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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-striken 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.

MORI/CDF Pages 1-5

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TS 172517

Approved For Release 2006/11/16 : CIA-RDP80B01676R001000020021-8

Approved For Release 2006/11/16 : CIA-RDP80B01676R001000020021-8

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

MORI/CDF Pages 1-5

TS 172517
#1

Approved For Release 2006/11/16 : CIA-RDP80B01676R001000020021-8

Approved For Release 2006/11/16 : CIA-RDP80B01676R001000020021-8

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

MORI/CDF Pages 1-5

TS 172517

Approved For Release 2006/11/16 : CIA-RDP80B01676R001000020021-8

Approved For Release 2006/11/16 : CIA-RDP80B01676R001000020021-8

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.

MORI/CDF Pages 1-5

TS 172517
#1

Approved For Release 2006/11/16 : CIA-RDP80B01676R001000020021-8

Approved For Release 2006/11/16 : CIA-RDP80B01676R001000020021-8

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

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,

Edgar

Enclosure

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TS 172517

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Approved For Release 2006/11/16 : CIA-RDP80B01676R001000020021-8

Approved For Release 2006/11/16 : CIA-RDP80B01676R001000020021-8

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,

Allen W. Dulles
Director

O/DCI [redacted] 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.

AAB
7 Dec. 59
(DATE)

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