



Intelligence Information Report

4-FBI

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DATE DISTR.

COUNTRY

El Salvador

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SUBJECT

New Tactics of the Communist Sector within the Salvadoran Trade Union Movement.

Copy to (CC) MANAGUA
by routing slip for
 info. action
date 5-25-73
by [Signature]

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Summary. Having concluded that the new "dynamic" policies which it has been attempting to implement through its trade union movement are not succeeding, the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCES) has assigned a member of its Central Committee to take over de facto control of the larger and more important of the two PCES-controlled labor federations in El Salvador. A hard-line policy towards PCES dissidents has been reaffirmed, and efforts to by-pass non-Communist labor leaders and achieve "labor unity" through winning over the rank-and-file membership of non-Communist labor groups have been abandoned. Although the Communists were not able to organize a joint procession with non-Communist labor organizations on the occasion of Labor Day on 1 May 1973, they did persuade non-Communist labor organizations to publish a joint declaration with the Communists in the Salvadoran press on Labor Day - and this is viewed by some as a first, tentative step towards "labor unity." End Summary

1. Significant developments took place during the month of April 1973 within that portion of the Salvadoran trade union movement controlled by the PCES which may have important repercussions within the Salvadoran trade union movement in general. The chief developments within the Communist sector of the Salvadoran trade union movement during April 1973 were the following:

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a. Julio Cesar Castro Belloso, Secretary General of the Unifying Federation of Salvadoran Trade Unions (FUSS), has been recognized by the PCES to be ineffective in his present position, and Rafael Aguinada Garranza, a member of the PCES Central Committee and long an important advisor within the PCES on trade union matters, has been assigned by the PCES to take over de facto direction of FUSS.

C.P. EL SAL JUN 1 1973

Aguiada has reversed what appeared to be a tendency on the part of Castro Belloso to come to terms with some of those labor leaders who were suspended from membership in the PCES and removed from top trade union positions in late 1972.

c. Aguinada has apparently completely changed the tactics thus far employed by Castro Belloso with a view to achieving "unity" within the general Salvadoran trade union movement.

2. Ever since Castro Belloso was elected Secretary General of FUSS in September 1972, it has become increasingly clear that he is unable to obtain support from most FUSS leaders for the "dynamic" policies which the PCES instructed him to implement. Castro Belloso has been viewed by most FUSS leaders as "too political," and his exhortations for increased political action by FUSS have been received with little enthusiasm. On the other hand, apparently recognizing that the Salvadoran Communist labor movement lost many of its most able leaders as a result of ousters and suspensions carried out at the bidding of the PCES in 1972, Castro Belloso appeared to display a willingness to come to terms with some of the more amenable leaders who fell from grace. During recent months, Hipolito Calles, former Secretary General of the Union of Railway Workers (UTF) and still a member of the UTF Directorate, made repeated efforts to arrive at an accommodation with both the PCES and Castro Belloso, and indications were that Calles was achieving some success in his efforts. Aguinada has now made it quite clear that neither the PCES nor the Communist labor movement is disposed to take a favorable view of any of the Communist labor leaders who were the objects of PCES disciplinary action in 1972.

EL SAL

3. "Labor unity" has long been a goal of the PCES and of the trade union movement which it controls. Recognizing that past efforts in this direction had failed, Castro Belloso, upon assuming office as Secretary General of FUSS, decided to seek unity with non-Communist trade union groups by appealing directly to the rank-and-file membership of these groups and thus by-passing their leaders. Aside from the fact that this latter tactic greatly antagonized the leaders of non-Communist trade union groups, it was unsuccessful. For instance, FUSS and the PCES made a strong and unsuccessful effort to block the re-election of Felipe Antonio Zaldivar as Secretary General of the Federation of Construction, Similar and Transport Industry Unions (FESINCONSTRANS) in January 1973. Aguinada recognized the failure of Castro Belloso's tactics, apparently abandoned them in large part during the month of April 1973, and devoted himself to courting the goodwill of Salvadoran non-Communist labor leaders.

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4. Zaldivar, while well aware of PCES/FUSS objectives in their campaign for "labor unity", has for some time believed that such unity is desirable and that it should be discussed with Communist labor leaders. The reasons for Zaldivar's attitude

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are many. He sees labor unity as desirable in itself, and he sees in it a degree of added protection for his and other labor federations in the face of the current hard-line attitude being followed by President Arturo Armando ~~Molina~~ *EL SAL.* towards organized labor. He strongly disagrees with the view apparently expounded to him by representatives of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) whereby there can be no cooperation with Communist labor. Zaldivar believes that Communist labor is an important force in El Salvador which must be reckoned with, and that refusal to accept this fact is unrealistic. Zaldivar has repeatedly said that he would far rather have Communist labor included within a unity movement where it can be watched than isolated and engaging in activities which would be difficult either to understand or discern. Zaldivar, who is perhaps the most influential and experienced labor leader on the Salvadoran scene at this moment, is also seeking ways and means of enhancing his position on the Salvadoran labor scene. He has been Secretary General of FESINCONSTRANS for many years and realizes that he cannot remain in this position very much longer; thus, he is seeking a larger forum in which to play a prominent role and a graceful means of retiring from his present position - should he consider this latter step necessary. Finally, Zaldivar has considerable confidence in his own abilities and believes that the Communists would not be able to outsmart him in a united labor movement.

5. During the period leading up to the 1 May 1973 Labor Day celebrations, Aguinada made strenuous efforts to persuade non-Communist labor leaders, and particularly Zaldivar, to join with the Communist trade unions in a joint procession in honor of the occasion. Zaldivar more or less led the non-Communists in refusing to join with the Communists, though he did this in a manner which was not too blatant. On the other hand, he also led non-Communist labor leaders in signing a joint declaration with Communist labor leaders which was published in the San Salvador press on Labor Day. Zaldivar intended the joint manifesto to be a first, tentative step in the direction of "labor unity."

6. Dissem: Embassy, Defense Attache at San Salvador.

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