

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 0001

C1CISPES

MSGNO 96 (STXX) *11/22/86* *15:12:57.9.9*
 ZCZC 20:11:42Z (ST)
 EMI DTG : 86112214250580

~~SECRET~~

86 2930336 SSR

TOR: 221918Z NOV 86

NC 2930336
SAN SA 14833

RR RUEAIIB
 ZNY SSSSS ZOC STATE ZZH
 STU7455
 RR RUEHC
 DE RUEHSN #4833/01 3261809
 ZNY SSSSS ZZH
 R 221806Z NOV 86
 FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
 TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 6851
 INFO RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 0131
 RUEOEHA/USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN
 BT

EZ1:

~~SECRET~~ SAN SALVADOR 14833

EZ2:

DEPT PASS DOL/ILAB
 DEPT ALSO FOR T.J., CLEAR, INR/GI
 USIA FOR AR/CENTAM
 E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: ELAB, ES
 SUBJECT: UPD QUILTS UNTS

1. (C) SUMMARY

THE POPULAR DEMOCRATIC UNITY (UPD) LABOR GROUPING HAS DROPPED OUT OF THE LEFTIST LABOR UMBRELLA GROUP UNITS, LEAVING UNTS COMPOSED ALMOST ENTIRELY OF FMLN-CONNECTED UNIONS. THIS IS A MAJOR DEVELOPMENT IN FAVOR OF DEMOCRATIC LABOR. UPD WAS A 150,000 STRONG LABOR GROUPING SUPPORTED BY AIFLD, WHICH SIGNED THE 1984 SOCIAL PACT WHICH HELPED BRING PRESIDENT DUARTE TO OFFICE. UPD COLLAPSED IN 1985 BECAUSE OF POWER STRUGGLES AND WAS REPLACED IN EARLY 1986 BY UNOC. HOWEVER, THE VESTIGES OF UPD (1,500 MEMBERS) JOINED UNTS -- IN EFFECT, GIVING THE LEFT A DEMOCRATIC FACADE TO MANIPULATE INTERNATIONAL LABOR AND OPINION. UNTS UNIONS HAVE ACCUSED UPD SECRETARY GENERAL

~~SECRET~~

RAMON MENDOZA OF "SELLING OUT," AND HAVE CHARGED AIFLD, THE EMBASSY, AND THE PDC WITH ATTEMPTING TO DESTROY UNTS (A CHARGE WE ACCEPT). MENDOZA HAS RECEIVED DEATH THREATS AS A RESULT OF HIS DECISION TO LEAVE UNTS. THE EMBASSY HAS ARRANGED SECURITY. (S) THE BOTTOM LINE OF THIS PROCESS IS THAT THINGS ARE MOVING OUR WAY. IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS U.S. INTERESTS HAVE BEEN GREATLY SERVED BY THE OVERALL TRENDS IN SALVADORAN LABOR. UNTS NOW STANDS DENUDED OF ITS DEMOCRATIC FACADE AND WE HAVE ABOUT AS CLEAN AND NEAT A DIVISION BETWEEN DEMOCRATIC AND COMMUNIST LABOR AS WE ARE EVER LIKELY TO GET IN EL SALVADOR. WE HAVE 250,000 (UNOC, CTS, UPD) ON OUR SIDE, THEY HAVE 55,000 OR THEIRS (UNTS). AIFLD, WHICH HAD GREAT MISGIVINGS IN WASHINGTON ABOUT THE UPD STRATEGY, SHOULD DIRECT ITS POLICY AT HOLDING OUR SIDE TOGETHER, WHILE CONTINUING TO PICK OFF UNTS MEMBER UNIONS ONE-BY-ONE. UNTS HAS STRONG SUPPORT FROM NON-AFL-CIO UNIONS IN THE US (AFSCME) AND WILL CONTINUE TO RECEIVE SUFFICIENT FINANCIAL BACKING TO MAKE IT A THREAT TO DEMOCRATIC LABOR. THE HISTORY OF SALVADORAN LABOR OVER THE PAST FOUR YEARS DOES NOT SUGGEST THAT WE SHOULD EXPECT THE SPLITS, IN-FIGHTING AND IDEOLOGICAL COMPETITIO TO END, EVEN THOUGH WE NOW HAVE, THANKS TO AIFLD, AN ENORMOUSLY STRONG POSITION.

2. (S/NF/NC) MENDOZA'S DECISION CAME AFTER MONTHS OF TALKS HE HAD WITH LABATT AND AIFLD'S COUNTRY DIRECTOR. AIFLD HAS AGREED TO GIVE THE UPD FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE.
END SUMMARY.

3. (U) UPD LEAVES UNTS

ON NOVEMBER 16, THE "POPULAR DEMOCRATIC UNITY" (UPD) FORMALLY WITHDREW FROM THE LEFTIST LABOR UMBRELLA GROUP "NATIONAL UNITY OF SALVADORAN WORKERS" (UNTS). THE UPD EXPLAINED IN NEWSPAPER ADS THAT IT WAS FORCED TO DROP OUT BECAUSE MEMBERSHIP IN UNTS "INVOLUNTARILY LIMITED THE BROAD, PLURALISTIC, UNIFYING WORK AND THE GROWTH OF THE UPD." THOSE SIGNING THE AD WERE:

- RAMON ARISTIDES MENDOZA, UPD SECRETARY GENERAL AND LEADER OF THE GENERAL AGRARIAN CENTRAL (CEGAS),
- HECTOR SANTIAGO, SALVADORAN CAMPESINO ASSOCIATION (ACS),
- JESUS MARROQUIN, CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY WORKERS UNION (UTIC),
- MOISES CASTILLO, FACTION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SALVADORAN INDIANS (ANIS),
- DIONILA DE FLORE, NATIONAL AGRO-INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION (ANCA), AND
- FRANCISCO ZALDANA CABRERA, PHASE I LAND REFORM INSTITUTE UNION (SETISTA).

S E C R E T

4. (C) MOISES CASTILLO IS A MEMBER OF THE ADRIAN ESQUINO LISCO FACTION OF ANIS. CASTILLO SIGNED THE AD LAST WEEK, BUT WHETHER HE HAS QUIT UNTS IS UNCLEAR AS HE DID NOT SHOW UP FOR A NOVEMBER 16 MEETING TO
S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 SAN SALVADOR 14833
DEPT PASS DOL/ILAB
DEPT ALSO FOR T.J., CLEAR, INR/GI
USIA FOR AR/CENTAM
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: ELAB, ES
SUBJECT: UPD QUILTS UNTS
FORMALIZE UPD'S WITHDRAWAL. ESQUINO LISCO HAS SAID HE WILL REMAIN IN UNTS.
5. (U) UNTS CHARGES MENDOZA WAS BOUGHT

AT A NOVEMBER 17 PRESS CONFERENCE, LEADERS OF THE UNTS-AFFILIATED NATIONAL UNION OF CAMPESINOS (UNC) ACCUSED THE UPD OF SELLING OUT TO AIFLD. UNC ALSO CHARGED THE GOES WAS TRYING TO BRING THE UPD BACK INTO ITS FOLD AND REVIVE THE SOCIAL PACT. THE FPL-CONTROLLED TEACHERS UNION "ANDES 21 DE JUNIO" CLAIMED AT A NOVEMBER 20 PRESS CONFERENCE THAT MENDOZA "WAS UNABLE TO RESIST PRESSURES FROM THE U.S. EMBASSY, AIFLD, AND THE PDC, AND THAT HE HAD ONCE AGAIN ACCEPTED THIRTY PIECES OF SILVER."
ANDES SECRETARY GENERAL JULIO CESAR PORTILLO ACCUSED AIFLD, THE EMBASSY, AND THE GOES OF TRYING TO DESTROY UNTS.

6. (C) DEATH THREATS AGAINST MENDOZA

UPD LEADER MENDOZA BEGAN RECEIVING DEATH THREATS SEVERAL DAYS BEFORE THE UPD'S ANNOUNCEMENT. ON NOVEMBER 19, LABATT SPOKE WITH NATIONAL POLICE CHIEF RODOLFO ANTONIO REVELO, WHO PROMISED TO PROVIDE MENDOZA PROTECTION.

7. (S/NF/NC) IN JUNE, MENDOZA TOLD LABATT THE UPD WAS UNCOMFORTABLE IN UNTS BECAUSE OF ITS FMLN CONNECTIONS. MENDOZA EXPLAINED THAT UNTS WAS GIVING THE UPD MONEY, AND HE FEARED THE UPD COULD NOT SURVIVE WITHOUT INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE. LABATT THEN HOSTED A SERIES OF MEETINGS BETWEEN AIFLD COUNTRY DIRECTOR CLEMENTE HERNANDEZ AND MENDOZA. THE TWO REACHED AN AGREEMENT WHOSE CONDITIONS WERE:
- UPD WILL NOT PUBLICLY ATTACK AIFLD OR THE DEMOCRATIC LABOR UMBRELLA GROUP UNOC;
 - UNOC WILL NOT PUBLICLY ATTACK THE UPD;
 - NEITHER UNOC OR THE UPD WILL PIRATE EACH OTHER'S MEMBERS;
 - THE UPD HAD TO BREAK OFF PUBLICLY FROM UNTS; AND,
 - AIFLD WILL PROVIDE UPD 15,000 COLONES (DOLS 3,000) AS INITIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE UPD.

S E C R E T

-
THE AGREEMENT WENT INTO EFFECT AFTER HERNANDEZ CONVINCED AIFLD IN WASHINGTON TO SIGN OFF ON IT.
-

8. (C) MENDOZA WILL NOT, AT LEAST IN THE NEAR FUTURE, BRING THE UPD INTO UNOC. HE HAS INDICATED, THOUGH, HIS WILLINGNESS TO COLLABORATE WITH UNOC ON ISSUES WHERE UPD AND UNOC INTERESTS COINCIDE.

9. (C) AGEMHA MAY ALSO QUIT UNTS

IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS ON NOVEMBER 20, MENDOZA AND ANOTHER SOURCE TOLD LABATT THAT THE FINANCE MINISTRY UNION (AGEMHA) SECRETARY GENERAL HERMAN COLATO HAS ALSO DECIDED TO DROP OUT OF UNTS. LABATT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO CONFIRM THIS WITH COLATO, THOUGH IN A CONVERSATION NOVEMBER 15 -- THE DAY BEFORE UPD'S
<> ANNOUNCEMENT -- COLATO SAID HE WOULD ATTEND THE <><>CISPES-<><> UNTS CONFERENCE. COLATO HAS DESCRIBED HIMSELF AND MENDOZA AS THE "MODERATING FORCE" IN UNTS, AND MENDOZA'S DECISION COULD POSSIBLY SPUR COLATO TO TRY TO LEAVE UNTS. WE ARE ALSO FAIRLY SURE MENDOZA WILL TRY TO ENTICE COLATO INTO THE UPD. COLATO, HOWEVER, DOES NOT HAVE THE GRIP ON AGEMHA THAT MENDOZA HAS ON THE UPD, AND AN ATTEMPT BY COLATO TO PULL OUT OF UNTS COULD COST HIM HIS LEADERSHIP POSITION IN AGEMHA. ALREADY, THE MORE RADICAL ELEMENTS IN AGEMHA HAVE ACCUSED COLATO OF "SELLING OUT TO THE U.S. EMBASSY" BECAUSE HE ACCEPTED AN AID-SPONSORED TRIP TO THE U.S. WE SUSPECT COLATO WILL FIND IT PRUDENT TO REMAIN IN UNTS FOR NOW
S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 SAN SALVADOR 14833
DEPT PASS DOL/ILAB
DEPT ALSO FOR T.J., CLEAR, INR/GI
USIA FOR AR/CENTAM
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: ELAB, ES
SUBJECT: UPD QUILTS UNTS
AND PULL OUT LATER IF HE THINKS IT FEASIBLE.

-
10. (C) THE CLAT-AFFILIATED SALVADORAN WORKERS CENTRAL (CTS), WHICH WAS BRIEFLY A MEMBER OF UNTS, WILL PROBABLY FORM A LOOSE ALLIANCE WITH THE UPD WITHOUT FORMALLY JOINING IT. THE CTS RECENTLY REPLACED ITS ERRATIC SECRETARY GENERAL MIGUEL ANGEL VASQUEZ WITH THE MORE MODERATE FELIX BLANCO. BLANCO NOW FACES INTERNAL PROBLEMS IN THE CTS AS UNTS IS TRYING TO STEAL SOME CTS UNIONS. BLANCO WILL PROBABLY DECIDE THAT BRINGING THE CTS BACK INTO THE UPD (THE CTS BELONGED TO THE UPD UNTIL 1985) MAY AGGRAVATE HIS INTERNAL PROBLEMS.

-
11. (C) COMMENT

S E C R E T

C1Z

PAGE 005

THE UPD'S DEPARTURE LEAVES UNTS COMPOSED ALMOST ENTIRELY OF UNIONS HEADED BY FMLN MEMBERS OR SYMPATHIZERS. THE WITHDRAWAL STRIKES A BLOW TO UNTS DISPROPORTIONATE TO THE SIZE OF THE UPD, WHICH HAS NO MORE THAN 1,500 MEMBERS. THE NAME UPD HAS INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL PRESTIGE WHICH CARRIES OVER FROM THE DAYS WHEN THE UPD WAS 150,000 MEMBERS STRONG. UNTS AND ITS ALLIES HERE AND ABROAD HAVE POINTED TO UPD SUPPORT OF THE PDC IN THE 1984 AND 1985 ELECTIONS AND HAVE EMPHASIZED UPD MEMBERSHIP IN UNTS WAS "PROOF" THAT UNTS WAS A "PLURALISTIC, DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION."

-
12. (C) THE UPD'S DECISION TO LEAVE UNTS IS ESPECIALLY TIMELY AS IT COMES ON THE EVE OF THE NOVEMBER 22-23
<> <><>CISPES-UNTS<><> "CONFERENCE FOR PEACE" WHICH OVER 100
<> AMERICANS ARE EXPECTED TO ATTEND. (<><>CISPES<><> -- COMMITTEE
IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR -- IS A
U.S. FMLN SUPPORT GROUP.)

-
13. (C) ALSO OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE IS THAT UPD LEADER RAMON MENDOZA IS ONE OF EL SALVADOR'S SMARTEST LABOR LEADERS. HE WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE AN IMPORTANT PLAYER ON THE LABOR SCENE FOR YEARS TO COME. HIS GREATEST SHORTCOMINGS ARE HIS BOUNDLESS AMBITION AND THE DIFFICULTY HE HAS IN SHARING POWER WITH OTHER UNION LEADERS. HIS DREAM IS TO LEAD A LABOR POLITICAL PARTY, THOUGH HIS FRIENDS HAVE CONTINUALLY ADVISED HIM THIS PLAN IS IMPRACTICAL.

-
14. (S/NF/NC) WHILE WE ARE OVERJOYED BY THE UPD'S WITHDRAWAL FROM UNTS, THE PROCESS BY WHICH MENDOZA REACHED HIS DECISION POINTS TO THE SAD FACT THAT IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE FOR A SALVADORAN UNION OF ANY IMPORTANCE TO SURVIVE WITHOUT ASSISTANCE FROM FOREIGN DEMOCRATIC OR LEFTIST SOURCES.

DLOUHY

END OF MESSAGE

SECRET

NNNN

EZ3

TEXT

KW:461.1,461.2

NNDD

S E C R E T