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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 15, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE AFL-CIO CONVENTION

The Sheraton Washington Hotel
Washington, D.C.

3:40 P.M. EST

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

You understand that democracy rests not on cold marble

MORE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In all, over 200 free trade unionists were murdered last

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

END

4:00 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

NOVEMBER 15, 1989

1989 NOV 13 PM 8 05

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *cw*
FROM: MARK LANGE *M.L.*
SUBJECT: AFL-CIO CONVENTION

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

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

1. need some favorable referen

to elizabeth dole.. where she is 'this very moment'

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

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

Product

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

fulfill the great promise of freedom. //

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

11/13/89

DATE: ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AFL-CIO CONVENTION
WASHINGTON SHERATON

SUBJECT: WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1989
3:30 PM

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☐	☒
SUNUNU	☐	☒	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☐	☒	PORTER	☐	☒
DARMAN	☐	☒	ROGICH	☐	☒
BATES	☐	☒	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	ROGERS	☐	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	WINSTON	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☐	☒	PINKERTON	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☐	☒		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

NOVEMBER 15, 1989

1989 NOV 13 PM 8:05

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/9/89ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11/10/89 NOONSUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AFL-CIO CONVENTION

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☒	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BATES	☒	☐	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	<u>ROGERS</u>	☐	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	<u>WINSTON</u>	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	<u>PINKERTON</u>	☒	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒	<u> </u>	☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐	<u> </u>	☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐	<u> </u>	☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than NOON, Friday, November 10, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

To: Chriss Winston:

The NSC concurs with changes, as noted.


Brent Scowcroft

cc: Cicconi

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

89 NOV 9 18:28

1989 NOV -8 PM 9:19

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sends
wrong
message

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[WOODZ H]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Your work is often accomplished at great sacrifice. Independent trade unions often get pressed in a vise between death squads on the right and guerrillas on the left. In El

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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#

for democracy. Freedom of press, and of conscience. The right of the governed to choose their leaders.

[At Malta, I will work to advance the process of reform and democracy. I also want to know] what President Gorbachev thinks of the challenges that he faces at home -- and of the new course that he has set out for Soviet policy in Eastern Europe. I plan to discuss with him the importance of free trade unions in building a free country. The AFL-CIO has fought for that freedom around the world, and I will carry that message to Mr. Gorbachev. I also want to talk with President Gorbachev about the opportunities to move beyond containment in U.S.-Soviet relations -- to find areas of mutual advantage in our relationship.

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And helping workers in Chile's plebiscite last year, fighting for free elections, now scheduled for next month. Manuel Bustos, president of the United Labor Confederation there, was until recently exiled in his own country. Thanks to the AFL-CIO, he is now free. **Free enough to be with us today.**

Your work is often accomplished at great sacrifice. Independent trade unions are often caught in a vise between death squads on the right and guerrillas on the left. In El Salvador,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

NOVEMBER 15, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *CW*
FROM: MARK LANGE *M.L.*
SUBJECT: AFL-CIO CONVENTION

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

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

pg. 12
"Chat process"

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

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WASHINGTON SHERATON
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3:30 P.M.

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

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

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

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

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

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	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☒	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BATES	☒	☐	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	ROGERS	☐	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	WINSTON	☒	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	PINKERTON	☒	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

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RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi
 Assistant to the President
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
 Ext. 2702

*Presidents
union?
card?*

1989 NOV -8 PM 9:19

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

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

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INSERT
p. 3

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

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

insert but add Kirkland by name

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

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

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

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

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

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

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check?

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

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

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

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

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tone
down

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

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

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/9/89ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11/10/89 NOONSUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AFL-CIO CONVENTION

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
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FITZWATER	☐	☒	<u> </u>	☐	☐
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11:12 PM 11/10/89

James W. Cicconi
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 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
 Ext. 2702

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

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RESEARCH

1989 NOV -8 PM 9:19

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

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~~[TIME]~~ 3:30 PM

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*Real of
Alvin
Guthrie
(Horse)*

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

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

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

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

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 13, 1989

Memorandum to Chriss Winston

From: Jim Pinkerton *JP (by AT)*
Subject: AFL-CIO Draft Speech

In addition, to the minor comments below, for what it's worth, we point out that the President still has his union card representing his membership in the Steelworkers during the '50s -- a fact he referred to during the campaign.

pg. 2, para. 5, lines 1-6 "Can you eat politics? [etc.]"

The Budapest cabdriver's monologue against politics serves to make the point that "democracy...encourages...disagreement." And this is a handy way of introducing the point two grafs later that while the AFL and the Administration may often disagree, now is the time to put differences aside.

While affirming this, we suggest drawing another lesson from the cabdriver, if space permits, namely that the changes in Eastern Europe represent the depoliticization of those countries: that the changes there are a move in the direction of a society more like ours in which politics doesn't matter as much -- doesn't intrude as much into everyday affairs.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/9/89ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ¹³11/10/89 NOONSUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AFL-CIO CONVENTION

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
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DEMAREST	☒	☐	PINKERTON	☒	☐
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GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than NOON, Friday, November 10, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi
 Assistant to the President
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
 Ext. 2702

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/9/89

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RESPONSE:

IT SEEMS THAT WE COULD MAKE MORE OF A NEWS HOOK WITH THIS SPEECH IF WE USED IT TO HELP SET UP THE PRESIDENT'S CONFERENCE IN MANTA. IDEAS ALONG THE LINES OF "WE WANT PERESTROIKA TO SUCCEED; THE DRAMATIC CHANGES IN EASTERN EUROPE ARE GOOD FOR COMMUNITY OF NATIONS AND THE WORLD..."

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

MORE WORDS AND IDEAS ON HOW THE U.S. CAN BE PART OF THIS HISTORIC PROCESS IN EASTERN EUROPE. BRUCE BANN FOR S.R.

1989 NOV -8 PM 9:19

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

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: AFL-CIO CONVENTION
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[TIME]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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RESPONSE:

96 : 8v 8/100
See Comment
11/9/89

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

1989 NOV -8 PM 9:19

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

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

#



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

V

NOTICE:

Enclosed are comments from staff members of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Such comments do not necessarily represent the official position of the Director of OMB or of the Office of Management and Budget. If you wish to have the Director's personal comments, please let me know -- and contact me if you have any questions.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "David J. Haun", is positioned above the typed name.

David J. Haun
Executive Assistant
to the Director

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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RESPONSE:

See comment on pg 8

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: AFL-CIO CONVENTION
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[TIME]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Your work is often accomplished at great sacrifice. Independent trade unions often get pressed in a vise between death squads on the right and guerrillas on the left. In El

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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