

Mexico: Falange Concentration Point

IF GENERAL WILHELM VON FAUPEL ever writes an autobiography, he can well rate his successes in Mexico on a level with the Fifth Column he created for the Axis in Manila. Through the Falange and its chief Mexican subsidiaries—the Acción Nacional and the Sinarquistas—he has established on the borders of the United States of America one of the most dangerous Axis centers in the entire world. He has created a co-ordinated movement embracing well over a half-million followers engaged in espionage, arms smuggling, propaganda, and sorties of violence often reaching the scale of actual warfare. And von Faupel has forged this Axis army in the space of less than a decade.

Perhaps, if Carlton J. H. Hayes, the American Ambassador to Spain, who in February 1943 chose to make a statement praising the "wise" peace policies of Francisco Franco, had taken time to study the end results of this policy in Mexico—perhaps the Ambassador would have tempered his words. For in Mexico the mistakes the Western democracies made during the Spanish War between 1936 and 1939 have given birth to one of the grisliest of Appeasement's Frankenstein.

Falangismo reached Mexico three years after the Germans had set up a widespread and expensive Nazi network. In addition to their legations, the Nazis had sixteen organizations for Germans in Mexico—organizations ranging from the Mexican branch of the Nazi Party to the Ibero-American Institute and German sports clubs. The Gestapo had a smoothly-running center in Mexico City headed by Georg Nicolaus. Nazi cells functioned from Guatemala to Texas. Something like twenty thousand Germans all over Mexico paid their dues to the Nazi collectors and carried out the orders of their local leaders.

In the early part of 1935, the Nazi leaders of Mexico received orders to cultivate the wealthier members of the Spanish colonies of Mexico. The Spaniards in Mexico owned about 60 per cent of the agricultural acreage, most of the real estate in Mexico City, and many mining interests. More than two-thirds of the textile mills in Mexico belonged to Spaniards. The Spanish Colony had a virtual monopoly of the domestic mercantile commerce of the nation, the printing and publishing business, and the processed-food industries.

The men who owned these enterprises looked down upon Mexicans as inferiors and viewed the Mexican Republic as something alien to their best interests. They had important investments in Spain and, generally, considered the Spanish Republic to be an instrument of government as menacing to themselves as the Mexican Republic.

When Hitler invaded the Spanish Republic in 1936, the upper crust of Mexico's Spanish Colony required little prodding to jump on the Axis steamroller. The Falange program was one that appealed to their hearts and their purses, not only as the program that could do them the most good in Spain, but also as an eminently desirable blueprint of the ideal Mexican State. The Nazis in Mexico were able to sell the Spaniards on the idea that the triumph of the Axis in Spain would be the preliminary to the establishment of a Falangist state in Mexico.

Under Nazi supervision, the Falange was created in Mexico within weeks of the start of the Spanish War. By the time the German, Italian, and Japanese legations were expelled by the Mexican Government in 1941, the Axis had, in the Mexican Falange, an instrument capable of continuing its anti-American activities from the strategic and valuable Mexican base. Since Pearl Harbor, the Falange network in Mexico has, if anything, grown stronger and more menacing. It is not only the Axis Fifth Column nearest the United States borders; it is also the most powerful anti-American force in the hemisphere.

Nominal chief of all Falange activities in Mexico is

Augusto Ibañez Serrano, a Spaniard who had lived in Mexico for many years before the Nazis gave him their blessing in 1936. He sometimes signs his letters as "Personal Representative of Generalissimo Francisco Franco in Mexico." Although he receives his mail at 123 Calle Artículo, Mexico City, visitors to this building would have great difficulty finding Ibañez Serrano. The best place to find him is in the office he maintains in the Portuguese Legation in Mexico City.

Mexico, the only country in the Western Hemisphere which had aided the Spanish Republic, has never had diplomatic relations with Axis Spain. Portugal looks after Spanish diplomatic interests in Mexico. All Spaniards who visit the Portuguese Legation for any reason must first be cleared by Ibañez Serrano before they will be received by the Legation's officials.

From his offices in the Portuguese Legation, Ibañez Serrano today directs all Falange activities in Mexico. He is the direct link between the Nazis in Europe and the secret Fascist armies on the American border. Through special couriers, Ibañez Serrano keeps in constant touch with Colonel Sanz Agero, the current chief of all Falange activities in Central America, and with the Spanish Embassy in Washington. Colonel Agero is the Spanish Minister to Guatemala.

Ibañez Serrano operates primarily through three close lieutenants, all of them lawyers. They are Alejandro Quijano, Gómez Morin, and Carlos Prieto. Quijano is Ibañez Serrano's legal adviser. Morin supervises the activities of Mexican groups organized and run by the Falange. Prieto, among other things, keeps contact with Nuñez Iglesias in the Spanish Embassy in Washington.

These four men have the intimate and varied activities of Falangismo in Mexico at their fingertips. They see to it that the various organizations under their control contribute on an average of three hundred thousand pesos each month to defray part of the expenses of running the net-

work. Under the watchful eye of Gestapo-trained members of the Spanish Secret Service in Mexico, the four top leaders disburse these funds where they will do the United Nations the most harm.

The official Falange Española Tradicionalista de la J.O.N.S. en Méjico has about 50,000 uniformed, dues-paying members. Although the majority of its members are Mexicans of Spanish descent, Mexican citizens are not permitted to hold important posts in the organization. The chief strongholds of the formal Falange in Mexico are centered in Puebla, Vera Cruz, Mérida, Comitán, Guadalajara, Morelia, Mazatlán, Guanajuato, Tampico, Monterrey, Torreón, and Guaymas. Here corps of blue-shirted Falangistas, trained by a succession of German and Spanish military officers, are at the service of General von Faupel and his subordinates in the Americas.

As the hour for Pearl Harbor approached, von Faupel considerably tightened the organizational controls of the Falange in Mexico. The most important move made for this purpose was the assignment given to Eulogio Celorio Sordo, who was sent from Spain to take charge of the uniformed Falange of Mexico in July, 1941. Celorio Sordo's title is Provincial Chief of the Falange in Mexico. He receives his orders directly from Madrid, and is equal in rank with Ibañez Serrano, the nominal chief of Falange activities.

Celorio Sordo works out of Messones 127, Mexico City. He heads the delegation of Falange leaders chosen in Spain, rather than in the office run by Ibañez Serrano at the Portuguese Legation. These Madrid-chosen Falange officers include personalities like María Luisa Gavito, chief of the feminine section and the Auxilio Social of the Falange, and Felipe Yubrita, chief of the Falange in Mexico City.

As Provincial Chief of the Falange, Celorio Sordo supervises all the activities that the Falangistas themselves classify as "illegal." This, however, is not a moral classification. The term is used merely to designate those Falangist actions

which happen to run counter to the laws of Mexico—a judicial code the Falange recognizes only as an unavoidable nuisance.

These activities vary greatly, but a mere glance at a few representative Falange tasks in this category is enough to explain why they cannot be performed legally in Mexico. Three examples picked at random tell their own stories.

A member of the Falange ran a leather-goods shop in Mexico City. Tourists visited the shop for handbags and tooled-leather belts. Falange shock troops visited the shop regularly—but never as customers. They went to the shop for sealed orders, and for packages containing rifles, bullets, and machine-gun ammunition.

A certain business firm whose offices overlooked the blue waters of the Gulf of Mexico at Vera Cruz received regular shipments from Spain that never were entered in the books of the corporation. These special shipments arrived on Spanish ships of the C.T.E. line—and consisted of trained agents of the Axis assigned to work in Mexico or one of the Central American republics.

A well-known garage in Mexico City is also the center of the transportation system used by agents of the Falange and the Spanish Secret Service.

Centers such as these are supervised by Celorio Sordo and his aides all over Mexico. To keep them working at top efficiency, the Falange in Spain has been sending about five hundred *militantes* to the Americas each month since 1939. These Spanish Falangistas cross the ocean in C.T.E. ships as tourists, business men, educators, and artists. Upon arrival in Mexico, they are given new papers and new identities by the Falange chiefs and then go to work as Falange agents.

The important Falangistas are attached to Falange cells all over the country. In Mexico they are concentrated mainly in Puebla and in provinces of northern Mexico—the regions nearer the United States. Chief of these centers are Morelia, Guanajuato, and Mazatlán.

All of the visiting *militantes* are trained in the basic principles of sabotage, espionage, and secret warfare. Many won

their spurs originally as officers in the Franco forces during the Spanish War, and in Mexico most of them train Falangist shock troops and other military organizations. Acting on orders received even before they left Spain, they keep out of the limelight entirely in Mexico. They hold no offices in the local Falange cells and remain under cover whenever the Falange groups they instruct hold any type of public demonstration.

These *militantes* were originally under the direct supervision of Hans Hellerman, a veteran Nazi agent who was sent to Spain by General von Faupel as early as 1934. Hellerman remained in Spain until 1937, when he returned to Berlin for a short term as chief of the Spanish division of the Nazi Party. He reached Mexico late in 1938, and took charge of the military training of the Falange. Pearl Harbor, which precipitated Mexico's entrance into war, ended Hellerman's career as generalissimo of the Falange shock troops in Mexico; but nearly a year before Pearl Harbor, von Faupel sent a new military chief to the Mexican Falange.

The man chosen to supplant Hellerman was Major José Enrique Carril Ontano, one of the most ruthless commanders of the Fascist armies during the Spanish War. Major Carril Ontano had a specialty: he had developed to a fine art the technique of razing and looting undefended Republican villages. He sailed from Spain for Havana in January 1941. After his arrival in Havana, the Spanish Republican émigrés learned that he was in Cuba—and the Major went into hiding. In May of that year he sneaked out of Havana and went to Mexico City.

The apartment maintained by the Major at 2 Oriente Street in Puebla is seldom used, since he travels over Mexico constantly. Major Carril Ontano goes nowhere without his picked guard; Mexico has many Republican refugees, and the Major is in constant terror of his life. When he is in Mexico City, he stays in the vicinity of the Hotel Colisco.

Two Spanish army officers who also arrived in Mexico shortly before Pearl Harbor are Carril Ontano's chiefs of

staff. They are Major Francisco Garay Unzuenta and Captain Carlos Aravilla. Like their chief, they are constantly on the move, checking on the work of the *militantes* in the Falange cells all over the country.

Carril Ontano's military delegation, while nominally under the direction of Celorio Sordo, receives its orders and directives from General Mora Figueroa, chief of the Spanish Falange and Minister in the Spanish Cabinet. Figueroa, in turn, sends the Falange military delegation in Mexico directives drawn up by General von Faupel and his staff. For the main part, these instructions deal with creating anti-American forces in areas close to the American border.

The Falange militia in Mexico is not an army without arms. Spanish ships cross the oceans with great regularity, and many of them are little more than munitions ships at the service of the Falange Exterior. Just before Pearl Harbor, three Spanish ships reached Guatemala within a period of two weeks and unloaded cargoes of munitions which were then trans-shipped to Chiapas, Mexico. The arms these and other Spanish ships succeeded in smuggling into Mexico have not been wasted for mere training purposes; they have gone and continue to go into the vast secret arsenals the Falange maintains in scores of Mexican strongholds.

There have been times in the past three years, however, when bullets from these arsenals have been put to real use. Among their other duties, the imported *militantes* from the Falange Fatherland act as executioners when the Falange passes judgment on local Falangistas who are tried and convicted by the organization's own courts-martial: Death sentences are handed out to Falangistas who try to desert the blue-shirt ranks or sell the secrets of the Fifth Column. Other infractions can send errant Falangistas into one of the private jails maintained by the Falange Exterior—some-times for sentences of five years.

The undercover militia represents only one aspect of Falangismo in Mexico. Dangerous as it is, this organized army represents only a token force. Von Faupel entertains no pipe dreams about using it to invade Texas, and, under

any circumstances, it would prove no match for even the Mexican Army. Were the Axis to make any serious moves in the Western Hemisphere, however, this Falange secret army in Mexico could and would be used to immobilize a sizable United Nations force and weaken our defenses.

The Falange campaign in Mexico goes much further than the maintenance of a secret Axis army. Its objectives are very clear. Vicente Lombardo Toledano, head of the anti-Axis Latin-American Confederation of Labor, summed up the Axis aims in Mexico in a speech delivered a month before Pearl Harbor. He declared that the Axis wants:

1. To use Mexico as the nearest base for Nazi espionage in the United States.
2. To use our country [Mexico] as a source of raw materials for its war.
3. To make Mexico a center for organized acts of sabotage against the United States, as well as against our own export trade, so that we may be prevented from sending help to the countries fighting the Axis.
4. To establish a center of Fascist provocation against the United States, thus distracting that country's attention from the European and other theaters of war.
5. To secure a center from which Fascist propaganda can be directed to all of Latin America.
6. To instigate provocations against the government of Mexico from within our country itself, so that the government will be obliged to retaliate with restrictive measures. Afterward, these measures will be used to discredit the present regime in Mexico, and turned against democracy within and without our country.

Here, in a nutshell, is the master-plan of the Falange in Mexico.

The first point of the program, that of establishing Mexico as the nearest base for Nazi espionage against the United States, has become one of the cardinal tasks of the Falange.

Nazi espionage in Mexico was a going concern when

Francisco Franco was still waiting for the Nazis to invade Spain. With the establishment of the Falangist state in Spain in April 1939, the *Reichswehr* accepted von Faupel's recommendation that Spanish Fascists be trained by the Gestapo to work for the Axis in Latin America.

Special schools for Spaniards were established in Hamburg, Bremen, Hanover, and Vienna; institutions with German experts as instructors in sabotage, espionage, radio, secret codes, map-making, microphotography and allied subjects. Candidates for scholarships in these spy colleges were drawn from the ranks of the Spanish Falange. Preference went to those Falangistas who had joined the Franco movement before 1936 and had been wounded in action during the three-year war against the Republic. The most acceptable candidates, however, were those Spanish Fascists who had remained behind Republican lines as Falange agents during the war; men like the band of Fascists in Madrid whose co-operation with the four Axis columns converging on the city gave the world a new war term to remember—the Fifth Column.

Graduates of these special schools were commissioned as officers in the Spanish Army's Intelligence Service, the SIM. A small number of them were detailed to duties under the supervision of Gestapo officers in Spain. The rest were sent to Latin America to work under the direction of Gestapo and Japanese officers abroad.

The work of the SIM in Latin America was intensified after the German legations in most of the hemisphere were closed in the summer of 1941. While the diplomatic break did not eliminate more than 5 per cent of the Axis espionage personnel in Latin America, it did add greatly to the importance of the SIM. The numerous Spanish legations now became the diplomatic fronts for all Axis espionage, and SIM agents became liaison men between the Gestapo and the Spanish diplomatic network.

In line with his master-plan, General von Faupel took steps to strengthen and prepare the SIM to carry the major burdens of Axis espionage in Mexico. In December 1940,

von Faupel had Alberto Mercado Flores, a veteran Spanish Falangist official, sent to Mexico. Flores was placed in command of the SIM operations for Mexico.

Flores has made his headquarters in a small town near the United States border. He owns at least three false passports, which he uses when traveling to San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Washington—where, of course, he is known by other names. He is responsible for SIM operations in the United States and Central America as well as in Mexico.

The SIM chief has two principal aides: Colonel Sanz Agero, the Spanish Minister to Guatemala, and Major Eugenio Alvarez Cano. The latter works out of an apartment at the corner of Lopez and Independencia streets, Mexico City. His movements are guarded and very hard to trace. Twice, since April 1941, he has made trips to New York, where he conferred with Spanish officials and shipping men. In Mexico City Cano works very closely with Ibañez Serrano, co-ordinator of all Franco activities in Mexico.

The SIM organization that Flores directs in Mexico is an espionage machine built along the lines of the Gestapo, which created it. The work of its agents falls into two definite categories: military and economic espionage, and "control" of the Spanish colonies of the country and of those non-Falangist Spaniards known to have relatives in Spain.

The military espionage arm of the SIM operates in co-operation with the hordes of German and Japanese spies still actively at work in Mexico. Since Pearl Harbor, the ranking military officer of the Axis espionage network in this section of the world has been Colonel Sanz Agero. His is Flores's chief adviser in military matters.

Part of the SIM network's fantastic efficiency can be traced directly to its utilization of thousands of unpaid Falangistas and members of Falange-controlled Mexican organizations as part-time assistants. Much of the routine "donkey work" which takes up the energies of a professional spy is performed for the SIM by these fanatical fol-

lowers of Falangismo. Every paid SIM agent has at his disposal at least one functioning cell of the Falange Exterior: a cell which in most cases includes a Spanish *militante* sent from Madrid to keep it functioning at maximum efficiency.

For this reason, the field headquarters of the SIM are located in cities where the Falange concentrations are strongest. The SIM maintains its chief field branches in the following Mexican centers: Monterrey, Torreón, Mazatlán, Tampico, Vera Cruz, Guadalajara, Puebla, Jalapa, Mérida, Tapachula, and Comitán.

There is scarcely a hamlet in Mexico without at least one SIM agent in its fold. Often the SIM operative in a tiny Mexican village will also turn out to be the Spanish *militante* of the local Falange, or the home-town leader of one of the Mexican subsidiaries of the Falange. Mexico City, on the other hand, has over a thousand Gestapo-trained SIM agents working out of no less than eleven offices in the capital alone.

The SIM has a complete list of Falangistas and Franco partisans in Mexican government bureaus, business houses, shipping companies, and other offices. Using these lists as their levers, the SIM has established pipe lines of information in all of these places.

The Nazis have been flooding all of Latin America with SIM operatives since 1939. Sources close to Madrid ruling circles estimate the SIM delegation in Mexico and Guatemala at close to ten thousand paid agents. Their routine reports reach Europe via Spanish boats, but scores of secret radio stations in Mexico often flash important intelligence to relay stations in Venezuela. The SIM in Venezuela sifts and transmits these reports to Madrid within minutes of their reception. Often, SIM agents visit Spanish ships arriving in Mexican ports and arrange to use the ship's radio for their transmissions. The radio operators on Spanish boats are hand-picked Falangistas—like the notorious Axis agent “Camarada Martinez,” who is marked for immediate arrest if the Cuban authorities ever catch up with him.

The propaganda of the Falange in Mexico is as energetically anti-United States as are the activities of the SIM and the *militantes*. The Falange controls a number of publications and radio stations, openly or covertly as suits the plans of its leaders.

José Castedo, a veteran of the blue-shirt ranks, edits *Hispanidad*, the official magazine of the Mexican Falange. Here, assisted by Falangistas Adolfo Caso, Julio Luna, Delfin Sanchez Juarez, Francisco Ramirez, Marco Almazan, and A. Perez, Castedo produces a standard Falange Exterior organ along the lines of magazines like *Avance* of Puerto Rico, *Arriba España* of Buenos Aires, *Yugo* of Manila, and the other official publications in the Americas. This magazine is sold openly, unlike the *Boletín del Partido*, a weekly distributed only to Falange members.

Ibañez Serrano has a personal organ in *El Diario Español*. *La Semana* and *Mexico Nueva* carry the Falange line, and, like *Omega* and *El Hombre Libre*, are controlled by the Falange. The weekly *El Sinarquista*, published by the Falange-operated Sinarquist movement, is one of the most potent propaganda enemies of the United Nations in Mexico. *La Nación*, a weekly edited by Gómez Morin (one of Ibañez Serrano's three principal aides) and Alfonso Junco, Mexico's foremost apostle of *Hispanidad*, outdoes nearly every other Falangist publication in its campaign for the Axis.

The venom of the Falangist press is reserved almost exclusively for the United States. Thus on November 14, 1942, Luis G. Orozco blandly announced in *Omega* that “Roosevelt is pushing his people into the pit of Bolshevism.” This was in an article called “The Catholic Church and the World Revolution,” which also said:

Whether they know it or not, those members of the clergy who have declared themselves in favor of the “democracies” are working in favor of Bolshevism. . . . How is it possible that members of the clergy have made speeches from the same platform with members of the Masonic order?

This article appeared after *Omega* described the American landings in North Africa as a "treacherous attack."

Omega also runs large advertisements for books like *Jews over America*, by "Dr. Atl, whose competence as an expert on international affairs is universally recognized." The chapters of the book include: "El Kabal, Roosevelt Is a Jew on All Sides"; "Jews in the New Deal"; "A Jewish leader to be feared: Felix Frankfurter."

From *El Hombre Libre*, a year after Pearl Harbor, come such choice nuggets of Axis propaganda as this:

The people of the United States are still under the influence of a government that tries to make them believe in a final victory, so that they may accept all the sacrifices imposed upon them by this war—a war that in the final balance will not take a very great toll of their lives anyway, for individuals of these races never fight, and the armies that march beneath the banners of John Bull and Uncle Sam are made up of colored peoples—black and brown—considered as inferiors by the Anglo-Saxons, who have always looked down upon them.

This was more than a mere parroting of the stock Nazi lies; it was part of the campaign being waged against compulsory military service and the sending of Mexican troops to fight the Axis armies abroad. The article then went on to carry the old Hispanidad line:

The world can well understand why nations with large populations like England, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Italy have sought to build up colonial empires. The United States, however, has a great amount of territory and only her ambitions, her thirst for dominating other people, have driven her to try to form a colonial empire with the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Panama, the Pacific Islands, and the British possessions that have fallen into her hands. Still unsatisfied, she now wants control of all the countries of Latin America, right sons of Spain.

The quotation which sums up the complete line of the

Falangist press in Mexico is the following, taken from *Omega*.

A democratic government is a thousand times more dangerous than a dictatorship like Hitler's or Mussolini's. Democracy exploits and deceives the people in the name of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The democracies are protecting us from Hitler by throwing us into the arms of Roosevelt, who is the greatest danger of all those that menace Latin America today.

This theme, embroidered with anti-Semitism and gilded with Hispanidad, is reiterated day after day in the Falange publications south of the Rio Grande. In radio broadcasts over Station XEZ and other outlets, the Falange both scatters this line and issues coded instructions to its *militantes*. In books, meetings, pamphlets, and forums the Falange spreads this Nazi version of world affairs to millions of Mexicans. It has had a distinct and unpleasant effect on Mexico's war effort, and has been responsible for the spread of anti-American feeling in many sections of the country.

The Falange in Mexico has developed more "front" organizations than in any other country in the world. These fronts range from dignified cultural bodies like the Academia Española de la Lengua to the Fascist legions like the National Union of Sinarquistas. They all play specific roles in the Axis campaign to disrupt life in Mexico and make things difficult for the United Nations in the Western Hemisphere.

The Academia Española de la Lengua is the leading cultural organization in Spain. It is the source of all Spanish intellectual briefs for fascism, and has branches in many Latin-American lands. Only the élite are invited to the Academia sessions—the élite which can most effectively influence public opinion. The Academia works on newspaper publishers, college professors, statesmen, and distinguished clerics.

In Mexico Ibañez Serrano is the official representative

of the Academia Española. He has delegated the actual work of running the affairs of this cultural front to his aide, Alejandro Quijano, and to Alfonso Junco, editor of *La Nación*. These fanatical enemies of the democracies run very exclusive forums at which the invited guests hear arguments for fascism, for Hispanidad, and for anti-Semitism couched in intellectual terms by the leading pundits of Falangismo. The Academia Española influences a small group of Mexicans, but their importance far exceeds their numbers.

Somewhat lower on the intellectual scale is the Escuadra de Acción Tradicionalista. These "Action Squadrons" are just what their name implies: shock troops. They are organized along highly secret lines; so much so that only a handful of members know the identity of their supreme commander. He is Major San Julian of the Spanish Army, a Fascist killer who joined the Falange some time before the Spanish War. Of Major Julian, it was said during this war that ice water would have frozen in his heart. Like Major Carril Ontano, San Julian was a past master in the art of liquidating whole Republican villages.

San Julian's talents as a shock-troop leader won him the post of chief of the Escuadra de Acción Tradicionalista of Mexico. Here, aided by Leon Osorio—a member of the Mexican branch of the German Nazi Party—San Julian commands a terror army of hand-picked Falangistas and Mexican Fascists. There are probably no more than 5,000 men in these "action squads," but they are the most violent of all the Falange fighters in the Americas.

In action, the Escuadra de Acción Tradicionalista assumes a role very similar to that assigned by Spanish fascism to the Falange in Spain before the Nazis entered the picture. Like the pre-1936 Spanish Falange, the Escuadra is at the service of *all* the Fascist organizations in Mexico. They do all the dirtiest jobs, for rewards which can best be imagined.

More cultural than the Escuadra de Acción, but far less exclusive than the Academia Española, is the newly formed Liga de Hispanidad Ibero-América. This League of Hispani-

dad was established to spread the racist doctrines of the Council of Hispanidad. Its first leader, chosen by Gómez Morin, was Octavio Elizalde, a Mexican who corresponds regularly with Andres Soriano, late of Manila. Elizalde resigned after a few months of spreading the Hispanidad creed.

The league is now led by José Castedo, editor of *Hispanidad*, the official organ of the Falange Exterior in Mexico. Two friends of Ibañez Serrano's assist Castedo in managing the affairs of the League. They are Francisco Cayon y Cos and Adolfo Caso, a Mexico City lawyer.

The P.A.M. (Partido Autonomista Mexicano) is a small storm-troop party led by a noted rabble-rouser named Pedrozo, who is financed and supervised by the Falange. It is one of a handful of groups including the Vanguardia Nacionalista, the Dorados, and the Frente Anti-Comunista, financed and controlled by the Falange. These groups all have one commodity they place at the disposal of the major Fascist groups in Mexico: violence. They are scattered all over the country, and are responsible for much disunity in Mexico.

Next to the National Union of Sinarquistas—probably Wilhelm von Faupel's Mexican masterpiece—the Acción Nacional must rank as the most important of the Falange fronts in Mexico.

The Acción Nacional, formed shortly after the Falange appeared in Mexico, is a Fascist party directed by Gómez Morin, one of the three principal lieutenants of Ibañez Serrano, Franco's personal representative in Mexico. It is one of the most "respectable" of the Falange fronts in Mexico, opening its doors only to the wealthier and middle-class elements in the Spanish colonies and business circles of the country.

The program of the Acción Nacional is simple: a corporate state for Mexico and "absolute Hispanidad." It has close relations with some sections of the Spanish Catholic Church, and is heavily subsidized by the Falange Exterior. Gómez Morin is in constant touch with José Maria Peman

and Carlos Peroya—two of the leading Falange propagandists in Spain. Under his leadership, the Acción Nacional has planted the Fascist doctrines of the Axis in exceedingly fertile soil. It has become the perfect vehicle for those prosperous pro-Franco Spaniards of Mexico who lacked the physical courage to join the uniformed military ranks of the Falange Española and yet wanted to join the *movimiento* of El Caudillo. Because of its composition, the Acción Nacional is in many respects the most menacing of the Falange groups in all of Mexico. It cannot, however, hold a candle to the National Union of Sinarquistas.

On May 23, 1937, in the provincial city of Leon, a group of idealistic Mexicans, "motivated by the moral, political, and economic disorder precipitated in the Republic, resolved to form one union which would fight for the Christian Social Order." These men, Salvador Abascal, José Olivares Manuel Zermeno, and a third named Urquiza, thereupon formed the National Union of Sinarquistas—which in 1943 has 500,000 devoted members in Mexico.

Thus runs the official Sinarquist version of the movement's actual origins.

The facts, however, are slightly different. While the date is accurate, the three actual organizers of the Sinarquistas were Hellmuth Oskar Schreiter and the brothers José and Alfonso Trueba Olivares. The Sinarquistas' organization papers, as filed with the government, listed these three and Melchor Ortega and Adolfo Maldonado—governor and general secretary of Guanajuato Province—and I. G. Valdivia, a Mexican lawyer, as the founding fathers of Sinarquismo.

Schreiter was anything but a Mexican idealist. A native of Germany, he carried an old, "low-number" German Nazi Party card. His dues to the Nazis were paid up to date on May 23, 1937. By profession Schreiter was a chemical engineer; but for quite some time he had been following other callings in Mexico. He had a job as professor of languages in the State College of Guanajuato, and served as president

of the province's Nazi Fichte Bund. His real job in Mexico can be described quite simply: Hellmuth Oskar Schreiter was a Nazi agent.

The Trueba Olivares brothers were powerful Spanish *hacendados* whose great Mexican estates were veritable feudal domains. They were leaders of the Falange Española.

The movement these three men created in the Sinarquistas was a Nazi-Falange legion identical in structure and aims with the Fascist parties of both Germany and Spain. From the beginning, Nazi agents like Paul Klement, Alexander Holste, Otto Hilbert, and Frederico Heinn were assigned to work with the frustrated country lawyers chosen to serve as the nominal heads of the movement. These Nazi agents were ultimately replaced by whole corps of Falange *militantes* and advisers sent from Spain to Mexico.

Like the Nazi and the Falange parties, the Sinarquistas promised all things to all men. If the Sinarquist slogan, "Faith, Blood, and Victory" was more than faintly reminiscent of the beer-cellar mysticism of Nazism and Falangismo, its program was simply a Mexican carbon copy of Fascist platforms the world over.

Because the Sinarquist movement today has 500,000 members below the United States border—and quite a number of devoted followers above the Rio Grande—an examination of its program is in order. It is of importance to all Americans to know exactly why one of the last issues of Coughlin's *Social Justice* to appear before that publication was banned from the United States mails for sedition carried these revealing words:

Advocates of Christian social justice in America, Christian Americans who once dreamed of a national union to effect a 16-point reform, and who have watched the progress of the Christian States headed by Salazar, De Valera, General Franco, and Mussolini, will want to hear further from Mexico's Sinarquists with their "16 principles" of social justice.

The program of Sinarquismo calls, first of all, for a

Corporate State—which is a Portuguese, Italian, and Spanish euphemism for fascism. The official publication of the Sinarquist movement describes this state in these terms:

The members of the same craft or profession must unite, building corporate groups. Over these professional or corporate groups, a superior power must be established, in charge of their mutual relationships and directing them to the common good. Similar professional corporations must unite within themselves, submitting to a supreme authority [a dictator] embodied in the political structure of the Nation.

The “supreme authority” will be so great, according to the official program of the movement, that:

Among us one does not discuss—there is our strength. Take away discipline, take away loyalty to the leader, and Sinarquismo is nothing.

This corporate state, however, must not be an independent or free Mexican state. “Let us return to Spain” is one of the chief slogans of the Sinarquistas. In the April 1939 issue of *El Sinarquista*, an official organ, they declare:

All those who have been concerned with dignifying the life of Mexico, as well as those who have wanted to point the way to the real aggrandizement of Mexico, speak of Spain. To put it more concretely, they speak of the work done by the Mother Country during the historical colonial period. She showed us the road and gave us our bearings. So Mexico must cling to its traditions to find the meaning of its future. Thus, those who feel the desperate uncertainty that today hangs dense and heavy over the nation, want to return to Spain.

The Sinarquist propagandists picture Mexico under Spanish domination as a paradise. The May 15, 1941, issue of *El Sinarquista*, for example, described pre-Republican Mexico in these idyllic terms:

In the eighteenth century Mexico was the largest, the most

cultured, richest, most illustrious, most powerful nation of the Continent.

Spain protected the workers by means of unions and the peasants by means of Indian legislation. All this without any need to resort to strikes and fights, simply because the State knew its duties and protected the worker, considering him a son of God, worthy of the same benefits as the rich.

The government of two hundred years ago was sincere, the present ones are deceitful. In New Spain [Mexico] agriculture was entrusted to the workers and landlords. The King told the landlords that if he permitted them to till the soil and get benefits, it was only so that they would in turn dedicate themselves to improving the material and intellectual lot of the Indians they governed.

El Sinarquista, the weekly paper of the movement which constantly recalls the glories of colonial Mexico, links its lamentations for past glories with one pat explanation for the destruction of Spanish power in Mexico: the United States of America, as part of a Masonic-Protestant conspiracy, subsidized and lent military support to Hidalgo and Juarez and the other liberators of Mexico.

The National Union of Sinarquistas, which clamors constantly for a Christian Social Order, has never presented a complete blueprint of this order to the Mexican people. But among the things they have attacked as being contrary to the concepts of such an order are free non-clerical public schools, social-security legislation, and the land reforms of Cardenas and Madero.

The land problems of the nation contain the key to the power of the Sinarquistas. The varied land-reform programs attempted during the past three decades in Mexico, while distributing vast tracts to thousands of landless peons, have nevertheless left the bulk of the great *haciendas* pretty much intact. The overwhelming majority of the peons are still landless. World upheavals since 1929 have added to the normal hardships of the peons' life in Mexico. While increased misery is the lot of the peasantry, the powerful *hacendados* eat well and have plenty of money, but in

the back of their minds is always the fear of further and greater land reforms which may some day affect their own estates.

The Sinarquistas, in the classic Fascist manner, managed to win both the *haciendados* and the landless peons to their banners—just as Hitler won both the landed Junkers and the simple *Bauern*.

The *haciendados* were won over by promises of eternal war on the very principles of land reform. The Sinarquistas denounce land reform as a by-product of the Mexican Revolution and declare, in their manifesto, that “Sinarquismo was born fighting the Revolution: Sinarquismo was born aggressively anti-revolutionary.”

The peons were drawn to the Sinarquist ranks by the fervor with which the Nazi-Falange cabal in the movement’s leadership exploited their misery. Concretely, the Sinarquistas promise the peons nothing: their appeal is, rather, along the lines of the “every-man-a-king” panaceas offered by Huey Long. Mysticism, violence, marches, military demonstrations—the cheapest sort of circus—are utilized by the Sinarquistas in their work among the landless peons. They convince the peons that the only solution for their problems lies in the destruction of the Republic—and they promise them arms and a chance to kill those Republican evildoers “responsible” for their misery.

Sophisticated Americans living in large cities like New York or Chicago might snicker at the idea of a new empire created out of Mexico and parts of the American southwest. But the Sinarquistas have presented, and successfully, the dream of a new Spanish domain—El Gran Imperio Sinarquista—with a brand new capital city, “Sinarcopolis,” built in what are now the plains of Texas. Hitler’s dictum about the greatest lies being the ones that gain the widest acceptance has not been lost on the architects of “Sinarcopolis.”

The Sinarquist leaders, aided by Falange specialists assigned to work exclusively with the movement, have been giving their followers military training for six years. The Sinarquist peons are too poor to afford uniforms; their

only “military dress” is the armbands they wear. But wearing only their everyday clothes and these armbands with the emblem of the movement, Sinarquist storm troops drill with sub-machine guns, rifles, and other arms kindly supplied by the Nazis via Spanish boats.

From time to time the leaders stage a military demonstration intended to bolster the ardor of their troops and to impress all onlookers with the futility of opposing the wave of the future. One of these maneuvers is still talked about: an exercise which, on May 18, 1941, saw some 30,000 well-drilled Sinarquistas “capture” the city of Morelia in forty minutes. Although the staff work was done by Spanish Falangistas, the tactics used in the “storming” of the city were unmistakably German.

Mexico’s entry into the war against the Axis has converted these peaceful marches into smaller but violent sorties. Shortly after Mexico became a belligerent, the Sinarquistas became the sponsors of a new organization—the Liga Antibelica Mexicana—which seems to exist on paper only. In the name of this Antiwar League, the Sinarquistas distribute leaflets with calls like the following:

Mexicans! Be alert! Watch out for seducers. Stay out of the war. You have no quarrel with any other country. Mexico of Christ the King and Santa Maria de Guadalupe, you must not be enmeshed in the Jewish International.

When the Mexican lawyer and prominent Catholic layman, Mariano Alcocer, speaking in the name of the Archbishop, called upon all Mexicans in 1942 to unite behind President Comacho in the war effort, the official organ of the Sinarquistas attacked him for condemning Germany rather than Russia and “equally atheistic” England. The Sinarquistas raised the battle call, “Death to compulsory military service.” Their prime objective became the hampering of the war effort.

In December 1942 the National Union of Sinarquistas issued a manifesto at their annual congress which pro-

claimed that the existing "Mexican government is not republican, not representative, and not democratic." It is rather, according to the manifesto, "based on fraud and violence," possessing "all the characteristics of a primitive dictatorship."

This congress set the stage for the series of raids the Sinarquistas began to stage on defenseless towns. Brandishing excellent arms, employing the tactics taught them by the Falangistas who led them on these raids, the Sinarquistas began to assault villages all over northern Mexico. In December 1942 three villages in Zacatecas were attacked by frenzied Sinarquist storm troops who, shouting "Death to compulsory military service and Cardenas," killed some thirty Mexicans, including the mayor of Miguel Auza and his small son. In Nieves, the Sinarquistas—like the old Cristeros—killed the local public-school teacher, Adolfo Lozano. (The Cristeros, a clerico-Fascist movement which reached its peak in 1927, waged unending war against non-clerical teachers.)

These attacks were synchronized with the actions of roving bands of Sinarquist troopers who disrupted railway communications and, like one armed battalion near the city of Pastora, cut and burned hundreds of telephone and telegraph lines. An organized formation of Sinarquistas battled federal troops near Temoac for eight hours before retreating in January 1943.

Since December 1942 these outbreaks have come in sudden waves all over northern Mexico. Early in 1943 the Mexican National Civil Defense Committee delivered a sharp memorandum to the government declaring that "the Axis powers are carrying on their Fifth Column work in Mexico through the leaders of Sinarquismo." The Chamber of Deputies, Mexico's lower house, voted for the dissolution of the National Union of Sinarquistas in January 1943—but the movement is still flourishing.

Early in its existence, the Sinarquist movement started to clamor for the right to settle 100,000 of its followers in the arid waste lands of Lower California. The idea, they

said, was to prevent "a hostile foreign power" from annexing the sparsely settled peninsula. Everyone knew that this hostile power was the United States of America. Lazaro Cardenas, then President of Mexico, turned the offer down without a second thought.

The Sinarquistas went on campaigning for the Lower California colony. In the spring of 1941 they repeated their offer to President Avila Comacho. They claimed that they were willing to organize industries and construct certain planned roadworks at half of the amount set aside for this purpose in the Mexican budget. Comacho asked them to submit further details, and a year later granted the Sinarquistas permission to settle a great number of their members on the Peninsula.

Mexicans bitterly refer to lower California, today, as the "Republica Sinarquista." To the shores of this "republic" have come German and Japanese submarines for smuggled shipments of valuable Mexican mercury. Within its borders the Sinarquistas have established a state within a state, and a potential powder keg of far from minute dimensions. The *caudillo* of the Sinarquist settlement is Salvador Abascal, former "supreme leader" of the movement itself. He has been having some difficulties with certain of his followers who accuse him of personally grabbing funds of the colony for his own pocket. The current "supreme leader," Manuel Torres Bueno, has backed Abascal in his present conflict.

Were the Sinarquistas and their influence confined to Mexico alone, their existence would still be cause for alarm. However, Sinarquismo has long since crossed the borders to the north. It has become an American, as well as a Mexican, problem.

The Sinarquist movement has established itself like a cancer in many centers of Mexican population in the United States. Los Angeles, one of Sinarquismo's American strongholds, has a Mexican population of 300,000. Towns in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona have suddenly discovered

that local branches of the Sinarquist organization are terrorizing their Mexican quarters, producing bloodshed and disorder. The offices of an anti-Sinarquist Mexican organization in Chicago were invaded and wrecked by an armed mob of Sinarquistas late in 1942. In places as far north as the Bronx, New York, F.B.I. agents have arrested Sinarquist agents who were inciting loyal Mexican-Americans to treason.

In Los Angeles the movement is so well entrenched that it publishes a special edition of *El Sinarquista*, the official organ of the Mexican parent organization. In Los Angeles the Sinarquistas are aided by notorious figures like Jesús M. Jiminez, whom President Cardenas exiled for Gold-Shirt and Nazi activities, and by members of German and Italian organizations dissolved after Pearl Harbor. The Los Angeles Sinarquist movement has been held directly responsible for a crime wave which broke out among unemployed Mexican youths in 1942, and figured as a prime factor in at least one California murder case.

The California editon of *El Sinarquista* calls for blood. In October 1942 it wrote:

Do not expect our struggle to go smoothly and peacefully. Never gossip about your leaders. Understand that this struggle cannot fail, and that blood and suffering will bring us victory.

An idea of what the American aspects of this "struggle" are can be glimpsed in the resolution passed by the C.I.O. Union Council of Los Angeles, which has many loyal Mexican members. In November 1942, at the request of its Mexican members, the Council made a study of Sinarquist influence in the United States. The result was a resolution characterizing the Sinarquistas as an "evil influence among Mexican workers in the United States whose program coincides with that of Franco's Fascist Spanish regime." The resolution went on to reveal that:

The Sinarquistas are telling the Mexican people in the United

States not to enlist in war activities, such as Civilian Defense and the Red Cross, not to purchase war bonds, and in general not to support this country's war effort, because the "Mexican people have nothing to gain from an Allied victory."

Shortly after this resolution was made public, the Office of War Information started a drive to explain the war aims to the Spanish-speaking peoples of California and the Southwest. The campaign was made necessary by the power of Sinarquist propagandists operating in the United States.

In Mexico the Sinarquistas have been making statements designed for United States consumption only—ambiguous statements which give their defenders in America an opportunity to defend the Sinarquistas as a patriotic and Christian legion interested only in saving the Western Hemisphere from Bolshevism. This subterfuge does not fool bureaus like the F.B.I., however, which recognizes the Sinarquist movement for the Axis instrument it really is.

The Spanish canvas of Mexico grew more crowded than ever in 1939, when the Falange and anti-Falange colonies woke up to find themselves with a new antagonist. He was a handsome, middle-aged gentleman whose passport described him as Luis Gonzago del Villa, the Marqués de Castellon of Spain.

The Marqués announced himself as the official representative in Mexico of the Spanish Monarchist Union. To all who would listen, the titled visitor explained that the Spanish Monarchists had broken with Franco. He and a small group of aides set up shop in Mexico City and started to reveal secrets about Franco Spain and the Falange. Their revelations were often accurate, but never news to the Mexican Government. In brief—they were revealing facts already known.

Although the Monarchists in Spain had every reason to be pleased with Franco, the Marqués declared that they were out to overthrow Franco. Of course, this overthrow would not be followed by the restoration of the "Bolshevik"

Spanish Republic. Perish the thought! What they wanted was the restoration of the old Spanish monarchy.

Seemingly well-supplied with funds, the Marqués ran lavish parties for the Mexican and American society crowds in Mexico City, and special parties for the diplomatic social sets. He established good relations with the Archbishop of Mexico, saw only the very fashionable people, and generally cut quite a figure.

Rumors began to fly about Mexico City after Pearl Harbor that the British Government was backing the Monarchists, that the United States looked upon their cause with favor, and that a Monarchist Spanish government-in-exile was about to be formed. The exiled Spanish Republicans in Mexico became worried, and they started to check up on the Marqués's history.

The Marqués claimed to have been both a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Spanish Army and an aide-de-camp to General Mola. Neither fact showed up in any Spanish military directory of the period. To the Republicans, these omissions were challenges.

Some months later—it was in May 1942—the Republicans presented grave charges to the Mexican authorities. They presented a dossier on the Marqués which indicated that all was not as it seemed. According to this dossier, the Marqués was not Spanish, but a Mexican named Luis Sevilla, whose parents still lived on Mexico City's Calle de Insurgentes. It went on to say that in 1931 Luis Sevilla sailed for Spain while out on bail pending charges of swindling a sum of money from General Limon.

The dossier disclosed that during the Spanish War Sevilla worked in Marseilles as an agent of Franco's Secret Service—posing, during this period, as an agent of the Spanish Monarchist Party. In 1938 Sevilla, carrying letters of safe conduct, visited Premier Juan Negrin in Barcelona, told the Loyalist leader that the Monarchists were against Franco and the Falange, and tried to negotiate a deal whereby the Republic would yield in favor of a monarchy. In 1939 he went to Mexico where, according to the Repub-

licans, he maintained relations with Ibañez Serrano, Franco's official representative.

The dossier on the Marqués caused a blast which reverberated throughout the Spanish-speaking world. The Marqués proceeded to quietly disappear, but in withdrawing he left some troubled suspicions floating over the Mexican capital. Anxious anti-Axis Mexicans and Spanish Republicans wonder if the Marqués really had some of the non-Axis backing he claimed to have.

Patagonia to Panama

THE PHILIPPINES, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Mexico—the Spanish-speaking countries which have the most direct bearing on the United States—tell the story of Falagismo on the march. But by no means the whole story. If the preceding chapters have dealt with the Falanges of these sectors at greater length, it is because they affect the lives and the security of all North Americans more immediately than, say, the Falanges of Argentina or Peru.

The complete story of the Falange penetration and organization on the South American continent and the Central American republics is being compiled in scores of government bureaus in the Americas. In July 1942 a report on the Falange was submitted to the Venezuelan Congress by a special sub-committee—a report which named many government officials as members of the Falange Española. In Uruguay the Consultive Committee for the Political Defense of the Continent—an official investigating body supported by the democracies of the Americas—continues to accumulate evidence proving that the Falange is growing more dangerous hourly. From all over the hemisphere documentary data continues to pile up—evidence that in the Falange Exterior the nations of the Western Hemisphere are confronted with one of their most pressing problems.

The complete dossier on the Falange in South and Central America lists names of over a million active adherents between Patagonia and Panama. It lists secret arsenals, radio stations, fueling bases, military shock troops, and espionage centers in country after country. It lists names of hundreds of known statesmen and military leaders whose ties to Falangist Spain are far more binding than the formal ties they maintain with Washington. It is, in short, a dossier that cannot be revealed in its entirety until the Axis is completely crushed.

But certain facts that make up this dossier should be known now. Facts like those contained in the report submitted to the Argentine Congress in 1941 by Deputy Raoul Damonte Taborda, chairman of the Congressional Committee investigating Axis activities—the report which the Castillo government has suppressed completely.

The Taborda Report, which covered the Nazi penetration in the Argentine, deals briefly with the Falange Exterior as an instrument of the Nazi Fifth Column in that country.

In this report, Taborda revealed the close link between General von Faupel and his Ibero-American Institute and the Spanish Falange. Speaking of the Ibero-American Institute, Taborda said:

Its real objective: while, on the one hand the Germans build their "aryan minorities" with German Nationals abroad, on the other hand they attempt to stir up the nationalistic sentiments of the masses of Spanish origin.

Taborda maintained that the greatest obstacle to this campaign was the Spanish people themselves.

The proven liberalism of the Iberian residents [in Argentina] constitutes a barrier for the Falangistas who try to group them as a minority.

The report quoted von Faupel as declaring that: "The Panamerican idea is an unsound invention, and it is necessary to oppose to it the idea of an Iberian America. The countries of South and Central America are nearer to Spain than to the United States."

After declaring that "Germany and Italy sponsor the imperialistic policy of Franco," the Taborda report reviewed the career of Germany's regent in Spain—Wilhelm von Faupel. It revealed that, while serving as military counselor to the Argentine Army, von Faupel, "in his teachings about Patagonia . . . advised that it should be abandoned

in case of war, considering it defenseless." The report went on to prove that the Nazis are behind the current agitation for the independence of Patagonia—thereby underlining the fact that fully a decade before the Reichstag Fire, Wilhelm von Faupel was playing the Nazi game in Argentina.

The Tabora report declared that Von Faupel's "stay in Spain served, among other things, to found in San Sebastian in May, 1938, a Nazi college for Argentine citizens. From there would come the future directors of the Fascists of the Argentine Republic." In its way, this college is concrete evidence of the complete domination of Franco Spain by the Nazis.

The suppressed Tabora Report minced no words in its analysis of Falangismo:

With Franco, the Spanish Falange triumphed in the Motherland. With the Spanish Falange, the Ibero-American Institute triumphed in Berlin. In exact terms—Nazism. The Falange is a copy of the Nazi Party—a blueprint to such a point that it made a literal translation of all the principles that fascism uses to plant the seeds of propaganda. Nazi technicians take part in their plans, directing them politically. Their work in the Latin-American countries is oriented toward the forming in solid blocks of the great Spanish masses, an attempt to achieve what the Nazis achieved with the German "blood comrades." It is a strong Ibero-Americanism practiced from Berlin. The simplest reading of the program of the Falange tells us to beware of it.

Then the Report goes on to quote points 3, 4, and 5 of the Falange Program (*see* Chapter I) to prove the subversive nature of Falangismo; and then:

The Spanish Falange aspires to set back the clock of history by two centuries, but it will not succeed. But insofar as it is alive, it is a factor of disorder that should be annihilated.

Since Argentina has remained at peace with the Axis, the Argentine Falange is still kept in the background as part of the greater Nazi network. The Nazis not only have

organized the Germans there, but also control and finance a number of native Fascist organizations. The Tabora Report, revealing that this Fifth Column operated clandestine radio stations and secret military bases, declared that it works alongside a Nazi-Falange secret service which has up-to-date maps and data on roads, bridges, waterways, and detailed plans of arsenals, bases, electric plants, and vital factories.

Do not believe that we are shouting in the dark [says the historic report, citing the Nazis' own estimate that] 22,000 perfectly disciplined men are ready, plus 8,000 Germans from the Nazi Party, 14,000 members of the German Workers Front, 3,000 Italian Fascists, 15,000 Falangistas, and many others from the Juventud Germano Argentina and many other thousands affiliated with the Alianza Nacionalista Argentina—all ready to strike.

Although Tabora's hard-hitting report was suppressed by the Castillo government, the rising anti-Axis sentiment of the Argentine people themselves has continued to grow since the war began. Despite the diplomatic stand taken by President Castillo, the Argentine Government has had to rely on Franco Spain to an increasing extent in its dealings with the Axis. After Pearl Harbor it was a foregone conclusion that Spain was going to loom larger than ever in the Argentine diplomatic picture. Argentine democrats expected Spain to make a big move early in 1942—but the Spanish Falangista chosen to make this move was a surprise even to those Argentine foes of fascism who had grown used to expect all sorts of insolence from the Nazi puppets in Madrid.

In May 1942 Spain dispatched a trade mission to Buenos Aires—a mission headed by one Eduardo Aunos. If ever a cabal gave away its intentions by a stroke of over-confidence born of arrogance, the men that chose to put Aunos at the head of this mission committed just this blunder.

Aunos was admittedly a man of many talents—but for-

eign commerce was not one of his specialties. A lawyer by profession, Aunos had served as Minister of Labor in the old Primo de Rivera dictatorship in Spain. After the fall of the de Rivera government, Aunos wrote *The Corporate State* and a number of other books proving that fascism was the solution to the problems of the world.

Early in the course of the von Faupel-Sanjurjo conspiracy to destroy the Spanish Republic, Aunos was admitted into the inner councils of the Spanish conspirators. He joined the Falange in 1935, and was named Counselor of its National Council.

After joining the Falange, Aunos paid the first of his many visits to "La Frigate," a modest villa overlooking the sea at Biarritz, then the main headquarters of German espionage in southern Europe. The secret radio under its tiled roofs broadcast daily instructions to Nazi and Falange agents in Spain, Spanish Morocco, and the Canary Islands between the summer of 1935 and July 19, 1936.

These visits proved both instructive and fruitful. With the German-Italian invasion of Spain in 1936, Eduardo Aunos moved to Paris, where he established himself as the chief of Falange espionage in France at 21 Rue Berri. He remained at this post for two years.

As chief of Falange espionage in France, Aunos made his reports to the Exterior Service of the Falange, then located in Salamanca, Spain. His reports to Salamanca were relayed through another high-ranking officer of Fascist espionage, Colonel Sanz Agero, then stationed near the Franco-Spanish border at Irun. Sanz Agero is today the Spanish Minister to Guatemala.

Aunos did a good job for the Axis in France; so good a job that in 1938 he was appointed Ambassador of Franco Spain to Belgium. His diplomatic duties never were allowed to interfere with his other work. In Belgium Aunos established extremely "cordial" relations with the Rexists—the Belgian Fascist party proven to have been controlled by the Nazis. Eduardo Aunos remained in Belgium until the Germans occupied that little nation in 1940. (The Rexists, who

helped ease the way for the Nazis, later sent a token force to fight alongside of the Spanish Blue Legions in the Nazi armies at the Russian front.)

These facts about Eduardo Aunos were not exactly a secret in diplomatic circles when he embarked for Buenos Aires. Despite the reams of publicity put out by Axis and appeasement sources in Argentina—propaganda aimed to make Argentinians believe that the commercial pact between Spain and Argentina would bring great prosperity to the country—Argentine democrats looked to other directions for a line on what had really brought Aunos to Buenos Aires.

While speculation as to the nature of the Falangist mission raged, Argentine Foreign Minister Ruiz Guinazu—whose anti-United Nations feelings are seldom camouflaged—attended a banquet held in Aunos's honor in Buenos Aires. The foreign Minister made a long speech in which he not only praised Aunos and Franco Spain, but also predicted a trade treaty between Spain and Argentina that would be of immeasurable benefit to both countries.

Then word began to leak out that Aunos was in Argentina for the negotiation of a pact of more than merely commercial significance. While Aunos and the other Falangistas of his mission met with scores of government and political leaders, careless attachés of the Spanish Legation in Buenos Aires took to boasting in cafés and drawing rooms about a new Madrid-Buenos Aires airline, about a cultural pact with trick hidden clauses, and about a mysterious about-to-be-established Argentine free port in Spain.

A special Spanish commission prepared a complete memorandum on the planes of the war-grounded Italian Lati Air Line—especially the transports "interned" in Brazil after the Rio Conference. Papers in Madrid spoke out about using these planes in the establishment of an air line linking Spain and Argentina.

Falangist papers in Buenos Aires like the *Diario Español* and the *Correo de Galicia* began to paint vivid pictures of the great benefits—both economic and moral—Argentina

would derive after the trade pact was signed. They went to great pains to point out that the wheat rotting in the warehouses, the corn being used as fuel in locomotives, and the millions of pounds of unsold beef in the packers' storage houses were being wasted because the United States was utilizing the war as a device to destroy Argentine agriculture. On the other hand, ran the Falange propaganda line, immortal Spain, the great Mother Country which had slain the twin dragons of liberalism and communism, not only needed Argentine agricultural products to sustain herself, but also had the ships and the gold to pay for them. And as for Argentina's growing shortages of manufactured goods and machinery—why, Spain would probably be able to barter manufactures for food.

This was the official line, and to make it stick, Aunos began to flood the Argentine with imported Spanish lecturers, movies, and entertainers. For the head of a commercial mission from a land ravaged by starvation to a nation with a tremendous food surplus, Eduardo Aunos exhibited a surprising lack of desire to get a pact signed as quickly as possible. The negotiations seemed to drag on for months on end.

Perhaps, if Aunos's sole mission in Buenos Aires was the trade agreement, the pact would have been drawn and signed within a month of the start of the talks. The truth about the Aunos mission was that its chief was concerned primarily with the Falanges of South America first and the commercial treaty second.

Aunos had arrived in Buenos Aires with great powers delegated to him by the Falange Exterior National Council in Madrid. During his entire stay in Argentina—and he did not return to Spain until October—he was acting as von Faupel's Extraordinary Inspector General of the Falange Exterior in the Americas. Most of his time was spent with delegates of the Falanges of Latin America and Argentina. He reviewed the reports they had to make on the Falanges in their respective countries and gave them orders both for their groups and for the Spanish diplomatic legations which worked with their groups.

The Aunos mission played its cards with a finesse that astounded all observers. In August 1942, for example, Aunos saw to it that Argentine President Ramon Castillo received the Grand Collar of the Order of Isabel—one of Spain's rarest decorations. After the decoration was received, Aunos ordered the press attaché of the Spanish Embassy in Buenos Aires, José Ignacio Ramos, to hold regular joint meetings with the envoys of Germany, Italy, and Japan—sessions at which the all-Axis propaganda drive was planned and coordinated.

Not until September 8, 1942, was the Aunos-Guinazu pact finally signed. By the time it was ready for the signatures of pro-Franco Argentine Ambassador to Madrid Escobar and Spanish Foreign Minister Gómez Jordana, it had become both a trade and a cultural pact.

The text of the agreement was never made public. But as in earlier agreements between Franco Spain and Argentina, the Iberian Axis nation promised to barter manufactured goods for Argentine grain and beef. In January 1941 Argentina had sent 350,000 tons of corn to Spain—which, in payment, was to deliver an unspecified amount of iron and steel. Argentina is still waiting for the metals. A later barter deal became a cash deal after Spain had received Argentine cattle and beef—and paid for them out of the earnings of the *Compañía Argentina de Electricidad*, subsidiary of Chade, the Spanish utility trust.

Spain, whose exports of food and minerals to Germany are now at an all-time high, is today receiving vast shipments of Argentine food under the terms of the new pact. The projected air line between Madrid and Buenos Aires, while covered in the treaty, has not yet been established. It has, instead, become another of the aces in the Spanish blackmail deck; an ace the Axis will not hesitate to play whenever further concessions are sought from the democracies. The cultural angles of the pact were made quite plain on October 12, 1942—Columbus Day.

The Falange celebrates Columbus Day in Latin America as *El Día de la Raza*—the Day of the Race. In Buenos Aires

there were many celebrations, official, religious, and political. Foreign Minister Ruiz Guinazu, in a speech broadcast to Spain as well as over the Argentine networks, exchanged sentiments with Madrid short-wave speakers in a special two-way radio celebration staged by both countries.

Guinazu pledged that Spain and Argentina, "which find themselves traveling the same road and which have parallel interests," would be bound by still closer bonds—bonds, he declared, that would be created "not with words but with deeds."

President Castillo celebrated the day by attending a solemn ceremony devoted to extolling Franco Spain and the concept of Hispanidad—which calls for the return of Argentina to the Spanish Empire.

Later in the evening, two great Fascist rallies were held in Buenos Aires, and the speeches made at these rallies were broadcast over the radio to the entire country. The larger one was held by the Alianza de la Juventud Nacionalista, the Fascist party organized and backed by the Germans and the Falangistas. Its leader, anti-Semitic General Juan Bautista Molina, had been formally charged with treason by the late President Ortiz, and his trial was still pending at the time.

Flanked by Argentine and Falange flags draped around signs reading "HOMAGE TO SPAIN," Molina delivered a violently anti-Semitic, pro-Axis, and anti-United States speech that had his frenzied 18,000 followers cheering and giving the stiff-arm Fascist salute between paragraphs. Among the things assailed by Molina and other Fascists at the Columbus Day rallies were Pan-Americanism, Jewish Imperialists, the United Nations, liberalism, Roosevelt, Sumner Welles, and the Atlantic Charter.

These speeches were all broadcast. But the radio microphones were absent from one other meeting held in Buenos Aires that night—a meeting that was held only after a prolonged fight with the government for permission to stage it. Not only were its speeches not broadcast, but the papers were forbidden to report their texts the next day. This meeting was staged by labor and liberal organizations of Buenos

Aires to affirm the pro-United Nations sentiments of the Argentinian people. Its speakers included Deputy Raoul Damonte Taborda, Colonel Francisco Galan of the Spanish Republican Army, and many Argentine labor leaders.

The press did not report the keynote speech delivered by Pedro Chiaranti, the noted Argentine labor leader, who shouted:

We in Argentina can aid the Spanish people by fighting the Spanish Falange and by forcing our country to take the side of the United Nations against the Axis Powers.

Shortly after the Columbus Day celebrations, Argentine Deputy Juan Antonio Solari, who succeeded Taborda as chairman of the congressional committee investigating anti-democratic activities, made a report which explained the cultural and political results of the Aunos mission more fully.

Solari exposed the fact that the Fascist parties of Argentina were now relying more than ever before on the façade of Falangist Spain as a front for their attacks on the democracies. In his report, which was neatly squelched by the Castillo administration, Solari charged that the Spanish Ambassador, José Coll Mirambell, was supervising the activities of the Falangist Casa de España—ordered closed by President Ortiz in May 1939.

The Deputy further revealed that the Spanish ships which crossed the ocean to take on cargoes of Argentinian grain and beef brought not manufactured goods but tons of Falangist propaganda to Argentina. This propaganda was all openly pro-Axis. These, then, were the benefits Argentina received from the Aunos mission—propaganda and increased Falangist activities. (Aunos himself was rewarded handsomely by von Faupel for his mission: He is now Minister of Justice in the Spanish Cabinet.)

The complete dossier on the Falange in the Americas would not overlook Argentina's democratic neighbor to the

west, the Republic of Chile. Here the strength of the Chilean labor movement and the organized democratic political parties has forced the Falange to keep its thirty-five Chilean cells well under cover.

The Falange in Chile is confined largely to the southern part of the country, which has an enormous German population. The anti-Falange sentiments of the Chilean people are so marked that after Pearl Harbor Madrid sent a confidential memorandum ordering all Spanish Falangistas in Chile to seek Chilean citizenship and to cease appearing in public in the Falange blue shirts.

The bombing of Pearl Harbor, however, made the Falange and the Spanish diplomatic network in Chile very important to the Axis. In January 1942 the Falange sent José Gonzalez Honares from Spain to Chile. Honares, the chief liaison man between the Japanese and the Falange, was ordered to Chile to take over the work of the Japanese on that west-coast South American bastion.

Today, Honares and the Spanish diplomats are the chief Axis agents in Chile, but their efforts are not made any easier by one of the most vigilantly democratic peoples in the world.

The anti-Falangist, anti-Axis feelings of the Chilean people are so pronounced that in at least one instance known to United Nations Intelligence services the Falange in Chile has been forced to distribute Spanish propaganda through the diplomatic machinery of a certain Latin-American legation in Santiago de Chile.

Brazil takes up a surprising amount of space in the complete dossier on the Falange in South America.

Late in 1940, the Falange in Madrid announced the formation of the All-Iberian Confederation of Portuguese and Spanish Falange parties. The organization was a joint committee of the Fascist parties of both Portugal and Spain, and as such had governmental backing in both Lisbon and Madrid.

With the launching of the Confederation, Spain sent a

new ambassador to Brazil. He was Raimundo Fernandez Cuesta, the former chief of the Falange in Spain and one of its earliest members. Although sadly lacking in experience as a diplomat, Cuesta needed little coaching in the theory and technique of operating a Falange Fifth Column. Before Brazil entered the war, and prior to the arrival of the Aunos mission to Argentina, Cuesta directed all South American Falange activities from his embassy in Rio de Janeiro.

The Falange leader not only managed the continental Falange Exterior affairs, but he also set up an organization in Portuguese-speaking Brazil which added to his laurels in Madrid. Cuesta had five secretaries in the Embassy. They were all trained Falange officials who, protected by their diplomatic passports, aided Cuesta in his tasks of propaganda and organization.

Cuesta camouflaged the Hispanidad line in Brazil. Instead, he appealed to the Portuguese origin of Brazilians by linking Salazar, Dictator of Portugal, and Franco as the joint chiefs of a great Iberian empire-to-be. The All-Iberian Confederation became Cuesta's wedge in Brazil, and he used it with telling effect.

From Rio, Cuesta set the Falange propaganda line for the entire continent through *Nueva España*, the Falangist paper published at 70 Avenida Porto Alegre. Through this paper and through news furnished the Berlin radio by the Spanish Embassy at Rio—news the Berlin radio rebroadcast to all of Latin America—Cuesta kept Falange propaganda going along the paths determined in von Faupel's Madrid office. The great bulk of Ambassador Cuesta's large staff was composed of Falangist inspectors who maintained liaison between their chief and the Falanges of neighboring countries.

When Brazil broke with Germany, one of Cuesta's five secretaries, Manuel Montero, was entrusted with the mission of taking confidential documents of the closed German Embassy to Spain for trans-shipment to Berlin. He sailed on the *Cabo de Hornos* in May 1942, just as Aunos was arriving in Argentina.

The war forced all of the Falanges in South America to

pull in their horns. In Brazil all members of the small but influential section of the Falange Española were given copies of the confidential circular which was published in Madrid and sent to the Spanish legations in Latin America. The Brazilian edition of the circular, which bore the heading, "Extraordinary Bulletin of Instructions," said, in part:

Complying with orders received from our Superior Chiefs, because of special difficult circumstances that have arisen and affected our propaganda in America . . . all work will be interrupted until further notice. Persecuted by certain governments at the service of International Jewry, we must forbid all visits to our meeting places, even if they remain open for purely commercial ends. The following orders have been received—

1. Avoid visiting the Embassy, and only in cases of absolute necessity call for information at Department 142. Any other consultation should be made personally with the chief of the group to which each member belongs. Never use the telephone, not even for discreet conversation.

2. Keep careful reserve in dealing with natives of the country [Brazil], who did not rate our complete confidence before this time, because they may now become very dangerous to the sacred cause of the Empire with the new change of the tide [Brazil's declaration of war].

3. Maintain the spirit of action, guiding it principally through the Portuguese feeling in opposition to the fluctuating Pan-Americanism. Beware of employing the terms *Hispanidad* and *Hispanismo*—words that may hurt the extreme sensitivities of these [Brazilian] people.

These are instructions received from the Consejo de Hispanidad, and should not be mentioned in any conversations. If others quote these instructions, you must affirm that it [the Consejo de Hispanidad] has been dissolved. . . .

6. Never forget the spirit of sacrifice of the Falange Española, nor the punishment that is reserved for all the traitors or cowards who might compromise in any way—such as answering police questions or exhibiting copies of this bulletin, which must be returned within three days of its receipt.

The slogan "Attack for Victory" is now changed to the new slogan, "Discretion for Victory." . . .

This circular is worth noting for the clear way in which it identifies the Spanish Embassy with the subversive activities of the Falange Exterior. Note, too, the reference to "International Jewry" as being the sole force opposed to the Axis in the war, and the line about avoiding the usual Falange meeting places "even if they remain open for purely commercial ends." Many Spanish business houses in Latin America act as headquarters for Falange cells, and the Spanish firms in Brazil were no exception.

Brazil's declaration of war on Germany and Italy not only forced the Brazilian Falange to retrench, but also made it inadvisable for Spanish Ambassador Cuesta to operate out of Rio. The Axis was afraid to risk having him interned if the United Nations ever widened their war front to take in all Axis nations, including Spain. One of the jobs assigned to the Aunos mission was making Cuesta's retreat from the Western Hemisphere an orderly one.

The center of Falange activities on the continent was shifted to Argentina. Shortly after Aunos completed his mission, Cuesta was recalled from Brazil and named Spanish Ambassador to Rome. In the general shifting of leaders and headquarters, one other significant change was made. Colonel Manuel de la Sierra, attached to the Spanish Embassy in Washington, was transferred to the legation at Buenos Aires. Sierra is one of the key figures in the Spanish Secret Service, and his new assignment was made as part of a broad master-plan for all of the American nations.

One of the most amazing parts of the dossier on the Falange in South America is the section dealing with Peru. A prominent Peruvian writer put his finger on the strange power of Falangismo recently.

Falangismo speaks for feudalism as an ideal. In Peru, where feudalism is not an ideal but a bitter reality, Falangismo therefore found fertile soil. On the Peruvian *hacienda*, the *haciendado* is All Powerful. Each *hacienda* represents, in spirit, a perfect Falangist state in miniature. It is therefore not surpris-

ing to find the Falange strongest among the great landowners and their spokesmen in the press and the government.

The power of Falangismo was felt in Peru very early during the course of the Spanish War. José María Arguedas and Manuel Moreno, two Peruvian writers, organized a meeting at the University in Lima and spoke up in favor of the Spanish Republic. They were immediately arrested and kept incommunicado for six months in prison before protests from all over Latin America forced the government to release them. After that, there were no open anti-Falange manifestations in Peru.

The country's "Two Hundred Families" vied among themselves to see who could do the most for the Axis cause during the Spanish War. When Eugenio Montes, one of the most important Falangist propagandists, visited Peru during this war, he had limousines and villas put at his disposal wherever he went. Montes returned to Peru to lecture after the Axis triumph. He was followed by José María Peman, the Falangist writer whose lectures were attended by Peru's President, Manuel Prado, and other leading Peruvian dignitaries.

The man generally credited with being the real leader of the Falange in Peru is José de la Riva Agüero, one of the country's wealthiest citizens. He likes to be known by his Spanish title, the Marqués de Aulestia—a title he had revalidated in Spain in 1934. Riva Agüero is one of Peru's leading intellectuals, and in both the press and on the public platform he is the most outspoken exponent of Falangismo and Hispanidad.

To the Peruvian Falange, whose slogan is, "Spiritual Unity between Spain and Peru," Riva Agüero has been an intellectual and financial tower of strength. He visited Spain in 1940, and on his return in 1941 was quoted in the magazine *Tourismo* as declaring that Falangismo "is necessary for the life of Peru . . . the movement in Spain is an inspiration for all of us."

Riva Agüero's ties with the Japanese in Peru—where they formed the most powerful Fifth Column in the country—were as close as were his ties with Franco.

When Peru, at the last minute, cast its diplomatic lot with the United Nations, the hysterically anti-United States organ of the Peruvian Falange, *Unidad*, was suspended by the government. This, however, was little more than a gesture—because the most powerful voice of the Falange also happens to be one of the largest papers in Peru, *El Comercio*.

There are many points of similarity between *El Comercio*, of Lima, and Havana's *Diario de la Marina*. Like the *Diario's* Pepin Rivero, *El Comercio's* guiding genius, Carlos Miro Quesada Laos, also won the Maria Moors Cabot Prize for Journalism in 1941—the prize awarded to the editor who does the most to cement North and South American friendship. Like the *Diario*, *El Comercio* also jumped on the Franco bandwagon with the first shots of the Spanish War. Like Pepin Rivero, Miro Quesada also enjoyed good relations with Axis diplomats other than those of Spain.

He was, in fact, violently opposed to Peru's diplomatic break with Japan. "There is no harm at all in the Japanese being in Peru," he told an American magazine writer about a week before Pearl Harbor. He also told this American that, "There is nothing like the progressive character of National Socialism. However, Falangismo is even a step higher than National Socialism."

During the Spanish War, Miro Quesada visited the Franco side as correspondent for his paper. *El Comercio* has long preached Hispanidad and Falangismo, and if Miro Quesada's detractors sometimes describe him as "Franco's Unofficial Goebbels," they can hardly be blamed or accused of exaggerating the role of *El Comercio*.

In addition to his journalistic writings, Miro Quesada also wrote a book based on his interviews with Hitler, Franco, Salazar, and Mussolini. Needless to say, this book—which bore an introduction written by Riva Agüero—had nothing but praise for these dictators. For Miro Quesada likes dic-

tators as much as he hates Spanish Republicans, whom he calls by one name only: "Reds." He was the man most influential in keeping the Spanish Republican refugees out of Peru. His uncle is one of the intimate advisers of President Prado.

The Falange and its partisans in Peru abound in such colorful personalities as Riva Aguero and Miro Quesada. There is also, for example, Raoul Parras Barrenechea, who is noted both as a toreador and as an essayist. He served as an attaché in the Peruvian Legation in Franco Spain, where he spent a good deal of time doing research in the archives of the Council of the Indies, the historical predecessor of the Council of Hispanidad.

Upon his return to Peru, Barrenechea published a work based on "new material" he had found in the ancient archives—a book proving that Conquistador Pizarro was not a murderous looter but a shining and kindly knight of Christian brotherhood. The unique thesis of the book took hold in Peru's wealthy Spanish colony, but Peruvian democrats laughed and coined a nickname for the author: "Pizarro the Good."

Barrenechea now holds a post in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. An intimate of Riva Aguero's, he is openly anti-United States and a fervent propagandist of Hispanidad.

Another important member of Riva Aguero's social set is Raoul Ferrero Rebagliatti, a Peruvian lawyer of Italian descent. An admirer of Mussolini, Rebagliatti once tried to found a "real" Fascist party in Peru. He praises Riva Aguero as a "master of Peruvian youth." In 1941 he delivered a famous pro-Franco lecture to the foreign students (most of them from the United States) at the summer school of the University of San Marcos in Lima.

Riva Aguero's close friend Hoyos Osoreo, editor of the daily *La Prensa* of Lima, is an outspoken pro-Falangist.

El Comercio and *La Prensa* are addressed to adults, but the Falange message is served to Peruvians from the moment they begin to read. An official textbook used in all Peruvian

schools describes Franco as a savior of Christianity "against the assaults of Jewish Communism."

Now that Peru has broken diplomatic ties with the Axis nations, Spain has taken over all Axis representation. Franco's Ambassador, D. Pablo Churruca, is active in public functions day in and day out. His words and public activities are breathlessly recorded in the openly pro-Falangist press of the country, to whom he is a statesman of world importance.

Peru's own envoys to Spain have been as ardently for Franco and Hispanidad as Churruca. In 1940 Peru's Ambassador was Ex-President Benavides, who was decorated by Franco and given a banquet by Spanish military officers in Barcelona. He now represents Peru in Argentina. Pedro Irogoyen, who succeeded Benavides as Ambassador to Spain, made a Columbus Day address in 1941 in which he declared, "The Spanish movement should serve as an example for South America."

These personalities are a reflection of the strength of Falangismo in a country whose importance must never be underestimated. The Falange itself was never large in Peru—it never had to be. The Axis relied on the huge Japanese and Italian Fifth Columns for manpower there.

Since Spain took over the Axis diplomatic front in Peru, the Falange has increased in importance. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, Antonio Luis Escobar, a high-ranking officer in the Spanish Secret Service (SIM) arrived in Peru from Spain to serve the Axis in ways that need no description. He is still there.

Peru's impoverished neighbor, Ecuador, is no less afflicted with the Falange virus. As in Peru, the Falange did not become the dominant Axis front until after Pearl Harbor. The Italian Army had a contract to train the Ecuadorian officers. The largest school in Quito was the German Collegio Aleman. And the Japanese had a large hand in the economic destinies of the country.

Because of this all-Axis front, the most important organ of Falangismo, *El Debate*, was financed not only by Spain but also by Italy, Germany, and Japan. It was run by Mariano Suarez Veintemilla, now a deputy in the nation's Congress, and Senator Moises Luna—a statesman who denounced the Rotarian Congress held at the University in Quito as a “Masonic-Jewish” conspiracy against Ecuador. *El Debate*, like the Falangist organs *Hoja Popular* and *Crisol*, was finally banned in May 1942.

Since Ecuador's diplomatic break with the Axis powers, the Nazi Transocean News Service, which reached all Ecuadorean papers free of charge, has been replaced by the Franco news agency, EFE—which also furnishes a free service. The EFE wires go to all papers in Ecuador with the exception of anti-Fascist publications like *El Día* and *La Defensa*.

Before Pearl Harbor, the Nazis maintained a number of clandestine radio stations in Ecuador. Many of them are now operated by the Falange.

Ecuador's wealthy Spanish Colony is as fervently Falangist as that of Peru. Nevertheless, in 1940 the Falange worked with the Japanese and the Nazis to stir up still another war growing out of the century-old border controversy between Peru and Ecuador.

Little was said in the press of the world about this war. Described in most North American papers as a typical minor “border dispute,” it was very much of a real modern war during the months that it raged. The von Faupel- and Japanese-trained Peruvian Army finally crushed the Italian-trained Ecuadoreans—but at a cost in human lives far beyond the space they won in the headlines. It was a war which saw Italian Caproni bombers in the hands of the Peruvians blot out whole villages, and such bombings spell death even in unpublicized wars. (Italy sold to both sides.)

When the shooting was over, and the disputed territory securely in the hands of Peru, the Falange in Spain sent a delegation of prominent Falangistas to Peru to commemorate the 450th anniversary of Columbus. The most distin-

guished of the delegates, who came as guests of the Peruvian Government, was the Marquesa de la Conquista, descendant of Pizarro—a fitting note, since the prime purpose of the delegation from Spain was to lend moral authority to the Peruvian conquest. This feat they accomplished by citing ancient maps of the Council of the Indies which justified Peru's border claims.

More than Peru and Ecuador were involved in this war, however. It was nothing more than a well-timed dress rehearsal of the hell the Nazis are prepared to unleash in all of Latin America.

Border wars, military uprisings, civil wars, fake minority movements like that of Patagonia—all these are weapons, in Latin America, against the United Nations and particularly against the United States. The Axis aim in Latin America is to increase the war-borne hardships to acute misery, and then convert this misery to chaos—a chaos that will have a telling effect on the war effort of every American nation.

Spain became a Nazi colony as a result of a fake military uprising organized by the Germans. Today Spain is nearer to many Latin American countries than the United States. And the Nazi-run Spanish Falange is active and large in these countries. It will cost the Germans next to nothing in men and materials to stir up serious disturbances in Latin America through the Falange Española.

The all-over dossier on the Falange in Latin America gets very hot when it touches Colombia, the strategic land which flanks the Panama Canal on the South.

Here the Falange pattern seems like a carbon copy of Cuba's. As in Cuba, Falangismo came to Colombia's wealthy Spanish Colony and to one of the country's largest publishers long before the Falange could send an agent from Spain to Bogotá to formally organize the Falange Exterior branches.

The two dominant figures in the Franco camp in Colombia in 1936 were Laureano Gómez and Hilario Rajul. Gómez publishes the influential daily, *El Siglo*, one of the

most violently anti-United States papers published anywhere in the world, including Falangist Madrid. He is also the leader of the Conservative Party of Colombia. Rajul, a Spanish citizen in his fifties, is a well-to-do Bogotá business man.

Aided by other Spaniards and wealthy Colombians, Gómez and Rajul kept the Franco fires burning brightly until the end of 1937, when the Falange in Spain sent Gines de Albareda to Bogotá (the Falangistas always used the ancient name of Sante Fé de Bogotá for the Colombian capital) to organize the Falange Exterior cells.

Laureano Gómez gave the visiting Falange agent a lavish banquet, at which the young men of the Caro Academy acted as Albareda's guard of honor. For weeks, Albareda sat as the guest of honor at a series of dinners and receptions. Special Masses were said in his honor at the San Ignacio and other Spanish Churches. Were Albareda a less cynical fellow, he might have imagined that Colombia was ripe for a Falangist uprising of its very own.

But the average Colombian, and even the average Spaniard in Colombia, was not at all like Laureano Gómez. Albareda sensed the anti-Falangist feeling of the Colombian majority and therefore, in setting up the Falange Exterior structure, he gave it the name of "Círculo Nacionalista Español."

When Albareda tried to speak at meetings to which the general public had been invited, he met with near disaster so often that he decided to confine his orations to more exclusive gatherings. At least, at closed meetings attended only by Falangistas and their sympathizers, he could make himself heard.

At one of these meetings, Albareda heard Laureano Gómez make a speech that brought the house down. It was an impassioned address which ended with these tingling words:

All Spain, coming forward as the solitary fighter for Christian culture, has taken the vanguard step of all nations of the

occident in the reconstruction of the Empire of Hispanidad, in whose Falanges we inscribe our names with indescribable joy.

We bless God because he has allowed us to live through this epoch of unforeseen transformation and because we are able to exclaim with a cry that comes forth from our deepest feelings—*Arriba España*, Catholic and Imperial!

As he sounded this tocsin call, his face purple, sweat pouring into his tear-filled eyes, Laureano Gómez snapped to attention and flung his hand up in the stiff-arm Fascist salute—the *brazo en alto*.

Albareda led the applause which greeted this speech. It told him that the time had come to begin circulating among the wealthy Spaniards of Colombia to collect large sums for the cause of El Caudillo. He had little difficulty in raising a most respectable war chest. The Falange organized and the money collected, Gines de Albareda decided to take his leave.

Before sailing for Spain, Albareda appointed Antonio Valverde to the post of chief of the Colombian Falange.

His pockets heavy with the money he had raised in Colombia, Albareda said farewell to the leading Falangists of Bogotá with the classic *brazo en alto* and a manly embrace for each man. But according to an account published in Buenos Aires quoting *El Liberal* of Bogotá, the money proved to be more powerful than the ideology of Nueva España. Gines de Albareda was there accused of personally pocketing every penny of the moneys donated to El Caudillo by the Colombian Falangistas. He was never sent abroad on a confidential mission again.

Valverde tried to make the Falange over into an ascetic religious order. He soon gave up this tack. After the triumph of Franco, Valverde had a series of arguments over the work of the Falange with the first Franco Minister to Colombia. He resented this interference so much that he turned the affairs of the Colombian Falange over to his assistant, Luis Roldan, and went to Spain to seek justice. One of the results

of this trip was a letter to Roldan (quoted in Chapter I) promising that the Minister would soon be placed under the orders of the Falange chief.

The letter was no idle boast. Shortly after Roldan received it, the Spanish Legation in Bogotá received a new secretary, one Onos de Plandolit. Plandolit was new to the diplomatic business, but he had grown up with the Falange in Spain, and he had the implicit confidence of men like General von Faupel and the highest-ranking Spaniards in the Falange.

Plandolit became the absolute chief of the Legation, and it was he who restored order to the Falange in Colombia. He became, in effect, the actual chief of the Falange, and remained in Bogotá until his post-Pearl Harbor transfer to the Spanish Legation in Panama.

In Bogotá, Plandolit busied himself with more than merely Colombian affairs. During his tenure the Spanish Legation was taking advantage of the Pan-American Postal Convention franking privileges to send propaganda to the United States and other countries. The following excerpt, taken from a bulletin the Spanish Legation in Colombia sent to New York City via franked mail, is a fair sample of Plandolit's work.

. . . Roosevelt . . . will do all he can to aid in the defeat of Hitler and of the European people who are fighting for their liberty against Bolshevik barbarism and the sordid egoism of the democratic, Jewish, and Protestant plutocracies.

During the Spanish War, Valverde started a campaign to raise funds for the Axis forces. The campaign—which was announced as a “permanent” one—was assisted by a permanent announcement appearing daily in Gómez's *El Siglo*. This announcement, which bore the heading, in big capital letters, “VIVA FRANCO! ARRIBA ESPAÑA!” called for funds for Franco and published honor lists of those who contributed the money.

Gómez's fervor for Falangismo had very interesting, if

pathological, roots. He not only hated the Spanish Republic but, with equal venom, the Republic of Colombia as well. During the Spanish War, the Bogotá publisher found a way of addressing an impassioned plea to Franco personally, a plea for aid in overthrowing the government of Colombia. Franco answered this request with a definite promise of military aid—after the Spanish Republic was destroyed.

Franco's solemn promise made Gómez work all the harder for the triumph of the Falange in Spain. The zeal of the Colombian Falange's most fervent member did not diminish when Luis Roldan succeeded Valverde as chief of the Falange in 1940. Gómez gave Roldan the full support he had shown Valverde.

Roldan remained chief of the Colombian Falange until August 1941, when he was transferred to Panama—one of the most important Falange concentration points in the world. On December 18, 1941, he sailed from Panama to Havana on a Chilean liner, the *Imperial*. He was in Havana to await passage on board a C. T. E. steamer bound for Spain. But Roldan's movements in Havana Falange circles aroused the suspicions of the Cuban Secret Police, who were in possession of letters Roldan had sent to Alejandro Villanueva in 1940, when Villanueva was the Inspector General of the Falange in the Americas.

The Cuban police arrested Roldan on January 2, 1942. He was tried ten days later, but was acquitted—largely by his promise to take the next boat out of Cuba.

Roldan's arrest, however, led to the revelation of many of the secrets of the Colombian Falange, for he had been carrying a case of important documents and a file of his correspondence to Spain when the Cuban police arrested him.

The documents included copies of orders Roldan had sent to Dario Cuadrado, the landowner and textile magnate who succeeded him as chief of the Colombian Falange; orders received by Roldan from Spain; letters linking German and Italian diplomats with Falangist activities in Latin America; and assorted documents relating to Falangist ac-

tivities in Bolivia, Costa Rica, Puerto Rico, El Salvador, and other Latin-American nations. There were official communications to Roldan from Valverde—then his Falange chief—sent from Venezuela, Panama, Germany, England, France, and Spain. Roldan had kept a complete file—including copies of every letter he sent as a Falangist officer.

Among these, as a starter, was the letter he had sent to Valverde in Barranquilla, Colombia, in December 1938, a letter which contained these sentences:

I already went to the Italian Legation to take leave in your name and to tell them to cable to Caracas your arrival there. The [legation] secretary promised to do so.

A later letter (the italics are mine) from Roldan to Valverde was mailed when the then-chief of the Colombian Falange was in Zaragoza, Spain. It said, in part:

. . . As I announced to you in my previous letter, I have completely organized the Auxilio Social and to that section I have dedicated number four and five of our *Review*. . . I have distributed the girls in groups as well as the boys, and I have ordered them to make a collection among all the friends and businessmen of Bogotá who sympathize with our Movement. . . Immediately after, that is, on the first Sunday of March, we will hold a grand bazaar, which surely will be held in the Plaza de los Martires. . . I am giving a religious character to the organization of this Bazaar to collect funds for the reconstruction of the churches demolished in Spain. . . In this manner I believe I will achieve a greater success, since I will have the collaboration of almost all the religious orders which I warned in advance, and will get the support of all the Colombian people who in their inner self are religious even though they take a liberal pose. . . All this, as it is natural, I will manage, and I will distribute the women of the Auxilio Social in the various booths, *and the funds, I don't have to even tell you, will be exclusively for the Falange.* . . .

This letter speaks volumes for the sincerity of the Fa-

lange's noisy crusade for Catholicism, and for the real character of the Auxilio Social, the Falange's own "relief" society.

But the most sensational document of the Roldan collection was a copy of a report Roldan sent to the National Delegation of the Falange Exterior in Spain on February 15, 1939. This report said, in part (the italics are mine):

The circle of conferences that I initiated here I had to stop because of serious reasons which exist in this country [Colombia]. Here the political atmosphere is heavy now, for among the Conservatives themselves there have been splits because some, *among them Laureano Gómez, wish violent or revolutionary attitudes . . . these gentlemen have addressed themselves to our victorious Caudillo [Franco] requesting help to accomplish in this country a revolution similar to ours [in Spain], and the Caudillo has answered them that they shall have everything they wish after our war finishes.* . . . Under these conditions the officials of the government here have thought that these activities are being carried on through the Falange and ordered a raid on our office by the Secret Police.

It was a bombshell in Colombia. Here was a signed admission from the former chief of the Colombian Falange that Laureano Gómez had petitioned Franco for aid in overthrowing democracy in Colombia!

El Liberal, the newspaper of Colombia's present President, Alfonso Lopez, published the Roldan-Valverde-Falange Exterior documents in full in February 1942. The nation was shocked—and the Colombian police began a series of raids on the homes and offices of Falangistas and Franco partisans.

The raids produced some amazing results. At the home of Dario Cuadrado, the Falange chief of Colombia, police found orders sent from Madrid and signed by José Gimenez Rosado, the Secretary General of the Falange Española. There were also copies of orders sent by Cuadrado to regional heads of the Falange in Colombia, and their reports

to him. When questioned by the police, Cuadrado admitted that Laureano Gómez attended secret meetings of the Falange.

At the home of Hilario Rajul, the police were insulted by the Spanish Falangista's wife, who called them "Red Communists" and similar names. While the detectives were at Rajul's files, Irwin Goldtucker, the German chauffeur of the Spanish Legation, arrived at the Rajul household and cursed them out roundly. They were about to arrest him when he whipped out his Spanish diplomatic passport and flaunted it in their faces.

The raid produced one document that shook the country. It revealed that, prior to Pearl Harbor, the Falange and the Conservative Party had formed a working alliance, and that a Falangist official traveled throughout the Republic (with all expenses paid by publisher Gómez's party) and converted the Conservative Party into a replica of the Falange. The name of this Falangist agent was revealed to be Arturo Rajul—son of Hilario and Chancellor of the Spanish Legation.

Rajul's tour was followed by a circular letter sent to all chiefs of the Conservative Party in Colombia on December 20, 1941, announcing the start of a new drive for power.

The raids of February 1942 served only to make the Falangistas more discreet in Colombia. The Nazis have very good reasons to keep the Falange functioning at top efficiency in Colombia. The reason can be best expressed in two words—Panama Canal.

The Darien Mountains, between Colombia and Panama, are only sixty miles from the Canal. They are crawling with Axis agents, and are so important to the Nazis that the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin has a separate "Office of Darien Affairs" run by a staff of specialist officers.

While the Falange has been made illegal as such in Colombia, it continues under the name of the Acción Nacionalista Popular, and publishes a magazine called *Falanje*. It is still aided by the Spanish Legation, and it is still a

menace to the Republic of Colombia and to the war effort of the entire Western Hemisphere.

Another fascinating section of the Falange Exterior dossier covers the Dominican Republic. When the Spanish War broke out, the Spanish Republic was one of the biggest customers for Dominican produce and cattle. Rafael Trujillo, the Dominican dictator, sympathized with Franco—but the Spanish Republicans paid their bills on time, and Trujillo had important private investments at home that depended on these bills.

Ninety per cent of the Spanish merchants were openly pro-Franco. Like their colleagues in Havana, they collected vast sums of money, coffee, tobacco, rum, and other supplies for the Axis forces in Spain. The pro-Nazi chief of Dominican Intelligence, Major Miguel Angel Paulino, had many supporters of the Spanish Republic arrested and imprisoned. Then, in 1937, the Spanish Falange sent Francisco Almodovar to Trujillo City to organize the local division of the Falange Exterior.

Almodovar visited Trujillo at his home, where he received funds and promises of other aid. When Almodovar left Santo Domingo, the Falange ordered another agent, Francisco Larcegui, to continue the organization job in Santo Domingo.

Larcegui was stationed in New York when he received these orders. A veteran Falangist, Larcegui entered the United States as the accredited correspondent of three Latin-American papers—Pepin Rivero's *Diario de la Marina*, Laureano Gómez's *El Siglo*, and the Falangist *Diario Español* of Montevideo, Uruguay. He, too, received some funds from Trujillo. He remained in Santo Domingo for some months, establishing a strong branch of the Falange.

In December 1937, after Larcegui had returned to New York, the Franco Junta in Burgos sent a Captain Torres to ask Trujillo to break off diplomatic relations with the Spanish Republic. The Captain's mission was unsuccessful, for

Trujillo was then in the process of selling a large order of cattle to the embattled but solvent Republic.

The Falange, however, made great headway among the Dominican Republic's upper crust. *Listin Diario*, one of the nation's leading newspapers, jumped on the Franco victory chariot. The paper ran a series of pro-Franco stories by Emilio S. Morel, President of the Superior Junta of the dominant Dominican Party. When Franco took power, Morel was named Dominican Minister to Madrid—where he placed a wreath on the tomb of José Antonio Primo de Rivera in Rafael Trujillo's name and then sank into obscurity.

Since Pearl Harbor, the Falange in Santo Domingo has been running a vigorous anti-American campaign and attempting to take up the tasks of the Nazis imprisoned or expelled by the *Realpolitik* fortunes of the war.

In June 1942 alert American Intelligence agents discovered that the Captain of a Spanish ship had deposited \$300,000 in a Dominican bank, and that the money was to be used to meet the expenses of the Nazi agents in the Americas. News of the discovery of this cache leaked out to the newspapers of several Central American countries. Trujillo quickly announced that he was confiscating the \$300,000—but until the news broke in the press, he had been attempting to convert the money into Cuban currency. His agent in this transaction had been Sanchez Arcilla, the former staff writer of the *Diario de la Marina* who was serving as Cuba's Minister to Santo Domingo. Arcilla was very close to the Falange.

The Spanish Legation in Trujillo City not only transmits orders from Madrid to the Falange of the Dominican Republic, but also certain confidential letters from Germany to pro-Nazi Dominican government officials. It also acts as a forwarding station in the information service the Axis maintains in the Caribbean.

When you learn that the Falange in Santo Domingo is today the front for one of the most powerful Fifth Columns the Nazis succeeded in establishing in the Americas before

Pearl Harbor, you understand why General von Faupel is held in such high esteem in Berlin. For the Caribbean is one of the graveyards of United Nations shipping in the Atlantic. Between Miami and Venezuela, the Axis—through the Falanges of Cuba, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, and the Vichysois of Martinique—maintains an almost unbroken chain of observation posts and secret radio stations in constant contact with Nazi submarine and surface raiders.

The northern coast of Venezuela is infested with hundreds of Falangist agents—many of whom have casually and without ecclesiastical authority donned the robes of priests—whose radio instructions lead Nazi submarines across the paths of United Nations oil tankers.

The dossier is endless. Wherever you turn in Latin America, whether in small but strategic Panama or in large and powerful Argentina, the Falange Exterior hits you between the eyes.

There is no mistaking the facts once they face you. Spain has taken over the diplomatic fronts behind which Axis Fifth Column work is carried out in Latin America. In every Latin-American country, the Falange Exterior has an active, well-trained, well-financed organization—either under its own name or under such false fronts as the Acción Nacionalista Popular of Colombia; the Fatherland, Order, and Liberty Society of Uruguay; or, as in Mexico, under both its own and the false banners of Sinarquismo.

Upwards of a million Falangistas and their dupes—acting on orders dictated by Nazi General Wilhelm von Faupel in Madrid—are actively engaged in warfare against the United Nations, for the Axis.

This warfare is waged on many fronts: political, economic, military. The fronts are endless. A recent confidential survey of Axis operations in the Americas revealed that the Spanish Secret Service, the SIM, has 14,763 operatives functioning between the Rio Grande and the wind-sheared pastures of Patagonia.

Wilhelm von Faupel makes few speeches, but when he

does mount the rostrum he never minces his words. In June 1939, during the Pan-American Conference in Lima, von Faupel delivered a lecture before the German Academy in Berlin. Pointing to Lima on the large map beside the lectern, von Faupel quietly declared:

A victory for Fascist Spain will cement our relations with Latin America and will be a rude shock to the Good Neighbor Policy of President Roosevelt.

Today, to make this shock even ruder, von Faupel maintains a special school in Barcelona for Latin-American Falangistas. The school is in the Barcelona Building of the Ibero-American Institute, and from it pour Latin-American Falangistas who know just how best to serve the Axis in their native lands.

The increasing tightness of the war situation is grist to the Falange mill. As the war continues, we can expect an increase of Falangist activities which will exploit the hardships and the sacrifices the war is forcing on all civilians in Latin America.

Granting that it is perhaps far-fetched to speak in terms of a German or an Italian or a Japanese invasion of Latin America, the fact remains that the Falange is with us in force in the Americas *now*. Hitler is not fooling—and the Falanges in Latin America are Hitler's.

One immediate step can cripple the Falanges of the entire Western Hemisphere, can make their objectives a thousand times more difficult to achieve than they are now. The Falangist diplomatic front must be eliminated: every legation of Axis Spain must be shut down and its officials sent back to Madrid. This will not end the Falange menace by any means, but it will certainly pull some of its sharpest teeth.

The initiative for this hemisphere-wide diplomatic move rests in only one place—Washington. As the United States moves, so move the nations of Latin America. They fol-

lowed us into the war, and the average Latin-American is more than anxious to see the Franco legations driven from his country forever. Yet, until we make the initial move, the Latin-American nations are powerless to act.

The Falange in the United States

THE FRANK and revealing book *La Falange Exterior* which the Nazis tried so hard to destroy completely after it was published in Santander, Spain, contained a most interesting paragraph on page 20. In translation, this paragraph reads:

In some countries there are but few Spanish colonies. But in those where it is convenient to assist the cause of Spain, in a sense of effective propaganda, groups of foreign sympathizers have been constituted, maintaining also a close and continuous relation with the [Spanish] compatriots residing there. Although their number might not be sufficient to create a formal organization of the Falange Española Tradicionalista de la J.O.N.S., delegates and representatives have been named that carry out a useful work for our Movement.

The United States is one of these countries where "there are but few Spanish colonies." But early in the Spanish war the United States became the home of the other type of Falange Exterior organizations described in the above paragraph. Never very large numerically, the Falangist organizations and their American off-shoots have nevertheless proved themselves to be one of the most effective of the Falange Exterior Fifth Columns in the world. When the history of the Second World War is written, the role the Falange Exterior played in the successful American campaign to prevent the lifting of the Arms Embargo on Loyalist Spain will fill some of the blackest pages in that tragic chronicle.

In January, 1937, a group of Franco partisans held a formal meeting in the Alhambra Coffee House, at 2 Stone Street, New York. Most of the men present were Spaniards living in the United States but retaining their Spanish citi-

zenship. Some were powerful Puerto Ricans, others were Spanish-born American citizens.

The most powerful men in Spanish-American shipping, Marcelino Garcia and Manuel Diaz—owners of the firm of Garcia & Diaz—dominated the first meeting of this group. José Maria Torres Perona, personal representative in New York of Havana's Pepin Rivera, and Francisco Larcegui, the Spaniard carrying credentials from Rivera's *Diario de la Marina* and other papers, were among the others in the group. They shared ideas and delicacies with Dr. Ramon Castroviejo, Julio Rojo, a Puerto Rican Spaniard, Benito Collado, Felix Lopez, José Reyes, and other prominent members of the Spanish big-business set in New York.

Out of this meeting came the organization of the Casa de España (House of Spain), a club which set up headquarters in the Park Central Hotel. The manager of the Spanish department of the Park Central, a charter member of the Casa de España, was Tomas Collado. His brother Benito, also a charter member, owned El Chico, a Greenwich Village night club.

The Casa de España was the first American branch of the Falange Exterior. Like all foreign Falanges, it soon organized the local branch of the Auxilio Social of the Falange. In the United States the Auxilio Social took the form of two American committees—the Spanish Nationalist Relief Committee and the American Spanish Relief Fund, and one Spanish organization, the National Spanish Relief Association, Incorporated. The directors of the Spanish association included Emilio Gonzalez, Dr. Castroviejo, and Juan Gallego, a Spanish shipping man of New York.

Among the "foreign sympathizers" whom the handbook of the Falange Exterior sought were the American members of the Spanish Nationalist Relief Committee. These included Americans like W. Cameron Forbes, former American Ambassador to Japan; James W. Gerard, former Ambassador to Germany; Dennis Cardinal Dougherty, Archbishop of Philadelphia; Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney;

Anne Morgan; Mary Pickford; and Dr. A. Hamilton Rice. The literature of this committee stated that it was the "American representative for raising funds in the United States for the Auxilio Social—Social Help Service—which represents in a marvelous manner the spirit and unity of New Spain."

While the Auxilio Social organizations raised funds for the Axis in Spain, the Casa de España concentrated on making propaganda for the Fascist armies in the Spanish War. The Park Central Hotel became the scene of endless dinners, forums, dance and music recitals, and lectures on the Franco movement. On the tables of the Casa de España visitors and the seven hundred-odd members could always find Fascist propaganda pamphlets and magazines printed both here and abroad. A large painting of Francisco Franco hung on the wall of the club headquarters.

The feminine section of the Falange, run by Pilar Primo de Rivera in Spain, had its American representation in the feminine section of the Casa de España. Prominent in the leadership of this section was Mary Greevy Garcia, wife of Marcelino Garcia, and a native of the United States. The leader of the American feminine section was Mrs. Etelvina Lubiano of Yonkers, N. Y.

Francisco Larcegui, one of the founders of the Casa de España, was originally its closest link with the Falange in Spain. A veteran member of the Falange in Spain, Larcegui operated both in Central America and the United States. Always well supplied with funds—Larcegui loved to flash an impressive roll of big bills at the slightest provocation—he proved to be the American correspondent for the *Diario de la Marina* of Havana and the fervently anti-American *El Siglo* of Bogotá, Colombia. From time to time Larcegui went to Havana to have his visa renewed at the American Legation there. But these visits to Havana also saw Larcegui conferring with Falange Exterior leaders like Juan Adriensens, Alejandro Villanueva, and Miguel Espinos.

Although Larcegui's job was primarily of a propaganda

nature, he was—at least in the early days of the Casa de España—a contact man for the espionage network then being created by the German masters of the Falange.

Larcegui, however, was not as important to the Spanish Fascists as were Garcia and Diaz. The role of these two Spanish shipping men in New York was brought to the attention of the United States Senate as early as May 1937, when Senator Gerald P. Nye charged them with being Franco spies who "would look with favor upon the violation of the Monroe Doctrine."

The knowledge which caused this outburst by Senator Nye—whom even the most fervent American Fascists could not accuse of Communist bias—was contained in two letters taken from the files of Garcia & Diaz in New York. The letters were inserted into the Congressional Record. Both letters were written on the letterhead of Garcia & Diaz, 17 Battery Place, New York City.

The first, sent via air mail to Señor Don Federico Varela, Apartado 60, Vera Cruz, Mexico, was signed only by Manuel Diaz, and dated February 20, 1937. It said:

In accordance with your indication, and in order that you should know that we had received the code, I have just sent you the following cablegram:

"Just received your letter February 17. Many thanks." And when in the future we have to communicate with you by cable we will make good use of the words that you were so good to prepare.

I am very pleased to see that you so disinterestedly offer yourself to keep us posted about everything going on there; this, of course, encourages me to continue bothering you: but in the same manner I wish to offer myself to you for anything, in case I can be of any service, and without anything further for the moment, I am, yours truly,

MANUEL DIAZ

The full meaning of this letter was indicated in the second letter, dated March 5, 1937, and mailed to Juan Claudio Guell, Conde de Ruisenada, Hotel Fernando Isabel, Valla-

dolid, Spain. The second letter said, in part (the italics are mine):

Here we live hour to hour pending news from Spain. The *press, in its majority Jewish*, is rather hostile to our cause and while it advances the lies of the Reds (they make enormous propaganda) it makes efforts to belittle the success of our glorious army.

The help from Russia is well known, as well as the enormous help from Mexico. *It is a pity that there is not a speedy armed ship in the strait of Yucatan. If there were, not one of the ships with armaments would get through.* The place could not be any more advantageous because for the provisioning of its needs the ship could be helped in Puerto Barrios, Guatemala, a friendly country.

Fond greeting from your good friends,

MANUEL DIAZ
MARCELINO GARCIA

Senator Nye minced few words in his denunciation of the two leaders of the Casa de España. (Garcia, in fact, was president of the club.)

It is plain to be seen from a study of the Garcia and Diaz correspondence that this firm is party to and aware of activities which violate and threaten American neutrality. It is evident as well [Nye declared], that these persons would look with favor upon violation of the Monroe Doctrine and encourage the presence of foreign warships in American waters to destroy shipping related to the present Spanish Government, which is recognized by our government.

Nye reminded the Senate of the fate of the *Mar Cantabrico*, a Spanish ship which sailed from New York in January 1937 with a cargo of food, medicines, and munitions (the last arms sold to the Republic before the Embargo was declared). The ship was torpedoed by a German submarine off the coast of Spain toward the end of the voyage.

During the entire time the ship was in American waters

[Nye told the Senate], it appears to have been spied upon by agents who were reporting to Garcia and Diaz in New York, who, in turn, were reporting to the higher-up agents of the General Franco forces.

The Senator had more than a complaint to lodge, however; he also had a suggestion. In the course of his investigation he discovered that, although both Garcia and Diaz had been in the United States for over thirty years, neither of them had become an American citizen. "They and their kind should be no part of us," Nye told his Senate colleagues. "It seems to me that Garcia and Diaz are engaged in activities that subject them most absolutely to deportation."

The Government took no action on this suggestion. But Garcia and Diaz did. On February 28, 1938, Manuel Diaz became an American citizen in the Federal Court of the Southern District of New York. On March 10, 1938, Marcelino Garcia was made an American citizen by the Eastern District Court of New York. Today, the Garcia and Diaz firm is the American agent for the notorious *Compañía Transatlantica Española*, Hitler's bridge of spies between occupied Europe and the Western Hemisphere.

About six months after the Casa de España was founded, the Nazis in Burgos sent José Gonzalez Marin to organize the Falange "shirt" cells in New York and Puerto Rico. The effeminate poetry reader, an "Old Shirt" of the Falange in Spain, gave several recitals at the Casa de España and then got down to the real business of his American tour.

Because of the widespread anti-Fascist sentiments of the American people, General von Faupel felt that it would be wiser to choose another name for the Falange in the United States. The name chosen was the Club Isabel y Fernando. Marin appointed José de Perignat, a Spaniard who lived at 500 West 144th St., Manhattan, chief of the New York Falange. Second and third in command were Antonio Gallego and Abelardo Campa. Most of the 700 members

of the Casa de España signed up with the formal Falange organization, but an hysterical speech Marin delivered at a secret meeting of the Club Isabel y Fernando sent the majority of them scurrying for the nearest exits. Marin, in his speech, declared that all who joined the Falange would have to return to Spain to bear arms on the front lines—and the prosperous Spanish importers and shipping men who formed a majority in the Casa de España got cold feet.

Only a hundred-odd fanatics remained in the Club Isabel y Fernando after Marin left for Puerto Rico. Burgos then ordered Alejandro Villanueva, the ranking Falange official in the Americas, to visit New York to correct this state of affairs.

Villanueva reached New York early in 1938. He promptly purchased a Packard roadster with Falange funds and began touring the brothels of New York. After a month of high living, Villanueva visited the Casa de España, where he addressed a secret session of the Club Isabel y Fernando for something like ten minutes. He had seen enough of New York to learn that if he ever ordered his Falangists to don blue shirts and appear in public like the uniformed Falangistas of Latin America, mayhem would be the mildest of the results. "Comaradas," he said, "I must depart for Havana at once. But carry on for our glorious cause despite what the Jewish-controlled press of America says about us." And with these parting words, Villanueva skipped to Havana.

There just was no place in the United States for the type of Falange organization Gonzalez Marin had tried to organize, and the practical Villanueva was the first to see this. In his report to the Falange in Burgos, however, Villanueva did not underestimate the effective job the Casa de España and its subsidiaries were doing for the Axis cause in Spain. Charles Coughlin's *Social Justice* had become in many respects a house organ for the Falange, and both the members and the publications of many native American Fascist groups were spreading the Franco propaganda widely.

The Casa de España worked very closely with Juan F.

Cardenas, who had held diplomatic posts under both the Spanish monarchy and the Spanish Republic. At the start of the Spanish War, Cardenas set up headquarters in New York's Ritz Carlton Hotel as the official representative of Francisco Franco. He was made an honorary member of the Casa de España, and, via orders received through the Italian Consulate in New York, he was able to guide the organization's destinies effectively.

The Casa ran special affairs two and three times each week. At one of these, held in 1938 at the School of the Franciscan Fathers, 300 West 16th Street, New York, they offered as a speaker Magistrate Sylvester Sabbatino, an old-line Tammany politico. Sabbatino delivered a long speech attacking the American authorities for their "persecution" of the Spanish Fascists. The affair is recalled here because it was so typical of the Casa activities during those days. At such affairs, and at "patriotic celebrations" sponsored by Fascist groups like the Christian Front and featuring Casa speakers like Marcelino Garcia, the Casa de España brought its propaganda to large bodies of Americans.

Casa leaders like Garcia also enjoyed close relations with Americans of the stripe of Merwin K. Hart, intimate of native American Fascist leaders and himself a spokesman for all the hate-England, hate-Roosevelt, and other reactionary causes. Hart made a trip to Franco Spain in 1938 and wrote a book about his experiences which left no doubt about where he stood in the war between the Spanish Republic and the armies of Germany and Italy. Hart's usefulness to the Falange in America was limited, however, to that lunatic fringe of the American Fascist movements. Few Americans outside of this lunatic fringe ever took Hart's words very seriously.

In direct contrast to Merwin K. Hart was the middle-aged and somewhat dipsomaniac Marquesa de Cienfuegos. The Falange organizations in America imported the Marquesa in 1938—and turned her loose on reporters, radio audiences, and paying guests at various Fascist rallies. They

sent her forth to modest duplex apartments on Park Avenue and to the most exclusive homes in the exclusive suburbs of many great American cities.

The Marquesa de Cienfuegos was everything that the local Falange could want in their dreams. She bore a noble name; fine for the Park Avenue trade. She was a native of Atlanta, Georgia, having been born plain Jane Anderson. This gave her story a neat American appeal. She had been jailed by the Spanish Republic in Madrid, and held there on charges of being a Franco agent. She won her freedom through the intervention of the American Embassy—and then went on tour to prove that the Spanish Government had not jailed her in error.

The Marquesa had rare oratorical talents. She clenched her fists, and closed her eyes, and sobbed with nearly every sentence. The effect, to detached observers who knew something of her past, was that of a small-time actress giving an imitation of Hitler and Eleanor Duse rolled into one. But to those who took her at her face value, the Marquesa de Cienfuegos was a sensation. Monsignor Fulton Sheehan of the Catholic University declared that the Marquesa was "one of the living martyrs" of history. The *Catholic Digest* described the Marquessa as "the world's greatest woman orator in the fight against communism."

The Marquesa regaled her listeners with blood curdling accounts of the doings of the Spanish Republicans—like her Falangist colleagues, she called them the Reds—and then went on to speak of the glories of Franco Spain. Millions of Americans read her words in their newspapers—the Marquesa got a good press—and the fact that she was just a simple Georgia girl added credibility to her claims. Thousands were swayed by her act on the public platforms, and hundreds of influential Americans who sat through informal dinner parties with her were completely sold on the Franco cause by the American-born noblewoman who had suffered so cruelly at the hands of the "Reds."

After the Spanish War, the Marquesa de Cienfuegos disappeared from the American scene. But her words were

not to be lost to American ears. Shortly after the second phase of World War II started in Warsaw, the Marquesa turned up in the real capital of Spain—Berlin. Here, as plain Jane Anderson, the Georgia cracker gal, the tear-jerking Marquesa continued her career along logical lines. Seated before a microphone in the Nazi short-wave sending station, Jane Anderson started to make regular broadcasts to her native land in Georgia English.

These broadcasts continued after Pearl Harbor, but now they were made more often. During the first week of January 1942, Jane Anderson made four separate broadcasts to her native land. The broadcasts had a familiar ring to them. To her many friends in America, plain Jane Anderson shrieked that the entry of the United States into the war was part of a Jewish plot to save the necks of Joseph Stalin and the International Bankers. Her other broadcasts were all in this vein.

Jane Anderson's success as a Nazi short-wave radio speaker won her a new noble title—one she acquired without marrying another nobleman. The newspapers unanimously chose to call Jane Anderson Lady Haw-Haw. The Government of the United States, in January 1943, chose to indict Plain Jane de Cienfuegos Haw-Haw Anderson along with other "radio traitors" like Ezra Pound, Robert Best, and Fred Kaltenbach. If this "living martyr" ever does return to her own, her native land, it will be as a federal prisoner.

But in 1938, when Jane Anderson toured the United States for the Falange, she was able to play a highly important part in the Axis campaign to keep the State Department from lifting the embargo on arms to the Spanish Republic—a step that many Americans in all walks of life were demanding of their government. Perhaps, next to the versatile Garcia and Diaz, the future Lady Haw-Haw was the one person who accomplished the most for the Falange Exterior in the United States during the organization's first period. For in the United States, as in Latin America, General von Faupel had planned for the Falange to go through

three distinct periods: the organization and propaganda period ending with the triumph at Madrid, the period of tightening and preparation between the victory at Madrid and the bombing of Warsaw, and finally the period of maximum effort.

The second period of the Falange in the United States got off with a grand flourish. The battered body of the Spanish Republic was still warm when the United States recognized the Franco gang as the legal government of Spain. Even as the victorious Fascists started organizing firing-squad parties in Spain, the gates of the United States were swung wide open by a considerate State Department for a veritable army of Falange agents bearing diplomatic passports.

Juan F. Cardenas was accepted as Spanish Ambassador to the United States. The Falangistas in Madrid assigned Miguel Echegaray to the Embassy in Washington to supervise the real work of the Spanish diplomatic corps in the United States. Echegaray was given the nominal title of Agricultural Attaché. Then to check on both Echegaray and Cardenas, General von Faupel sent Colonel Sierra to Washington as Military Attaché. Sierra's real job was Chief of Spanish Military Intelligence for the United States.

Timid Daniel Danis, the new Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington, was detailed to handle one of the most confidential jobs in the Legation. Danis was the contact man between Cardenas and Augustin Ibañez Serrano, the Falange Exterior Chief in Mexico. He worked out a system early in his career of maintaining this liaison through the Portuguese Legation in Washington. It was Danis who arranged for Ibañez Serrano to get an office in the Portuguese Embassy in Mexico City. Because of his extreme caution, Danis decided to use third persons for most necessary trips between Ibañez Serrano and Washington. Most of these couriers were girls, one of them being the daughter of a Mexican general.

The Spanish Consulate in New York became an impor-

tant Falange outpost in the Americas. Miguel Espinos, the current Consul General, is a completely pro-Axis Fascist who has previously worked for the Falange in Manila and in Havana. One of the friends he sees very often today is Andres Soriano, the powerful associate of the Philippine Falange who serves as Secretary of Treasury in the Philippine government-in-exile. Another intimate of Espinos's is José Maria Casabo, personal representative of Francisco Cambo. Señor Cambo heads Chade, the international public utilities corporation whose ties with corporations in Rome, Berlin, Lisbon, and Buenos Aires bulked so importantly during the Spanish War.

Under Espinos, the Consulate in New York started to work overtime for the Axis. Juan Adriensens, one of the earliest organizers of the Falange in Cuba, was brought to New York and installed as Vice-Consul. He and Antonio Mendez de Quiros, the new Counselor of the Consulate, were put in charge of direct contact with the Falange in the United States.

Adriensens tried to continue the organization of the "shirt" Falange where Gonzalez Marin had left off. He began holding regular clandestine meetings with Falange Chief José de Perignat.

The most efficient Falangista in the New York Consulate is Joaquin Sunyé. A protégé of the Count de Güell, Sunyé takes his orders directly from Echegaray in Washington. Sunyé helped organize much economic support for the Franco regime, assuming the post of secretary of the Spanish Chamber of Commerce to aid his efforts along these lines. His brothers are powerful officials of the *Compañía Transatlántica* in Spain.

On the Pacific Coast, the Consulate was staffed with men highly acceptable to General von Faupel. The Consul General in San Francisco is Francisco de Amat, a cousin of the Philippine Resident Commissioner in Washington, Octavio Elizalde. His Vice-Consul, Captain José Martin, played a major share in the organization of the Falange fronts on the Pacific Coast. The confidential liaison work between

de Amat and the Embassy in Washington is handled by Maria Arrillaga, who carries messages that can not be entrusted to the mails.

Before the Republic fell to the Axis troops, the Falange maintained a formal propaganda service in the United States. The Cardenas "Junta" published an elaborate magazine in English, *Spain*, and operated a bureau known as the Peninsular News Service.

Sunyé converted the magazine into the official publication of the Spanish Government, and made Larcegui head of Peninsular News Service. But this was not in line with von Faupel's more ambitious plans. Larcegui's amorous life made him a bit unreliable for the major job of running all Falangist propaganda in the United States. Before many months had passed, Madrid sent Gaytan de Ayala, a rotund and heavy-drinking "Old Shirt," to Sunyé.

The newly arrived de Ayala was given diplomatic standing as an attaché of the Embassy. Under Sunyé's immediate supervision, de Ayala opened a separate office in New York called the Spanish Library of Information. This new bureau took over the duties of the Peninsular News Service, the publication of *Spain*, and the other propaganda tasks of the Falange Exterior in the United States.

The Falange had an existing mailing list for its propaganda when Ayala reached the United States. It had been compiled by the Casa de España and its various offshoots. Agents of General von Faupel immediately arranged for this list to be amplified by a still larger list—that of the German Library of Information in New York. Subscribers—paid and free—to the publications George Sylvester Viereck was putting out for the German propaganda office began to receive *Spain* and other publications of the Spanish propaganda bureau. Further to cement the friendship between Madrid and Berlin, people on the old Falange propaganda lists began to receive publications of the German Library of Information.

Larcegui, who was retained as assistant to de Ayala, started a new service devoted to Central American affairs.

He established independent headquarters in the Hotel Lincoln in New York and operated the Inter-American News Service—a convenient blind for his real activities.

Under Ayala's supervision, the Falange published or subsidized the following organs:

Spain. This was a most expensively printed monthly magazine, crammed with pictures, and devoted mainly to propaganda about the marvels Franco was accomplishing in Falangist Spain. It was written in English.

Cara al Sol (Face to the Sun). The name is taken from the anthem of the Falange. A Spanish-language weekly, it was listed in the official handbooks of the Falange in Madrid as the official organ of the Falange in the United States.

España Nueva (New Spain). A Spanish language monthly, edited by A. F. Arguelles. Mailing address P. O. Box 84, Station W., New York City. Violently pro-Axis, anti-Semitic, anti-British. Although on the surface a private venture, it was supported by advertisements from the Spanish Consulate, Spanish banks, and other enterprises of the Spanish Government.

Epoca. Another Spanish magazine, published at 1775 Broadway, New York City, by Rafael O. Galvan. *Epoca* received similar subsidies through de Ayala.

In addition to these periodicals, the Spanish Library of Information published hundreds of pamphlets and brochures which received wide distribution both through the mailing lists at De Ayala's disposal and through the schools and colleges of the land.

Under the Cardenas unofficial Junta, *Spain* had employed a bombastic adventurer named John Eoghan Kelly as a writer on military and historical subjects. Kelly, who held a captain's commission in the United States Army Reserves, cut quite a swath in the lunatic fringe of the native American fascist movements.

Son of a German mother and an Irish nationalist father, Kelly was trained as an engineer. During the last World War, he was in Mexico, he claims, as a "civilian attached

to Military Intelligence," but his former wife has a less charitable version of why Kelly spent the war in Mexico as a civilian.

Early in the Spanish War, Kelly popped up in New York as one of the glamour boys of the Franco camp. With Merwin K. Hart and Allen Zoll, he served on the board of the American Union for Nationalist Spain. Kelly, in fact, was the secretary of this Franco group.

Before this, he had maintained an engineering office at 17 Battery Place, New York. Here he had met a German named Buelow, who introduced him to the Steuben Society. Kelly started to move in circles which included native American Fascists like George Deatherage, Van Horn Mosely, and James Campbell. He became a Lieutenant in the United States Army Reserves, and subsequently won two promotions in rank. When the charter papers of the Christian Front were filed with the New York State Supreme Court, the name of John Eoghan Kelly was registered as one of the organizers.

During the three years of the Spanish War, Kelly made a number of trips to Spain and Germany. On May 22, 1939, Kelly was introduced at a Brooklyn Christian Front meeting as a "representative of the Spanish Government."

When Merwin K. Hart wanted to go to the Franco zone during the Spanish War, he found himself halted by the fact that his passport had been stamped "not valid in Spain." Hart managed to get to Spain and even wrote a book about his trip. Not included in the book was a certain letter written on his behalf to the Passport Division of the State Department. The letter explained that Hart wanted to go to Franco territory and concluded:

I would greatly appreciate any help that you can give Mr. Hart and have asked him to convey my personal regards.

This letter was signed by John Eoghan Kelly.

In 1938 Kelly started to write for the Peninsular News Service, the propaganda agency of the Franco *Junta* in New

York. He spoke at scores of Fascist rallies, and became a leader in the Falangist campaign to keep the United States from lifting the arms embargo applied against the Spanish Republic. He wrote for *Spain*, and, after the triumph of the Nazis in Spain, received a fee from the Spanish Library of Information of twenty-five dollars for every Franco meeting he attended. Although the Spanish Library and its chief, Gaytan de Ayala, were registered with the State Department as paid agents of foreign powers, Kelly never registered.

Kelly's activities led to his being dropped from the Army Reserves in 1941, after he had attained the rank of major. On March 1, 1943, John Eoghan Kelly was arrested by the F. B. I. in California following a federal grand jury indictment in Washington. The jury charged that Kelly had failed to register as an agent of the Fascist Spanish Government. In announcing Kelly's arrest, Special Agent Nat J. L. Perrin said that Kelly had made "defeatist" statements in California—where he had operated a mine—and had tried to talk two young Americans out of joining the Army.

The Fascist character of *Spain* and other Falangist publications in the United States was never disguised. Openly, firmly, at times arrogantly, the Falangist organs in the United States attacked democracy, American institutions, and our defense outposts.

On the subject of fascism, *Spain* has printed some very explicit statements.

Fascism is at least theistic and it respects and promotes the values of religious institutions. . . . The Fascist dictatorship, which respects individual liberty and dignity, private property and savings, the family and the nation, morals and religion, inserts itself in an ordered civilization.

In still another issue, *Spain* carried these words:

Authentic fascism establishes order, invokes unity of destiny and gathers together all the vital forces of a people.

Only a few months before Pearl Harbor, *Spain*, like all Falangist publications in Spain and Latin America, sneered at American influences in the Philippines. The issue of September 1941 carried a story on the Philippines which said, among other things:

It is a seat of Hispanicism and as such should receive the attention of our greatest intellectuals. Today the entire University [Santo Tomás] has come under the spiritual and symbolic rectorate of the Caudillo of Spain. By having rescued culture from barbarism, he made a peace with his sword for the continued flowering of the sciences, letters, and the arts.

At the time this was written, Caudillo Franco's chief representative in the Philippines was José del Castano—who was then very busily engaged in preparing the way for the Japanese allies of the Caudillo.

The weekly publication of the Spanish Library of Information, *Cara al Sol*, was openly acknowledged to be the official organ of the Falange in the United States. Each issue bore the yoke and arrows emblem of the Falange, and the official orders of the Falange Exterior were always carried in this magazine.

An editorial in *Cara al Sol* which typifies all of the editorials the magazine carried was the lead editorial of the February 25, 1939, issue. This began with these words:

Our movement is not democratic; it is rather the greatest opposition that can be raised up against democracy. The democracies need, in order to "fulfill" the will of the people, to bother them with continuous calls to drop papers in voting urns. . . .

Shortly after this editorial ran, *Cara al Sol* ran an article by Rafael Sanchez Mazas, then chief of the Falange Exterior. This article ran not only in *Cara al Sol*, but in every other official organ of the Falange Exterior from *Avance* in Puerto Rico to *Arriba* in Argentina. (The italics are mine.)

The Falange from its center, from its heart, is born and grows like the spiral of the Empire. *At least a third of the great work, the total work, of the Falange lies with you of the foreign service.*

This appeared shortly after *Cara al Sol* editorialized:

It is indispensable that the good Spaniards who live outside of Spain, without class distinctions, impose on themselves the obligation of aiding in the aggrandizement of Spain.

The significance of the "third of the total work" Mazas mentioned and the "aggrandizement of Spain" was further amplified by *Cara al Sol* in a subsequent issue.

Our missionary labor has begun. Spanish America again turns its eyes to us and again on the other side of the Atlantic there are bent knees for the triumph of Franco. The race has heard once more the voice of God, and Hispanidad, aware of its historic mission, is again on the march behind the proud banners of national-syndicalism. . . . It is now the work of the Falange to unify the desires of those millions of Spaniards who, far from the Motherland, feel . . . in their souls the pride of our old glory; and to . . . shout to the world that our jurisprudence, our industry, and our spiritual influence have the right of hegemony over a third of the earth. . . . Hundreds of thousands of Blue Shirts scattered over the continents demand this with their arms raised in salute, their faces to the sun, and in each corner a flag with the Yoke and Arrows . . . speaks of the imperial mission of Spain. This is the essential function of the Foreign Service of Falange, and this is our arduous missionary task.

Such editorials never affected the security of the United States proper. But *Cara al Sol* reached many Spaniards in America who took it to heart. What such sentiments, once accepted by their readers, meant to our security when the "imperial mission of Spain" clashed with the armed forces of the United States in Manila after Pearl Harbor is something else again.

The sentiments expressed in *Spain* and in *Cara al Sol* were, however, very mild beside the fiery words flung by *España Nueva*, the privately owned monthly supported by paid advertising from the Spanish Consulate, the Spanish Library of Information, Spanish banks, the National Spanish Relief Association, and similar clients.

From *España Nueva* its readers learned that Pan-Americanism is "of Jewish and Protestant origin." Speaking of the war, *España Nueva* declared:

If among the results of the present war we can count the appearance of a world free from the Jewish press in place of the perpetuation of the Jewish free press, European blood will not have been shed in vain.

The Jewish problem, in fact, has long been one of *España Nueva's* greatest worries. Like the Nazis, the men behind this New York magazine feel it incumbent upon themselves to protect all Americans from the Jews. *España Nueva* makes its reasons for fearing the press quite clear. In no uncertain terms, it wrote—and these writings were carried through the United States mails and distributed free of charge by the Spanish Library of Information to thousands of American high school students—editorials like the following:

The Jewish press, whose mission is none other than Marxist and Bolshevik propaganda, personifies the international clique which applauds or hisses at Moscow's command. The champions of Stalin, those who conferred Zionist honors on Roosevelt, those who take tea with Mrs. Roosevelt, those who applauded the robbers of the Spanish treasury and the assassins of the Spanish people must logically attack and defame Franco and the ideals he personifies.

This particular outburst was brought on by an article in that organ of international Marxism and Bolshevism known as "the New York Times."

España Nueva, however, also carried messages of cheer

for its readers. If it exposed the nefarious plots of the Jews, it also pointed the solution to these plots. In the March 1940 issue, A. Sanchez Saavedra wrote:

The Jewish chain, in order to shackle with efficiency and to continue deceiving the universe, needs to maintain intact all its links. Fortunately, the appearance of Hitler on the political and diplomatic scene has pulverized the Jewish-German link and whatever may be the outcome of the present war, the world is witnessing the last act of the great Jewish farce.

This and other issues of *España Nueva* were among the thousands of pieces of Falangist propaganda the Spanish Library of Information sent, without charge, to hundreds of Spanish teachers in American high schools. On such tidbits of the language, thousands of American high-school students learned Spanish.

Although all of these publications reached Falangist sympathizers on the Pacific coast, they were supplemented by a Los Angeles publication—*Boletín de la Casa de España*. It was published by an organization larger than the New York Casa de España.

California's Casa de España was founded in 1937 by Gregorio del Amo, a wealthy Spaniard who had long been an intimate of Francisco de Amat, Franco's Consul General in San Francisco. The Casa worked very closely with local native fascist organizations, and its thousand-odd members were guided by instructions emanating from the Casa de España of New York, the Spanish Library of Information, and the Spanish Legation. Their Bulletin, whose editors were never named, was one of the most violently anti-British and anti-Democratic organs in the United States.

The other groups of Falangistas in the United States had no publications of their own. These included the Club Isabel y Fernando, of Boston; the Renovación Española, organized and led by Marcos Garcia in San Francisco; and small centers in Tampa, Houston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other ports touched by Spanish ships. Falangistas in these

cities were kept informed largely through the publications of the Spanish Library of Information.

The propaganda of the Falange in America has been aided no little by David Rubio, Curator of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress. Rubio wrote often for *Spain*, and his official position lent great weight to his articles. He is no stranger at the Spanish Embassy. In fact, he was one of the speakers at the ceremonies held in Washington when Juan Cardenas formally took over the Legation's building. Wrote *Cara al Sol* at the time:

Then Father Rubio spoke, praising the Motherland and its civilizing work, with which the spiritual Empire of our race was founded—the Empire that caused the material and spiritual reconquest of Spain itself, center of Hispanidad, by the glorious troops of the Generalissimo and Caudillo of Spain.

If *Cara al Sol's* rhapsodic phrases are an accurate reflection of Rubio's remarks on that day, his appointment to the Library of Congress post raises some interesting questions. The Hispanic Foundation was organized to spearhead the American effort to establish closer cultural relations with Latin America. It must, of necessity, combat the efforts of the Falangist propagandists who have been painting the United States as the enemy of culture in the Spanish-speaking countries of the Western Hemisphere. It must, by virtue of its sponsorship, uphold the banners of democracy in the war against fascism. The standard bearers of fascism in Latin America are led by the Falange Española. And Rubio was an open and acknowledged Falange partisan. *Qué passe?*

While Falange propaganda poured from all of its many outlets in the United States, other Franco activities attracted little attention. Lopez Ferrer and Captain Julio de la Torre, who made tours for the Falange in the early days of the Spanish War, visited the Casa de España in New York in 1937. They had little difficulty in getting visas.

Later, Carlos Montoya, a guitarist who had served as secretary of the Falange in Paris, transferred his activities to the Casa de España in New York. The dancer Manuel del Rio—now in Berlin with his entire troupe—joined Montoya in the New York club.

Many Casa members often enjoyed outings at the Alpine, New Jersey, estate of Manuel Rionda.

But the activities of Dr. Ramon Castroviejo, Vice-President of the Casa de España, were the most interesting of all. An excellent ophthalmologist, Castroviejo was one of the charter members of the Casa. He made many trips to Latin America, combining medical with political business quite neatly. The Falange of Puerto Rico turned out en masse to honor him at a dinner in San Juan in 1938. In each Latin-American country Castroviejo visited, he was always feted by the local Falange.

In 1941 Castroviejo started a new magazine, *América Clínica*. Written in Spanish, distributed mainly in Latin America, the magazine had the backing of Laboratorios Andromaco of Barcelona—a German-owned chemical firm.

The editor of *América Clínica* was an up and coming young man named Enrique Cervantes. During the Spanish War, the Republicans caught and jailed Cervantes for espionage. Upon his release from prison, Cervantes made his way to the United States. Despite his record, he had no difficulty in gaining admission to the country. The Falange in New York welcomed him to its bosom as a hero of the war.

New York's Park Central Hotel, headquarters for the Casa de España, became the stopping place for all Falange agents in transit from Spain to Latin America. To the Park Central, in November 1941, came the Number One man of Falange espionage in the Atlantic—the notorious Miguel Barcelo Martinez. Traveling as usual as the chief radio operator of a Spanish C. T. E. liner, the much-hunted "Camarada Martinez" reached New York on the *Marqués de Comillas*.

In Martinez's party was a delegation of important Spanish Falange officials en route to Peru for the Falange-inspired

celebration of the 400th anniversary of the conquests of Pizarro. The delegation was led by the chief of the National Council of the Falange in Spain, José Maria Areliza, and also included three official representatives of the Spanish Army, the Spanish Navy and the Spanish Air Force—the Duke of San Lorenzo, Captain Francisco Regalado and Colonel Francisco Iglesias Brage.

Although Martínez's presence was kept quiet, the presence of the official delegation was made known to the press. Alarmed Spanish Republicans, patriotic Protestant laymen like H. Rutledge Southworth, and publications like the newspaper *PM* correctly saw the delegation as a danger signal to the progress of Pan-Americanism and the Good Neighbor Policy.

PM, which revealed that the delegation consisted principally of members of the Council of Hispanidad, quoted *Arriba*, official organ of the Falange in Madrid to the effect that:

The Council represents the ambitious foreign policy of Spain in its most vital sense.

And then *PM* went on to say: "Why the State Department should have given them permission to enter this country, even in transit, is one of those diplomatic mysteries that ought not to remain unsolved until it is too late."

Warnings like these fell on seemingly deaf ears. Even the publication (by *PM*) of the official orders naming José del Castano as Regional Chief of the Philippine Falange Exterior caused hardly a ripple in the Washington calm—although this warning was published less than a month before Pearl Harbor.

The Japanese bombs which fell on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, had their immediate effect on the Falange and its branches in the United States.

In Washington, a new sign went up on the white gates of

the Spanish Embassy. It read: "SPANISH EMBASSY: IN CHARGE OF JAPANESE INTERESTS." Few signs have ever revealed more truths in fewer words.

Before Pearl Harbor, Miguel Echegaray, the "Agricultural Attaché" of the Spanish Embassy, took a trip to the Pacific coast. He left for the West immediately after Ambassador Cardenas returned from an emergency trip to Madrid.

Echegaray's visit was described, officially, as a pleasure trip. Actually, his trip was made in connection with one of the most important aspects of the Axis espionage network in the United States. Prior to America's entry into the war, confidential Axis correspondence reached Europe via the Spanish diplomatic pouches. With the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the Nazi masters of Spain feared that the Spanish diplomatic pouches would lose some of their immunity—particularly when cleared through the British censorship station at Bermuda. The Nazis, therefore, arranged for new routes for confidential papers clearing through the Spanish Legation. Echegaray's job was to establish these new routes.

Before Pearl Harbor, confidential communications from the military chief of the Spanish espionage network in Central America—Colonel Sanz Agero, Spanish Minister to Guatemala—cleared through Washington via the Spanish Consulate in San Francisco. After Echegaray's visit to San Francisco, Sanz Agero's reports were sent to General von Faupel via Sangroniz, the Spanish Minister to Venezuela.

The most important communications of the Spanish network were placed on this same route. They now leave Washington via courier to San Francisco, and then find their way to Madrid and Berlin via Guatemala and Venezuela. When greater speed is needed, the Falange communicates with Nazi Europe via the diplomatic pouches of Finland and Portugal. The Spanish pouches which still go from Washington to Madrid via the old pre-Pearl Harbor routes contain little material of vital importance.

While these arrangements were being made by the Falange legations, the Casas de España of Los Angeles and

New York were suddenly dissolved. Just as the Falange of Puerto Rico—frightened by the prospects of United States participation in the war against the Axis—quietly and officially folded its tents, the main Falange groups in the United States mistook Pearl Harbor for the handwriting on the wall. Franco's Spanish Blue Legions in Russia, the speeches of Franco and all of the Falange leaders in Madrid, and the open Fascist line the Falangist publications had followed in the United States up to Pearl Harbor led most Casa members to presume logically that within weeks of the Pearl Harbor attack Axis Spain would make its war on the United Nations an official one.

The Club Isabel y Fernando—most fanatical of the Falange cells in New York—did not disband. This group continued to hold meetings on Thursday nights at the Reno Café, 154 West 145th Street, New York. Headed by José de Perignat, Jr., these shirted Falangistas (their uniform, incidentally, is confined to blue undershirts) have continued their activities to this day.

As in Manila and Puerto Rico, the Falangistas and their closest collaborators rushed into every type of Civilian Defense and civilians' military service organization.

Benito Collado, charter member of the Casa de España and one of the leaders of the Franco movement in America, became a member of the New York City Recreation Committee. He joined the Red Cross, along with Casa members like Lucrezia Bori and with Falangist Spaniards like Ramon Salo Munoz, personal representative of Count Vallengano, head of the Spanish Red Cross. Collado's night club, El Chico, began giving free tickets to service men through the U.S.O.—and service men are still relaxing and drinking in this hangout for local and visiting Falangists from Spain.

The Condesa Santa Cruz de los Manueles, former wife of del Amo, and herself a member of the Casa de España, wormed her regal way into the Asociación Cultural Inter-Americana, which has been raising money to buy ambulances for American armed forces. Gaspar Mediavilla, an-

other Casa member, is active in the Comité Hispano Pro Defensa Nacional.

Not all Casa de España members in defense work are volunteers, however. Many outspoken partisans of Axis Spain today hold important civilian war jobs. There is, for instance, Alberto Cugat, a native of Catalonia. A member of Casa de España, Cugat got himself a job as chief of the Spanish Branch, Political and International Division, Postal Censorship. Cugat, who is stationed in New York, supervises the work of a whole section of censors.

Other Casa de España members employed as censors in the New York Post Office include Bernabe Solis, a native of the Philippines; Ricardo Mendoza; and Roberto Forbes. Mendoza was the editor of *Cara al Sol*, official organ of the Falange Exterior in the United States. Forbes, a Spanish-born American citizen, also owns the Eagle Travel Agency, of New York. Through this Agency, he is always well informed about various ship movements.

The official English organ of the Spanish Library of Information, *Spain*, ceased publication in February 1942. It was replaced by a mimeographed weekly news bulletin which lasted about three months. Then this bulletin ceased publication, and Gaytan de Ayala started to make preparations to close his office and transfer its activities to Washington.

This retrenchment, however, was not one of cadres. In fact, shortly after Pearl Harbor, the Falange dispatched one of the most important of its propagandists from Madrid to New York. This man, Francisco de Lucientes, was the chief editorial writer of *Arriba*, the official organ of the Falange in Madrid. In Spain, the official papers often called Lucientes the "Virginio Gayda of Spain."

Suddenly, in December 1941, Lucientes appeared in New York Harbor as a passenger on an incoming liner. Although his papers were in order—his credentials, incidentally, showed him to be the new American correspondent of EFE, Franco Spain's official news agency—he was taken to Ellis Island and held for deportation.

Lucientes's deportation had immediate diplomatic repercussions. The Spanish Government threatened to expel every American correspondent from Spain if Lucientes were not admitted to the United States. Juan Cardenas, the Spanish Ambassador, had to make a special plea to the State Department to get the Falangist editor admitted.

Once allowed to enter the country, Lucientes began to divide his time between New York and Washington. He made Francisco Larcegui his chief assistant, and they started to send daily one thousand word cables to Madrid. Why so important a Falange writer holds so minor a post is a question that time alone will answer—perhaps the clue to his real role in the United States lies in the communications he exchanges regularly with José Ignacio Ramos, press attaché of the Spanish Embassy in Buenos Aires.

These moves were in line with the post-Pearl Harbor reorganization of the Falange on an active, belligerent war basis. A confidential report submitted by a responsible source to our government early in 1942 described the Falange organization in the United States in these words:

The Falangists act by the cell system. They are also divided into First, Second, and Third Line. Each of these lines have their work marked out. Each of these lines are split into groups of five men, of whom one is the leader. The orders are received by the Regional Chief, who in turn transmits them to the local chiefs. . . . In the Spanish Consulates, there is a Falangist responsible for transmitting orders to the local and the Regional chiefs. In New York, this person is Juan Adriansens, the Vice-Consul; he is sometimes replaced by the Chancellor, Mendez Quiros. In the Spanish Embassy in Washington, there are many men with this mission. There is Miguel Echegaray, Mr. Gortaza, Mr. Nunez, and Colonel Sierra, who is also in charge of the Secret Service. Gortaza is in charge of direct relations with the Japanese. Gortaza and Nunez are connected with the Falange groups in Mexico. They use young ladies for liaison work with the Mexican Falange cells.

This reorganization was accompanied by the establish-

ment of a complete espionage network covering all ports in the United States. Falange agents on water-front assignments make their reports either to their Falange chiefs or to officers of visiting Spanish vessels who take their orders from Miguel Barcelo Martinez.

Among the Falange agents now in our ports permanently are men like José Gómez and Julio Torres. Gómez (alias Conacha) was a spy for Franco in Spain during the Spanish War. He now works out of New York with Torres, a former sailor who lives in the Puerto Rican section of Harlem. Both Torres and Gomez, who have no visible means of support, are always well dressed and well supplied with funds. They frequent bars used by seamen of all nations in the New York area. One of their regular hangouts is the International Bar on South Street, opposite the New York and Cuba Mail Pier. They mingle regularly with Italian long-shoremen in Brooklyn and with known members of the Christian Front on the New York water front. At least once a week they tour the bars frequented by sailors on tankers plying out of Bayonne, New Jersey—the Standard Oil refining and shipping center.

Other Falangistas in American ports are occupied primarily with the task of smuggling vital and embargoed war materials to Spain. On at least two occasions, the United States Government has had to arrest Franco partisans for illegally sending aid to the Axis via Spanish ships.

The Spanish freighter *Isla de Tenerife*, operated by a Spanish company, was seized in New York on December 15, 1941, by federal agents as it was about to sail with a cargo of lubricating oil, airplane silk, and enough radio parts to build fifty powerful short-wave transmitting stations. These war materials were being taken out of the country in violation of the export-control provisions of the Neutrality Act.

José Alberti and Eduardo Fernando, captain and radio operator of the ship, were arrested. Marcelino Garcia and Manuel Diaz, representatives of the shipping line, and José Mayorga, a shipping broker, were placed under bond.

The materials had been listed in the manifest as "ship's

stores." Garcia and Diaz were cleared of the charges when the Federal Attorney admitted that the government had no evidence to prove that they were directly implicated. Mayorga and the two ship's officers were fined \$1000 each, the shipping line had to pay fines and penalties totalling \$22,000, and the war materials were confiscated.

Less than a year later, the F. B. I. announced that the captain of the Spanish liner *Motomar* and four other men in Baltimore and New York had been arrested on charges of smuggling platinum out of the United States. In addition to the captain and the first mate of the C. T. E. liner, the F. B. I. arrested three Spaniards in New York—Dr. Juan Tomas Bareno, Manuel Rodríguez, headwaiter at the Park Central Hotel and member of the Casa de España, and Juan Gallego, a shipping man and leader of the Franco forces in New York.

What Gallego never knew was that some of his Casa de España *camaradas* who also happened to be his business rivals had had more than a little to do with his arrest.

Early in 1943, the F. B. I. ended the American career of Francisco Larcegui, dean of the Falange agents in the United States. Without consulting the State Department, the F. B. I. quietly saw to it that Larcegui departed for Madrid. The Falangista left behind a mistress employed by a government bureau and a host of fellow Spanish Falangistas still enjoying the hospitality of the United States. But he left with the certain knowledge that if he tries to return to the United States during the war he will wind up in a federal prison. He is now believed to be in Argentina. But his old superior, Francisco Lucientes, is still functioning in Washington.

The Falange in the United States, at this writing, is still an effective organization—doing Hitler's work with what amounts to immunity, and doing it well. Its chief strength lies in the diplomatic immunity the Falange legations continue to enjoy. Outside of Larcegui, none of the other key Falangist agents has been molested. Against the diplo-

matic immunity the leading Falangistas enjoy, the excellent work of the F. B. I. and of Army and Navy Intelligence is almost completely wasted. Only the end of diplomatic relations with Hitler Spain can seriously affect the machinations of the Falange Exterior in the United States.

Yet even the breach of diplomatic relations with Franco might be somewhat nullified in a strange manner.

Early in 1941 an individual named Augustin Guitierrez de Balbontin, or the Marqués de Aguiar, arrived in Washington on a British passport. The Marqués registered with the State Department as the official representative of the Catholic and the Royalist parties of Spain. His mission, he told reporters, was to win American aid in a movement to throw Franco out of power. To replace Franco, the Marqués proposed to restore the old Spanish monarchy.

To reporters, the Marqués conveyed information which had long been known to all governments. He revealed that the Falange, directed by Berlin, was working actively in Latin America. He revealed that, since November 1940, there had been at least twelve German divisions in Spain. He even described the Nazi military installations in the Canary Islands and in Spanish Morocco.

The Marqués sounded like a man who meant business. Spanish Republicans, however, refused to throw their hats into the air and cheer. Guided primarily by the knowledge that Republican opponents of Franco had less chance of getting United States visas than lepers, they began a quiet investigation of the Marqués.

A slight probe revealed that the royal title claimed by the distinguished visitor was not Spanish but Portuguese. It further disclosed that the last person to hold the title of Marqués de Aguiar in the twentieth century was Prince Dom Luis de Portugal. Dom Luis married Donna Maria de Mendoza. They had one son, who died while very young—thereby extinguishing the title.

On closer investigation, the claims of the gentleman in Washington began to seem as dubious as his title.

About the only thing that could be learned about the

man in Washington was that he was the probable owner of a large estate in Rapallo, Italy. In 1942 he visited Mexico accompanied by an officer of the British Intelligence Service. In Washington he joins the Falangistas in damning the Spanish Republic and talks about recruiting a legion of Spanish Royalists to fight against the Axis.

The Marqués, and his agent in Mexico—"the Marqués de Castellón" born Luis Sevilla—seem to have won acceptance as the official opposition to Franco. In the light of events like the Darlan deal in North Africa, there would seem to be a real danger that in such "opposition forces" we can see the germ of a new appeasement scheme being devised by the State Department.

On paper, the anti-Franco statements of men like the Marqués de Aguiar sound good. But it must never be forgotten that the parties the Marqués says he represents formed the Spanish part of the Axis armies in the Spanish War. It was they who plotted with the Nazis to overthrow the Republic, and it is they who enjoy all the privileges of trusted Quislings in Spain today. They live well, they eat surpassingly well, and they have regained each of the privileges they had lost under the Republic. There is no reason why they should rise against Franco—unless Hitler orders such a rising.

Remember always that Hitler's chief use of Spain in this war is a source of oil and other supplies, and as a base of operations for spies and agents. To maintain these values, Hitler will not hesitate for one moment to sacrifice Franco for another puppet government which will perform the same services for him in Spain.

Reviving the Spanish monarchy might well turn out to be one of Hitler's trump cards in Spain. The Spanish Monarchists themselves—the huge landowners and industrialists—could continue to serve the Axis, and the Falangistas could simply change their uniforms. They know the art of changing uniforms well. In fact, José Maria Alfaro—who arrived in Washington as a member of Marqués de Aguiar's "offi-

cial" Monarchist mission in 1941—subsequently turned up at a Nazi congress in Weimar, Germany, in November 1942. Alfaro and Ernesto Gimenez Caballero spoke as official representatives of the Spanish Falange at this congress.

The Marqués and his Mexican agent spread many stories about dissension in the Spanish Army. They are the source of endless rumors about Spanish generals becoming dissatisfied with Franco, angry at the Nazis, and anxious to assume the mantles of the Spanish Girauds and Peyroutons. These stories would sound better if Spanish generals were not now commanding Axis troops on the Russian front and doing Hitler's police work in Spain. They would sound still better if they did not come on the heels of similar rumors from Germany.

During the first World War, we heard similar tales about the German generals turning on the Kaiser. But after that war, the German generals destroyed the Weimar Republic and organized Hitler's armies. Even before the beginning of World War II, the Nazis were starting whispering campaigns abroad about dissension between the generals of the old *Reichswehr* and the Nazis. These whispers rise to a shrill crescendo every time the Allies slap another German army around. But somehow the Nazi legions never seem to lack for Junker generals.

On the heels of these rumors, the stories about the dissatisfaction of Franco's generals have an all too familiar *Reichswehr* ring. But then, it is a *Reichswehr* general who runs Spain today. His name, lest we ever forget it, is General Wilhelm von Faupel.

The Marqués de Aguiar, despite the dubiousness of his title, might be perfectly sincere. But he is admittedly the representative of those Spanish parties which joined with Hitler to destroy the Spanish Republic and bring Spain into the Axis. He is admittedly still an enemy of the only Spaniards who stood up and fought the Axis invasion of the Spanish Republic. His toleration by the State Department must therefore be classed as one of the most disturbing

aspects of the Spanish picture today. If he does succeed in winning the support of London and Washington, we will find ourselves backing the creation of a Spanish government composed of just those Spaniards who have made the Falange a menace to our security as a nation.

Womb of Postwar Fascism

THE FALANGE EXTERIOR is the "Auslands division" of Hitler's Spanish-speaking offensive against the United Nations. In this book we have seen the way the Falange Exterior operates in the Latin-American lands closest to our own borders, in the United States itself, in the Philippines, and—briefly—on the continent of South America. We have seen the Falange Exterior for what it is—a vast, organized, and highly dangerous Axis Fifth Column poised to strike in full force at the first word from the German High Command.

But what of Falangist Spain itself? Does Spain hold the same degree of menace for the United Nations? Or is Hitler's chief concern in Latin America?

On December 7, 1942, the first anniversary of the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Generalissimo Francisco Franco y Bahamonde, the nominal chief (by courtesy of the Third Reich) of the Spanish State, acknowledged Hitler's birthday greetings with a gracious thank-you telegram. "Many thanks to you and the German peoples," Franco wired Hitler. "May your arms triumph in the glorious undertaking of freeing Europe from the Bolshevik terror."

What Franco meant by "Bolshevik terror," of course, is known in the non-Axis world as the United Nations. Lest this be misunderstood, Franco, on the day following his wire to Hitler, delivered a long speech to the National Council of the Falange Española Tradicionalista de la J. O. N. S. in Madrid. The speech was broadcast to the entire nation. Among the honored guests of the Falange, at this meeting, were the German Ambassador; Sir Samuel Hoare, the British Ambassador; Carlton J. H. Hayes, the American Ambassador; the Papal Nuncio; and other top-ranking diplomats.

Franco spoke at length about Spain's role in the world at war, spoke in the weird mystic sentences so typical of

Falangismo. The war, he declared, was one which confronted the world with only one choice: fascism or communism. And Spain, he said, chose fascism.

In his speech Franco praised Mussolini as the founder of "the Fascist revolution—a social urge and a national idea. Later," Franco continued, "Germany found a new solution for the popular yearnings in national socialism, which unites the national and social idea for the second time in Europe with the special peculiarities of a race thirsting for international justice.

"Those are not isolated movements," Franco told the Falangistas and diplomats present to hear his speech, "but rather aspects of one and the same general movement and mass rebellion throughout the world. On the face, a new, useful consciousness emerged, which reacts against the hypocrisy and inefficiency of the old systems."

Franco pulled few punches in his address. "The moment of disillusionment is not far distant," he continued. "When the war ends and demobilization begins, the moment will arrive to settle accounts and to fulfill promises.

"Then, whatever projects there may exist now, the historic destiny of our era will be settled, either according to the barbarous formula of Bolshevist totalitarianism, or according to the spiritual, patriotic formula Spain offers us, or according to any other formula of the Fascist nations.

"Those are mistaken," Franco said, "who dream of the establishment of democratic liberal systems in Western Europe, bordering on Russian communism. Those err who speculate on liberal peace agreements or a bourgeois solution."

The speech of Francisco Franco, like his wire to Adolf Hitler, was clear as crystal to everyone but government officials in Washington and London. Both the White House and the State Department refused to comment on the speech at all. A United Press survey of official circles in London came up with the news that British leaders saw the speech as "mere lip service" to the Axis. The U. P. quoted one "London commentator" as saying: "Lip service to the Axis can

be expected from the present Spanish leaders up to Germany's final defeat. This does not alter the fact that Spain wants to remain neutral and Franco knows it."

Berlin, to be sure, saw the speech in a more realistic light. The diplomatic correspondent of the Nazi Transocean News Agency reported that Berlin felt it was a "great speech championing the European cause and as a spiritual declaration of war against liberalism, democracy, and Bolshevism."

Eight days after the speech was delivered in Madrid, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden blandly refused to heed the demands of many members of the House of Commons, that Britain send Franco a stiff note for his utterances. Eden declared that he could sense "no value" in such an action.

At the moment Hitler was chuckling over Eden's answer to the House of Commons requests, Franco called up the third military class to be conscripted since November 1942. And the Spanish Blue Legions, 100,000 strong, went on firing their guns from the Nazi front-line positions in the Soviet Union.

On January 15, 1943, American Ambassador Carlton Hayes delivered a speech of his own in Madrid—this time to a group of diplomats and Spanish officials. The topic of his talk was "American War Aims." Ambassador Hayes attacked Germany, Japan, and Italy, praised the Atlantic Charter, and then attacked what he chose to define as Axis-inspired murmurs that Falangist Spain could not survive a United Nations victory.

"If the political and social institutions of this country (Spain) undergo change or modification in future years," Hayes declared, "it will be the work of Spaniards within Spain—not of the United States or of Spanish émigrés."

Less than a week after this speech was delivered, I had dinner with a group of Latin-American diplomats in Washington—all of them individuals in close touch with their countries. To a man, they swore (and not too pleasantly) that with these few ill-chosen words, Hayes had set the United States back at least fifty years in Latin America, and all but destroyed our prestige with that vast majority of

Spaniards *within Spain* who live only for that day they can strike a mortal blow at their Nazi overlords. The Hayes speech was instantly interpreted as an American guarantee that Falangist Spain will not be held to account for its open, if undeclared, war on the United Nations.

The remarks Hayes made about the "Spanish émigrés" were particularly painful reading to all enemies of the Axis. For these émigrés include those whole companies of Spanish Republican soldiers who were among the first to instruct and fight with the British Commandos; those regiments of émigré Spanish Republicans who joined the French Foreign Legion to continue their armed struggle against Hitler's troops and who were interned in North African prison camps by Pétain and Laval after the fall of France; those thousands of émigré Spanish Republicans who risk their lives daily in their unceasing campaign against Falangist spies and agents in the New World. In effect, Ambassador Hayes said that those Spaniards who have been waging war against the Axis since July 1936 are undesirables; that the only Spaniards worthy of American support are those Latin Quislings who hold empty offices merely by the good graces of Adolf Hitler and General Wilhelm von Faupel.

The Hayes speech came at a time when American troops in North Africa were exposing their flanks to the Nazi-armed and Nazi-led troops of Spanish Morocco. This Spanish colony itself was the seat of all anti-American Fifth Column activities in North Africa. Here Falangist chiefs were and are working with all elements who can add to the toll of American lives in the African theater of this war. Among the men who are working so closely with the Falange in Spanish Morocco are Merebi Rebbó, the Hitler-blessed "Blue Sultan" and the former chief of the pro-Axis Iraq government, Rashid Ali El-Gailani. (In Spanish Morocco, while Spain was still a republic in 1936, the government had a garrison of 1683 officers and 40,383 men. The Fascists increased this garrison, in 1939, to two complete army corps—a force of over 200,000 soldiers. By

1943, this 200,000 strong army had been more than doubled in size.)

Were the Hayes speech the isolated remarks of a not-too-intelligent American citizen, it could be overlooked. It is no secret that, during the Spanish War, Carlton Hayes was one of Franco's most outspoken partisans in American university circles. As an individual who attacked today's Spanish émigrés when they started to fight Hitler's legions, Hayes has a perfect right to retain his animosity for the Spanish Republicans. But when Hayes spoke in Madrid on January 15, 1942, he no longer spoke as a medieval-minded professor in a private university. He spoke as the United States Ambassador to a Spain which at that moment held a minimum of 16 divisions of Nazi troops within its borders—Nazi troops poised to take Gibraltar and kill American soldiers in North Africa.

For obvious reasons, the Hayes speech is a warning signal to all Americans that something has gone wrong somewhere. It is a sign that the full significance of Axis Spain must be examined—and at once.

The time has come for all whose destinies are bound up with victory for the United Nations in this war to turn the spotlight on the menace Spain holds for just this victory. We must examine and evaluate and act—lest our delay add at least another million lives to the cost of ultimate victory. We must begin to see Falangist Spain in its true colors—Hitler Spain with its networks of spies and hidden war bases in the Western Hemisphere, its Blue Legion of 100,000 troops fighting against our allies in Russia, and its terrifying "neutrality."

This neutrality of Falangist Spain is one of Hitler's richest Iberian bonanzas. It pays enormous dividends daily. To thousands of United Nations seamen, one of the dividends Hitler gets from Spanish neutrality has never been a secret. This dividend is oil.

Since the summer of 1939, a fleet of nearly eighty tankers and merchant ships flying the crimson and gold flag of

Franco Spain has been carrying oil and gasoline from Curacao and other ports in the Caribbean to the Canary Islands, Tangiers, Vigo, Barcelona, Ceuta, Cadiz, and other neutral Spanish ports. These ships were often supplemented by the tankers of other nations—including the United States—which maintained diplomatic relations with Franco Spain.

None of the Spanish tankers are painted wartime gray or otherwise camouflaged. Not one of them has been deliberately torpedoed or attacked by air since the war began, although United Nations freighters bound for United Nations ports have been sunk regularly in these waters since September 1939.

At Teneriffe the fuel carried by these neutral Spanish ships is transferred to the storage tanks of the great submarine base the German Navy started to construct in 1937. This Canary Islands depot not only fuels Nazi submarines but also transfers vast quantities of oil to Italian and German tankers which visit the port regularly.

A newer German submarine base is serviced by the Spanish tankers which call at Vigo, in Galicia, an important port near the Portuguese border. Vigo is more than a German submarine base, however. It is also the city which harbors the chief southern European headquarters of German-Intelligence.

The Nazis maintain naval fueling stations at Ceuta, Melilla, Cadiz, and Tangiers, as well as emergency air bases for all Axis aircraft. These bases, too, are serviced by the tankers which ply blithely between the Caribbean and Spain.

When gasoline rationing began to affect thousands of American motorists, the Nazis in Madrid made political capital out of the Hitler oil line to Spain. They released a story, shortly before Christmas 1942, to the effect that a new pact with the United States had eased the restrictions on gasoline for private automobile owners in Spain. Washington authorities issued quick denials. The Associated Press quoted one anonymous official who denied that gasoline supplies were flowing from the United States to Spain,

but affirmed that Spanish tankers were loading up at Caribbean ports.

To date, no American official has seen fit to comment on the ultimate consumers of this oil. The Nazi bases which get this oil are not imaginary. Hundreds of American seamen have seen them. Nevertheless, the newspapers and radio commentators periodically repeat the Nazi-propaganda story about Franco's latest refusal to cede these bases to the Nazis. With each repetition of this fairy tale, the myth of Franco's independence has grown. The fact that all of these stories have originated from such obvious sources of Nazi propaganda as Switzerland, Turkey, and Stockholm has been generally overlooked.

The quest for oil has long been one of Hitler's principal war aims. He has, to date, received probably more oil via Spanish neutrality than he has through European conquest. The Nazi efforts to preserve this Spanish oil line have also proved far less costly in men and material since September 1939 than the drives for the oil of Roumania, Trans-Caucasia, and the fields of Maikop. For the preservation of this Spanish oil line, then, if for no other reason, Hitler can ill afford to sacrifice Spanish neutrality for the sake of a few redundant headlines in the German press.

Hitler's anxiety to preserve Spanish neutrality is therefore much easier to comprehend than the frantic official anxiety over this specious neutrality that crops up on Mondays and Thursdays in London and Washington. Apologists and official spokesmen for the Foreign Office and the State Department explain our continued appeasement of Franco Spain in only one way: United Nations appeasement of Spain is preserving Spanish neutrality.

These apologists for appeasement present a case that would be impregnable if it had the remotest relation to the ugly realities of the world of 1943. The case is based largely on the map of southern Europe and North Africa, a map which includes Gibraltar and the Mediterranean. Pointing to this map, the spokesmen for appeasement point to Spanish Morocco and the 500,000 troops it harbors. They point to

Spain's strategic position, its proximity to Gibraltar and France.

"Here then is the map," runs a typical appeasement argument. "If we offend Franco, he will send his 500,000 troops in Spanish Morocco against our troops in North Africa. Moreover, Spanish troops will attack Gibraltar. Therefore, we must remain on good terms with the Spanish leader. Moreover, if we get Franco angry, he will turn over the Canary Islands and the Balearics to Hitler for use as submarine and air bases against us. Moreover, Hitler will then overrun Spain itself."

The commanders of the Nazi submarine and air bases in Spanish Morocco, the Canaries, and the Balearics, like the officers of the minimum of sixteen divisions of German troops in Spain itself, find this argument comforting reading when British and American papers fall into their hands. They are even more amused by the argument put forth in London and Washington, and repeated frequently in the British and American press, that Hitler represents the greatest threat to the neutrality Franco is trying valiantly to preserve.

The Nazis are far from loath to spread this story. Nazi propaganda mills in Berlin, Bern, Ankara, Stockholm, and Madrid have been keeping this story alive since 1939. From the very start of the war, Nazi-planted stories have kept the press of Britain and America speculating at great length about Franco's chances of making a firm stand against the rapacious Nazis. This propaganda has been so successful that all newspaper war maps of Europe always show Spain as a neutral nation—in contrast to Axis-Germany and Italy and Axis-dominated France and Holland and other Axis-occupied countries.

This Nazi plan to paint Francisco Franco as the Great Neutral has, in many instances, followed certain proved Nazi formulae. One of these has been the creation of an *Ersatz* set of Axis foes within the portals of an Axis government. Since 1933 the Nazis found that this stunt worked quite well in Germany: starry-eyed statesmen and corre-

spondents accepted at face value Nazi fictions which diverted their attention from Nazi realities. Chief among these fictions has been the once-well-believed story that Herman Goering was really a moderate conservative who joined the Nazis only to stamp out communism, but was really a friend of the Western Democracies. The Goering myth still lingers, as does the other hardy Nazi lie about the *Reichswehr* generals who always hated Hitler.

In Spain, the Nazis created a neat little straw man to play Hitler to Franco's Goering. This straw man was Serano Suner, Franco's brother-in-law and, before July 1936, a nonentity of minute proportions. Carefully the Nazis built Suner up as the very symbol of Spain-Axis collaboration. Suner was made Foreign Minister of the puppet Spanish State. His visits to Berlin and Rome were broadcast to the world by the Nazis. His violent pro-Nazi speeches were conceived and edited by no less a personality than General Wilhelm von Faupel himself.

When Suner was sufficiently tarred by the Nazi brush, the Nazi rumor mills in Turkey and Switzerland began to put out wild stories of dissension within Spain. The wilder the stories, the more credence they gained in our press. The gist of these stories was that Franco and Suner were quarreling over Spain's neutrality: Suner was demanding that Spain go in on the side of the Axis, whereas Franco, the anti-Nazi, was holding out for neutrality.

These rumors were reaching their peak in the summer of 1942. By that time, the German High Command started to realize that the Soviet oil fields were not going to fall into Nazi hands for at least another year—if ever. Anxious eyes in Berlin looked toward the Spanish oil line from the Western Hemisphere to Nazi Europe. Nazi leaders locked heads over the problem and started to work out a means of making this Spanish oil field more secure.

A plan was devised in Berlin, with the assistance of von Faupel in Madrid. It called for Falangist leaders in Latin America to start weeping for the art treasures of old Spain in the presence of American diplomats and good-will mis-

sions. When the dewy-eyed Americans handed the weeping Falangistas their handkerchiefs, the Latin-American art lovers were then to hint broadly that if the United States would only do something about restoring the ruined paintings and churches of Spain, Franco would surely do something to please the Jew-Protestant-Masonic dogs of Yankees.

The plan worked like a charm. Toward the end of August 1942 President Roosevelt announced that, in co-operation with Latin-American leaders, the United States would set up a project to restore Spain's churches, roads, and art treasures after the war. The pro-Axis press in Latin America picked this up and played it as a Roosevelt endorsement of Franco. The astringent-tongued Clare Booth Luce, then running for Congress, quickly painted this move as "our old friend appeasement under a new name." While the Nazis gloated, Mrs. Luce went on to say:

The insidious thing about the proposed art project in Spain is that it implies that Franco will be there after the war. If any Fascist dictator is there after the war, we will already have lost the peace.

But Mrs. Luce's all-too-rational words were buried in the mountains of columns the press devoted to the Spanish event which followed the President's announcement. For on September 3, 1942, the appeasement gesture brought forth a redundant dividend: Suner was dismissed as both Foreign Minister and Chief of the Falange.

Typical of the headlines on this story was the one appearing in the *N. Y. Post* on that day: "FRANCO KICKS OUT SUNER, NAZI STOOGES." Said the United Press:

Serrano Suner was the foremost advocate of all-out collaboration with Hitler and chief backer of the totalitarian Falange Party. For many months there have been repeated reports of a split between Serrano Suner and General Franco over the question of complete Spanish collaboration with the Axis. . . .

The Spanish censorship prevented correspondents from indicating what factors lay behind General Franco's sudden move. However, it was noted that only last week President Roosevelt advanced a program of American aid in restoring Spanish art treasures and cultural monuments damaged in Spain's bitter civil war. . . . The upheaval indicates at least the possibility of a Spanish swing away from the Axis orbit and toward that of the Allies.

In Washington, State Department appeasers pointed proudly to Suner's dismissal as a positive achievement of master diplomacy. No one bothered to look into the records of the "moderates" who entered the Spanish Government in this "anti-Nazi shake-up." Had the new Ministers been investigated, the appeasers might have been forced to sing another tune.

To replace Suner as head of the Falange, Franco "chose" Manuel Mora Figueroa—who had to return from the Soviet Front, where he was a leader of the Nazi Army's Spanish Blue Divisions, to accept the job. Figueroa, who was also made Minister of Industry and Commerce, is a veteran Falange leader whose pro-Nazi views were never kept secret. General Carlos Asensio Cabinallas, who became War Minister in the purge which pushed Suner out of the government, is another old Falange leader who proved his worth to von Faupel by strengthening the Nazi grip on the Spanish Army long before the "Suner Crisis." Blas Perez Gonzalez, the prominent "moderate" who became Minister of Government in this shake-up, previously served as the Attorney-General of the Supreme Court—where he was responsible for the legal veneer given to the Nazi terror waged on all anti-Nazis in Spain.

Within the Falange itself, those Falangistas who had been closest to Suner were promoted to more important posts after Suner was dropped.

These realities, however, seem to have been overlooked in London and Washington. Franco's move, although plainly dictated by the oil-hungry Nazis, was fervently accepted at its face value. The Spanish oil line remained untouched.

By the time Francisco Franco made his December 8 speech to the Grand Council of the Falange, Serrano Suner had long since been restored to his position on the Falange National Council. Suner was sitting on the dais as big as life when the American and the British ambassadors heard Franco call for an Axis victory over the United Nations. But despite Suner, despite Franco's words, our own appeasers were still making bright sayings about the anti-Axis importance of Spanish neutrality even after the Russian Army increased Hitler's dependence on the Spanish oil lines by retaking the Maikop oil fields in the January 1943 offensive.

General Wilhelm von Faupel, architect of Falangist Spain and its actual ruler, is no fool. He knows exactly how popular Adolf Hitler is in the non-Axis world, and he knows precisely what the consequences would be if Spanish neutrality were ended by an overt move on the part of the Spanish and German armies in Spain or Spanish Morocco.

The Nazi *Gauleiter* of Spain knows full well that appeasement, which bore such a heavy responsibility for the triumph of Nazi arms in Spain, is still the key to the defenses of Hitler's Spanish outpost. The thunderous reverses the Nazis have suffered on the Russian and African fronts—which have decimated German reserves of both men and materials—have made Axis Spain more dependent than ever upon appeasement as a prerequisite of Fascist power.

Any overt military move would, by sheer weight of military logic (which is generally closer to earth than diplomatic logic), force the end of appeasement in Spain. An analysis of the certain consequences of what would follow if what the appeasers claim they fear most materializes, explains why. The appeasers justify their action by making dire prophecies that Spain will attack Gibraltar from the Spanish mainland and our own troops in Africa from Spanish Morocco unless we give in to Franco at every turn.

But von Faupel could and probably has drawn a blue-

print of what would follow if Spanish neutrality ended in this manner. In essence, this blueprint would run something like this:

As soon as the attacks were launched, the American and British military chiefs would counter with force. This counter-move would bring with it a declaration of war on the part of the United Nations against Spain. War would end Spanish neutrality, and with the end of this neutrality would come the end of the Spanish oil line which supplies Hitler's armed forces with oil from the New World.

The immediate effect of this open attack, then—even if Hitler's Spanish puppets raze Gibraltar and kill thousands of American soldiers in North Africa—would be the total loss of a vital oil supply for the oil-starved Nazi war machine.

The Nazi submarine bases in the Canaries and the Balearics would be bombed incessantly by American planes and, probably, captured by combined American and British naval and aerial forces.

The fleet of C. T. E. liners which today deliver hundreds of Axis spies and agents to all of the Western Hemisphere and transport vital food and war necessities from the New World to Nazi Germany would no longer be free to cross the oceans. The end of this vital link with the Americas, plus the closing of the Falange-controlled legations in every North and South American country except Argentina, would cripple the effectiveness of the Falange Exterior.

Within Spain itself, our armies would discover a population which will receive them as long-awaited liberators. The hundreds of unsung Spanish Republican guerrilla bands who are making Nazi lives miserable in Spain today would seek out the American troops and join forces with them. In the hills of the Asturias alone, there is a guerrilla army of some 50,000 trained men who have been waging unceasing war on the Nazis since 1939. This and similar existing armies would fight alongside of our troops in Spain. Our military leaders would quickly discover that Spain has

over 500,000 trained veterans of the three-year war against Hitler—a half-million tested soldiers ready to pick up American guns and use them for the extermination of Nazis.

The development of the American counter-offensive in Spain would quickly create the kind of second European front Hitler has successfully avoided since the start of the war. Under the combined weight of American troops and Spaniards armed with American guns, Spain would not remain in Axis hands for more than six months. The liquidation of fascism in Spain would hasten the United Nations drive on France—perhaps from both Spain and England at the same time. The United Nations drive on France would certainly cause the Russians to intensify their own drive on Germany.

This entire prospect is enough to give the Nazi leaders nightmares—and to guarantee against their allowing it to happen of their own free will. Spain's neutrality, like von Faupel's Hispanidad, is carefully utilized and protected by the Nazis as a war instrument of the Third Reich.

The fruits of this neutrality must never be ignored. Oil from the Americas. Phosphates—without which soils lose their fertility—from Spanish Morocco. Oranges and olive oil from Spain. Wheat, cattle, leather, wool. Copper, zinc, mercury, silver. The riches of Spain and the fruits of Spanish commerce. Only the neutrality of Spain can keep these necessities flowing into the increasingly hungry German maw. The last figures released by the Spanish Ministry of Commerce tell the story in their own way: Spanish exports to Germany rose from 14 million *pesetas* in 1940 to 161 million *pesetas* in 1941, placing Germany squarely at the top of the list of Spain's export customers. Little wonder that the 1942 figures were not revealed! (Nor, in citing these figures, must we overlook the aid given to the Axis by Portugal, that other Fascist state of the Iberian Peninsula. Portuguese exports to Germany rose from 29,000,000 *escudos* in 1940 to 565,000,000 *escudos* in 1941—quite a tidy little boom for a neutral nation.)

Despite the claims of our appeasers, it is painfully clear

that the *only* beneficiaries of Spanish neutrality are the Nazi masters of Spain. Similarly, it is also evident that for the sake of victory in this war, the United Nations must take immediate steps to end this Nazi-devised pseudo-neutrality. Even if this myth is ended by a formal declaration of war, the benefits to be gained by this act will far outweigh the costs.

Advocates of the continuing appeasement of Falangist Spain have one last-ditch argument: the effect of a United Nations stand against Franco on Latin America. Their claim, as stated, seems formidable. "The nations of Latin America are all firmly Catholic nations," runs this argument; "and Franco is a leader blessed by the Pope himself. As Catholics, Latin Americans support Falangist Spain. But more than religion binds the average Latin American to Falangist Spain. There are also the ties of race and blood with the mother country. These ties explain the widespread sympathy Franco has found in Latin America."

Like most appeasement theses, this one simply fails to stand up against the truth. The political power and the size of the Catholic Church in Latin America are grossly overrated. In most countries of Latin America, the political influence of the Church has been on the decline for the last four decades. Whatever support native Fascists and Spanish Fascists won from the Church Hierarchies during the past few decades has speeded the decline of the Church's political influence with the common people of the Latin countries. For just as the power of the Church has been consistently overrated, so, too, have the inherent intelligence and instinct for democracy of the average Latin-American Catholic been vastly underrated.

The average Catholic, like the average Protestant or atheist, in Latin America is not a person of means. He is a person who has to work for a meager living, who suffers under tyranny, who benefits from even the slightest vestige of democracy. When he is forced to choose between fascism and democracy, the average Latin-American Catholic will choose democracy—whether or not his Church backs fas-

cism. In Latin America, when the Church has become adamant and demanded that communicants choose fascism or suffer excommunication, such ultimatums have generally seen the Church losing members in droves.

The 1942 Uruguayan general elections are a fairly good reflection of the actual power of political clericalism. The candidate of the pro-United States and liberal Colorado (Red) Party, Juan José Amezaga, won the Presidency by a vote of more than twice that given his Blanco (White) Party opponent—who ran on an isolationist, hate-Uncle Sam platform. The Colorados elected eighteen senators, the Blancos seven, the Independent Nationalists three, and the Catholic Party—exactly one senator. The Chamber of Deputies, Uruguay's lower house, was formed of sixty-one Colorados, twenty-two Blancos, ten Independent Nationalists, three Catholics, two Communists, and one Socialist.

These figures show that Latin-American Catholics—Uruguay is an almost completely Catholic country—are as independent in their political thinking as are North American Protestants. Every candidate elected in the Uruguayan elections—from the Colorados who stood for the democratic liberalism and the Communists who stood for the Marxism Franco has chosen to designate as the twin evils of the modern world—was put into office by the ballots of Latin American Catholics. In the light of these figures, it is, therefore easy to understand why, in 1943, Uruguay declared April 14—the twelfth anniversary of the founding of the Spanish Republic—a legal holiday. The Governments of Cuba, Chile, and Mexico sent official delegations to Montevideo to join in the initial celebration of this “Day of the Motherland.”

The racial ties which bind Latin Americans to Franco Spain are misunderstood. Every Latin American country has a comparative handful of Spaniards and sons of Spaniards of great wealth—men whose funds are in large or small measure tied up in Spanish investments. This element backed the Fascists against the Spanish Republic because they felt that this was best for their investments. Now that Hitler has

frozen all Spanish funds, these investments no longer pay dividends. Most of the wealthy Spaniards in Latin America are convinced that their Spanish funds will be unfrozen if the Axis wins the war. Consequently, to guarantee their Spanish investments, they back Hitler and Hitler-Spain.

But these Franco supporters represent a slim minority. The majority of the Spaniards and sons of Spaniards in Latin America are poor people who were driven to Latin America by the poverty of old Spain. A not inconsiderable number of them were Republicans and Freemasons and radicals who held the monarchy responsible for their misery. Their only stake in Franco Spain is their families—poor people, like themselves. Most poor people in Spain were and are Republicans, and, as such, are persecuted by the Falange in Spain.

These people outnumber the Franco supporters in Latin America by about a hundred to one. During the Spanish War they fervently supported the Republic against the Fascists.

Those Latin Americans who back the United Nations in this war—and they constitute the vast majority of the population of every country in Latin America, including Argentina—are against Franco as much as they are against Hitler. Precisely because of their racial, cultural, and often family ties with Spain, they were aware of the menace of Spain and the Falange long before Pearl Harbor.

Beginning in July 1936, the people of the Latin-American countries have watched the spectacle of their own native Fascists, their own powerful enemies of democracy, line up solidly behind the Axis in Spain. Next to Spaniards today living under the iron heel of the Nazis in Spain itself or Spanish Republican émigrés, our simple, average, hard-working Latin-American neighbors understand the real issues of Spain better than any other peoples in this world.

If they actually seem a little anxious for the United Nations to invade Franco Spain, their anxiety can be traced to more than ideological tenets. Talk to a democratic United Nations statesman off the record, and the chances are that one phrase will crop up in the discussion. “To us Latin

Americans," he will say, "a long war is as bad as a lost war."

What he means, of course, is that the war had just about completely cut off nonindustrial Latin America from its necessary quota of manufactured goods. In former years these necessities came largely from the United States and England—and to a lesser but considerable extent from the Axis nations. Unable to import manufactured goods, unable to export their agricultural produce, the Latin-American nations are feeling the war more drastically than the United States.

An example of how this pinch feels—and this case is chosen at random—is a typical Mexican town. This is a small but important town whose one sugar refining mill employs some 18,000 workers. The whole town draws its water from a central artesian well equipped with an American pump. Less than a year after Pearl Harbor, the pump began to break down. Engineers who examined it pronounced it beyond repair, and a hurry call was sent to the United States for a new pump and a new electric motor. After six months of agonizing negotiation, the town was able to secure a second-hand motor and a slightly used pump. During these six months, the pump broke down often. But the town was lucky. Many towns in Latin America have not been able to get needed pumps, or sewing machines, or even shoes, in time.

Such hardships have been fuel for the Fascist fires burning all over Latin America. Falangistas—who control the press of so many Latin-American countries—play up these war-time hardships for all they are worth. The war will bring still wider misery to Latin America. In the wake of these hardships, the Falange Exterior—kept at top efficiency by its diplomatic network and the immunity of Spanish ships on the high seas—will pour Nazi oil on the war fires of Latin-American nations.

"A long war is as bad as a lost war for us," the Latin-American democrats repeat. "Therefore any step that will shorten the war is one we will back. If this step is the inva-

sion of Falangist Spain, which most of us hate, so much the better."

The appeasement sets of London and Washington suffered a shock when President Fulgencio Batista of Cuba visited the United States in January 1943 and frankly discussed Spain with the reporters in New York.

One reporter asked Batista: "What would be the effect in South America if the Allies should invade Spain?"

Without hesitating Batista replied: "Everyone would love it!" He went on to explain in very graphic terms that such a move would meet with total support in all of Latin America.

Perhaps President Batista was not speaking for all of the statesmen or the newspaper publishers of Latin America. But everyone who knows Latin America knows that Fulgencio Batista was voicing the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the people of the Latin-American nations.

The facts, then, boil down to one military possibility: thousands upon thousands of Latin Americans in belligerent and non-belligerent countries will be among the first to volunteer for overseas duty if Falangist Spain becomes a fighting front in this war.

On January 3, 1943, the American State Department issued a White Book on United States Foreign Policy during the decade 1931—1941. Like the Carlton Hayes speech in Madrid, it was eloquent evidence that our State Department still persists in the disastrous belief that the international issues raised in July 1936—when Germany and Italy invaded Spain—were liquidated by the triumph of Axis arms in April 1939.

The very thesis of the White Paper, stated on its opening page, exposes the fantastic blindness of the men responsible for our present costly policy toward Falangist Spain. The opening section of this important document is, correctly, entitled "The Fateful Decade." It starts with these words:

The fateful decade, 1931-1941, began and ended with acts

of violence by Japan. It was marked by the ruthless development of a determined policy of world domination on the part of Japan, Germany, and Italy.

In 1931 Japan seized Manchuria. Two years later Germany withdrew from the Disarmament Conference and began rearming. In 1934 Japan gave notice of termination of the Washington Treaty for the Limitation of Naval Armament.

In 1935 Italy invaded Ethiopia. In 1936 Hitler tore up the Treaty of Locarno and fortified the demilitarized Rhineland Zone. In 1937 Japan again attacked China. In 1938 Hitler occupied Austria and dismembered Czechoslovakia. During the first half of 1939 Hitler completed the destruction of Czechoslovakia and seized Memel, while Italy invaded Albania.

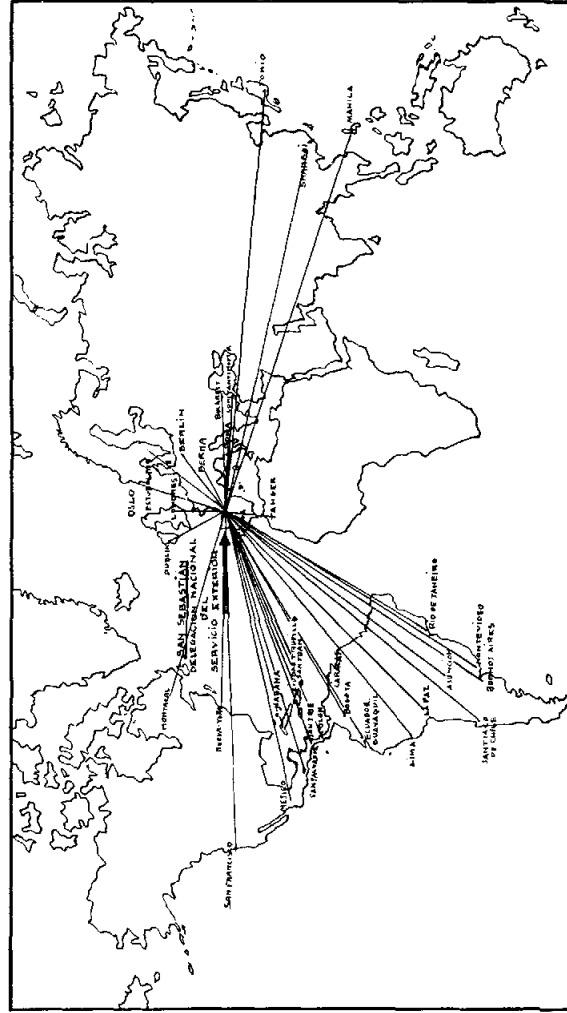
In September 1939 Hitler struck at Poland, and during the two years that followed almost all of the countries of Europe were plunged or dragged into war. In 1940 Japan with threats of force entered French Indo-China. Finally, on December 7, 1941, Japan launched an armed attack on the United States, followed immediately by declarations of war against the United States on the part of Japan, of Germany, of Italy, and of their satellites.

During the decade described in these paragraphs, Italy and Germany invaded a sovereign republic about thirty times the size of Albania and subdued it after nearly three years of bloody warfare. It was the first major European battle of the World War which finally hit us at Pearl Harbor in 1941. The world will never forget what happened in Spain. But the State Department evidently does not even know it happened.

The White Book contains 144 pages of fairly small type. The chapter called "Civil Conflict in Spain" takes up just slightly less than one page. This page says, in part:

Another threat to peace occurred in July 1936 with the outbreak of a civil conflict in Spain. The attitude of this Government toward the conflict was based squarely upon the consistent policy of the United States of promoting peace and at the same time avoiding involvement in war situations. . . .

Gráfico de los núcleos existentes en el Mundo de españoles afiliados a Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las J. O. N. S.



THIS MAP OF GENERAL VON FAUPEL'S INTERNATIONAL. Fifth Column, the Falange Exterior, is taken from the book, *La Falange Exterior*, printed by the Spanish Falangistas in Santander, Spain, in October, 1938. San Sebastian was then the main

MANILA BRANCH. IARRIBA ESPAÑA! Falange headquarters. The frankness of this map and of the book's pictures (see pages 14 and 15 of this section) led the Nazis to suppress the publication immediately. Note that the Falange made no secret of its Manila branch.

JEFE DE FALANGE DE COLOMBIA

DELEGACIÓN NACIONAL DEL SERVIDO EXTERNO DE ESPAÑA ESPAÑOLA TRADICIONALISTA DE LAS J.O.N.S.

San Sebastián, 15 de septiembre de 1939. AÑO DE LA VICTORIA.

Particular.

Señor Don Luis Roldán Moreno, Secretario Provincial de F.E.T. y de las J.O.N.S. COLOMBIA.

Estimado camarada:

Por la carta que recibí última y por el original que vi en esta Delegación, he conocido el incidente que ha ocurrido con el Ministro. Supongo ya en tu poder la respuesta que ha dado el Secretario Nacional de este Servicio en oficio y de 5 del actual. A feo he de decirte que, aunque no hace falta que insista sobre todas las instrucciones que para las Jefaturas Provinciales del Exterior se dan de esta Delegación, ya que tú las conoces perfectamente, he de subrayar no obstante, lo siguiente: El Jefe Provincial que ahora usted así actúa interinamente durante su ausencia, con plena autoridad y dignidad, representa al Jefe Nacional del movimiento que es el Caudillo en el aspecto político. Por consiguiente, esa Jefatura no puede bajo ninguna concepto admitir intrusiones extrañas a su función y a su rango, según estas de donde parten, a menos de recibir órdenes en contrario de la única autoridad superior que en este caso es la Delegación Nacional del Servicio Exterior.

Hallo tiene facultades ni representa autoridad alguna fuera de su función ni en las actividades del Jefe y menos en el funcionamiento de la Organización en toda parte sino esta única autoridad superior que es la Delegación Nacional del Servicio Exterior, y ya conoce perfectamente el sentido jerárquico de la Organización.

oo de la Organización. El ideal es que los Representantes Diplomáticos se dirijan a que de que la Falange se España y que tiene el deber de apoyar y proteger a su Jefe y robustecer las actividades de las Jerarquías en el Exterior contribuyendo de una forma discreta, pero sin vacilaciones, a establecer la verdadera unidad dentro del hogar de la Falange. Pero el algún Diplomático ignorando la Doctrina de la Organización de la Falange que es la base y fundamento de su funcionamiento, trata de hostigar o de oponerse a sus Jerarquías responsables, aprovechando los elementos descontentos y enemigos de nuestra Doctrina por incapacidad de comprenderla, en este caso el Jefe no puede bajo ningún concepto ceder y mucho menos someterse a las arbitrariedades o manifiestas de dicho diplomático. El Jefe debe velar en todo momento por el espíritu del movimiento y aplicando en el Exterior en las colectividades españolas siempre respetando las leyes de las naciones donde actuamos ya que esto no es incompatible con la misión que tienen estos funcionarios de dar a conocer a los súbditos españoles lo que hoy es España. Por todo lo cual se recomienda la más absoluta discreción, pero la energía más rigurosa en todo cuanto a estas relaciones se refieren. Te supongo enterado del nombramiento del nuevo Delegado a favor del camarada Gómez Arana. Ya te avisaré al llegar, y cuando yo llegue se arreglará todo el caso problema.

Un abrazo cordialísimo para todos los camaradas que no necesito contar y saludos cariñosos para las hijas de Santa Ana y demás Comunidades Religiosas y para tí un abrazo de tu camarada y Jefe

Firmado Antonio Valverde.

Saludos a Falange: ANGELO ESPAÑOLA: *Me gusta mucho de cuando me autoproclamé jefe de Falange en el momento de mi salida de España. Pero me siento un poco triste al ver que aún tengo que seguir en el extranjero. Espero que algún día pueda volver a España. Me gusta mucho de cuando me autoproclamé jefe de Falange en el momento de mi salida de España. Pero me siento un poco triste al ver que aún tengo que seguir en el extranjero. Espero que algún día pueda volver a España. Me gusta mucho de cuando me autoproclamé jefe de Falange en el momento de mi salida de España. Pero me siento un poco triste al ver que aún tengo que seguir en el extranjero. Espero que algún día pueda volver a España.*

PROOF THAT SPANISH DIPLOMATS TAKE ORDERS from the Falange Chiefs in Latin-American countries. This letter, sent by the Chief of the Colombian Falange Valverde, was passed by the Spanish Censors. (The important paragraphs are translated on page 29.) Luis Roldán Moreno, recipient of this letter, later succeeded Valverde as Chief.



ONE DAY AFTER José del Castano (above) was appointed Spain's Consul-General in Manila, *Arriba* of Madrid published official notice (right) of his also being made Chief of the Falange in the Philippines.



NOMBRAMIENTO

En uso de las atribuciones que me están conferidas, vengo en nombrar Jefe de F. E. T. y de las JONS en Filipinas al camarada José del Castaño y Cardona.

Por Dios, España y su Revolución Nacional-Sindicalista.

Madrid, 4 de noviembre de 1940

El Delegado Nacional,


P. D.,

El Secretario Nacional,

José Jiménez Rosado



IN MANILA, BEFORE PEARL HARBOR, the Falange did not hide its light beneath any bushel. Scenes like this were quite common. In the above picture, published in *La Democracia*, of Manila, in July 7, 1941, the men in the front row are (left to right) Antonio Porta, Falange Chief Martin Pon, Andres Soriano, and Enrique Zobel. Soriano is now Secretary of The Treasury in the Philippine Government-in-Exile.


FALANGE ESPAÑOLA
 Madrid, 2 de Agosto 1941.

Sr. Camarero Riestra, Habana.

Estimado Señor mío: Hechas con las prendas ilustres en el ludo cordial de Fr. Mayor y comunidad del Colegio de las Escuelas Pías de Plaza del Rlo.

Para el debido suceso, peticionada al tiempo oportuno la Falange Española, Fraternidad y a Fr. de Arce, al distribuir, ser labor menuda en nocturno, de modo que se distribuya la masa de objetos.

No puse de parte la que me ha sido enviada al recibir la carta de Fr. del Sr. de Arce, Alcaide de Fr. Mayor de las Escuelas Pías de Plaza del Rlo, traducción, por haberme sido comunicada.

A continuación le envío a Fr. del Sr. Arce, un número de los objetos que me ha sido enviados por la Falange Española.

Para mayor claridad, adjunto:

Para el Sr. Arce: 1. Unos 100.000 pesetas.

Para el Sr. Arce: 1. Unos 100.000 pesetas.

La cantidad de los objetos que me ha sido enviados por Fr. del Sr. Arce, Alcaide de Fr. Mayor de las Escuelas Pías de Plaza del Rlo, traducción, por haberme sido comunicada.

Les deseo que la gestión sea muy satisfactoria y que todo se lleve a cabo con éxito.


De Fr. de Arce, Sr. Antonio Arce.

ALTHOUGH ILLEGAL IN CUBA when this letter was written, the Falange maintained excellent relations with many powerful groups—in this case a collection (See page 68.) Spanish Consul-General Riestra, letter's recipient, was later expelled from Cuba for Falange activities.



CUBAN SECRET POLICE SEIZED THESE GUNS in the home of just one Falange member in Havana during the raids of 1941 (see Chapter Three.) Franco's framed portrait was hidden with the rifles. Similar arsenals were found in countless Falangist homes during the Cuban raids.

21 de Agosto 1941.—


FALANGE ESPAÑOLA
 Madrid, 21 de Agosto 1941.

Sr. Dr. José Rivas, Consul de España I. A. B. A. N. A.—

Muy Sr. mío:

Tengo sumo gusto en acusar recibo de su atento oficio No. 885, (cuyo sobre ha llegado con todas las referencias de haber sido abierto) y en cumplimiento del cual le remito la cuantía detallada y diligencias practicadas por mí hasta el día de hoy, en el concepto de copia de sellos que obran en mi poder. Asimismo le envío giro postal por la cantidad de \$2,70 por sellos de Auxilio Social, acompañando la liquidación correspondiente y sellos que obran en mi poder correspondientes a dicho Auxilio Social.—

Restame ahora sopa disciplinada, cualquier deficiencia que haya notado en mis servicios, producido de mi poca experiencia, que aquí hay un lugar en el que me serviría en todo cuanto sea, en beneficio de nuestro gobierno que acudirá al gloriosísimo Francisco Franco.—

De Fr. muy atentamente,

Antonio Arce

Havana, Agosto 21, 1941.

THE FALANGE USES SPANISH LEGATIONS for even the most minor of Axis Fifth Column tasks in the Western Hemisphere. Thus men like Vice-Consul Arizala of Banes, Cuba, even collect pittances for Falangist cells and front organizations.



THE FALANGE EXTERIOR'S MYSTERIOUS "CAMARADA MARTINEZ (wearing uniform) visits North and South American ports regularly as a wireless operator on Spanish ships. (See Chapter Six.) With him (above) are Sergio Cifuentes, Francisco Alvarez Garcia, and Miguel Baguer. (See Chapter Three.)

DIARIO DE LA MARINA
DIRECTOR

La Habana, 18 de Marzo de 1940.

Sr. José M. Marinas,
Jefe Legionario Nacional,
Legión Nacional Revolucionaria Sindicalista,
Manzana de Gómez 311,
Habana.

Mi distinguido amigo:

Le recibí en su casa el día 5, en la que me hizo recordar su amable visita en unión de los miembros del Consejo Supremo de la valiente Legión Nacional Revolucionaria Sindicalista.

El día 6, en una de las reuniones de la Legión, me presenté a usted y me hizo saber que me había obsequiado con un ejemplar de su revista, por lo que le envío esta carta rogándole se la entregue a usted mismo, para que pueda tenerla en su poder como usted merece y poner las páginas que le interesen a disposición de los buenos legionarios cubanos.

Espero avisarle dentro de breve tiempo, por conducto de una entrevista que será para mí de sincero placer.

Le saluda con afecto, brazo en alto,
su abnco. amigo,
José M. Rivero

DIARIO DE LA MARINA
DIRECTOR

La Habana, 29 de Febrero de 1940.

Sr. José M. Marinas,
Jefe Legionario Nacional,
Legión Nacional Revolucionaria Sindicalista,
Manzana de Gómez 311,
Habana.

Muy señor mío:

Me es grato acusar recibo de su carta, de los correos, por la que me envía su felicitación por el discurso que hubo de pronunciar en el acto de afirmación patriótico-revolucionario, celebrado el día 24 del actual, en el Teatro "Nacional".

Gracias muy agradecido por sus atentas frases, y reciba un cordial saludo de su atento y s. s.,
José M. Rivero

HAVANA PUBLISHER RIVERO lent his aid and advice to the Gray Shirts, a Falange subsidiary. These letters to Gray Shirt Chief Marinas begin with an exchange of compliments. (See Chapter Four.)

THREE WEEKS LATER, Rivero lets Marinas know that he has ordered his aide to throw the columns of his paper open to the "brave" Gray Shirts, and ends with "*Brazo en Alto*," the Fascists salute.

EL SECRETARIO PARTICULAR
DEL DIRECTOR DEL DIARIO DE LA MARINA

La Habana, 5 de Octubre de 1940.

Sr. José M. Marinas,
Jefe Legionario Nacional,
Legión Nacional Revolucionaria Sindicalista,
Manzana de Gómez,
Habana.

Distinguido amigo:

El Subdirector me recibió en su casa el día 5, en la que me hizo saber que me había obsequiado con un ejemplar de su revista, por lo que le envío esta carta rogándole se la entregue a usted mismo, para que pueda tenerla en su poder como usted merece y poner las páginas que le interesen a usted mismo a disposición de los buenos legionarios cubanos.

Espero avisarle dentro de breve tiempo, por conducto de una entrevista que será para mí de sincero placer.

Le saluda con afecto, brazo en alto,
su abnco. amigo,
José M. Rivero

RIVERO ALSO GAVE PERSONAL advice to the Gray Shirt leader. When he was too busy, his secretary, Miguel Baguer, arranged for Rivero's aide, Raoul Maestri, to receive Marinas. Masthead of Falange organ (right) listed Baguer as editorial director.

¡ARRIBA ESPAÑA!

POR LA PATRIA. EL PAN
Y LA JUSTICIA

REVISTA MENSUAL ILUSTRADA

Acéda a la franquicia postal e inscriba como correspondencia de segunda clase en la Administración de Correos de la Habana.

AÑO DE LA VICTORIA
TERCER ANIVERSARIO DE LA REVOLUCION
NACIONAL SINDICALISTA

La Habana, 18 de Noviembre de 1939

Director: MIGUEL BAGUER
Administrador: SERGIO CIFUENTES

Redacción y Administración:
LEONARDO No. 129, Apartado 2484. — — — HABANA
No. 31 AÑO III

COMITÉ DE FIDELIDAD
HABANA

Habana 6 de Marzo 1940

Sr Don Jesus M. Marín
Jefe de la Legión Nacional Revolucionaria Hindiof-
lista

HABANA
Manzan de Gooes 311

Muy Sr mio !

Tengo el gusto de acusar recibo a sus dos atentas cartas
fechas 2 de este mes, enterandome con muchisimo gusto de
la formacion dentro del seno de esa "colectividad", de un
Comité de Auxilio a Finlandia.

Despues de tomar buena nota de que esta comision ya
ha quedado constituida, deseo con toda franqueza que
tenga muchisimo exito, y de antemano la doy las gracias
a la ciudad comision, lo mismo que a Ud y la Sociedad que
preside, por todo el socorro y auxilio que van a prestar
a la noble causa de Finlandia. Con mucho placer coopero
con Uds.

Yo me uno con vos al grito de Viva Finlandia
y Cuba Independiente.

Los saluda afectuosamente y agradecido
José del Rio Cumberas
Comité de Finlandia

Arquidiócesis de la Habana, Y MARZO 13 de 1940.

SR. JESUS M. MARIN, JEFE LEGIONARIO NACIONAL.

Distinguido y apreciado Sr:

De orden del Ilmo. Sr. Vicario Capitular, S.V., tengo el -
gusto de acusarle recibo del atento escrito de fecha 11
de los corrientes y é la vez manifestarle que S.S.I. ten-
drá como gusto en recibirlos el proximo Viernes á las 10
de la mañana y agradecer quien haya de ser nombrado Con-
siliario de la Legión Nacional Revolucionaria Sindicalista.

Queda de V. muy afmador:

José del Rio Cumberas

COMUNICACION Y VISITA
"A MORENO"

THE FINNISH CONSUL sent Gray Shirt leader this
letter (see pages 84-85) during Finnish-Soviet War. Note
use of the violently anti-American Gray Shirt slogan—
Cuba Independentes.

F. E. T. Y DE LAS J. O. N. S.

DE
Nº 244921

N.º Policial. 1.921

MILITANTE

José del Rio Cumberas

Natural de *Arzobispo* Prov. de *Ciego de Avila*

Edad *18* años. Estado *Soltero*

Profesión *Estudiante*

Domiciliado en *Cuba - Arzobispo - No. 5*

Cédula personal de *13* Clase *N.º 116*

M. de *Arzobispo* de 1939

El Secretario Provincial
José Provincial
José del Rio Cumberas

FALANGE SECRET AGENT, José del Rio Cum-
breras, attempted to slip into Cuba from a Spanish
liner in 1941. (See page 93.) Caught by the Cuban
Secret Police, his Falange card (above) was taken, and
he was help incommunicado pending further develop-
ments.

SPIRITUAL ADVICE came to the Gray Shirrs through
a Counselor appointed by the Archbishop of Havana
shortly after this letter (translation on page 86) reached
Marinas.

H. Cumberas

Consulado General de Panamá

La Habana - Cuba

CONTRATO

Entre los señores, a saber: Atanasio Frangy y de Villar, Consul General de
Panamá en la Habana, debidamente autorizado por el Gobierno de su patria,
por una parte, y el Sr. Atanasio Frangy y de Villar, por la otra, y en virtud de
la siguiente cláusula: El Sr. Frangy, en su calidad de *Ex-Alcalde* y *Ex-Comisario*
de la C. de P. de P., por la otra, quien en adelante se llamará el Con-
tratado, han celebrado el siguiente Contrato:

1- El Contratado se obliga a embarcarse para la ciudad de Panamá a más tardar
días (10) días después de firmado este Contrato. Todos los gastos de pasaje, etc., etc,
van por cuenta del Contratado.

2- El Contratado se obliga a prestar al Gobierno un certificado de buena
salud, expedido por un Profesional a satisfacción del Gobierno.

3- El Contratado se compromete a no prestar sus servicios a ninguna empre-
sa, entidad o empresa, por el término de un año desde la fecha de firma del Contrato.

El Gobierno se compromete a pagar al Contratado por cada hora de trabajo la
suma de *5* pesos mensuales.

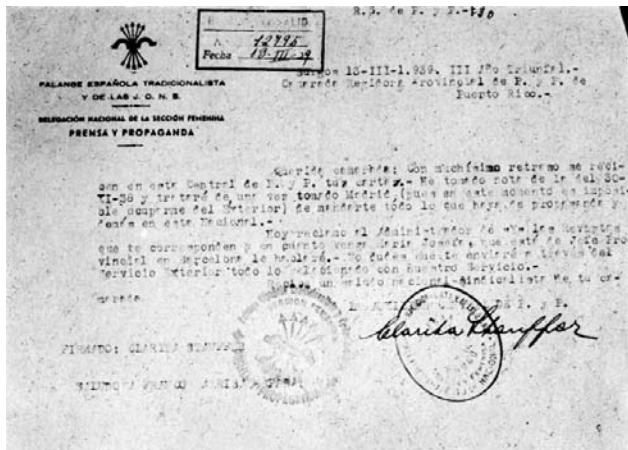
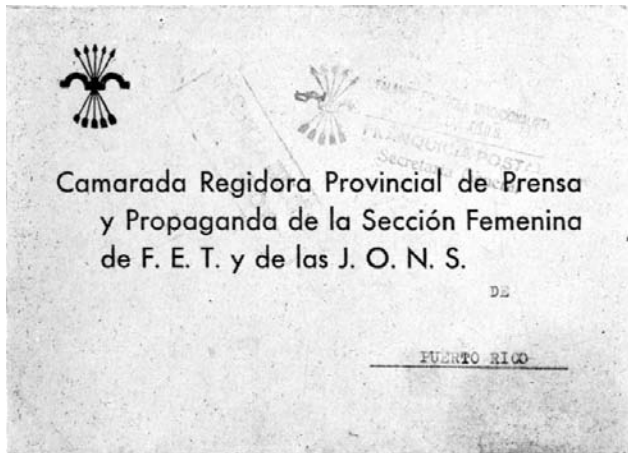
El Gobierno se obliga a suministrar al Contratado alojamiento y comi-
da en el lugar donde haya a prestar sus servicios, por cuenta del Contratado.

*Y para constancia, se firma el presente contrato en la ciudad de La Habana,
a las 13 horas, en cinco ejemplares iguales.*

de allí se deducen cuatro y uno.

Dr. Atanasio Frangy,
Consul General de Panamá

THE LONG ARM OF AXIS diplomacy handed the
Cuban authorities a signed contract Panama had made
with the Falangist through its Havana Consulate.
Cumberas was released, went to Panama. Arnulfo
Arias, then dictator of Panama, had close ties with
the Falange.



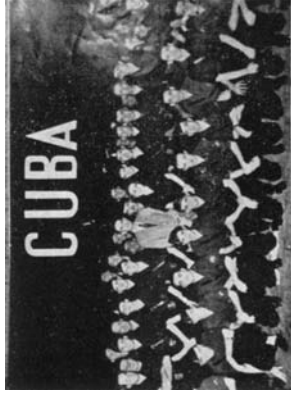
SECRET COURIERS have long carried special correspondence between Spain and Falangist officials in the New World. Above is a letter from Burgos (then capital of Franco Spain) to Puerto Rico, and the envelope in which it arrived. Such letters—this one is addressed to the Chief of Press and Propaganda of the Feminine Section of the Falange and promises to send certain requested materials—arrive on Spanish ships. They are stamped “Franked Mail” but are carried by secret agents.



HEILS ACROSS THE BORDER was the order of the day when the Nazi cruiser Meteor visited San Juan, Puerto Rico in 1938. The pro-Falange Casa de Espana threw a party for the Nazi ship's officers. The Nazis assembled under Franco's portrait, toasted the Falange, posed for this picture. And the Captain made a pro-Franco speech.



IN THE SAME ROOM, at the same time, members and sympathizers of the Falange of Puerto Rico posed under this picture of Hitler. The first three men (left to right), José Maria del Valle, Dionisio Trigo Jr., and Tomas Rodriguez were members of the Falange. Leopoldo Martinez Ochoa, right, was Chief of the Puerto Rican Falange.



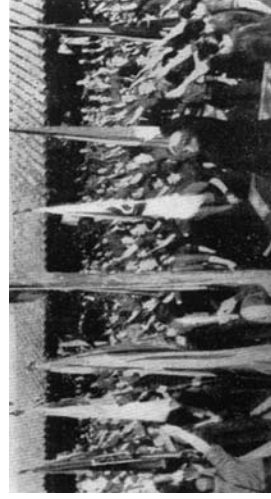
THE NAZIS SUPPRESSED the book, *La Falange Exterior*, from which these eight pictures are taken. Augustin Parla (without uniform) was Inspector of Cuban Airports.



GUATEMALAN FALANGISTS had cause to celebrate early in the Spanish War when the government became one of the first non-Axis powers to recognize Franco. They work very closely with Nazi secret agents.



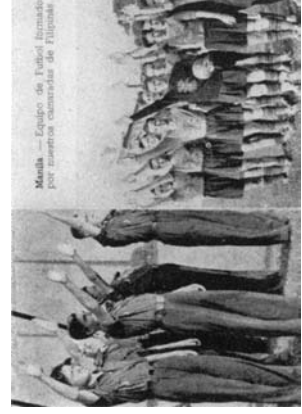
FRANCO PROMISED ARMS to these blue-shirted Colombian Falangists when they attempted to stage a Fascist revolt.



THE FALANGE IN CHILE no longer dares to appear in public wearing Fascist uniforms as they did when this picture was taken in 1938. The temper of the Chilean people has made the Falange run for safe cover.



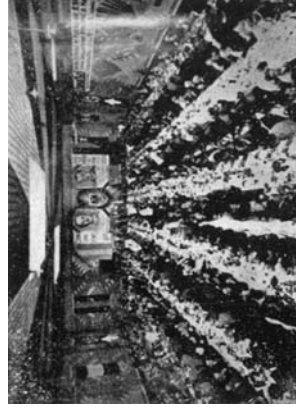
THE PHILIPPINES were an early target of the Falange leaders and their Nazi masters. The Philippine Falange organizations (see Chapter Two) included even tiny pre-school toddlers.



WHEN JAPAN DECORATED the Philippine Falange for its role in the fall of Manila, it paid tribute to the skill with which Tokyo's Spanish friends played every card in the deck.



LIKE THEIR NAZI TUTORS, the Falange of Argentina went in for mystic and military ritual, anti-Semitic mass meetings, and excursion into street brawling and disorder.



SWASTIKAS ARE ALWAYS PRESENT (see arrows) at Falange banquets, meetings, and other public celebrations in the Argentine. But most Spaniards in Argentina oppose the Falange.

The White Paper goes on to describe the Neutrality Legislation and the arms embargo imposed on the Republic to further this policy. It continues with a paragraph that will be long remembered as a classic of understatement:

Shortly after the beginning of the conflict in Spain it became evident that several of the principal powers of Europe were projecting themselves into the struggle through the furnishing of arms and war materials and other aid to the contending sides, thus creating real danger of the spread of the conflict into a European war. In an effort to remedy this menacing situation, a committee was set up in London, by agreement of the European governments, to carry out a concerted policy of non-intervention and to put an end to export of arms to Spain.

Why, at this late date, the authors of the White Paper carefully neglected to mention the names of these "principal powers" who furnished "arms and . . . other aid" is a question that should not be left unanswered.

The brief section on the Italo-German conquest of Spain winds up with another paragraph which admits that "there was a feeling in some quarters that our policy should be changed"; but was nevertheless not changed for two reasons: "growing complications" and the "thoroughly unsatisfactory experience during 1935 in endeavoring to preserve peace in the Italo-Ethiopian situation."

The war has produced no greater confession of intellectual and diplomatic bankruptcy than those sections of this White Book which deal with the Spanish War either directly or by significant omission as on Page 1. It explains perfectly why ships flying the Falange flag have continued to carry fuel from the New World to the Nazi planes raining death on American and British troops in North Africa and the troops of our allies in Russia. It explains with sickening clarity why Falange agents like José del Castano were able to disrupt the civilian defenses of Manila when the Japanese attacked. It explains why, in every Western Hemisphere country with the exception of Mexico, Falangist

LA FALANGE ESPAÑOLA

CON Franco triunfó la Falange Española en la madre patria, y con la Falange Española triunfó el Instituto Iberoamericano en Berlín. En términos justos: el nazismo.

La Falange es un calco del Partido Nacional-socialista, a tal punto que tradujo literalmente apropiándose los marbetes con que el nazi-fascismo esparce a todos los ámbitos las semillas de su propagando. Técnicos nazis forman en sus cuadros orientaditos políticamente. Su labor de penetración en los países latinoamericanos se orienta hacia el agrupamiento en sólidos bloques de las grandes masas españolas, procurando conseguir lo que lograron los nazis con los "alemanes de sangre". Es la fuerza de choque del Iberoamericanismo practicado desde Berlín.

La simple lectura del programa de Falange nos previene contra ella. En el capítulo tercero declara: "Tenemos voluntad de Imperio. Afirmamos que la plebitud histórica de España es el Imperio. Reclamamos para España un puesto preponderante en Europa. No soportamos ni el aislamiento internacional ni la mediocritad extranjera. Respecto de los países de Hispanoamérica, tendemos a la unificación de la cultura, de intereses económicos y de poder. España aleja su condición del eje espiritual del mundo hispánico como título de preeminencia en las empresas universales". En el IV. "Nuestras fuerzas armadas—en tierra, en el mar y en el aire—habrán de ser tan capaces y numerosas como sea preciso para asegurar a España en todo instante la completa in-

dependencia y la jerarquía mundial que le corresponde. Y en el V. "España volverá a buscar por las rutas del mar. España tendrá una potencia marítima, basada en el Imperio". Serrano Suñer, jefe abnegado de Falange, fundó el Instituto Iberoamericano en Lathinome. El programa de Falange se inspira en la "Confederación Fascista" para unir a todos los pueblos de Hispanidad a adherirse a todos los fascistas. El programa de Falange se inspira en el "Conferencia de los cinco grandes", y poco más tarde crea el "Conferencia de los cinco grandes" para "redescubrir el nuevo mundo". Ante las palabras del mismo Suñer (mayo 14 de 1940) huelga todo comentario: "España sabe ya por experiencia cuanto cuesta descubrir un mundo. Para redescubrirlo el Consejo de Hispanidad no será menos generosa y despreocupada. Todo cuanto amos y valemos pondremos en la empresa; pero, bien entendido, que esta vez España no está dispuesta a que otros pueblos se aprovechen del descubrimiento en beneficio de ideales diferentes de los que por patrimonio divino encarnó ella y las naciones de hispanidad. El Consejo de Hispanidad restaurará la conciencia unitaria de todos los pueblos que forman la comunidad hispánica". En pocas palabras, es la resurrección del viejo Consejo de Indias que

55—

"IN EXACT IFRAS—NAZISM," says the famous Taborda Report in describing the Falange. The Report adds: "With the Spanish Falange, the Ibero-American Institute triumphed in Berlin . . . The Falange is a copy of the Nazi Party. . . . Nazi technicians take

part in their plans, directing them politically. . . . It is a strong Ibero-Americanism practiced from Berlin. The simplest reading of the Falange program tells us to beware of it." (See pages 179-181.)

Spain maintains legations which are field headquarters for the largest organized Axis Fifth Column in the Americas.

This White Paper makes bitter reading when stacked up along the writings and speeches of those world statesmen who saw the issue of Spain more realistically during the Spanish War. This handful of statesmen saw the Spanish War not as a "civil conflict," but as the first of the battles of the present war. Men like Maxim Litvinov and Pierre Cot, and Georges Mandel, and Jan Masaryk gave ample warning that if Hitler won the Spanish War he would then move on to further European conquests. History—if not the American White Book—records that less than six months after General Wilhelm von Faupel entered Madrid, Nazi bombers were pulverizing Warsaw.

Liberal Pierre Cot and Conservative George Mandel knew, in 1936, that the Spanish Republicans were talking sense when the Spaniards said: "If Madrid falls, Paris is next." They did what they could to prevent the Hitler triumph in Spain. But their efforts were undermined in London. Mandel, now a Nazi prisoner at Riom, is credited with remarking, after the fall of France, that the French goose was cooked in Madrid and served in Munich.

Visionary Lazaro Cardenas, then President of Mexico, sent what aid he could to the embattled Republic. He never recognized the Franco Government, and opened Mexico's doors to the Spanish Republican émigrés of whom Carlton Hayes speaks with such disdain.

In our country, we did not lack for statesmen who saw the issues of the Spanish War in their true colors. Outstanding among their number was Henry L. Stimson.

As Secretary of State in the Hoover Cabinet, Mr. Stimson tried to apply the only measures which would have halted Japan in Manchuria in 1931. The appeasement-minded British Foreign Office wrecked the Stimson plan at the time—and gave him an unforgettable inkling of what the history of the next decade would be if appeasement persisted. On December 7, 1941, history tragically affirmed the correctness of Mr. Stimson's Manchurian position a decade

earlier. His stand on Spain, during the bloody years of the Spanish War, was no less correct.

Early in the course of that war, Mr. Stimson became convinced that the Arms Embargo the government had applied against the Spanish Republic was not only illegal but, more important, also unwise. In a statement submitted to the State Department on January 23, 1939, the former Secretary of State made a brilliant appeal for the end of this embargo.

The Spanish Republic [he wrote], has for many months been putting up a most surprising and gallant defense against opponents who have had every advantage in the way of land and naval organization and who are illegally aided by powerful organized forces from Italy and Germany.

Unlike the State Department, Mr. Stimson knew how to spell the names of the Axis powers who had invaded Spain. His memorandum continued to say:

If this Loyalist Government is overthrown, it is evident now that the defeat will be solely due to the fact that it has been deprived of its right to buy from us and other friendly nations the munitions necessary for its defense. I cannot believe that our government or our country would wish to assume such a responsibility.

Mr. Stimson's long statement concluded with a passage which, if heeded, might have changed the history of the world.

In short, I have come to the conclusion that the embargo imposed under the resolution of May 1, 1937, should be lifted by the President. . . . The embargo, which by terms of the law authorizing it was intended as a protection against conditions which would endanger the peace of the United States, is now shown by the events of the past two years to be itself a source of danger to that peace. Any danger that may come to the people of the United States from the situation in Spain

would arise not from any lawful sale of munitions in our markets to the [Republican] Government of Spain, but from assistance which our embargo has given to the enemies of Spain. It is the success of the lawless precedents created by those enemies which would constitute our real danger. There is no reason why we should ourselves facilitate and accentuate that danger. There is still less reason why we should violate our own historic policy to do so. The prestige and safety of our country will not be protected by abandoning its self-respecting traditions, in order to avoid the hostility of reckless violators of international law in Europe.

But when he wrote the brief from which these passages are taken, Mr. Stimson was merely a private citizen. The Secretary of State—who should have written such a brief himself—was Cordell Hull, whose epic and fiery denunciation of Japanese deception was not made until *after* Pearl Harbor.

Hull had also made a strong statement on the Arms Embargo during the Spanish War. It was in 1937, shortly after the Nazi battleship *Deutschland* had shelled the defenseless Spanish town of Almeria in reprisal for an attack on the battleship by a Republican plane which got away. The entire world was shocked, and a delegation of Congressmen—O'Connell of Montana, Coffee of Washington, and Scott of California—visited Hull with the request that the Arms Embargo be applied against Germany and Italy for their belligerency in the Spanish War. At that time the Spanish Republic was the only nation against which the embargo was applied.

The Secretary of State was appalled by the suggestion made by the Congressmen. "No, no," he told them. "We can't do that. We must not do anything to offend Hitler at this moment."

The Embargo was never to be applied against the Axis nations during the entire Spanish War.

We have now "offended" Hitler to the extent of declaring war on Germany. Anxious Americans have the right to ask if fear of offending Hitler is still the motive behind our

continuing and increasing appeasement of Falangist Spain—an appeasement so complete that even in 1943 our State Department gingerly refrains from mentioning the role of Germany and Italy in what it delicately still chooses to designate as the "Spanish civil conflict." United Nations citizens have a right to ask whether the life of one United Nations seaman who met death at the hands of Nazi-Falange agents like Heinz August Luning and Ricardo Dotres is worth less than the sensitivities of the Axis statesmen and puppets who are struggling to destroy us.

In the light of the harsh realities of our times, the "Spanish White Paper" issued by the National Maritime Union in New York on March 11, 1943, is couched in terms that all Americans can applaud. The seamen, who had by March 11 seen close to 5000 of their number perish as war victims of the Axis, passed a resolution pledging to refuse to serve on any ship carrying supplies to Hitler Spain. The resolution notified the State Department that they would have "to hire Japanese, Germans, and Italians" to replace American seamen on all ships bound for Spanish ports.

The National Maritime Union's resolution, framed in simple language, was a perfect answer to the Spanish theses of the State Department's White Paper. Among other things, the resolution proclaimed:

Some sections of the State Department have been flirting with notorious Fascists and seem intent upon losing the peace while thousands of seamen are dying to win the war against fascism.

The old policy of appeasing Japan with scrap iron and oil while sympathizing with China brought death not only to millions of Chinese, but also to thousands of our soldiers, sailors, Marines and Merchant Seamen.

A similar policy of suicide is being pursued in our dealings with Franco Spain.

This, in spite of the fact that high government officials belatedly have agreed that a mistake was made by Britain and the United States in not supporting Loyalist Spain in its fight against Franco and his Fascist allies.

It is well known that Franco Spain is stooging for Nazi Germany.

We feel that diverting valuable ships for Franco Spain is the same as diverting them for Hitler Germany.

We therefore condemn this appeasement policy of the State Department as inimical to the best interests of the American people and the United Nations.

Unhappy Spain, in 1936, became the battleground of Hitler's first major military offensive against the democracies of the world. We had it in our power, then, to make Madrid the tomb of fascism. Had the democracies drawn the line in Spain, had they simply recognized the tenets of international law, Hitler Germany would have been crushed forever.

In 1936 Hitler had had a mere three years in which to prepare for war. The Soviet Army was then more than a match for the *Reichswehr*. The French Army was then a well-trained, anti-German force of genuine effectiveness. Czechoslovakia was an independent little fortress of democracy, with an efficient and tough army and a tremendous arms-production capacity. The British, if weak in numbers, had a greater potential in 1936 than they had in 1940 after Dunkirk. And Spain's millions lacked only arms.

Arms to Spain alone might have turned the trick. But had this observance of international law and plain common sense—self preservation was the wrong law of nature to ignore in 1936—led to the spread of war that the appeasers professed to fear at the time, the resulting European war could only have spelled disaster for Germany and Italy—disaster that would have come so quickly that the United States would have escaped involvement as a physical participant in the war. Then, with Germany crushed, Japan would never have moved against us for fear of a strong Anglo-American-Soviet alliance.

Instead of firmness, the democracies met Hitler's challenge by neatly abandoning the Spanish Republic to the tender mercies of the Axis. Madrid became the inspiration

of the common people of Europe—particularly in France. But when the heroic stand of Madrid led only to the shameful betrayal at Munich, the common French soldier lost his heart for war, and the Czech fortress became Hitler's. The continuation of appeasement in Europe gave Japan more time to prepare, more time to purchase oil and scrap metals and machinery from the United States.

In the fullest sense, the bombs that fell on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, were machined in Madrid and filled in Munich by the appeasement policies of London, Paris, and Washington.

This is not hindsight for the sake of hindsight.

Nothing is gained by merely sighing and repeating that far-seeing statesmen like Henry L. Stimson were right in their judgments of the significance of the Spanish War while Hitler was still being frustrated at the gates of Madrid.

What is important is that we remember that the logic of their position in 1936-1939 still prevails. Truths never die; time merely makes them tougher.

If it was dangerous to appease fascism in Spain in 1936, it is a thousand times more perilous today. For the Fascist cancer has more than merely brought death to Spain itself: it has, in the form of Falangismo, spread to Manila, to Latin America, to the United States of America. Spain has become the base headquarters of the greatest Axis Fifth Column in the Western Hemisphere, a Fifth Column that will not be smashed until fascism is destroyed on the entire Iberian Peninsula.

The realities of Falangist Spain versus the United Nations in 1943 point in only one direction: in Spain, where the democracies of the world suffered the bitter first defeats of World War II, the same democracies can lose the peace of this war.

Fascism—and this includes Axis Spain—is waging a total war against the democracies today. As long as we permit the myth of Spanish neutrality to exist, our war of defense remains less than total—and it nurtures the seeds of World War III.

The entire background of World War II is tragic guarantee that if the Iberian Peninsula emerges from this war as the Fascist bastion that it is at this hour, then all our dead will have died in vain.

Note:

Since the appearance of the first edition of *Falange*, Roberto Forbes referred to on page 235 has come forward and made a sworn statement revealing the circumstances surrounding his joining the Casa de Espana in 1939.

At the end of 1938 Mr. Forbes as a travel agent began to have difficulty with the Franco consulate in New York in securing visas for his customers. After the fall of the Spanish Republic in April 1939 and the establishment of the Falangist Spanish State, Jose de Gregorio, Franco Consul in charge at the time, requested Mr. Forbes not to appear at the consulate since his affiliations were supposed to be *rojo* (red). The only method left open to Mr. Forbes to obtain visas and other facilities for his clients was to direct his business to newly created agencies which seemed to be in favor with the Franco regime or, as was suggested to him by Felix M. Lopez, who was in charge of the foreign exchange department of the Banca Commerciale Italiana Trust Company, join the Casa de Espana. Mr. Forbes applied for membership in the Casa de Espana when Lopez brought an application to his office. This application was countersigned by Mr. Lopez, Fausto Arredondo, and an individual named Reyes. After first being rejected, it was finally accepted on June 7, 1939.

However, not making much progress in obtaining visas from the Spanish Consulate, Mr. Forbes resigned from the Casa de Espana on July 5, 1939, less than one month from the time he joined.

Mr. Forbes' case is but one example of the ways in which Franco's Spanish Consulates have brought economic pressure to bear on individuals—in this case on an American citizen—to support the Franco cause and to join a pro-Franco organization.

INDEX

- Abascal, Salvador, 173
 Academia Española de la Lengua, 163-64
Acción Legionaria, 82, 87, 91
 Acción Nacional, 165-66
 Adriensens, Juan, 60, 212, 221, 236
 Agero, Colonel Sanz, 152, 159, 182, 233
 Agüero, Riva, 192-94
 Aguiar, Marqués de, 239-42
 Albareda, Gines de, 198-99
 Alfaro, José Maria, 240-41
 Almodovar, Dr. Francisco J., 128, 205
 Alonso, Manuel, 115
 Amat, Francisco de, 221-22, 229
América Clínica, 231
 American Union for Nationalist Spain, 224
 Amezaga, Juan José, 258
 Amo, Gregorio del, 229
 Anderson, Jane, 217-19
 Ansaldo, Captain, 20
 Anti-Semitism, 163-64, 186, 223. *See also* Jews
 Aravilla, Captain Carlos, 156
 Arcilla, Sanchez, 206
 Areliza, José Maria, 232
 Argentina, 4, 8, 26, 179-87, 191
 Arguedas, José Maria, 192
 Arguelles, A. F., 223
 Arguelles, Elicio, 58-60, 103, 125-26
 Arias, Arnulfo, 95-100, 103-04
 Arias, Harmodio, 96
 Arms Embargo Act, 22-3, 210, 214-15, 219, 225, 263, 265-66
Arriba, Argentina, 26, 32, 226
 Madrid, 33, 34, 48, 232, 235
Arriba España, 26, 64, 73, 86, 161
 Arrillaga, Maria, 222
 Atlantic Charter, 186, 245
 Aunos, Eduardo, 181-85, 187, 189, 191
Avance, 26, 34, 126-30, 137, 139-40, 142-43, 161, 226
 Ayala, Gaytan de, 222-23, 225, 235
 Bager, Miguel, 86
 Bailen, Count de, 97-8, 100-04
 Balbontin, Augustin Guitierrez de, *see* Aguiar, Marqués de
 Barrenechea, Raoul Parras, 194
 Batista, Fulgencio, 58, 75-7, 102, 118, 261
 Bellini, Ernesto, 103
 Benavides, Ex-President, 195
 Benitez, General Manuel, 65, 69, 93
 Berndt, Fritz, 8
 Bernstein, Father Martin, 133-35
 Best, Robert, 219
 Blum, Leon, 23
 Boelitz, Dr. Otto, 3
Boletín de la Casa de España, 229
Boletín del Partido, 161
 Bolivia, 8
 Bolshevism, 161, 175, 200, 228, 243-44
 Bori, Lucrezia, 234
 Bouza, José Maria, 58
 Braden, Spruille, 52, 72, 78
 Brazil, 8, 188-91
 Bueno, Manuel Torres, 173
 Buenos Aires, 4, 26, 161, 185-87
 Burgos, 60, 62, 125, 126, 128
 Butler, Nicholas Murray, 72, 86

- Caballe, Maria, 10
 Cabinallas, Carlos Asensio, 253
 Cabot (Maria Moors) Prize, 72, 85-6, 193
 Camargo, Countess de Revilla, 101
 Campbell, James, 224
 Canal Zone, 96-9
 Cano, Major Eugenio Alvarez, 159
Cara al Sol, 26, 223, 226-28, 230, 235
 Carbojal, Leopoldo Sanchez, 120
 Cardenas, Juan F., 216-17, 220, 233, 236
 Cardenas, Lazaro, 169, 172-74, 264
 Carr, Fernando, 78
 Casabo, José Maria, 221
 Casa de America, La, 35
 Casa de España, 211, 215-17, 229-31, 233-34
 Casa de la Cultura, 77
 Casanova, Senator J. M., 101
 Caso, Adolfo, 165
 Castano, Benecio Sanchez, 142-43
 Castano, Jose del, 25, 31-3, 35, 38-49, 69, 110, 226, 232, 263
 Castedo, José, 161, 165
 Casteleiro, Segundo, 58
 Castellon, Marquis de, *see* Sevilla, Luis
 Castillo, Ramon, 179, 181, 185-87
 Castroviejo, Dr. Ramon, 231
 Catholic Church, 12, 42-3, 63-4, 133-34, 161, 165, 257
Catholic Digest, 218
 CEDA, 10, 20, 88
 Censors, postal, New York, 235
 Cerdeira, Francisco, 132-33
 Cervantes, Enrique, 231
 Chade, 221
 Chamberlain, Neville, 23
 Chiaranti, Pedro, 187
 Chile, 8, 188
 Christian Front, 217, 224, 237
 Churruca, D. Pablo, 195
 Cienfuegos, Marquesa de, *see* Anderson, Jane
 Cifuentes, Sergio, 62, 71
 C.I.O. Union Council, Los Angeles, 174-75
Ciudad de Madrid, liner, 106, 107, 112, 116, 120
 Civilian defense organizations, 45-9, 139, 148, 172, 234
 Club Isabel y Fernando, 215-16, 229, 234
 Collado, Benito, 211, 234
 Collado, Tomas, 211
 Colombia, 8, 26, 197-205, 207
 Colorado, Dr. Antonio J., 129
 Comacho, Avila, President, 171
 Comité Nacionalista Español de Cuba, 58-60, 101
 Communism, 80, 86, 135, 161-62, 195, 218, 258. *See also* Bolshevism
 Compañía Transatlantica Española, (CTE), 77, 105-21, 154, 215, 255
 Condor Legion, 19-20
 Confederation of Spanish Rightist Parties (CEDA), 10, 20, 88
 Conquista, Marquesa de la, 197
 Cooper, Judge Robert A., 130, 141-47
Correo de Galicia, 183
 Corteilla, Dr. Juan Homedes, 148
 Cos, Francisco Cayon y, 165
 Cot, Pierre, 264
 Coughlin, Charles, 167-68, 216
 Council of Hispanidad, *see* Hispanidad, Consejo de
 Council of the Indies, *see* Indies, Council of the
Crisol, 196
 Cruz, Senator Augustin, 69
 C.T.E., *see* Compañía Transatlantica Española
 Cuadrado, Dario, 201, 203-4
 Cuba, 35, 51-105, 201
 Cuban Confederation of Workers, 78

- Cuesta, Raimundo Fernandez, 25, 189, 191
 Cuevas, Sergio, 140
 Cugat, Alberto, 235
 Cumbreras, José del Rio, 93-6, 99
 Daladier, 23
 Danis, Daniel, 220
 Darien Mountains, 204
 Darlan, 240
 Deathage, George, 224
Diario de la Marina, 55-8, 72, 76-8, 86, 100, 103, 193, 205-6, 211-12
Diario Español, 183, 205
 Diaz, José Fidalgo, 126, 140
 Diaz, Luis Miries, 83
 Diaz, Manuel, 211, 213-15, 237-38
 Dorados, 165
 Dotres, Ricardo, 107-12, 128, 267
 Dougherty, Dennis Cardinal, 211
 Echegaray, Miguel, 220, 233, 236
 Ecuador, 8, 195-97
 Eden, Anthony, 245
 EFE news agency, 196
El Comercio, 193, 194
El Debate, 196
El Día, 196
El Diario Español, 161
 El-Gailani, Rashid Ali, 246
El Hombre Libre, 161, 162
El Imparcial, 129, 142
 Elizalde, Octavio, 221
El Liberal, 199, 203
El Mundo, 78, 125, 142
El País, 78
El Piloto, 133-35
El Siglo, 197, 200, 205, 212
El Sinarquista, 161, 168-69, 174
 Embargo Act, *see* Arms Embargo Act
Epoca, 223
 Escobar, Antonio Luis, 195
Escuadra de Acción Tradicionalista, 164
 Escuelas Pais, Pinar del Rio, 68
España, 26
España Nueva, 223, 228-29
 Espinos, Miguel, 64, 212, 221
 Esteve, Alfonso Miranda, 126, 128, 135, 142-45
 Evert, Guillermo, 84-5
 Faget, Captain, 69, 117
Falange Exterior, La, 25-8. *See also* Faupel, Wilhelm von
Falanje, 204
 Farben, I. G., 3-5, 9
 Faupel, Dr. Edith von, 8
 Faupel, Wilhelm von, conquest plans, 3-9, 22, 55; organization of *Falange Exterior*, 12-31, 35, 40-1, 44-9, 51-2, 61-2, 67-8, 80-2, 92, 119, 127, 137, 139, 150, 153-59, 165, 179-80, 207, 208, 215, three periods, 219-20; and Spain, 9-13, 18-24, 128, 182, 241, 251, purpose in neutrality, 254-57
 Federal Bureau of Investigation, 117, 174-75, 225, 238, 239
 Fernandez, Telesforo, 139-40
 Ferrer, Luciano Lopez, 128, 230
 Fiese, Henry, 131
 Fifth Column, 31-50, 67, 77-78, 92, 108, 150, 156, 158, 170, 179-81, 195, 206-7, 210, 264, 269
 Figueroa, General Mora, 156, 253
 Filipinos, 34, 40, 42-3, 46-7
 Flores, Alberto Mercado, 159
 Forbes, W. Cameron, 211
 Frankel, D. A., 132
 Franco, Francisco, 11, 42, 43, 71, 127, 143-45, 147, 150, 175-76, 201, 203, 239-42, 249-50, 253-57; anti-Semitism, 228-29; calls for Axis victory, 243-244, 254; "Caudillo," 27, 29, 34, 37-8, 49, 59, 203; rebellion, 20-5, 59-60, 125, 129-30; rector Santo Tomás, 34, 49; recognition of, 65, 220

- Frau K, 102
 Frente Anti-Comunista, 165
- Galan, Colonel Francisco, 187
 Galang, Lieutenant Ricardo C., 42, 43
 Gallego, Juan, 238
 Gallego Regional Society, 58
 Garcia, Alfonso L., 127
 Garcia, Francisco Alvarez, 60-2, 68, 72-4, 82-3, 89, 91
 Garcia, Marcelino, 211, 213-15, 217, 237-38
 Garcia, Marcos, 229
 Garcia, Mary Greevy, 212
 Gavito, María Luisa, 153
 Gerard, James W., 211
 German-American Bund, 27, 71
 German Library of Information, 222
 Gestapo, 105, 115-21, 158-60
 Goded, General, 11, 20, 21, 24
 Goebbels, Josef, 13
 Goering, Hermann, 8, 251
 Goizueta, 10
 Goldtucker, Irwin, 204
 Golowchenko, A. P., 62, 83-4
 Gomez, Fernando Sanchez, 89-90
 Gomez, José, 237
 Gomez, Laureano, 197-201, 203-5
 Gonzalez, Blas Perez, 253
 Good Neighbor Policy, 208, 232
 Gordon, Gonzalez, 101
 Gordon, Nena Velasco de Gonzalez, 59, 101
 Gortaza, 236
 Granada, 48, 49
 Gray Shirts, 79-92
 Guardia, R. A. de la, 99-100
 Guatemala, 26
 Guëll, Juan Claudio, 213
Guerrilleros, 78
 Guinazu, Ruiz, 183, 186
Guion, 26
 Gulf Stream, U-boat path, 66
- Halifax, Lord, 23
 Hart, Merwin K., 217, 224
 Harves, Oskar, 71
 Havana, 26, 51-68, 71-6, 79-80, 83-4, 89, 93-5, 100-21, 201
 Haw-Haw, Lady, *see* Anderson, Jane
 Hayes, Carlton J. H., 150, 243-47, 264
 Hellerman, Hans, 155
 Hernandez, Major Jose M., 42, 43
 Himmler, Heinrich, 29, 115
 Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, 230
Hispanidad, Consejo de, 29-31, 161, 165, 190-91, 194, 232
- Hitler, Adolf, 3, 13, 19-20, 22, 30, 56, 57, 61, 65, 80, 86, 96, 98, 128, 131, 145, 170, 208, 229, 262; backers of, 9; Hull's statement, 266; invasion of Spain, 15, 57, 151, 240-42, 268
 Hoare, Sir Samuel, 23, 243
Hoja Popular, 196
 Honares, José Gonzales, 188
 Hoppe, Eugenio, 65
 Hornung, Dr. Hoguet, 106, 112
Hoy, 78
 Hull, Cordell, 266
- Ibarruri, (La Pasionaria), Dolores, 23, 24
 Ibero-American Institute, 3, 5, 7-9, 18, 92, 150, 179, 180, 204, 208
Ibero-Americanisches Archiv, 8
Ilustrado, Puerto Rico, 131
 Indies, Council of the, 30, 194, 197
Informaciones, 33, 46
 Inter-American News Service, 223
 Iraizoz, Dr. Antonio, 95, 99-100
 Irogoyen, Pedro, 195
Isla de Tenerife, freighter, 237
 Italian Fascists, 65-6

- Japanese, 41, 44, 46-8, 65-6, 81-2, 193, 195
 Jews, 79-80, 87, 107, 134-35, 162; "International," 171, 190-91, 195, 200, 219, 228-29
 Jimenez, Jesús M., 174
 Jordana, Gómez, 185
 Julian, Major San, 164
 Junco, Alfonso, 161
- Kahn, Albert, 84
 Kelley, John Eoghan, 223-25
 Kuhn, Fritz, 71
- La Defensa*, 196
 Lademann, Walter, 74
 Ladmann, Clemens, 58, 71
La Falange Exterior, 26-8, 210
 Lago, Cayetano Garcia, 69
La Nación, 161, 164
 Laos, Carlos Miro Quesado, 193
La Prensa, 194
 Larcegui, Francisco, 205, 212-13, 222, 236, 238
La Semana, 161
 Laval, Pierre, 23, 246
 Leahy, Admiral, 138
 Legion of National Revolutionary Syndicalists, 79-92
 Liga Antibelica Mexicana, 171
 Liga de Hispanidad Ibero-América, 164-65
 Lindbergh, Charles A., 75, 88
Listin Diario, 206
 Lonja del Comercio, Cuba, 54, 57, 76, 101
 Lopez, Alfonso, 203
 Los Angeles, 173-74, 233
 Lozano, Adolfo, 172
 Lubiano, Mrs. Etelvina, 212
 Luce, Claire Booth, 252
 Lucientes, Francisco de, 235-36, 238
 Luna, Salvador Ruiz de, 64
 Luni, Enrique August, *see* Luning, Heinz August
- Luning, Heinz August, 106, 112-20, 148, 267
 Mac Cormick, Dr. Muñoz, 145
 Madrid, 23, 29, 33-5, 38, 75; Fifth Column, 158; symbolism, 23-4, 268
 Maestri, Raoul, 57, 58, 71, 72, 103
Magallanes, liner, 120-21
 Mandel, George, 264
 Manila, 26, 31-50, 110, 122, 227, 269
 Manueles, Condesa Santa Cruz de, 234
Mar Cantabrico, 214
 March, Juan, 10
 Marin, José Gonzales, 128-31, 138, 215-16
 Marinas, Jesús, 79-80, 82-92
Marques de Comillas, 231
 Martin, Diego Gonzalez, 78
 Martin, Captain José, 221
 Martinez, Ava de la Vega, 103
 Martinez, Miguel Barcelo, ("Camurada"), 120-21, 160, 231, 237
 Martiniq, 207
 Marxism, 32, 228, 258
 Masonic order, 40, 124, 161, 169
 Mayorga, José, 237-38
 Mazas, Rafael Sanchez, 34, 226-27
 Mediavilla, Gaspar, 234-35
 Mendez, Emeliano, 145
 Mendoza, Ricardo, 235
 Messersmith, George, 72
Meteor, German warship, 131-32
Mexico Nueva, 161
 Miguel Auza, mayor of, 172
 Mirambell, José Coll, 187
 Mola, General, 11, 176
 Molina, Juan Batista, 186
 Monarchists, 6, 10-13, 55, 88, 175-77, 240-42
 Monroe Doctrine, 213
 Montero, Manuel, 189
 Montero, Eugenio, 192
 Montoya, Carlos, 231
 Morel, Emilio S., 206

- Morelia, "capture," 171
 Moreno, Luis Roldan, 28, 199-203
 Moreno, Manuel, 192
 Morgan, Anne, 212
 Morin, Gómez, 152, 161, 165
 Mosely, Van Horn, 224
Motomar, liner, 238
 Munoz, Ramon Salo, 234
 Mussolini, Benito, 19, 20, 56, 96, 98, 129, 167, 244
- National Spanish Relief Association, 228
 National Union of Sinarquistas, 81, 150, 163, 165-75, 207
 Nazis, 5, 24-26, 40, 52, 63-5, 69-72, 77, 80, 83-4, 119-21, 136, 143, 150-51, 157-63, 180-81, 197, 206, 241, 257
 Negrin, Juan, 176
 Neutrality, 254-57, 263, 269
 New York, 210-18, 220-23, 231, 234-38
New York Times, 228
 Nielsen-Reyes, Federico, 8
 Non-intervention agreement, 22, 23, 263
Nueva España, 26, 189
 Nye, Senator Gerald P., 213-15
- Ochoa, Leopoldo Martinez, 135
Omega, 161, 162
 Om Laboratories, 108
 Ontano, Major José Enrique Carril, 155, 164
 Orbeta, Dionisio Trigo de, 139
 Orbeta, Colonel Enrique de, 125, 139
 Orbeta, Juan Trigo, 139
 Orozco, Luis G., 161
 Ortiz, President, 186, 187
 Osorio, Hoyos, 194
 Osorio, Leon, 164
 Ostros, Filipe de, 145
- Padilla, Father Victor Jesús Herrero, 134
 Padrone, Lieutenant Francisco, 65, 69, 72, 73
 Panama, 8, 96-101
 Panama Canal, 96-97, 138, 197, 122, 204
 Pan-Americanism, 228, 232
 Papen, Franz vop, 5
 Paraguay, 8
 Partido Autonomista Mexicano (P.A.M.), 165
 Patagonia, 180, 197
 Paulino, Major Miguel Angel, 205
 Pearl Harbor, 67, 74, 91-2, 110, 122-23, 139, 155-56, 188, 232-34, 262, 269
 Peman, José Maria, 165-66, 192
 Peninsular News Service, 222, 224-25
 Perignat, José de, 215, 221
 Perignat, José de, Jr., 234
 Perona, José Maria Torres, 211
 Peroya, Carlos, 166
 Perrin, Nat J. L., 225
 Persico, Giovanni, 64
 Peru, 5, 8, 26, 191-95
 Peru-Ecuador border war, 196-97
 Philippines, 6, 13, 24-5, 33-50
 Plandolit, Onos de, 200
Plato Unico (Single Dish) banquet, Havana, 64
 PM, 86, 232
 Pou, Martin, 35-8
 Prado, Manuel, 192, 194
 Prieto, Carlos, 152
 Puerto Rico, 122-49, 207, 215
- Quezon, Manuel, 47, 50
 Quijano, Alejandro, 152
 Quiros, Mendez, 221, 236
- Rajul, Arturo, 204
 Rajul, Hilario, 197-98, 204
 Ramirez, Miguel Gil, 64

- Ramos, José Ignacio, 185, 236
 Rebagliatti, Raoul Ferrero, 194
 Rebbo, Merebi, 246
Reichswehr, 6-8, 19, 62, 158, 241, 251, 268
 Renovacion Española, 229
 Rexist party, 182-83
 Reymunde, Manuel Alvarez, 74
 Ribernat, Antonio, 68
 Ribilzki, Leo, 127
 Rice, Dr. A. Hamilton, 212
 Ricstra, Genaro, 33, 35, 67-9, 73
 Rio, Manuel del, 231
 Rionda, Manuel, 231
 Riviera, José Antonio Primo de, 12, 24, 27, 39, 75, 80, 82, 126, 206
 Rivera, Pilar Primo de, 48, 49, 212
 Rivero, José Ignacio (Pepin), 57, 59-60, 64, 71-4, 85-6, 193, 205, 211
 Rivero, Nicolas, 55-7
 Robles, Gil, 10, 12, 20
 Roosevelt, F. D., 58, 71, 88, 136, 161, 163, 186, 200, 208, 228, 252-53; New Deal, 41, 124, 138, 162
 Rosado, José Gimenez, 203
 Rosenberg, Alfred, 13
 Rubio, David, 230
 Ruspoli, Prince Camillio, 65, 66
- Saavedra, A. Sanchez, 229
 Sabbatino, Sylvester, 217
Sabotage, Sayers and Kahn, 84
 Salazar, Oliveira, 135, 167, 189
 Sancho, Father Silvestre, 34, 43
 San Francisco, 221, 229, 233
 Sangroniz, 233
 San Juan, Puerto Rico, 13, 26
 Sanjurjo, General José, 9-11, 20, 21
 Santo Domingo, 205-7
 Sayers, Michael, 84
 Schnitzler, Georg von, 5-7
 Schreiter, Hellmuth Oskar, 166-7
 Schroeder, Baron von, 5
- Serrano, Augusto Ibañez, 152, 159, 163-65, 177, 220
 Sevilla, Luis, 175-77, 240
 Sheehan, Fulton, Monsignor, 218
 Sierra, Colonel Manuel de la, 191, 220, 236
 SIM (Spanish Army Intelligence Service), 158-60, 195, 207
 Sinarquistas, *see* National Union of Sinarquistas
Social Justice, 167-68, 216
 Societa Italiana di Assistenza, 66
 Solari, Juan Antonio, report, 187
 Sordo, Eulogio Celorio, 153, 156
 Soriano, Andres, 36-8, 49, 50, 221
Spain, 222-25, 228, 230, 235
 Spanish-American War, 40, 54, 123
 Spanish Library of Information, 222, 223, 225, 228-30, 235
 Spanish Nationalist Relief Committee, 211-12
 Spanish Republic, 6, 7, 52-4, 135; conspiracy against, 9-13, 18-21, 86, 241; Constitution, 7; embargo against, 22-3, 214-15, 219, 225, 263, 265-66; free schools, 63; war against, 21-4, 59, 65, 124-25, 201, 205-6, 214-15, 217-18, 224-25, 261-69
 Spanish Republicans, 52, 155, 264; continue to fight, 245-47, guerrillas, 255; in Latin America, 77, 93, 108, 110-12, 120-21, 129, 148, 176-77, 194, 205, 259, 264
 Stalin, Joseph, 219, 228
 State Department, 23, 25, 129, 220, 224, 236, 238-42, 249, 253, 265-67; *White Book*, 261-64, 267
 Steuben Society, 224
 Stimson, Henry L., 264-66, 269
 Stohrer, Eberhard von, 9-10, 63
 Submarines, *see* U-boats
 Such, Miguel, 132-33
 Suner, Serrano, 25, 251-54
 Sunyó, Joaquin, 221-22

- Sweet, F.B.I. agent, 117
 Swope, Guy, 138
- Taborda, Raoul Damonte, report, 179-81, 187
 Teneriffe, 248
 Thyssen, Fritz, 4, 5, 7
 Tiedra, Marquesa de, 101, 102
 Toledano, Vicente Lombardo, 157
 Tomás, Santo, University of, 34, 49
 Trabieso, Judge Martin, 144
 Transocean News Service, 196, 245
 Trigo, Dionisio, 125, 126, 129, 135-36, 140
 Trueba Olivares, José and Alfonso, 166-67
 Trujillo, Rafael, 205-6
 Tugwell, Rexford Guy, 138-39, 145
 Twenty-Seven Points, of Falange, 13-19, 32, 126, 143
 Twenty-eight points, 126
- U-boats, 66, 70, 77, 104, 115, 139, 141, 207, 214, 248, 255
 Ukranian Nazis, 84
Unidad, 26, 193
 Unzueta, Major Francisco Garay, 156
 Uruguay, 8, 178, 207, 258
- Valencia, Alfonso, 145
 Valle, Antonio del, 62, 63
 Vallellano, Count, 234
 Valverde, Antonio, 28, 29, 199-03
- Vanguardia Nacionalista, 165
 Varela, Federico, 213
 Vega, Francisco de la, 72, 75
 Veintemilla, Mariano Suarez, 196
 Venezuela, 8, 178, 207
 Ventoso, Jacinto, 129, 131-33
 Vera, Jorge de, 60, 61
 Vichy France, 102
 Vicreck, George Sylvester, 222
 Villa, Abelardo Gonzalez, 90
 Villanueva, Alejandro, 61-4, 67, 68, 70, 71, 111, 135, 138, 201, 212, 216
 Villarino, Alfonso Serrano, 60, 71
- Washington, D. C., 232, 236, 238, 240
 Weimar Republic, 5, 241
 Welhead, Ricardo, 104
 Welles, Sumner, 186
 Winship, Governor Blanton, 130, 136, 138, 144
 Woelckers, Hermann, 64
 Wright, Colonel John W., 130, 138, 144
- Yubrita, Felipe, 153
Yugo, Manila, 26, 32, 161
- Zaydin, Prime Minister, 119-20
 Zobel, Enrique, 36-8
 Zoll, Allen, 224
 Zorrilla, "Comrade Armando Valdes," 87