

17 January 1964

Sir,

On 7th January 1964, during one of my visits to London, I watched a television programme, "The Truth About Spain", on the ITA channel. It was well presented, and one would wish to compliment scriptwriters and producers on its technical excellence. Yet, if you would be good enough to allow me the hospitality of your columns, I should like to make a few observations.

A single disjunctive political force now confronts the regime of General Franco: the Union of Democratic Forces (UPD: Unión de Fuerzas Democráticas), made up of Liberals, Republicans, Christian Democrats, Socialists, Autonomists, and Constitutional Monarchists. That is to say, by all those elements which fought under the Republican flag during the Civil War and by a considerable number of those who fought under Franco's banners. Only the totalitarians of the Right and the Left, the Falangists and the Communists, are excluded from the UPD.

The complement of the UPD is the Syndical Alliance (Alianza Sindical), consisting of the General Workers' Union (UGT: Union General de Trabajadores), the National Confederation of Labour (CNT: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo), and the Solidarity of Basque Workers (STV: Solidaridad de Trabajadores Vascos), which are, respectively, of Socialist, Anarcho-Syndicalist and Social Christian inspiration. The Syndical Alliance is recognised as the legitimate representative of the Spanish workers by all the free, Christian international organisations. Within Spain it has local groups made up by the three unions of all three tendencies.

The doctrine of the UPD can be basically reduced to the democratisation of Spain in every sphere so that, on the achievement of such democratisation, the nation can decide upon the regime of its choice for the future. To this end a provisional Government would be set up with no

particular emblem but with the participation of all the non-totalitarian political forces, its charter being to direct the democratisation which must come before reference to the electorate.

The programme of the UFD might be considered Utopian. But it cannot be ignored, which is exactly what the television programme managed to do. It is true that certain relevant points were not obscured, but their presentation in isolation must have left the watching public with the impression that the Spanish dilemma is in the choice between the Franquists and the Communists, a slogan which is proclaimed in common by Franquists and Communists. I have no doubt that it was not the intention of those concerned in the production of the programme to state the slogan themselves, but in effect this is exactly what they have done.

There could also have been some mention in the feature of these important and well-known facts: The Abbot of Montserrat has made declarations which have had world-wide publicity; 450 Basque priests addressed themselves to the Vatican Ecumenical Council to make the same pleas as the Abbot of Montserrat; very many Socialists have been under trial for years because of their "criminal" relations with their colleagues in exile, the actual trials having been suspended on a number of occasions, as has been reported in this country by British observers who attended; more than four hundred priests have been denied a passport and, therefore, the possibility of crossing the frontiers of the State; the Chaplain for Foreigners of the Bishopric of Bayonne, Fr Aspiazu, was forced to resign because he is not persona grata to General Franco; dozens of young Basques have been imprisoned, some of them quite recently, charged with the offence of holding separatist views; there are still in exile a number of those who committed the crime of attending the Assembly of the European Movement in Munich, together with the exile groups which constitute the Spanish Federal Council of the European Movement. All these facts are more topical than those produced in the programme. Perhaps they differ from those which were used in that they have no Communist interest. But they do, in general terms, represent the aspirations echoed by the UFD, a desire to democratise the nation in a bloodless manner, without a new Civil War and without peril of totalitarian deviations.

Why were these facts not contained in the programme? This is the main point of our criticism of an effort which,

excellent as it may have been, might, like all works of man, have been done better.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

Manuel de Irujo.



Ex-Minister of Justice
of the
Spanish Republican Government.
Miembro del Consejo Supremo de la
Unión de Fuerzas Democráticas.

The Editor,
The Manchester Guardian,
43 Fleet Street,
London, E.C.4.

Enclosures

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UNION OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES (OF SPAIN)

ABBEY 5223

39, Victoria Street
London, SW.1.

Being fully aware that only joint action by the various groups can bring about the fall of the totalitarian dictatorship which Spain now suffers under, and avert a situation of chaos which could produce some kind of new dictatorship, the democratic forces of Spain agree on reaching an understanding to be based on the following conditions:

1. A policy of total opposition will be applied to the actual regime, refusing any form of collaboration and attacking it through all possible effective means.
2. Democracy is the only political system which will be accepted. To this end we envisage that after the disappearance of the Franco regime, there should be a transitional period with a provisional government, which is not committed to any specific institutional form, i.e. Monarchy or Republic, which will grant a full amnesty, restore political freedom and convene a general election, so that the Spanish people, with full guarantees, can choose the form of regime they prefer. All Spaniards will be obliged to accept such a regime decided by democratic process.
3. The undersigned democratic forces, moved by the set purpose to maintain civil order, will contribute to the shaping of the future political structure of the State. This structure will include elements relating to the peoples who form the State, whose rights must be respected, opening up the necessary channels for their aspirations for autonomy by the free expression of their will, and taking in due time the appropriate measures for the natural unfolding of their respective personalities during the transitional situation for which provision is made in the second condition above.
4. Reaffirming the declared opposition to all types of dictatorship, the signatories of this agreement will not accept any coalition with any forces of totalitarianism whether Communist or Fascist.
5. The foreign policy of Spain will have to be directed towards a policy of solidarity with all the free peoples of the world, in particular with the European and Latin America peoples. To this effect, the spiritual and economic links with them will be strengthened as much as possible.
6. Firm co-operation will be maintained between all groups signing this agreement, which will last at least until the dictatorship is defeated, the responsibilities incurred by the dictatorship are calmly and energetically liquidated and, within the shortest possible time, the conditions which will allow all Spaniards to live together in a true democracy are established.
7. The parties and organisations signing this agreement will maintain their respective programme, and will continue their independent political activity on their own account, but they agree to create an instrument of co-operation which will be named UNION OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES (UNION DE FUERZAS DEMOCRATICAS).

7. To this organisation will be submitted for examination and decision
cont. ideas and suggestions which each of them considers appropriate for the
formulation of the joint programme. Moreover, as long as this
agreement remains in force, the signatory bodies take upon themselves an obli
obligation not to enter into any marginal pact which is not accepted by all.

8. Any other groups or forces manifestly and truly democratic will be able
to join the Union of Democratic Forces, on the understanding that they
accept the fundamental points of this agreement. Individuals can also
collaborate on the same conditions.

This declaration confirms the points of agreement revealed during the
conversations which took place between the signatory bodies on April 5, 1960.

However, notwithstanding what has been agreed, if a situation of fact
should arise which is different from that which has been envisaged in this
document, the undersigned reserve the right to adjust this attitude, once the
situation has arisen, in accordance with the significance of the situation which
would have been established, and the action to be taken.

Signed on June 24, 1961 by the following organisations:

SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY
(Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol)

Affiliated to the
non-Communist "Socialist
International".

Basque Nationalist Party
(Partido Nacionalista Vasco)

Basque Nationalist Action
(Accion Nacionalista Vasca)

Basque Workers' Union
(Solidaridad de Trabajadores Vascos)

Affiliated to the
non-Communist "International
Confederation of Christian
Unions" (I.C.C.U.).

Spanish Democratic Republican Action
(Accion Republicana Democratica Espanola)

General Union of Workers in Spain
(Union General de Trabajadores de Espana)

Affiliated to the
non-Communist "International
Confederation of Free Trade
Unions (I.C.F.T.U.).

Galician Nationalist Party
Partido Nacionalista Gallego

Constitutional Monarchists
(Monarquicos Constitucionales)

Izquierda Democratica Cristiana
(Left Christian Democrats)

La Unión de Fuerzas Democráticas organización que agrupa ^(menos los comunistas) ~~todos los~~ partidos y organizaciones, que en España y en exilio luchan contra la dictadura de franquista -Protestas energicamente contra la llegada a Londres del actual Ministro español de Propaganda Sr. Manuel Fraga Iribarne x como invitado oficial del Gobierno Británico.

La Unión de Fuerzas Democráticas, ^{se da cuenta de} comprende que estas visitas e invitaciones son inevitables entre países que mantienen intimas relaciones amistosas y comerciales, pero lamenta que la persona escogida dentro del Gobierno dictatorial del General Franco, sea precisamente el Sr. Fraga Iribarne, cuya principal misión, ~~maxx~~ ~~exterior~~ como Ministro de Propaganda, es propagar en el exterior las "virtudes del regimen del General Franco" y la de amordazar en el interior la voz del pueblo español.

Este espaldarazo democrático al Sr. Fraga Iribarne no conseguía hacerle más aceptable al pueblo español, pero facilitará nuevos argumentos a los que fuera y dentro de España afirman que la democracia española nada puede esperar de las democracias occidentales.

La Sección inglesa de la Unión de Fuerzas Democráticas, agradecida a la hospitalidad que los exilados españoles han encontrado en este país, no tomará parte en ninguna manifestación pública que se organice contra la presencia del Sr. Fraga Iribarne en Londres, pero levanta ^{suma energética} protesta ante la opinión inglesa.