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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP
INTELLIGENCE REPORT

COUNTRY Spain

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SUBJECT Resume of the Spanish Political Situation

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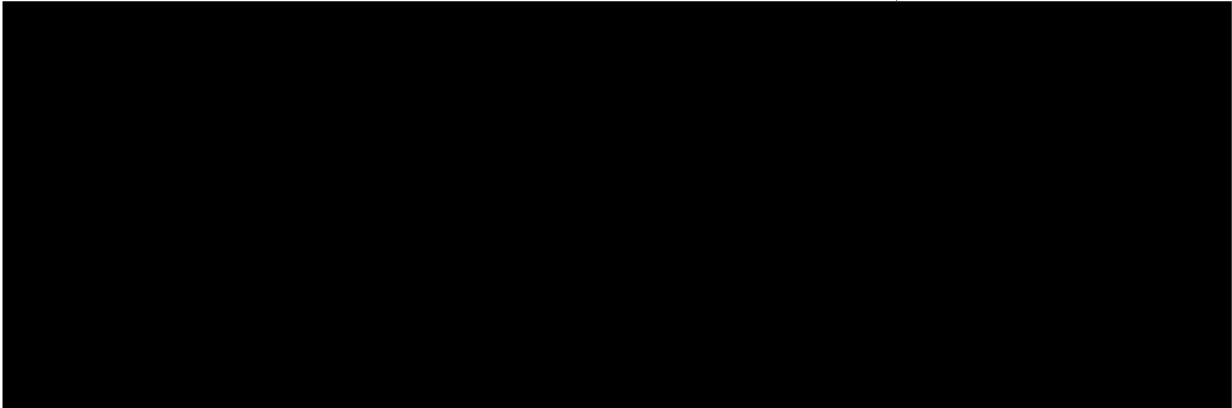
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- In the present state of Spanish affairs, three sectors are the exponents of opinion inside the country and among the Spanish exiles:

The faction supporting the Franco regime.
 The anti-Franco forces inside the country.
 The exterior anti-Franco forces.

Elements Which Support the Franco Regime

The regime is fundamentally dependent on the support of the Army and the Police. These forces authoritatively control the country; supported by them, diverse groups are active which are motivated more by a common fear for their own continuing existence than by any common ideological ground.

The Army: Franco allows the Army many privileges in return for its loyalty. The cadres of young officers, formed for the most part during the civil war and afterwards, are Franco-minded. On the other hand, there are signs of dissidence, or of lukewarm loyalty towards Franco, among the generals. Any change that would guarantee, or not greatly diminish, the privileged position they now hold in Spanish life, could count on the support or at least the neutrality, of the majority of Spanish generals.

- The Falange: This organization is the only definitively political body supporting the regime. Fanatical and capable of going to extremes, it represents a distinct minority in the country. Its phobia toward the western democracies takes the form of intense nationalism. For its political action, the Falange relies on the coercive resources of the State.

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5. Isolated Political Personalities: More moderate than the Falange, but completely submissive to and supporting the regime, are isolated individuals drawn from various rightist groups such as the monarchists, Cedistas, and Carlists, or from elements which did not directly participate in political life before the civil war. Among these can be mentioned Esteban Bilbao (President of the Cortes), Antonio Goicoechea (Governor of the Bank of Spain), Ibanez Martin (Minister of Education), Fernandez Ladreda (Minister of Public Works), and Martin Artajo (Foreign Minister). Politically, they represent an exclusively personal position on the fringe of the factions to which they originally belonged, and in many cases they have been repudiated by those factions.
6. The Church: Recently, the attitude of the Church toward the regime has been somewhat doubtful. However, certain hierarchies continue to give full support to it. Like the military men, they are influenced by the fear that any change in the regime may have fatal repercussions for the Church in Spain because of the degree to which it has been involved with the regime since the beginning of the Civil War. An instinct for self-preservation colors its present attitude.
7. Others: Included also among the elements supporting the regime is an indeterminate but widespread group composed of those who, under cover of the existing situation and in many cases thanks to the official duties they perform in the regime, have built up considerable fortunes through graft. The prospect of a change in regime poses for them the threat of investigation of the source of their fortunes; consequently, they adhere to Franco. They come from all political factions, including some which formerly belonged to the republican camp.
8. It will thus be seen that the axis of Franquism is formed by the coercive forces of the State, surrounded by the elements and interests cited above. The coercive resources, along with the more or less influential propaganda which is constantly presenting its only theme, "Franco or communism" - meaning the status quo or chaos - have some effect on other factions which are merely cowardly or indifferent. Thus, the regime presents the appearance of having popular support to a much greater degree than can be deduced from an analysis of its political components.

Anti-Franco Forces Inside the Country

9. At the beginning of 1947, the situation of the anti-Franco forces inside Spain was as follows.
10. The Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democraticas. The ANFD is composed of the Alianza Republicana Espanola, the Socialist Party, the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo - Movimiento Libertario, and the Communist Party. The presidency of the organization is held by the Republican representative. Twice, the entire directing group of the ANFD has been arrested, necessitating its reorganization. The principal center of the ANFD is Madrid. There are some regional centers. The Communist Party belongs to the ANFD, but the other components look upon it with distrust even though they wish it to assume some responsibility for the organization's policy so that it will not operate independently of it. The republicanism of the ANFD has varied in degree with the times. Its leaders have nearly always professed adherence to the President of the Republic, even though they have disputed the authority of the Republican Government. The ANFD has a delegation in France. On occasion, its members have travelled outside the country. Also, some of its members have furthered their activities by travel inside Spain. In general, the position of the ANFD has corresponded to that maintained abroad by Prieto.

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11. The Bloque Republicano. The Bloque was formed by the official joining of the Union Republicana and the Izquierda Republicana. As is true of the ANFD, most of the leaders of the Bloque are to be found in Madrid. They have little contact with the masses. In general, the Republicans of the ARE have been more active than those of the Bloque.
12. Jimenez Fernandez. During the past year, attention has been focussed on Jimenez Fernandez and his Christian democratic proposal. As his declarations have been circulated publicly, their existence will merely be mentioned in this picture of the situation. Jimenez Fernandez works mainly in Andalusia. He is thoroughly anti-Franco, but does not maintain a very clear or constant position as to what his aims are.
13. The Monarchists. The monarchist scene has diverse aspects and divisions of allegiance. The supporters of the Archduke Carlos de Hapsburg de Lorena (usually referred to as Carlos VIII), who is the grandson of Carlos VII, are few in number. This pretender is actually controlled by Franco, who uses him as a convenience to weaken the monarchist cause. The second pretender is Prince Javier de Borbon Parma, who was named regent in the will of Don Alfonso Carlos de Borbon. The latter died in 1936. The authority of Javier as regent was accepted by the majority of Carlists, but at present the outstanding leaders of the Carlist movement, headed by Conde de Rodezno, support the pretender Don Juan de Borbon y Battenberg. The present supporters of Don Juan can be classified as follows:
- a) The Cedistas: The Cedistas comprise the followers of Gil Robles in his support of Don Juan, as opposed to those who collaborate with the Franquists. The most outstanding persons of the latter group are the Herrera brothers and Martin Artajo. Gil Robles' Cedista faction is small and its influence does not reach the masses.
 - b) The Alfonsine Monarchist Faction: The Alfonsine monarchists are the remnants of Accion Espanola and Renovacion Espanola. The most important figure at the present time is Jose Yanguas de Mesias. Their numerical and organizational importance is slight.
 - c) The Juan Ventosa Group: Various figures of social, economic and financial importance form the Ventosa group.
 - d) The Traditionalist (Carlist) Faction: The most important Traditionalist group is that of Navarre. The Traditionalists of Navarre enjoy a certain protection through the Deputation. Their leader is the Conde de Rodezno. (Rodezno is President of the Navarre Deputation to the Cortes.)
- As is known, Don Juan, before going to Portugal, published in Lausanne, a manifesto of liberal character. However, at Estoril, under the influence of Rodezno and the pressure of the pro-Franco monarchists, he published the so-called "Bases of Estoril" of absolutist character. (For information on the "Bases of Estoril," see A-69065.) Division among the monarchists has arisen over the circulation of these "Bases". While the Carlists wish them to be known, considering them as their own triumph, the more liberal elements think that they will redound to the discredit of the monarchists. The "Bases of Estoril" are almost unknown in Spain.
14. The Military Men. As has been stated earlier in this report, the majority of the officers evidently support Franco. There is a group of generals who do not hide their opposition to the regime. The most outstanding are Antonio Aranda Mata, Juan Beigbeder y Atienza, Alfredo Kindelan and Miguel

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Ponte y Manso de Zuniga. Of these, the least monarchist is Aranda and the most political is Beigbeder. These are actually the ones who have closest contact with the anti-Franco forces. These military men are concerned, regardless of the regime established, with maintaining their position as a class and with guaranteeing the preservation of order and the defense of the fundamental interests now supported by the Franquists.

15. The Catalans. The Catalans of the interior have progressed toward unification. Most of their forces are grouped in the Consell de la Democracia Catalana. Their liaison with elements outside Spain is weak. They acknowledge the authority of the President of the Generalitat, but they have no real relations with the Catalan Government-in-Exile. They have close contact with the Consejo Delegado Vasco.
16. The Galicians. The internal situation of the Galicians has not improved. Relations between the Galicians of the interior and the Galician movement outside Spain are poor. They maintain contact with Basque resistance forces.
17. The Basques. Basque forces are united in and controlled by the Consejo Delegado, which serves as a supreme resistance council as well as the delegate body of the Basque Government-in-Exile. This double significance is indicative of the essential unity of the Basque movement inside and outside Spain. The Consejo Delegado is composed of representatives from all the parties making up the Basque Government, plus representation from the CNT. The Consejo meets periodically. The political attitude of the Consejo Delegado is determined by the directives of the Basque Government-in-Exile.
18. The Monarchists and the ANFD. Since the beginning of 1946, a mutual tendency to cooperate has been shown on the part of the ANFD and a group of monarchists. This tendency was apparent especially in the month of July. Subsequently, the Giral Government sent emissaries to the interior who succeeded in obtaining the support of the ANFD to the efforts which the Republican Government proposed to make before the Assembly of the United Nations. However, having given this assurance to the Giral Government, the ANFD again manifested its desire to reach an agreement with the monarchists. As a result of this attitude, a trip was made by a representative of the CNT to Lisbon. According to an informant, the representative proposed the dissolution of the Giral Government and of the Cortes, the opening of a constituent period, the formation of a coalition government in the interior, the holding of a plebiscite on the question of the regime, and the granting of amnesty.
19. While the attitude of the CNT representative as described above may not be exact in detail, it is certain that on his return he was repudiated by the CNT, and that the monarchists themselves, considering that his position did not interpret the feelings of the anti-Franco masses inside Spain, doubted his statements.
20. As the year advanced, there gradually grew in the minds of those military men who maintained contacts with the anti-Franco elements, Aranda and Beigbeder, the idea of getting in touch with the republicans outside Spain. The fact that contact in the interior between the military men and the ANFD is less close than formerly indicates that the idea is being realized.

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Anti-Franco Action Outside Spain

21. Anti-Franco action is represented outside the country by the monarchist group surrounding Don Juan in Portugal, as well as by the Republican Government-in-Exile headed by Giral, with headquarters in Paris.
22. The Monarchists. The divergencies existing among the different monarchist groups inside Spain have been outlined above. Outside the country, those divergencies do not exist to any important degree; Don Juan polarizes monarchist support, although there are some doubts among his adherents as to his personal ability. The monarchists seek their external support principally in England, among "City" circles having interests in Spain. They have also the sympathy of influential persons in the Western European Department of the Foreign Office, who believe that the strategic, political and economic interests of Great Britain in Spain would be better safeguarded by a moderate monarchy, backed more or less by the Army in the absence of popular support, than by a republic more or less widely supported but open to extremist influences. Apart from these British supports, which do not include the Labor Government, the monarchists outside Spain are working on the Vatican and on financial interests in several countries, without arousing any support or sympathy in popular political circles.
23. The Republican Government-in-Exile. In August 1945, the exiled deputies of the last Republican Cortes met in Mexico and agreed to reconstruct the republican institutions which had practically ceased to function since the end of the civil war. In accordance with the Spanish Constitution, Diego Martinez Barrio was elected interim President of the Republic, and the Premiership was conferred on Jose Giral.
24. The composition of the Government is as follows:
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|---|---|
| Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs | ..Jose Giral - Izquierda Republicana |
| Defense |General Juan Hernandez Sarabia - Professional military man without political affiliation |
| Justice |Alvaro de Albornoz - Izquierda Republicana |
| Industry, Commerce and Navigation |Manuel de Irujo - Basque nationalist, Catholic |
| Finance |Augusto Barcia - Izquierda Republicana |
| Emigration |Trifon Gomez San Jose - Moderate Socialist, anti-Communist; represents the UGT |
| Public Works |Horacio Prieto - CNT |
| Labor |Enrique de Francisco - Moderate Socialist, present President of the Socialist Party in Exile |
| Interior |Manuel Torres Campana - Union Republicana, a party of the center |
| Agriculture |Jose E. Leiva - CNT |
| National Education |Miguel Santalo Parvorell - Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya |
| Ministers without Portfolio |Alfonso Rodriguez Castelao - Galician autonomist, Catholic |
| | Rafael Sanchez Guerra - Derecha Republicana, Catholic |
| | Santiago Carrillo Solares - Communist |

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25. The following republican forces support the Giral Government and are represented in it:

Izquierda Republicana Party of the left, composed of intellectuals and middle class elements
 Union Republicana A moderate center offshoot of the old Partido Radical
 Partido Socialista A Party of moderate and anti-Communist tendencies
 Derecha Republicana A group of little influence inside Spain
 UGT Trade-union organization
 CNT Trade-union organization
 The democratic groups of Catalonia, the Basque country and Galicia are represented in the Government by Santalo, Irujo and Castelao, respectively.

26. Outside the Government - and in a certain sense opposed to it, although they respect it as the legal continuation of the Republic - are three distinguished personalities in the republican field: Indalecio Prieto, Juan Negrin and Miguel Maura. Their position is purely personal and does not reflect the attitude of the political groups to which they belong.

- a) Indalecio Prieto: Fundamentally, the attitude of Prieto, whose influence is predominant among Spanish Socialists, is based on the fact that he considers the inflexible republicanism of the Giral Government an error. The Government maintains that immediately following the fall of Franco the legal republican institutions of 1936, whose continuity the Government represents, should be restored. Prieto believes, on the contrary, that the Giral Government is incapable of obtaining the necessary external support to bring about the overthrow of Franco without a civil war. Consequently, considering the republican institutions to have lapsed, he advocates that an understanding be reached with the monarchists and militarists, that the anti-Franco forces inside the country be grouped and broadened, that greater support be obtained among the foreign powers, and that a transition government then be established to prepare a plebiscite to determine the future regime. He has maintained this attitude since the Giral Government was constituted, although the ministers representing his party have remained in the Giral Government and the Socialist organization as such has not expressed its support of Prieto's idea.
- b) Juan Negrin: Prime Minister during the greater part and at the end of the civil war, Negrin belongs to the socialist faction nearest to communism. The Communist Party supported him during the civil war and in exile. Lately Negrin and his reduced group of followers have increased their political activity and now publish a newspaper called El Socialista Espanol. His political position is practically identical with that of the Communists, although for tactical reasons they appear on the surface to differ. The absence of Negrin from the Government is attributable to his position in the Socialist party and his opposition to the Government is purely personal.
- c) Miguel Maura: Although Maura has a certain prestige in Spanish politics because of his heritage and previous activities under the Republic, he lacks influence inside the country. Through the failure of his attempt of more than a year ago to form a transition government to replace Franco, he lost a great part of his prestige outside Spain. The fact that he is not included in the Giral Government is due to his personal position.

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27 The action of the Giral Government has been directed toward obtaining support abroad and - by means of diplomatic pressure - toward overthrowing Franco. Its efforts have been concentrated on the United Nations and it has been the mouthpiece for the Republican forces before the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations. Efforts made in this matter have given rise on occasions to friction with the republican forces of resistance inside the country, who believe that the results obtained by the Giral Government from the United Nations do not meet the impetuous necessities of the internal situation. Before the Assembly meeting of the United Nations at Lake Success, Giral asked the organizations supporting his Government and those inside Spain to express their confidence in and support of his efforts there. He obtained a vote of confidence, on condition that the situation would be re-examined in the light of the decision of the United Nations. On Giral's return from New York, the crisis remained open in order that each political group represented in the Government might study its position to it.

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