

**CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
RELEASE AS SANITIZED**

AIR

2003

NSC-A-431

12 Nov. 1953

Chief, WHD

Chief of Station, Guatemala

Labor Matters

ESMERALDITE Labor Report

Reference: NSC-A-430

1. Enclosed is a developed roll of 35 mm. microfilm which contains part 5, Recommendations, of the comprehensive labor report prepared by **ESMERALDITE**.
2. The report consists of 10 pages numbered consecutively in the upper right hand corner - 162 through 171. It should be noted that the first four parts of this report submitted as an enclosure to the referenced dispatch consisted of 161 pages and not 167 as reported. The total number of pages, including this final part, is 171.
3. It is apparent that **ESMERALDITE**'s recommendations represent only **WHAT** might be done without any suggestions as to **HOW** his recommendations could be implemented. Some of his ideas appear to be excellent; others impracticable; some not within the scope of our activities or jurisdiction. **ESMERALDITE** places great emphasis on training in labor theories and the philosophical aspects of political, economic, and social activities. It is our belief that more emphasis on technical training (i.e., organization and administration) is necessary. **ESMERALDITE** appears to think that "professionally qualified" syndical leaders are those with extensive training in theory and that technical qualifications are secondary.
4. A critique (copy enclosed) of parts 1 through 5 has been delivered to Donald O. HEDIGER for discussion with **ESMERALDITE**. We have also prepared a series of questions and observations regarding Part 5 which HEDIGER will use as a guide in obtaining from **ESMERALDITE** more specific plans regarding **HOW** we can carry out his recommendations. Headquarters will be kept informed concerning further developments in this matter.
5. The interested desk at Headquarters may wish to comment on the complete report. Such comments might prove helpful in planning

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a project based on EMERALDITE's report and recommendations. Particular attention is invited to paragraphs 12, 13, 15, and 18 of the enclosure, all of which will require Headquarters attention and action if accepted as practicable recommendations. Paragraph 22 is called to the attention of Headquarters officers responsible for planning KUGOWH operations and policies.

Enclosures:
Roll of 35 mm. film
Memorandum

Kenneth S. Civloch

12 November 1953

OLT/emh
Distribution:
3-Wash w/2 att
1-Files w/1 att

November 6, 1953

MEMORANDUM

Subject: Amaya Labor Report, Part 5.

1. Amaya's labor recommendations have been reviewed and it is the consensus of opinion that they represent a usable approach as to WHAT must be done. Now we must obtain his plans for carrying out his recommendations. (The HOW). We must also determine what role Amaya expects to play in any project which may finally be decided upon.

2. The original Spanish text is returned herewith for discussion with Amaya. The following questions indicate the specific problems which must be resolved to carry out his recommendations:

a) "Initial group." Who will select, ostensibly sponsor, and train this group? Does Amaya expect to spot and recommend individuals? Amaya should concentrate on a clear, concise outline organizational plan for the group. Special attention should be given to cover, security, contacts and communications, financial and material support requirements. Consider this Amaya's No. 1 PRIORITY task.

b) [] will of course not be established until a "group" is established. However, we would like advance information regarding such contacts. Will they be expected to [] provide guidance, furnish literature? (See paragraph 1-d) of Spanish text).

c) "Anti-colonization struggle." This point seems to reflect Amaya's preoccupation with the international aspects of the labor movement. At least in the early stages of any plan, emphasis should be on internal syndical/political/economic matters. The workers of Guatemala are aware of the Belice question and we do not have to plan any special incitement training to make them conscious of the problem. The interjection of controversial international matters in the early stages of development would only serve to dissipate energies and resources on secondary interests. Initially the emphasis should be on objectives of union movements (i.e., wages, hours, retirement and sick benefits, etc.), and undermining the strength of communists in the local labor field. It is not agreed that international unity is a prerequisite to the achievement of local labor objectives. On the contrary, sound local organization is a prerequisite to effective collaboration

on the international level. Instruct Amaya to concentrate on local organization, training, and administration in the early stages before entertaining international objectives. (See paragraphs 1, 5 and 1).

- d) Paragraph 2 represents an admirable objective but HOW shall we undertake to achieve it? Who will do it? Amaya? Unless Amaya has a specific plan to achieve the objective it is suggested that it be accomplished through the dissemination of written propaganda. Mention this to Amaya and ask him for suggestions as to the best extensible source for such propaganda (overt, covert, dissidents within PAR, PRO, RM, or anti-Communists).
- e) Subsidy to "Nuevo Mundo" (paragraph 3). How? Through whom? How much? Instead of creating a new group would it be possible to infiltrate and control this school? Or an existing anti-Communist labor group such as the "Comité Central de Obreros Anti-Comunistas"?
- f) Paragraph 4. Instruct Amaya to obtain a list of names and addresses of persons and organizations to whom syndical literature should be sent.
- g) Paragraph 6. Probably impracticable to assign persons to fleet duty for this sole purpose. Would it not be possible to place well-trained persons from within the country at the various ports for this purpose? Amaya has already suggested it in paragraph 5.
- h) Paragraph 8. How can we render effective support to Morales Cubas? Through whom? How much? Material, financial, or both? Cover?
- i) Paragraph 9. Who will spot and recommend these persons? Who will subsequently guide them?
- j) Paragraph 11. Why not appoint a local anti-Communist labor personality to this position?
- k) Have Amaya re-state paragraph 16. It is not clear what he has in mind. What is the purpose of participating? Who are the "certain important individuals"?
- l) Paragraphs 20 (b) and 20 (c). Excellent ideas. Both the WHAT and the HOW. Ascertain whether or not Amaya can prepare draft material for leaflets, etc.
- m) Paragraphs 20 (d) and 20 (e). After the "initial group" is organized this sort of activity should be undertaken by selected members.

2. Paragraph 21. We are especially interested in detailed plans for encouraging this type of anti-Communist activity.

3. You probably will not be able to cover all of this material at one meeting with Amaya, therefore it is suggested that you concentrate on the priority questions first. We prefer to have partial reports or replies rather than wait for one comprehensive report on the implementation of his recommendations. We can review and process single reports on the various questions more rapidly and efficiently than can be expected if we get all answers to our questions in one report.

4. Key his replies to the pertinent sub-paragraphs in 1, above, for easy reference.