

~~INFORMAL SECRET REPORT~~

File 320

COUNTRY Peru

DATE DISTR. 4 October 1948

SUBJECT Background of Split in Communist Party of Peru

NO. OF PAGES 12

25X1A

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DATE OF INFO April to July 1948

SUPPLEMENT TO REPORT NO. [REDACTED]

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The following report gives information concerning the split in the PCP, supplementary to that contained [REDACTED] 25X1A

Expulsion of Juan P. Luna and Eliseo Sanchez

- On 7 April 1948, the Political Commission of the Communist Party of Peru, acting in accordance with the Resolutions of the Party Control Commission, expelled Juan P. Luna Salazar from the Communist Party of Peru. Luna was at that time Secretary of the Lima Departmental Committee of the PCP.
- The quarrel between Luna and the Lima Departmental Committee on one hand and members of the Central Committee led by Jorge Del Prado on the other is one of long standing. The reason for the sudden precipitation of affairs was the approach of the XIV Lima Departmental Congress, at which Party officials later stated that they had information that Luna would attempt a "golpe" against the present Directorate. From their point of view, drastic measures had become urgent.
- A resolution of expulsion, which was dated back to 20 March 1948, was drawn up by the National Control Commission, and, under cover of a letter dated 7 April 1948, was forwarded to the Political Commission of the Party. The resolution, which set forth the antecedents of the Central Committee's case against Luna, expelled him for not following the Party line, as well as for being a disorganizing influence, a dissident, and a Trotskyite.
- The Resolution also expelled Sanchez, a close friend of Luna and a member of the Lima Departmental Committee, for speeches in defense of Luna criticising the Central Committee and it accused him of plotting against the present Committee. Party leaders claimed to have discovered the "plot" through agents from among the Juventud Comunista and the Seccion Femenil, led by Emilia Casas, and thus to have forestalled internal revolution within the Party through the strong measure of expulsion.
- Secretary General Jorge Del Prado immediately wrote letters to the Departmental Committees of Cuzco and Arequipa, the centers of Communist strength outside of Lima, explaining the expulsion of Luna and Sanchez, and forwarding the explanatory documents. He stated he looked for their full support for this action in the face of this serious Party crisis.

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Reaction to Expulsion Decree

6. On 10 April 1948, a meeting of all cell leaders in the Lima area was called at which the decision of the Central Committee was made known. Criticism of the Committee's action began to be voiced immediately, and complaints were made that such action should have been postponed until after the XIV Lima Departmental Congress, scheduled for the second week in May. Opponents of the move felt that, coming at such a time and in such a manner, it was dictatorial in nature. The Central Committee answered this criticism by stating that other expulsions might follow in view of Luna's proven disaffection, and a firm stand was therefore necessary. Steps were immediately taken by the Central Committee to cancel the XIV Lima Departmental Congress, and a Plenary Session of the Lima Departmental Committee was called for 9 May instead. This change in plans was expected to serve as a test to ascertain how many would follow the decision of the Central Committee, and how many might ultimately desert to Luna.
7. Signs of reaction by Luna were immediate, and the Barrios Altos Committee took one of the first protesting steps by addressing a complaint to the Political Committee requesting a reversal of its decision to hold the III National Congress of the Party in Cuzco, rather than in Lima, as usual. This matter had long been a bone of contention between Luna and the Central Committee. Luna had maintained that to hold the Party Congress in Cuzco would be to pack it in favor of the Central Committee, to the prejudice of the Lima group, and this request was undoubtedly inspired by him. This complaint revealed Luna's influence with this important local committee, the only such committee with sufficient members and resources to mimeograph its own local news and propaganda sheet, a small tabloid appearing irregularly, known as El Popular.

Further Expulsions

8. Meanwhile, faced with signs of unrest within the Party and stubbornly determined to go ahead, the National Control Commission continued with its "purge". On 15 April, the Provincial Committee of Callao, reportedly acting at the orders of the Central Committee, expelled four members: Felipe Nunez, Valentina Pena, Nicasio Martinez, and Marcial Villanueva. This Provincial Committee at the same time approved the decision of the National Control Commission to expel Luna.
9. Expulsion of the four members was based on information provided to the Provincial Committee of Callao that these four were followers of Luna, and in contact with the Frente de Unidad e Independencia Sindical (FUIS) of Ravines.

Reaction of Departmental Committee

10. The attitude of the remaining members of the Lima Departmental Committee in opposition to the Central Committee soon became apparent. They met on 20 April 1948 and issued a statement in which they rejected the decision of the Party Control Commission to expel Luna, and opened their own attack on the members of the Central Committee. At the same meeting, they determined to boycott the III National Congress of the Party if it were held in Cuzco.
11. The Central Committee answered with a strong statement of its own in reply, dated 23 April and signed by the Secretary General.

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Activities of Luna

12. Luna himself proceeded immediately to mend his labor fences, and resumed his old job as a bus driver on Bus Line No. 21, Rimac to Mercado Mayorista. As such, he was elected on 21 April as Secretary of Organization of the Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores en Autobuses. Three other Communists were elected at the same time out of a Syndical Directorate of eight persons: Ernesto Bracho, Secretary of Social Aid; Felipe Guerreros, Secretary of Finances; Jesus Herrera, Secretary of Acts. In addition, one of the five newly-elected Delegates from the Syndicate to the Chauffeurs' Federation, Julio Zegarra, and two of the four Delegates from the Syndicate to the Union Sindical de Trabajadores de Lima, Pascual Hernani and Julio Romero, are also Communists.
13. Rumors began to appear concerning Luna's other future activities and it was said at one point that he intended to run as Labor Candidate for the Senate from the Department of Lima, thus splitting Arturo Sabroso's labor vote and assuring the election of the Conservative candidate, Oscar Grau. It was said that his campaign would be master-minded and financed by ex-President Manuel Prado, in return for assurances of cooperation in the electoral campaign of 1951. Members of the Central Committee noted that Luna was present at Prado's house on 21 April ostensibly "to convey birthday greetings."
14. By the end of April, Luna's campaign against the Central Committee was well under way, and expressions of regret, displeasure and disagreement with the expulsion Resolution began to arrive in Lima from the outlying districts, the first from Cañete, Chincha, Pisco and Ica. A special delegation came in person from the latter town to interview the Central Committee and protest.
15. Luna gave up his work as a bus driver after a short while, and returned to driving his taxicab. His movement and whereabouts were closely followed at the orders of the Central Committee, to prevent his further sabotage of its activities, such as had been noted on 27 April when only five members of the Syndical Commission of the Lima Departmental Committee attended a meeting called by the Central Committee to plan the Communist Party program for May Day.

May Day Celebrations

16. May Day celebrations in Lima brought out several facts of interest: first, that the Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores en Autobuses remains predominantly Aprista, for its May 1st Declaration was completely Aprista in tone and content; second, that one of the "expulsados", Felipe Nunez, had already joined the Frente de Unidad e Independencia Sindical; and third, that Luna had already succeeded in winning at least one union group over to his side, namely, the Federacion de Obreros Panaderos "Estrella del Peru." This group, in a statement inspired by Luna, signed by Julian Tasayco S., secretary, refused to obey the orders of the Central Committee of the PCP to parade with the CTP. This union group held its own "independent" celebration on the first of May.

Further Reaction

17. The Central Committee ordered a Boletin Extraordinario to be issued on 4 May and distributed throughout the party. This was a reprint of various accusations made against Luna before the party Control Commission and was

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originally issued 30 June 1947.

18. On 4 May there appeared in Vanguardia, the organ of Lucio Ravines, an article in defense of Luna which caused some concern among the Central Committee, first because of the fact that Ravines showed himself to be well informed concerning the whole affair, probably "from the inside," as they believed, and secondly, because of the possibility foreshadowed by the article that Ravines and Luna, both former Communist Party officials, might join hands in the formation of a rival group. Through the end of July, however, this remained the only indication of an alliance, in spite of continual denunciation of Luna by the Central Committee as a "Ravinista."
  19. Both the Political Commission and the Lima Departmental Committee met on Monday, 10 May. The first group agreed to stand fast by their position and to continue the "purge" ordered by the Central Committee. The second group reiterated their decision not to attend the III National Congress if it were held in Cuzco, and, going further, threatened under those circumstances to hold their own Congress in Lima instead.
- Installation of XIV Departmental Congress; Additional Expulsions
20. On 16 May 1948, the Lima Departmental Committee, now in full revolt against the Central Committee, held a special all day session in Chosica at the house of one (fnu) Maldonado, who is employed at the botica in Chosica Bajo.
  21. The meeting decided that in spite of the attitude of the Central Committee they would hold the XIV Departmental Congress of the Lima Departmental Committee as originally scheduled, and Committees were formed to invite Delegates from all possible favorable local and provincial committees within the Department.
  22. Informed of the above "mutiny", the Central Committee took further drastic action, and the Control Commission expelled from the Communist Party of Peru six of the most prominent pro-Luna leaders of the Lima Departmental Committee: Jorge Ascoitia, Oscar Doria, Carmelo Moreno Espejo, Antonio Barzola, Salvador Ferrantes and Angel Marin. At the same time the Political Commission suspended all remaining officers of the Lima Departmental Committee, and declared it to be in a "status of reorganization". These decisions were announced in a document dated 18 May 1948. Making reference to the Lima Departmental Committee's Declaration of 20 April rejecting the decision of the Control Commission, Doria, Ascoitia, Moreno and Marin were expelled as the authors of that statement, Barzola for his "campana fraccionalista" in El Popular, and Ferrantes for being, apparently, a generally undesirable character.
  23. The Political Commission then notified all Lima cells and committees on 20 May that the XIV Departmental Congress was postponed indefinitely, and would be replaced by a General Assembly of the Party in Lima to discuss the political roots and the significance of the crisis of the Party in Lima. In addition, a copy of this communication was nailed to the door of Lima Departmental Committee quarters at Party Headquarters, Colmena, 669, and the room locked and barred by members of the Central Committee.
  24. As agreed at the Chosica meeting, and in spite of the fact that many of them had now been expelled from the PCP, a group of the expelled members of the Lima Departmental Committee met in the patio of Communist Party Headquarters,

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Lima. Disregarding the notice nailed to the door, they broke into Lima Departmental Quarters where under the guidance of Luna they proceeded to hold what they called the "XIV Departmental Congress of the Lima Departmental Committee of the Communist Party of Peru."

25. This meeting, which lasted until 8:00 p.m., agreed:
  - a) to censure the present officers of the PCP;
  - b) not to recognize the decisions or the authority of the members of the Control Commission who had expelled from the Party various members of the Lima Departmental Committee, and to nullify the Expulsion Resolution;
  - c) to hold the III National Congress of the Party in Lima, rather than Guzco; and
  - d) to publish their own newspaper, independent of Labor.
26. During the course of the meeting a note addressed to Jorge Del Prado was drafted by Washington Leon, and sent to him by special messenger requesting him to present himself and answer in person for his actions. The note was, of course, ignored by Del Prado.
27. The group reported this "first session" to Party members in Lima, and agreed to meet again on Tuesday, 25 May, in the same place, inviting all those not present to meet with them.
28. The Political Commission the following day issued a statement referring to their previous communication of the 20th, giving their account of the events of Sunday, and warning against this "pseudo 'Departmental Congress'". That same evening they drew up and ordered printed at the Party Press a small leaflet strongly attacking Luna and his "gang", which they ordered distributed throughout Lima the following day.
29. On 25 May, when the dissident Lima Departmental Committee tried again to meet at the same place as they had on Sunday, they found that the orthodox Party had this time called for help, and was prepared. The entire membership of the Central Committee in Lima was present, in addition to many others. In the face of this display of force the "dissidents" were finally obliged to retire and clear the street in front of No. 669. At one point, Pedro del Pino threatened to call the police if the street were not cleared immediately. He was only dissuaded by the cooler head of Luis Nieto who pointed out the danger of asking police interference to settle a riot between the two opposing groups of Communists.
30. The Luna group finally returned to Lince, Calle Mariscal Las Heras 557, where they again opened their "Congress", and an even larger group finally gathered than had been present on the preceding Sunday.
31. Little business was accomplished, the remainder of the time being taken up with inflammatory speeches attacking the Central Committee. Two of these are of some interest: one blaming the Central Committee for the decline in membership in the Lima area from a former figure of 45 well-organized cells to a present figure of 30 such cells, and a second speech pointing out that although the Central Committee claimed it had no money to print Labor, it still disposed of enough funds to print 10,000 of the leaflets mentioned above, and distribute them throughout Lima in "an act of high treason against the comrades of the Lima Departmental Committee." The meeting agreed to continue its sessions the following day at the same place, and continue to meet there thereafter.

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32. The meeting the following day was mainly devoted to drafting the Document identified as "Bulletin no. 1 of the XIV Departmental Congress of the Lima Departmental Committee of the Communist Party of Peru." The Bulletin attacks the National Directorate (i.e., the Central Committee) in the usual terms and describes the installation of the "XIV Departmental Congress", listing as present, representatives from 16 of Lima's 30 functioning cells, as well as representatives from the Committee of Barrios Altos and the Provincial Committee of Huacho and, as observers, representatives from the Miraflores Committee, the Departmental Youth Committee, the Cell "Amauta" and the students' group.
33. Juan Polo Diaz, of the Civil Construction Workers, gave a speech indicating that the Argentine Embassy had recently been in contact with that union, offering to assist them with problems of syndical structure, instruction and the like.

Installation of the Comité Reorganizador

34. The Grand Assembly of the orthodox Party group met as scheduled on 5 June, with Secretary General Jorge Del Prado, Communist Deputy Sergio Caller, Juan Lopez, member of the Central Committee and National Secretary of Rural Matters, and Ancelmo Farias, National Secretary of Organization, on the platform. Aside from Party officials, about 100 Party members attended.
35. The meeting was opened by a short report by Caller. He referred to the present Party crisis, brought about by a small group of "divisionistas" who were attempting to divide the Party and confuse the laboring masses, thus "fulfilling the orders of Imperialism." He stated that a similar crisis had occurred in France in 1947. There the Secretary General of the French Communist Party (PCF) took immediate repressive measures to prevent the "agents of imperialism" from carrying out their mission of sabotage within the ranks of the PCF, and Caller read selected paragraphs from a report of the PCF in illustration of the above. He called attention to the fact that just as Luna had done, the "divisionistas" in France made it their first aim to undermine the Party statutes.
36. In closing, Caller introduced Del Prado, emphasizing the latter's position as the true representative of PCP's founder, Mariategui, from whom he had received personal training and instructions, and lauding Del Prado's twenty years of struggle in the ranks of the Communist Party of Peru.
37. Del Prado opened his remarks with the usual attack on Luna and his associates of the former Lima Departmental Committee for their systematic sabotage of the Party Directorate and the Party organization, accusing him of distorting the Party line with his attack on the Statutes in "his miserable campaign to destroy the Party." Included in his speech were several specific accusations and replies to accusations that are of some interest.
38. Del Prado stated that at the 1945 elections, when the Communist Party presented Cabrera Briones as candidate for Deputy for Lima he received 4,000 votes, thus indicating, according to Del Prado, that there were at least 5,000 Party members in the Lima area at that time, when, he stated, 64 cells functioned in the Department. Today, he said, this number has fallen 50% and only 32 cells now function, because, he alleged, of the ineptitude of the former Lima Departmental Committee under Luna.

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39. Luna, he stated, had frequently failed to send out Party notices, etc., and Del Prado reported that when the Central Committee took over Lima Departmental quarters at Colmena 669, they found many such bulletins and notices, printed at great expense and under great difficulties by the Party but left rotting undistributed in the files of the Departmental Committee. He pointed out that for a recent "fiesta" to raise money for the III National Congress, 200 tickets had been sent to the Lima Departmental Committee for sale, but when they broke into their files they found 180 of these were still lying in the Lima archives unsold, thus indicating the "sabotage" carried on by the Luna group.
40. In dealing with Luna's relations with ex-President Manuel Prado, Jorge Del Prado reported that the Party intelligence services now had positive proof that it was Luna who had persuaded the Prado Government to pay for the return of the traitor Ravines to Peru. He pointed out that this contact between Luna and Manuel Prado still appeared to exist, for a large group of orthodox Party members employed by Prado enterprises (La Cronica, etc.) had recently been dismissed from their jobs, which could only be at Luna's instigation.
41. In answer to Luna's accusation that the III National Congress of the Party had been postponed several times for the sole purpose of perpetuating the present directorate in office, Del Prado pointed out that this was ridiculous, for their salary as officers of the Party (S/200 per month; S/250 per month if married) was less than any day laborer gets, yet their duties absorbed so much of their time that they were unable to take full time paying jobs elsewhere.
42. Del Prado admitted that Luna now had with him one provincial Committee, one local Committee, several local cells, and the Communist cells within the Auto Bus Drivers' Union, the Tramway Conductors' Union, and the Civil Construction workers. He stated, however, "this does not bother us; on the other hand, we welcome it, for in this way we know who are the traitors and who are the true followers of the glorious Party founded by Jose Carlos Mariategui."
43. At the close of the meeting it was determined to appoint a new or orthodox Lima Departmental Committee as soon as possible to replace the former one now "in reorganization."
44. On Sunday, 13 June, the orthodox PGP elected their new Lima Departmental Committee, known as the "Comite Reorganizador", and made up of the following:

Federico Iriarte, Secretary General  
 Flores de Paz, Secretary of Organization  
 Juvenal Gorriti, Secretary of Economy  
 Emilia Casas, Secretary of Culture and Propaganda  
 Maximo Gonzales, Syndical Secretary  
 Cesar Nieto, Secretary of Rural Matters  
 Luis Santiago Sabogal, Secretary of Defense  
 Hugo Levano, Youth Movement Liaison

45. Cesar Nieto, first elected Secretary General, asked to be relieved of that position because of the necessity of leaving Lima for Cuzco in a few days on urgent family business. Nemesio Loaiza was first elected Syndical Secretary, but later was replaced by Gonzales, a textile worker by profession. Three of the above group are hold-overs from the former Lima Departmental Committee, Sabogal, Flores de Paz, and Iriarte. Flores de Paz is employed as a teacher in an Escuela Fiscal, and uses the pseudonym "Lorenzo Rumi" in anything made public by the party, in view of the law that forbids school teachers to take part in politics or hold office in political parties.

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46. The new Comité Reorganizador was installed at festivities held 13 June in common celebration of (1) the birthday of José Carlos Mariátegui, (2) the accession of the Gottwald Government in Czechoslovakia, and (3) the birthday of Eliceo García Lazo, National Syndical Secretary and Director of Labor.

Developments on the Labor Front and in the Provinces

47. During this period, the confidence of the Central Committee was somewhat shaken by several developments in the labor field. The National Syndical Secretary reported that two strikes were in progress in factories that counted a certain number of Communists among the directors of the Unions concerned (Fabrica de Confecciones "Campeones"; Fabrica de Tejidos "La Victoria"). In neither case, however, had these members conferred with Party leaders as to what line the Party should take and what tactics should be followed with reference to the strike. Orthodox Party leaders feared lest this indicate that these groups had gone over to Luna. In the same way, a complaint in preparation for a strike had been presented by the workers of the Empresas Electricas Asociadas, likewise a Union with Communist representation among its directors, and likewise ignoring Party leaders in their instructions and plans for the strike.
48. Further Luna strength in the labor field was brought to light at a meeting of the Political Commission on 11 June, attended for the first time in months by Carlos Guadalupe, an official of the Federacion Nacional de Ferrovialarios. Guadalupe stated that the expulsion of Luna had been severely criticized in the Federation, and he reported that the overwhelming majority of the anti-Aprista railway workers would undoubtedly join Luna. He finished his report by stating that he did not wish to criticize the Central Committee, but merely warn them that they were not dealing with a minority group in expelling Luna and others, but with a very large part of the Party's membership in the Lima area. In reply, the decision of the Control Commission was defended by Rojas, with the usual statements that they had documentary proof of Luna's complicity and his "divisionist activities".
49. An encouraging note from the point of view of the Central Committee was provided by Juan Lopez, National Secretary of Rural Matters, who reported that among the rural workers, the decision of the Control Commission to expel these divisionist elements appeared to be generally approved.
50. A confidential report on the effects of the division in the Party in the Provinces was brought back to the Central Committee and the Political Commission by José Macedo Mendoza, a member of both, who returned to Lima on 23 June from a trip to Arequipa and Puno. Macedo reported that the expulsion of Luna had the full support of the Party in Puno, but that in Arequipa the membership appeared sharply divided on the question. Macedo deplored this state of affairs, pointing out that although there were more members of the Communist Party in Puno than in Arequipa, the former were largely Indians while the latter group were "gente de presentacion y lucha". He also reported a small group of malcontents in Puno around Vicente Mendoza Diaz who three times now had been a candidate for the Province of Huancayo only to have the elections postponed in each case. Macedo reported that Mendoza was now criticizing the Party in Lima for "allowing" the Government to do this and thus "rob" him of his Deputyship.

Developments During the Month of July

51. By the fifth of July, the so-called XIV Departmental Congress of the Lima Departmental Committee, originally installed by the Luna group in May, had come to a close. Meetings had been held sporadically since May at the Celula

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Luis Carlos Prestes in Lince, Calle Mariscal Las Heras 557, and a "Lima Departmental Committee" had been elected and conclusions and resolutions were being edited.

52. The Lima Departmental Committee elected by the dissidents consisted of the following:

Juan Polo Diaz, Secretary  
 Cesar Doria  
 Odon Espinoza  
 Jorge Ascoitia  
 Carmelo Moreno  
 Luis Diaz  
 Manuel Luis Andia  
 J. M. (Tito) Doria  
 A. J. Bello

53. This "Committee" was immediately ridiculed by the orthodox Party, who pointed out that whereas the dissidents had always attacked the Central Committee for being "intellectuals", their own Committee contained only one laborer (Polo), the remainder being three students (Doria, Espinoza, Andia), four employees (J. Doria, Ascoitia, Moreno, Diaz), and one taxi-owner-and-land-proprietor (Bello).
54. The Central Committee took seriously the final defection of Juan Polo Diaz, as indicated by these elections. Although known to be sympathetic to Luna, Polo had not previously been expelled from the Party. His election led directly to the Second Resolution of the VII Plenary Session of the Central Committee, then in session, expelling the following from the orthodox PCP:

Juan Polo  
 Alejandro Bello  
 Odon Espinoza  
 Nilo Espinoza  
 Roberto Doria  
 Manuel Andia  
 Jose Gamarra  
 Ludovico Ricran  
 Washington Leon

Of this group, Polo, Bello, O. Espinoza, Doria and Andia are members of the dissident "Lima Departmental Committee", and the remainder were active in organizing the so-called XIV Departmental Congress of the Lima Group. The most important of the conclusions and resolutions of the Luna group at this time is perhaps that which "expels" certain leading members of the Central Committee, with an allegedly documented case against each.

55. On 16 July the Luna group began publishing its own newspaper, known as Bandera Popular, under the editorship of P. Daniel Leiva A. The paper is published at Mariscal Las Heras 557, the Headquarters of the Luna Group, and printed by the Imprenta Leonir, Luna Pizarro 725, Lima. Only this one number appeared during the month of July. Leiva is reported to be a University student, not previously prominent in Communist affairs.
56. Among the University students, the Luna group has made some headway, particularly, it is reported, through the influence of the student leader Doria, now a member of the dissident Lima Departmental Committee. The majority of the Communist Youth Movement (Juventud Comunista), however, is said to remain

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loyal to the Central Committee, led by Hugo Levano, now a member of the orthodox Lima Departmental "Comite Reorganizador".

57. From the students, the Luna group has made a spectacular "catch" by securing the adherence of Jose Carlos Mariategui Chiappe, the son of the founder of the Communist Party of Peru. The dissident "Fraccion Comunista Universitaria" now lists as its officers Jose Carlos Mariategui Ch. as Responsible Secretary and T. Daniel Leiva as Secretary of Press and Propaganda.
58. The magic of Mariategui's name is such that the orthodox group has sent out special warnings, notifying members that Jose Carlos Mariategui Chiappe, who is collecting funds for Nuestra Bandera, is not a member nor affiliated in any way with the Communist Party of Peru. This warning bulletin, dated 26 July and signed by the National Commission for Organization, continues that there is no such thing as the Lima Departmental Committee of the PCP, but only the Comite Reorganizador, and that all those collecting funds for the former are charlatans and impostors.
59. From the outset, one of Luna's chief advisors and strongest supporters has been Alijo Obregoso, with two important consequences as a result. First, through Obregoso's influence, Luna during July was appointed Technical Advisor both to the Union de Maritimos y Portuarios del Peru and the Federacion de Tripulantes, the two most important maritime unions in the country. When taken with his position as Secretary of Organization of the Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores en Autobuses, this appointment assures his personal position as an important figure in Peruvian labor. Second, Obregoso and Luna working together appear to have completely monopolized relations between Peru and the CTAL, and have provided CTAL headquarters with their version of the Party crisis in Lima. Obregoso appears to be the only member of the Party in Lima who is in direct personal contact with Lombardo. Obregoso receives regular correspondence from Lombardo at the address of Jiron Ocona 250, Apartment 17, Lima, under the name of Alberto G. Cordova.

#### Conclusion

60. By the end of July 1948 neither the orthodox nor dissident group appeared to have scored a decisive victory and it was impossible to foretell whether the split would result in two equally balanced groups, both claiming to be the Communist Party of Peru; whether one group or the other would succeed in establishing itself as such and absorb its "dissident" rivals; or whether Luna would combine forces with some other existing rival group such as the Fuis, in direct competition with the Communist Party for the leadership of all anti-Aprá labour, but shunning the Communist label and attacking the Party as such.
61. The dissident Luna-led "XIV Departmental Congress of the Lima Departmental Committee of the Communist Party of Peru" claimed that representatives of the following attended its Congress and gave it their support:

Celula de Autobuses  
 Celula Choferes  
 Celula Pinonate  
 Celula Construccion Civil  
 Celula San Cosme  
 Celula La Parada  
 Celula Huamanga  
 Celula Luis Carlos Prestes  
 Celula Atoconga  
 Celula Santos Huallpa  
 Celula Maximo Gorqui

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Celula 28 de Julio  
 Celula Mendocita  
 Celula 7 de Diciembre  
 Celula Limatambo  
 Celula Puente Piedra  
 Comite de Barrios Altos  
 Comite Provincial de Huacho  
 Comite Distrital de Miraflores (including four member  
 cells)  
 Comite Departamental de la Juventud  
 Celula Amauta  
 Fraccion de Estudiantes  
 Juventud Provincial de Huacho

62. The orthodox "Comite Reorganizador" for the Department of Lima on the other hand, claimed that it was elected by and had the support of the following entities in the Department:

Comite Departamental de la Juventud Comunista  
 Celula Delfin Levano  
 Celula Primero de Mayo  
 Celula Avenida Argentina  
 Celula Tranviarios  
 Celula Gutenberg  
 Celula Textil Vitarte  
 Celula Textil La Bellota  
 Celula Santa Clara  
 Celula Dos de Mayo  
 Celula Luis Carlos Prestes  
 Celula Jesus Maria  
 Celula Thaelman  
 Celula Belisario Ayala  
 Celula Textil Seda Sol  
 Celula Ferroviarios de Chosica  
 Celula Textil Inca Cotton  
 Comite Distrital del Rimac  
 Comite de Barrio de Breña  
 Comite de Barrio de Chacra Colorada  
 Comite de Fabrica de Cemento y Canteras de Atocongo  
 Comite de Chancay  
 Comite Provincial de Canta  
 Comite de Mineros de Ticlio  
 Comite Local de Huaral  
 Comite Local de Cerro Azul  
 Celula de Viso y Matucana  
 Celula Hacienda "La Estrella"  
 Celula Textil Cahuas  
 Celula Textil Sitsa  
 Celula Oviedo  
 Celula 7 de Noviembre  
 Celula Amauta  
 Celula de Chorillos

63. Several groups cited above have been claimed as adherents by both factions. For example, in the case of one of these, the Celula Luis Carlos Prestes, it is reported that all but three of its twenty members, Francisco Febres, Julio del Prado and Juvenal Gorriti, support Luna. The Luna group now occupies the former quarters of the cell at Mariscal Las Heras 557, Lince. The three members cited are, however, active on behalf of the Central Committee,

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giving some basis to its claim that the Comité Reorganizador is supported by representatives of this important cell.

64. In addition to the foregoing alleged support in the Lima area, the Central Committee group also maintain that they have received messages of support from the following Party entities throughout the country:

Comité Departamental del Cuzco  
 Comité Departamental de Arequipa  
 Comité Departamental de Lambayeque  
 Comité Departamental de Piura  
 Comité Provincial de Taucartambo  
 Comité Provincial de Pacasmayo  
 Comité Departamental de Puno  
 Comité Departamental de Ancash  
 Comité de Chiclayo  
 Comité Provincial del Callao  
 Comité Provincial de Pisco  
 Comité Departamental de Junín (including  
   Celula de Obreros Metalurgicos de la Oroya  
   Celula Campesina de San Lorenzo  
   Celula Jose Carlos Mariategui de Jauja  
   Celula Primero de Mayo de Huancayo  
   Primer Congreso Distrital de Huancayo  
   Conferencia de Morococha)  
 Comité Provincial de Huamachuco

65. It is believed that in all probability Luna, supported by Obregoso and Juan Polo, controls the majority of Communist and pro-Communist labor and political organizations in the Department of Lima. He clearly controls the three largest Lima Communist labor groupings, Autobuses, Civil Construction Workers, Port and Maritime Workers, and probably controls at least three quarters of Lima's organized functioning Communist cells.
66. It is reported, however, that in all probability the Central Committee controls a majority of the Party membership elsewhere in the country. Luna's partisans appear to be, generally speaking, younger and more alert than the Del Prado type of Communist intellectual, and they are undoubtedly better versed in the practical problems of organized labour. Luna appears to be establishing himself as the outstanding non-Arista labor leader in Peru today, and an evenly balanced split of the former membership of the Peruvian Communist Party would appear to be a highly likely outcome.

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