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1. There follows a literal translation of a letter from Rodolfo Guzman, Confederacion de Trabajadores de America Latina (CTAL) official, to the Political Commission of the Vanguardia Popular (Communist) Party in Costa Rica. The first part of the letter discusses a labor report on the Vienna meeting of the Federacion Sindical Mundial (FSM), (World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)). The second part is concerned with a criticism of a report on the Costa Rican labor movement which Guzman asked for previously.

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"My dear Friends:

"I am enclosing here the resolutions of the recent meeting of the Executive Bureau of the FSM held in Vienna. In an extensive meeting of our Secretariat, Lombardo gave a lengthy explanation of the discussions as they took place in the Executive Bureau at Vienna concerning problems of tactics confronting unaffiliated organizations and unorganized labor. I consider the discussion by Lombardo as very important and therefore relate the following points:

"The divisionist directors of the CIO and A F of L in the United States have developed a plan tending to present the world syndicate movement as divided in two camps: the FSM 'Communist', and themselves as the 'free' syndicate movement. The FSM has studied the means of destroying such an idea, such a campaign, and the meetings of the Executive Bureau of the FSM have been dedicated to this study in Budapest, Bucharest, and now Vienna. In Budapest the struggle was initiated for the unity of syndicate action . . . only one syndicate in each branch of labor, only one national center, only one continental center, and in the case of Latin America only one world center. In Bucharest, the situation in certain countries was investigated, especially in Latin America, with the assistance of the Central Committee of the CTAL. From this meeting resulted the resolutions for the tasks of the syndicate movement in Latin America. But now the Vienna meeting has penetrated deeper into the problem. Essentially it consists of insisting on the unity of labor and in breaking the sectarian tendencies which impede greater activity, in a struggle with unity of action, without distinction along central and political differences. . . .

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"Direct the struggle for unity of action toward objectives which are concrete, immediate, and with feeling for the masses and not for general objectives or with interference of a political character. The causes of the division in the world syndicate move out, and in each country, are essentially of a political character. It is only natural that, if in the proposals for unity of action, we place demands of this type (political), which are the very same causes of the division, then the unity fails.

"The Vienna setting accomplished a step forward in the tactics of unity of action. It consists of a struggle for this unity not only in the rank and file, but in the directorates of syndicate organizations that are not in the line. As a consequence of this point of view, the Executive Bureau meeting in Vienna directed a communication to the Consejo de la Internacional Obrera meeting in Milan, and to the Internacional Cristiana, proposing the unity of action of the three international centrals. It contained concrete demands in the labor field of immediate character. The answer of the Internacional Obrera was already known: negative. This was later proven. However, the labor nucleus, while in line with the Obrera, can realize the position of the IC and the attitude of their own directors. The IC will insist upon their proposal of unity of action with the Internacional Obrera, even to the point of obligating its directors to make a pact of this unity, to clarify in the conscience of its affiliates their true position in the syndicate movement.

"The Italian and French labor movements have provided rich experience in unity of action. This experience indicates how positive results in unity of action have been powerfully reflected in the political struggle of the labor class and their labor and progressive parties in the struggle for peace. In effect, the recent victory of our party in France has, as one of its immediate causes, the success of unity of action in the syndicate movement. Together with the CGT (ours), the Fuerza Obrera and the Christian syndicates have marched in the struggle in unity of action, for the concrete demands of the labor class. The same occurred in Italy with our party and the allied socialists.

"But even in labor movements like those of France and Italy, difficulties were encountered because of a lack of concentration of many directors upon the problem of unity of action, upon the importance of unity with the laborers of other syndicate organizations, and upon the question of having to work with syndicate directors not very well regarded by us. However, it is considered that the movements of Europe march in the vanguard of unity of action, and that the movements of Latin America and Asia, with the natural exception of China, are those which manifest the greatest number of sectarian trends and failures to understand the line. Some examples were cited: Colombia - a division of the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Colombia (CTC). Our companions left the Congress of the CTC because the Liberals denied ratification of the affiliation with the CTAL and the PC. This was a sectarian error. Here the unity of the Congress and the CTC was important. The question of the affiliation was a problem to be solved with intelligence and by means of our struggle. But even more, our Colombian companions made a proposal to the Liberals for a platform to 're-take' the unity of ten points, among which, the struggle against the atomic bomb. Naturally the unity was not realized.

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"It is considered that the unity of action should be effected upon a base of various fundamental points, or of one point in each case concrete. For example: in Italy they have realized unity of action, oftentimes, on the base of only one point - wage increases. The struggle of wage increases is one of the forms of struggle against war, since the wage increases weaken war budgets. But if the unity of action had been proposed with the laborers of the party of De Gasperi upon the base of the struggle against the atomic bomb, possibly it would not have been realized. Another thing is for our syndicate organizations to be champions of the struggle for peace, and then locate in the center of our activities (the struggle against war, which we understand how to conduct by means of the fight for unity of action) struggles of other types, such as the struggle against war, with a platform of unity of action.

"Another question covered at the Vienna meeting was the manner of treatment and direction of the syndicate directorates not affiliated with the IO-C.I.J. It consisted of abandoning the injurious parasitology which is often used in referring to these syndicates. Abandon the terms, 'traitors', 'reformists', 'intriguers', etc., which have been used often, and examine each concrete case of each director and his part in the labor movement, denouncing them accordingly. In this manner the laborers of those organizations are educated and clearly introduced to the attitude of their directors.

"All this is the trend assumed by the IO, a struggle to win over the labor class and public opinion, a struggle to destroy the false idea of the division of the two great groups of the world syndicate movement, a trend which is outlined in the following resume of resolutions:

- Proposal for unity of action in the directorates and rank and file.
- Abandon sectarianism in the proposals for unity of action.
- Platforms for unity of action must contain the urgent and immediate demands of the labor class.
- Realize the unity of action based on only one point if necessary.
- Not to establish as one of the conditions of unity of action the acceptance of political demands which have in their essence caused the divisions.
- Abandon the idea that all platforms and proposals for unity of action must contain the demand for the struggle against war and the campaign for peace.
- Abandon injurious language in referring to unaffiliated syndicate directorates.

"As you can see it is of considerable importance that these questions be thoroughly understood.

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"And now for some observations concerning the report received as Report for the IS on the labor movement and the national situation in Costa Rica. (The letter here refers to the report by the lengthy title: Informe para la IS sobre la situacion del movimiento obrero y la situacion politica nacional.) It appears to me that the document is more of a report than an article for the IS magazine, which is what was requested. That is to say, I asked for an article and a report. But even then, the report contains certain points which are subject to criticism in my opinion. For example: it refers to the lack of audacity and decision in the masses, caused by fear, and to the slow manifestation of the spirit of combat in the masses, etc., as a process outside or distant from our struggle. Nothing is mentioned as to what is being done to raise this spirit of combat in the masses, and it leaves the impression that little is being done (by the party) and that everything is being left to the initiative of the masses. You cannot make a report to the IS without stating how you are struggling to apply the resolutions of the combined region, of the Central Committee of the CML and the Executive Bureau of the PC of Guacarast, which I sent you, concerning the 'tasks of the labor movement in Latin America.' Each intervention by us is subject to criticism by the IS when we do not report upon the aspects of our work. But there is something more serious - our movement, syndicate and political, has acquired a great international prestige. It was one of the greatest in the Caribbean, especially as a political movement. Anyone who reads the report to which I am referring will be disillusioned and will not understand even how it has been possible to arrive at a calm after the panic introduced by the repression (Revolution of 1948), and how a reaction of the masses has not been possible, since undoubtedly the repression has not destroyed the party or its influence. In short, the Report states that there is a lack of decision and audacity on the part of the labor masses, fear of suppression, but, since the economic situation of the masses is acute, this provides perspectives and will help to minimize the element of fears. Consequently, the lack of audacity and initiative is not, perhaps on our part. Are we not falling into sectarian attitudes such as mentioned herein? I am not making this criticism in ignorance of the concrete work and problems that face you, but wish to make these points as suggested by the Chalito (Guaardo Mora) report and the report of discussions in the Executive Bureau of the IS.

"I do not know if the resolutions on tasks of the labor movement in Latin America had been the object of a detailed study by you, and if any plans have been formulated for their application. Here are more resolutions of the IS. I believe it is necessary to hold an extensive discussion over these documents.

"Receive these suggestions and observations in a fraternal spirit, since they are a product of my preoccupations for the labor movement in Costa Rica and my wish to be able to report the in the best manner possible to the CML and the PC.

Greetings,

/s/ Jimenez

"Request acknowledgment of receipt immediately to be sure that they arrive safely."

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