

October, 1953.

Anthony Nutting, Esq., M.P.,
Permanent Under-Secretary,
House of Commons.

Sir,

The fact that the Agreements between the United States and General Franco have now been signed, suggests that we resume our former periodical informative notes to the Foreign Office. We consider that this may be very convenient for us, and that it might, perhaps, be useful one day to the British Government.

The notes will be sent direct to you unless we are otherwise advised, and they will deal with Spanish politics in general and the Basque Country in particular.

The information might, at first, seem to contain items of general knowledge, but we shall endeavour in the future ones to refer in a definite way to facts which we consider of interest or to contacts which might bear certain importance.

Yours truly,

Enc.

Manuel de Irujo.
(Ex-Minister).

De esos convenios, objetivamente considerados, podría tal vez enjuiciarse que, con arreglo a las normas del derecho privado, dejan la validez, eficacia España y subsistencia de lo pactado al arbitrio de una de las partes, pues que una aparece obligada, en tanto que las obligaciones atribuidas a los Estados Unidos quedan pendientes de su propia que habrá de manifestarse por actos posteriores. voluntad. Según las doctrinas de derecho publico, tales pactos pudieran bien reputarse como "unequal treaties", afectandoles todas las consecuencias de tal estimación.

Mayor importancia puedan arrastrar tal vez/bajo el punto de vista subjetivo, en cuanto que son realizaciones del General Franco, cuya primera finalidad es la de mantener su régimen, pero que ello no obsta a finalidades ulteriores, compatibles con la fundamental de persistir. El plantear esas eventualidades nos obliga a referirnos a sucesos pasados, *amante cercano.*

El régimen actual de España, de dictadura del General Franco, sucede -al traves de los años de Republica- a la dictadura del General Primo de Rivera. El año 1926, el dictador italiano Sr. Mussolini propuso y obtuvo del General Primo de Rivera su conformidad para la firma del tratado secreto del Mare Nostrum, por el cual, ambas dictaduras quedaban enlazadas en sus actividades exteriores, cuya finalidad era la de arrojar del Mediterraneo a Gran Bretaña, Proclamada en España la Republica, el Sr. Musolini propuso al Embajador español en Roma, Sr. Gabriel Alomar, que fueran ratificados y reforzados los lazos historicos de relacion entre Italia y España, afirmandose el mutuo respeto a los regimenes internos de ambos paises -monarquia fascista en Italia y republica democratica en España-, pero una misma orientacion politica internacional en el Mediterraneo. El Sr. Alomar trasladó la sugestión -vaga e imprecisa- del Sr. Musolini a su Gobierno, y obtuvo del Ministro de Estado, Don Fernando de los Rios la instrucción de seguir la relación con el dictador italiano, sin soltar prenda, pero procurando que aquel aclarase su sugestión. El Duce tradujo esta actitud, correctamente, entendiendo por ello que la Republica Española no estaba dispuesta a ratificar la politica significada en el pacto con el General Primo de Rivera. Y fué entonces cuando

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TRADICIONALISTA

convocó en Roma a militares y monárquicos españoles y comenzó a conspirar con ellos para derrocar la Republica española. El 31 de Marzo de 1934 se celebró la reunión conjunta, a la que concurren, de una parte el Sr. Musolini y el mariscal Italo Balbo, y de la otra, el General español Don Emilio Barrera, Don Antonio Goicoechea en nombre de los monárquicos, Don Rafael Olazabal y Don Antonio Lizarza en representación de la Comunion Tradicionalista. Los conspiradores españoles recibieron del Duce italiano entonces los primeros fondos, armas y municiones con los que contó la sublevacion que había de llevar al poder al General Franco. Hasta la fecha de esta ^{sublevacion} encuentra antecedente en el pacto secreto inicial entre las dictaduras italiana y española de 1926, ya que, se preveyó para el mismo la vigencia de diez años.

Musolini se titulaba Protector del Islam, lo que produjo algunos rozamientos entre el Quirinal y el Vaticano. Sus apetencias sobre Suez son bien conocidas. Desaparecido aquel de la escena política y habiendo quedado incorporada la Italia democratica al Occidente, ha dejado vacante el puesto de protector del Islam, que el General Franco aspira a merecer. Para ello ha multiplicado en España los centros de estudios arabigos, ha elevado considerablemente las misiones diplomaticas acreditadas en los paises árabes, envió a su Ministro de Negocios Exteriores Sr. Martin Artajo acompañado de su propia hija a hacer una visita a esos paises, y entabló relaciones con los soberanos árabes a varios de los cuales ha recibido en España. Las efusivas manifestaciones cambiadas con el rey Farouk de Egipto crearon al General Franco una dificultad inicial al instaurarse en El Cairo el gobierno del General Neguib; pero, la dificultad está ya salvada, y el General

Neguib ha hecho en favor del General Franco las manifestaciones mas cordiales que pueden salir de labios de un jefe de Estado que ejerce el monopolio del poder. Al eje Madrid-Buenos Aires ha sustituido el eje Madrid-El Cairo, cuya traza es el Mediterraneo, y que tiene por enunciados sus dos puertas: Gibraltar y Suez. En ambas, la aspiración es identica, y reproduce los términos de la politica del Mare Nostrum de Musolini y el contenido del pacto secreto de 1926.



Гр ОБЩИНА : ВИДЕЛЪ БЪЛГАРСКИ И ВЪЗРАЗИ ИЛИСОН - БЪЛГІС (XVI)
YBALLE TOQUE LOS QUE HUBO LOS ESPADOS A GIBRALTAR - LOS ANGLICANOS QUIEREN A O'E'E'E
CALE EN PROCEDENCIA : O' B' E
VOTE - VIII

Mientras Gibraltar se presente como indispensable para la defensa atlántica, sobre Gibraltar queda la acción de aquel eje/~~guarnición~~ ciertamente menguada. Pero, convertida toda España en un inmenso Gibraltar puesto al servicio de Norteamérica, el Peñón pierde importancia, permitiendo plantear en mejores condiciones el problema de su retorno a la soberanía española. ~~En consecuencia~~ Para ello puede computarse, no tan solo el ~~hecho~~ que España pasa a ser/un Gibraltar norteamericano, sino al sentimiento general de desafecto al sistema colonial que vive en Norteamérica y a veces influye en su política.

Tal vez la reciente consideración del pacto de Norteamérica con Grecia permita ~~una~~ proyección mejor la ~~manera~~ manera de una política sobre el Mediterráneo, ~~manera~~ que va de tal manera adoptando la silueta de una especie de un Mare Nostrum norteamericano. Incluso se da la circunstancia de que Grecia tiene planteado ~~la~~ el problema de Chipre, el cual, de alguna manera, es paralelo ~~en~~ al de España en Gibraltar y/Egipto ~~en~~ americanas en Suez. Las guarniciones/establecidas en Eleusis, Patrás, Volo, ~~en~~ el Larissa, Cartagena, Cadiz, Barcelona y Madrid tardarán poco tiempo en entenderlo así. Y los ~~demócratas~~ el peninsulares sabemos por amarga experiencia que ~~el~~ el mejor camino para ~~alcanzar~~ alcanzar del Departamento de Estado, ~~del~~ del Capitolio y de las Cámaras

Norteamericanas una posición que, primero se llama estratégica, para después trocarse en política. A este respecto y a los ojos del observador desprevenido, la coincidencia de la firma del pacto greco-americano con la reducción del papel de la misión naval británica que venía funcionando en Grecia hace medio siglo, se ofrece como algo que, bien pudiera no ser tan solo una casualidad. traen a la memoria

Los hechos que vienen sucediéndose en El Cairo nos ~~muestran~~ muestran otros similares decretadas contra ~~padecidos~~ padecidos antes en la Península. Las condenas ~~de~~ de Mahmoud Sabri Ali, Ibrahim Abdel Hadi, Ahmed Mohamed Awad y Mahmoud Chukri con ejecución del primero, lo han sido por el "delito" de prestar ayuda a información a Gran Bretaña; exactamente ~~quien~~ quien fueron condenados a muerte los vaseos que ~~cometieron~~ cometieron el delito de informar a los servicios británicos durante la gran guerra, con ejecución de Luis Alava, habien-

con reflex...

una especie de un Mare Nostrum norteamericano. Incluso se da la circunstancia de que Grecia tiene planteado el problema de Chipre, el cual, de alguna manera, es paralelo al de España en Gibraltar y/Egipto en Suez.

de las guarniciones... se la fuerza...



(1) El respeto por la ley puede medirse por el hecho de que, tanto en los Convenios con Norteamérica como en el Concordato con la Santa Sede, el Gobierno del General Franco ha favorecido de la ley de división, en la cual se debían a España ciertos...

de sido conmutada la de sus compañeros por la de ~~cadena~~ perpetua.

Las dificultades de aplicación de los acuerdos de Norteamérica con el Gobierno del General Franco no han de sorprender a ~~nadie~~ quien conozca la manera de operar de los americanos y la manera de ser de los franquistas españoles. La sustitución de M. Train ~~nombrado~~ al que se reputa afecto a la Administración democrata, por M. Williams conocido gestor republicano; el control del Departamento de Estado sobre la Foreign Operational Administration, muy superior al ejercido sobre la Mutual Security Agency; la falta de actividad de la "Comisión de Distribución de Créditos"; la necesidad de ~~mantener~~ ^{preparar} que los créditos son ^{constante} destinados a reforzar la seguridad de Estados Unidos; la lluvia de senadores y diputados americanos sobre España; la discusión permanente entre americanos y españoles ^{sobre} los conceptos de economía "estrategica" o "social" a los efectos de la aplicación de la ayuda económica acordada en inversiones a corto o a largo plazo; todo ello debiera preverse al considerar la naturaleza y aplicación de las estipulaciones. Pero, existe algo que, parece olvidarse y que, sin embargo, es esencial para discurrir en condiciones de acierto. La España franquista es una dictadura templada por la inmoralidad. ^(La base y de proporción anti americana) El gran dictador es el General Franco con verticalidad. Pero, debajo de él, mirados en pirámide, todos son dictadores: Los Ministros en sus departamentos; los Gobernadores en sus provincias; los directores de institutos autónomos como el INI en las actividades de estos organismos; los Comisarios de Policía en su comisaría; los Jefes de prisión en la cárcel; las Autoridades de Falange en los varios sectores que controlan de orden político, policial, sindical, educativo y de propaganda; los Militares en el ejercicio de sus mandos; los Alcaldes en su municipio. La ley deja su lugar al arbitrio. ⁽¹⁾ X la dictadura española, en lugar de ofrecer el cuerpo férreo de la hitleriana, se proyecta como un régimen de arbitrio, anárquico y caótico, cuya soberanía más destacada es el "estraperlo". Por eso lo definimos como dictadura templada por la inmoralidad. El producto que arroja el contacto permanente, de carácter administrativo, del régimen franquista español y de la peculiaridad funcional

The Spanish-American Agreements should be distinctively considered on the one hand as to their contents and on the other with regard to the way in which they have been established.

We view General Franco's Regime in the same way as it is considered and stated by the United Nations' Resolution of 1946. We reject therefore the provisions signed on behalf of the Spanish State by General Franco's Government, because we consider that they have not juridical or legal effectivity or subsistence in law. Moreover, the Agreements represent an act of consolidation of the totalitarian tyranny which has been imposed on Spain, which is inconsistent with the democratic principle of our political existence, and provides a dangerous propaganda weapon in the hands of Soviet Russia.

We ignore the detail of the provision on the understanding that they are only relatively important, and because we wish only to establish two main points.

By these Agreements the Spanish State becomes a kind of American Dominion. Europe - the Federal Europe which is now on the way; the Europe of the sixteen countries or of the six - ends in the Pyrenees, where America begins. We are Europeans in the full sense of the word, and we cannot accept conceptions contradictory to our view for two fundamental reasons: the loss of effective sovereignty of the State, now a de facto Dominion, and the separation from Europe.

There is in the Agreements a basic principle which does not run counter to our political thinking. Up to now the foreign policy of the Spanish State has favoured neutrality, isolation and insolidarity. By these Agreements, Spain has abandoned such a policy, in order to become, if only in a very irregular and undesirable way, an integral part of the Western democratic world.

This integration in itself is worthy of our approval, despite the fact that it has been accorded by the Franco Administration. We would have like that adherence to have been Democratic, European and Western, not as an American Dominion, but as members of Western Europe and NATO. Such is the difference.

Objectively considered, the Spanish-American Agreements could be viewed - in accordance with the general principles of law - as leaving the validity, effectiveness and subsistence of what has been agreed, to the will of one of the signatories,

because Spain is bound by them, while the obligations attributed to the United States are left dependent only on their will which would have to be shown by eventual or ulterior acts. According to the principles of public law such agreements could well be described as "unequal treaties" and would be bound by the consequences of this description.

The Agreements might perhaps be far more important under the subjective point of view, in so far as they are commitments entered upon by General Franco primarily with the purpose of preserving his Regime, but without prejudice to ulterior motives which are compatible with the fundamental aim of persisting in power. Pointing out such eventualities makes it necessary to refer to not long past events.

The present Spanish regime follows - through the years of the Republic - the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera. In 1926 the Italian Dictator, Signor Mussolini, secured the approval of Primo de Rivera to the secret agreement of the Mare Nostrum, by which both dictatorships were bound together in their foreign policy with the object of ousting Great Britain from the Mediterranean. When the Republic was established in Spain, Mussolini suggested to the Spanish Ambassador in Rome the ratification and strengthening of the links between Italy and Spain, thus asserting the mutual regard for the internal regimes of both countries - Fascist Monarchy in Italy and Democratic Republic in Spain - but with a common international policy in the Mediterranean. The Spanish Ambassador, Señor Alomar, conveyed to his Government the vague suggestion of Sr. Mussolini. The Spanish Foreign Minister, Sr. Fernando de los Rios, instructed the Ambassador to follow up the matter with the Italian Dictator, without revealing anything, with the purpose of obtaining further clarification of the suggestion from Sr. Mussolini. The Duce understood that such attitude meant that the Spanish Republic was not prepared to ratify the Agreement entered upon by the Italian Dictator and General Primo de Rivera. It was then, therefore, that Mussolini invited to Rome the Spanish Military, Monarchists, and Traditionalists, and began to conspire with them for the overthrow of the Spanish Republic. The first joint meeting took place on the 31st March 1934, between Sr. Mussolini and Marshal Italo Balbo on the one hand, and General Emilio Barrera, Sr. Antonio Goicoechea (for the Monarchists) and Sr. Rafael Olazabal and Sr. Antonio Lizarzaga (for the Traditionalists) on the other. Accordingly the Spanish conspirators received at once from the Italian Dictator the first arms, munition and funds which were available for the rebellion that put General Franco in power. Even the date of the rebellion is in a way provided-for by the preliminary secret agreement of 1926 between the Italian and Spanish Dictatorships, because a validity of ten years was foresightedly stipulated for the said pact.

Mussolini called himself Protector of Islam and this was the cause of friction between the Italian Government and the Vatican. The ambitions of Mussolini with regard to Suez are well known. Mussolini having disappeared from the scene and Democratic Italy now having been incorporated in the West, the post of Protector of Islam was left vacant. General Franco has made his mind up to be worthy of such an honour. He has expanded in Spain the number of centres for Arabic Studies; he sent his Foreign Minister, Senor Martin Artajo, together with his own daughter, Carmen Franco, to visit the Arab Countries; and he invited the Arab sovereigns to visit Spain, where they were subject to very special honours and attentions. The over-friendly expressions exchanged with King Farouk were the source of some difficulty for General Franco when General Neguib's Government was installed in Cairo; this difficulty, however, is now over, and General Neguib has referred to General Franco and his Regime in the most cordial terms that could be stated by a head of a country who has the monopoly of power. The former Madrid-Buenos Aires axis has been replaced by the new Madrid-Cairo axis, the course of which is the Mediterranean, and its two gates: Gibraltar and Suez. At both ends the aims are identical, representing a repetition of Mussolini's policy of Mare Nostrum and the object of the secret pact of 1926.

So long as Gibraltar is considered as indispensable for the defence of the Atlantic, the influence of the Axis on the Rock is certainly attenuated. But when the whole of Spain becomes a huge "Gibraltar" at the service of the United States, the Rock loses strategic and tactical importance, and it allows for a better presentation of the problem of its return under Spanish sovereignty. To that end it may be computed not only that Spain becomes a de facto American Gibraltar, but at the same time the fact of the resentment which is generally felt in the United States against the Colonial system of the European kind.

Consideration of the recent agreement reached between the United States and Greece may perhaps allow for an adequate perspective of a Mediterranean policy, which is thus shaping itself into a kind of American Mare Nostrum. There is even the fact that Greece has the claim over Cyprus which, in some way, runs parallel to that of Spain in Gibraltar and Egypt in Suez. The American forces at Eleusis, Patras, Valo, Larissa, Cartagena, Cadiz, Barcelona or Madrid, will soon hold such a view of the situation. And the Spanish democrats know from bitter experience that the Pentagone is the best way for the State Department, the Capitole and the American Senate and House of Representatives to adopt an attitude which is at first described as strategic and which later becomes political, with reflexes as varied as the admission of General Franco's

Spain in UNESCO and the laying of the foundation stone of the Synagogue. In this respect, the coincidence of the signature of the Greco-American Pact with the reduction in the roll of the British Naval Mission which has been playing its part in Greece for half a century, comes to the unprepared observer as something that might not have just happened by chance.

The Cairo events recall similar happenings which took place earlier on in Spain. The sentences passed on Mahmoud Sabri Ali, Ibrahim Abdel Hadi, Ahmed Mohamed Awad and Mahmoud Chukri, have been for the "crime" of rendering help and information to Great Britain; exactly the same crime for which death sentences were passed on the Basques who in Spain conveyed information to the British Services during the last war, for which Luis Alava was actually executed and the rest acquitted for life imprisonment.

The difficulties in implementing the Spanish/American agreements will not surprise those who know the way the Americans work and the ways of Francoist Spaniards. The replacement of M. Train, reputed supporter of the American Democrat Administration, by Mr. Williams, well known Republican supporter; the control of the State Department over the Foreign Operational Administration, tighter than the one exercised over the Mutual Security Agency; the lack of activity of the "Credit Allocation Commission"; the need to show that the credits are granted precisely to reinforce the security of the United States; the unceasing visits to Spain of the American Senators and Representatives; the permanent discussions between Americans and Spaniards over the ideas of "strategic" and "social" economy as applied to the economic aid agreed to be given in short or long term investments, all this should be borne in mind when considering the nature and implementation of the Agreements. But there is something else which seems to be overlooked and which is, however, essential in order to have an accurate picture of the position.

The Spanish dictatorship is a regime blended by immorality (this phrase is quoted from American sources). The great dictator is General Franco but under him, vertically looked as in a pyramid, all his subordinates are dictators in their own right: ministers in their departments; Civil Governors in the provinces; the Directors of Government autonomous bodies, as the National Institute of Industry (I.N.I.), in their respective capacities; the Police Commissars in their jurisdiction; the Falange Party authorities in their own spheres of absolute, political, syndical, educational security and propaganda control; the military in the exercise of their power; and the Mayors of cities and villages in their local jurisdictions. Law is replaced by expediency. The respect of law may be measured by the fact that both in the Agreement with the United States and in the Concordat with the Holy See,

General Franco's Government has dispensed with the Law of Succession, by which Spain is proclaimed a Kingdom.

Instead of presenting an iron framework, the Spanish dictatorship projects itself as a regime of expediency, anarchy and chaos, ruled supremely by the "estraperlo" (corruption). The possible outcome of the permanent administrative contact of the Franco Regime and the American functional peculiarity, will necessarily lead to great friction and multiple difficulties.

H.M. Government is well aware of the soft spots in the Mediterranean. Even to-day, a peculiar political system applied to Trieste has enabled Russia to adopt an attitude of advantage. The sort of Antikomintern Pact entered into by the United States and General Franco,--repeated again with the Greek Government--, makes the United States responsible for the political future of both Spain and Greece, presenting also the great democratic American Administration as getting the benefits of the civil wars which were maintained in both countries in order to establish the dictatorship in Spain and to restore the monarchy in Greece. It is natural that this fact may have "a contratio sensu" the logical consequences which may be derived from it. Apart from aspiring to become Protector of Islam; from his relationships with the Arab World; from the problem of recovering Gibraltar; and from being the bridge-head over Morocco; General Franco's Spain hopes that the United States may be more interested in a city of Tangier united to Spanish Morocco, than in an international Forum which, as at present, does not allow over it a domineering policy, nor to be converted into a place for the defence of the free world against Communist danger. It would not be surprising that any attempt of this nature might again enable Soviet Russia to take a position of advantage - as in Trieste - in the Mediterranean sphere.

We are involved as Western Europeans by the questions of peace, collective security and democratic solidarity. We give our full support to the settlement of these questions from which we hope to attain the disappearance of General Franco's totalitarian regime and the restoration of democracy in Spain. All the other problems are for us of secondary nature. If we refer to them it is with the purpose of putting forward the problems of the Mediterranean such as we see it in the light of recent events. To mention such a problem in this note may contribute to an easier drafting and understanding of future notes.

15th October, 1953.