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OXFORD

ES COPIA

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Excmo. Sr. don Manuel Irujo
50, rue Singer
PARIS 16

Querido amigo,

No es un rollo. Son dos. Haré lo posible por contestarle a ambos.

Lo de Erler me parece muy serio. Es conforme con el pragmatismo de los alemanes y su negativa a tomar en consideración nada que no se el poder. Ocurrió que ha pasado por aquí Gorkin y hemos hablado del asunto. Lo ve como Vd. y como yo y va a ocuparse activamente cerca de los socialistas españoles, franceses y aun alemanes entre las primeras figuras que rodean a Erler. Por ahora pues, procede esperar a ver lo que da esta gestión de Gorkin. En cuanto a la comisión de que me habla, no sé si podré asistir. Mucho dependerá de la fecha. Calculo que ~~si~~no puedo ir podría mandar un representante.

Sobre el asunto Lodge, lo veo delicado. Yo no tengo ahora contacto con el GUARDIAN ni modo alguno de influir en lo que dice o hace. Si tento ocasión hablaré con Benenson, y si da resultado la conversación no dejaré de comunicárselo.

Al pie le pongo las señas mías en los dos meses venideros.

FIRMADO Y RUBRICADO

P.S. 31/V - 22/VI: Hotel Cosmos, Contrexeville, Vosges, France
22/VI-22/VII: Grand Hotel Trois Epis, Les Trois Epis,
Haut-Rhin - France
23/VII-2/VIII: Parkhotel Mirabell, Salzburg, Austria

Basque darts in Franco's side

by Albert Lodge

FRANCO has never dared relax his grip on those small fierce minorities he mastered in 1939 but has never managed to tame. Catalan and Communist, Bakuninite, and Basque, from each there is a sudden flurry now and again, then the grasp is re-asserted. But it is taking a protracted fumbling to still the new liveliness of the last-named of these elements.

In January, a television aerial serving the Basque province of Biscay was sabotaged; in San Sebastian a police car was damaged; in October thousands of Basques stopped work as a gesture of solidarity with the striking Asturian miners, and 17 of them will be tried within the next few weeks for this ten-minute "act of sedition."

Frequently the letters ETA appear with the dawn, on walls and mountainsides throughout the region. At the beginning of April about fifty young Basques were either awaiting trial or serving sentence, some in the latter group being the result of their most ambitious enterprise to date, when they tried to de-rail a train bringing Government officials from Madrid in 1961.

'Basque and free'

ETA is short for "Euzkadi Ta Azkatasuna," in their language "Basque and Free," and the youth of these militants precludes there being any veterans of Guernica or the siege of Bilbao among them. For the Basque Government-in-exile, which has maintained a dignified seat

in Paris since 1939, they have little time or respect.

Those middle-aged Paris leaders are of the Basque Nationalist Party, conservative, bourgeoisie, and consciously Roman Catholic, but ETA has already separated from them and in 1962 declared itself revolutionary and a confessional.

Certainly, the determination is there. Their manifesto addressed to all Basques on the first day of the year announced that all who were not with them would be considered against, and that a contribution fund would soon be opened to which all would subscribe. At their open-air rally last year, held in French-occupied territory, of course, they made a point of having a Quebec Separatist.

Autonomy as aim

They differ also from their elders in that, while the latter still keep faith in Basque independence within a Republic of Spain, ETA aims at autonomy within a European federation. In this vision their confidence has been strengthened by a book, "L'Europe des Ethnies," recently written by Guy Héraud, a professor at the University of Strasbourg, and in which a Europe of races and not States is advocated.

Looking around the world map, the thesis is not so unrealistic as it might first appear, as Flaman and Walloon emphasise their differences, and explosions of protest by racial minorities are heard on the Heights of Abraham and the plains of Somalia, among the mountains of the Austrian Tirol and even those of mid-Wales.

The Spanish Government was slow to appreciate the development of this new revo-

lutionary group. Until a short time ago Madrid newspapers were still attributing acts of "military rebellion" to the Nationalist Party. Now, it is always membership of ETA that the police try to prove.

They often succeed, too. To speak of torture may suggest a mechanical approach to inflicting pain that does not represent what happens in the police stations of Northern Spain, but of brutal knocking-about there is plenty.

Jump on handcuffs

A favourite coercion recently thought up at the Bilbao Commissariat is to manacle a prisoner's wrists behind a chair as he sits on it normally then jump on the handcuffs. One young Basque went through a list of his compatriots with me, tracing the chain of arrests as each had finally disclosed the name of a comrade.

Yet volunteers still surge forward. The sympathy of the whole population, priests and all, is with them. When three men recently uttered a cry in the streets of Ondarroa for Basque independence, they were fined a total of £340 or a prison alternative. The amount was raised by the population, which does not number more than five or six thousand.

The hold of the master may still be confident, but his successors-in-waiting have a growing problem. As acts of defiance multiply, and the open letters of Basque clergy become more audacious, the future leaders of Spain might well think about renewing an old custom, so that once again their representative will stand beneath the famous oak at Guernica and swear to respect the ancient Basque rights.

Mi querido amigo:

La altura de las torres se mide por la magnitud de la sombra que proyectan. El refran oriental tiene perfecta aplicaci3n al espectaculo que hemos presenciado los que leemos los periodicos franceses, viendole combatido con tan poca elegancia como sobra de rencor. Sepa usted, mi querido amigo, que hoy m3s que nunca tiene usted en nosotros los que admiran su gallardía moral/^{juventud de espíritu} y recia personalidad.

Muy suyo

Manuel de Irujo

*Il y a un refrain oriental qui dit : "L'hauteur des tours est donnée par l'ombre projetée"
C'est votre cas, cher maître. Les ignobles attaques dont vous avez été l'objet, donnent la mesure de votre hauteur pour que la petite ombre des sages puisse un jour effacer, mais aussi bien votre personnalité sévère, votre jeunesse d'esprit, vos énormes qualités
Cordialement et sincèrement vôtre,*