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Mexico, D. F., February 11, 1945.

No. 23,057

SECRET

Subject: Transmitting Copy of an Apparently Secret Document Distributed at the Meeting of the C.T.A.L., at Cali, Colombia, in December 1944.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit with the original of this Despatch, a copy of an apparently secret document which was circulated to a few of the labor leaders who attended the meeting of the Confederation of Workers of Latin America (C.T.A.L.) at Cali, in December 1944.

The Department has had, I am sure, many reports not only from Colombia but from some of our other Missions with regard to this meeting. According to the reports which I have seen it would appear that the general tenor of the meeting was not unfair to the United States and that many of the speeches and addresses which were made showed a spirit of collaboration in the war effort, emphasized Inter-American solidarity and at least in a luke-warm way, collaborated with the United States.

There is, however, reason to believe that the basic spirit of this meeting was not as friendly to the United States as might appear on the surface. It

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will be recalled that the prime spirit of this meeting in Cali was Lombardo Toledano who is a very complex person. Although he has since the entrance of Soviet Russia into the war taken an attitude of collaboration with the United States and with the United Nations and although his remarks with regard to the United States have been more temperate since that time, there is reason to believe that his basic attitude towards the United States has not changed. He seldom fails in his public addresses to speak of the imperialistic attitude and aims of the United States and in his private conversations with labor leaders he emphasizes this attitude even more and usually in a violent manner.

The basic attitude of Lombardo Toledano must be seen as one of opposition to the United States and friendliness to Soviet Russia. Beneath the veneer there is no doubt that the present attitude which he assumes of apparent friendliness and less violent criticism of the United States is one of opportunism.

The document transmitted herewith, it will be noted, is not really a printed document, it is a mimeographed document. There is much reason to believe that this document was prepared in Mexico and carried to Cali by Lombardo Toledano. There is much reason to believe that only a limited number of copies was produced. Although this Embassy has numerous contacts in all quarters of labor circles in Mexico and many of these contacts of

a very close character with important labor leaders, not one of them has mentioned this particular document herewith transmitted. This in itself in view of the unfriendly character of the document is significant for generally some of the labor leaders are very frank and open in their conversation and contact with officers of this Embassy. The three copies which this Embassy knows to be in existence in Mexico have all come to our attention from non-labor sources. This Embassy has not noticed any reference in any of the reports of our various Embassies and Consulates in Latin America to such a report. This would confirm what we have been told about this report and that is, it was prepared in a very limited number of copies and for a very limited distribution and that at Cali it was given by Lombardo Toledano and his associates to only a very limited group of labor leaders in Latin America for their personal orientation and direction in their work. This procedure would be characteristic of the methods employed by Lombardo Toledano and some of the labor leaders in Latin America, most intimately associated with him in the work of C.T.A.L. They frequently assume openly attitudes, particularly with respect to the United States, which are completely out of accord with the attitudes which they preach and indoctrinate in their private conversations.

It is believed that much of the information in the appended document was provided to Lombardo Toledano and his associates in Mexico by the Soviet Ambassador in this city.

city. It will be recalled that the closest contact existed between the late Soviet Ambassador Oumansky in Mexico to Lombardo Toledano but it is characteristic of the procedure of both that they were practically never seen in each other's company.

The data which appears in this document as well as the graphs, etc., could not, we believe, have been prepared by the personnel available to Lombardo Toledano and his associates in Mexico. There is much reason to believe that these data and graphs were in a large measure supplied to Lombardo Toledano by the Soviet Ambassador here.

With regard to the document itself I will not go into detail for an analysis of it would have to be rather complete. I do not believe that any analysis of the document is necessary by this Embassy, as it is one which will have to be carefully studied in the Department. Inaccuracies, omissions, perversions, prejudices and the generally contentious character of the document are apparent in almost every sentence and in every graph. I will only make a single observation, that while the United States in particular and England in a very secondary way, are made responsible in this document for the backward condition of the other American Republics, nothing whatever is said of the fact that a good deal of the agricultural and industrial progress in these countries has been made possible through venture and adventure of American capital, through technical circles from the United States and through infinite pains by our business people, scientists, and technicians. Although

though much is said concerning the amount of the investments of the United States in Latin America and of loans, nothing is said of the tremendous amounts which have been lost by foreign investors through bona fide efforts to improve the economies of these countries.

Indirectly Soviet Russia is held up as a model in this document when as a matter of fact Soviet Russia has done nothing whatever for Latin America of a constructive character and nothing whatever except stir up social disorder and unrest.

The document completely disregarded the fact that if the standard of living in many of the Latin American countries is low and wages are still low, they are rising as a result of the effort made by American capital in particular in developing the economies of these countries. Nothing whatever is said of the fact that wage levels in Russia are in many respects not above wage levels in Latin America and that in Latin America there is at least room for individual achievement because there is a free economy while in Russia there is a complete controlled state economy.

I think the Department in connection with this document will wish to bear in mind the "secret" Despatch No. 1298 of December 13, 1944, from our Embassy in Moscow, entitled "Soviet's interest in the Spanish Situation". With this Despatch Ambassador Harriman sent a secret memorandum, dated December 7, 1944, prepared by John F. Melby, a foreign service officer, at that Embassy. I referred to this memorandum in a letter which I wrote to

Assistant

Assistant Secretary Rockefeller under date of February 3, which letter the Department may wish to consider in connection with this Despatch.

Mr. Melby in his memorandum makes some very penetrating remarks with regard to the procedures which the Soviet Governments are following and likely plans to follow. His remarks are being borne out every day by the developments in Europe and in his Hemisphere. I would in particular in connection with Mr. Melby's memorandum refer to the present labor meeting going on in London where Lombardo Tolodano is playing a very important role and where together with the Soviet representative they are laying the basis or endeavoring to lay the basis for a world labor organization which will serve as the instrument of Soviet's diplomatic, political, economic and social policy throughout the world, that is, the Soviet Government is openly refraining from taking certain action in the political field in Latin America but in reality is endeavoring through a world labor organization with branches in various parts of the world to carry through its objectives and at the same time remain in the position to disclaim any action as a government. This policy so penetratingly set forth in Mr. Melby's memorandum under reference is being given reality through what is going on in London today. The plan of this organization will not be the work of a day or of a year but it is this patience and in this concentration of effort and in this case, organization of activity that the strength and danger of this movement lies.

I am not endeavoring in this despatch either to analyze the appended document which in my opinion has great significance because it is intended as the bible of a few of the labor leaders of Latin America. I am also not attempting to enter into detail with regard to the method of procedure which is being planned by the C.T.A.L. in the Americas and in association with the Soviet. The implications are so clear that I merely wish to emphasize that this document should be considered as one of the carefully considered parts of a plan being worked out by certain international labor leaders among whom Lombardo Toledano cannot be disregarded.

Further this document shows that in spite of all protestations to the contrary Lombardo Toledano and the leaders of C.T.A.L. are endeavoring to stir up distrust of and enmity toward the United States and to build up a feeling that Soviet Russia is the Saviour of the common man when in fact so far as the Americas are concerned, it has done nothing so far for the common man except to cause internal disturbance and unrest in various of the American countries.

I am sending with the original of this despatch one of the three copies of this document which I know exist in Mexico - although undoubtedly more copies are in the possession of certain labor leaders in the inner circle. The copy which is appended herewith is the one which I have been able to get into my possession to be retained by the Embassy. One of  
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the other three copies is in the possession of the Civil Attaché. The Civil Attaché is making several photostatic copies of the document so that we may have a few copies in our files here for reference.

Respectfully yours,

G.S. Messersmith

(To the Department in Quintuplicate)

Enclosure:

With original only.