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DIA FOR DAH-5/OSC-2D/JSI-4B/DB-3C1

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TEXT

TAGS: ELAB, PTER, PE
SUBJECT: SENDERO LUMINOSO AND PERU'S LABOR MOVEMENT

REF: LIMA 2422

[REDACTED]
2. SUMMARY. THE PERUVIAN LABOR MOVEMENT, A STRONGHOLD OF THE LEFT, IS BEING THREATENED OPENLY BY THE SENDERO LUMINOSO (SL). SENDERO HAS TARGETTED LIMA'S MAIN INDUSTRIAL CORRIDORS BUT ITS INROADS ARE BEING CHECKED SOMEWHAT BY THE DETERMINATION AND THE LEADERSHIP OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS' COMMUNIST-

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CONTROLLED GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF PERUVIAN WORKERS (CGTP). IN REMOTE MINING AREAS, HOWEVER, SL HAS BEEN MORE SUCCESSFUL IN INTIMIDATING WORKERS AND CREATING LEADERSHIP VACUUMS WITHIN THE LABOR MOVEMENT. THE ASSASSINATION BY SL OF A LEFTIST MINE WORKERS' LEADER IN MID-APRIL WAS A CLEAR CHALLENGE TO THE LEGITIMATE LEFT THAT CONTROLS THE MINERS FEDERATION. NEITHER MINE OWNERS, MINE WORKERS, NOR LEFTIST INTELLECTUALS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT HAVE ANY READY SOLUTIONS TO STOP SL ADVANCES IN LABOR, SPECIALLY IN THE MINING SECTOR. YET ALL REMAIN HOPEFUL THAT SL WILL NOT WREST CONTROL OF PERU'S LARGEST MONEY MAKING INDUSTRIAL SECTOR. END SUMMARY.

MINER LEADER ASSASSINATED

3. AROUND 11:00 AM, APRIL 16, THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE MINERS FEDERATION OF CENTROMIN'S CERRO DE PASCO MINE, CEFERINO REQUIS, WAS ASSASSINATED BY MEMBERS OF THE SENDERO LUMINOSO (SL). THE TERRORISTS WALKED UP TO HIM DURING A UNION MEETING AND SHOT HIM TWICE IN THE HEAD. THEY ACCUSED HIM OF BEING AN "INFORMANT AND A TRAITOR TO THE WORKERS" (SOPLON Y VENDEOBREROS). FOR SEVERAL MONTHS, THE MINERS FEDERATION (MF) HAD BEEN CALLING -- UNSUCCESSFULLY -- FOR A STRIKE TO PROTEST NON-COMPLIANCE BY THE GOP AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR'S MINING SOCIETY OF A SINGLE, NATIONWIDE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AGREEMENT FOR THE MINING SECTOR. AT THE MOMENT OF HIS DEATH, REQUIS, WHO PERSONALLY SUPPORTED AN INDEFINITE STRIKE, WAS EXPLAINING TO MEMBERS OF HIS UNION THE DECISION TAKEN THE DAY BEFORE BY A NATIONAL MEETING OF THE MF TO HOLD ONLY A 72-HOUR WORK STOPPAGE RATHER THAN AN INDEFINITE STRIKE. THIS MODERATE POSITION WAS ENDORSED BY THE PERUVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY-UNITY (PCP-U). ALTHOUGH REQUIS WAS CONSIDERED A HARD-LINER IN THE MF, HE STOPPED SHORT OF ENDORSING THE CALL BY AN SL FRONT GROUP ACTIVE IN CERRO DE PASCO, "FEDERATION OF CLASS-CONSCIOUS MINING WORKERS", WHO WANTED TO TAKE THE STRIKE CALL BEYOND MERE LABOR REVINDICATIONS AND TURN IT INTO ARMED CONFRONTATION. REPORTEDLY REQUIS WAS A MILITANT OF THE FOCEP, ONE OF THE MOST RADICAL GROUPS IN THE UNITED LEFT (IU), WHICH HAS ITS ROOTS IN THE LABOR AND CAMPESINO MOVEMENT IN THE ANDEAN SIERRA.

4. IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE KILLING, MF LEADERS AND POLITICAL GROUPS SEARCHED FOR A MOTIVE AND CULPRITS. MF LEADERS PROMISED AN INVESTIGATION. EVEN BEFORE IT STARTED ITS INQUIRY THE MF POINTED TO A PARAMILITARY GROUP, THE SO-CALLED RODRIGO FRANCO COMMAND, AS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS AS WELL AS SAUL CANTORAL'S MURDER (REFTEL). A PRO-MRTA NEWSPAPER BLAMED THE MINE OWNERS: THE STATE-OWNED CENTROMIN. THE PCP, MARKING DISTANCE FROM SL, BLAMED THE TERRORISTS

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AND ACCUSED THEM OF TRYING TO "BEHEAD, INTIMIDATE AND EXTERMINATE THE LABOR MOVEMENT." A FEW DAYS AFTER THE ASSASSINATION THE POLICE CAPTURED IN CERRO DE PASCO 16 MEMBERS OF AN SL "ANNHILATION SQUAD" WHO CONFESSED TO THE MURDER OF REQUIS. THE MOTIVE: HE HAD GONE ALONG WITH LESS THAN AN INDEFINITE STRIKE.

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5. THE DEATH OF REQUIS IS A PRODUCT OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN SL AND OTHER LESS RADICAL ELEMENTS OF THE LEFT FOR CONTROL OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN GENERAL AND THE MINERS FEDERATION IN PARTICULAR. THE FEDERATION IS AFFILIATED WITH COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF PERUVIAN WORKERS (CGTP). THE UNIFIED MARIATEGUIST PARTY (PUM) HAS BEEN VERY ACTIVE IN CULTIVATING THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MF. LAST YEAR, PUM LEADERS WERE OFTEN PRESENT AT THE MF MEETINGS WHICH DECIDED THE COURSE OF TWO LENGTHY AND COSTLY STRIKES. THE PUM REPRESENTATIVE INVARIABLY PUSHED THE MF TO CONTINUE THE STRIKES. NOW THE MF IS FEELING PRESSURE FROM SL, DEMANDING THAT IT GO BEYOND NORMAL STRIKES TO THE USE OF FORCE.

6. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD BY PROFESSIONALS INSIDE THE MINING INDUSTRY THAT IT IS NOT JUST THE UNION RANK AND FILE THAT HAS BEEN INFILTRATED BY SL. ONE ENGINEER TOLD US THAT MANY OF THE PRIVATE COMPANIES, AS WELL AS THE STATE-RUN MINES, HAVE SL SYMPATHIZERS OR MILITANTS WITHIN THEIR PROFESSIONAL MID-LEVEL STAFF. HE CLAIMS THESE "INFILTRATORS" WERE RECRUITED BY THE SL DURING THEIR STUDENT DAYS AT THE NATIONAL ENGINEERING UNIVERSITY (UNI). THE NATIONAL POLICE APPARENTLY AGREE WITH THIS ASSESSMENT. WE WERE TOLD BY THE DIRECTOR OF POLICE INTELLIGENCE THAT THE POLICE ARE PLANNING A RAID ON THE UNI TO ROOT OUT WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS "A NEST OF SL MILITANTS" BOTH AMONG THE STUDENTS AND THE TEACHING STAFF.

SL AND URBAN LABOR

7. SL MADE ITS ENTRY INTO URBAN LABOR AFFAIRS IN 1987 WITH THE APPEARANCE OF THE MOTC: MOVEMENT OF

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CLASS-CONSCIOUS WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES. MOTC WAS ACTIVE ALONG THE CENTRAL HIGHWAY, LIMA'S MOST IMPORTANT INDUSTRIAL CORRIDOR. SL'S PRESENCE WAS REINFORCED IN 1988 WITH THE CALL FOR SEVERAL "ARMED STRIKES" ALONG THE CENTRAL HIGHWAY AND OTHER INDUSTRIAL CORRIDORS. SL ORGANIZATIONS, SUCH AS THE COMMITTEE FOR THE STRUGGLE OF WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE CENTRAL HIGHWAY AND THE COMMITTEE FOR THE CLASS-CONSCIOUS STRUGGLE OF ARGENTINA AVENUE, HOWEVER, WERE NOT SUCCESSFUL IN SHUTTING DOWN INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY THE FEW TIMES THEY TRIED IT.

8. IN THE BEGINNING OF 1989, SL REAPPEARED IN LIMA UNDER THE RUBRIC OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (MRDP) WITH THE TASK OF PREPARING URBAN AREAS FOR THE INSURRECTION AND FINAL TAKEOVER OF POWER. IN THE LABOR AREA, THE MRDP IS TRYING TO ATTRACT WORKERS BY MAKING THEIR DEMANDS AN SL CAUSE AND TO INFILTRATE UNIONS AND UNIVERSITY WORKER, TEACHER AND STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS. SL CLAIMS TO BE READY TO START CHALLENGING IU'S CONTROL OVER URBAN WORKERS FACTORY BY FACTORY, CGTP ADVISORS TELL US. SO FAR, IT HAS HAD LIMITED SUCCESS. IT HAS CONTROL OF A FEW UNIONS AND IS TRYING TO EXPLOIT SITUATIONS WHERE AN EXISTING LABOR ORGANIZATION HAS FAILED TO MEET THE DEMANDS OF THE WORKERS.

9. COUNTERING SL'S ACTIVITIES IS THE CGTP. PABLO CHECA, ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL, CORRECTLY IDENTIFIED SL'S INTENTIONS TOWARD THE LABOR MOVEMENT WHEN HE SAID THAT "SL PRETENDS TO RUIN THE REPUTATION OF UNIONS AND OF THE LEGAL MEANS TO FIGHT FOR WORKERS RIGHTS. FOR SL, WORKERS ARE CANNON FODDER IN THEIR WAR... WE ARE WILLING TO FIGHT THEM POLITICALLY AND IDEOLOGICALLY". POLITICAL DIVISIONS WITHIN THE CGTP AND A GENERAL

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PARALYSIS THAT TYPIFIES PERU'S LABOR MOVEMENT HAVE PREVENTED AN ALL-OUT RESPONSE AGAINST SL. THE CGTP SECRETARY GENERAL, VALENTIN PACHO, REVEALED APRIL 30 THAT THE TOP LEADERSHIP OF THE CONFEDERATION, HIMSELF INCLUDED, HAD RECEIVED DEATH THREATS FROM SL. IRONICALLY, THE STRONGEST WEAPONS THE CGTP HAS AGAINST SL ARE THE LEVEL OF CONSCIOUSNESS OF WORKERS,

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THE MATERIAL GAINS THEY HAVE ACCOMPLISHED AND THEIR DESIRE AND RESPECT FOR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

SL AND MINE WORKERS

10. AMONG THE REASONS FOR THE RELATIVE SUCCESS SL HAS ENJOYED IN MINING AREAS IS THE REMOTENESS AND ISOLATION OF THE VARIOUS MINES IN THE REGION. DISTANCE AND LACK OF COMMUNICATION MAKES IT EASIER FOR SL INTIMIDATION TACTICS TO WORK. IT IS ALSO EASIER TO TALK TO A MINER, HIS RACIAL AND CULTURAL EQUAL, THAN TO APPROACH AN "URBANIZED" WORKER WHO HAS TAKEN ON THE CULTURE OF THE CITY IN SPITE OF HIS RACE AND CULTURAL ORIGINS. SL IS APPLYING IN THE MINING SECTOR THE SAME INTIMIDATION TACTICS EMPLOYED ELSEWHERE IN THE HIGHLANDS AGAINST FIGURES OF AUTHORITY. SL IS CREATING A VACUUM BY ELIMINATING THE TOP LEADERSHIP TO EITHER PUT SL MEMBERS IN PLACE OR MANIPULATE THE LABOR FORCE. WHOEVER CONTROLS THE MINING SECTOR CONTROLS ABOUT 50 PERCENT OF ALL PERU'S FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNINGS.

11. SINCE REQUIS' MURDER AND OTHER INCIDENTS OF SL INTIMIDATION, MINERS HAVE ASKED MINE OWNERS FOR PROTECTION. LIKE OTHER GROUPS FACING SL THREATS, OWNERS HAVE NO READY SOLUTIONS. IN THE SHORT TERM, THEY HAVE RESORTED TO A PUBLICITY CAMPAIGN TO OPENLY ACKNOWLEDGE THE SACRIFICES AND COMMITMENT OF THE MINERS AS A WAY TO STAND BEHIND THEIR THREATENED WORKFORCE. IN THE LONG RUN, A MINE OWNER TOLD US, INCREASED SECURITY AT THE MINES WILL BE THE SOLUTION. PERHAPS THE CREATION OF SMALL, PRIVATE SECURITY FORCES, ACCORDING TO THE OWNER, OR STATIONING OF ARMY TROOPS, AS A LEFTIST SUGGESTED, OR THE FORMATION OF ARMED WORKERS BRIGADES, AS PUT FORTH BY THE CGTP'S PACHO, WOULD BE NECESSARY TO ENSURE THE OPERATION OF THE MINES. SEVERAL PRIVATE SECTOR MINING COMPANIES ARE ALREADY MAKING SUBSTANTIAL OUTLAYS FOR SECURITY OPERATIONS AT BOTH MINES AND CAMP SITES.

72-HOUR STRIKE

12. PERHAPS BECAUSE OF THE CONSTERNATION OVER REQUIS' MURDER THE 72-HOUR STOPPAGE FOR WHICH THE MINER WAS KILLED WAS NOT SUCCESSFUL. THE STRIKE, ORIGINALLY PLANNED FOR THE END OF MARCH, HAD BEEN POSTPONED TO ALLOW FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOP AND THE MINING SOCIETY. (THAT DECISION WAS CONDEMNED BY SL AS "AN ATTEMPT TO ISOLATE AND DEFUSE THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS AGAINST THE MINE OWNERS WHO ARE IN CAHOOTS WITH THE GOP".) ONLY ABOUT 7,800 OR ABOUT 20 PERCENT OF ALL MINERS

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STOPPED. ON THE EVE OF THE STRIKE THE LARGEST MINING CONCERNS REACHED AGREEMENT WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE UNIONS ON THE TERMS OF THEIR COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AGREEMENTS.

13. COMMENT: THE WORKERS' DECISION NOT TO ABIDE BY EVEN THE LIMITED WORK STOPPAGE AND THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF PENDING NEGOTIATIONS SUBSTANTIATE WHAT MINE OWNERS HAVE SAID ALL ALONG: THE MF DOES NOT REPRESENT THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS BUT THE POLITICAL INTEREST OF A FEW. AND THOSE FEW, ALONG WITH OTHER LEFTIST LABOR LEADERS, ARE BEING THREATENED DIRECTLY BY SL. A SHORT-TERM SOLUTION

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TO THIS LABOR STRUGGLE IS NOT OEVIOUS NOR IS IT CLEAR WHO WILL WIN. THE ONES WHO WILL LOSE THE MOST WILL BE THE MINERS AND THE COUNTRY'S REVENUES.

WATSON

ADMIN
END OF MESSAGE

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