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THE NERVOUS SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONALISM AND
SOLIDARITY: TRANSMISSION AND RECEPTION OF
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR INFORMATION IN PERU

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Abstract

This is a piece of exploratory research on international labour communication. It begins with a quotation from the early-20th century Peruvian Marxist, Mariategui, and refers later to the standard he set for communicating internationalism. Against this background it examines international labour information activities in the contemporary Peruvian labour movement. It does so by examining first 'transmitters' (both labour leaders/communicators and the pro-labour media themselves) and then 'receivers' (national and local-level labour activists). Whilst the investigation reveals a low level of activity, and whilst it suggests that Mariategui's name is being here honoured more in the breach than in the rule, it also reveals positive attitudes towards labour internationally and possibilities for the development of international labour communication and internationalism. The paper attempts to develop a new terminology for left media coverage of labour internationally, and to suggest a new way of conceptualising worker knowledge of this. It returns, finally, to reflect critically on Mariategui's thoughts on internationalism and communication. There is an extended bibliography.

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Note

Nebur Arellano has approved publication of this text without having been able to yet read the final version. Any further corrections or changes will be incorporated into later editions.

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THE NERVOUS SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONALISM AND SOLIDARITY:

TRANSMISSION AND RECEPTION OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR INFORMATION IN PERU

Peter Waterman and Nebiur Arellano

'Internationalism exists as an ideal because it is the new reality, the nascent reality. It is not an arbitrary ideal, it is not the absurd ideal of a few dreamers or utopians [...] The development of heavy industry, the emergence of big factories, destroys small industry and ruins the small artisan; but it at the same time creates the material possibility for the realisation of socialism and creates, above all, the will to bring this to realisation...Socialism, trade unionism, did not thus spring from some work of genius. They sprang from the new social reality, the new economic reality. And the same is true of internationalism [...] Capitalism, under the reign of the bourgeoisie, does not produce for the national market; it produces for the international market...Its product, its merchandise, recognises no frontiers; it struggles to surpass and subjugate political restrictions...In consequence of this international web entities...The circulation of capital, through the banks, is an international circulation [...] The owner of a textile mill in Britain is interested in paying his workers less wages than the proprietor of a textile mill in the United States, so that his merchandise can be sold more cheaply, more advantageously and abundantly. And this causes the North American textile worker to interest himself in the non-reduction of wages of a British textile worker. A fall of wages in the British textile industry is a threat to the worker of Vitarte, to the worker of Santa Catalina. In virtue of these facts, the workers have declared their solidarity and their fraternity over frontiers and despite nationalities. The workers have seen that when they fight a battle it is not only against the capitalist class of their own country but against the international capitalist class [...] In this century everything tends to link, everything tends to connect, peoples and individuals. In other times the setting for a civilisation was limited, small; in our epoch it is almost the whole world. The British coloniser who settles in a primitive corner of Africa brings to this corner the telephone, the wireless telegraph, the automobile...The progress of communications has to an incredible extent mutually bound the activity and history of nations...Communications are the nervous system of this internationalism and human solidarity. One of the characteristics of our epoch is the rapidity, the velocity, with which ideas spread, with which currents of thought and culture are transmitted. A new idea that blossoms in Britain is not a British idea except for the time that it takes for it to be printed. Once launched into space by the press, this idea, if it expresses some universal truth, can also be instantaneously transformed into an internationalist idea.'

Jose Carlos Mariategui, 'Internationalism and Nationalism', 1923 (Mariategui 1986).

Introduction

This is a report on an exploration into the national-level transmission and reception of information and ideas about workers and labour movements of other countries. To our best knowledge there exists no such research anywhere in the contemporary world, and we know of no such historical research either. However modest the present exercise, it is concerned with one of the great issues of the labour movement historically. The Communist Manifesto of 1848 distinguishes communists from others by the fact that

In the national struggles of the proletarians of different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat independent of all nationality. (Marx 1935:219)

It ends with the more-famous appeal:

The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of the world, unite! (241)

The concern of this paper is with the way in which self-declared socialists today propagate such internationalism and the way in which contemporary workers and unionists perceive (thus?) their fellows abroad.

That the survey has been first carried out in Peru is due to the visit of one of us to that country whilst trying to set up a project on the democratisation of international labour communication (Waterman 1986a,b). But why not Peru? Between the naked Andes and the empty Pacific it may be one of the Latin American countries most isolated from the rest of the industrialised capitalist or communist worlds. It may be virtually uninvolved in the changing international division of labour that is tying the countries of South-East Asia so closely to the latest technical and commercial developments of industrial capitalism (Wad, Norlund and Brun 1986, Southall 1987). But it is also a country the working class and popular sectors of which have been repeatedly rebellious, and with a United Left electoral alliance that has been able to gain 20-30 percent in recent municipal and national elections. It is, furthermore, the country of Mariategui (1894-1930), one of the great creative spirits of early-20th century Marxism.

Mariategui was a journalist, poet, popular educator, labour organiser, a founder of the first General Confederation of Peruvian Labour (CGTP), and of the Peruvian affiliate to Lenin's Third International (Kapsoli 1980, Quijano 1981, Vanden 1986, Angotti 1986). In the volume of writings from which the long quotation above comes, we can find items also on the following issues: the world crisis, the collapse of the Second International, European labour and socialist revolutions, revolutionary and socialist movements in China and India, the Mexican Revolution. In his paper on nationalism and internationalism, Mariategui's argument deals with the reality of the world market, the idea of internationalism, its implications for labour, the internationalist consciousness and behaviour of workers, and finally...the role of communication in the creation and spread of internationalism!

In the city that honours Mariategui with numerous street names, in unions that use his image as their symbol, and amongst the party left that has begun to unite around his name, we carried out our enquiry. Our subject begins where the quotation from Mariategui ends: with communication as the nervous system of internationalism and solidarity.

The paper deals in turn with the research methodology (Part 1), some background on Peruvian society and its labour movement (Part 2), with the information transmitters (Part 3), with the receivers (Part 4). It ends with some discussion (Conclusion).

The paper has a bibliography extended beyond the references to cover relevant materials on Peru, internationalism and communications. An appendix gives the complete translated text of Mariategui's essay on internationalism.

1. Methodology

We began this study with no theoretical framework in mind and with no theoretical ambitions either. The subtitle of the paper uses common-language terminology: 'transmission', 'reception', 'information'. Whilst communications specialists might consider this terminology simplistic or even mystifying of the actual relationships examined, we consider it adequate for beginning an equally simple task. We do not wish, moreover, to let theoretical discussion stand in the way of access to the material by the labour activists we are writing about and for. In the course of the survey we develop certain categories as we reflect on and try to make sense of the material. In the Conclusion we go a little further, considering the theoretical and strategic implications of the findings we have already conceptualised. Even here, however, we hope to remain accessible to interested labour activists internationally.

Having said a few words about our conceptualisation, we will now say a little more about our research strategy. The whole exploration was carried out in a week or two, spread over four to five weeks, this being the time available between other tasks. It was divided into two main parts:

1. Interviews with several labour leaders or socialist media specialists, and examination of left and socialist media products. Concentration was on significant media, self-avowedly left, oriented to labour and other popular sectors, supposedly internationalist in the Mariateguian sense. Selection of the particular informants and media was inevitably arbitrary, being determined by access or availability. During the examination of the media an attempt is also made to characterise their international coverage.

2. Interviews with workers and trade unionists at national and local level. This part, evidently, can also not claim representativity of even the Lima labour movement. But, again, an attempt is nonetheless made to characterise the response.

Treating labour movement activists as 'transmitters' or 'receivers' is inevitably unsatisfactory given that our transmitters could be also considered either as receivers of information from abroad or as creators of the information transmitted. Similarly, some of the receivers (union leaders) also transmit. But such a simple classification and distinction seemed to us adequate for an initial exploration, allowing for a series of reflections on the findings. Herewith some more detailed information on the two parts of the survey.

Interviews with labour leaders and media specialists as transmitters were carried out with the following:

1. Leaders of the major trade union confederation, the communist-led CGTP (General Confederation of Peruvian Workers);

2. Leaders of the FNTMMSP, or Federacion Minera (National Federation of Mine, Metal and Steel Workers of Peru);

3. Those responsible for the well-established bi-monthly labour magazine, Cuadernos Laborales, and for the new labour radio programme, La Jornada.

Open-ended interviews of about 30 minutes were held, in English or Spanish as appropriate, structured loosely around these issues: international labour coverage in the dominant media, in the labour and socialist media, in the interviewees own particular media; identification of any new tendencies; future possibilities or necessities; local worker knowledge of or interest in labour abroad; national and international sources for international labour news. Amongst the media examined were the following, all of which give exclusive or extensive coverage of labour nationally:

1. Amauta, a new weekly paper associated with the PUM (United Mariateguian Party);

2. Cambio, a new weekly magazine associated with the Izquierda Unida (United Left);

3. Unidad, weekly of the PCP, the pro-Soviet Communist Party of Peru;

4. Prensa Obrera, a Peruvian paper of the Trotskyist Fourth International;

5. La Jornada, the labour radio programme;

6. Occasional labour and socialist pamphlets and teaching materials;

7. Labor, the labour newspaper set up by Mariategui in the late 1920s.

Examination methods were simple and their application restricted. An attempt was made, where possible, to obtain a run of serials covering several months. Foreign labour coverage (in some cases, perforce, any foreign coverage) was measured as a percentage of total space. Notes were made on matters of interest. It was not possible in practice to obtain serials covering the same period. One-off (single) items were examined without any common methodology being applied. No attempt could be made to evaluate either the circulation or impact of these items. Further details of examination methods can be found in the body of the text below.

The interviews with workers and unionists as information receivers were carried out with the following:

1. National and local leaders of SITENAPU, the major portworkers' union;

2. Rank-and-file members of SITENAPU, clerks in the Port of Callao;

3. National leaders of Luz y Fuerza (Light and Power Workers Union);

4. Local leaders of Luz y Fuerza in Lima;
5. Local leaders of the Federacion Minera from the mine of Raura;
6. Leaders of a social security workers' union;
7. Leaders and women activists of the union of National, the Japanese electrical and electronics company.

Interviews with receivers were also of around a half hour. These interviews were rather more structured than the previous ones, with questions covering the following areas: 1) Knowledge: workers and unions in own company or industry abroad, the company or industry itself, major recent foreign labour protests, international labour organisations; 2) Contacts: solidarity with workers abroad, solidarity from workers or others abroad, any meetings with foreign workers or unionists; 3) Opinions: on the situation of workers and unions in Chile, the USA and Western Europe, in Poland and in South Africa; 4) Information sources: which provide the best coverage, what kind of additional information is desirable.

2. Background

Before beginning with the case some minimal background information is necessary (NACLA 1980, 1986; Reid 1985; Arellano 1986b).

2.1. General

Peruvian society cannot be understood without reference to Peru's rugged topography and geographical divisions. Split into three strips - Pacific coast, the Andes, and the Amazon jungle - Peru really comprises a host of different social formations. There are still major Indian populations in the Andes and Amazon. The land measures 1,285,000 square kilometres: about the size of the European Common Market minus the United Kingdom. It is the fourth largest country in Latin America. Most economic activity is heavily concentrated in coastal cities. Exceptions to the rule are capital-intensive mining and oil-drilling centres, little of whose wealth stays in the regions. Less than three percent of the country is suitable for intensive agriculture. Few Peruvians know their own country's rich variety of cultures and climates. Nationalism, under these harsh conditions, is almost as much an ideal as internationalism.

By the Recession of the 1930s, a small proletariat and an incipient middle class had been established. But it was not until the 1960s that rapid increases in the population and urbanisation growth rates, among other factors, made inroads into the dominant triple alliance of Coastal and Sierra oligarchs and foreign investors.

Recent Peruvian history is marked, economically and in political consciousness, by the experience of the self-styled 'Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces' under General Velasco in 1968-75. This was followed by a further five-year bout of military dictatorship mostly aimed at undoing from above the 'structural reforms' - equally imposed from above - of Velasco. Surviving the turmoil of those years are institutions like 'labour community' profit-sharing schemes, peasant associations, agrarian cooperatives, job-stability legislation, 303 state-owned or state-run companies, thousands of legally-recognised trade unions, and two main trade union confederations.

Peruvian political parties of the left - a collection of over 40 groups - also bloomed and flourished, some in partial support of Velasco, but most challenged by the 'revolution from above' into defining more radical stances. A spurt of neo-liberalism in 1980-85, under President Fernando Belaunde, ended in economic and national depression amidst increasing social violence. Voters did not, however, opt for the far left but rather for the middle-of-most-roads Apra party which appeals particularly to the middle classes. The Peruvian political scene, in theatrical terms, consists now of a tussle between the Apra and the self-styled Marxists of the Izquierda Unida, who get 20-30 percent of votes in national and municipal elections and who rule Lima and several other cities. Lurking in the wings to the left is Sendero Luminoso (the Shining Path terrorist movement). Off-stage to the right, and surrounding the whole theatre, are the tanks of Peru's bloated armed services. In June, 1986, during the Lima conference of the Socialist

International, there was a prison mutiny of virtually-unarmed Sendero detainees, who were then massacred by the military.

2.2. Structure of the workforce

The Peruvian workforce - people aged between 15 and 60 - numbers 6.5 million out of a total population of 19.5 million. However, according to the National Statistics Institute, only 2.2 million or just over a third of the workforce, is 'adequately employed', meaning they earn the minimum monthly wage (US\$40) or more and work at least 40 hours a week. Approximately one million people were earning the minimum wage in mid-1986. One in every nine members of the workforce is 'openly unemployed' and over half (54.1 percent) is underemployed. In practice, the bulk of these workers eke out a generally low-income, low-productivity existence in Peru's huge unregistered economy.

In official jargon, half those with 'adequate employment' are described as obreros (blue-collar workers), although the term does not necessarily imply that they are involved in productive labour in the classic Marxist sense. The others are called empleados (white-collar workers). In the classic sense of workers in manufacturing, the 'adequately employed' non-mining Peruvian proletariat consists of 350,000 people, employed mainly in the food and beverages, textile, and metalworking or light-engineering sectors. These branches of industry account for half the factory workforce. About half this group work in factories employing more than 100 people. Manufacturing workers in practice constitute only 5.5 percent of the population of working age, or 16 percent of the real ('adequately employed') workforce.

What is clear from general developments is that the relative, and possibly also absolute, size of the registered adequately-employed factory workforce has been declining as tertiary sectors have grown. For instance, there are more than half a million people now employed by the State, not including the police or armed forces. Lima contains three quarters of all people employed in factories in Peru. The figures show that 4,900 out of a total 6,724 industrial establishments are in Lima. The Sierra has virtually no industry, except for mining, which employs some 65,000 workers. Peru's second and third largest cities, Arequipa and Trujillo, both on the coast, account for almost all the remainder of the manufacturing workforce.

2.3. Labour organisation

Of the 2.2 million 'adequately employed' workforce, 1.6 can technically be organised in trade unions. The rest are not legally allowed to form labour organisations because they are members of the Armed Forces or work in factories employing less than five workers. In practice, about half the potentially organised (860,000) were members of some 4,781 trade unions in 1982, since when no reliable figures are available. Most of these unions were worker (obrero) organisations, although there were also over 600 white-collar (empleado) unions and some 900 mixed (blue- and white-collar) unions. Over half all trade unions in Peru today were formed and recognised under the Velasco regime (1968-1975).

Most Peruvian unions are formed in a single-establishment place of work and then join up in sector-based federations, which in turn belong to national confederations. There are two main confederations. The General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CGTP), was founded by Mariategui in 1929, and is affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) in Prague. The Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CTP), an Apra Party stronghold, was founded in 1944, and is now affiliated to the Brussels-based International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

The CGTP has had a chequered history. After three years of existence, it was banned by dictator Sanchez Cerro. In 1944, a new confederation was formed by both the Communist Party (PCP) and the Apra, which quickly took over the leadership. Disputes between the two groups led to the Communists leaving the CTP and eventually reorganising the old CGTP in 1968. At first the Moscow-oriented leadership supported the reformist military government of Velasco, which caused several groups, including miners, teachers and metalworkers to leave or criticise the Confederation and adopt a more radical, class-conscious (clasista) stance. This meant that many of Peru's more independent unions were born and tested in struggles which were not only for their own 'economic' benefit but at the same time directed against the military dictatorship. This earned them broad popular support, expressed in a series of general strikes against the military regimes. But it also meant that some labour groups were disorientated when a civilian government came to power in 1980 and their demands suddenly appeared more self-interested. The radical left did not succeed in forming their own confederation. In the 1980s, parallel to the formation of the Izquierda Unida coalition of Marxist parties, many of the more radical unions decided to join or rejoin the CGTP, by far the most influential labour organisation in Peru. Although the Communists have lost control of various national federations over the years, they still firmly control the CGTP apparatus itself. Today all key sectors of the economy have trade unions and most of them belong to the CGTP.

Over two-thirds of unionised labour is probably in unions affiliated to the CGTP. The Apra confederation, CTP, lost influence from the 1960s, as the party desperately sought power through a series of compromises with its former oppressors. Its appeal faded, in Peruvian eyes, as the military government appeared to enact some of Apra's program, taking the wind out of its sails. The military made an effort to set up their own confederation, the Confederation of Workers of the Peruvian Revolution (CTRP), and the Christian Democrats, a minor force in Peruvian politics, set up the National Confederation of Workers (CNT). Neither centre prospered and today between them account probably for less than five percent of the organised workforce.

In President Alan Garcia's speeches today organised workers are located at the upper end of the social pyramid that the President likes to sketch. His emphasis, partly due to Apra's dwindling influence among organised workers, is on the millions of peasant farmers and the under-employed at the base of his pyramid. Nevertheless, Apra activists have been trying, with some success to win over unions in mining and other sectors. even left-wing trade union leaders admit that the struggle has so far been 'clean', contrary to general expectations before Apra took office in July 1985.

The shifts and crises of the past two decades in Peruvian politics and labour history have thrown up a generation of labour leaders absorbed by internal struggles. On the positive side, this could be seen as a desire by the left to avoid dependence on foreign models and draw from the long local history of struggle. But it means that few labour leaders currently turn for lessons to the experience of workers and unions in other countries.

3. The transmitters

3.1. Interviews

1. The CGTP: The leaders of the CGTP whom we met could be considered part of the 'old left' in Peru, and this - as we will see - in more than one sense. The CGTP is still under the control of the Moscow-aligned Communist Party of Peru (sometimes called the PCP-U because of its paper, Unidad, and to distinguish it from various other Peruvian communist Parties). The CGTP receives only tiny affiliation fees from its members, is housed in a large but ramshackle building in the rundown centre of Lima, surrounded by other such union and social movement offices. The leaders we met were older than most of the others interviewed, with several appearing to be over 50. They had agreed to meet us without formality and appeared open and interested in the survey. We met them in a room decorated not only with representations of Mariategui but also with the customary symbols of the international communist movement - busts, statues, photos and posters of Marx, Lenin, Dimitrov. On the shelves behind them were filed copies of publications from the World Federation of Trade Unions in Prague, an organisation with which the CGTP has been affiliated since its revival. The group of leaders interviewed included the President and officers responsible for organisation, international relations and the press. The CGTP leaders were not simply articulate but had knowledge of, and a quite distinctive set of attitudes towards, the dominant and labour media.

The main note struck on the dominant media was that of its power. The terminology used was that of 'domination by a few press agencies', the 'monopoly control' and 'censorship and self-censorship' of the local press, the 'one-sided and fragmented' nature of the information given. Although our question was about coverage of labour internationally, the replies did not relate to this specifically. The same was the case with our question concerning international labour coverage in the socialist and labour media locally. Here the dominant note struck was that of weakness. The terminology used was that of the 'impossibility of defending', of 'being unable to use radio or television', of the 'weakness of the left press', the 'lack of sufficient resources', of 'splits within publications'. Addressing themselves to the subject more specifically, the CGTP leaders declared:

We do receive information from all over the world but our problem is how to process this and reach the workers with it...We do have the weekly, Unidad, which has an international page [actually more] The Diario de Marka [now, actually, El Nuevo Diario], has ample international information. These newspapers suffer from a paper boycott.

The interviewees spoke, further, of foreign-financed research centres that did provide certain information but that were also faced with attacks from the right. We asked why Mariategui's Labor (see 3.2.7 below) had been able to give so much space to labour internationally so many years ago whilst the contemporary left seemed to be unable to do so:

We know that the crisis that Peru suffered between 1980 and 1985 is the worst economic crisis Peru has suffered since the Pacific War between Chile and Peru [1879-93]. The crisis has had a major effect on the organisation which represents the exploited sectors...We do carry out courses in our union school. But the situation now is that the number of workers has increased, there are more than a million nowadays. In the time of Mariategui the organisation was smaller, and trade union politics were less contaminated [sic]. Today it is much more difficult, there is ideological contraband [sic], the confusion of the working class is much more intense, earlier there was no TV. The work today is more extensive, it requires improved technology, a better-organised press. It is impossible today to reach workers only with speeches, bulletins and magazines. These don't meet the need.

We asked about any felt need for increasing international labour information.

Of course, this is an obvious necessity if we want better communication, mutual information. We would be gradually moving in the direction of a New International Press Order to confront the information multinationals...Knowledge of international trade union events is in fact a transmission of experiences that we can assimilate, and for this reason they [the events] are important also.

What of the knowledge of ordinary workers about labour internationally?

The CGTP sends international brochures to the unions at the base, they get quite a lot of information...but the majority of the workers know little because the problems are not spread amongst them...The leaders get knowledge. Through international seminars or forums we get to discuss problems not only of our country but the world, because lecturers and trade unionists come from other parts to explain the problems. We receive magazines from elsewhere, above all from the socialist countries. Very little from the capitalist countries. Latin America has the same problem as we do. Workers at the grassroots have very little knowledge of the outside world.

What use, if any, was made of new technical means of communication? Apparently little, if any. One affiliate was said to have a video monitor and camera. The telex was expensive but was used for important declarations to the outside world, or for seeking and expressing solidarity. Concerning knowledge of national or international sources for international labour information, the interviewees also had little to say, although earlier one had mentioned Cuba's state agency, Prensa Latina, as 'the only leftwing press [agency] that distributes news of the left'.

It is interesting to note not only the somewhat pessimistic tone of the CGTP's responses but also the 'statist' orientation in the alternatives it visualises. The pessimism is not simply due to being communist, or pro-communist, since Soviet communism tends rather to triumphalism than defeatism. Nor is it a matter here of ignorance, since the leaders were well aware of the importance of the media and also of the international

demand for a New International Information and Communication Order (an inter-state project). The CGTP's worries about the media were, as has already been said, matched by a certain inability to answer questions in a specific manner. It was also evidently unaware of such non-state Latin American sources of labour information such as ALAI (Agencia Latino-Americana de Informacion, or Latin American Information Agency) in Quito/Montreal, and Chasquihasi, a cassette-tape information service based in Santiago, Chile. And although, finally, they were sensitive to the need for new and appropriate means of communication to reach Peruvian workers today, the leaders were evidently neither informed of nor engaged in attempts to create such.

2. The Mineworkers Federation: Bearing in mind that the FNTMMSP can be said to represent some 50,000 of the 75,000 in Peru's crucial mining and metal industries, its offices are small and inadequate. On the third floor of a shabby office building, within three or four blocks of the city centre, these consist of four small rooms and a toilet. The office appears to be open seven days a week. There are usually individual miners or groups visiting. At the time of our survey, the Federation was also busy with international visitors (Waterman and Arellano 1986). There was a two-person delegation from the Brussels-based Mineworkers International Federation (MIF) and several successive groups from the French Third-World solidarity and aid organisation, Freres des Hommes. Whilst the former has been supporting a Federation educational project, the latter is supporting the attempt to produce its newspaper, El Minero, on a regular basis. Both groups were taken on visits to mining camps in the mountains, and they were also jointly taken to the suburban stadium where protesting miners from two or three pits far from Lima have been camped for a year or more. The Federation is said by sympathisers to enjoy the strong support of the miners but to be suffering from serious problems due to 1) the effects of the world crisis on local mining employment, 2) the isolation of the pits from each other and from Lima, 3) the fact that member unions are only prepared to pay a token membership fee, 4) the fact that the leaders are ex-miners, having been sacked for political reasons, and to this extent both professionalised and separated from the working miners. The leaders we met gave an impression of considerable self-confidence, commitment, political experience and sophistication. Apart from their international experience in hosting a three-country mine union meeting in 1984, two or three of them have visited Western Europe since the mid-1970s. The Federation was a major force in the development of 'independent class' unionism in Peru in the 1970s, when the CGTP was compromised with the military regime. It is today again a leading force within the CGTP. We met a group consisting of the Assistant Secretary and the officers responsible for press and international relations.

On international labour coverage in the dominant media, they complained of its control by foreign agencies and its distorted nature:

We hear that the British coalminers are on strike. Fullstop. Then there is an account of the facts, but they don't say what the objects of the strike are, etc...On South Africa we know from other information that the miners have been playing an active role, but such information isn't given [by the dominant media]. They only say, there were disturbances, disorder, always trying to favour the

dominant classes...On Poland there is total distortion...There was enough international press coverage in favour of the Solidarity movement, but trying to use Walesa to prove that the socialist countries are in a total crisis, that there is no freedom for the workers, that there has been a historical distortion of the objectives of what for us is at least our ideology - struggle for socialism, for social change.

What of the main existing labour or socialist media? They spoke of the limitations of the left media, its restricted coverage. They felt that Amauta and Cambio (see 3.2.1 and 2 below) gave little coverage to labour nationally. This is something that those with knowledge of left media in other countries might not immediately agree with. They felt that these weeklies gave sufficient information on, for example, Libya and Nicaragua. In the face of the dominant media reports on Poland

there arises another kind of information, manipulated by other types of political tendencies, mainly the Peruvian Communist Party, in which they suggest that the Polish workers were infiltrated by - at the service of - the CIA. From other sources we have managed to understand that this was a movement against a clique which had usurped power, having taken the name of socialism but distorted its objectives. But, as far as the Mineworkers Federation is concerned, it approved a motion of support for the Solidarity movement at its congress.

What of the international information work of the Federation itself? Due, it was said, to the lack of funds, they did not cover this. The

problem is that almost the whole labour movement identifies itself with Mariategui but, nonetheless, often fails in practice. Also, in our Federation itself, we have failed to develop international work. We take up the most striking issues but fail to give them serious content. We almost always remain at the national level.

The group was much more positive on future necessities and possibilities. They thought it would be possible to use the MIF to obtain information, or explore new possibilities (that we were discussing with them separately). They were interested in possibly training some of their own people to work on international communication:

What interests us above all is the labour aspect - not to speak of the political aspect of each country and the organisational advances and struggles...At the mining level, in particular, we are interested in technical information. We are very concerned about the problem of mineral prices, about the stock exchanges. The employers have up-to-date information concerning the fluctuation of mineral prices. We don't have this, or if so, very late. We need this information at the technical-analytical level.

The leaders thought that workers were interested in international information. They mentioned radio stations and programmes accessible to the union. They were beginning to build up correspondents nationally for the

radio programmes, to tape songs and poems, to organise themselves around available media:

Of course, this is nearly always primarily a matter of local interest. We haven't yet developed the international level...It's a process. What's important is the response of the workers.

The Federation leadership seems, in sum, to share the position of the CGTP leaders both on the shortcomings of the dominant media and on that of the left in general - as well as on its own media in particular. There is, however, a clear difference in attitude from the CGTP and this is not limited to Federation criticism of media manipulation by communists. It is, firstly, perhaps, the difference between the state-dependence of the CGTP and the media activity of the Federation. It lies secondly, and possibly consequently, in the contrast between the quasi-fatalistic attitude of the CGTP and the sober yet positive attitude of the Federation toward new communication possibilities. As we will see in Section 3.2.6 below, the Federation's orientation is based on a certain international knowledge and experience built up through recent years, even if this may not have been effectively communicated to the mass of the members.

3. Cuadernos Laborales and La Jornada: Although the first is published by the ADEC (Association for Legal Defence and Training) and the second is based on the ATC (Association for Work and Culture), we can consider these jointly for several reasons. To begin with they are both produced by labour centros, the labour-support or service groups that sprung up in large numbers in Peru in the late-1970s (there are 20 or more in the Lima area alone). These centres are staffed by university-educated lawyers, economists, other professionals and technical specialists. They are mostly funded by West-European development agencies, mostly to be found in Lima's affluent suburbs rather than its crumbling city centre. ADEC and ATC not only share these characteristics but also the same building, and they have been moving towards a merger. Cuadernos Laborales is a well-established bi-monthly magazine of labour news and analysis, printing some 2,000 copies, mostly bought by labour activists, either from their organisations or from bookstores and bookstalls. La Jornada and its associated audi-tape service, is a new daily radio programme, broadcasting news and interviews in an attempt to surpass the shortcomings of the prensa chica (little papers) of the unions (Sulmont 1981) that fail to reach beyond a local and trade union constituency in Peru. Having established its production and transmission activities, La Jornada is trying to publicise its broadcasts within certain major unions and involve them more actively in the project. The editor of the magazine, Amalia Mendoza, and the producer of the radio programme, Hans Landolt, are young and both speak English (though Hans Landolt's has had to be improved from the taped original).

With respect to international labour coverage in either the dominant or left media, the opinions of this pair coincided more or less with each other and with what earlier interviewees had to say. As far as their own products were concerned, Amalia Mendoza said that it was not worth looking for international labour coverage in Cuadernos, although, as we will see in Section 3.2.6 below, it has actually made a certain contribution here. Hans Landolt guessed, correctly, that international labour coverage in La Jornada

would be around five percent. Sources for the material he does broadcast were primarily the Santiago-based Chasqui huasi monthly cassette-tape service. He had also made use of a Bolivian bulletin on miners and Brazilian material from the Workers' Pastorate. He had, finally, done interviews with visiting public-sector unionists from Colombia.

Was it possible to see any new tendencies in international labour communication in Peru? Landolt thought not. But he also thought that the development of clasista unionism in Peru provided a basis for future internationalism. The class unionism of the 1970s, he said, distinguished itself both from Western-type 'free trade unionism' represented locally by the pro-government unions and the Eastern-bloc-aligned unionism of the communists. What the new tendency represented was a revival of the 1920s project of united and democratic (member-controlled) unionism. The international policy of this tendency was one of non-affiliation, whilst recognising the necessity for relations with unions abroad.

What necessities or possibilities did they see for the future of international labour information within Peru? Landolt again:

I think it would be very important to start a movement in this direction. But right now this requires an exercise of the imagination - doesn't it? - about how we could do it, because we don't have any information. With whom could we work on this? I think the first priority is that of contact between the unions...The possibilities for working with the media here are not immediately obvious.

What did they think concerning worker knowledge of, or attitudes towards, labour abroad? Hans Landolt once more:

If we are talking about workers at the base, then I think they usually don't have any information. But their attitude towards foreign workers is very open, very receptive. We have experience here, for example, with visiting miners from Sweden...and a Canadian unionist working here who was invited to speak to a conference of miners at Centromin, the biggest public-sector mine here. It's always like this, a very receptive attitude.

On existing national and international sources for international labour information, Amalia Mendoza laid particular stress on the ILO, ATC turning to it whenever it needed information on labour relations abroad or concerning new legislation due to be introduced in Peru. And what kind of information did they think would be necessary in the future? Amalia Mendoza:

I remember going to a conference organised by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation [development organisation of the West German Social-Democrats] on the social contract in Spain...in which you have the participation of the state, the workers and the employers. And they invited union leaders from the main unions in Spain. And they spoke of the need of the workers to even give way on some of the typical worker demands in exchange for participation, and the right to

present alternatives to the government to fight the crisis in Spain...[This implies] not only solidarity amongst the workers but from the workers towards the...unemployed sectors of the population. Union leaders in the audience were asking questions more directed towards, well, what about the workers' demands? And is it possible for workers to give up benefits for other sectors of the population? And I think mainly the intellectuals, here, the people who work in the centros, are...taking up this idea and talking with the unions...

Hans Landolt was also interested in the Spanish experience, whilst making clear that it was something to be learnt from, not necessarily to be copied. He continued:

We have very little information about labour law in other countries...For example, when we discuss different proposals in collective bargaining it's very hard to find out what the collective bargaining structure is in other countries. Specialists here know about France, Spain, very few other countries. For example, the right to strike: we have very little information...But it's not only the laws, it's the collective negotiation structure which - this is our conclusion you see - depends on the organisational level existing amongst workers...

Would Peruvian unions be interested in problems like privatisation and attempts to develop 'alternative worker' or 'alternative production' plans?
Amalia Mendoza:

Just the day before yesterday they said they were going to take 17 state-owned factories and put them up to auction, but there has been such a crisis in the state-owned industries that this hasn't been criticised...There has been a lot of pressure on workers to speak up and present alternatives...the idea of the worker going beyond his surroundings, or his rights and his conditions, and participating in alternatives to his economic problems and on the national [external] debt...

What of information on general strategy questions affecting workers and unions? Relations with the state and political parties for example? Amalia Mendoza again:

We haven't even touched this question in Peru...We are beginning to think it is important because of the general situation. I was speaking with someone who was here from Bolivia and she was explaining the experience the trade unions went through with this government, the leftist government...and the corruption amongst the union leaders, and how the whole labour movement right now has been put back because of the relationship between the state and the trade unions, something which I think should be processed and thought over so that we can learn from this experience.

It was interesting in the two interviews to note the following. Firstly, that these two communications projects, associated with the

development of autonomous, democratic and class unionism in Peru, had been even less engaged in the production of international information than some of the more traditional socialist media (Section 3.2 below). Secondly, however, that both interviewees were very open to the use of such material: after the interviews both said that the questions asked had stimulated their awareness of the necessity for international labour information. Thirdly, that both - separately - highlighted the importance for Peru today of the Spanish social contract process. It was only in response to direct questions that interest was also declared in alternative worker plans (a phenomenon apparently unknown to them) and in general strategy questions. When Amalia Mendoza says that there is pressure on labour to come up with alternatives in the current situation, and when she talks of the interest of intellectuals in the Spanish experience, the question arises of whether the pro-labour intellectuals are not interested in a different kind of international labour information than the unions. We should not make too much of this, because we do not have enough evidence to be able to do so, but it should be borne in mind. Elsewhere there was coincidence between what they and earlier interviewees had said. But Cuadernos Laborales and La Jornada are - as became clear from further interviews - media for unions and workers rather than controlled by them. We do need to be aware of the different information/communication needs amongst all the relevant parties or levels - including the national unions themselves and the workers at the base.

4. Tentative conclusion: These three interviews provide a limited base for any kind of generalisation, yet it remains important to draw tentative conclusions. These will need to be related to the conclusions of later sections and then rediscussed in the final conclusion. However thin the evidential base, it may still help us develop hypotheses for further testing in the future, and concepts that could assist more rigorous research. Finally, they may provide us with some generalisations on past and future labour communications strategy. These could be debated with labour leaders and communicators themselves, the results of such dialogue hopefully leading to more-conscious strategy decisions by the communicators.

Perhaps we should first make explicit what has so far been only implicit, that we are dealing with self-avowedly socialist groups only, that they belong to different socialist traditions, and that they represent different labour movement levels or practices. The CGTP is the recognised national left union confederation but it is also a traditional communist one. The Federacion Minera exists at a lower institutional level but it is also a major force in 'independent and class' unionism, critical not only of the right but also of the CGTP and communism. Cuadernos Laborales and La Jornada are pro-labour media, produced outside a union or party structure, by socialist intellectuals who see such support activities as more fruitful than the traditional practice of providing an intellectual vanguard or revolutionary leadership for the workers. This particular activity is, moreover, one closely linked with independent class unionism in general and the Federacion Minera in particular.

The contrast we have already identified between the CGTP and the Federation is, however, clearly one of orientation, not level. The crucial difference is, perhaps, the contrast between the apparent inertia of the CGTP on international and communication issues, and the innovatory and

experimental attitude of the Federacion Minera. In any case, it is not difficult to see an inter-relationship between the different elements in the CGTP's position: the notion of powerfully-manipulating capitalist media, their own media inactivity, their dependence on the state or inter-state activity for a solution, and a consequently reasonable pessimism about the possibility of themselves changing the situation. One additional element in their inactivity, of course, may be the assumption that the international communication function is carried out by the PCP and its paper, Unidad, thus making their own activity here unnecessary.

When contrasting the attitude of Cuadernos Laborales and La Jornada to that of the others, we did draw attention to the possibly differing information interests of international labour information transmitters. It is a commonplace of left political debate in Peru that there is a dangerous gap between the left parties (largely with the IU) and the social movements in the workplaces, squatter settlements, rural communities, etc. (Ames 1986). Those working in the centros are always aware of a tension between themselves and those whom they claim to be serving (in relationship to women's centros in Peru, see Carillo 1986). We also suggested possibly different information interests between levels within labour organisations as such. The leadership of the Federacion Minera, for example, might have an interest in international union relations or in international labour information quite distinct from that of its member unions - or their worker members!

The above are issues to which we should return after having carried out an analysis of the left media and internationalism in the section below, and of labour movement activists as information receivers later.

3.2. Analyses

1. Amauta: This is a new tabloid weekly, associated closely with the United Mariateguian Party (PUM), itself part of the IU. The PUM is a Leninist vanguard party but the paper does not give this impression, appearing more as a non-party organ of the left. It is professionally produced and attractively laid out. It has adopted the name of Mariategui's own cultural and political periodical. Its extensive coverage of labour and other popular struggles within Peru suggest it is attempting to follow in his tracks. Its international coverage, however, is limited. The 11 issues examined (not a complete run) contained some 214 pages, of which only 18-19 were of an international character, this amounting to only some 8.4 percent of total space. Little of this was on labour, trade unions or the labour movement. The three items on the Socialist International were, of course, due to its meeting having taken place in Lima in June. The May Day issue (April 30) noted the 100th anniversary of the event. But it made no mention of the international labour movement except for passing editorial reference to the Russian, Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. Most of the foreign coverage was of what might be called a 'Nationalist and Democratic' character rather than a specifically 'Labour' or 'Socialist' one. Here is a list of the major foreign topics covered:

- US and Libya;
- Central America (Nicaragua, El Salvador, the Contadora negotiations);

- Socialist International;
- Chile;
- Foreign press coverage of the June 19 prison massacres;
- Spanish civil war anniversary.

2. Cambio: This is a new tabloid weekly magazine associated with the IU. It began publication on April 17, 1986, as a glossy magazine but had to adopt cheaper paper after a couple of months. It is, like Amauta, a professional and attractive publication, devoting much space to labour and other popular struggles in Peru. It also gives the impression of having more extensive international coverage. This turns out on examination to be due to its greater number of pages and to the large number of short items it publishes. Eleven of its 14 issues were examined, amounting to some 302 pages exclusive of advertisements. Of this total only 26-7 pages were of an international character, this amounting to 7.6 percent of the total. Its May Day issue also managed to avoid explicit mention of labour outside Peru, even in union or party advertisements mentioning Chile, El Salvador and the socialist states. Once again, the coverage seemed to be of a Nationalist or Democratic rather than a specifically Labour nature. Here is a list of the major topics covered:

- The Uruguayan writer, Eduardo Galeano;
- Libya-US conflict;
- Peru-Chile tensions;
- The Tokio Summit;
- Reactions to the Chernobyl disaster;
- Catholics in Cuba;
- US in Central America;
- South Africa and the Commonwealth;
- Salt II.

3. Unidad: This the attractive tabloid weekly of the pro-Soviet Peruvian Communist Party (PCP). In July, 1986, amongst the congratulations of much of the Peruvian left, it published its 1,000th issue. We had access to an incomplete run of 12 issues, between February 6 and June 21, 1983. At that time Unidad had six pages, of which the back one usually carried an international solidarity story or picture, and others were reserved for foreign news. Of the total 192 pages in the issues examined, 40 were international, amounting to some 21 percent of the total. Labour coverage - except for items celebrating the life enjoyed by working people under communist regimes, was nil. There was a regular column for extracts from Lenin, at this period, for some reason, mostly Lenin on the nationalisation of banks. A Marx anniversary was also celebrated at some length. This type of material will be called 'Marxist'. Much space was given to coverage of communist countries, as also to speeches by leaders of such, book reviews by writers from the same, and items on the world communist movement. Items under this heading amounted to some 19 pages, around half of total international coverage and almost 10 percent of total space in the paper. We could characterise this type of material as 'Socialist State'. Notable for this category was a long item on Tito and Yugoslavia which treated both as simply socialist and failed to mention their expulsion from the communist universe in 1948-9. Most of the other foreign material in these issues of Unidad falls under the Democratic and Nationalist category already identified. The

type of international coverage to be found in the paper can be exemplified by that in the issue with most international pages, No.881, where it totalled 5.25 pages:

- Marx anniversary (0.6);
- Nicaragua solidarity (0.75);
- Lenin extract (0.3);
- Peace declaration of Soviet leader (1);
- Items on communist world (2);
- Nicaragua (0.6).

4. Prensa Obrera: This is now a fortnightly tabloid but in 1984 (before a major crisis of Peruvian Trotskyism) it was a weekly. It appeared at that time with six to eight pages. We were able to examine a complete run from August 8, 1984, to February 22, 1985. 21 issues were examined, totalling 130 pages. Of these there were 34 international, amounting to 26 percent of available space. This is the highest so far found. International labour news (workers, unions, strikes, movements) amounted to around 12 pages, some nine percent of space - again the highest found. It may be that this proportion is accounted for by the British miners' strike and the anniversary of Trotsky's death, both of which fell in the period. It is also evident, however, that the Trotskyists give major importance to labour protest internationally, since they also covered strikes in Brazil and Bolivia. This we will call 'Foreign Labour' coverage. There were, in Prensa Obrera moreover, and again for the first time, items on labour internationalism: the solidarity of the Peruvian with the British miners' union, the attempt of the latter to obtain support from the Libyan trade unions, and the international policy of a British Trotskyist party. Before we characterise this material as simply 'Socialist Internationalist', however, we should note certain special features of the two latter items. The defence of the British mine union's approach to the Libyan unions identifies with the Libyan regime and its state-approved unions in much the same way as the PCP does with the Soviet type. The international policy document of the British Trotskyists itself makes as good as no mention of working-class internationalism. Perhaps such material should be called 'International Party' coverage, thus distinguishing it both from International Union and Foreign Labour material. Several other features of foreign coverage in Prensa Obrera justify this new category. One is the heavy dependence on foreign - particularly British Trotskyist - documents. Another is the space devoted to attacking other Leninist vanguard parties. A third is a certain proletarian revolutionary apocalypticism, two items in one issue (No. 166) being entitled 'Towards Civil War' (Bolivia) and 'Towards the General Strike of 1985' (Britain). These qualifications made, it would seem that Prensa Obrera stood at this time closest to the tradition represented by Mariategui's Labor (see 3.2.7 below). Here is a list of items in the first six issue of Prensa Obrera examined (Nos. 168-73):

- Reagan's war policy;
- British miners;
- Brazilian workers' movement;
- Trotsky assassination commemoration;
- Argentinian strikes;
- Trotsky commemoration in Britain;

- Nicaragua;
- International Monetary Fund;

5. La Jornada: This new medium has been mentioned earlier above. We have available a list of the 168 programmes broadcast from November 23, 1985, to June 10, 1986. Under each programme there is further listed the subjects handled. There is a total of some 1,000 items, around six per daily programme. Only 29 percent of the daily broadcasts had foreign items, these amounting to a total of 56, just 5.6 percent of items broadcast. If the quantity of foreign coverage is disappointing for a new labour media experiment, the nature of the coverage looks quite promising. Of the 56 foreign items, 31, or 55 percent, were on labour. The foreign coverage of La Jornada falls into the by-now familiar categories, Foreign Labour, Nationalist and Democratic. As with other labour-oriented media in Peru, La Jornada does not seem to have used the 100th anniversary of May Day to deal with contemporary internationalism. Here are all the foreign items for December 1985:

- Bolivian miners;
- Amnesty International;
- Buenos Aires railway work-stoppage;
- Work-stoppage of health workers in Uruguay;
- Rejection of external debt in Ecuador;
- Dismissals in Brazil;
- Work-stoppage in Argentina;
- March in Uruguay;
- Banana workers in Honduras;
- The apartheid system in South Africa (whole programme);

6. Occasional publications on international issues: We intended to examine simply the materials commemorating the 100th anniversary of Mayday but these, as we are beginning to see, revealed so little internationalism that we felt required to collect whatever other materials we could find, also from organisations and publications already mentioned, that might suggest some further interest or new developments.

A handbook on trade union terminology with a preface by the CGTP President (Oblitas 1986), gives the following definition of proletarian internationalism:

One of the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology. Consists of the practice of solidarity with the struggles of the workers of the whole world, for their rights, for peace, for democracy, for national independence, for the destruction of the reign of capitalism, for the construction of socialism and communism.

Notable about this definition is not so much its content, which merely repeats familiar doctrine, as its brevity. Taking but five lines, it is shorter than the following handbook definitions beginning (in Spanish) with 'I': Ideology (12 lines), Equality (12), Imperialism (20), National Independence (8), Inflation (17), Inquisition (9), Class Instinct (11), Second International (13), Communist International (11), Intervention (8).

This material reinforces our earlier impressions of the CGTP attitude towards international questions. All we could add to the earlier characterisation is an interest in internationalism as an abstract doctrine or article of faith.

Whilst Cuadernos Laborales is somewhat apologetic about its failure to handle international labour, it has actually made an original contribution to communication about it. A 16-page pamphlet was produced by the magazine for May 1, 1986, with sections on the origins of Mayday, on the working day in contemporary Peru, on the unregulated working hours of women and - finally and summarily - on the history of the international movement (Cuadernos Laborales 1986). A bibliography lists both Spanish-language and other books and resources on labour internationally. Within the brochure, however, there is also folded an attractive, illustrated, two-colour poster, divided into historical periods horizontally and with columns headed 'Latin America', 'Other Countries' and 'International Scene'. Since this poster may be the most internationalist of all the products so far examined, it is worth listing what is covered in the last two columns for at least the most recent period:

Other Countries: Poland, 1970, strikes; Germany, 1973, wildcat strikes; Tripoli, 1973, Organisation of African Trade Union Unity; Brussels, 1973, European Trade Union Confederation; USA, 1974, Employee Stock Ownership Plan; Spain, 1978, first post-Franco union elections; USSR, 1978, repression of organisers of 'free trade unions'; 1979, South African Allied Workers Union; USA, 1979, attacks on government anti-union activities; Poland, 1980, strikes, the 21 trade union demands, appearance of Solidarnosc, Szczecin and Gdansk Agreements; USA, 1980, Chrysler workers accept give-back; Poland 1981, State of Emergency; South Africa, May 1981, first national solidarity strike; USA, 1981, strike of air-traffic controllers.

International Scene: 1972, conference of Nestle workers, international collective bargaining; 1973, International Trade Union Conference Against Apartheid (ILO), Trilateral Commission, ICFTU Working Group on Multinationals; 1976, USA withdraws from ILO, Victory in Vietnam; 1981, Encyclical 'Laborem Exerceamus' on human labour, ILO Conventions (five listed over the years).

What is offered by this poster, albeit in summary form, is a rather rich and complex image of labour in foreign countries and of international labour developments. It would be reasonable to characterise this material as being International Union in nature since it largely confines itself to the union movement. It also does this in a truly international and non-partisan manner. Unfortunately, we do not recall having once seen this poster pinned up in any of the union offices we visited. It is also difficult to imagine what it might actually communicate to workers and union activists.

It is worthwhile to consider the case of the Federacion Minera since this was to be the most internationally-conscious and active of the unions we met. The Federacion hosted, in May 1984, the first coordination meeting of mining and metal workers of Bolivia, Chile and Peru. We looked at two

documents relating to this event. First a background paper by Joseph Giguere and Denis Sulmont (the first a Quebecois union educator working in Peru for several years, the second of French origin, a leading Peruvian labour specialist, prominent academic and a leading figure in ATC-ADEC). The second item is the brochure published after the meeting. We will examine these in turn.

The background document (Giguere and Sulmont 1984) is entitled 'Build International Trade Union Solidarity' and has three main parts, subdivided as follows:

1. Why International Trade Union Solidarity?

- Capitalism is international;
- Capitalism creates competition between workers internationally;
- Imperialism, a project of domination based on the systematic division of workers and peoples;
- Yankee imperialism in Latin America;
- International working-class solidarity confronts capitalism and imperialism;
- Ideal conditions for the development of international solidarity cannot be expected;
- International solidarity develops through international organisation.

2. International Trade Union Organisations

- The international centres;
- The autonomous regional organisations;
- The international industrial organisations;
- Important internationally-unaffiliated national centres;
- The international trade union organisations and Latin America.

3. Elements of an International Trade Union Solidarity Strategy in Latin America

- Develop the fighting capacity of union organisations in the implementation of a new strategy of national development within a new economic, social and political order;
- Basic principles which should guide international trade union solidarity:
 - class and democratic unionism;
 - nationalism and internationalism as complementary;
 - non-alignment and Latin-American identity.
- Areas of action for international trade-union solidarity:
 - international solidarity on immediate issues;
 - defense of political and union rights;
 - defense of natural resources;
 - action against multinationals;
 - action with respect to regional and international development bodies;
 - action with respect to imperialist ideological domination.

The brochure of the three-country miners' meeting (FNTMMP 1984) repeats a few of the above elements, whilst largely consisting of statements on their national situations by the three unions concerned. We will here concentrate on the proposals of the Commission on Latin American and International Union Unity. This proposed unity on the following principles, amongst others:

Anti-imperialist and non-aligned solidarity, open to the different existing international union organisations, establishing multi-lateral relations, favouring relations of union solidarity at the level of Latin America and the Third World, combating the superpower policy of the blocs and playing an active role in the process of international trade-union unification. Also developing relations for mutual knowledge and solidarity with the workers and peoples of North America and Europe, against international capitalism and imperialist aggression in Latin America.

The resolution, and others on wages and conditions and on mining poolicy, do not limit themselves to such general principles but go into some detail on fighting the International Monetary Fund, developing national and popular mining policies, mutual support for improving wages and conditions, and proposals for further coordination and meetings.

What we would seem too have here, in sum, is the first serious effort we have come across at producing and communicating internationalist ideas, as well, of course, as developing internationalist polical activity. The materials bear comparison with an educational brochure on the international trade union movement produced in South Africa (ILRIG 1984) and, indeed, make an interesting contrast with the South African product. Here we are thinking particularly of the stress in the Peruvian materials on Latin American and Third World interests and identities, an element not present in the South African brochure. We could characterise these materials as International Union ones, since they deal with internationalism only in its union form. But we could perhaps also use here the term 'International Socialist', since for the first time we have explicit and specific criticism of capitalism as a world system and the role of working-class internationalism in the struggle against it

7. Labor: Intended to be a fortnightly of information and ideas for the labour movement, Labor produced just 10 issues and a supplement before financial difficulties and political repression brought it to an end within one year (1928-9). Of the 132 items listed in the index to the facsimile edition (Labor 19??), 41, or 31 percent, are foreign or international items. Of the 80 pages published in its regular issues, 29, or 36 percent, were of this nature. Of the 41 foreign items, 12-13, or around one-third, are specifically on labour, workers, unions or the labour movement. This suggests that possibly 10 percent of Labor space was devoted to foreign labour alone. We have even excluded from our calculations here the special supplement attached to Number 9, that was an anti-war special and consisted almost solely of international items. We have also excluded from our calculations the space devoted to reproductions, mostly woodcuts of Mexican origin. Amongst the items carried in Labor we can find those on the following:

- A conference on proletarian literature;
- A review of John Reed's book on the Russian Revolution, Ten Days That Shook the World;
- Britain (cooperatives, the textile crisis);
- Organising the unorganised workers in Latin America;
- Worker struggles in Colombia;
- Nationalisation of Bolivian mines;
- Extract from the Soviet novel, Cement;
- The Latin American Trade Union Congress and its opposition to the Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay.

There is no obvious logic in the selection of items, but one notices the extensive coverage of Mexico - the most advanced country in Latin America at that period. For a communist labour paper, even of that period, there also seems to be rather limited coverage of Marxism-Leninism and the Soviet Union. Only the last issue carries the long extract from the Soviet novel, plus an item by the Russian Marxist, Plekhanov on socialism. Whether the wide range of thematic and geographical coverage was due to deliberate choice or not, the readers of Labor were being presented with a rich and stimulating view of the outside world. Which of the categories so far developed would seem to be represented in Labor? The National-Democratic, Foreign Labour, International Union. Not, significantly, the Socialist State one, nor what we have called the International Socialist. Such elements could, perhaps, be discovered on closer analysis, or in the approach or purpose of the writing, but not as dominant elements. Nor does Labor contain obvious new types of foreign material. The limited coverage of the Soviet Union, and the absence of International Socialist material may, of course, have been due to the delicate political conditions under which Labor was operating. But what we see here is a periodical with a clear but limited mandate, nationally and internationally, clearly expressed in its declared purpose and title.

8. Tentative conclusions: In concluding these analyses we wish to relate our findings with those from the interviews earlier. We will postpone more theoretical consideration of the categories here developed until the Conclusion below. Here we wish rather to consider the relationship of the new categories with the interviews.

We may, for purpose of discussion, identify five groups by the dominant or specific characteristic of their international coverage:

The National Democratic:

Amauta, Cambio.

Socialist State:

Unidad.

International Party:

Prensa Obrera.

International Trade Union

Materials of Cuadernos Laborales, Labor.

International Socialist:

Materials of the Federacion Minera.

We should, secondly, relate these orientations with quantities, thus remembering that whilst Unidad and Prensa Obrera had high percentages of foreign coverage, this was of a statist and partisan nature. On the other hand, we must equally recognise that in the cases of Cuadernos Laborales and the Federacion Minera, we are talking about only one or two items. Even if we characterise the coverage of Labor as 'merely' International Union in nature, we have to still recognise the significance of its 36 percent foreign and 10 percent foreign-labour coverage.

In relating our findings here to the initial interviews, we are obliged to limit ourselves to the two major traditions there recognised, the communist and the clasista one. The first was earlier represented by the CGTP leaders and here by Unidad and the CGTP material. The second was earlier represented by Cuadernos Laborales, La Jornada and the Federacion Minera, and here by the same. The state-dependence of the CGTP, it appears, is confirmed by the Socialist State nature of its international coverage. And the tradition of clasista unionism receives both confirmation and significant extension in so far as we here see the first evidence of international communication activities and that these are of a seriously internationalist nature.

One last point before turning to the activists as information receivers. We should avoid too hastily giving out marks for internationalism, with top marks going to the International Socialist category. This is not only because of what we may discover in the next section, nor because of the caution with which this last term was applied. It is also because we wish to suggest that the further development of international labour communications and solidarity depends more on the self-activity of labour than on our categories, however helpful these may prove to be.

4. Receivers

We now move on to consideration of trade unionists, at different levels, as receivers of international labour information. We will attempt to consider the characteristics of each interviewed group and its response in terms of the type of union it appears to be (henceforth: union type), the international connections it has (connections), the international attitude it expresses (attitude), the extent of knowledge revealed (knowledge), the sources of information it uses (sources), and the interest it shows in increased information (interest).

1. Port union leaders: SITENAPU is the trade union of workers of ENAPU, the state-run port corporation. It covers around 5,000 workers nationally, with some 2,000 in the Port of Callao, an industrial suburb of Lima. The union is limited to the manual and clerical workers of ENAPU, excluding the dockers and other categories who actually load and unload ships, and who are employed by private or state shipping agencies. It is connected with these through a portworkers' federation, FEMAPOR, created in 1986. SITENAPU and its predecessor have long been under the influence of the Aprista Party. This party, once radical-populist but now cultivating a social-democratic image internationally, is also now the ruling party in Peru. The pre-eminent leader of SITENAPU, Luis Negreiros, is a veteran Aprista politician, currently a leading parliamentarian. But SITENAPU is not affiliated to the Aprista trade union centre, the CTP, because Negreiros is in dispute with its leader, Julio Cruzado, a man closely linked in the public mind with US union operations in Latin America (Arellano 1986b). The union seems to be satisfied with its relations with Negreiros, who can assist it in various ways, and with ENAPU, which gives it recognition. It is not a union known for militancy, although it did mention to us certain work stoppages in the early 1980s. We met a group of national and local leaders of the union in its ample but simple headquarters on a main street of Callao. These offices were virtually undecorated except for one or two union banners. The union produces only a duplicated bulletin. But it has recently been given, by the International Social Security Association, a personal computer, which it is beginning to use for membership records and accounts. The union officers gave us a businesslike and cordial welcome.

It became evident during the interview that the leaders knew little about labour or the labour movement abroad and had no regular international information or linkages. They had heard that Callao was the most expensive port in the world but thought that it nonetheless functioned well. The last time a leader had been abroad was for courses in Venezuela, Costa Rica or Chile in 1960 or 1962. They were aware of labour protest against the dictatorship in Chile but no longer seemed to be receiving a bulletin which had provided them with information on developments outside Latin America. They had heard of the miners' strike in the UK. Of Poland one said:

The Solidarity union there is being smashed by the dictatorship that governs there. We recognise and applaud the determination not to retreat, to conquer and advance, under their top leader, Mr Walesa, a man of much energy, much determination and much courage.

Of South Africa one said:

The most important thing there is racism, the struggle of the whites with the blacks. It's most deplorable.

In talking of solidarity with or from unions or others abroad, the leaders mentioned first their own initiative in boycotting British ships during the Malvinas (Falklands) War. They also mentioned their membership of the Western International Transportworkers Federation (ITF), pointing to a certificate on the wall. This turned out on inspection, however, to be of the affiliation of SITENAPU'S predecessor to the Western Public Services International (PSI). There was also discussion amongst the leaders on the courses they had been getting from Spanish lecturers. It remained unclear whether these people were from a trade union or a social security agency. Questioned, finally, on any felt need for more international information, they spoke of information on wages and conditions, and on technology:

Information is a fundamental basis, If it is clear that technology is advancing and that the labour force is decreasing, it is also clear that both should advance to the same level...but how? We need to have comparisons, to make studies and adapt the technology to our own conditions.

They favoured exchanges of information with organisations similar to their own in order to reach this end.

SITENAPU appears to be a union of a moderate reformist type, in the sense of being primarily oriented to collective bargaining activities. Its international connections appear more or less limited to those with an inter-governmental social security agency. The international attitudes it expresses could be considered as liberal democratic (Poland, South Africa) and nationalist (Malvinas). The knowledge revealed was little and sometimes confused (concerning its international affiliation). And its international information interest was primarily in wages and conditions and technology. Except for the remarkable lack of contact with unions abroad, and the Malvinas boycott initiative (which appears not to have been taken at the request of, nor in solidarity with, workers elsewhere), its international relations seem quite consistent with the union type.

2. Callao portworkers: In the run-down but well-ordered city of Lima, the Port of Callao appeared even better ordered but even more run-down and also under-utilised and deserted. In part this may be due to falling trade induced by Peru's economic crisis, in part to the systematic security checks to prevent Sendero bombings. SITENAPU officials, however, have access to the port and brought us to the container terminal where we were able to interview a group of five or ten clerical workers who were in charge of tallying, documentation and accounts. The group was self-confident and articulate. They said they knew nothing about portworkers abroad but had heard about modern port systems in other countries from INFOCAP, a technical training establishment attached to the port and providing a regional service in Latin America:

The majority of workers go to INFOCAP and hear about new systems existing in other countries. But we don't really know if they are in operation. This is not explained to us, we don't know if they are the most modern ones.

They did not know, either, about the process of privatisation, which had recently been the issue of a major strike in Spanish ports. Nor did they know about international labour organisations and their activities:

It's the leaders who handle such things. We don't get much trade-union training. There are other bodies that teach unionism, such as the CAES [Centre of Advanced Union Studies, supported by the German social-democratic Friedrich Ebert Foundation]...We don't have direct contacts. We know that there are centres that give support, that they are from abroad, but we don't know their names.

When asked about labour protest abroad, they replied:

We still remember that of the Poles, of Walesa, but that must have been five years ago...In Chile there was a strike of portworkers demanding better wages. In the USA, in New York, they demand better wages.

Again on the situation in Chile:

We are far from Chile, unfortunately [it is over 2,500 kilometers from Lima to Santiago] but we know there was a negative movement against democracy there by the Pinochet government...We are far away but we do know what happens in such places...We are in favour of democracy, not de facto governments. The workers are fighting against a government which turns a deaf ear to worker demands because it is an imposed regime...According to the news we receive from there, the workers have risen. Most recently they declared a general strike against the dictatorship.

And in North America or Western Europe?

In the USA the workers get cost-of-living allowances, they are paid hourly rates...They are more advanced, with other kinds of equipment...Manual workers are better paid and qualified...Unionism is much stronger there. Every time they have a stoppage they shake the whole of the USA, the whole government...They have funds to support strikes...They can strike for months without affecting their income, whilst affecting that of the government.

What of Poland?

We are not well informed...In Poland the union movement has been very badly treated, attacked by their own government, which is not in solidarity with the workers. The workers have been standing up for their rights but the government persecutes them and almost imprisons them. It has been criticised by world opinion.

South Africa?

The children are badly fed...the photos of children in Biafra [sic]...Bad economic situation and hunger...Above all apartheid, racial discrimination, in which a race that considers itself superior - the whites - dominates a territory that is not theirs. South Africa is not theirs.

They said that their major sources for information and ideas were radio, television and newspapers. They got no information from trade-union or socialist newspapers. They did, however, feel they would like more, so as to know the situation of others and to be able to thus use the knowledge to improve their own. What sort of information?

All kinds...how to improve the labour situation...how to raise wages...human rights...the technology of other countries, if the corporations improve the economic situation of the workers there...

We will consider again the union type, connections, attitudes and knowledge, and can here add information on information sources which we did not have for the first interview. Union type and connections are the same as with the national union. To the liberal-democratic attitudes we can possibly add humanist ones (Biafra). On knowledge we need to note the internationally-familiar image of Chile, but an image of of US union power rather more optimistic than US workers might express. And, to the earlier-noted interests, we can add that on human rights. In this case, finally, we have information about sources, these apparently being confined to the mass media. Once again, we have a set of international relations consistent with what we know of the union type. And we should note the fact that international information interests at this level coincide to a considerable extent with those expressed at leadership level.

3. Light and power union leaders: Luz y Fuerza is the national federation of light and power industry unions, and one that has recently joined the CGTP. It has a large, but not luxurious, office in the city centre, plus a fair-sized hall at the back for meetings. Both this and the other rooms are decorated with red flags and Mariategui portraits. One large mural had been done by Felix Rebolledo, killed in the July 19 massacre of Senderista prisoners. As we will see, this union has a leadership with both international contacts and some interest in communication. The one or two examples of its paper made available to us reveal an occasional international column. The November 1985 issue dealt with a Latin American energy-workers' federation, though not in any detail. It also mentioned Chile, a visit to Peru by Colombian unionists, support for Libya against the US, Nicaragua, and a Luz y Fuerza seminar dealing with both national and international union unity. On the other hand, as we will again see, there was either some confusion or certain differences on the Polish question and little specific knowledge of even such international labour organisations as they are in official contact with.

What, firstly, did they know about the light and power industry abroad? Little. They received practically no information but thought that the

industries of Colombia, Chile and Brazil were more advanced than their own. And of light and power workers and unions?

We get communications from certain unions in Mexico, Argentina and Venezuela. We took part in a Congress of Latin American and Caribbean Electrical Workers in Quito, November 1985. We set up a confederation [on the initiative of Mexicans and Nicaraguans during the union conference on Latin America's external debt, Havana, 1985]...But no exchange of experiences has followed. Despite good intentions we have not managed to realise our hopes here. We want to intensify our communications...We have a monthly organ that we spread amongst organisations with which we have contact. We send it but get nothing back. We send it to 10 or 15 organisations in the European energy industry, and to almost all in Latin America.

What of labour protest abroad? They knew of a recent energy-sector strike in Brazil, the latest strike in Chile against the Pinochet regime, as well as others in Colombia and Argentina:

In Africa there's the problem of apartheid in South Africa, and in Europe that of Poland, the mobilisation of the Polish unions.

And international labour organisations? They mentioned the International Labour Organisation (not a union body but an inter-state one with union participation). They had had contact with it during a campaign over the right to strike in Peru:

We were much helped in this by some class comrades in Spain, Europe...We have much respect, faith and confidence in the ILO...There are other organisations subsidised by the USA. The Confederation of Peruvian Workers, of Cruzado, is affiliated to one of these [they could not recall the name]. We have no confidence in these. We practice a militant and class unionism.

What of solidarity with or from abroad? They mentioned declarations and marches of solidarity with Chile, Brazil, Nicaragua. And declarations of support from Argentina, Cuba, Nicaragua, Ecuador and the Metalworkers TUI [Trade Union International, affiliated to the WFTU]. What of foreign visitors?

Yes, we have had delegations from Nicaragua, Argentina, France, have shared experiences with them. But this was in Lima, they didn't go into the interior. It would be important to have foreign workers visiting the interior and, in the same way, to have Peruvians travelling to other countries to see how electricity is generated there.

What of the situation of workers in specific countries? On Chile they said that they were ready to not only make declarations and organise marches but 'to go further, if possible organise a strike in support of the Chilean workers'. On the USA they assumed that they 'must have it good because it is a developed country'. And Poland?

We are in solidarity with the unions of Poland that are fighting the social situation there, for complete justice...We have contact with Poland, with a worker of the TUI of Poland.

But wasn't this, then, with a union set up by the government there? 'No, it is one like ours, affiliated to the Metalworkers' TUI in Moscow'. They had little to say on their sources of information, more on the need for it:

The most effective means would be the exchange of periodicals. We, in our paper, always give one page [it is actually only one column] to foreign news, in which we publish the information we receive. This is distributed to all the workers...Communications should be directed to our federation...Communication should be reciprocal. We publish information from the base, and in this way we would have more direct communication...Exchange should be more regular. Also views from Europe, exchanges on work safety, health, technological change...We have a lot of illness in the electricity sector. There are many inputs that they don't use any more in Europe but that are still used here and that are harmful.

This is a union of the type that describes itself as 'independent and class'. It has quite a number of international connections but these seem to be neither permanent nor very far-going. In attitude it should, perhaps, be considered as democratic-socialist rather than liberal-democratic, given its support for labour and nationalist movements, and its opposition to US imperialism and its union expressions. The only discordant note struck here was with respect to Poland, where both democratic and state-socialist opinions seemed to be being expressed. There seemed to be a certain amount of knowledge of international unionism and international labour relations (the ILO). And there was evidently considerable interest in international labour communications, both currently and for the future, with the desire being expressed, again, for information on wages and conditions, health and safety, and technology. It may be interesting to note that whilst the international experience and internationalist motivations of this union are - as one might expect of the type - considerably more intense than those of SITENAPU, the type of information it seeks appears more or less the same.

4. Local leaders of the union at Electrolima: Electrolima is the city's light and power corporation and its union is affiliated to Luz y Fuerza nationally. It has a well-appointed office in the city centre, one room being decorated with photos of union leaders of previous years. The union has its own press and publicity officer, who was busy using a single-lens reflex and instant camera during the interview. The union has also recently bought photocopying and other reproduction equipment, as well as a video. The video has been used for showing worker football matches but also for viewing the film Missing, which deals with the disappearance of an American sympathiser with Allende during the 1973 coup in Chile. We were told that the new union leadership preferred to use its funds for such purposes rather than keeping them in the bank like the previous one. The officials we met were all manual workers, mostly skilled, all released on pay to work fulltime with the union. They were as self-confident and articulate as the portworkers but, as we will see, with more technical

knowledge and with a rather different worldview. The detail of the interview is so rich that it demands extensive quotation.

What, firstly, did they know about the light and power industry internationally?

It's only chiefs and supervising engineers who take part in courses, not the worker who has to carry out the job. They may get the knowledge but we carry out the basic work on the basis of designs which are handed to us...The development of the electrical supply industry is weak in Peru...There's an agreement between Brazil and Argentina to develop the 'energy frontier' [between the supply systems of the two countries?]. But Peru doesn't think, for example, of helping Bolivia...The energy industry is much more advanced in Brazil. They develop their own voltages[?], cables and even electricity meters. This doesn't happen in Peru...We get some material from the States...that was rejected in the USA...They make connectors in Japan and here they use Japanese technicians who are paid in dollars.

What of workers and unions in the light and power industry abroad?

We know very little about what happens in other countries, only sporadic information...We know there are federations more united than ours. In Argentina and Brazil, for example, there's only one federation. Communication is worthless, nothing arrives here. In the two years that we have been in the Executive Committee [of the Electrolima union] we have received no information. The Luz y Fuerza magazine does mention the existence of similar organisations to ours not only in South America but in the whole of America...What's missing is more direct communication, the creation of an exchange. We need to have places to which we can send our information at the same time as they send us theirs. We need an interchange of experiences, but for this we first of all need to create a communication system.

Labour protest abroad?

Recently there was a major work stoppage in Bolivia by the COB [Bolivian Workers Centre] protesting against increases in the cost of living...We get absolutely no information from Europe about strikes and trade-union movements. We don't know how, in Europe, they stop work, if they have new boycott methods, sitdowns or go-slows.

What of international labour organisations?

Before we were affiliated to the PTTI - the posts and telegraphs international. But this was an organisation meant to keep the union movement quiet. It's a North American centre which has its headquarters in Geneva [actually an ICFTU-allied ITS, but like other such ones heavily used by the CIA in the past (see Agee 1975:74-8)]

and which tries to develop conciliation between the union and the boss...Our Executive Committee broke off with this organisation.

What of solidarity with others internationally?

In our declarations we say 'Against Yankee Oppression in Nicaragua!'. We are isolated, we don't have knowledge of other countries. And governments take measures to prevent trade union forces from uniting and setting up communications.

And solidarity from abroad? One replied: 'I have been in the company for 25 years and I have seen no sign of it'. What of contacts with foreign workers or unionists?

There's an agreement between the union and the company to send three workers [per year?] abroad for trade union training. We haven't gone so far because we don't have the contacts...On one occasion a Jamaican worker from an energy union was here. But it was just a passing conversation. He promised to come back but didn't do so...The old leaders used to travel, but because they had a different political line they didn't tell us the real situation of these countries.

And what knowledge did they have of specific countries? Chile?

All we know is what we see on TV or read in the papers. But the news is distorted...Despite the Pinochet dictatorship the unions and fronts have united to fight the dictator. In this process the workers have gained a bit more union consciousness and that's the most important...Despite the dictatorship, the union movement is getting stronger...On the other hand the Chilean dictatorship destroyed the union cadres. They don't have a union centre...in practice the one they have is rejecting the dictatorship when it unites with all classes for a return to democracy. And in Peru we are afraid about what happened there. Many comrades have been accused of being terrorists. We get visits at home from state security officers.

What of workers in the USA, UK or Spain?

In 1979 we had a trade-union course. There was a lawyer there who kept on wanting to talk about the North American unions. He said that in the USA the union level was much higher than in other countries, that leaders did not simply dedicate themselves to struggle for economic demands but that they were equal to the boss, that in the company board decisions were taken by the leader and the boss...I've heard that there are also some sectors of workers that have had strikes and conflicts with the police in North America...Their living standard is very high. Every three months they can buy a car, raise their status. They have better economic and social conditions than we do...A comrade who resigned from the company and who now works in the USA wrote us that he was earning 15 dollars an hour [the monthly minimum in Peru is around 40 dollars].

And Poland? 'Ah, Walesa!'. This reaction was followed by a long pause, as if the group was unwilling to talk about the country. Then followed this:

We would later like to question the comrade [Peter Waterman] about the case of Solidarity. It's been a long time since we heard anything...We don't get precise information...The level per capita in Poland is supposed to be much higher than ours, it is supposed to be a socialist country of the Soviet bloc. According to Russian political theory [free? independent? genuine?] trade unions are not permitted. They got repressed because of this. But one can also note the hand of the Church intervening here. It was trying to turn a trade-union question into a completely political one, to say that it was a dictatorship, that it's necessary to have a union in order to create another democratic regime. The intended model was to have been a North American one. There has always been doubt about what is really happening in Poland and there is entirely different information from Poland and from the official and right-wing press here in the country.

South Africa?

It's not very clear. We have been shown a case in which there was a conflict between blacks, some being in favour of the white minority and others - being a majority of the blacks - who were against. But the news on South Africa is not very clear...The problem is the racial dimension and the most deplorable aspect is the intervention of the USA in this problem...A friend of mine who had lived in [independent?] Africa told me that what happens there is like in Latin America, that workers are not highly qualified, that they use their labour force for the heavy work and get qualified personnel from other countries.

Where did they get such information from? Apparently from TV, radio and newspapers. When asked which daily papers they read, it appeared that several read El Nuevo Diario, which is associated with one of Peru's smaller Leninist parties. Others read El Comercio, the most serious of the right-wing papers in Peru and the only one with significant foreign coverage. Yet others read La Republica, a comparatively independent but sensationalist daily. Questioned about the need for international information, the reply was as follows:

We should have more contact with unions and know something about the union movement...Everything is necessary, collective agreements, safety - in Electrolima there are two or three deaths per year and 30 accidents...New technologies and industrial safety...Orientation on how one can fight the bosses...training systems, the signing of training agreements, exchange of workers.

This union is evidently of the same orientation as the federation to which it is affiliated. It has some international connections. Attitudes were generally internationalist, if one judges by opinions on Chile and South Africa, by their concern with understanding Poland, and by their hostility to American trade union manipulation. Their knowledge seemed to

be rather greater than that of other groups we interviewed, at whatever level. This applies to the industry, to the various countries mentioned and to foreign union activities. Their interest in international labour information also seemed particularly high, and it extended from the usual collective bargaining, training, health and technology issues to union strategy and the situation in Poland. Could there be a relationship between such a high level of interest and the fact that several of the group read El Nuevo Diario? Although this tiny daily is considered insignificant by much of the left in Peru, and we failed to analyse it, it does seem to have some union influence. Once again, it is difficult to find much difference between the general orientation of this group of activists and the leaders of the federation to which their union is affiliated. However, it should be noted that they seemed unaware of many of the international contacts that the national leadership had mentioned.

5. Local union leaders from the Raura mine: We met this group of workers in the office of the Federacion Minera in Lima, where they had come in the course of negotiations. Apart from one better-dressed and more articulate man, who was also the Social Assistance Secretary of the FNTMMSP, this was an almost totally inarticulate group of workers, who evidently had trouble understanding what on earth we wanted from them. The interview was, thus, extremely short and limited, with much of the talking being done by the one local leader - or even one of the national ones - explaining to us why the workers could not answer our questions. This explanation was primarily in terms of their recent appointment to union office, but to this could have been added other elements. One is the small size and isolation of Raura. Another is that most miners are ex-peasants from the isolated mountains of the Andes. A third would be the general isolation of miners' unions from each other, and from the rest of national (not to speak of international) life. The interview was, nonetheless, not without interest in revealing the problems local-level leaders could have in understanding such international information as the union leadership might be trying to communicate to them.

The answer to most of the questions was that the Federation had the information, that the Federation organised international contacts, that international relations were between

Presidents of federations and other leaders, not with the base, except when the comrades come to Lima.

The exceptions were provided by

the comrades from the Mineworkers International Federation, who have travelled to Raura, Huanzala. Also comrade Domitila, who travelled to Raura and nearby mines, but because of the climate could not go on to Cerro de Pasco.

The references above are not without significance. As earlier mentioned, the MIF is the Western international centre for miners and it is supporting a union education project of the Federation. The Belgian President and British Education Officer of the organisation were currently in Peru (Waterman and Arellano 1986). Domitila is a Bolivian miner's wife and

leader, known in both labour movement and feminist circles internationally because of her autobiography (Barrios de Chungara 1978). When we got no further response from the miners to questions about the visit of Domitila, it was explained to us that, because of her altitude sickness, she had only been able to stay at Raura itself a couple of hours.

When we asked about sources of information, we were told that not even the national press reached the mine, its only channel of information being the Federation's own newspaper, El Minero, and two radio stations, Radio Union and Radio El Sol. Access to the former, however, did not seem to be providing them with even such international information as La Jornada has been putting out. La Jornada is broadcast at around six a.m., but the miners get up even earlier and would have to be reached in the morning between four and five a.m.

This last response hardly bears further analysis, so we may pass on to the next interview.

6. Leaders of a social security workers union: These were two worker unionists, leaders of a union of employees of the Peruvian Institute of Social Security, this being the national social security agency in Peru. Both were clerical workers, one being the secretary of a union branch, the other an advisor to the CGTP on social security questions. We had arranged to meet them so as to include a state-sector and office workers' union within the survey. In our account we will draw only on significant additions or differences from earlier interviews. These were particularly in knowledge of the industry abroad, of international labour organisations and solidarity activities.

Particular knowledge was shown of the Mexican Institute of Social Security and one of the two had apparently taken part in a congress of its union. But most of what they had to say was about the social security system in other countries:

It's one thing to talk about social security in Western countries and amongst those which are developed, and it's another to talk about it in the socialist countries. Under the capitalist system, the system is to cover health assistance, it doesn't go further than the treatment aspect and the coverage of retirement and disability pensions...Costa Rica and Mexico have a leading position in social security [in Latin America]...In the more-developed countries they have unemployment insurance, something we don't have here...And in the socialist countries social security is coming to be the final aim of the society.

With respect to international labour organisations and their activities, we got the following reply:

There is little information in respect to this because it's controlled by the centres. With respect to the WFTU, it's those who run the CGTP who have the contact with it and its affiliates. In the case of the CLAT [Confederation of Latin American Workers], it's the Christian Democrats and the CNT [National Confederation of Workers].

We know that the CTP [Confederation of Workers of Peru] is controlled by the free trade unionism of the ICFTU. Our union is unaffiliated to any of these union centres, we have no organic relationship with them. We know something about them from personal curiosity. I believe these organisations carry out aid and propaganda work, but not wages and conditions activities. Due to internal contradictions in the union movement - differences between the CGTP and the non-affiliated independent sectors - such instructions as the WFTU might shed do not permit the giving of orders... In the Velasco period there was a campaign to denounce the activities of the CTP, its relations with the AFL-CIO, its connections with the CIA. They ran training courses, published pamphlets. These responded to the policy of the USA and the Alliance for Progress, in which the unions play the role of creating a climate of social peace in Latin America. This nonetheless came into conflict with the crisis situation in Latin America. The Peruvian employers don't share the mentality of North American or European employers. The national capitalists have more of a feudal mentality...

What of examples of solidarity with or from abroad?

The only one that comes to mind is the march of solidarity with Solidarity in Poland, proposed by Mario Vargas Llosa [prominent Peruvian novelist, a militant liberal and anti-Communist] The national leadership [of the union] put out a communique and wanted all the unionists to march... There are only declarations and national demonstrations for struggles in Latin America and the Caribbean, actions which are more poetical than practical.

As for solidarity from abroad, they did not receive this:

It's a return for the little solidarity we show: if you don't give, you don't receive.

We will here again skip the structured discussion, although for lack of background information on the local and national union rather than through any lack of capacity to express themselves on the part of the interviewees. There are, however, other points worth commenting on in this interview, some having possibly also arisen in earlier ones. The first is the interest evidently taken by the interviewees in their own work. Social security is, of course, not simply the production of commodities (like mining), nor simply of public services (like electricity). It is a worker-oriented service and therefore simultaneously a major element in union demands. This gives a quite specific stimulus to interest in the experiences of other countries. We should, secondly, note the positive and uncritical image of socialist countries. Even earlier, interviewees who supported Solidarnosc or were uneasy about the Polish situation seemed to wish to defend either the socialist system or some socialist potential they might represent. The image this interview offered of social security under socialism is unlikely to be endorsed by either pensioners or the war-disabled in such countries, even if it might appear ideal to a Latin American worker. Alternative information about living conditions in socialist countries, and more direct contacts between involved workers (both as providers and receivers of social

security), might create a more-nuanced understanding, and it might help identify common interests internationally. Finally, one notes the rather detailed and balanced picture of international unionism that can be developed by labour activists out of 'personal curiosity'. This was combined with a critical attitude towards contemporary Peruvian internationalism: 'more poetical than practical'; 'if you don't give, you don't receive'. The information and attitudes revealed here suggest a so-far untapped potential for worker reflection and action.

7. Leaders and women activists in the union of National workers: We had intended from the beginning of our survey to interview both multinational and women workers. We were able to do both simultaneously. We were brought to the gate of National electrical and electronics factory, a branch of the Japanese giant Matsushita, by a woman from the feminist centre, Flora Tristan. Since the majority of the workers at National are women, this centro has been supporting them for some time. It was the end of the working day and it was payday. Workers were streaming out of the plant, buying payday steaks from wayside stalls, examining glossy knitting magazines and other merchandise. We were introduced to the male union secretary, the woman ex-secretary and a couple of other women workers. We went to the home of one of them, which could have been that of a similar worker in Southern Europe. From knowledge of the developed links of multinational workers internationally, and of the international links of women workers in electronics in South-East Asia and on the southern fringes of the United States, we expected these workers might be more internationally-conscious than others. We also assumed that the contacts with Flora Tristan (well known abroad for its internationalist activity) would assist women worker internationalism. The situation was quite different, with two or three of the women interviewed being almost as inarticulate as the Raura miners. Eventually we felt obliged to add questions about women workers abroad in order to get more material.

The main issue that came out of the interview was the specific control mechanisms concerning international contacts used by this particular MNC, and the problems of workers faced with such:

Some colleagues who are not members of the union have been invited by the company to go to Japan. But these colleagues have not told us about union organisation in that country...Personal comments of the colleagues who went [were]: the union functions within the same enterprise, it's more an office of the company. It's different here, the class contradictions are immediately visible. The Japanese workers have another understanding of the same company, they collaborate so that the company will grow - it's a different mentality...The colleague invited did not go alone, she went with a company representative. One colleague said that for that reason she did not feel free to express her feelings, nor to ask questions, nor to investigate what she wanted to. The person who accompanied her was there to tell her what she should say. National Peruana does not want them to know in Japan what things are like at National in Peru.

The women in the group did not know anything about women workers in electronics in South-East Asia or in Latin America, although we had heard (and later got hold of) a brochure in Spanish and English dealing with the former (Isis International 1985a,b). Although they got much information from Flora, and from a worker centro, they received nothing from them about workers abroad. Asked what they would like to know, even the previously silent women now spoke up. They wanted to know

How women are treated, how many hours they work, what benefits they get, in order to compare them with ours...I would like to know not only about Japan but about all the other countries, to make a comparison concerning both women and men workers...I am very interested to exchange ideas with the union of Japan and other countries to see the differences of treatment...and to make common agreements...National workers would be very happy if we could find a channel through which we could obtain information and develop union coordination, in our case above all with Japan.

We will again skip the structured analysis since it will not add much to what we have already discovered from previous interviews. In discussion which proceeded and followed our interview we heard how the union at National had - somewhat to its own regret - turned down a possibility of going to Japan. Management had this year for the first time said that a woman from the union leadership could go. They had said it was an invitation from the Matsushita union, which was celebrating its 40th anniversary. Management, however, could produce no evidence of a union invitation from Japan and, fearing company manipulation of the invitee, the union had turned it down.

Some other reflections are stimulated by this interview. Firstly, a point already made above, that we cannot assume that multinational workers will be more internationally oriented than those in state enterprises or services, or even that they will have any such interest. No single-cause explanation will do here. Worker internationalism may be also a product of length of wage-labour experience, orientation toward wage labour in general, orientation to the product or task in particular, union international involvement, labour movement history and orientation, etc. We must, secondly, take account of differing gender experiences, capacities and interests amongst workers. The women we interviewed - including the experienced and competent ex-secretary - deferred to the male secretary, some remaining silent until we added questions specific to women workers. The woman in whose flat we carried out the interview re-entered it as a housewife with two children, one of whom was sick. This suggests the time and energy constraints operating on women workers, even if they might be interested in international contacts. We must, thirdly, recognise that even if the women have militant or feminist attitudes (our hostess had a poster up on violence against women) and even if we can increasingly see commonalities in women's and women workers' movements internationally (Isis 1985a,b, Mies 1986), this does not necessarily imply internationalism. Internationalism requires a specific set of ideas, information, attitudes and activities which were mostly absent in this case. This leads us to the third reflection, on access to the necessary information. It has been said above that the women at National have been receiving assistance from a women's centro, Flora

Tristan. This has not only been responsible for a series of popular and academic (Paredes, Guzman and Godinez 198?, Guzman and Portocarrero 1985) publications on or for women workers. It is also involved in an alternative women's communication network in Latin America (the Santiago-based Unidad de Comunicacion Alternativa de la Mujer, or Alternative Women's Communication Unit). There is no equivalent of this for workers in Latin America. It would seem that, in this case, all the necessary alternative communication structures and media exist. What is lacking is demand from the women workers concerned and/or motivation of the relevant centro. This finding reinforces what we have already said about different communication interests between the intellectuals in the centros and workers, and it is a point we must return to in the Conclusion. First, however, some tentative conclusions to this part of the paper.

8. Tentative conclusions: We began this section on information reception with the proposal of a certain analytical procedure. We have ended it with unstructured reflections, the last turning us once again to the problem of relations between transmission and reception, transmitters and receivers. Before taking these up more systematically in the final Conclusion, let us try to summarise our findings here.

Not too much should be made of our procedure, which was developed after the interviews simply as a way of ordering the information. We should, however, now attempt to reflect on our findings, even if this is only to suggest lines for more rigorous research in the future. We cannot say, firstly, too much about the relationship between union type and its international orientation because we do not have sufficient such types to be able to do so (no CTP, CTRP or CNT unions, nor a communist CGTP affiliate). The correspondence between type and orientation that we asserted does suggest that the clasista unions are more motivated and open to a new kind of internationalism, but that is as far as we can go. There is, secondly and almost self-evidently, a relationship between international contacts on the one hand and knowledge, positive attitudes and interests on the other. We noted, thirdly, the similarity of interests between interview groups in the kind of information they would like to have. Whilst, fourthly, we did not find any significant differences in information interests between union levels, we did find differences in knowledge, revealed most dramatically with the miners but also by the difference between Luz y Fuerza at national and local level. We began, fifthly, to speculate at a certain point on a possible relationship between information sources and international attitudes. It seems reasonable to assume that those reading El Nuevo Diario (which we did not examine) and Unidad or Prensa Obrera (which we did) would have more information and ideas than those relying on the other left press or on the dominant media, but this would again require further investigation. We found, sixthly, some consistency in images of Chile, the US and South Africa, but a more contradictory one of Poland. Militant activists seemed to be still looking for a society embodying their aspirations, and to be having trouble with the favourable attitude towards Solidarnosc of a dominant media they mostly distrust. We speculated, seventhly, on the relationship of worker and worker types to international orientations. This suggests the necessity to recognise the variety of stimuli for internationalism, the number of different forms it might take, the number of different interests it might represent. We returned, finally,

to the problem of levels, which represents also a division of labour within the labour movement - the differential interests, capacities and access to international information between workers and unionists on the one hand, and the intellectuals in the centros on the other.

If these tentative conclusions do not point in any clear direction this may be all to the good. They may help us to go beyond simple but empty dictionary definitions, as well as the traditional assumption that one section of the working class, or one socialist party, or the leadership within one such party, holds the key to this particular kingdom. If a Peruvian internationalism does not yet exist or has ceased to exist, it may be something that has to be constructed or reconstructed by many different worker types, by a variety of labour organisations, at a series of labour-movement levels.

Conclusion

In this conclusion we would like to consider the various theoretical and strategic implications of the findings and then to return finally to the quotation from Mariategui with which we began. We have drawn on no existing body of theory, no generally-recognised concepts, in discussing either transmission or reception of international labour information. This is because we are not aware of such and suspect that they do not exist. The problem is that there exists little or no modern writing on the concept of internationalism, or on international labour communication, or even on the democratisation of international communication more generally (but see Waterman 1986a,b,c). So we have simply attempted to develop certain concepts in the course of discussing the survey findings. Naming, of course, is not taming. So let us briefly consider these concepts and see what kind of value can be argued for them.

1. Conceptualising the transmission of international labour information

In Part 3, dealing with Peruvian labour media in terms of information transmission, we developed the following set of categories:

- National-Democratic
- Marxist
- Socialist State
- Foreign Labour
- International Party
- International Union
- International Socialist

It is evident that these terms are value loaded (are given a particular value by historical usage, in a contemporary context, or by our own implicit and explicit views as revealed elsewhere in the paper). But the terms address themselves more to the content of the materials than to the attitudes of those who produced them, or to a presumed purpose or any known effect. We have, moreover, carefully avoided the term 'internationalist'. This is because we were concerned precisely to avoid a too-early or too-facile use of a term which, for us, 1) carries a very high and very positive charge, but 2) has been emptied of meaning and force over the last several decades. We will return to this concept later. Our breakdown of the purely descriptive category 'foreign' or 'foreign labour' information draws attention not only to the variety of elements that constitute it, but to the differential weight they are given by the various information transmitters. We would here also like to make explicit what may so far have been only implicit: that exclusive or high attention by such transmitters to one such category implies a certain understanding of relations between the labour, popular or socialist movement locally and those abroad. By the same token, it can be assumed that it creates, if it is effective locally, a certain understanding of internationalism and stimulates or blocks certain types of internationally-oriented political activity.

Let us discuss what has so far been argued in relation to the first and last categories, the National-Democratic and the International Socialist.

National-Democratic coverage means, in the Peruvian context, anti-imperialist and anti-conservative-authoritarian (since much of it may favour nationalist or socialist authoritarianism). Whilst it is evident to us that any internationalist information strategy must include coverage of anti-imperialist and anti-conservative-authoritarian struggles, we evidently would not consider exclusive or high concentration on such to represent 'internationalism'. The International Socialist category - the critique of capitalism as a world system, the presentation of international working-class action as necessary for its transformation - has been presented very positively by us. We evidently feel that this comes close to 'internationalism'. But whether it actually does would depend on the extent to which this kind of information is articulated with others. A modern Socialist Internationalism could be simply an up-dated version of the abstract internationalism we have already criticised. It could be apocalyptic ('Towards the World Socialist Revolution of 1996'). It could be sectarian (excluding or alienating non-socialist Catholics and Muslims, democrats, feminists, ecologists). It could be reformist (seeking inter-state agreement on a New This That and the Other Order). It could, finally, remain at the level of information, failing as communication, or failing as the alternative communication model that a new kind of internationalism would seem to require (Waterman 1985a, Jusocan 1986, Stangelaar 1986). We will return to this issue below.

Following the interviews and analyses in Part 3 we argued that there was a relationship between the state-dependence of the CGTP and the Socialist State predominance in its foreign information materials, between the clasista line of the Cuadernos/Jornada/Federacion Minera and their International Union or Socialist materials. Whilst we did not interview anyone from Izquierda Unida or from a Trotskyist party, the relationship between the first and National-Democratic foreign information, between the latter and an International Party coverage, is clear. It may be thought that we have operated with loaded theoretical dice, drawing conclusions that were written into our premises. But whilst we might have predicted the international orientation of the CGTP and the PCP-U, we could not have predicted the impressive extent of foreign coverage in the Communist or Trotskyist publications. Nor were we in any way aware, before the investigation, either of the limited amount or the limited nature of the IU-oriented media. And whilst we might have predicted that the independent-and-class tendency would be actively internationalist, we could not have known how limited in extent its international information activity was nor the nature of its coverage. We do not wish, further, to set up the last-mentioned labour movement tendency as some kind of ideological vanguard in this area. Nor do we wish to rule out contributions to the development of a new international labour communication strategy in Peru from other groups or tendencies we have not here considered, such as social democrats, the church or feminists. A new model of international labour communications would in any case be pluralistic, allowing for and requiring a variety of forms, contents and emphases. Finally, as we said earlier in concluding Part 3, we need to relate our findings on transmission to those on reception of international labour information.

2. Conceptualising the reception of international labour information

In discussing reception, we suggested a series of parameters or areas for comparison. These were the group type, its international connections, its international attitudes, its information sources and its interest in increased information. We did not attempt to conceptualise our findings here, even to the extent of giving our characterisations capital letters. This is because, however interesting and original the responses we received, we felt that neither the number of interviews, nor the range of union and worker types covered, nor the nature and length of the interviews, allowed us to do this. Nor do we feel that we have in any way sufficient information to be able to work out the relationship between transmission and reception except in the most speculative way. This does not, however, mean that there is nothing here of theoretical or general interest. One issue we would like to discuss is the knowledge of, attitudes to and interest in labour abroad. Another is how we are to understand the general significance of the interview material. Let us start with knowledge/attitudes/interests.

3. Assessing labour knowledge of, attitudes to and interests in labour internationally.

We have no way of comparing our findings with others, there having been, as stated in the Introduction, no known similar research elsewhere. But we were surprised by the extent of knowledge, positive attitudes to and clear interest in labour abroad.

We were impressed, firstly, with the extent of knowledge in a situation of severe information deprivation. Given the restricted nature and quantity of international labour information in the labour-oriented media, given also the even more restricted nature of that in the dominant media, it seems to us that those interviewed actually know quite a lot. Even where the information was 'wrong' (meaning here either that we have other information or views on the matter, or that the workers or labour movement referred to would have), it was neither fantastic nor stupid. We wonder whether North American or European workers would have such balanced views of workers in Latin America. Whilst certain individuals or groups simply lacked any knowledge, considerable knowledge appears to exist amongst the activists considered collectively.

Secondly, attitudes. These were positive in the sense of being sympathetic to the workers or labour movements mentioned. Where not socialist or labourist, the attitudes were humanist or liberal-democratic in nature. There was no hostility towards North American labour even where its international activities were criticised. There was doubt, rather than hostility, expressed by those activists who were not positively pro-Solidarnosc in the case of Poland. Given the barrage of pro-Solidarnosc propaganda in the dominant media, and the Socialist State propaganda in some local socialist media, this suggests a certain sophistication amongst the socialist activists interviewed.

Thirdly, interests. We were impressed not only by the extent of coincidence between and within the various unions but also by the modesty of the concerns expressed. Their interest was clearly in daily-life issues facing workers and unions. Not merely traditional collective-bargaining issues, though these repeatedly appeared, but also technology and rights

questions. We consider this to be a finding of prime importance for those seriously interested in developing a new labour internationalism. For such issues figure little in the pro-labour media surveyed, if they appear at all. Has the labour and socialist media in Peru been producing international information for labour activists at all? Or has it been producing it for itself? We are not here suggesting that internationalist-minded media producers need be limited by the interests revealed by us, or by others that more systematic research might uncover. But they surely need to make a case for failing to do so.

So much for reflections on the separate findings. Before returning to Mariategui, however, we wish to make three points, one relating to the general significance of the findings, one on the difference between information and communication, one on the concept of internationalism.

4. Towards a collective worker knowledge on international labour

It would be easy to rank transmitters and receivers on a 'consciousness scale', with the low/bad at one end and the high/good at the other. The high would, of course, be those whose views most closely corresponded with ours (this, as a Marxist friend in Peru joked, is in any case how Marx and Lenin operated). We have not concealed our own values in this piece, nor our particular sympathies. But we do not wish to repeat a traditional socialist procedure which implies that our particular knowledge and values are superior to those we have interviewed. We would rather consider that they are different, coming from people of another class, with a different training, background, technical qualifications, life chances, interests. We have revealed our own values but do not wish to impose them. What the findings prompt us to do is rather to recognise a 'potential collective worker consciousness' on international issues in Peru. It would be difficult, on the basis of the evidence, to argue that a collective worker consciousness already exists here. We have seen a variety of knowledges and attitudes and interests between and within unions. But this individualised or small-group awareness represents, it seems to us, an unused resource, a potential that once released - or, rather, collected - might develop its own dynamic. It is, surely, in facilitating such a development, rather than as permanent intermediaries and interpreters that professionals can best contribute to a new labour internationalism.

5. Towards a new model of international labour communication

Secondly, on the information/communication distinction. We have, in the title of this piece, employed the word 'information' quite deliberately. We use the word for the creation of data about events and ideas. Such an act of creation - with all its implications for selection, exclusion, order, form of presentation, interpretation - is a far from natural or neutral process. 'Information' here also means a one-way process - literally from a transmitter to a receiver. 'Communication', for us, implies a whole number of additional elements, with the most important being reciprocity and interaction. Since, in this case, we have no evidence of interaction, we would rather not use this word. We have no evidence of reciprocity between our transmitters and receivers, far less between those about whom the information is being transmitted and those who are receiving it. We incline,

furthermore, to giving 'communication' a positive value. We wish to see it and use it in terms not only of interaction but also of dialogue or dialectic, and of mutual sympathy and support, or solidarity. In so far as we see international solidarity as a relationship of mutual support between significant collective interests amongst the peoples concerned (workers, women, citizens faced with militarism, pollution, etc.), then what we need is not simply 'information' - and not simply 'communication' - but a new model of international communication that by its form, content, organisation and dissemination allows for and encourages maximum participation and control by the relevant collective interests (Waterman 1985a,b). In the case of workers this means that workers would increasingly define, produce locally, disseminate and internationally exchange information for and about themselves. This is not a matter of either a 'popular communication' defined and produced by intellectuals and professionals, nor some simple populist notion of 'horizontal communication' amongst and between the popular sectors. A democratic model for international communication would be one that allowed for 'vertical communication' also, meaning communication between the popular sectors and those intellectuals/professionals either involved in or with access to the dominant media. This is what Stangelaar (1986) calls a 'spiral model' of communication. Whilst we have earlier rejected the notion that an elite - 'revolutionary or 'organic' - will bring enlightenment to the masses, we wish to here also reject the notion that the masses - simply because they are exploited and oppressed - are the source of all virtue and progress. 'Specific intellectuals' (Poster 1984:Ch.6) and professionals have particular skills, attitudes and interests which, when brought together with those of ordinary working people, can contribute to the creation of a new kind of internationalism. Internationalism at present, indeed, is more meaningfully developed amongst 'middle-class' people in the human-rights, women's, environmental and other such movements than it is in the workers' movement (see Mies 1986:205-9 on the role of the middle-class women's movement internationally). What is necessary is that the different interests are recognised for what they are, that the relationship is open and explicit, that the dialogue is carried out without the traditional divisive and destructive terminology of the old 19th and early-20th century labour and socialist movements.

6. Towards a new understanding of internationalism

Thirdly, the concept of internationalism. Our earlier caution about the use or misuse of the word does not absolve us from ourselves at least suggesting an understanding of it. This we will do here in a preliminary form, hoping that the relationship to our previous analysis will reveal itself, but also recognising the necessity for giving the matter full consideration elsewhere (for a more-extensive but still preliminary exercise see Waterman 1986c). We will do this in three steps, dealing in turn with types of supra-national ideology and movement, with types of labour internationalism, and with some principles for a new internationalism.

We need, in the first place, to distinguish between Universalism (religious or lay concepts of human brotherhood or sisterhood, often of pre-nation-state origin), Inter-Statism (concepts of international order based on the nation state, as with the UN system and regional alliances), Cosmopolitanism (rejection of national identity, frequently concealing the

imposition of a powerful class, cultural or state identity on others), and Internationalism (the surpassing of nation-state identity and structure as the dominant form of political organisation). 'Internationalism' is here distinct from, rather than opposed to, the other supra-national ideologies, often articulating within itself such positive general human aspirations as might be expressed within them. 'Internationalism' is not opposed to nationalism, it is opposed only to nation-statism, recognising, with Raymond Williams (1983:197) that 'the nation-state...is at once too large and too small for the range of real social purposes'.

We need, secondly, to distinguish between at least the following types of what we would call 'labour-related internationalism': Co-operative Movement Internationalism (originating in late-19th century Europe), National-Democratic Internationalism, Labour or Socialist Party Internationalism and Union Internationalism. The three latter types all appeared when we were discussing foreign labour coverage earlier. The point of distinguishing them, and of recognising the additional co-operative (or other) types, is in order to equally identify the institutionally-specific forms of internationalism, each of which may make its own specific contribution and have its just-as-specific limitations. For each such type it is necessary to distinguish levels of international consciousness and action (e.g. national leaders, activists, rank-and-file, class), the areas and objects of international activity, (e.g. labour-market control, labour rights, democratic rights more generally), and the extent of such, in terms of breadth (e.g. numbers of countries, communities or workers involved) and depth (the effort, sacrifice or cost). We need to periodise labour-related international activity in terms of not only cycles or periods of capital accumulation internationally but also the development of the nation-state form and of labour organisations and ideologies themselves. Finally, we need to geographically situate labour-related international behaviour, recognising, for example, the different implications for internationalism of the nationalism of dominant-state and dominated-state workers.

We need, in the third place, to suggest certain principles for the creation of a new and meaningful labour internationalism, one that would surpass the one-sided or limited nature of past or present efforts. Amongst such principles should be at least the following: 1) that it implies a movement from relations between worker representatives to direct contacts between the concerned labouring people themselves; 2) that it implies a movement from one-way traffic between the rich/powerful and the rest to a two-way or multi-directional flow of support; 3) that, consequently, it implies abandoning the one-way movement of money to a two-way movement of information, ideas and political support; 4) that it combats political, religious, ideological and gender discrimination amongst working people internationally; 5) that it is based not only on the desires and interests of worker representatives but on the expressed daily needs and capacities of ordinary working people; 6) that it requires a movement from the making of declarations or appeals to greater collective activity or effort of those involved; 7) that it links up with National-Democratic Internationalism so as to reinforce wage-labour struggles with those against capital, state, racism, imperialism and patriarchy; 8) that it implies for labour organisations the following: the abandonment of secrecy about international policies, the ensuring of full membership and public discussion of these,

the carrying out of independent research and evaluation of international activities, the financing of such out of funds given by working people themselves.

If the direct relationship between this understanding of internationalism and the previous analysis is not immediately evident, then it should at least be clear that the conscious application of such criteria to the international relations of working people could help ensure that these are carried out more self-consciously and self-critically than in the past.

7. Back to Mariategui: forward from Mariategui

Let us, finally, return to where we began, with Mariategui on internationalism and on communication as its nervous system. Mariategui is a remarkable figure - a theoretician, poet, labour organiser, journalist, socialist, nationalist and internationalist. One would rather see his profile on a banner, his face on a mural, that that of some maximum and infallible revolutionary leader. But one would also rather see him as one of us and enter into dialogue with him. Much as one is impressed by Mariategui's insight on communication and internationalism, it is difficult to accept his formulations on internationalism as in any way adequate to the task today.

If Mariategui had been right on working-class internationalism, then we would have seen either a steady growth or cumulative waves of internationalism amongst workers since his day. This has evidently not been the case, either in Peru or Portugal or Poland. Traditional Marxists will answer this by assuring us either 1) that such internationalism is represented by their particular party, or 2) that the failure is due to the temporary domination of some 'labour aristocracy', the passing phenomenon of some 'semi-proletarianised peasantry', or both simultaneously, and 3) that international capitalist development is inevitably and inexorably producing its international and internationalist proletarian gravedigger. Where Mariategui, his forerunners, his contemporaries and his successors were wrong was in understanding the wage-labour relation as the sole source of internationalism. To say wage-labour is to say 'market' and to say 'market' is to say 'capitalist'. In so far as either the spontaneous development of the world market or the conscious efforts of capitalists and capitalist states leads to either a surpassing of frontiers or a subjugating of political restrictions, it is to create new ones to suit the needs of the markets, the interests of the capitalists. In the half century since the death of Mariategui we have seen both the triumph of the big factory system and that of the triumph of the small-workshop system and the repeated restructuring of national and international economies in ways that - by the same tokens and at the same levels - imply new divisions amongst working people. Even if the textile workers of the USA or Vitarte do interest themselves in a fall of wages in the British textile industry, this may mean nothing more than a consciousness of themselves as commodities in a capitalist market, in other words of a literally capitalist consciousness. That this consciousness is the collective possession of living labourers gives it a special potential. But historically and contemporaneously we see limited outcomes of this potential (see Haworth and Ramsay 1984 on the limits of multinational worker internationalism). The threat posed by cheap foreign labour

can - and does - lead to national labour movements and individual workers throwing themselves into the hands of their capitalist employers, depending ever more on their respective nation states, even becoming more reactionary than some of these (the AFL-CIO over many years).

Capitalism, of course, is much more than the market, much more than an economy. It is a total social system which tends to engulf and incorporate all others, whether earlier (slave, feudal) or later (socialist). It is a political system, based on the nation-state form, which creates a world of nation states, of inter-state organs (amongst them the 'bad' World Bank and the 'good' ILO) and a certain practice and understanding of international relations. Capitalism is also a culture and, indeed, its most powerful and flexible bearers are phenomena like Donald Duck (Dorfman and Mattelart 1975) and 'Dallasty', spreading a cosmopolitan set of bourgeois, racist and sexist values, invading the mind, occupying the imagination and simultaneously isolating and serialising individuals, classes, social categories and national communities (Mattelart, Delcourt and Mattelart 1984).

Capitalism is also, of course, a contradictory phenomenon, repeatedly revealing and creating new opportunities and possibilities which it cannot itself fully develop. One of these is the area of communications - whether in the sense of transportation or information channels - an area becoming increasingly central to human development (Haye 1980, Williams 1980, Poster 1984). Mariategui, as a journalist and an international traveller, a product of the European centre as well as the Latin American periphery, was a privileged witness of the significance of communication in creating a world-wide civilisation in place of locally-limited ones. But, again, there is no economic or technical necessity operating here. Neither the dominant nor the opposition media, in Peru, Poland or Portugal, are required to recognise this international nature of our world. And, if and where they do so, they may do so in quite other ways than Mariategui might have predicted or hoped. Like Marx, Engels and Lenin, Mariategui was also a prisoner of his insights. Capitalism, imperialism, patriarchy and the nation state were at that time far from fully developed. Their current interlinked crises may not necessarily prove more than a hiccup in the deadly progress of capitalist civilisation. The crisis merely provides an opening, which socialists and labour movements may or may not widen to their own advantage.

Very well then. Here we have presented some ideas that could (given that one of the authors is British and that Britain is a major intellectual source of the new internationalism) be considered 'British ideas'. The ideas are now printed. They will be 'launched into space' in English and Spanish. Do they express some 'universal truth'? If so, will they be 'instantaneously transformed into an internationalist idea'? This depends on two processes with their own dynamics.

The first is that of the relationship between intellectuals and workers. This is a matter that has already been alluded to more than once in these pages. In the development of a new labour internationalism pro-labour intellectuals make their appearance as communication specialists, as union advisors, as researchers...and as those most interested in internationalism! Let us - more modestly - present intellectuals as professionals, technicians, academics and administrators. Then we can, for example, recognise

that the international solidarity received by the Federacion Minera in Peru comes both from and via such people: 'from' in the sense of European union and development agency officers and solidarity committees; 'through' in the sense of centros. Awareness of the key role of such people enables a positive interpretation and strategy. What we are faced with here can be best interpreted in the terms used by Mark Poster. We are here dealing not with the 'general intellectual', offering as Marx and Mariategui did, a total vision of society and identifying the necessary role and consciousness of the masses in overthrowing it. We are dealing with 'specific' intellectuals who by 'speaking only for themselves and their local situation' (Poster 1984:155) raise effective arms against domination in particular areas of social life. In so far as the different kinds of 'specific intellectual' we have mentioned (and remember that these include labour movement officers) make explicit to themselves and the workers what their own interests, motives and roles are, and in so far as they increasingly facilitate direct communication and solidarity action between ordinary workers internationally, then we may yet see a new labour internationalism making its long-missing and much-needed addition to the internationalism of the women's, human-rights, peace, environmental and other such movements.

The second process and dynamic is that of the uneven development of the international labour and socialist movement. The industrialised capitalist countries may be (because of their level of industrialisation, de-industrialisation, post-industrialisation) sources of new social thinking and even new labour strategies, but these tend to develop outside or on the fringes of the organised labour movement. The latter - victim of its own past successes - is in a largely defensive posture. Whilst it is engaged in many activities of interest to other labour movements, it does not in general show a capacity to either understand or effectively fight back against the aggressive new capitalist order. Countries on the periphery of capitalism (and we must here include Poland and South Africa alongside Peru) have thrown up organised labour movements of a 'social-movement' kind - inspired by a vision of social transformation, open to or intimately linked with other classes and social interests. These movements become - but in very diverse ways, at different moments and for different periods - open to a new kind of labour internationalism. If the ideas above have been launched into space from the capitalist core, it may be at the periphery that they are brought down to earth and converted into a force that will return to grip the minds of labour internationally.

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