

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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Recent discussions within the Communist Party of Chile (PCCh) have centered on questions raised in connection with new directives, probably furnished by Victorio Codovilla, Argentine Communist leader. The following answers to various points of discussion reflect the current orientation of the Party.

1. How can the strong influence of American commercial activities be countered?
 - a. The general party line of the Communist Party indicates that at the moment the whole Party must concentrate exclusively on the struggle against imperialism and in a great movement in favor of peace.
 - b. This fight includes the following elements: (1) Strikes and voluminous petitions; (2) Campaign for agitation of the masses, demonstrating that the economic situation is due exclusively to the present condition of being a semi-colonial country dominated by American capital; (3) Demonstration that if there were commercial exchange with the USSR, Chile could easily realize a policy of nationalization of industries without depending on the international monopolies.
 - c. The struggle in Chile is summed up in these three fundamental points. On the other hand, in other countries such as Argentina, according to news received in Party headquarters, it deals with seeking a formula for supporting the government economically, but not politically, so that Peron's policy will be favorable to the USSR.
 - d. With respect to strikes, the Communist Party of Chile has a criterion. It does not accept "general strikes" since such a course is considered to be the supreme appeal of the proletariat, but on the contrary uses a new policy of revolving strikes which results in almost complete paralysis of the industries without alarming the government. This system of revolving strikes has the following fundamentals: In each industry there is a division of labor; in the copper industry there are the miners, the carriers, the railroad workers, the transport workers, and finally the stevedores. All these are divided into various unions; thus the policy is to paralyze one

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section first; then, when this difficulty is solved another union strikes, and thus, a revolving strike is created which delays production.

- e. Sabotage may assume various forms but it has not been considered yet by the Party. The use of the boycott has also been discussed but it is doubtful whether it can be applied since it is very difficult to organize. The fight against imperialism and for world peace will take form as a fight against American capital and against the governments which favor it. X
2. Are the North American military missions in Latin America stimulating the military and anti-Communist governments?
 - a. This was the theory held by the Central Committee, or by the Political Committee of the Communist Party, in reference to the military coup in Venezuela.
 - b. In one of the recent circulars sent by the Secretariat for study by the various cells, it is stated that the Yankee imperialists incite the governments of Latin America to create and maintain armies out of proportion to their financial capacities.
 - c. In this manner, as the armies of Latin America grow in number, the militarists intervene more and more in politics, influencing, as in Chile, the governmental policy.
 - d. The development of war industries is being promoted, always as subsidiary industries of the American companies and under their control. By means of agreements called "liberty of maritime and aerial navigation", the American companies are able to have at their disposal ports and airfields throughout the American continents. X
 - e. All this involves a policy of construction of ports and landing points, and the construction of large airports. The majority of these constructions, especially among the airports, are accomplished through American technical counsel. Strategic spots are chosen, because it is hoped to be able to use them in case of war as bases of operations for flying fortresses. This results in a double benefit. The airport is built, and there is justification for the presence of a large number of technical personnel. X
 - f. All these points are included in circulars which have been sent to Communist elements for their indoctrination and so that they may know these points of American policy.
 3. What are the dissident elements of the Communist Party?
 - a. Galo Gonzales, in charge of Quadros and Control, has been given the task of dealing with the dissidents of the Communist Party. Concerning this point, in Chile there are two things to be considered: First, the internal opposition which still exists within the PCCh, and second, those who tried to gain power in the Directorate of the Party and were expelled during 1948.
 - b. The internal opposition, composed of Carlos Contreras Labarca, Raul Barra Silva, Higinio Godoy, ex-Secretary General of the Communist Party, and the group of young people who refuse to accept foreign directives that do not correspond to the actual conditions in the country, still remain among the ranks of the Party. This element has not been expelled, but its leaders have been removed from the Directorate.

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- c. Another group which has fallen under the ax of Galo Gonzales was formed by ex-Deputy Juan Guerra; the ex-Mayor of Antofagasta, Hector Albornoz; Julio Ascui, Vice-President of the Caja de Credito Minero, and a worker named Icasa, who formerly was in the Oficina Salitrera Pedro de Valdivia. All of these were expelled for having tried to take over the Central Directorate while the directors were in hiding.
- d. This expulsion is not considered of great importance. What the Directorate does fear, however, is the opposition which follows as a result of Party discipline. This opposition is found in the various sections, but is not concrete enough to give cause for the drastic step of expulsion from the Party.
4. What are the three operational zones in America?
- a. This refers to North America, Central America or the Caribbean, and South America. It is believed that such a breakdown exists, inasmuch as instructions are continually arriving from Buenos Aires contained in the circulars and political commentaries of Victorio Codovilla, which instructions refer to problems only in South America and not the Caribbean area. Moreover, the Communist parties of the Caribbean area have always had a different policy from those of South America, as have the parties in the United States and Canada.
- b. The bureaus charged with the control or coordination of the political work of the different parties in one zone send their instructions by means of personal messengers. There are not as many couriers as people generally imagine. The relations are maintained by the Central Committee which designates a person to be entrusted with the interchange of opinions. Chile depends upon the South American Bureau (sic) which has been operating under the direction of Codovilla in Buenos Aires. Codovilla has attended National Congresses of the Communist Party and has been the author and inspirer of the most violent criticisms of Carlos Contreras.
- c. In Chile, one of the agents of recent years has been Faustino Jorge. It was he who directed and inspired the political campaigns which were carried on through the daily Extra, and although it was a failure, he still has the confidence of Codovilla.
5. What changes are to be effected in the Communist Party?
- a. The Party is changing constantly to accommodate itself better to the struggle. But, in general, the same structure is maintained. The cell organization is the most perfect type for illegal work. The men are changed, but the Party structure remains.
6. Are all conclusions of the disciplinary commission final?
- a. Although to date the leaders deny it, Party members believe that the Commission of Control of the Executive Secretariat is dependent on the NEVD (sic). The great fear cannot be explained in any other way, and it is the true dictator within the Party. Its resolutions are without appeal, since up to now the Central Committee never has changed a sentence of the Control group. Further, no Communist Party Congress has gone against Galo Gonzales.
7. Will the present phase of action continue to be a campaign of backing highly nationalist governments which may reasonably favor the Communists?
- a. This aspect has not been considered within the Party, but in making comments concerning the governments of Peru and Venezuela, in the Brigade of Lawyers,

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Jorge Jiles and Rene Frias, who are those with the most contact with high circles, said:

"These new military governments are of interest to the Communists. It is evident that it would be suspicious for a Communist to participate in governments of this kind, but it must not be forgotten that the military are ignorant as concerns politics. They always need counsel, and some intelligent Communist might be converted into a very effective counselor..... Marxism is an aid that all do not have, and above all, political experience of the Communists is an eternal fountain for an inexperienced people."

This opinion has been repeated on numerous occasions by Ricardo Fonseca and Humberto Abarca.

- b. It is evident that the Communist Parties are helping the nationalist governments which are favoring them. In Peru, for example, the Junta is not molesting the Party, and in Venezuela the relations are cordial, though there have been some isolated clashes. In general, the convenience of the Party is the prime political rule.
8. Are shipments of war supplies to the United States to be prevented?
- a. This is the substance of the instructions at the moment. Until now details have not been given, but when the Party was trying to fight against Franco, the instructions were precise. It was considered necessary to impede by any possible means the loading of boats for Spain. Strikes were the first step, and then direct action in case the strike failed.
9. What is the feeling of the Communist Party toward Argentina?
- a. Codovilla has said that Peron must be supported in his fight against imperialism, but he must be combated politically.
 - b. Mention has also been made of the necessity of avoiding propaganda against Argentina, since this would be to the advantage of the United States.
 - c. Argentina is at present the most interesting country for the Communists. Peron's policy, because it is a threat for the United States, has aroused the enthusiasm of all the Argentine Communists.
 - d. Argentina is in addition a battlefield for a struggle between the United States and Great Britain, and this struggle must be exploited by the Communists. England has an enormous importance in Argentine economy, but the Americans are beginning to gain control of the Industria Frigorifica Argentina, which exports its principal products to England. The United States has been able to gradually gain control of the company, because Industria Frigorifica Argentina needs so many American materials.
 - e. Peron presents an enigma for the Communist Party, and although the Party is supporting Argentina at present, Peron's recent statement caused the Communists much concern. Peron stated that in case of war, Argentina would be on the side of the United States. Actually the Party policy is to help Peron in all economic fights against the United States, but to attack Peron's political regime. This last point has to be carried on very discreetly since Peron allows the Party to operate in Argentina and the interests of the Party come first.

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