and peasants, members of democratic unions, demonstrate on March 15, 1986, in support of land reform and the democratization process in their country.

The combination of the rebirth of political democracy with sharp economic decline has been an unfortunate one for Latin America's democratic-left parties and unions. The economic disasters of debt and depression left behind by the military regimes made the new democratic political systems and their incumbent administrations vulnerable to being discredited unless they could produce some economic improvements. The AIFLD has been working with the region's free unions to find solutions to the prevailing economic problems, so as not to lose the democratic progress attained in the political sphere.

The 1980s also raised once again the question of whether the AIFLD could continue its normal programs when the U.S. government was in the hands of leaders whose election had been bitterly opposed by the AFL-CIO. The AIFLD has always operated in areas of policy agreement between the U.S. government and the American labor movement.

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While the foreign policies of the two usually have considerable areas of overlap, they are by no means identical. The AFL-CIO has been in strong opposition to certain key thrusts of government foreign policy in recent decades, most notably on the issues of detente with the USSR in the 1970s (which U.S. labor viewed as a sell-out of American security interests in favor of short-term advantages for U.S. business), the overseas expansion of U.S.-based multinational corporations (which labor saw producing the export of U.S. jobs), and the economic stabilization policies of the International Monetary Fund (which American labor criticizes as putting the burdens of economic adjustment on the poorest classes in the poorest countries).

When the Reagan administration took office in 1981, some observers thought that the foreign policies of American government and labor would move so far apart that there would not be sufficient areas of agreement to allow AIFLD to continue functioning as the means for U.S. labor's participation in the U.S. foreign aid program in Latin America. Their concern was that a conservative Republican administration might support the dictatorial right in Latin America, placing the U.S. government in a policy posture incompatible with U.S. labor's traditional identification with Latin America's democratic left, which began under Samuel Gompers in the 1920s. As the decade of the 1980s progressed however, the Reagan administration moved closer to labor's position as it came to support the democratic-left governments of Presidents Duarte in El Salvador, Siles Suazo in Bolivia, and Vinicio Cerezo in Guatemala, as well as backing additional democratic transitions in Argentina, Haiti, Uruguay, Panama, Brazil, and Honduras. Thus, despite the AFL-CIO's sharp disagreement on some key issues, the American consensus on foreign policy held together sufficiently to allow vigorous government-labor cooperation in areas of agreement such as support for democracy in the hemisphere.

In the 1980s, then, AIFLD has been helping its partner unions try to prevent the political gains for democracy in the region from being negated by the economic miseries experienced by many workers and peasants. Having once been through the cycle of democratic governments in the early 1960s giving way to the night of the dictators in the 1970s, Latin America's democratic left movements are determined to solidify the new democratic systems, meet the economic challenges, and thus prevent another resurgence of dictatorial rule.



El Salvador's President Duarte with Betty Tianti, of the Connecticut AFL-CIO.



The president of Argentina's new democratic government, Raul Alfonsin, opens the ICFTU/ORIT Trade-Union Conference on Debt and Development.

AIFLD's Program Emphases in the Eighties

Labor Political Action

The most significant modification in AIFLD's program in this decade has been the addition of projects to help Latin American trade unions develop a political-action capacity. These programs have been funded by the new National Endowment for Democracy since its creation by the U.S. Congress in 1983. Until then, AIFLD had been limited basically to helping trade unions in their economic roles of dealing with employers through collective bargaining and assisting their members with various social projects. That emphasis had been in keeping with the economic development mission of the A.I.D., which had been AIFLD's only source of government funding.

The AIFLD had long been frustrated by its inability to meet fully the frequent requests of its Latin American trade-union partners for help in building their political action programs. The AFL-CIO had always advocated a political role for trade unions. As AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland said in February, 1987:

> *"The reason that union voters are so involved in politics is that they learned years ago that their vote at the workplace can achieve only so much. For our victories to become lasting social and economic achievements, we need political and legislative as well as collective bargaining action."*

This appeared even more important in Latin America, where what is at stake in politics is often the alternative of democratic government with freedom of association for workers, or a dictatorial regime with repression, torture, and "disappearances." Out of these considerations, the AFL-CIO participated actively both in the study which led to the NED's creation, and subsequently in the Endowment's programs. In Latin America, the AIFLD is the organizational vehicle for U.S. labor's support of democratic political development.

A wide variety of programs have been undertaken using NED funding. In 1984, for example, AIFLD assisted trade unions in Grenada which had spurred creation of the Organization for Citizen Awareness, a multi-sector civic association which conducted non-partisan voter-education and get-out-the-vote campaigns. During the same year, in the Dominican Republic AIFLD helped the National Confederation of Dominican Workers to sponsor two economic conferences at which representatives of all Dominican social sectors discussed innovative and socially-equitable ways for the nation to meet its foreign-debt crisis. During 1984 the Institute assisted thirteen democratic-development projects in ten individual countries, plus another ten Latin American regional projects which included creation of a fund to assist in the resettlement of democratic labor leaders forced into exile by dictatorial repression and to sustain families of imprisoned or murdered leaders.

In 1985 AIFLD's new democratic initiative continued to support those of the original projects which were of an on-going nature and also began new projects, such as the opening in Uruguay of a Technical Assistance Center for democratic labor which advised and trained activists for organizing programs in the dairy and commercial sectors to replace unions which had been outlawed by the military dictatorship which controlled Uruguay from 1973 through 1984. Another new initiative in 1985 was a pro-

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Representatives of Dominican political parties, labor, business, and the church meet in an AIFLD-supported "National Dialogue" on the Dominican Republic's economic crisis.

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gram of training courses for Latin American peasant organizations conducted in cooperation with the training organization of Israel's national labor confederation, the Histadrut. Courses on cooperative development and systems to provide agricultural extension services were presented by Histadrut in 1985 in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Peru.

In 1986 the AIFLD's funding from the NED was considerably smaller than in the new program's first two years, but even with fewer financial resources, many on-going projects were continued, though at reduced levels of activity, and some new projects were launched. Among the latter was a program to help Haiti's workers build trade unions after the downfall of the repressive Duvalier regime early in the year. Among the activities in the program were publication of a newsletter by the Workers Federation of Trade Unions and a series of evening courses on organizing techniques, trade-union administration, and political ideologies. In Paraguay in 1985 the AIFLD-supported fund for humanitarian assistance to workers suffering persecution for trade-union activities provided food and medicines to over 100 families which were victims of the Paraguayan regime's anti-labor policies.



AIFLD instructor Daniel Montenegro teaches in an AIFLD-sponsored political theories course in Arequipa, Peru in 1984.

In sum, the addition of NED funding to AIFLD's traditional AID contracts in the 1980s enabled the Institute to offer a complete package of assistance to its Latin American partners. Those unions were strengthened in both their principal roles: that of representation of workers interests in the political arena, and that of providing services to their members through collective bargaining, social projects, and labor education.

The Salvadoran Land Reform Program

Several months after AIFLD's June, 1979 return to El Salvador, a coup by the progressive wing of El Salvador's long-divided military overthrew the rightist regime of General Carlos Romero. This coup resulted in the installation of a mixed civilian-military junta led by Christian Democrat Jose Napoleon Duarte. In the spring of 1980 this junta decreed a sweeping land reform under which El Salvador's large estates over 1,250 acres in size were transferred to 31,000 peasant families which had been working on them. These large farms are being worked as 317 production cooperatives. The reform also transferred to tenants and sharecroppers all the lands they had been farming for landlords. This "Land to the Tiller" decree affected about thirteen percent of the nation's farm land, previously owned by over 6,000 landowners.

When the land reform was announced, Rodolfo Viera, the leader of the Union Comunal Salvadorena (UCS), a major peasant organization, was appointed by the junta to head up the government's land-reform institute. He immediately called on AIFLD to provide technical assistance to the UCS as it moved to help implement the reform, expanding on the aid AIFLD had provided to the UCS since its first cooperatives were founded in the mid-1960s, through the establishment of the UCS in 1968, and continued through regional programs even while AIFLD was out of El Salvador during much of the 1970s. Thus began one of AIFLD's largest and most visible programs of the 1980s.

The heart of the program in the first years of the land reform was the training and support of a corps of over 300 "land-reform promotors" who briefed the peasants on their rights and obligations as new owners under the reform, and

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helped them obtain the credit, seed, fertilizer, marketing arrangements and extension services they need to boost productivity on their farms. The AIFLD program also mounted a large educational effort, training the national, regional, and local co-op leaders of the UCS in cooperative management, accounting, and political techniques of representation, thus preparing them for their respective roles in the land-reform process.

Right-wing forces allied with El Salvador's oligarchic families responded to the land reform with a wave of brutal terror. Civilian "death squads," some police detachments, and military units commanded by rightist officers participated in the slaughter. During 1980, 184 peasants working on the large production cooperatives were murdered, and of the 300-plus UCS promotors in the "Land to the Tiller" program, twenty-four were killed. In one incident twelve UCS members were machine-gunned down as a group in the early morning hours as they went to work on their cooperative lands.

On January 3, 1981, the terror reached AIFLD itself. UCS Secretary-General Rodolfo Viera was meeting at the Sheraton Hotel in San Salvador with Michael Hammer, coordinator of AIFLD's Agrarian Union Development Service, and Mark Pearlman, a young lawyer working on land-reform legal problems as part of AIFLD's in-country team in El Salvador. They were noticed by a group of rightist businessmen and military officers, who directed two soldiers waiting outside to assassinate the trio. Thus three brave and dedicated men, who had worked on the land reform together, died together.

In a tribute to the fallen AIFLD brothers, the AIFLD Board of Directors stated:

"Mike and Mark's real work, which is invested in the soul of the people they loved and helped, will endure. And those of us in AIFLD who carry on that work, Latins and Americans alike, do so with renewed determination, inspired by the examples of two who gave everything to further the cause of freedom and dignity for all peoples."



A member of a Phase I land-reform cooperative in El Salvador regards with satisfaction part of the co-op's harvest of coffee and corn.



"Land to the Tiller." A new title-holder works his farm.

AIFLD has carried on their work, and the land reform program continued in El Salvador. The years 1981 and 1982 were bitter ones for the UCS, with more promotors killed, and delays in the land titling process created by conservative political resistance to the reform. By the time of the 1986 harvests, however, the reform was producing the expected long-term results. Almost 3,000 of the former tenant farmers had paid off their mortgages under the "Land to the Tiller" program. The small farmers improved their land through improved soil conservation and by savings they invested in better seeds, fertilizers, and equipment. Crop yields rose and in 1986 a quarter of all the beans and 40 percent of all the corn produced in El Salvador came from the farm parcels of the "Land to the Tiller" beneficiaries. With higher yields, the farmers' incomes and their quality of life also improved. On the large cooperatives, other than those directly affected by the fighting in El Salvador's continuing civil war, production yields were higher than the national averages. Thus, though many further problems remain, the land reform has produced benefits.

Martyred in El Salvador—January 3, 1981



Michael P. Hammer
1938-1981



Mark D. Pearlman
1944-1981



Rodolfo Viera
1942-1981

Other AIFLD Programs in the 1980s

AIFLD's regular programs continued in the 1980s to help Latin American workers build strong, democratic, militant, and competent unions. The Institute by the mid-1980s had increased its in-country labor-education programs to a level of 30,000 participants annually, in fourteen Latin American countries plus many smaller nations in the Anglophone Caribbean. Most of these courses continued to concentrate on trade-union tool courses such as colletive bargaining, union administration, organizing, and labor legislation. At the George Meany Center the Institute's international programs continued at a level of six programs with 240 participants annually, with somewhat greater emphasis on political topics such as political theory and trade-union political action.

AIFLD's Social Projects Department has continued to fund a varied array of social projects for Latin American unions, using both the Regional Revolving Loan Fund (RRLF) for the larger efforts, and making loans or grants under the AFL-CIO Impact Projects program for smaller projects under $5,000 in cost. In addition, the Institute became the administrator of a new Caribbean Basin Labor Fund, created by the U.S. Congress as part of the Caribbean Basin Initiative passed in 1983. By 1986 the Fund had made 59 loans and grants totaling $212,917. In all of these projects, the major contribution is the initiative and self-help efforts of Latin American workers and their trade unions. Providing the capital needed above what the local unions themselves can contribute is just a catalyst for the process of union and community self-help.

In the 1980s the Institute's Agrarian Union Development Service (AUDS) has by no means confined its work to the major effort in El Salvador. In the mid-1980s the AUDS had programs in five to six other countries at any given time, including major programs in Costa

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Inauguration of new facilities for the Dominica Civil Service Association, October 1983, built with the aid of AIFLD's Eastern Caribbean Development Fund.

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Rica, Ecuador, and Honduras. The success of programs to establish agricultural credit and marketing operations for small-scale farmers in Costa Rica and in the San Lorenzo area of Ecuador led the AUDS to plan similar projects, beginning in Guatemala.

What began as a new concept under the Alliance for Progress in 1962 has thus continued and expanded over a quarter-century into a multi-faceted program with a multi-million-dollar annual budget. What has not changed is the basic goal of all of AIFLD's varied activities: strengthening democratic unions in the hemisphere, in both their economic and political roles, so they act as powerful engines for political democracy, economic growth and social justice. The view that independent unions, controlled democratically by their own members, can be major forces for progress and justice, is a basic value of the democratic left in Latin America, and also of the AIFLD and its parent organization, the AFL-CIO. U.S. and Latin American workers do not agree on everything, but they do agree that, as the AFL-CIO Executive Council said in 1981 regarding freedom of association:

> ***"Without organizations through which to assert their rights and protect themselves from the state or other strongholds of power, citizens are deprived of the means to secure either their political liberty or a wider measure of economic and social justice."***

". . .Those who love,
Build—
Those who hate,
Destroy. . ."

—Jose Marti

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American Institute for Free Labor Development

Strengthening the trade union movement in Latin America and the Caribbean as a force for social justice, equitable economic growth, and political democracy.

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AIFLD REPORT

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

REMEMBERING TUCAPEL JIMENEZ

On February 25, 1982, Tucapel Jimenez, then fifty-seven years old and a highly respected trade union leader, was found brutally murdered in Santiago. His body was discovered beside the taxicab that he drove to supplement his living, with his throat slashed almost to the point of decapitation, and with two bullet holes in his head.



Tucapel Jimenez had been the president of ANEF and a leader of the Democratic Union Confederation of Chile (UDT). Three days before his murder he had issued a call for greater trade union solidarity to confront the economic, social, and political injustice of the Pinochet dictatorship.

Four years later, at an emotional gathering of the ANEF, Hernol Flores, current president of the ANEF as well as secretary general of the Central Democratica de Trabajadores (CDT), remembered Bro. Jimenez as a man dedicated to the unification of workers. "Let it be known to Tucapel's assassins, as well as to those who protect them, that even though they did

(continued on page 4)

LABOR GIVES STRONG PUSH TO CADO

Trade unionists from the U.S., Central America, Panama, and Belize met in Miami, Florida on February 21-22, 1986 to plan their participation in the structuring of the Central American Development Organization (CADO). Authorization to enter into negotiations to form the CADO was included in the current Foreign Aid legislation approved by the Congress last August.

The objective of CADO, as envisioned by the labor movement, is to ensure that economic development results in improved respect for human rights, the fortification and strengthening of democratic processes, and increases in the standard of living of the region's inhabitants. The organization will be unique in the region in that it will count on equal representation from the government, organized labor, and business community of each of the countries.

The National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, chaired by Dr. Henry Kissinger, recommended the formation of CADO as a vital part of its final report in 1983. The AFL-CIO has staunchly supported this recommendation which resulted in part from the suggestions of the Central American national trade union confederations to the Commission.

Among the positions taken by the Central American unionists in Miami, several stand out:

—Only democratic labor organizations should be eligible for membership in CADO.

—Labor participation will not be determined by any government.

—Permanent national development organizations should be formed as a private, non-profit, base on which the regional

(continued on page 4)

GUNMEN CONVINCTED IN SALVADOR SLAYINGS
Officers Remain Free

Two former members of the National Guard of El Salvador, Santiago Gomez and Jose Valle, were convicted on February 13 in the murder of two AIFLD representatives and the former head of El Salvador's land reform agency.

Michael Hammer and Mark Pearlman of AIFLD and Jose Viera, of the Union de Campesinos Salvadoreños, were killed in the coffee shop of San Salvador's Sheraton Hotel in 1981.

The AFL-CIO/AIFLD has pushed actively since then for the prosecution of all those involved in the slayings, including the military superiors of the two gunmen and the businessmen involved in the slaying. Investigation of the murder shows that Captain Eduardo Avila furnished the gun used in the murders and Lt. Rodolfo Lopez Sibrian gave the two enlisted men the actual order to shoot. Further, two businessmen, Hans Christ and Ricardo Sol Meza, are known to have had prior knowledge of the killing.

Valle and Gomez confessed to their role in the shootings in 1981. Despite the fact that they identified Lopez Sibrian and Avila as the officers who had ordered them to commit the murders, statements by those already accused of a crime are not considered admissible evidence under Salvadoran law. The two officers remain at large.

The five-person jury was selected by the presiding judge on the same day as the trial. While attendance at the reading of evidence was restricted to fifteen people each on both the defense and prosecution sides, the closing arguments were open to the public.

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The prosecuting attorneys anticipated the defense arguments that the two suspects were merely following "higher orders." They also addressed the expected defense assertion that the United States was influencing the bringing to trial of Gomez and Valle.

During the prosecution's presentation to the jury, the role of Capt. Avila and Lt. Lopez Sibrian was condemned. The judge declared that mention of the actions of these two was political in nature and warned the attorneys not to make any political statements. At this, the public present at the trial hissed its disapproval of the judge. The prosecuting attorneys then went still further, calling G-II, the National Guard unit to which both defendants belonged, a death squad unit. They charged that it was murder and not military matters with which the unit and its leaders were concerned.

As expected, the defense did claim that Gomez and Valle were following orders, but the prosecution effectively rebutted the assertion that "a military order required unquestioning obedience."

The jury deliberated for two hours before convicting the two gunmen.

The AFL-CIO leadership, meeting in Miami for its Executive Council meeting at the time of the Salvadoran trial, issued a statement urging that the intellectual authors of the crime be brought to justice. Commenting on the conviction, the AFL-CIO called it "further evidence that Salvadoran army officers are immune from prosecution for even the most heinous of "crimes" and called for a reduction in military aid to El Salvador until that situation changes.

Questioned by journalists during a February 17th press conference, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland commended the efforts of President Jose Napoleon Duarte to reform the judicial system, but observed that "he has not yet succeeded in getting control of the military establishment."

Explaining the position of the AFL-CIO with regard to a cutback of U.S. military aid, Kirkland stated that: "The military establishment responds to their supply of resources and weapons, and this seems to be the only method we have of explaining this matter to them."

Finally, the AFL-CIO Executive Council statement commented that:

"The AFL-CIO recognizes President Jose Napoleon Durante's effort to re-establish a system of justice in El Salvador by naming a Judicial Revisory Commission to reinvestigate the Hammer-Pearlman-Viera murder as one of the most blatant crimes committed over the past several years. We feel, however, that the Ministry of Defense must use its significant influence so that those persons—including Captain Avila, Lt. Lopez Sibrian, Major Denis Moran and businessmen Hans Christ and Ricardo Sol Meza—who were involved either in the planning and execution of the crime or who had guilty knowledge and complicity in its commission be brought to justice."

SANDINISTAS STEP UP HARASSMENT OF CUS

The Sandinista government in Nicaragua continues its efforts to suppress that country's democratic labor unions.

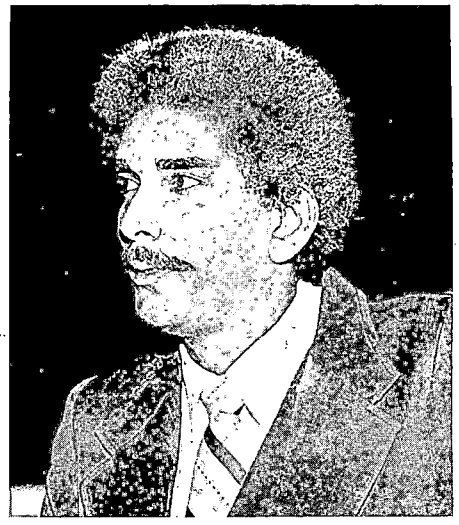
In January twelve CUS affiliates were declared illegal on the grounds that they had failed to submit membership lists to the ministry of labor as required by law. In a January 27th article in the newspaper *Barricada,* however, the Labor Minister charged that the twelve unions had demonstrated "negative attitudes" by making "false statements" against the government —a far more likely reason for the official displeasure.



CUS Secretary General Alvin Guthrie points out that the members of these twelve unions had been harassed and interrogated by the Nicaraguan state security police in the past. Farm workers, sugar workers, garment workers, office workers, and a Miskito Indian union are among those now declared illegal.

Late last year, the government also prohibited further publication of *Solidaridad,* the CUS trade union journal. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland subsequently sent a telegram of protest to Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega in support of the CUS, warning that the Sandinista decision to restrict the publication of *Solidaridad* "violates the ILO conventions and the right of workers to freely organize themselves and express their opinions and points of view without coercion or interference from governments."

The AFL-CIO will continue to watch Sandinista actions against the democratic labor movement closely and to focus world attention against their abuses of power.



ICFTU PROTESTS NICARAGUAN ARRESTS OF TRADE UNIONISTS

The International Confederation of Free Trade Union has sent a telegram to the International Labor Organization in Geneva, protesting the arrest of 16 trade unionists by the Nicaraguan State Security Police.

The trade unionists, all members of the ICFTU-affiliated Confederation of Trade Union Unity (CUS), were taken from their homes in Posoltega around 4 AM on February 20th and 22nd and held incomunicado in the Chinandega prison, unable to communicate with families, friends or attorneys.

A report on the arrests was presented to the ICFTU by Luis Anderson, who visited Nicaragua shortly after the arrests in his capacity as Executive Director of the Interamerican Commission on Human and Trade Union Rights.

According to the report, persons arrested were charged by Comandante Tirado Lopez with homicide, assault and stealing livestock. However, family members and townspeople of Posoltega reported that no such crimes had occurred in that area, and that the police had threatened them with imprisonment if their husbands and sons did not cease their involvement in the CUS. The report's conclusion: "The charges are mere inventions of the Sandinista government."

Family members also reported that police had entered their homes dressed in civilian clothes, and had, in addition to threatening them, helped themselves to personal articles and to the families' small food supply.

The sum of $1,000.00 has been provided by the Interamerican Committee for Human and Trade Union Rights to help support the families of those unjustly imprisoned Nicaraguan trade unionists and to help provide legal services for their defense.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE DEMOCRATIC POSSIBILITY

by R. Bruce McColm

(This is an edited version of Mr. McColm's original article by the same title which appeared in the March-April, 1986 issue of *Freedom at Issue*.)

As we hurry into the last part of the decade of the 80's, it is worth observing the seismic change that has slowly, but irrevocably altered the Central American landscape in the past five years—namely, the triumph of the democratic alternative. Economic difficulties, human rights violations and strained civilian-military relationships persist and still threaten the institutionalization of democracy in the region. Yet the rise of elected civilian rule in Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala has dealt severe blows to the myth of Central American salvation through either Marxist-Leninist revolution or the rightist national security model.

These transitions, however temporary or fragile, have slowly begun to erode the unanimity of skeptical Latin and North Americans about the possibilities of political and economic organization in a region long dominated by rapacious economic oligarchies and corrupt and brutal armies.

At the end of the last decade it was widely believed that the modernization of Central American societies with great social inequities and sharp conflicts between political elites could only be achieved by adopting the political model of a government dominated by a populist military or a broad front political party; both of which incorporated disparate political forces into the state management of its economy. This seemed to be the only alternative to the caudillos and military dictatorships of the past. Democracy in Costa Rica appeared to be a folkloric oddity of its people, not to be duplicated elsewhere. Over the past five years, millions of Central American voters have dramatically repudiated this belief.

With the lenses of 1979, the year of revolution, it would have been impossible to foresee that in 1986 the whole region would look to El Salvador and Guatemala for glimmers of a democratic future—and not to the Sandinistas in Managua.

This radical reorientation of the Latin American political landscape is reflected in the once improbable sight of a democratic Argentina's foreign minister proclaiming the incompatibility of Marxist-Leninist regimes with the Latin American community and demanding the Sandinistas set a timetable for the creation of democracy in that country. Recent accusations by Contadora countries about Nicaragua's "martyr-like" attitude and obstructionism to the achievement of Central American peace have brought the discussion full circle.



R. Bruce McColm is the Director of the Center for Caribbean and Central American Studies, Freedom House, New York, and the U.S. representative of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of The Organization of American States.

At the turn of the decade a unique phenomenon in the hemisphere's history—the seemingly total unification of the democratic and radical Left in the hemisphere behind the commitment to armed revolution—seemed to occur. The choices then appeared stark to some: either authoritarianism or a pluralistic revolutionary model. The triumph of the FSLN and its democratic allies in Nicaragua, the increased belligerancy of the FMLN in El Salvador and of the Guatemalan guerrillas, revitalized the myth of Latin American revolution and confrontation with the United States as the sole legitimate process to achieve the long-desired goals of social justice, national sovereignty and authentic democracy. The tumultuous events of 1978-1981 appeared to be the momentous tide of the future.

Instead, in almost seven years the Nicaraguan Revolution, the self-proclaimed vanguard of this process, appears as an aberration, an anachronistic political wasteland, ill-suited to fulfill its original promises to the Nicaraguan people. In neighboring El Salvador, the triumphalism of the FMLN has finally degenerated into wanton terrorism and has made lonely and embarrassed figures of Guillermo Ungo and Ruben Zamora, two men who once had been the most sought after interviewees by the media. The illusory idealism and hope once associated with these movements have been replaced by a dread at their potential to threaten the democratic process in the region. For the moment, Latin American democratic populism has turned away from militarism.

The speed by which democratization occurred in the past decade has finally led to an hemispheric consensus that took both the authoritarian right and totalitarian left by surprise. The more this vibrant democratic culture is exercised and allowed to flourish, the less likely the two extremist alternatives will return to haunt us as they have in the recent past.

Events in Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil and Peru have finally relegated the national security doctrines of a Stroessner and Pinochet to the museum. Likewise, a successful transition to civilian rule in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras will further isolate the Sandinistas as a type of academic interest for future historians.

For all its promise, the performance of the Nicaraguan revolution has done what few observers could ever imagine: bring final discredit to the illusion that violent revolutions leading to either populist authoritarianism or a totalitarian socialist government can fulfill traditional Latin American aspirations for social justice and a pluralistic political environment. The halting, imperfect and often troubled democratic governments of Central America have humbled observers of all political persuasions, who paternalistically believe in cultural determinism—that the Latin culture and heritage did not lend itself to democratic forms of government.

Utopianism, which, in some respects must always serve as a catalyst for armed revolution, has given way to the realization that the ability to organize and express oneself and to live free of the fear of torture and disappearance is a priceless asset of democracy and a universal aspiration. This democratic aspiration has led to the final paradox of the past decade: that the first Central American country to experience a popular revolution will be the last to be democratized.

AIFLD ARGENTINA TRAINS UNDER DEMOCRATIC RULE

The return to democracy in Argentina has signalled important advances for the trade union movement there.

Since December 1983, when the government of Raul Alfonsin was constitutionally elected, AIFLD has contributed to Argentina's return to democracy through a number of seminars and trade union training courses. Such courses for the country's democratic unions were illegal under the military dictatorship.

AIFLD was established in Buenos Aires in 1964. During the years under the dictatorship, however, unions were unable to operate freely. Most of the organizations were subject to military intervention and many of the leaders were imprisoned. During that time, AIFLD did what it could to help, trying, for example, to arrange for Argentinian unionists to attend courses at the George Meany Center.

Starting in 1984, AIFLD's activity increased considerably.

Since labor education and practical training were illegal for so long, AIFLD now helps conduct a basic cycle of trade union refresher courses, each lasting one week. The organizations involved have noted the interest and motivation generated by these concentrated courses.

They note, too, an awareness, especially among the younger unionists, to attempt to make up for the time lost since 1976, in the participation and stabilization of the labor movement.

The high attendance in the seminars confirms this. From March, 1984 to the end of 1985, AIFLD conducted 40 seminars, for a total of 207 days of classes, in which 1,845 unionists participated. These 447 women and 1,298 men all have direct responsibility in the activities of their respective unions, and, therefore, they constitute the basis of the recovery of the Argentine labor movement.

The federations and trade unions that have shared the labor training programs with AIFLD include: food, textile, apparel, light and power, telephones and postal workers, banking and insurance workers, public servants, plastic, food processing, private oil workers, university personnel, CGT regional staff, customs employees, chemical and petro chemical workers, turf, paint, tile, leather, tanning, and sanitation workers.

These Argentine unionists hope to strengthen their organizations and further their cause in a democratic system for many years to come.

LABOR PUSHES CADO

(continued from page 1)

organization, or CADO, can be formed. These nation organizations will function to promote a wide consensus for economic development programs.

—Some form of participation will be afforded to democratic labor confederations whose governments are ineligible for membership.

In order to accomplish their objectives, the union leaders agreed to return to their respective countries and enter into serious negotiations with their business and government counterparts. They agreed to help from national committees to "develop economic, social, and political consensus."

Once at least four of these national organizations are formed, the unionists suggested that a meeting be convened to inaugurate the regional organization and elect an Executive Secretary.

They also recommended that an Assembly be formed which would meet at least twice a year and which would set the goals of a ten or fifteen member Secretariat.

Among CADO's principal benefits, as envisioned in the position paper which emerged from the Miami meeting, are the new lines of communication it will open:

—Between the Central American countries and the U.S. Congress, which will be at least partially responsible for the organizations' funding;

—Among the sectors of Central American society traditionally not represented in official forums;

—As a unifying body of democratic Central American forces, to speak out on issues such as human rights and democratic development.

—To review the economic development strategy recommendations concerning the flows of external aid to Central America.

—To fund specific projects, the CADO Secretariat will determine if the project "would serve the goals of the organization to raise the standard of living of the population, and whether the governments have continued to maintain their commitment to human rights and democracy." The U.S. Congress, in its enabling legislation, has agreed to follow CADO's recommendations to the maximum extent possible in its project funding.

TUCAPEL JIMENEZ

(continued from page 1)

away with this singular and charismatic person, they will never succeed in eliminating his accomplishments and his memory, much less the effects of his work. Quite the contrary, Tucapel remains as a symbol of his work: THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS."

In Bro. Flores' words, the Chilean working class of today still shares Tucapel's belief that the recovery of the lost liberties and the consequent establishment of a system that will bring about more equality to the working class—that is, making it more human, more dignified and more just—are linked to the fundamental problems affecting Chile today.

At the time of Tucapel's death the AFL-CIO joined with the workers of Chile in proclaiming that this murder was politically motivated and designed to intimidate all Chilean labor leaders into submission to the dictatorship. In the four years since Bro. Jimenez' murder, the Chilean authorities have done nothing to bring the killers to justice. On this point, Bro. Flores charged that the investigation of this case has been fruitless. "We know whence the culprits come, but it has not been possible so far to pin down their exact identity. Shamefully for the national justice system and for this country as a whole, the legal process has been closed by resolution of the minister in charge of clarifying it... and the bloody and cruel criminals remain at large. This is an admission of the ineffectiveness of our judicial system."

CORRECTION

Our December, 1985 issue was incorrectly numbered. It should have read Vol. 23, No. 6.

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Destroy . . ."
—*Jose Marti*

NICARAGUAN LEADER PRESENTED FIRST A. PHILIP RANDOLPH/BAYARD RUSTIN FREEDOM AWARD

Alvin Guthrie, 42 years old, is General Secretary of the Confederation of Trade Union Unity (CUS), a federation of Nicaraguan free trade unions, affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in Brussels. During the first five years of the Nicaraguan revolution, he served as a member of the Council of State. He is now a leader of the Permanent Council of Workers, an alliance of four Nicaraguan labor federations that brings together a wide diversity of trade unions and ideological groupings.

For over two decades, the A. Philip Randolph Institute has been successful in expanding black participation in the political process and strengthening ties between the labor movement and the black community. With 200 chapters in 37 states, APRI activities include voter-registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns, political education, lobbying and legislative work, and support for union organizing drives, strikes and boycotts.

Each year, the Randolph Institute convenes a national conference which brings together hundreds of black trade unionists representing some 40 international unions to discuss topical issues of mutual concern to blacks and labor. The conference is an important educational experience for participants, providing them with information and leadership skills to implement labor's program in the black community.

On August 27th, the Institute presented the first A. Philip Randolph/ Bayard Rustin Freedom Award to Alvin Guthrie. The Secretary General of the CUS in his stirring address to the Conference, spoke on behalf of the beleaguered trade unionists of Nicaragua. Included below are excerpts from his speech.

"In Nicaragua we have approximately 80 thousand black people, and as a black man, I am proud to receive this Freedom Award. I am the Secretary General of the Confederation for Trade Union Unification in Nicaragua, an organization which has been struggling for many decades within Nicaragua in an effort to democratize our country. Thousands of my countrymen of every political stripe: Conservatives, Liberals, Sandinistas, Social-Christians, Social-Democrats and trade unionists dedicated their lives in an effort to end once and for all one of the most oppressive and best-known dictatorships in America and yes, even in the world. We only hope for complete freedom and a lasting peace for Nicaragua . . .

We have seen the frustration of our hopes and happiness. I am sorry to tell you that has happened in the Nicaragua of today. That same revolutionary Nicaragua; that same Nicaragua that all of Latin America, Europe, Central America and you workers of the United States helped while applauding the heroism of our people. Today, this same people finds itself embroiled in an even greater tragedy. In Nicaragua there are thousands who have been disabled in the war; widows; orphaned children; and many of our young people who wander throughout Central America without home nor future.

Brothers, as you have heard, my goverment says it is democratic. General Pinochet of Chile says he is a democrat. South Africa, Cuba, Panama, East Germany and Haiti all claim to be democratic. But the truth is that the word "democracy" has been prostituted. It is used by governments who wish to perpetuate themselves in power. For example, my government claims that democracy is for those who are faithful to the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional, commonly known

(Continued on page 2)



Appearing from left to right: The Rev. Jesse Jackson; Mrs. Velma Hill, an officer of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; and Bro. Alvin Guthrie, secretary-general of the Nicaraguan Confederation of Trade Union Unity (CUS), on the occasion of the presentation of the first A. Philip Randolph/Bayard Rustin Freedom Award to Bro. Guthrie.

AWARD

(Continued from page 1)

as the F.S.L.N. The democratic power of the people lies only with those who wear the Sandinista emblem. All of the rest of us Nicaraguans who do not follow the political-military policies of Sandinismo are subjected to beatings, jail, persecution and even death....

As you know, one year ago the Esquipulas II Plan for Peace was signed by the five Presidents of Central America. These leaders accepted the challenge to implement, develop, and consolidate democracy. Unfortunately, just a few weeks before the anniversary date of this peace agreement, hundreds of Nicaraguan workers, simply trying to make use of their constitutional rights, were sent to the Sandinista jails. Labor unions who have renounced Sandinista control through a democratic electoral process find their leaders accused of being contra-revolutionaries and enemies of the people....

Our struggle is within Nicaragua itself. We are fighting for some of the same aspirations that you did when you marched on Washington in a civic manner while demanding your rights along side those great leaders Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin and Martin Luther King.

My government puts us in jail for our beliefs. There are actually at this time more than 50 CUS affiliates encarcerated. We are constantly persecuted. Many have disappeared. But I tell you that we do not believe in arms. We believe in a civilized dialogue and we will continue in our civic struggle because trade union freedom is the product of democracy and if there is no trade union freedom there will be no democracy....''

At the conclusion of these moving ceremonies, Brother Guthrie received the fraternal congratulations of Reverend Jesse Jackson, runner-up in the presidential primaries of the Democratic Party to Governor Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts. Brother Guthrie has since returned to Nicaragua and the perpetual harrassment by Sandinista security forces.

BROTHER RAMIREZ LEON OF VENEZUELA ADDRESSES GRADUATES OF PROGRAM 138

Guest lecturer and featured graduation speaker Federico Ramirez Leon, President of the Workers' Federation of Tachira, Venezuela, and Education Secretary of the Confederation of Workers of Venezuela (CTV) delivered the graduation address in ceremonies honoring the 38 urban and rural trade union leaders who participated in program 138. Bro. Ramirez Leon stressed the importance of the long-standing fraternal relationship between the CTV and the AFL-CIO. In a brief historical overview, he recalled the dark days of the Perez Jimenez dictatorship when many of the founders of the CTV were subject to imprisonment, torture, exile, and assasinations, and how the AFL-CIO never faltered in its unswerving support and solidarity extended to the courageous leaders who were creating not only a labor movement but the basis for a democratic society. Now the CTV was in a position to extend that same solidarity to its oppressed brothers in other nations still living under the yoke of authoritarian regimes.



Federico Ramirez León

(Continued on page 6)

CHILEAN LEADER OUTSPOKEN IN DEMANDS FOR A RETURN TO DEMOCRACY

In an interview held at AIFLD Headquarters on September 8, 1988, brother Hernol Flores of the CTD emphatically rejected the ''yes'' options in the plebiscite to be held on October 5 in Chile, and gave the following answers to a series of questions of interest to all the workers of the hemisphere.

Question: What position does the labor movement have with respect to the plebiscite to be held in our sister republic?

Answer: The Chilean labor movement in general, and the two existing confederations and the other organizations not affiliated to these central bodies, have been almost unanimous, first in accepting the challenge of this plebicite, and in voting ''no'' in order to defeat Pinochet by political means, by the electoral system. The Chilean labor movement has had a coherent view point, and never experimented with other means that were not peaceful, civilized and rational in order to defeat the dictatorship. The labor movement was the first to grasp the possibility of returning democracy by accepting the plebiscite included in the

(Continued on page 3)

FLORES

(Continued from page 2)

Constitution which Pinochet forced upon us in 1980. This was without doubt the longest route but also the surest that would permit us to have a democratic opening without major bloodshed and greater suffering for the Chilean people, and was the only feasible solution because the armed confrontation that the Communist Party and the extreme left sought surely would not favor democracy. The history of Latin America is very clear on this point: where there has been a dictatorship overthrown by arms you fall into another dictatorship. Cuba and Nicaragua are very clear cases of this. For that reason, the labor movement put all of its resources and efforts so that the Chileans would register, and we were very successful because more than seven million Chileans have the right to vote in this plebicite.

Question: What percentage of the electorate does the labor movement represent?

Answer: The percentage is very significant because after fifteen years of dictatorship the country has been proletarized, so that some eighty percent of the population has seen its income shrink; the large Chilean middle class has been the one that has most suffered due to the inhuman and cruel policies of this regime, especially its monetary policies.

Question: Are there adequate guarantees to assure that this will be a pure, clean and democratic process?

Answer: To the degree that one could hope for them from a dictatorship, I would say yes. In this I would like to be very clear and objective—we cannot accuse the Chilean military regime of having created insurmountable obstacles. Of course, they have not given us any facilities, the dictatorship continues to control all the communications media, continues to enjoy the resources of the governmental administration, continues to take advantage of, we might say, all of the possibilities and privileges conferred by power, but neither has it impeded the Chileans in their right to register for the elections and manifest their discontent with the regime to publicly rally for a "no" vote. The fact that they have lifted the state of siege and put an end to the exiles obviously favors the possibility of the opposition.

Question: Many followers of the regime declare that it is General Pinochet or chaos, General Pinochet or communism. What prospects do you see for Chile after the return or restoration of democracy?



Hernol Flores

Answer: We firmly believe that the options in Chile are not Pinochet or chaos, but Pinochet or democracy. Neither do I have any doubt that we are going to achieve democracy by peaceful and rational means. This is a great challenge but I have confidence in the labor movement. I don't have the same confidence in the democratic political parties, I must say, because they have not demonstrated the same coherent attitude as have the workers. Nevertheless, I believe that the aptitude for democracy which the Chileans demonstrated for over one hundred and sixty years will permit us to rebuild our country politically, socially, morally, culturally and in economic terms.

Question: Some have spoken of a certain economic boom—there has even been talk of a Chilean miracle, that Chile has been better off during these years of crisis than its neighboring countries. How have things been for the workers during these fifteen years of supposed economic growth?

Answer: I believe that this propaganda which has spread throughout the world regarding Pinochet's economic policies has been nothing more than the interest that the major economic consortiums have in improving their image, to establish an image that this is a good system for the people. It is quite true that in Chile inflation has been controlled, that production has increased, but it is also true that wages and salaries have been frozen since 1981, meaning that almost twenty years later, the Chileans are receiving an income inferior to that which they enjoyed in 1970. That is the true reality; we add that Chile is one of the most indebted nations in the world. We have an external per capita debt far higher than many other strapped countries. Currently, the Chilean foreign debt is almost double its GNP, or the gross national product of the country, as opposed to, for example, Argentina whose debts represent some 60% of its GNP, so I would put the word "success" in quotation marks because it reflects nothing more than Pinochet's intentions to remain forever in power and to continue receiving the unlimited support of both the national and international conglomerates.

Question: During these years of repression and crisis, what has been the role of the American Institute and the U.S. labor movement with respect to the Chilean workers?

Answer: We have stated this very clearly and simply on numerous occasions. If the democratic workers of Chile had not had the support of the AFL-CIO, no doubt many of us would not even be alive now, or we would not be in the country, or we would have suffered much more than we have up to this moment. If, even with all the support that the AFL-CIO gave us from the very start, the regime assassinated Tucapel Jimenez, fired us from our jobs, jailed us, put us on trial, in summation burdened us with a thousand difficulties, nevertheless, to some degree, they respected our lives and that was possibly due to international solidarity, and particularly in our case to the solidarity extended to the Democratic Labor Central body by the AFL-CIO.

Question: Some parting words for the brothers in Latin America?

Answer: I believe our only message would be that they have confidence in us; we, the workers of Chile, will continue to do everything possible to restore democracy in our country. This is a commitment that we have acquired after suffering through this bitter experience, this sad, dark night lasting fifteen years; and I would tell them to trust us and to continue with their generous support, and we shall know how to respond with gratitude when the occasion arises."

Subsequent events, such as the beating of an international delegation of trade union leaders protesting the arbitrary use of internal exile, clearly demonstrates that it took courage to express these views in such a forthright fashion.

FOUNDING CONGRESS OF THE CONFEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC WORKERS OF COLOMBIA

On August 6 and 7, 1988, the Confederation of Democratic Workers of Colombia held its founding congress in the Convention Center of Bogota, where an overflow crowd of 1,200 delegates voted enthusiastically to create the new central body. This event culminated a process which officially began in July, 1987, when an organizing committee was formed consisting of representatives of the ORIT affiliated UTC and CTC, the National Committee for Union Solidarity (CNSS), the IMF-affiliated Fetramecol, and the ICF affiliate, Fedepetroquim. For over a year the members of the committee thrashed out the always difficult details of a merger, and the organizers themselves were surprised by the success of the congress as bus loads of rank and file workers paid their own way to arrive from all corners of the republic with particularly large delegations coming from Medellin and Cale.

The CTDC immediately became the largest democratic confederation in Colombia, comprising in its ranks 23 federations and 24 national unions. In order to achieve this unity, prior to the Congress the UTC dissolved itself so to facilitate the entry of all of the independent organizations plus federations which had disaffilated from the communist-dominated CUT.

The inauguration ceremonies held on August 6 were attended by leaders of the major democratic political parties, and the Minister of Labor, Juan Martin Caicedo Ferrer, who congratulated the delegates on their courageous initiative to create an authentically democratic confederation in the midst of an economic crisis and guerrilla-inspired violence and turmoil which had witnessed the assasination of many democratic leaders, particularly in the banana growing regions of Uraba. Subsequently, Pablo Arosemena of the International Federations of Building and Woodworkers extended the fraternal salute of his trade secretariat, and Luis Meneses spoke on behalf of the ORIT and ICFTU.

On August 7, the delegates approved modern statutes and by-laws, and unanimously elected an executive committee which includes an effervescent blend of young and dynamic leaders plus highly respected veterans such as Antonio Torres of Fedepetroquim as Treasurer, Marco Cordoba of Fetramecol as first vice-president, and Marco J. Valderrama, formerly of the UTC, as President. The first resolution approved by the new confederation was to seek affiliation to the ORIT and the ICFTU, and, in its Declaration of Principles, the CTDC has sworn to dedicate itself to protecting the rights of the workers of Colombia, to eschewing all temptations from totalitarians who would seek to achieve change by other than democratic methods, and to organizing the great mass of Colombian workers who as yet do not enjoy the benefits of union protection. AIFLD wishes the CTDC well as it confronts the myriad problems now affecting Colombia.



Opening ceremonies of the CTDC's founding Congress.

THE FAILURE OF THE BAKER PLAN

by William C. Doherty

In September 1985, in Seoul, South Korea, U.S Treasury Secrertary James Baker proposed a solution to the Third World debt crisis. Immediately labeled the "Baker Plan," the proposal was greeted with some enthusiasm by the general public, academicians, and creditors and debtors alike. Three years later, we are still faced with a massive debt crisis and this failed policy is still in place. We can ultimately solve the debt problems only if we understand why the Baker Plan has failed and why it must be replaced by constructive and pragmatic solutions.

Consider, for a moment, the three components of the Baker Plan. First, new commercial loans for 20 billion dollars were to be extended to debtor nations during the first three years. Second, there would be new project and structural loans from multilateral banks amounting to 9 billion dollars. Finally, the plan required a commitment by the debtor countries to increase the use of market mechanisms to foster growth and development. After almost three years, only the last component of the Baker Plan has been faithfully executed. Both the Inter-American Development Bank and the World Bank had been expected to play significant roles in the financing of the structural adjustment reforms that the debtor countries were expected to undertake. But the new money pumped into the debtor countries was literally less than the interest payments that the debtor countries had to make. The Inter-American Development Bank was becoming a net recipient of financial resources with the largest Latin American nations. The so-called type "A" countries (Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela), in fact, finance the operations of the bank.

New lending from commercial banks, to the extent that it has occurred, has been largely on an involuntary basis. This allowed the banks to keep the flow of financial resources that is derived from debt service. In very simple terms, the result is that for every dollar lent by the banks, they have been collecting three dollars from the debtor countries. This has been achieved only with enormous sacrifices in these countries, expecially among the poor and the downtrodden. It was unreasonable to expect that there would be sufficient additional new lending, in the form of new money, to countries which had to borrow merely to keep up the interest payments on their debts. A successful economic development effort is a prerequisite for loan repayment, as well as the improvement of living standards and the maintenance of democratic stability.

In the final analysis, the Baker Plan never managed to stop the net capital outflow from the debtor countries. Since this outflow is the central issue of the debt problem, it follows that the Plan has failed. On average, until mid-1987, the Latin American countries have been running trade surpluses equivalent to 2.3% of GNP whereas the percentage of GNP allotted to interest payments has oscillated on average, between 5% and 5.5%. This differential has been provided by the export of regional savings—a fact that mortgages the living standards of future generations—and, in turn, has caused drastic reductions in social expenditures.

The only component of the Baker Plan that has been fulfilled has been the structural adjustment toward market forces—a euphemism that really means poor workers and peasants get poorer in the debtor countries. These processes have been particularly painful since it is being carried out without adequate external financing. The precious savings that are generated in debtor countries by a reduction in living standards of the already poor have had to be used in significant amounts to service the debt caused by the policies of rich bankers and by government mismanagement.

As a result of this process, the impressive successes that most Latin American countries have achieved in their external accounts have been accompanied by disappointing results in their domestic economies. In Mexico, for example, massive devaluations were designed to increase the trade surpluses and thus enable the country to meet its debt bill. The ensuing inflationary spurts caused the government to introduce tight money policies which, in turn, has led to astronomical increases in interest rates, halting gross fixed investment, which decreased by 10% in 1987.

The Baker Plan placed the emphasis on giving a breathing spell to the loan exposure of the biggest banks and to protecting their huge profits. Only in 1987 did the largest U.S. money centers show losses and all indicators for 1988 point to the fact that substantial profits will be generated this year. The consequences of the Plan have threatened the politifal stability of the democratic regimes in Latin America. The Baker Plan has failed to acknowledge that the debt crisis calls for either debt service or domestic growth but not for both, since one option rules out the other. The prerequisites for having both require massive new commercial loans and new project and structural loans.

Thoughtful plans for debt relief, based on coresponsibility of creditors and debtors, such as the one proposed by U.S. Senator Bradley in June, 1986, have thus far been rejected by the argument that debt relief scares away future lending and interferes with the functioning of the market. Yet even without debt relief, banks have chosen to leave the region as a means of reducing their exposure to loan default. And no solution to much of the world's economic woes is in sight.

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AFL-CIO DELEGATES ATTACKED BY PINOCHET POLICE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

PROGRAM 138

(Continued from page 2)

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

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

AIFLD

ACTION BULLETIN

for Human and Trade Union Rights

American Institute for Free Labor Development
1015 Twentieth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 659-6300 • Cable Address: FREELAB

July 27, 1987

GUERRILLAS USE UNION FRONTS TO DESTABILIZE SALVADORAN DEMOCRACY

A campaign of violence designed to provoke repressive reactions and create martyrs is being carried out in El Salvador by the guerrilla-backed union front, UNTS. On July 8, UNTS protesters attempted to occupy the Social Security Institute, attacking police with nail-studded clubs and rocks. Some police panicked and began firing wildly into the air. Over 20 people were wounded, including seven policemen. The day after the shooting, the same demonstrators returned and pelted the same policemen with stones and bags of paint. This time, the police held their ground and did nothing. On Wednesday, July 15, police again fired toward demonstrators who were smashing cars and slitting tires in the city center. Four people were wounded.

According to a New York Times article dated July 17, the violence is part of a "carefully planned effort" described in recently captured documents of the FDR-FMLN guerrillas. The documents are widely viewed as authentic, even by several leftist opponents of the government. "The documents, which were seen by a reporter, offer a point-by-point description for rebel leaders in the capital on how to re-activate student and labor unions sympathetic to the rebels, mount more frequent and more violent demonstrations and seize embassies, public buildings and officials, as well as carry out attacks and sabotage." To further this effort, the UNTS has dropped its calls for dialogue to end the war, and substituted a demand for the ouster of President Duarte backed up by calls for an escalation of confrontation.

Leaders of the ICFTU-affiliated union movement in El Salvador have denounced the escalation of violence by right and left extremes. The workers in the Social Security Institute, like other workers in El Salvador, have many legitimate grievances. And there is no excuse for police firing their weapons during demonstrations. However, U.S. unions have long deplored the use of provocateurs to provoke violence and even death in the name of legitimate worker demands, whether that tactic is utilized by company goons or Leninist cadres. The AFL-CIO has always considered "company unionism" -- the control or manipulation of worker organizations to serve the interests of others -- to be an abuse of trade union rights. It is no less an abuse when Leninist political movements pull the strings. Just as the AFL-CIO has denounced abuses of trade union rights by employers or the government, so is it necessary to denounce such abuses by the guerrillas and their allies.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Write a letter protesting the guerrilla manipulation of legitimate worker demands for the purpose of provoking violent controntations resulting in human casualties. Point out that the use of such tactics is likely to result in a resurgence of right wing violence. Address your letter to Guillermo Ungo, Frente Democratico Revolucionario, PO Box 9-903, Zona 9, Panama City, Panama, with copies to Julio Cesar Portillo, UNTS, 17 Calle Oriente #121, San Salvador, El Salvador

Note: Please send copies of your correspondance to the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development, 1015 20th tSt. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

SAMPLE LETTERS to Guillermo Ungo, FDR, PO Box 9-093, Zona 9, Panama City, Panama, with copies to Julio Cesar Portillo, UNTS, 17 Calle Oriente #121, San Salvador, El Salvador

1. I am disturbed by reports that the FDR-FMLN has adopted a strategy of using labor organizations in El Salvador to provoke confrontation and violence. As you know, the far right will be eager to take advantage of such incidents to use violence of its own. This cannot benefit the workers of El Salvador. As a representative of the (name of union) I deplore the manipulation of legitimate worker demands to serve the purposes of an elite, whether company bosses or Leninist vanguards. I urge you to use your influence with the FDR-FMLN to halt such provocations immediately.

2. As a representative of (number) workers in the (name of union), I deplore the use of provocateurs of the FMLN operating within the UNTS labor federation to provoke violent confrontations on the streets of San Salvador. U.S. unionists who have long urged the Salvadoran government to enter a dialogue for peace with its opposition can only conclude from these actions that the FDR-FMLN, and the UNTS, seek not peace but greater violence and repression as a prelude to insurrection. These tactics do not serve the interests of Salvadoran workers and peasants who are weary of such conflict. I strongly urge you to halt such actions immediately.

3. U.S. unionists have strongly identified with the Salvadoran workers struggle for peace and democracy. Just as we oppose employer manipulation of company unions to serve company interests, so do we oppose guerrilla manipulation of union fronts to serve the interests of the FDR-FMLN. I am therefore appalled by recent reports of UNTS demonstrators using clubs with nails, metal rods, and rocks to occupy buildings and destroy vehicles. Such tactics are designed to provoke repressive measures, and can only hurt workers. U.S. unionists fully support legitimate trade union demands, and oppose government and company repression when it occurs. However, we will never support tactics by your organization designed to create martyrs, economic chaos and repression leading to insurrection. I urge you to return to the path of dialogue and abandon these dangerous and unwarranted tactics.

El Salvador Unions - STISSS

Report on events in El Salvador
(Translation)

At 10:20 AM on July 8, 1987, a group of demonstrators of the UNTS, together with some trade union leaders of the STISSS, arrived at the administrative offices of the Salvadoran Institute of Social Security, with the objective of occupying the offices. Already inside the offices were at least 85 percent of the workers, who did not support the strike. The offices were being guarded by agents of the National Police. The striking workers were armed with clubs with nails, metal bars and rocks. Upon arriving at the site, the striking workers conducted a meeting in front of the offices, were strike leaders haranged their helpers to take over the building and conduct an assembly of workers inside.

After the meeting the striking workers threw themselves on the barrier formed by the police, began to push their way through them and managed to penetrate the barricade. The police tried to remove the trade unionists and in response the demonstrators, armed with steel rods and rocks, hit the police; simultaneously 2 or 3 shots outside of the building were heard (it is yet unknown who fired the shots), and the police began shooting in the air with a burst of fire from their guns. The richochets of the bullets which were shot at the solid part of the walls and roof wounded some workers; others were wounded by blows during the fight with police.

The following was the result: 7 trade unionists wounded, 2 in grave condition; 2 journalists from Channel 6 wounded; 2 National Police officials wounded; 7 National Police wounded.

Reported by the ICFTU-affiliated Confederation of Democratic Workers of El Salvador to the Inter-American Regional Organization Workers (ORIT), and the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development by telephone, July 10, 1987.

0602J

Salvador's Rebels Push Hard in Capital

By JAMES LeMOYNE
Special to The New York Times

SAN SALVADOR, July 16 — In an openly declared effort to disrupt the Government, leftist rebels and their supporters have carried out increasingly violent street demonstrations and brought a halt to public transportation here over the last four days.

On Wednesday, in the second violent incident in recent days, the police fired on anti-Government demonstrators who attacked private cars and Government vehicles.

At least two and possibly four people appear to have been wounded when the police fired first into the air and then into the street as young demonstrators painted cars and slashed tires in the city center in a protest against the American-backed Government of President José Napoleón Duarte.

No one was killed, and it appears possible that the wounded were hit by ricocheting bullets.

The incident was part of a carefully planned effort aimed at undermining the already weak Government.

'Pushing as Hard as They Can'

"The guerrillas are pushing as hard as they can," said a Western diplomat who has often criticized the Government of United States policy here. "They are trying to weaken the Government, and they are succeeding."

The army captured a series of documents from the rebels in recent months that spell out the now-unfolding rebel strategy, according to several diplomats and political analysts, some of whom are critical of the Government and United States policy but accept the documents as authentic.

The documents, which were seen by a reporter, offer a point-by-point description for rebel leaders in the capital on how to re-activate student and labor unions sympathetic to the rebels, mount more frequent and more violent demonstrations and seize embassies, public buildings and officials, as well as carry out attacks and sabotage.

The Government has publicized the rebel plan but has so far appeared powerless to stop it.

The rebels' return to the capital marks a shift in tactics. The capital has been quiet in recent years, but the rebels appear to be trying to reassert the political and military presence that they held here between 1979 and 1981.

The Marxist-led guerrillas this week imposed the most effective ban on transportation nationally that they have carried out in the eight-year-old war.

No Public Buses in Capital

No public buses have run in the capital for the last three days, mostly because rebel units have burned and machine-gunned buses in recent months to make it clear that they intend to enforce the bans on transportion. They have killed several civilians in the last year to make the point.

Four days ago, anti-Government demonstrators armed with nail-spiked clubs tried to break through police lines guarding the state social security building. The police fired after several police guards were hit with clubs. The gunfire wounded at least five demonstrators.

The day after the shooting, the same demonstrators returned and pelted the same policemen with stones and bags of paint in what appeared to be a conscious attempt to provoke the police to react. But the police held their positions and did nothing.

In fact, neither Salvadoran officials nor the American officials who advise them closely seem to know how to respond to the stepped-up activity by the guerrillas and their supporters. All the options carry a poltical cost, including the option of doing nothing.

Senior American officials talk of simply hanging on and making sure the Government survives until the next presidential election in two years. But in the meantime, basic social problems are growing worse. Inflation and unemployment are both rising, and popular discontent with the Government is at an all-time high.

Slow Deterioration of Faith

Rather than a dramatic political collapse, what is being commented upon at street corners and in the sprawling slums of the capital is a slow deterioration of faith in the Government and in the belief that elections and elected officials can solve the enduring problems facing most Salvadorans.

But at the same time, there appears so far to be little support for the rebels. The same group of between 500 and 1,000 committed pro-rebel student and trade union demonstrators appear to lead the charge at each demonstration.

Several passers-by watching an anti-Government demonstration this week criticized the marchers for appearing to want to provoke violence.

But in a reflection of the political deadlock and lack of alternatives, many of those who criticized the marchers also strongly accused the Government of corruption and inefficiency. In such circumstances, support for the rebels and for the extreme right could grow again.

State of Siege Lapses

The Government has tried to maintain that life here is "normalizing" and that there is no need for extreme measures anymore. As a consequence, it allowed the state of siege law to lapse, giving the rebels the leeway to demonstrate without risking prolonged interrogation by the police if detained. But the rebels have replied by sharply increasing pressure on the Government.

"Every time I look at the streets and see that the guerrillas have stopped the buses from running in the capital, I can't believe my eyes," said a foreign diplomat here. "How can they let the guerrillas get away with that after eight years of war?"

For the moment each side appears to be testing the other. But the rebels appear ready to raise the stakes. As it feels greater pressure, the Government is likely to harden in its response.

Despite such concerns, there is no sign that either the Government or the dozens of American officials who advise it have begun to formulate the new policies that would be needed to address the growing public dissatisfaction. The inactivity, after more than $2 billion of United States aid to El Salvador, may be one indication of why the long war here shows no sign of ending.



A demonstrator smashing the windshield of a Government truck during protest yesterday in San Salv