



**T O P   S E C R E T**  
**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE**  
**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

December 4, 1959

**INFORMATION OBTAINED REGARDING A DISCUSSION  
BETWEEN A LEADING COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
FUNCTIONARY AND A HIGH-RANKING OFFICIAL OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA**

FBI Review

Completed with his recent visit to the Soviet Union and Red China, a leading functionary of the Communist Party, USA, had the occasion to converse at length with Victorio Codovilla, the founder of the Communist Party of Argentina and a member of the Presidium and Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina. Codovilla was the head of a delegation from the Communist Party of Argentina to the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China held in Peking, China, in September and October, 1959.

While in Moscow, Russia, this Communist Party, USA, functionary discussed with Codovilla and other Latin American communists the question of aid to the Communist Party, USA, in its international campaign for "legal rights." Codovilla pledged the support of the Communist Party of Argentina and added that the League of Struggle for the Rights of Man will be asked to assist the Communist Party, USA, in its international campaign. He described this organization as a group of lawyers which the Communist Party of Argentina has used to fight against reactionary laws in Argentina. He noted that this lawyers' group publishes a newspaper with the assistance of a united front composed of social democrats and progressives. Codovilla stated that the Communist Party of Argentina hopes to turn this publication into an organ of the national democratic front. He said that the Communist Party of Argentina has illegal newspapers with a total circulation of 150,000 which he inferred could be used to assist the Communist Party, USA.

Concerning the Communist Party of Argentina, Codovilla related that up to a few months ago, it had 125,000 members. However, since the Party went into the underground it has dropped some members and today has a membership of about 80,000. He noted that there are an additional 28,000 members in the Communist Party of Argentina's youth group known as the Young Communist League. He claimed that the

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Communist Party of Argentina continues to strengthen itself and wields great influence in the labor movement and among the peasants in some provinces. The Communist Party, he claimed, is leading strikes and is growing.

Codovilla related that while the Communist Party of Argentina is not yet formally illegal, it is now de facto illegal. He stated that although there is a mass movement in Argentina to prevent legislation designed to outlaw the Communist Party, the situation is grave. He noted, for example, that during recent months there have been 143 arrests of Communist Party members in Argentina and it was necessary to hold the last congress of the Communist Party of Argentina in an underground status.

Concerning Argentina, Codovilla stated that this country is characterized by complete economic and political instability. He said that President Arturo Frondizi came into power in Argentina with the help of the Communist Party, the Peronista Party, labor, the peasantry and Frondizi's own party, the left radicals. Frondizi's promises to carry through an antifeudalist and anti-imperialist program and to revise the foreign concessions agreement have failed to materialize. In addition, he has failed to carry out his pledges for agrarian reform, liberal labor laws and peaceful relations with all countries.

Codovilla related that at the outset, Frondizi gave freedom to all parties including the Communist Party and falsely pretended to improve relations with the socialist countries by signing an agreement for \$100,000,000 in trade with the Soviet Union. However, very soon Frondizi submitted himself under the heel of the monopolies and the army. Frondizi decided to make concessions to the imperialists. This resulted in strikes to defend Argentina's oil resources from foreign monopolies and partial and general strikes in many other industries. Codovilla claimed that Frondizi used the reactionary forces of the army to suppress the people's movement but despite the repressions, the masses continued to push forward. The peasants began to seize the land. The workers and students were united under the Communist Party on a mass scale culminating in a 48-hour strike in which 4,000,000 people participated.

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Codovilla continued that with this mass struggle, the Communist Party, the youth movement and other mass organizations increased in numbers to the point where Frondizi had to either succumb to the people's pressure or resort to the methods of a dictatorship. Frondizi chose the methods of a dictatorship. He placed the blame on the Communist Party and now wants to formally declare it illegal. Codovilla stated that while the army is now demanding a complete dictatorship, there are many opportunities to check this dictatorship inasmuch as all of the political parties in Argentina fear that the dictatorship will be used not only against the Communist Party but against them as well. He emphasized that for this reason all political parties have voiced opposition to declaring the Communist Party illegal and are insisting upon more democracy.

Codovilla remarked that the Communist Party of Argentina now advocates a national democratic front. In this regard, he stated that the Communist Party has entered into a pact with the Peronists and with the trade-unions. He claimed that the Peronists are made up of large sections of the working class and that the Peronists are preparing to overthrow the Argentinian Government. He alleged that the Communist Party of Argentina is against a coup d' etat even if it is led by the Peronists. Codovilla continued that in the event of such a situation, the policy of the Communist Party of Argentina will be to mobilize the masses for a general strike and to demand a coalition government. He stated that at the present time, reaction is on the offensive but the militancy of the masses as well as the roots of the Communist Party among the masses and its influence guarantee the Communist Party's victory. He added that the main enemy of Argentina is United States imperialism and claimed if it were not for the interference of the United States, the Communist Party would have done away with the oligarchy.

During the period they were in Peking, China, the Latin American Communist Party delegates decided to hold a People's Congress of Latin America. They planned to have this congress called by outstanding liberals and mentioned in this regard former President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico, Jorge Alessandri, president of Chile, and Fidel Castro of Cuba. Concerning this congress, Codovilla stated that details are being discussed and worked out in Havana, Cuba. He claimed that certain government officials may be in attendance at the congress although they will speak as individuals and not in behalf of their governments. He said that the congress would include delegates from North American countries if they are against United States imperialism.

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OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

December 4, 1959

BY COURIER SERVICE

Mr. Allen W. Dulles  
Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Administration Building  
2430 E Street, N. W.  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Allen:

I thought you would be interested in the information contained in the enclosed memorandum. This information was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA, and pertains to a recent discussion in Moscow, Russia, between a leading functionary of the Communist Party, USA, and a high-ranking official of the Communist Party of Argentina.

In view of the extremely sensitive nature of certain of the sources of our information, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded the most careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover", is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

Enclosure

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VIA LIAISON

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Edgar:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me the memorandum concerning "A Recent Discussion in Moscow, Russia, Between a Leading Functionary of the Communist Party, USA, and A High-Ranking Official of the Communist Party of Argentina."

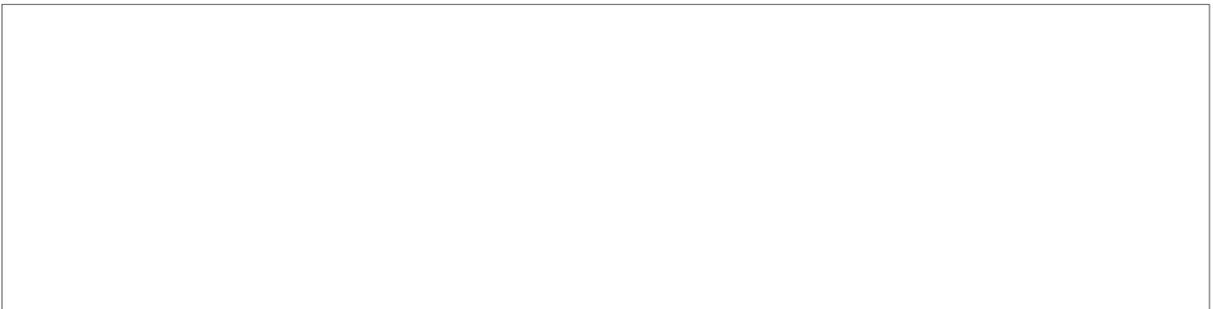
I have looked it over with interest and have forwarded it to some of my specialists here on a need-to-know basis.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

**SIGNED**

Allen W. Dulles  
Director



STAT

*End.*

TOP SECRET

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Dulles:

A copy each of Mr. Hoover's letter  
and enclosure has already been sent to  
DD/P and DD/I.

*GR file*

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AAB  
7 Dec. 59  
                      
(DATE)

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