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COMMUNISM

Clandestine Communist Organization

Part One

The Communist Party Underground

INTERIM REPORT

JULY 1949

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~~SECRET~~E. CP SPAIN UNDERGROUND

CP Spain (PCE), along with the autonomous Catalan and Basque CP's, was driven deep underground with the victory of General Franco in the Spring of 1939. Party cadres scattered, some to Latin America, some to the USSR. With the liberation of France, a Center was established at Toulouse,* close to the Spanish border. The official weekly publication, Mundo Obrero, soon began to appear clandestinely in Madrid. In March 1947, the third PCE Congress met at Paris. It elected a Central Committee, which set up headquarters in Paris under Dolores Ibarruri as Secretary General. For some time the PCE controlled the National Spanish Union (UNE), a resistance coalition which was dissolved in 1945. It held posts in the cabinets of Giral and Llopias in the Republican Government in Exile that was established in Mexico City. The Party has always worked closely with CP France, and has set up branches all over the world.

The PCE center is presently at Paris; latest reports indicate, however, that sections of it may have been already removed to Prague. A bewildering number of fronts, auxiliaries, and penetrated organizations under varying degrees of PCE control operate out of France and other countries, some of them maintaining underground organizations within Spain. The Spanish police have exerted so strong a pressure on these undergrounds as practically to nullify such small works as they may attempt. Numerous guerilla bands carry on desultory and largely uncoordinated operations in the mountains. Some of them are undoubtedly controlled by the CP's; many are auxiliaries of other outlawed parties; most are apparently simple banditti.

1. The Party Center Abroad.

Late in 1945, the Madrid police arrested a number of persons

* Recent reports alleging existence of a formal PCE training school at Toulouse seem to be without foundation. It is possible that a certain amount of informal cadre training is carried on in the Toulouse area, but present anti-PCE action by French police would seem to make operation of any sort of a centralized school impossible.

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alleged to represent a Central Committee at Toulouse, and confiscated a printing press, 5,000 copies of Mundo Obrero, and two radio transmitters, but means of which contact with the Toulouse Center had been maintained.

The PCE Center established by the 1947 Congress at Paris consists of a Central Committee, Politburo, Control Commission, and Secretariat, supervising the work of several administrative departments. The principle of co-optation has applied throughout the Party since the Civil War. Whatever political apparatus functions within Spain is quite decentralized, reportedly ranging through the following eight echelons: Region, Province, Local, Comarcal, District, Sector, Radio, and Cell.

The Basque and Catalan CP's maintained separate Politburos, although both were represented on the Central Committee of the PCE until December 1948, when a unified Politburo was set up for all three Parties. This new Politburo reportedly consists of ten members (as compared to six members previously), headed by Secretary General Dolores Ibarruri ("La Pasionaria") and Political Secretary Vincente Uribe. It is most recently reported that part of the Politburo is about to remove to Prague, where Ibarruri and Uribe have been for some months.

Comorera may stay on in Paris at the head of some sort of organization there. Whether this presages an eventual complete removal to the Czech capital, it is too early to judge. French police have lately begun to interfere with Spanish Communist activities. Nevertheless, it would seem unlikely that a complete transfer of operations will be effected. France is too convenient a base for the manipulation of such wires as the PCE still has into Spain.

In addition to those secretaries named above, Antonio Mije also sits on the Politburo as Organization Secretary. Both Mije and Uribe are aided by Politburo Assistant Secretaries. Administration below this top level is something of a mystery. Several reports of dubious merit list such unlikely administrative departments as "Jurisprudence" and "Commercial Relations." One enumerates no less than 26 separate working sections under the Central Committee. Another cites 18 sub-sections functioning under three major departments, viz., "Coordination

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and Information," "Political Affairs," "Military Affairs." From such descriptions, it is possible only to deduce that the PCE maintains a standard administrative set-up, with sections for Agitprop, Organizations, Cadres, Youth, Women, Finances, Labor, etc., to which there have possibly been added such departments as may reasonably be expected to function in an underground party -- Liaison, Military, Mutual Aid, Security.

Many of the departments allegedly working at the Party Center probably exist as paper entities. It is indeed doubtful that such appalling bureaucracy as has been set out in these reports would be countenanced by such well-schooled Communists as those who currently lead the PCE. It is significant in this connection that most of the members of the new Politburo have spent some time in Moscow and have had extensive training in practical underground work. Ibarruri was a member of the Comintern's Executive Committee in 1935. Whatever the composition of the central organs, it is unlikely that top cadres expend serious energies in matters of such relative levity as "Economic Studies."

2. Organization within Spain.

Information concerning organization within Spain is even more nebulous. There is probably some sort of central headquarters for coordination of affairs in the peninsula. A "Central Executive Committee," "Executive Politburo," and a "Central Committee Delegation" have been reported at various times as fulfilling such a function. A central organ may have worked in or near Madrid in 1947 (see above). Thus, Agustin Zorua Sanchez, on trial in December 1947, admitted that, as Secretary for the Madrid area of the PCE, he had handled all incoming and outgoing communications between peninsular organizations and France; but that he had supervised propaganda work in the Madrid area only. (This latter included the preparation and distribution of Mundo Obrero and guerilla leaflets and the operation of a Party radio station).

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been true, but which the defendant persistently denied. In any case, he admitted having received several monthly shipments of 60,000 pesetas from France.

It is possible that a central organ may still function in Spain. It is also possible that it may operate from some place across the French border, Toulouse being the most likely location.

The nearest approach to a genuine territorial organizational breakdown at hand is a report on the Basque CP in the Province of Vizcaya in 1946. Here a Regional Responsible directed the work in three subordinate Provinces, including Vizcaya. The Provincial Responsible was assisted by Responsibles for Agitprop, Political Affairs, Organization, Syndical Work, and Finances. Couriers and cut-outs effected liaison between various Party units.

Trials of other Communists have revealed the following details of organization at lower levels:

Niceto Carcarro Gonzales admitted having been Propaganda Secretary for an (unstated) organization. As such, he supervised the work of five "groups." A mimeograph machine was found in his possession at time of arrest. He received a regular salary of 1,900 pesetas per month from the "organization."

Francisco López Garcia, as Secretary for Propaganda, directed fifteen "groups."

Others directed one or two "groups" or acted as liaison agents.

The above were all under the direction of Antonio Villaseñor Gallego, who was Secretary General of (apparently) a Radio consisting of fourteen cells of five members each.

Luis Ferranes (or Fernandez) Carrera was "Number Three" (i.e., Responsible for Propaganda) for either a Radio or a Sector. He was in contact with various Radios.

Antonio Iviás Peredas was "Number Two" (Organization? Political Affairs?) of "Sector II."

Eusebio Cabanillas Alfaro (?) was sent to Spain from France on instruction from the "Organization in Madrid."

Jesus Monzon Neparas, Governor of Alicante and Murcia during the Civil War, fled to France via Oran (the route taken by many of those tried). Was made a member of the CC/PCE. Charged with having preceded Zorua as head of the apparatus in Spain and with having sent the latter to take over in Madrid. Denied that the central organization at Paris directed work within Spain, claiming that it was responsible for affairs in France only. Claimed that an "entirely separate commission" functioned in Spain.

Others were charged with having transported arms from across the French frontier. Raquel Pelayo, for example, entered Spain clandestinely in 1944 and was sheltered by a certain Conchita in Barcelona.

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Conchita led her and three (?) other women to a place in the Pyrenees, where they picked up arms, which they carried to Conchita's house for safekeeping.

3. Other Party Organizations Abroad.

In addition to the Paris center and the local organizations in Spain, Communist exiles set up their own organizations in many other countries, chief centers being the USSR, Mexico, Uruguay and Argentina.

Some Spanish Communist refugees stayed on in the USSR. "Free Spain" radio broadcasts on a variable frequency around 11,620 kilocycles from some place near Moscow. Most of the leading Party cadres, however, have left the USSR for France.

In Mexico members of the Basque CP and of the PCE set up local branches. These work closely with CP Mexico, but receive direction from Paris, with which they are in regular communication.* Principal front for Spanish Communists in Mexico is the CP Mexico-sponsored FOARE (Federation of Organizations for Aid to the Spanish Republic). Leaders of the Basque CP and the PCE serve in executive capacities in the FOARE.

Manuel Delicado reportedly supervises the work of Spanish Communists in Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile, making frequent trips around this circuit as newspaper correspondent for Ce Soir and Humanite. He receives regular contributions from CP Argentina for the financial support of the groups in the three countries. Spanish Communists in Uruguay work chiefly within such fronts as the Casa de España and the JHUPRE (Spanish Junta of Uruguay for Republican Spain).** The Argentine branch of the PCE which has only about 100 members publishes a newspaper which has a reported circulation of about 1,500. Spanish Communists in Argentina utilize a number of fronts for their activities.

* Intercepted letters have been addressed to the Politburo of the PCE at Paris by the "Information Bureau of the PCE," Mexico City.

** Until this year, Spanish Communists in Uruguay could belong to CP Uruguay. In February the CPU decided to cease issuing membership cards to the Spaniards because the latter had occupied themselves solely with collecting money for their own groups. They may continue to attend CPU meetings, however.

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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 3, 1959

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

In connection with his recent travel to the Soviet Union and Red China, a leading functionary of the Communist Party, USA, had the occasion to confer at length with Dolores Ibarruri, secretary general of the Communist Party of Spain. Ibarruri was in Peking, China, in September and October, 1959, where she participated in the events surrounding the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Ibarruri stated that the Communist Party of Spain is growing and is spreading its influence in Madrid, Valencia and the Asturias, a mining region in Northwest Spain. In addition, the Communist Party of Spain is growing in the rural areas, which she described as a new trend. Ibarruri related that the Communist Party of Spain now operates an illegal broadcasting station which broadcasts daily from the hours of 5:30 p.m. to midnight, Madrid time. This broadcasting station is an aid to the Communist Party from the standpoints of transmitting information, publicity and propaganda and in addition it has helped to organize communist groups in Spain. Ibarruri claimed that poverty-stricken farmers have pooled their resources to buy radio sets so that they can tune in on the Communist Party broadcasts.

Ibarruri continued that the present policy of the Communist Party of Spain is that of national conciliation. This policy is not one of class collaboration but is a broad policy of national unity aimed at the Franco dictatorship without compromising the demands of the working class and the poor peasantry. She explained that the basis for the policy of national conciliation is the present poor economic state in Spain. She pointed out that many people have been ruined in Spain including the smaller businessmen as well as the peasants and the working class. Ibarruri added that while sections of the bourgeoisie are against the spilling of blood, they would like to overthrow the Franco dictatorship.

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Ibarruri further stated that the policy of national conciliation is not mere propaganda. It has been discussed with the leaders of all the camps in Spain. She said that when the Communist Party's policy was made known and publicized, the government carried on a fight against it. However, the Catholics and later the republicans also favored the policy of national conciliation. In addition, the president of the republicans in exile also declared in favor of this policy. Ibarruri added, however, that the left forces which she described as the Socialist Party and the Anarchists are in favor of a front which would exclude the Communist Party of Spain.

According to Ibarruri, the Communist Party of Spain has reached the conclusion that there is a need to redefine the definitions of right and left in Spain. She stated that while the Communist Party of Spain favors unity with the Socialist Party and with the Anarchists, such unity will not be allowed to interfere with the approaches to or unity with the right sections. She stated that the Communist Party of Spain in raising the slogan of conciliation and the objectives of unity has forced the socialists to take a stand. She pointed out, for example, that the national strike in June was organized by the Communist Party but others signed the strike appeal. She noted that this strike appeal was signed by the Catholics, student representatives, Catalonia nationalists and the Socialist Party inside Spain. She noted, however, that while the Socialist Party members living in Spain agreed with the Communist Party, their leadership in exile does not. Ibarruri continued that within Spain at the present time there is a possibility that the Socialist Party will split away from its leadership in exile. She stated that although the Communist Party of Spain is pushing for a split, it is not giving this any publicity.

Ibarruri stated that the Communist Party of Spain has extensive contacts within Spain with the right forces. The right forces have suggested that a regency be established in Spain in order to do away with the Franco dictatorship. They say that this regency would prepare for general elections after Franco is overthrown but that the regime could be a monarchy or republican form of government. According to Ibarruri, the right forces suggested that the communists should participate in such a government. According to Ibarruri, the

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Communist Party of Spain accepted the proposals of the right but also made some counterproposals with which the right agreed. However, the right forces are hesitant in making these facts public. The right forces have asked the communists to recognize the monarchy; however, the communists have refused to commit themselves in this regard.

Ibarruri claimed that the circumstances and conditions in Spain at the present time are such that when the Communist Party of Spain makes a proposal, the people listen and they believe the communists because the communists are known as a fighting party. On the other hand, if the Socialist Party tried to put forward similar proposals, the people would reject the proposals because they would suspect the motives of the socialists.

Ibarruri said that the Communist Party of Spain had certain problems in regard to revisionism and sectarianism. However, after these problems were corrected, the Communist Party of Spain was able to mobilize large masses in Catalonia and succeeded in organizing a popular movement against Franco. Ibarruri claimed that the Communist Party of Spain has been able to convince the workers to participate in elections for office in the trade-union locals and thousands of communists were elected as leaders of trade-union locals or as shop stewards. She claimed that the policy of the Communist Party of Spain was not a narrow policy and it asked the people only to elect the best people available even if they were not communists. She continued that the workers did elect thousands of Communist Party members and that these communists guided the strikes which have occurred during the past year or two.

Ibarruri stated that the Communist Party of Spain is asking for the liberation of many of the Communist Party members who are now imprisoned. She stated that at the present the Communist Party of Spain is carrying on a big campaign for amnesty and that it is receiving support from many sections of the population. For example, she pointed out that a former chief of the Franco Air Force along with other monarchists and former followers of Franco, including artists, professors, doctors of medicine and writers, is signing the petition for amnesty.

Ibarruri advised the Communist Party, USA, functionary that the Communist Party of Spain is willing to participate in an international campaign to fight the persecution of communists

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in the United States and will do everything possible to expose the hypocrisy of American imperialism and American justice. She emphasized the desirability of additional contacts between the Communist Party, USA, and the Communist Party of Spain and a tentative arrangement was made to facilitate such contacts.

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T O P S E C R E T

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

December 3, 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 Spain.

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, likely of J. Edgar Hoover, is written in dark ink. The signature is stylized and cursive, with the first letter being a large 'J'.

Enclosure

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TOP SECRET

VIA LIAISON

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

Dear Edgar:

It was thoughtful of you to send me the information regarding "A Discussion Between a Leading Communist Party, USA, Functionary and a High-Ranking Official of the Communist Party of Spain in Moscow, Russia."

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

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

16 ED

Allen W. Dulles
Director

O/DCI [] 7 Dec. 59)

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Dulles:

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

12/12/59
[Signature]
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7 Dec. 59
(DATE)

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