

avis, 19 de Noviembre 953.

# En el Protectorado español de Marruecos

## El pueblo celebra el XXVI aniversario de la exaltación del Sultán Mohamed V al Trono

Tetuán, 18.—El pueblo marroquí de la zona jalfiana ha celebrado con todo esplendor el XXVI aniversario de la exaltación del Sultán Mohamed V al trono de Marruecos. Todas las revistas y diarios árabes insertan artículos glosando la figura del Sultán, y elogiando la noble postura del pueblo español respecto a los sentimientos marroquíes. Las publicaciones españolas también publican fotografías de Mohamed V, recordando efemérides dentro de la feliz tranquilidad en que prospera el Protectorado español. Ha cerrado el comercio musulmán y los barrios árabes se hallan muy animados. Puede decirse que no ha quedado una sola casa musulmana sin colgar la bandera marroquí. También se han colocado muchos retratos del sultán, del jalifa, del Caudillo y del Alto comisario. (Cifra.)

*Coches 4*

### MAS ATENTADOS EN EL MARRUECOS FRANCES

Rabat, 18.—Cuando el tren rápido de Argelia pasaba por la estación de Skirat, en la que nunca se detiene, un desconocido arrojó desde uno de los coches al andén de la estación una granada de mano. No ha habido víctimas. Los viajeros del citado tren rápido fueron interrogados por la policía a la llegada del convoy a Casablanca. Asimismo se ha efectuado un minucioso registro de los coches y un cacheo de los viajeros. La policía no ha revelado los resultados de esta inspección.—(Efe.)

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DAILY EXPRESS  
20-1-54

## FRANCO SAYS: KEEP THE QUEEN FROM GIB

From PAUL MCGREEVY

MADRID, Tuesday.—Every Spanish newspaper has been ordered by General Franco to publish an article tomorrow demanding that the Queen be barred from Gibraltar—which has been British for 250 years.

The entire Spanish radio network will echo the cry. The Queen is to visit Gibraltar on May 10 at the end of her Commonwealth tour. Tonight the Spanish Foreign Office issued a statement referring to the visit.

It said that Duke Miguel Primo de Rivera, Spanish Ambassador in London, told Mr. Anthony Eden last week that every Spaniard would "resent" the Queen being in Gibraltar.

### 'DAMAGE'

The ambassador said that damage would be caused to the friendly relations between Britain and Spain—"in view of the fact that Spanish reaction in the form of a national protest could be counted on with certainty."

"It is imprudent of Britain to involve the person of the Queen in such a delicate matter," said the ambassador.

The Spanish Foreign Office said the ambassador's talk with Mr. Eden was not an attempt to interfere in decisions of the British Government. It was to make clear the grave repercussions that the Queen's visit would have.

### 'ABANDON IT'

British Guiana, Cyprus, and other places were omitted from the Queen's tour because of a "delicate state of public opinion regarding Britain's presence. This decision—in the Spanish Government's view—"justified the abandoning of the proposed visit to Gibraltar, which is Spanish territory to which the Spanish people do not renounce their claim."

### Eden: No talks

Mr. Eden, Foreign Secretary, said, in a written Commons reply yesterday, that the Government has no intention of agreeing to any change in the status of Gibraltar—or discussing it with any foreign Power.

# THE AMAZING FRANCO DARES TO WARN US

**MADRID, Tuesday.**—General Franco tonight openly declared that the Queen's visit to Gibraltar on May 10 should be cancelled. He threatened anti-British demonstrations if his warning is ignored.

The warning came in a statement issued by the Spanish Foreign Office about the recent interview the Spanish Ambassador in London, the Duke of Primo de Rivera, had with Mr. Eden.

The Ambassador, according to the statement, told the British Foreign Secretary that there was "an atmosphere of disgust" in Spain over the Queen's plans.

He said that he had noticed this atmosphere among the Spanish people during a recent visit to Spain.

## 'IMPRUDENT'

The statement said that it had been decided to make public the Spanish Government's views on the subject in view of unofficial articles published in the London Press about the interview.

The Ambassador, it said, called Mr. Eden's attention to the "damage" which the Queen's visit "could cause to the friendly relations between the two peoples."

He was "certain that Spanish reaction would take the form of a national protest," and stressed the "imprudence" of associating the person of the Queen in such a delicate matter.

The Spanish Foreign Office said it was not attempting to interfere in the acts and decision of the British Government.

It was merely trying to protect good relations between the two countries by stressing the "grave repercussions" which such a visit could cause in Spain.

## KEEP OUT?

The Note pointed out that the Royal tour excluded such places as British Guiana, Cyprus, and other points where "there existed delicate states of public opinion regarding the British presence."

And it declared: "The Spanish Government believes that, such being the case, the cancellation of the scheduled visit to Gibraltar, Spanish territory, would be justified."

Anti-British demonstrations are now expected in major Spanish cities during the Queen's visit.

The 8,000 Spaniards who work at Gibraltar may be "invited" to remain on Spanish soil during the visit.—BUP.

## NO, NO

IN LONDON last night, a Foreign Office spokesman, commenting on the interview with Mr. Eden, said that there would be no question of the Government entertaining representations from any foreign Power with regard to visits the Queen was making to any of her territories.

And in the Commons, Mr. Eden, replying to Mr. Anthony Greenwood (Lab., Rossendale), said: "We have no intention of agreeing to any change in the status of Gibraltar."

"We do not consider that it is a subject for discussion with any foreign Power."

## ANEURIN BEVAN

—declaring bluntly that we must get our troops out of Egypt—begins on Page Four today an important series of articles—

### CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

—in which he gives the conclusions drawn from his recent journey.

These articles are appearing exclusively in the Herald.

TOMORROW he will discuss the Middle East problem that might set the world ablaze—THE CONFLICT BETWEEN JEWS AND ARABS.

\* \* \* TOMORROW, too, the Herald will make further disclosures following its investigation into the—

### SLICK SALES SCANDAL

Our investigator has been to secret warehouses which provide mock pioneers with the junk which they make tremendous profits in houses where you enter without a where trick are set to trap us.

## Tony Lock in Test surprise

From Charles Bray

KINGSTON, Jamaica, Tuesday.

TONY LOCK, 24-year-old Surrey and England left-arm spin bowler, was no-balled for throwing during the West Indies second innings in the first Test here today.

The decision by umpire Perry Burke—considered one of the best umpires in the Caribbean—is unprecedented in modern Test cricket.

England's captain, Len Hutton, took Lock off at the end of the over and put him on at the other end.

### ARGUMENT

The red-haired Lock's bowling action has caused some argument during the last few years. In 1951, at the Oval, Lock was no-balled by Umpire Price for bowling, but he has not been penalised since.

It was a day of sensations. West Indies captain, Jeff Meiyer, was booed by his own fans when he was out for eight. Fans heartily disagreed with Meiyer's decision not to let England to follow-on after a first innings lead.

England: West Indies 203 and 450 behind. (Continued on Back Page.)

### Cartoon



## Union ready to hit back

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DAILY MAIL  
20-1-54

## SPAIN ASKS: CANCEL THE QUEEN'S VISIT

MADRID, Tuesday.

**T**HE Spanish Ambassador in London, the Duke of Primo de Rivera, has told Mr. Eden of "an atmosphere of disgust" in Spain over plans for the Queen to visit Gibraltar, the Spanish Foreign Office said tonight.

The Duke told Mr. Eden, says the Spanish statement, that he was "certain Spanish reaction would take the form of a national protest." He stressed the "imprudence" of associating the Queen with such a delicate matter.

The Gibraltar question necessarily incurred the "deepest sentiments of the people, who do not wish to be discourteous, but cannot but react with energy," and he called Mr. Eden's attention to the "damage" which the Queen's visit could cause to "friendly relations."

### Silence broken

The statement added: "The Spanish Government believes that such being the case, the cancellation of the visit to Spanish territory would be justified."

The meeting between Spain's envoy and Mr. Eden was "during a recent visit." The Spanish Foreign Office felt obliged to tell the Spanish people since the British Press had broken silence on the meeting.—B.U.P.



# BIG 4 TALKS BREAK DOWN

## AMERICANS BACK THE COMET

### THANKS TO YOU, YANKS!

AMERICANS still believe in the future of Britain's Comet aircraft. An airline which had ordered them has confirmed its order.

And one of America's greatest newspapers—the New York Herald-Tribune—has chosen this moment to say:

"Britons can be justifiably proud of the Comet planes, which have completed countless flights with speed and safety."

The airline—Pan American World Airways—had ordered three Comet type III planes, with an option on seven more.

Yesterday Pan American vice-president Captain Harold Gray announced:

"Our order for Comet aircraft still stands. It has not been changed in one iota, and it will not be."

"Our order is for the Comet III. It will incorporate all that the British have learned about jet transport in the Comet I and II. With all that experience behind it, the Comet III will be a good aeroplane."

Comet IIIs are due to operate on the London-New York run next year. There will be no basic difference between Comets I, II and III. The later models will be enlarged versions, with a longer range.

## SHAME ON YOU, GERMANS!

### 'BIG BUSINESS AT ANY PRICE'

From BRUCE ROTHWELL: BERLIN, Wednesday  
THE Comet airliner was put into passenger service too early, a leading German newspaper alleged today.

And so-called German air experts are given space for their opinions that the British jet airliner is not only unsafe but was only introduced by B.O.A.C. "to do big business at any price."

The newspaper making these charges is Die Welt, which was founded by British officials after the war and until recently was British controlled.

Since its sale to Germans it has become increasingly nationalist, and has devoted columns of space to the "benevolence" of the Krupp family, and campaigns on behalf of cartels and war criminals.

The paper prints an article on the Comet describing its development and claiming: "The English wanted to outdo American competition with one blow by putting out and into service the fastest plane in the world."

### 'WE WANTED PLANE, BUT—'

Herr Karl Heinz Christiansen, an editorial writer, declares: "Openly all over the world the revolutionary plane is being called 'the plane of death.'"

He adds: "The fateful catastrophe of the Comet is a warning signal. There is more than just prestige and business at stake. At stake are lives of human beings and the prestige of the entire air services throughout the world."

Max Wachtel, director of Hamburg Airport, obliges with this comment: "This was a black day for world air services. Of course, I cannot anticipate the findings on the latest accident. As you know, we also wanted to buy this plane for the new German airline, but I think we were well advised when we decided on the super-Constellation."

Die Welt also sought the opinion of Gerhard Nitschke, former chief pilot of the Heinkel works. He said: "There is something wrong with that bird. I don't know what. I presume part of the wings dismantled. I don't believe the sabotage version. This is pure foolishness. I, too, believe that the Comet was put into service too soon, but they wanted big business at any price."

## —AND ON YOU, SPANIARDS!

### 'DECADENCE' DID IT

NEWS CHRONICLE REPORTER: MADRID, Wednesday.

THE "only possible explanation" for Comet crashes is British decadence. If no one had thought of that before, the Falangist (Spanish Fascist) paper Arriba has thought of it now.

"There is something that doesn't tick in Britain," it makes bold to say. "There is feebleness in their technical research, weariness and senility."

"First, they lost their place on the seas, then they lost it on land, and now they may lose it in the air."

## WELL SPOKEN, BRITISH!

### 'WONDERFUL PLANE'

AS a counterblast to the Die Welt article, British Government information officers in Berlin have immediately sent to all German newspapers a detailed statement on the history and performance of the Comet.

They point out that the 25 Comets built so far have flown over 12 million miles.

And they challenge anyone to deny that B.O.A.C.'s reputation for safety in flying is "second to none in the world."

What of the men who fly the Comet?  
Captain A. V. Rix stepped out of one he brought to London yesterday on the Singapore route. Captain Rix has flown 700 Comet-hours.

"I just can't understand this crash at all," he said. "I and all Comet captains have complete faith in the aircraft. It is a wonderful plane with a great future."

In his crew was blonde stewardess Gillian Holt, a Maidstone girl. She smiled. "It was a fine flight," she said.

## RESCUE 2 a.m. picture from Valley of Death



Rescue by helicopter of a woman trapped in the avalanche near Blons. She is strapped to a stretcher on the side of the aircraft.



From pine-clad peaks an avalanche starts—and one heads for Zermatt

## Violet bluffs a bandit

A bandit with a "Ronald Colman moustache" walked into a New Kent Road shop last night and, pointing a revolver at the 28-year-old woman assistant, said: "I've got a wife and kids. I'm desperate. Give me the money in the till."

Mrs. Violet Colson was alone. But she said: "Get out, the manager is at the back." The man hesitated. A customer entered. The bandit bolted.

## 120-yard flame blasts miners

A plastic surgery hospital was last night fighting to save 20 miners burned in a 120-yard wall of flame. They were injured in a blast 1,300 feet underground at Glyncoerwg Colliery, Glamorgan.

Late last night nine of the injured men were still in oxygen tents at Chepstow.

## Police seal city for men in jail

Two prisoners at Wakefield Jail, Yorkshire, vanished yesterday. Police ringed the city, search cars and lorries, watched buses and trams, and combed derelict buildings. Late last night the prisoners were found inside the prison.

## Bomb scare

The Imperial War Museum of Southwark was cleared of visitors and searched last night after an anonymous phone caller said a bomb had been put in the building. It was a hoax.

## Where the bells dare not toll

### NEW AVALANCHES FEARED

From DAVID WALKER, BLUESCH, Wednesday.  
RESCUE parties of a red-eyed with exhaustion, working with flares tonight seeking 46 people still missing beneath the snow of these cold mountains.

More than 50 survivors were saved in the Great Aar Valley and today's snow-capped mountains. Helicopters took many of the injured from Blons. Bodies smashed by avalanches have been brought in on sledges.

The whole of this province Austria remains in a state of emergency.

The toll from the avalanches which swept down the Alps, Swiss and Bavarian Alps, has been made relief workers for the disaster. Until the helicopters of the injured lay in the local area on benches.

Astonishingly there were villagers still in Blons, 27 died and 36 are missing. They are peasants who refuse to leave their homes, who have been living for relatives saved for 72 hours.

## The silence

What shakes you most is Great Walsertal—the "Wolf Death"—is the silence, the that was menacing until it froze again tonight.

Even so, there are pain village churches that toll for the dead. Even a of church bells can stave avalanche plunging down.

The little village of Gsch, a mile or two from Blons, has been made relief workers for the disaster. Until the helicopters of the injured lay in the local area on benches.

Astonishingly there were villagers still in Blons, 27 died and 36 are missing. They are peasants who refuse to leave their homes, who have been living for relatives saved for 72 hours.

## 'IMPOSSIBLE TO AGREE'

### Where-to-meet problem sent back to Cabinets

NEWS CHRONICLE REPORTER  
BERLIN, Thursday morning.

THE preliminary talks to decide on a meeting place for the Big Four Foreign Ministers conference broke down in Berlin early today.

Allied officials said the failure to reach agreement on a site could be regarded as a definite threat to the prompt opening of the Foreign Ministers' meeting, now only 11 days away.

The three Western commandants issued a statement in place of the usual four-Power communique.

They said no agreement could be reached, no date had been fixed for any further meeting and the question will now be referred to their Governments to settle.

The meeting ended at 1 a.m. (midnight G.M.T.), after lasting 14 hours.

The Western Commandants and Mr. Serge Dengin, of the Soviet High Commission, have thus held four meetings in their respective headquarters lasting together nearly 40 hours.

## One for one

General Timberman, the American representative, said afterwards that the Russian delegation made it "impossible to agree."

He added: "Mr. Dengin insisted that the talks be established on the basis of one for one—one for the East and one for the West."

The West proposed that three meetings be held in the Allied Control Authority building in Moscow, or East Berlin, or the Russians choose.

Mr. Dengin retorted that he was willing to have only the first meeting in the control building and that the second would have to be held in the East sector.

All meetings after that would be decided by the Foreign Ministers themselves after they arrive.

## Efforts fail

Repeated efforts by the Western Commandants to impress on the Russian delegation the justice of the selection of the control buildings as the only truly neutral ground in Berlin were useless, the general said.

He added that it became apparent that the Russians on the Berlin level were competent only to accept West Berlin for the first meeting and East Berlin for the second, and go no further.

It became obvious, General Timberman said, that Mr. Dengin was under much stricter instructions from Moscow than had appeared at first.

It was decided that the representatives should best refer the matter to their governments, and all—including Mr. Dengin—agreed.

## Moscow rejects free elections

Moscow, Thursday.—A leading article in the newspaper Pravda today rejected the Western position that elections under neutral observers be held in Germany before the formation of an all-German Government.

Observers in Moscow regard the article as a strong indication of what the Russian position will be at the Foreign Ministers' conference in Berlin.

Pravda said: "It is clear that all-German elections should be left to the Germans themselves, who want to carry them out without foreign interference. Elections under the control of foreign Powers cannot be called free."—B.U.P.

## Mounted police raid Jagan H.Q.

Georgetown, Wednesday.—Mounted police swept through a crowd of 500 today to raid the headquarters of the Left-wing People's Progressive Party.

They carried away leaflets protesting against restrictions on the movements of Mrs. Janet Jagan, the party's secretary, and other leaders.—Reuter.

## Headmaster Carne, V.C.

News Chronicle Reporter  
THE Army's "boys" at Harrogate will soon be able to say with pride: "We serve under Carne of Korea." Lieutenant-Colonel James Power Carne, V.C., D.S.O., who commanded the Glorious Glsters in the Imjin River battle in April, 1951, is to be "headmaster" of the Army Apprentices' School in the Yorkshire town.

His appointment as commandant will carry the rank of full colonel. The War Office said last night that he will start in April.

He and Mrs. Carne will live at Harrogate, but will retain their Gloucestershire home.

The colonel will have about 800 apprentices aged from 15 to 18 under him, learning 16 trades. After three years they join the Royal Engineers and Royal Signals and a few go to R.E.M.E.

## Neguib bans terror gang

THE strong man of Egypt, Mohamed Neguib, has struck again.

This time it is against his most formidable foe. The Moslem Brotherhood—Ikhwan el Muslemeen—the most powerful politico-religious association in the Arab world, boasting half a million members, has been outlawed, and 650 members arrested.

These include more than 100 leaders and the Supreme Guide, Hassan el Hodeibi, who are accused of treason.

The specific indictment is "plotting with the British Embassy to overthrow the Neguib regime." Embassy comment: "Complete nonsense."

## Twin dangers

What effect, if any, will this have on the negotiations with Britain for the evacuation of the Suez Canal base?

Neguib's hand should now be considerably strengthened. Hitherto he has been at the mercy of any "incident" provoked by the anti-foreign fanatics of the Brotherhood. And

## Ezzard Charles wins big fight

Chicago, Wednesday.—Ezzard Charles, former world heavy-weight boxing champion, tonight knocked out Bob Satterfield in the second round of a scheduled ten-round fight.—Reuter

## Hands off the Union Jack

A Bill providing severe punishment for any person interfering with a Union Jack displayed on another man's property will be introduced at once by the Northern Ireland Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. G. B. Hanna. The decision follows reports of incidents during the Coronation celebrations.

## 180,000 lives

A drive to round-up 20,000 stray cats in Newcastle-on-Tyne yielded a "bag" of 50 yesterday.

## Let China in, says Jebb

Baltimore, Wednesday.—Sir Gladwyn Jebb, Britain's U.N. delegate, said today that the absence of Communist China from the United Nations "imposes considerable strain" on the organisation.

He added that he believed Red China would eventually be admitted to U.N. if war did not flare up again in Korea and if the Communists appeared willing to settle their differences with the outside world.

## Brigade guard man

Firemen, called to a house in Clayhall Avenue, Ilford, last night, stood guard over Mr. Leslie Horn, school-teacher, in bed with pneumonia, while other firemen put out the fire.

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# Menace pour l'unité marocaine

## Avec l'accord des autorités espagnoles UN "REGENT" SE RECLAMANT DE MOHAMMED V serait proclamé à Tétouan

Des informations confirmées, parvenues à Paris, signalent que le khalifa impérial au Maroc espagnol (c'est-à-dire le représentant du sultan dans cette zone), Moulay El Hassan ben El Mehdi, serait proclamé cette semaine à Tétouan « régent et gardien du trône chérifien ». Une dépêche A.F.P. de Tanger indique qu'à cet effet les ulémas, les pachas, les caïds et les chefs des tribus de la zone espagnole auraient été convoqués pour demain dans la capitale.

Ainsi se trouverait consacré le refus des autorités espagnoles d'une part, des chefs traditionnels et des nationalistes du Maroc espagnol d'autre part, de reconnaître Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa comme sultan de l'empire chérifien. On sait que le « nom du sultan légitime Mohammed V » continuait à être invoqué dans la prière solennelle du vendredi.

L'ambassade d'Espagne se refuse à tout commentaire sur une nouvelle qu'elle ne se déclare en mesure ni de confirmer ni d'infirmer. Convoqué hier soir par M. Georges Bidault, l'ambassadeur, le comte de Casa-Rojas, est aussitôt entré en relations avec Madrid. On s'attend que le gouvernement espagnol fasse de nouveau valoir que la décision d'éloigner Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef a été prise unilatéralement en août dernier par les autorités françaises et qu'aucun contact diplomatique n'est intervenu depuis lors à ce sujet. Il n'est pas exclu qu'il rappelle également que Paris n'a pas fait écho à l'appel récemment lancé par le général Franco en vue d'un règlement par voie bilatérale des différents litiges opposant l'Espagne à d'autres pays européens.

On espère à Paris, dans les milieux officiels, que la réunion des caïds prévue à Tétouan ne sera qu'une simple manifestation de loyalisme à l'égard des autorités espagnoles. Si toutefois ce rassemblement aboutissait à des décisions mettant en péril l'unité du Maroc, le gouvernement français, précise-t-on, défendrait cette unité par tous les moyens qui sont à sa disposition.

Déjà, à trois reprises au cours des derniers mois, les chefs du Maroc espagnol avaient été convoqués en vue de la proclamation du khalifa impérial comme régent. Chaque fois le mouvement avait été décommandé. Il semble que la manifestation prévue pour le 21 janvier va effectivement avoir lieu.

On remarquera son apparente similitude

avec le « mouvement d'opposition des pachas et des caïds » qui aboutit au Maroc français à la désignation de l'actuel sultan. Cependant, tandis qu'en zone française ce mouvement était dirigé contre les milieux nationalistes, il bénéficie aujourd'hui au Maroc espagnol non seulement de leur participation, mais de leur impulsion. Il paraît en outre appuyé par la Ligue arabe, dont le secrétaire général adjoint, M. Choukhei, fut, au début de décembre, reçu officiellement à Madrid et à Tétouan.

Si la proclamation d'un régent intervenait, elle équivaudrait en droit à une rupture de l'unité de l'empire chérifien, garantie par l'acte d'Alcésiras et l'accord franco-espagnol de 1912. Rappelons que, tandis que le protectorat de la France au Maroc a été établi par un traité direct entre le gouvernement français et le sultan, le protectorat de l'Espagne sur la zone rifaine découle d'accords internationaux, ce qui a quelquefois conduit à définir sa situation comme celle d'un sous-locataire de la France.

Notre collaborateur Claude Julien se trouvait il y a quelques semaines à Tanger où il demanda un visa pour Tétouan. Ce visa lui fut refusé, mais il obtint néanmoins une interview de M. Abdelkhalek Torres. Les déclarations du président du parti national réformiste de la zone espagnole replacent dans leur perspective les événements que nous relatons ci-dessus. On les trouvera en page 5.

## ACCORD AUSTRO-HONGROIS SUR LE TRAFIC DANUBIEN

Vienne, 19 janvier (U.P.). — La compagnie autrichienne...

# GIBRALTAR VISIT "IMPRUDENT" 8

## ROYAL TOUR PROTEST

From Our Own Correspondent  
MADRID, Tuesday.

The Duke of Primo de Rivera, Ambassador to Britain, has informed Mr. Eden that the projected visit by the Queen to Gibraltar during her present tour has caused "lively irritation" among Spaniards. This was stated by the Foreign Ministry here to-day.

"The Ambassador called attention to the harm which this might do to the friendly relations between the two nations, since a Spanish reaction in the form of a national protest could be counted upon with certainty," the statement said.

"He drew attention to the imprudence of involving the person of the Sovereign in so delicate a matter by associating her with a circumstance which wounded the most intimate feelings of a nation which did not wish to be discourteous, but could not do less than react energetically."

The fact that such places as Guiana and Cyprus were not in the Queen's itinerary because of the delicate state of public opinion would, in Spain's view, justify giving up the Gibraltar visit.

The Ambassador's representations were not intended as an act of interference but to make clear the grave repercussions of the visit in the two countries' good relations.

\*As reported in THE DAILY TELEGRAPH on Monday, a British Foreign Office spokesman said the Government could not entertain representations from any foreign Power about visits the Queen may pay to any of her territories.

# LEAVE IN MOROCCO STOPPED

## *French Navy sent to trouble spot*

From Daily Mail Reporter

PARIS, Wednesday.

AS a French Navy squadron began gunnery exercises off Morocco today, the French High Command cancelled all leave for home and colonial troops in French Morocco.

The French Government took these swift moves to counter Spain's rumoured appointment of a new Sultan at tomorrow's mass meeting of the Pashas and Caids at Tetuan, ancient capital of Spanish Morocco.

His election would be in direct opposition to the French-sponsored Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Mohamed Moulay Arafa.

### Bidault acts

For the second time in 48 hours M. Georges Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, today saw the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, Count de Casa Rojas. Their meeting was described as "frank and courteous."

The naval task force under Admiral Andre Robin, which steamed into the naval base at Mers el Kebir, close to Oran, Algeria, consisted of the aircraft carrier Lafayette, the cruiser Gloire, several submarines and a destroyer flotilla.

Another destroyer flotilla is steaming along the Moroccan coast, bound for Casablanca.

Along the French-Spanish Moroccan border—scene of the savage Riff revolts—the French have moved up detachments of fierce Goum native troops.

# TETOUAN, VILLE INTERDITE

## « Notre but est de rendre l'ancien sultan à son pays et à son trône »

DECLARE AU MONDE M. ABDELKHALEK TORRES  
président du parti national réformiste

Tanger, ... janvier. — Seule l'Espagne accueille chaque jour dans son consulat général une foule de mendiants, de chômeurs, de loqueteux venus solliciter un secours, une aide. Ces personnages évadés de la cour des Miracles sont reçus, écoutés, avec une courtoisie égale à celle dont bénéficie le journaliste parisien. Celui-ci est pourtant un gêneur : ne vient-il pas demander un visa pour la zone espagnole du Maroc ?

Le très puissant M. de Lojendio, consul, qui le reçoit, est le seul diplomate de Tanger roulant dans une voiture française. Il le fait, avec une certaine ostentation, comme pour rappeler que huit ans de vie parisienne ont développé chez lui un grand amour de la France. Tous les officiels espagnols de Tanger ont d'ailleurs ce mot à la bouche : « Ici nous réalisons la réconciliation franco-espagnole. »

M. de Lojendio, très aimable, se met à notre disposition.

« Je ferai tout mon possible pour que vous obteniez votre visa. Mais la question n'est pas de mon ressort : je dois consulter notre haut commissaire à Tétouan, le général Garcia Valino. Vous savez que la zone espagnole du Maroc n'a pas reconnu le nouveau sultan de Rabat. Dans ces conditions, en accueillant le représentant d'un journal qui a critiqué les changements intervenus en août dernier avec l'accord du gouvernement français, le haut commissaire ne voudrait pas donner l'impression d'accomplir un geste inamical à l'égard de la France. » (1).

### Drame de famille du Khalifa

D'ailleurs cette fidélité à la personne de Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef présente de bien curieux aspects. M. de Lojendio n'en fait pas mystère.

« Le Khalifa de Tétouan, dit-il, voudrait bien reconnaître le nouveau sultan, ne serait-ce que pour normaliser ses relations familiales. » (2).

Faut-il en conclure que le khalifa fut chambré et soumis à certaines pressions ? On assure à Tanger que plusieurs lettres adressées par lui à S.M. ben Arafat en fourniraient la preuve. Le fils aîné du souverain vit d'ailleurs à ses côtés, et non à Rabat, où se trouve le

(1) Cf. également le Monde du 12 décembre 1953.  
(2) Le nouveau sultan est l'oncle du khalifa.

de notre envoyé spécial  
**CLAUDE JULIEN**

files cadet, contrairement à ce qui avait été annoncé officiellement.

« Quand vous irez dans notre zone, poursuit M. de Lojendio, vous pourrez voir qu'il y règne un climat politique très différent de celui de Rabat. Les nationalistes marocains en zone espagnole mènent librement leur activité de parti, publient leur journal, font leurs émissions à la radio... »

— Précisément, demandons-nous, serait-il possible de rencontrer leur leader, M. Abdelkhalek Torres ?

Un aimable sourire accompagne cette réponse déconcertante de naïveté.

« Vous plaisantez, monsieur, en aucun cas il ne saurait en être question. »

La double attitude de l'Espagne apparaît dans cette simple contradiction. Pour usage extérieur, et à destination surtout du Proche-Orient, on exporte des déclarations de libéralisme, des professions de foi anticolonialistes, des protestations d'amitié hispano-arabe. Mais peut-on aller vérifier sur place ce qui se passe exactement ? C'est une autre question...

### Démagogie et propagande pro-arabes

Voilà peut-être pourquoi à Tanger les mauvaises langues affirment que M. Abdelkhalek Torres est largement subventionné par les autorités espagnoles. Au moment où nous avons déposé notre demande de visa Tétouan s'appretait à recevoir M. Choukeiri, secrétaire général adjoint de la Ligue arabe. Il alla de réceptions en banquets, voyant ce qu'on voulait bien lui laisser voir. C'était peut-être une raison supplémentaire pour se montrer prudent à l'égard d'un journaliste...

Voilà deux ans que M. Torres a été autorisé à revenir en zone espagnole. Il fut un moment question de lui confier une fonction officielle dans l'administration. C'était le début de la nouvelle tentative de rapprochement hispano-arabe. Mais les fruits n'ont pas tenu la promesse des fleurs... Le parti réformiste de M. Torres condamne le « colonialisme » pratiqué... en zone française, mais ne souffre mot du contrôle militaire appliqué aux tribus du Rif, de la misère dans laquelle est tenue la population marocaine.

Comme nous avons eu bien souvent l'occasion de le constater, tout reste à faire pour mettre en valeur la zone espagnole. Les réalisations économiques de la zone française, où tout n'est pourtant pas parfait, représentent cependant un très honorable bilan dont l'Espagne ne peut revendiquer l'équivalent.

Les libertés fondamentales sont-elles respectées ? L'interdiction de rencontrer M. Abdelkhalek Torres paraît constituer une réponse suffisante, malgré les trésors de casuistique dépensés pour essayer de la justifier. Le visa en tout cas nous fut refusé.

### Interview en fraude

Mais Tanger est riche de ressources, et les frontières du Rif ne sont pas infranchissables. Nous avons donc trouvé un émissaire qui a porté à M. Abdelkhalek Torres le texte des questions que nous aurions voulu lui poser de vive voix. La réponse du leader nationaliste nous est parvenue à Paris, par lettre recommandée n° 9151. Le timbre indique comme origine la British Post Office de Tétouan.

En choisissant de ne pas utiliser la poste espagnole, où le secret du courrier n'est peut-être pas absolument respecté, M. Torres a-t-il voulu nous indiquer qu'il se défiait des autorités espagnoles et agissait à leur insu ? Il savait en tout cas que son interview serait publiée et que de toute façon le haut commissaire en aurait connaissance. L'astuce paraît mince.

M. Torres ne peut guère s'illusionner lui-même — ni tromper quiconque — lorsqu'il affirme que son parti « jouit dans la zone khalifienne de la liberté de mouvement ».

On remarquera aussi que son texte attribue à la Résidence l'entière responsabilité du « complot tramé » contre Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, et que pour lui les Marocains qui ont « semblé jouer un certain rôle » n'étaient que « des marionnettes veules et obéissantes ». Il est impossible, sans manquer à la vérité, de réduire à ce point le rôle déterminant joué par le Glaoui et El Kittani.

Le texte appelle donc bien des réserves. Il ne saurait être pris comme une version fidèle de l'histoire récente. Mais tel quel, avec ses déformations, il peut contribuer à éclairer l'histoire de la

zone espagnole du Maroc, où la réalité dément trop souvent les thèmes des discours officiels. Voici donc le texte de l'interview.

### « Un fantoche excommunié »

« Quelle est l'attitude de votre parti devant : a) les événements du 20 août dernier ? b) la personne du nouveau sultan ? »

— La position de notre parti à l'égard des événements du 20 août, qui ont abouti à l'exil de S.M. le sultan légitime du Maroc, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, est celle du peuple marocain unanime. Comme tous nos compatriotes, nous considérons qu'en éloignant le sultan la France a commis une agression flagrante caractérisée contre la souveraineté marocaine, en violation des traités franco-marocains, et n'a tenu aucun compte de l'unanime attachement du peuple marocain à son souverain. Nous considérons que le complot tramé contre Sa Majesté a été organisé par la Résidence générale et les services qui en dépendent, en accord avec certains milieux français réactionnaires. Quant aux Marocains parjures qui ont semblé jouer un certain rôle dans le complot, ce n'étaient que des marionnettes veules et obéissantes et, de toute manière, ne jouissant d'aucun crédit devant l'opinion publique, quoi qu'en ait dit certaine presse mercenaire.

» Nous considérons Mohammed ben Arafat comme un fantoche français posé et maintenu sur le trône marocain par la force française contre la volonté du peuple. Aux yeux de la loi coranique et de la tradition marocaine il n'est qu'un usurpateur. Les ulémas de l'Istiqal, aussi bien au Maroc qu'en dehors du Maroc, l'ont déjà excommunié. C'est vous dire que si le peuple avait la liberté d'exprimer sa volonté réelle un tel usurpateur ne se maintiendrait pas plus d'une minute sur le trône. Nous sommes convaincus de la nécessité d'appeler le peuple à un plébiscite honnête, de même que nous sommes persuadés que le résultat d'un tel plébiscite ne saurait être autre chose que le retour du roi légitime, dont le problème a pris aux yeux du peuple un caractère d'urgence qui prime l'indépendance elle-même. Il serait donc utile que l'opinion publique en France sût que la condition préalable à toute entente entre les deux peuples est le retour de S.M. Mohammed V à son pays et à son trône.

### « Indépendance et unité du Maroc »

— Votre parti paraît jouir en zone espagnole du Maroc d'une grande liberté d'action. Par quels moyens se manifeste son activité ? Quels sont ses objectifs ? En quoi se différencie-t-il du parti de l'Istiqal du Maroc ?

— En effet, le parti national réformiste marocain jouit dans la zone khalifienne de la liberté de mouvement. Cela se manifeste par la liberté de presse, la liberté de réunion et l'existence d'organisations de notre parti. Etant donnée la bonne entente actuelle qui préside à nos rapports avec le gouvernement espagnol à la suite de la noble attitude adoptée par l'Espagne à l'égard de la nouvelle situation au Maroc, nous sommes convaincus de pouvoir très prochainement inaugurer de nouveaux terrains de collaboration hispano-marocains qui permettront d'engager les relations entre nos deux peuples dans une voie conduisant à la réalisation de nos intérêts communs. L'Espagne a certainement compris le gain de prestige tiré d'une telle attitude et doit réfléchir aux moyens aptes à augmenter ce gain.

» Nos buts fondamentaux sont clairs :

» 1° Retour de S.M. Mohammed V à son pays et à son trône ;

» 2° L'indépendance du Maroc ;

» 3° L'unité du Maroc.

» Ce sont les buts mêmes du parti de l'Istiqal. Donc aucune divergence fondamentale ne nous sépare de l'Istiqal. Certes, chacun de nos partis a des points de vue particuliers sur certaines questions secondaires. Cela d'ailleurs n'est valable qu'en temps normal. Actuellement l'Istiqal et le Maroc avec lui traversent une période difficile. C'est pourquoi nous ne pouvons que lui apporter notre appui sans réserve et lui exprimer toute notre sympathie fraternelle. Cet appui, la charte de Tanger (3) nous y oblige. Mais, plus que cette charte, notre conscience nous oblige à prêter notre appui à tous ceux qui œuvrent sincèrement et loyalement pour l'intérêt de l'Etat et du peuple marocains. »

(3) Pacte d'union des quatre partis nationalistes marocains, signé à Tanger le 9 avril 1951.

## SPAIN'S NATIONAL PROTEST

### The Queen's Visit to Gibraltar

MADRID, JANUARY 19.

The Spanish Ambassador in London, the Duke de Primo de Rivera, has informed Mr Eden, the Foreign Secretary, that the Spanish reaction to the visit of the Queen to Gibraltar on May 10 will "take the form of a national protest."

A statement issued to-night by the Spanish Foreign Office said the Ambassador's warning was not intended to run counter to the decision of the British Government. It had been agreed, the statement said, not to make public the main theme of the talk between Mr Eden and the Ambassador, but as the British press had published references to the conversation, the Spanish Foreign Ministry felt it its duty to explain the real meaning of the talk. The statement went on:

"The Duke de Primo de Rivera explained to Mr Eden the resentment he had found among the Spanish people against the decision of the British Government to name the fortress of Gibraltar among the places included in the Queen's tour.

"The Ambassador drew the attention of the Minister to the damage that this could cause the friendly relations between the two nations, in view of the fact that Spanish reaction, in the form of a national protest, could be counted on with certainty. The ambassador drew attention to the imprudence of involving the person of the sovereign in such a delicate matter by associating her in a manner which must necessarily wound the intimate feelings of the people, who do not wish to be discourteous but who nevertheless could not do otherwise than react energetically."

The campaign for the cession of Gibraltar has recently been intensified in the Spanish press with newspapers apparently taking turns to protest. On Saturday, a leading article in the Falangist organ, "Arriba," said:

"Geographically speaking, Gibraltar is only a rock. Historically, Gibraltar represents an affront to our sovereignty. Spain is the only country in Europe that must tolerate the presence of a foreign flag over a portion of its sovereign territory."

—British United Press and Reuter.

### NO CHANGE IN STATUS

Mr Eden, Foreign Secretary, stated in a parliamentary written answer yesterday that the Government had no intention of agreeing to any change in the status of Gibraltar, and did not consider that this was a subject for discussion with any foreign Power.

## RIVAL SULTANS IN MOROCCO?

### New Move Likely in Spanish Zone

From our own Correspondent

PARIS, JANUARY 19.

Reports received in Paris suggest that the question of who is Sultan of Morocco may be raised this week at a meeting of notabilities of the Spanish zone of Morocco. There have been rumours of this before, but so far they have proved false alarms. Spanish Morocco has never recognised the deposition of Mohammed the Fifth by the French last August. Prayers are still said in his name in all the mosques. The more positive action which is now feared would be a proclamation of the Khalif, or delegate of the Sultan, in the Spanish zone as "regent and guardian of the throne" on behalf of the exiled monarch.

The matter is evidently taken seriously here, for M. Bidault sent for the Spanish Ambassador last night. In reply to inquiries from the press, the Spanish Embassy has so far refused either to confirm or deny the reports.

The legal basis of the French Protectorate is rather different from that of the Spanish Protectorate. The French Protectorate is based on a treaty with the Sultan as well as on international recognition. It includes the formal delegation to France by the Sultan of the conduct of Moroccan foreign affairs. The Spanish Protectorate has its legal basis in the international settlement of the Moroccan question in the years before the first world war and not on a direct delegation of the Sultan's authority as in the case of France. Spain has in consequence been called a sub-tenant in Morocco.

### France's View

The French Government will certainly take the view that Spain has no right to interfere in the question of who is the Sultan (his authority in the Spanish zone is delegated to the Caliph), especially as, in allowing any other Sultan to be recognised than the one chosen by the French, Spain would be endangering the unity of Morocco, which in theory continues to exist in spite of the division of the country into a French, a Spanish, and an international zone.

It is to be expected that the Spanish Government would reply that it was not consulted about the dethronement of Mohammed the Fifth and can no more stop an expression of opinion of the notabilities in its zone than the French authorities, according to their own account, were able to prevent notabilities in the French zone from demanding the dethronement of Mohammed the Fifth. The Spanish Government would be able to point to the fact that even in the French zone prayers in the mosques have been poorly attended since they were said in the name of the new Sultan.



TELEGRAPH  
20-1-54

**COUP FEARED IN  
SPANISH MOROCCO**

**From Our Own Correspondent**

PARIS, Tuesday.

Fears are expressed in Paris that a coup d'état is being prepared in Spanish Morocco against the authority of Sidi Mohammed ben Arafa, Sultan of Morocco. He succeeded his nephew, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, who was banished by the French last summer.

According to French sources at Tetuan, Spanish Morocco, Moulay el Hassan, caliph in the zone, is to be proclaimed "Regent and Guardian of the Sherifian Throne," and the authority of Mohammed ben Youssef, now living in Corsica, recognised. It is reported that the caids and pashas have been asked to meet at Tetuan on Thursday.

# The Evening News

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## BRITAIN'S BACKBONE

¶ The annual statements of the chairmen of the big banks can be of importance and interest. If from time to time some of these statements have not possessed the force and pith that the occasion demands it is all the more refreshing to read observations as cogent and as sensible as those made and circulated by the chairman of Barclays Bank, with his bank's annual report and accounts.

He was very forthright on the persistent evils of over-taxation and the burden which it imposes on one particular section of the community, the middle class.

### Middle Class

¶ They have suffered grievously as a result of two wars and the social and economic revolution; but they are, as MR. TUKE says, "the backbone of the nation, and with the passing of the great houses of England they provide the only channel through which the arts of civilisation can be handed down to future generations.

"They do not ask for subsidies on their bread and butter and they would scorn to live in utility cotton-wool provided by the Welfare State; they want to be allowed to pay their own way out of what they earn."

Any middle-class citizen faced in mid-January with the Inland Revenue's ideas of how much he should be left with to pay his way will applaud MR. TUKE's words. They are as salutary as sensible. The only question is: will they have any effect?

### OUR ROCK

¶ The Government's firm words on FRANCO's ill-timed and inept observations about Gibraltar supplied the only possible answer that could be given. Gibraltar is British soil and has been British soil for well over 200 years.

FRANCO, like MOSSADEQ and NEGUIB and others too numerous and too unpleasant to mention, may fancy himself as one of the residuary legatees of a moribund and effete Britain. It sounds splendid on the Madrid radio; it looks splendid in the Madrid newspapers. It is a natural enough conclusion to draw when the British seem to be (as they have seemed for several years) in a quitting mood.

If NEHRU got Bombay and MOSSADEQ got Abadan and the Jewish Hagana got Haifa surely it is proper to believe that FRANCO has to shout loud enough will be given Gibraltar is a mistake that old and dear friends made earl

## THE ROYAL VISIT TO GIBRALTAR

### SPANISH WARNING OF "REPERCUSSIONS"

MADRID, JAN. 19

The Spanish people are being informed for the first time of last week's exchanges of views between Britain and Spain on the Queen's visit to Gibraltar next May, at the end of her Commonwealth tour. The following is the text of a statement issued to-night by the Information Office of the Foreign Ministry:—

In view of the news published in the London Press yesterday and to-day regarding the circumstances of the recent visit made by the Spanish Ambassador to the British Foreign Secretary, this Information Office makes known that during that visit the Duke de Primo de Rivera, who had recently returned from a vacation in Spain, explained to Mr. Eden the resentment he had found among the Spanish people against the decision of the British Government to name the fortress of Gibraltar among the places included in the Queen's tour.

The Ambassador drew the attention of the Minister to the damage that this could cause to the friendly relations between the two nations, in view of the fact that Spanish reaction in the form of a national protest could be counted on with certainty. The Ambassador pointed out the imprudence of involving the person of the Sovereign in such a delicate matter by associating her in a manner which must necessarily wound the intimate feelings of the people, who do not wish to be discourteous but who nevertheless could not do otherwise than react energetically.

With the warning conveyed by the Ambassador in the name of the Spanish Government there has been no attempt to interfere with the acts and decisions of the British Government, but only to make clear, in compliance with a duty to watch over the good relations between the two peoples, the grave repercussions that such a visit would have.

The fact that British Guiana, Cyprus, and other places have been omitted from the programme of her Majesty's tour, owing to the existence in them of a delicate state of public opinion regarding Britain's presence in those places, would justify, in the opinion of the Spanish Government, the abandoning of the proposed visit to Gibraltar, which is Spanish territory, on which the Spanish people do not renounce their claim.

After the talk between the Ambassador and the Foreign Secretary it was agreed not to make public the principal theme of the conversation so as to avoid campaigns designed to stir up public opinion around such a delicate matter. But as the British Press and news agencies have broken the silence by publishing references to a conversation which they attributed to a spokesman of the Foreign Office, this Information Office considers it to be its duty to explain to the Spanish people the true significance of the conversation between our Ambassador and the British Minister.—*Reuter*.

## LOCAL SATISFACTION AT BRITISH REPLY

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

GIBRALTAR, JAN. 19

The news that Britain will not entertain representations about the Queen's visit to Gibraltar in May has been received here with the greatest satisfaction. The *Gibraltar Chronicle* says that it is nonsense for the Spanish Press to claim Gibraltar as Spanish "by right," and it quotes the clause of the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 which ceded Gibraltar to Britain for ever in no uncertain terms.

In the areas of Spain nearest to Gibraltar there is the greatest friendliness for Britain. A daily influx of some 8,000 workers into Gibraltar means that some 30,000 Spaniards in the neighbourhood depend for their livelihood on the *status quo*, and they, as well as the 23,000 inhabitants of Gibraltar, view any suggestion of a change with fear and apprehension.

## CHIEFS' INTENTIONS IN MOROCCO

### FRENCH EYES ON SPANISH ZONE

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, JAN. 19

French officials are watching closely for developments in Spanish Morocco and in Madrid on Moroccan affairs. Dispatches from Tangier have mentioned an imminent meeting of the ulemas, pashas, caids, and tribal chiefs in Tetuan, with the purpose, it is suspected, of proclaiming the Khalifa, the Sultan's representative in the Spanish zone, as "regent of the Sherifian throne."

Were this to happen, and were the Spanish authorities to support such a move, it would in the French view constitute a threat to the unity of Morocco as established by the Treaty of Algeciras and by the Franco-Spanish agreement of 1912; and in that case the French Government "would defend that unity by all the means at its disposal."

M. Bidault received the Spanish Ambassador last night and asked him for a denial of the Press reports reaching Paris. A denial has not yet been forthcoming, but the Quai d'Orsay are hopeful that the reported gathering of the chiefs is for no more sinister purpose than that of expressing loyalty to the Spanish Government and agreement with its Arab policy.

The present difficulties derive from the refusal of the chiefs in Spanish Morocco, and of the Spanish authorities, to recognize Sidi Mohamed Ben Moulay Arafa, who was proclaimed Sultan after the French had deposed Sidi Mohamed Ben Youssef last August. That deposition took place without prior consultation with the Spanish authorities. Since then the Khalifa has refused to accept the new Sultan as the religious head of the country, and prayers at Tetuan have still been said in the name of the former Sultan.

According to some French sources, the attitude of the Spanish Moroccan chiefs has the support of the Arab League, the assistant secretary-general of which was officially received in Madrid and Tetuan last month.

### CLAIMS ON GIBRALTAR

MR. ANTHONY GREENWOOD asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to state the Government's policy with regard to Gibraltar, in view of Spanish claims thereto.

MR. EDEN, in a written reply, states: The Government have no intention of agreeing to any change in the status of Gibraltar. They do not consider that this is a subject for discussion with any foreign Power.

French fear Franco plot in Morocco

# WARSHIPS SAIL TO STOP COUP

Express Staff Reporter: Paris, Wednesday

FRANCE sent a naval force speeding to North Africa today, reinforced her Foreign Legion troops in Morocco—and then pressed home a warning to Spain.



THE KHALIFA  
Sidi Muley Hassan

● HE lives in a white-walled palace at Tetuan, a town of minarets called the Pearl of North Africa by its 70,000 people. HE is guarded by green-robed cavalry who carry lances and wear gleaming spiked helmets... AND his neighbour, in an even whiter palace, is Spain's Lieut.-General Garcia Valino—guarded by giant Nubians from the Sudan.

## Those diplomats

Lieut.-Colonel Marcus Lipton (Soc., Brixton) is to ask Mr. Eden, the Foreign Secretary, on Monday "What further investigations have been made and what further information is now available about the disappearance of Burgess and Maclean?"

This warning said France would "resist with every means at her disposal" any move threatening her position in Morocco, or endangering the unity of that turbulent tribal land.

France fears two things:—

- 1 That General Franco's men are plotting to make the Spanish zone of Morocco an independent sovereign State.
- 2 That Franco's men are plotting to proclaim a new ruler of that State—a ruler who would try, with Spanish backing, to overthrow the Sultan of Morocco.

## FEAR MOUNTS

These French fears increased as sheiks and chieftains in turbans and robes rode on horseback into the capital of the Spanish zone, Tetuan, for a military parade tomorrow and then a feast of roasted sheep.

Anybody who cannot find transport will be carried free by bus. And amid the palms and flowers of the Hipicos Gardens the chieftains will swear loyalty to the Spanish High Commissioner, Lieut.-General Valino.

These chieftains do not recognise the present Sultan of Morocco—64-year-old Moulay Ben Arafa.

He rules from French Morocco. The French put him on the throne five months ago and deposed his nephew, 42-year-old Sidi Ben Youssef, because he was too independent.

Ex-Sultan Sidi is now exiled in Corsica with two wives and 20 concubines.

In the Spanish zone—leased from France—the Sultan's powers are delegated to a Khalifa. His name is Sidi Muley Hassan.

The French fear that Franco's General Valino will proclaim the Khalifa "regent and guardian of the throne"

until Sidi the exile can be smuggled back from Corsica to take over again.

Some diplomats say this plot has been sparked by Spain with help from the eight States of the Arab League. They dislike France as a colonial Power.

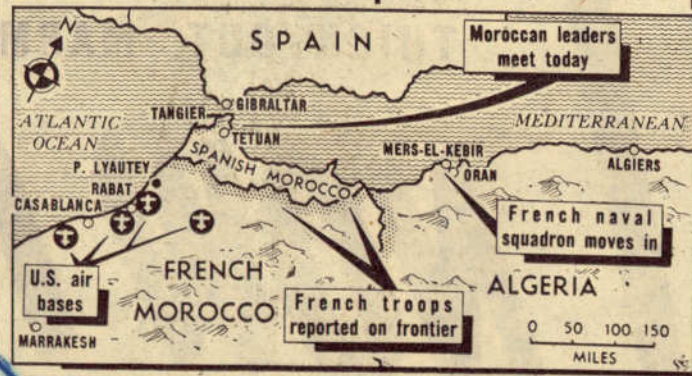
France's Foreign Minister Bidault saw the Spanish Ambassador to Paris, Senor de Casa Rojas, twice today and repeated the warning—"we'll resist all threats"—delivered to Franco in Madrid 24 hours earlier.

Then M. Bidault reported to the Cabinet and, as the Ministers talked, the aircraft carrier Lafayette, the cruiser Gloire, and a flotilla of destroyers sailed into Mers-el-Kebir, a naval base in Algeria—next door to Morocco.

France has kept Britain and America fully informed. The U.S. has four air bases in Morocco.

FOOTNOTE: By an agreement of 1923, Britain, France, and Spain recognise three zones in Morocco—French, Spanish, and the international zone at Tangier.

## TROUBLE, TROUBLE



# Now Franco hits at France

Herald Reporter

**G**EN. FRANCO, still raging at Britain in his newspaper *Arriba* over the Queen's visit to Gibraltar, yesterday shook his fist at France.

This time the trouble is over Morocco.

French diplomats say that Spain is backing chieftains meeting today at Tetuan, Spanish Morocco.

They are expected to protest against the new Sultan, Sidi Mohammed Moulay Arafa, who succeeded the Sultan deposed by the French last August.

The Sultan rules by treaty over both FRENCH and SPANISH Morocco.

French troops in Morocco have been ordered to stand by. And the French Ambassador in Madrid, M. Meyrier, handed a protest to the Spanish Foreign Minister.

The villages in Spanish Morocco are emptying and hundreds of thousands are trekking into Tetuan.

A French Naval squadron has arrived at Oran, Algeria. But the French say it was due to sail on an exercise before the Tetuan plan was known.

IN PARIS, Foreign Minister Georges Bidault reminded Franco's envoy, Senor de Pasa Roja, of the treaty between France and Spain on Morocco. This protects the unity of the country by assuring the Sultan's sovereignty over all Morocco.

M. Bidault is believed to have told the Cabinet afterwards that the chieftains are not likely now to recognise the deposed Sultan and proclaim the Khalif of Tetuan his Regent.

This, the French believe, is due to their firmness in the face of Franco's attempt to rouse a "revolt."

Britain has given no assurances to the French. But the British Government has generally approved the French action in deposing the former Sultan.

And Franco's anti-British campaign? Yesterday *Arriba* said that if Britain considered that Gibraltar "is an Imperial Rose which it must place at the feet of the Queen, some day it will realise that the Rose has thorns."



## Nothing doing

**R**EADERS were ringing up the *Herald* yesterday to tell us what they think about Franco and the impudence of his warning Churchill that the Queen's visit to Gibraltar should be cancelled. Not all their remarks were printable.

But we can say this. Franco might just possibly have got Gib from his pal Hitler if Hitler had won the war. He is not going to get it from us.

DAILY MAIL  
21-1-54

## LEAVE IN MOROCCO STOPPED

*French Navy sent  
to trouble spot*

From Daily Mail Reporter

PARIS, Wednesday.

AS a French Navy squadron began gunnery exercises off Morocco today, the French High Command cancelled all leave for home and colonial troops in French Morocco.

The French Government took these swift moves to counter Spain's rumoured appointment of a new Sultan at tomorrow's mass meeting of the Pashas and Caids at Tetuan, ancient capital of Spanish Morocco.

His election would be in direct opposition to the French-sponsored Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Mohamed Moulay Arafa.

### Bidault acts

For the second time in 48 hours M. Georges Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, today saw the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, Count de Casa Rojas. Their meeting was described as "frank and courteous."

The naval task force under Admiral Andre Robin, which steamed into the naval base at Mers el Kebir, close to Oran, Algeria, consisted of the aircraft carrier Lafayette, the cruiser Gloire, several submarines and a destroyer flotilla.

Another destroyer flotilla is steaming along the Moroccan coast, bound for Casablanca.

Along the French-Spanish Moroccan border—scene of the savage Riff revolts—the French have moved up detachments of fierce Goum native troops.

## DAILY HERALD

# HUSH-HUSH STUPIDITY

**F**EAR of what will happen here if there is a recession in the United States is in everyone's mind.

Everybody is wondering what plans our Government has.

Eisenhower has had the sense to announce that America has plans. But Mr. Butler and other British politicians are burying their heads, muttering that you mustn't talk about nasty things in case that makes them happen.

What a stupid excuse that is for evading their responsibility. Unemployment was never in history caused by talking.

There has been no sillier superstition than this since the classical economist who said unemployment was caused by sunspots.

## Pickings

**T**HE Road Haulage Disposals Board is in the throes of trying to sell the first batch of nationalised transport vehicles.

Is there a rush of tycoons to purchase? Is there a stampede of competitors out-trumping each other with massive cheques?

No there is not. There are a number of sharp-eyed speculators hoping to pick up something that will be quickly profitable at junk prices. So much so that the Board has rejected all tenders in 65 cases.

The muddle grows as the game of catch-who-can proceeds. Arrangements are upset for traders who hire nationalised lorries on contract. The Transport Commission will have to sub-contract this work out to private firms, who will get the profit.

This is Gilbert and Sullivan road transport. But it's not laughable.

It will bring tears to Tory eyes at the next election when the British people realise what has happened to **THEIR** money and **THEIR** transport.

## Nothing doing

**R**EADERS were ringing up the *Herald* yesterday to tell us what they think about Franco and the impudence of his warning Churchill that the Queen's visit to Gibraltar should be cancelled. Not all their remarks were printable.

But we can say this. Franco might just possibly have got Gib from his pal Butler if Hitler had won the war. He is going to get it from us.

# HERALD

JANUARY 21, 1954

PRICE 1½<sup>D</sup>

LONDON  
SPECIAL

Walters  
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The Perfection of Confections

## Now Franco hits at France

Herald Reporter

**GEN. FRANCO,** still raging at Britain in his newspaper *Arriba* over the Queen's visit to Gibraltar, yesterday shook his fist at France.

This time the trouble is over Morocco.

French diplomats say that Spain is backing chieftains meeting today at Tetuan, Spanish Morocco.

They are expected to protest against the new Sultan, Sidi Mohammed Moulay Arafa, who succeeded the Sultan deposed by the French last August.

The Sultan rules by treaty over both FRENCH and SPANISH Morocco.

French troops in Morocco have been ordered to stand by. And the French Ambassador in Madrid, M. Meyrier, handed a protest to the Spanish Foreign Minister.

The villages in Spanish Morocco are emptying and hundreds of thousands are trekking into Tetuan.

A French Naval squadron has arrived at Oran, Algeria. But the French say it was due to sail on an exercise before the Tetuan plan was known.

IN PARIS, Foreign Minister Georges Bidault reminded Franco's envoy, Senor de Pasa Roja, of the treaty between France and Spain on Morocco. This protects the unity of the country by assuring the Sultan's sovereignty over all Morocco.

M. Bidault is believed to have told the Cabinet afterwards that the chieftains are not likely now to recognise the deposed Sultan and proclaim the Khalif of Tetuan his Regent.

This, the French believe, is due to their firmness in the face of Franco's attempt to rouse a "revolt."

Britain has given no assurances to the French. But the British Government has generally approved the French action in deposing the former Sultan.

And Franco's anti-British campaign? Yesterday *Arriba* said that if Britain considered that Gibraltar "is an Imperial Rose which it must place at the feet of the Queen, some day it will realise that the Rose has thorns."

## WARSHIPS SENT TO N. AFRICA

### FRENCH WATCH ON MOROCCO

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT  
PARIS, Wednesday.

A squadron of the French fleet, including a cruiser, an aircraft carrier and a destroyer flotilla, arrived to-day at Oran, Algeria, the nearest French naval base to the Spanish zone of Morocco. The squadron was despatched from Toulon.

M. Bidault, the Foreign Minister, is reported to have told the Cabinet this morning that precautionary measures were being taken by the Government because of unrest over the Sultanate.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman denied that the movements were due to events in Morocco. But he admitted that reinforcements had been sent to the border of the French and Spanish zones.

Messages from Rabat state that 300 Goums, the Moroccan irregulars, have been sent to patrol the border.

About 50 influential pashas, caids and other notables are assembling to-morrow for a meeting in the religious city of Tetuan, capital of the Spanish zone. There have been fears in Paris that they might denounce the new Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa, enthroned last summer.

#### CALIPH AS "GUARDIAN"

They would then, it was thought, proclaim Moulay el Hassan, Caliph in the Spanish zone, as "Regent and Guardian of the Sherifian Throne" in the absence of Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, the ex-Sultan, banished by France. The Government is again considering removing the ex-Sultan from Corsica to a more remote spot in the French Union.

The French, who have kept London and Washington informed, feel that a denunciation of the new Sultan would be a dangerous blow to his prestige as well as a threat to the unity of Morocco, of which he is the spiritual head.

Official observers here believed to-night that the situation was easier. Reports were current that the Spaniards would ensure that to-morrow's meeting at Tetuan would be confined to an expression of gratitude to Gen. Valino, Spanish High Commissioner, for the benefits conferred on the Spanish zone.

#### MOROCCAN FLURRY

A MEETING of notables to-day at Tetuan in the Spanish Zone of Morocco has caused much speculation and some flurry. In theory Morocco is an entity under the rule of its Sultan, but in practice it is divided into three parts—the French Zone, the Spanish Zone, and the international zone of Tangier. Of these the French Zone is the most important in area, population and resources, and the Sultan resides in that zone. He is represented in the Spanish Zone by a Caliph. The legal position of the French and Spanish in their respective zones is that of a Protecting Power, whose advice the Sultan or Caliph is in practice bound to take.

Last August the French came to the conclusion that they could no longer support Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef as Sultan and they set up Sidi Mohammed ben MOULAY ARAFA in his place. They failed to notify the Spanish authorities of their proposed action, possibly because the legal unity of Morocco was overlooked. Many officials in the Spanish Zone are reported to desire the Caliph as Regent. Any material support by the Spanish Government of a separatist movement in favour of the deposed Sultan would be serious, and it is to be hoped that Gen. FRANCO has no such thoughts. The status of Morocco presupposes unity between France and Spain.

NO THREE

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# Le Monde

## TÉTOUAN CONTRE RABAT ?

### LE MALAISE MAROCAIN

Des manifestations doivent se dérouler le 21 janvier dans la zone espagnole du Maroc: leur but principal semble être d'affirmer la loyauté de sa population envers le sultan détrôné par la France, Mohammed V. Elles confirmeraient l'attitude observée par l'Espagne en face de la décision française. Ni le gouvernement espagnol ni le khalifa Moulay el Hassan n'ont reconnu l'autorité du nouveau souverain.

La convention franco-espagnole du 27 novembre 1912 stipulait dans sa lettre que l'application des accords internationaux dans la zone d'influence espagnole devait être soumise « au consentement préalable » du gouvernement espagnol; dans son esprit elle faisait une obligation aux deux pays chargés du protectorat de se consulter avant toute mesure de nature à affecter l'ordre politique de l'empire chérifien. Les relations franco-espagnoles développèrent jusqu'à l'an passé une tradition confirmant ces données de droit. Quels qu'aient été les motifs pressants de la France le 20 août 1953, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef fut déposé sans que son avis eût été demandé à l'Espagne, qui en fut informée quelques heures avant que la décision fût exécutée. Dans les mois qui suivirent ni la France ni l'Espagne, l'une arguant de sa souveraineté, l'autre de sa dignité, ne prirent l'initiative d'un contact diplomatique qui aurait pu, qui pourrait encore, ouvrir la voie à un éventuel compromis. C'est à un tel contact, semble-t-il, que fit allusion le général Franco dans son discours du 1<sup>er</sup> janvier. Et c'est le chemin de cet accord que pourraient rendre plus malaisé les manifestations de demain.

Elles ont pour spectateurs tous les Marocains et les pays arabes. Ceux-ci, par l'intermédiaire du secrétaire général de la Ligue arabe, Si Ahmed el Chukaïry, ont indirectement rappelé à Madrid en octobre puis en décembre derniers le rôle qu'ils avaient joué à l'O.N.U. en sa faveur. En décembre même le général Franco ne fit aucune difficulté pour laisser Si Ahmed rendre visite à Tétouan au khalifa et lui remettre une photographie et un message d'amitié du général Neguib. La manifestation aujourd'hui encouragée par l'Espagne à Tétouan présente pour elle ses avantages et ses inconvénients: elle est un geste de reconnaissance envers les pays arabes; elle témoigne à leurs yeux le désir de l'Espagne de devenir au Maroc, comme le disait le général Garcia Valino, haut commissaire à Tétouan, à l'occasion de l'Aïd el Kébir de l'automne passé, « sinon le centre de gravité matériel, celui de l'action politique et spirituelle »; elle est peut-être conçue comme un moyen de pression diplomatique sur la France pour négocier une amélioration de la position espagnole à Tanger; elle veut être enfin comme une démonstration de sympathie envers l'opinion démocratique américaine.

Ses inconvénients et ses dangers auront été sans doute pesés par le général Franco: un durcissement des rapports avec la France, l'isolement de l'Espagne en Méditerranée occidentale, le renvoi aux calendes grecques d'une solution pour Gibraltar et d'une étude des vœux espagnols à Tanger, l'accentuation du malaise politique dans une zone de grand intérêt stratégique pour les Etats-Unis, seraient les moindres d'entre eux.

Et l'Espagne pourrait être, à son tour, accusée non sans raison de menacer l'unité politique de l'empire chérifien. Le comportement du général Franco dans des occasions antérieures l'a montré préoccupé de ne jamais fermer les portes à la négociation. Il semble douteux qu'il se départe de cette prudence sur un terrain où l'harmonie des relations franco-espagnoles a porté des fruits abondants dans le passé et qu'il ne sache pas arrêter la manifestation de Tétouan à la limite qui sépare ses avantages de ses inconvénients. L'avenir de l'Espagne au Maroc demeure en effet étroitement lié à celui de la France et au succès d'une évolution politique étroitement concertée entre Paris et Madrid.

Lire en page 3

L'U. R. S. S. APRÈS STALINE

la suite du témoignage  
d'Henry SHAPIRO

- L'ambassadeur d'Espagne de nouveau reçu au Quai d'Orsay
- Les caïds se réunissent en zone espagnole

Les conversations entre les gouvernements de Paris et de Madrid sur le rassemblement à Tétouan des caïds et notables marocains de la zone espagnole se poursuivent. C'est ainsi que M. Georges Bidault a reçu de nouveau ce matin au Quai d'Orsay M. de Casa-Rojas, ambassadeur d'Espagne. D'autre part M. Meyrier, ambassadeur de France, a demandé des « éclaircissements » au ministre des affaires étrangères du gouvernement de Madrid.

La fréquence de ces entretiens prouve la ferme volonté du gouvernement français de ne pas laisser se créer une rupture de l'unité marocaine. C'est sans doute ce que le ministre des affaires étrangères a confirmé à l'ambassadeur au cours d'une entrevue qui fut, dit-on, « franche et cordiale ».

Un communiqué officieux a signalé hier que le gouvernement défendrait « par tous les moyens à sa disposition » l'unité marocaine. Quels seraient, le cas échéant, ces moyens ?

Certaines informations ont fait allusion à la prise de mesures de sécurité comportant l'envoi d'unités navales de Toulon à Mers-el-Kébir. Renseignements pris, si des bâtiments sont effectivement arrivés dans ce dernier port c'est à l'issue de manœuvres décidées depuis plusieurs mois. Il était notamment prévu qu'au cours d'un exercice d'« alerte » certaines unités seraient dirigées à l'improviste sur une base de la Méditerranée.

Quant aux dispositions militaires prises au Maroc aux abords de la frontière de la zone rifaine, il s'agit, précise-t-on, « de mesures tout à fait normales dans des cas analogues, lorsque l'ordre public risquerait d'être troublé ».

### Le rassemblement des notables

De Tétouan même peu d'informations sont parvenues ce matin à Paris. Seule une dépêche de l'Associated Press fait écho à un communiqué du palais du khalifa impérial annonçant que les habitants de villages entiers sont en route vers la capitale de la zone espagnole « pour exprimer au lieutenant-général Raphaël Garcia Valino, haut commissaire d'Espagne, leur gratitude pour l'œuvre réalisée par l'Espagne en territoire marocain ».

Il n'est fait nulle part allusion à l'éventuelle proclamation du prince Moulay el Hassan ben el Mehdi comme régent au trône chérifien.

Il semblerait donc que le rassemblement prévu n'aurait que le caractère d'une manifestation de loyalisme à l'égard des autorités espagnoles et d'approbation pour la politique arabe du gouvernement de Madrid. Les représentants espagnols, tant à Tanger qu'à Tétouan, observent un silence complet. Mais l'impression qui domine dans les milieux diplomatiques de la zone internationale est que les cérémonies, qui dureront en principe trois jours dans la capitale rifaine, n'aboutiront pas à une rupture de l'unité marocaine.

On pense toutefois que les Marocains rassemblés réaffirmeront leur fidélité envers l'ancien sultan et une volonté de ne pas reconnaître Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa. On observe à Tanger que les communi-

ications avec la zone espagnole restent normales, à l'exception des relations téléphoniques, qui subissent un retard inaccoutumé. Aucune mesure spéciale n'a été prise jusqu'à présent aux frontières. Les rares voyageurs marocains qui reviennent de Tétouan déclarent que les préparatifs pour la manifestation sont poussés au maximum « par les autorités marocaines et espagnoles ». Plusieurs caïds, pachas et chefs de tribus sont déjà arrivés à Tétouan avec diverses délégations. Des tentes ont même été dressées dans la banlieue de la ville pour y loger des membres de la suite de ces chefs marocains. Une subvention assez importante aurait été allouée par les autorités espagnoles au pacha de Tétouan pour l'aider à assurer la nourriture des visiteurs.

(Lire la suite de nos informations en page 4)

Lire en page 12

LES FORCES  
DE L'UNION FRANÇAISE  
ONT REPRIS THAKHEK

# ANTI-FRENCH PROCLAMATION IN MOROCCO <sup>24</sup>

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## SPANISH OFFICIAL ATTACKS POLICY

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT  
PARIS, Thursday.

Pashas, caids and religious leaders of the Spanish zone of Morocco to-day announced at Tetuan their rejection of the new Sultan, Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa, enthroned last summer. They demanded that Moulay el Hassan, Caliph in the Spanish zone, be given sovereign powers making him independent of the Sultan.

These decisions were contained in a "proclamation of the people" or petition signed by 430 Moroccan notables. It was handed to Gen. Valino, the Spanish High Commissioner, before a crowd of 30,000 people on the Tetuan racecourse.

The petition also strongly denounced French policy in Morocco and especially the deposition by the French last summer of the former Sultan, Mohammed ben Youssef. He is now in exile in Corsica.

Gen. Valino, in a violently anti-French reply, stated that there were two dangers in the world to-day—Communism and Colonialism. He criticised France for having acted without consulting Spain.

### ASSURANCE TO SULTAN

The French authorities in Rabat on hearing of the petition expressed their "strong regrets at this Spanish attitude which may have unfortunate consequences."

The Sultan's Cabinet, which had been previously warned about the petition, met at Rabat yesterday. It sent a strong Note to the French Government protesting against the Tetuan meeting, which "threatened the political and religious unity of Morocco guaranteed by all international treaties."

The French Government replied to-night stating that they were watching the situation closely. France had taken and would take all measures which she judged necessary.

The Note assured the Sultan's Government that it could count on French support in the defence of his rights and the maintenance of peace in his territories.

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# LES PROBLÈMES NORD-AFRICAINS

## La situation de la France et de l'Espagne au Maroc

Plusieurs textes de caractère international définissent le statut du Maroc et la position qu'y occupent en particulier la France et l'Espagne. Trois d'entre eux sont d'une particulière importance :

I. — L'ACTE D'ALGESIRAS, signé le 7 avril 1906, pose clairement le principe de l'unité de l'empire chérifien. Il affirme dans son article premier que la paix et la prospérité du Maroc reposent sur trois principes :

- a) la souveraineté du sultan ;
- b) l'intégrité de ses Etats ;
- c) la liberté économique sans aucune discrimination pour les différentes puissances signataires ;

II. — LE TRAITE DE FES du 30 mars 1912. Le sultan reconnaît le protectorat de la France au Maroc. Il est stipulé que le gouvernement de la République se concertera avec le gouvernement espagnol au sujet des intérêts que ce gouvernement tient de sa position géographique et de ses positions territoriales sur la côte marocaine ;

III. — LA CONVENTION FRANCO-ESPAGNOLE du 27 novembre 1912. Tout en respectant le principe de l'unité marocaine, cet accord donne à chaque zone une autonomie administrative et financière. Il appartient à l'Espagne de veiller à la tranquillité de sa zone d'influence et de prêter assistance au gouvernement marocain pour l'introduction des réformes nécessaires.

La zone espagnole est administrée, sous le contrôle d'un haut commissaire espagnol, par un khalifa désigné par le souverain. Ce khalifa est pourvu d'une délégation générale, en vertu de laquelle il exercera les droits appartenant au sultan.

Le haut commissaire espagnol est l'unique intermédiaire dans les rapports du khalifa avec les agents officiels étrangers accrédités dans la zone. L'article 26 de la convention soumet toutefois au « consentement préalable »

de la zone espagnole l'application des accords internationaux dans la zone khalifienne.

La convention franco-espagnole fixait en outre une nouvelle délimitation des frontières de la zone.

Quant à la zone internationale de Tanger, prévue par l'acte d'Algerias, elle vit son statut révisé en 1923, puis en 1928. Après l'occupation de la zone par l'Espagne (1940-1945) un nouveau statut provisoire fut signé par les Quatre Grands lors de la conférence de Paris au mois d'août 1945. Le texte ayant été imposé à l'Espagne, le gouvernement de Madrid provoqua en 1952 l'ouverture de nouvelles négociations, qui ont abouti à la signature d'un nouveau statut en vigueur depuis août 1953.

Il ressort de ces textes, et en particulier du traité de Fès, auquel le gouvernement espagnol n'est pas partie, que la France exerce seule la protection du souverain. Les droits de l'Espagne découlent d'un accord particulier avec le gouvernement de Paris.

### On redoute une recrudescence des attentats en zone française

(De notre correspondant particulier.)

Rabat, 20 janvier. — Les milieux officiels n'ont fait aucun commentaire sur la réunion à Tétouan des caïds et notables de la zone espagnole. Cette réserve s'explique notamment par l'absence d'informations précises sur le sens de la manifestation. Si certains bruits laissent entendre qu'il s'agirait simplement pour les chefs marocains d'affirmer leur loyauté à l'égard du gouvernement espagnol, d'autres font état d'une prise de position tendant, par un acte solennel, à déclarer que Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef est le seul souverain légitime du Maroc, à dénier toute autorité civile et religieuse à Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafat, à reconnaître au khalifa de Tétouan les pouvoirs que le souverain exilé ne peut exercer.

Exactes ou non, ces nouvelles ne sont pas de nature à contribuer à l'apaisement nécessaire dans les médinas, en particulier de Casablanca, de Fès et de Rabat, où les actes de terrorisme, qui marquent tantôt un répit et tantôt une recrudescence, entretiennent le trouble des esprits.

Dans les milieux marocains proches du palais impérial on rappelle que le khalifa de Tétouan entretient de bons rapports avec le sultan régnant, mais on reconnaît que sa position est délicate et qu'il ne peut manquer de subir l'influence des autorités espagnoles. Des liens de famille existent d'ailleurs entre Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafat et le khalifa. Le fils aîné du sultan, gendre du prince Moulay El Hassan, exerçait jusqu'à une date récente les fonctions de vice-président du conseil privé du khalifa.

La légitimité du sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafat ne saurait être contestée, dit-on dans les mêmes milieux, car sa proclamation par le Maghzen et sa reconnaissance par l'acte de la Béja ont respecté les coutumes établies.

### M. VOIZARD A PARIS

M. Pierre Voizard est arrivé mardi soir à Paris. Au cours de son séjour, qui n'excéderait pas une semaine, le résident général sera reçu par M. René Coty.

En raison de l'absence de M. Bidault, qui doit quitter Paris jeudi pour Berlin, on présume que les importants problèmes qui se posent actuellement en Tunisie ne pourront être réglés au cours de ce voyage.

Au nombre de ces problèmes figure la création d'une assemblée budgétaire mixte, que les milieux proches du Rassemblement français souhaitent voir admis par le gouvernement, afin que cette assemblée puisse être réunie avant l'été.

Il est enfin hors de doute que le résident général s'entretiendra avec les représentants du gouvernement de la situation de M. Habib Bourguiba.

### Aucune mesure en faveur de M. Habib Bourguiba ne peut être prise sous la menace déclare-t-on à Tunis

Une dépêche A.F.P. de Tunis signale que, devant la « campagne » menée dans la Régence en faveur de la libération de M. Habib Bourguiba on confirme dans les sphères officielles que « le cas Bourguiba, soumis par M. Voizard au gouvernement français, est actuellement à l'étude, mais on ajoute qu'aucune mesure ne pourra être prise sous la menace, d'où qu'elle vienne ».

A plusieurs reprises déjà, rapporte encore le correspondant de l'agence, le Néo-Destour avait demandé la libération de son chef. En dehors des motifs d'ordre politique, la raison principale invoquée était l'insalubrité du climat de l'île de la Galite, où M. Habib Bourguiba a été transféré.

Des commissions médicales ont constaté, ajoute-t-on, que Bourguiba ne souffrait d'aucune affection particulière.

Dernièrement, dans le cadre des mesures d'apaisement décidées par le résident général, certains assouplissements furent apportés au régime de détention du leader du Néo-Destour.

De renseignements recueillis à Paris il résulte que M. Voizard a effectivement soumis à M. Martinand-Déplat un projet de transfert de M. Bourguiba dans une résidence de la métropole. Le ministre de l'intérieur a fait procéder par la direction de la réglementation à une étude de la situation dans laquelle pourrait être placé le leader du Néo-Destour, interné depuis deux ans à la suite d'une mesure administrative prise en Tunisie en vertu de l'état de siège, mais dont le cas n'a pas été soumis aux tribunaux.

En raison des incidences politiques de la décision M. Martinand-Déplat ne la prendra qu'en accord avec ses collègues du gouvernement.

### RETOUR SUBIT DU CYCLONE SUR LA COTE EST DE MADAGASCAR

Tananarive, 20 janvier. — La situation, qui s'était légèrement améliorée hier à Tananarive à la suite de la baisse du niveau des eaux, risque de devenir extrêmement grave en raison du retour subit du cyclone, qui, après avoir franchi la côte ouest de Madagascar, se déplace lentement vers la côte est.

De fortes pluies sont à prévoir sur les hauts plateaux dans les prochains jours.

Les nouvelles parvenues de Moramanga, à l'est de Tananarive, font état de la disparition de sept bûcherons au cours d'une tempête.

Sous l'égide du Comité d'action des intellectuels pour la défense des libertés, M. Pierre Sibbe prendra la parole le vendredi 22 janvier, à 17 heures, au cinéma les Ursulines (rue des Ursulines, V) pour attirer l'attention du public sur le cas des parlementaires malgaches emprisonnés depuis 1947.

### En cours d'exercices plusieurs navires de guerre rallient Mers-el-Kébir

Plusieurs unités de la marine nationale sont arrivées ce matin mercredi à Mers-el-Kébir. On se refuse à préciser, tant au ministère de la défense nationale qu'au secrétariat d'Etat à la marine, si ce mouvement est en liaison avec la situation au Maroc. Au ministère des affaires étrangères on affirmait ce matin qu'il n'y a aucun rapport entre les deux faits.

L'escadre a appareillé lundi dernier de Toulon pour un exercice prévu depuis de longs mois. Le porte-avions *La Fayette*, deux croiseurs de 7 000 tonnes, une douzaine d'escorteurs et des sous-marins prennent part à la manœuvre, que dirige l'amiral Mariani, commandant l'escadre, et l'amiral Rosset, commandant du groupe d'action anti-sous-marin.

La sortie devait comporter un exercice d'« alerte » au cours duquel certaines unités seraient dirigées de façon imprévue vers une base navale française en Méditerranée.

### ARRIBA (organe de la Phalange) : des négociations entre la France et l'Espagne doivent englober toutes les questions litigieuses.

« L'Espagne rejette les suggestions d'après lesquelles la zone espagnole du Maroc servirait de tremplin au mécontentement qui règne dans la zone française voisine.

» L'Espagne rejette également l'affirmation selon laquelle ce serait à la suite d'une pression faite par les autorités espagnoles que le prince Moulay Hassan, khalifa de la zone espagnole, aurait refusé au mois d'août dernier de reconnaître le nouveau sultan du Maroc.

» Des négociations sur le Maroc entre l'Espagne et la France ne peuvent être fondées sur des accusations gratuites lancées contre l'Espagne, pas plus qu'elles ne peuvent être limitées à ce problème particulier. Elles doivent avoir un caractère entier et doivent englober toutes les questions litigieuses.

» L'Espagne ne sacrifiera en aucun cas à l'impérialisme français son attitude d'amitié loyale et de collaboration avec la population arabe de sa zone et avec les nations arabes. »

Casablanca, 20 janvier. — Une société casablancaise avait en mars dernier, sous le couvert du prince Moulay Hassan, fils aîné de l'ancien sultan, introduit irrégulièrement au Maroc 500 tonnes de thé vert en provenance de la Chine communiste. La fraude seule portait sur environ 240 millions de francs.

Les services des douanes viennent de donner l'autorisation à la société importatrice de prendre livraison des 500 tonnes de thé vert contre paiement d'une amende qui, croit-on, s'élèverait à plus de 100 millions de francs. — (A.F.P.)

MANCHESTER  
21-1-54

**FRENCH APPROACH  
TO SPAIN**

**Optimism on Morocco**

**From our own Correspondent**

PARIS, JANUARY 20.

After a further conversation this morning between the French Foreign Minister, M. Bidault, and the Spanish Ambassador, and a visit of the French Ambassador in Madrid to the Spanish Foreign Ministry, the outlook, as far as events in Spanish Morocco are concerned, was being viewed with optimism in Paris. It is now hoped that the meeting of notables from the Spanish Moroccan zone at Tetuan to-morrow will be limited to a demonstration of loyalty to the Spanish protecting power.

The French representations have undoubtedly been vigorous. It is believed here that France has had the moral support of her American and British allies. Reports in some sections of the French Press of security measures including the sending of naval units to the East Algerian naval base of Mers-el-Kebir appear to be exaggerated. The naval movements are said to have been part of French naval manoeuvres in the Mediterranean planned months ago.

It is, at all events, difficult to see how the presence of naval units in Algerian waters could assist the French protest unless France was thinking of using purely military means of pressure against Spain which is certainly not the case. The movement of troops inside Morocco is described as a normal measure of security in any eventuality in which an important political manifestation might provoke disorder.

It will be noted that the fundamental ground of the French protest is the threat to the unity of Morocco of which France, as the principal protecting Power and sole trustee for Moroccan foreign policy, is the guarantor. Naturally, the threat to unity remains latent so long as the authorities in the Spanish zone have not formally recognised the Sultan whom the French installed in Rabat last August. It will be something, however, if the French have achieved the result that no demonstration accentuating the present situation shall be permitted.

# French Post Fleet Unit Near Spanish Morocco

## Decision On Sultan Awaited

By Barrett McGurn

France moved warships close to the Spanish Moroccan border yesterday on "routine, long-planned target practice exercises."

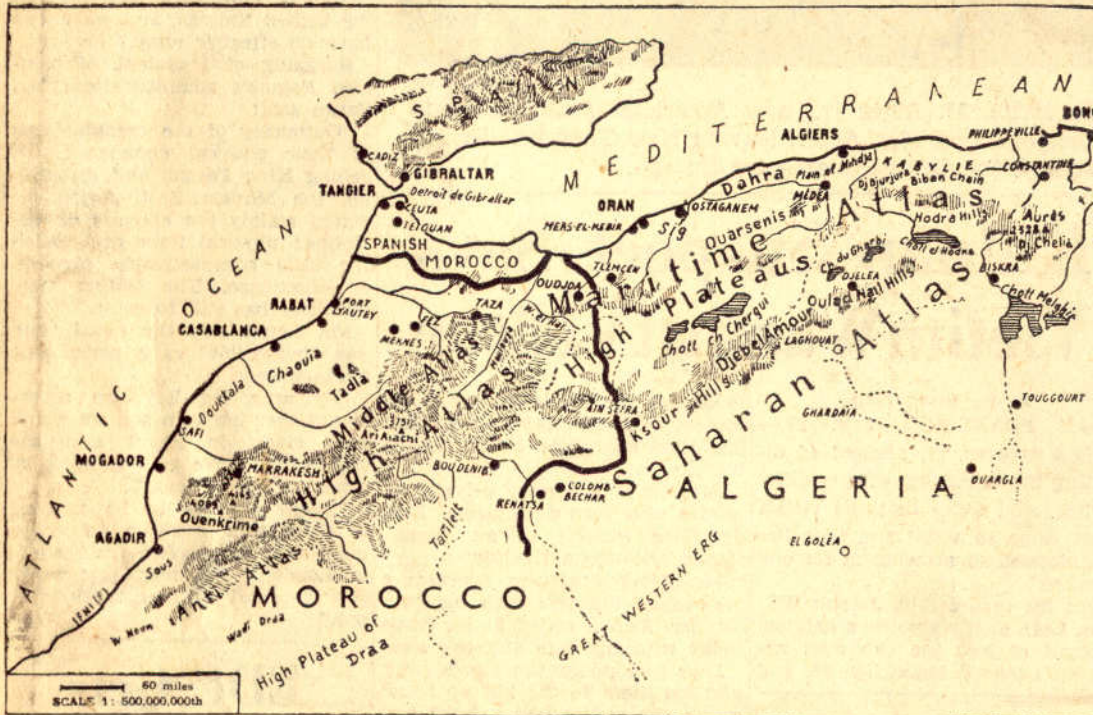
For the second time in two days Foreign Minister Georges Bidault conferred in Paris with the Spanish Ambassador, Count de Casa-Rojas, on reports that the people of the Spanish area of Morocco may repudiate the Moroccan and French deposition of the Sultan of Morocco at a meeting today and tomorrow at Tetuan, the capital of Spanish Morocco.

Such a proclamation, according to highly responsible opinion in Paris, almost certainly would fan nationalistic terrorism in French Morocco.

Killings, bombings and arson have disturbed Moroccan and French officials in Morocco intermittently ever since the Sultan's deposition last summer.

The French moved a strong contingent of its small fleet into Mers-el-Kebir, near Oran, an Algerian base a few hours' steaming from the Spanish Moroccan frontier. The squadron included the carrier Lafayette, the cruiser Gloire, the escort vessel Terrible and a flotilla of destroyers.

The French Foreign Office, hard at work trying to get the Spanish government to agree to an amicable solution, insisted semi-officially that the ship movements had nothing to do with the Moroccan crisis, but other French officials conceded that hundreds of troops were moved up to the Spanish Moroccan border simultaneously yesterday because of the developments in the case of the Sultan's deposition.



Points of tension in Spanish Moroccan situation are shown here. Local chieftains are gathering at Tetuan, capital of Spanish Morocco, while French naval units on "routine exercise" have assembled at Mers-el-Kebir.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE  
21-1-54

**'Frank and Cordial'**

The purpose of the troop movements, these sources said, was to guard against disorders which may be provoked inside the frontier of French Morocco and also to guard against unfriendly tribal movements along the interzonal dividing line.

The Foreign Ministry said last evening that the 20-minute exchange between M. Bidault and Count Casa-Rojas was both "frank and cordial" and that the situation seemed improved. Until the exchange the French government considered the tension very grave. Even last night diplomats treated it as highly serious.

The American Embassy followed developments closely. The United States, with three strategic air bases in French Morocco and others about to be constructed in Spain, is anxious to maintain civil peace in French Morocco and friendly relations between Spain and France.

Relations between Spain and France, long poor, had begun to improve recently. Trade picked up between the two neighbors. The French insisted that they wanted to better their ties with Madrid in the common interest. They complained, however, that the Spaniards showed less interest about doing so.

Intelligence reports reaching Paris have said that the meeting of Spanish Moroccan civil and religious leaders in Tetuan may have any of several purposes, ranging from a mere declaration of appreciation for Spain's recent pro-Arab policy and of denunciation of France's North African attitude, to a proclamation of the secession of Spanish Morocco from the domain of the new French-approved Sultan.

The French government's efforts evidently are designed to tip the decision toward the most innocuous possible declaration. A severance

*(Continued on Page 5, Col. 6)*

**French Post**

*(Continued from Page 1)*

of Spanish Morocco from the present Sultan's domain would be certain to fan the nationalistic violence now vexing officials in many of French Morocco's main urban centers, chiefly in Casablanca.

**To Remain in North Africa**

France has an announced policy of willingness to increase native autonomy but it is determined to stay in Morocco and the rest of its North African area, feeling that loss of that region would undermine its whole world position.

When reporters asked the Foreign Ministry spokesman what the French government meant by Tuesday's statement that it is prepared to defend its vital interests by "all means at their disposal," he said: "Just that." There is no expectation that the situation would deteriorate into fighting between the French and the Spanish, but there is no question France would go to an extreme to prevent the collapse of its Moroccan position.

Spanish Morocco, according to French sources, recently has become a center of Arab nationalism aimed at the local government of the Sultan and France.

According to some information reaching Paris, local Spanish military leaders in Morocco may have encouraged the former Sultan's most extreme supporters, thus contributing to the present situation.

The question, according to some diplomats, may be whether Madrid will be able to restrain the local Spanish military sufficiently in the interests of Spain's over-all foreign policy.

Morocco—today's trouble spot



# French warships back warning

From GEOFFREY HOARE : PARIS, Wednesday

SWIFT and energetic action by the French Government is thought to have forestalled a Spanish attempt to rally Spanish Morocco behind the deposed Sultan, Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef, now in exile in Corsica, and provoke an uprising in French Morocco.

## Father loses Ruth

Miami, Wednesday. — A court today approved adoption of a four-year-old girl, Ruth Shaw, by her American step-father, Mr. H. Klein. British High Court had the child be returned to Mr. William Shaw, Garden City, Herts. Shaw the American. "He was interested rights. No one has a parent unless he duties that go with ries.

## MUD?

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Minister—

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Foreign Minister Georges Bidault today summoned the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, the Marquis de Casa Rojas, to their second meeting in three days. And as they met units of the French Mediterranean Fleet, headed by the cruiser Gloire and two aircraft carriers, steamed into action stations off the Algerian port of Mers el Kebir.

French troops, including men of the Foreign Legion, manned posts along the boundary between the French and Spanish zones of Morocco.

After consultations with the British and American Governments, M. Bidault told the Spanish Ambassador in "clear and forcible" language that France would tolerate no interference in her administration.

## Bags of gold

These measures have led to an increase in the tension which mounted between the two countries yesterday.

But the white-robed civil and religious leaders of Spanish Morocco continue to stream into Tetuan, the capital, in answer to a call by the Spanish High Commissioner, Lieut.-General Garcia Valino, to attend an important meeting tomorrow.

General Valino has given the pashas of Tetuan bags of gold to lay in stocks of food and build gaily coloured tents.

M. Bidault reported to the Council of Ministers today he had been assured by the Spanish Government there was no intention to proclaim a new Caliph who would swear allegiance to the deposed Sultan rather than to Mohammed Ben Arafa whom the French Government installed.

Madrid cable: Informed observers here believe the Moroccan dignitaries will present a letter to General Valino reaffirming their loyalty to Spain and to Franco. They are also expected to proclaim non-recognition of the new Sultan, and put the Caliph in his place.

## News Chronicle

# FRANCO AGAIN

A SPOKESMAN blandly explained in Paris yesterday that the considerable force of French warships which has just arrived in the vicinity of Morocco is intent merely on a little "target practice." It will be an excellent thing if the serenity of this statement now infects all parties interested in the Moroccan situation, not excluding General Franco.

The Caudillo's role (if any) in the movement (if any) to restore in Spanish Morocco the authority of Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef, the Sultan whom the French have deposed and exiled, is by no means clear at present.

There may be reason to assume, however, that he is neither ignorant of nor disinterested in the plans for today's apprehensively signalled meeting of Moroccan leaders at Tetuan.

If Franco is approaching these events in the mood in which he has just approached the coming visit of Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh to Gibraltar, then the need for more serenity will be rather quickly apparent.

That the Spanish Ambassador in London should have been sent to ask Mr. Eden to cancel the royal visit to Gibraltar—the Queen's final port of call before her return in May—is as preposterous a bit of diplomacy as any the general has ever devised.

The icy reply the Ambassador received must have been expected in Madrid.

But at a time when so many under-paid Spaniards are so little enjoying the life they are compelled to lead, Franco may well have regarded this revival of the Give Us Gibraltar campaign as a useful diversion.

It will be a mistake to extend the technique.

And, for Franco's guidance, the British will not easily forgive any further attempt to exploit the Queen's visit to Gibraltar by a dictator who has run out of excuses for inefficient government.

THE TIMES  
21-1-34

30

# SPANISH MOROCCO DEVELOPMENTS

## TO-DAY'S MEETING OF CHIEFS

### CONCERN IN PARIS

From Our Own Correspondent  
PARIS, JAN. 20

The situation in Spanish Morocco continues to cause concern in official quarters and was discussed this morning by the Council of Ministers.

M. Bidault received the Spanish Ambassador again this morning, and their interview was described as "frank and cordial." The French Ambassador in Madrid called at the Spanish Foreign Ministry yesterday, but it is denied in Paris that he made any protest about the course of events in Spanish Morocco; he merely asked for "clarification."

Several French warships are reported to have arrived to-day at Mers-el-Kébir, but officials here say that this has nothing to do with the Moroccan situation. A French force, including an aircraft carrier and two 7,000-ton cruisers, left Toulon on Monday night, but this is said to have been in connexion with long-planned naval manoeuvres in the Mediterranean.

The general feeling here is that the purpose of the chiefs' gathering in Spanish Morocco may be more that of expressing solidarity with Spain's Arab policy than of "seceding" from the Sherifian empire. But, even if this moment passes off without incident, the question of Franco-Spanish relations in North Africa will have to be cleared up. They have not been harmonious since the deposition by the French of the Sultan of Morocco in August without previous consultation with the Spaniards.

### TRIBAL SPOKESMEN

TETUAN, Jan. 20.—This city is crowded to-night with Spanish Moroccan chieftains whose spokesmen are expected to ask the Muslim ruler here to boycott the throne of French Morocco. The new Sultan of Morocco, whose predecessor was deposed by the French, has not received the approval of Spanish Moroccans. He has not been recognized here, and prayers are still being said in the name of the deposed Sultan, who is in exile in Corsica.

To-morrow's programme will ostensibly be one of homage to Spain in the Hipicos gardens, about two miles from here. Free bus transport has been offered to all who wish to attend. Tribal spokesmen will present documents of loyalty to the Spanish High Commissioner. Then Moorish chiefs will make speeches, which may be answered by General Valino. A parade will be followed by a *corrida de polvora*, in which Moorish horsemen will gallop past the tribune firing rifles. Feasts of whole roast sheep will be held throughout the decorated Moorish town.

It is thought that there will be enthusiastic approval from the chieftains for the Khalifa of Tetuan's refusal to recognize the new Sultan of Morocco. But it is not thought that there will be any move to give the Khalifa power to act in a way to cause strong French protests.—*Reuter*.

### The Two Moroccos

Tension has suddenly arisen between France and Spain in Morocco. In theory the whole of Morocco is still subject to the rule of the SULTAN. In practice the country is divided into three zones, between which there is little communication. By far the largest of the zones consists of the French Protectorate, and it is here that the SULTAN is normally resident. In the Spanish zone, only one-ninth the size of the French, the SULTAN is represented by a deputy (Khalifah) who is chosen by the SULTAN from a list of two names drawn up by the Spanish authorities. In the international zone of Tangier the SULTAN'S authority rests in a delegate (Mandoub). Effective control in the three zones is retained by the French Resident General, the Spanish High Commissioner and the international Assembly at Tangier.

Although in much of his nominal dominions the authority of the SULTAN is a polite fiction, he is by no means a cipher like, for example, the last Moghuls. SULTAN MOHAMMAD V, who was deposed and exiled in August, found many negative and some positive ways of asserting himself. He became known as a patron of the Arab nationalists; he delayed giving his approval to reforms which the French wished to introduce but which could not become effective without his signature. As he also antagonized his most powerful Berber subjects it is not surprising that his reign came to an abrupt end. To-day his elderly and dependable uncle, MOHAMMAD BEN MOULAY ARAFA, reigns in his place. So, at least, the French maintain. But in the Spanish zone it is the exiled SULTAN who is still recognized, and it is the suggestion that the Spaniards may wish to make this recognition official and permanent which has strained relations between the two Governments.

French interests in Morocco were recognized by the Act of Algeciras of 1906, to which Britain was party. The protectorate agreement signed between France and the SULTAN in 1912 gave these interests their present legal shape. Spanish rights in Morocco, on the other hand, rest not on a direct agreement with the SULTAN but principally on the Franco-Spanish treaty of 1912. By this treaty France delegated to Spain the right to exercise in the Spanish zone the powers France had acquired in the whole sultanate. The legal position is one of great complexity, but it is clear that, if the Spaniards were to encourage a rival Sultan, the theoretical unity of Morocco, which is the basis of all the present régimes, would collapse.

It may seem strange that Spain, which has cooperated with France in Morocco so often in the past for their mutual benefit, should now pursue a discordant policy. The Spanish Government has reasonable ground for annoyance in that it was not consulted about the steps which led up to the deposition of SULTAN MOHAMMAD V, though the French explained that events moved too fast for consultation to be possible. But Spain's action is not simply a result of pique. In recent years a determined effort has been made to foster relations between Spanish and Arab nationalism. The assistant secretary-general of the Arab League recently visited the Spanish zone, where he was cordially received. Since then nationalists in Tetuan have fiercely attacked French policy in Morocco, Spain's history has been for centuries closely bound up with that of her Moorish neighbours. Now that the Spanish Government's hand has been strengthened by agreement with the United States it may feel itself more confident about asserting, in Morocco and elsewhere, the Spanish reading of history.

CATHOLIC TIMES

22-1-54

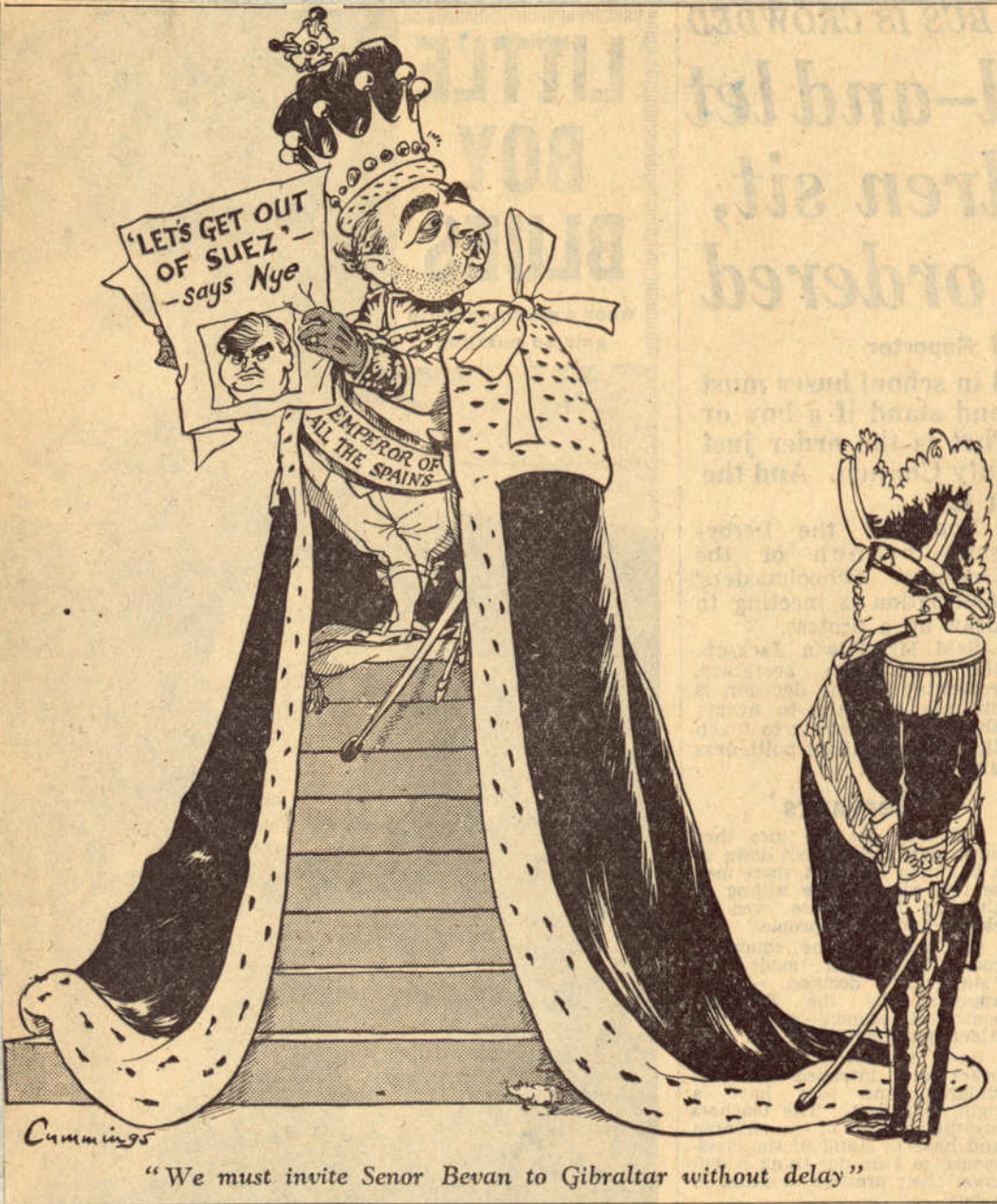
Spain and Gibraltar

IT cannot be said that we are anti-Spanish or anti-Franco, but it is difficult to treat with patience the intention of the Spanish Government to make political capital out of Queen Elizabeth's forthcoming visit to Gibraltar. When the most that can be said is said in favour of Spain's rights and feelings—we ourselves would have historical and patriotic arguments to produce if a foreign power held Dover—the popular Spanish feeling at the present time is not deep but whipped up by modern methods of nationalist propaganda.

A statesman as astute as General Franco knows very well that the agitation will not persuade Britain to cede Gibraltar to Spain. He knows that there are strong rights and arguments also on the British side. And he ought to know, none better, that in the present crisis of the European civilisation any national interest not grievous to the life of a particular people should be subordinated to the common good.

The Spanish Government, with an eye to the European and world situation, must know that the British Crown is among the strongest unifying influences of the West. It must know also that Queen Elizabeth II, a young and dedicated Monarch whom every instinct of chivalry impels men to protect, need not be involved in carefully prepared international disputes. They would be well advised to devote themselves to larger issues fostering what sane men desire, a lasting friendship between the Spanish and the British peoples.





# Moors ask Franco to tackle French

From PAUL MCGREEVY

TANGIER, Thursday. — Eighty thousand frenzied Moors today shouted for General Franco to rid them of French rule for ever.

They met in the city of Tetuan, capital of Spanish Morocco.

Sixteen hundred chiefs in flowing robes of finest linen sat in the racecourse. A huge crowd surged against the wooden rails.

These chiefs had come from the far-flung Atlas Mountains, from the Sahara, and from the arid Moroccan plains.

As the aroma of 5,000 spit-roasting lambs filled the air, a great shout arose.

## Enter the Caliph

The crowd opened to let in the gold and green caravan of his Imperial Highness the Caliph of Tetuan.

He is the representative in Spanish Morocco of the French-appointed Sultan of Morocco who rules over the whole of Morocco—French and Spanish zones—from his court at Rabat.

"Long live our ruler... Down with France... Hail Franco."

Scimitars flashed, timbals clashed, and the smiling brown-faced Muley Hassan Ben El Mehdi Ben Ismail sat upon his throne.

Another shout. A battalion of trotting Spanish soldiers opened a passage for Lieut.-General Garcia Vallino, Franco's high commissioner in Spanish Morocco.

Sunshine glinted on the thousands of bayonets and lances of Franco's and the caliph's troops.

## 'This outrage'

Then spoke the caliph. He accused the French of wounding Arab pride by banishing the former, "true" sultan to Corsica.

"We shall not recognise this outrage," he stated.

Then he demanded the separation of Spanish and French Morocco.

"We thank thee, Franco, for all thou hast done for us. We shall continue to believe in thee," he said.

The Spanish High Commissioner got up, bowed, and promised to convey the Moors' desires to Franco. He said he believes Franco will agree.

From all along the 1,600-mile French-Spanish Moroccan border...

DAILY HERALD  
22-1-54

# Sultan is promised

From Henry Kahn

## 'all aid'

PARIS, Thursday.

M. COTY, the French President, tonight assured Mohammed Ben Arafa, Sultan of Morocco, that France would do everything necessary to defend his rights.

This assurance was the French reply to a demonstration earlier today at Tetuan, Spanish Morocco, against Ben Arafa.

The French put Sultan Ben Arafa on the Moroccan throne last year. He rules Morocco under the joint protection of France and Spain.

His viceroy in Spanish Morocco has refused to recognise him.

In Tetuan today the Franco-organised demonstration demanded full sovereignty for Spanish Morocco.

A protest statement referred to the "sacrifices and hardships of Spain in her zone," and also said, "we render homage to Spain and her Caudillo, the glorious unconquered Generalissimo Franco."

(Editorial—Page Four)

## Him again

FRANCO, still squeaking at Britain, now stirs up a row with France.

He should be served up garnished with parsley at Berlin—one thing in the world which the Four Powers could agree about.

This Spaniard doesn't know his onions. He should recall Mussolini, who rolled forth like a barrel to make the world drunk on Fascism. Franco is an even emptier barrel than Musso.

Empty barrels sound the loudest.

DAILY MAIL, FRIDAY, JANUARY 22, 1954

NO MONKEY BUSINESS

by Illingworth



## FRENCH TELL SULTAN, WE SUPPORT YOU

From Daily Mail Reporter

PARIS, Thursday.

**T**he French Government tonight pledged the Sultan of Morocco full support in defending his rights.

This followed a meeting of 30,000 Berber tribesmen at Tetuan, capital of Spanish Morocco, at which 430 ulemas, caids, and pashas representing the entire population of the Spanish Zone rejected the authority of the Sultan, Sidi Mohamed Moulay Arafa, who was appointed by the French.

They demanded temporary separation from French Morocco and full sovereignty for their Caliph, Moulay Hassan.

Their demands were presented to the Spanish High Commissioner in Tetuan, Lieut.-General Valino, who promised to tell General Franco.

The Sultan rules over Morocco under the joint protection of France and Spain.

## ANTI-FRENCH PROCLAMATION IN MOROCCO

### SPANISH OFFICIAL ATTACKS POLICY

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT  
PARIS, Thursday.

Pashas, caids and religious leaders of the Spanish zone of Morocco to-day announced at Tetuan their rejection of the new Sultan, Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa, enthroned last summer. They demanded that Moulay el Hassan, Caliph in the Spanish zone, be given sovereign powers making him independent of the Sultan.

These decisions were contained in a "proclamation of the people" or petition signed by 430 Moroccan notables. It was handed to Gen. Valino, the Spanish High Commissioner, before a crowd of 30,000 people on the Tetuan racecourse.

The petition also strongly denounced French policy in Morocco and especially the deposition by the French last summer of the former Sultan, Mohammed ben Youssef. He is now in exile in Corsica.

Gen. Valino, in a violently anti-French reply, stated that there were two dangers in the world to-day—Communism and Colonialism. He criticised France for having acted without consulting Spain.

#### ASSURANCE TO SULTAN

The French authorities in Rabat on hearing of the petition expressed their "strong regrets at this Spanish attitude which may have unfortunate consequences."

The Sultan's Cabinet, which had been previously warned about the petition, met at Rabat yesterday. It sent a strong Note to the French Government protesting against the Tetuan meeting, which "threatened the political and religious unity of Morocco guaranteed by all international treaties."

The French Government replied to-night stating that they were watching the situation closely. France had taken and would take all measures which she judged necessary.

The Note assured the Sultan's Government that it could count on French support in the defence of his rights and the maintenance of peace in his territories.

DIRECTEUR : HUBERT BEUVE-MÉRY

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# Le Monde

## SCHISME AU MAROC ESPAGNOL

BULLETIN DE L'ÉTRANGER

### La libération des prisonniers sino-coréens

La controverse sur le sort des prisonniers ne voulant pas être rapatriés avait tenu en suspens la conclusion de l'armistice en Corée pendant dix-huit mois. Elle s'est vidée de sa substance en quelques heures.

Les juristes qui ont prôné le principe du libre choix des prisonniers auront tout lieu de se réjouir : vingt-deux mille individus ont échappé au rapatriement automatique qui aurait été leur lot si les principes des conventions de Genève sur les prisonniers avaient été appliqués. Toutefois le succès remporté est vieux déjà de plusieurs mois : il a été enregistré dans le texte de l'accord d'armistice dès juillet dernier.

Un autre problème juridique se posait d'ailleurs aujourd'hui : ledit accord a-t-il été respecté ou non ? Le commandement des Nations unies a accusé le général Thimayya, président indien de la commission neutre, d'avoir violé ce texte en lui rendant les Sino-Coréens en qualité de prisonniers alors qu'il appartenait à la commission de leur décerner le « statut civil ». Le général Thimayya accuse le commandement des Nations unies de violer la convention en libérant les prisonniers sans l'accord du commandement sino-coréen. Enfin ce dernier accuse le général Thimayya d'avoir outrepassé ses pouvoirs et le commandement des Nations unies de violer l'armistice.

La controverse pourra donc rebondir à l'O.N.U. si, comme l'a demandé le gouvernement indien, l'Assemblée générale se réunit au début de février. Elle pourrait être exploitée à fond par l'U.R.S.S., comme le fut le thème de la guerre bactérienne. Les faits eux-mêmes lui fournissent ses arguments : qu'une centaine de Chinois et de Nord-Coréens réputés anti-communistes aient profité de l'opération « retour » pour « choisir la liberté » du côté communiste prouve que le système des « explications » a été défectueux. En outre les rapports de la commission neutre — même ceux émanant des seules délégations suisse et suédoise — ne cachent pas qu'il existait dans les camps des organisations rattachées à Séoul et à Formose. Des témoignages sur la terreur régnant parmi les prisonniers ont été recueillis même auprès des délégués suédois.

Quoi qu'il en soit, ces thèmes pourrissent bien être développés devant l'O.N.U., mais les « conséquences graves » de la libération des prisonniers qu'a annoncées Pékin semblent devoir se limiter à une offensive verbale.

On avait toujours pu penser que ce qu'on appelait la question des prisonniers était, pour Pékin, surtout un article de propagande : en fait, ces prisonniers, pour lesquels les Sino-Coréens ont bataillé si longtemps à Pan-Mun-Jom, sont passés subrepticement de cent mille — chiffre indiqué par les alliés au début de 1952 — à vingt-deux mille sans que Pékin ou Pyong-Yang s'alarment outre mesure ; plusieurs dizaines de milliers furent libérés par le commandement allié au titre d'internés civils ; vingt-sept mille purent s'évader en juin dernier sur les ordres de Syngman Rhee... Les vingt-deux mille qui restaient, sans doute les Sino-Coréens se résigneront-ils à les abandonner comme les autres. Il semble même que ne doive pas être exclue l'hypothèse que l'Inde ait reçu à Pékin la garantie que les Sino-Coréens ne verraient pas dans leur libération motif à rompre l'armistice.

Il fut question de négociations secrètes au début de ce mois, à Pékin, par l'intermédiaire d'une puissance neutre. En outre la décision indienne a été prise après consultation avec Londres. Pékin espère donc peut-être trouver à Berlin des voix occidentales pour appuyer la demande soviétique d'une conférence à cinq. La Chine pourrait estimer de plus qu'en restreignant les assurances données à Syngman Rhee — comme le demande la commission des affaires étrangères du Sénat américain — les Etats-Unis fourniraient un gage appréciable d'apaisement. Ce pourraient être là aux yeux des Sino-Coréens motifs à enterrer la controverse sur les prisonniers.

### M. FOSTER DULLES : le général Thimayya a mérité la reconnaissance du monde libre.

Washington, 21 janvier (U.P.). — M. Foster Dulles a déclaré hier soir que le général indien Thimayya et les membres suisses et suédois de la commission neutre de rapatriement avaient mérité la particulière reconnaissance du monde libre. Il n'a fait allusion ni aux membres tchèques ni aux membres polonais de la commission.

## Le khalifa doit jouir de la souveraineté pleine et entière dans sa zone demandent les manifestants de Tétouan qui récusent l'autorité du nouveau sultan

La pétition lue à Tétouan au nom des notabilités marocaines de la zone espagnole est rédigée en des termes singulièrement moins conciliantes qu'on ne l'espérait.

En demandant que le khalifa impérial jouisse dans la zone espagnole d'une souveraineté pleine et entière les notables sont en effet venus réduire les espoirs que l'on nourrissait depuis hier d'un revirement à Tétouan.

Sans doute les notables affirment-ils leur souci de voir préservée l'unité de l'empire chérifien, mais leur attitude a valeur de schisme. La situation de la zone khalifienne demeure sans doute inchangée en droit ; Sidi Mohammed ben Arafa n'y était pas reconnu et les Marocains étaient demeurés fidèles au « souverain légitime Mohamed V ». Le gouvernement espagnol se serait peut-être satisfait du succès de prestige que lui eût conféré la manifestation spectaculaire d'aujourd'hui. Mais une fois encore nous assistons à un mouvement qui, une fois lancé, progresse de lui-même, inéluctablement.

La décision finale appartient encore à Madrid. Quelle qu'elle soit on ne saurait plus minimiser les répercussions qu'aurait dans les pays arabes, et surtout dans le reste du Maroc, les « fêtes populaires » de Tétouan. On en a conscience à Rabat, où les milieux officiels se bornent pour l'instant à exprimer « leurs vifs regrets d'une telle attitude espagnole qui ne pourra qu'avoir des conséquences fâcheuses ».

L'attention d'une fraction importante du peuple marocain va se trouver axée sur cette zone rifaine qui n'a jamais servi de guide spirituel et dont on ne sache pas qu'elle puisse ni par sa population ni par sa mise en valeur supporter la comparaison avec la zone française. Dans l'esprit de ces Marocains la scission des deux zones, même non juridiquement consommée, sera devenue un fait patent.

Le problème, sur ce plan, intéresse Rabat et Paris : il soulève toute la politique française au Maroc qui ne peut toutefois être sereinement examinée qu'en dehors de toute pression extérieure.

## La pétition des notables

Au cours de la démonstration populaire organisée au stade de Tétouan, Sidi Abdallah Guenoun, ancien directeur du centre d'études islamiques de Tanger, a donné lecture d'une pétition du « peuple de la zone espagnole », demandant notamment que le khalifa (représentant du sultan) Moulay el Hassan el Mehdi jouisse de la souveraineté pleine et entière dans sa zone, sans aucune dépendance envers Sidi Mohammed ben Arafa.

« Nous répudions énergiquement, poursuit la pétition, la politique du gouvernement français, qui a exilé le souverain légitime Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, blessant ainsi le peuple dans ses sentiments et violant les accords qu'il s'était engagé à respecter. Nous ne reconnaissons pas l'autorité de Moulay Arafa et donnons toute notre approbation à notre prince Moulay el Hassan. »

Le texte affirme la reconnaissance du peuple marocain à l'égard de l'autorité espagnole, demande la séparation de la zone espagnole du reste du Maroc tant que la politique française demeurera inchangée, mais proclame le souci de voir préservée l'unité de l'empire chérifien.

Le document a été remis au haut commissaire espagnol. Il porte la signature des principales notabilités de la zone.

### La France a agi à l'encontre de ses engagements déclare le général Valino

Le général Garcia Valino, haut commissaire d'Espagne, a notamment déclaré devant les notables rassemblés à Tétouan :

« Il y a deux dangers dans le monde : le communisme et le colonialisme. La France a agi à l'encontre de ses engagements, de nos conseils, et a ignoré notre point de vue. »

« Les Français ont dit que notre attitude était dictée par le désir d'avantages matériels et territoriaux au Maroc. Ce n'est pas vrai. Aucun intérêt ne nous fait agir, si ce n'est le désir de voir prospérer le peuple marocain. »

« Il y a quatre cent trente signatures au bas de votre proclamation ; si nous l'avions voulu il y en aurait quatre cent trente mille, toutes les signatures des habitants de la zone. »

(Lire nos informations en page 2.)

## AU CARREFOUR DE

### II. — La main tendue à

par ANDRÉ FONTAINE

Point faible — par l'Indochine et par l'armée européenne — de la coalition atlantique, objet depuis plusieurs mois des plus visibles attentions du Kremlin, la France se trouve aujourd'hui placée devant des choix qui font d'elle l'enjeu principal des compétitions mondiales et la probable vedette de la conférence de Berlin (1).

Sept ans après le déclenchement des hostilités au Tonkin, la lassitude française à l'égard de la guerre d'Indochine est générale. Les plus hautes autorités militaires préconisent dans leurs conversations privées une négociation aussi rapide que possible. Des hommes politiques de toutes tendances, les uns partisans, les autres adversaires de la C.E.D., se trouvent d'accord pour estimer que la poursuite du conflit ruine les chances que pourrait avoir notre pays d'occuper dans l'Europe des Six la place qui lui revient normalement. Un homme comme M. Georges Bidault, hostile pourtant à un abandon qui risque à ses yeux d'être synonyme de renoncement à nos responsabilités de grande puissance mondiale, confiait l'autre jour à un de nos confrères américains qu'à moins d'un effort décisif des Etats-Unis la pression de l'opinion conduirait rapidement au décrochage.

Après la prise de position du roi du Cambodge et des nationalistes vietnamiens, il est maintenant trop évident que l'Indochine nous échappera complètement, quel que soit le sort des armes, pour que l'on puisse demander à une nation aux ressources humaines terriblement réduites d'être seule sur la terre à se battre — et de le faire à 15 000 kilomètres de la métropole. L'interview de Ho Chi-Minh, venant dans cette atmo-

sphère, a précipité l'évolution. On le sait à Moscou aussi bien qu'à Washington. Plusieurs publications américaines (New York Herald, U. S. News, Newsweek, etc.), en sont arrivées à considérer comme une éventualité sérieuse la perte de l'Indochine dans un délai relativement court.

L'attitude française à l'égard du réarmement de l'Allemagne n'est pas moins préoccupante pour les Etats-Unis. Pour

### LES GRANDES BIOGRAPHIES

# JULES BERTAUT LE ROI JÉRÔME

LE PLUS SEDUISANT  
DES FRÈRES DE NAPOLEON

FLAMMARION

(1) Voir le Monde du 21 janvier 1954.

MANCHESTER  
22-1-54

### SULTAN DISOWNED

## Spanish Moors' Criticism of France

TETUAN, JANUARY 21.

In a statement published here and addressed to the Spanish High Commissioner 430 Moorish leaders to-day announced their refusal to recognise the French-appointed Sultan of Morocco and demanded temporary separation from the French zone. The statement, which was supported by a crowd of 25,000 Moors assembled here, demanded that the Caliph of Tetuan be given full sovereignty without depending on the new Sultan.

It also referred to the "extraordinary gravity of the events in the Moroccan Empire," and repudiated energetically "the policy followed in the French Protectorate and the methods used to depose the Sultan as a consequence of intrigues by the French Residency." And the statement endorsed Spanish policy in the zone and pledged continued support to Spain.

In his reply, the High Commissioner, General Valino, said that he would hand the demands of the Spanish Moors on to General Franco. He added that the French, in deposing the Sultan, Mohammed V, had ignored their obligation laid down in many treaties always to support the position of the legally elected Sultan, and he went on to say:

"France, the joint protecting nation with Spain in the Moroccan empire... imagined that the way out of the difficulties her own mistakes got her into could be found by violently removing the Sultan. She never asked our advice at any moment in this matter—and if she had asked it we would have expressed our clear and definite disapproval. Your support to Spain expressed here to-day is the best answer to insidious political campaigns, which have alleged that Spain's attitude in this matter does not reflect the feelings of the people of Spanish Morocco."

—Reuter.

[Message from our Paris correspondent on page 7]

## FRANCE SUPPORTS THE SULTAN

### General Franco's Motives Condemned

From our own Correspondent

PARIS, JANUARY 21.

The resolution passed by the Notabilities of the Spanish zone of Morocco and the reply of the Spanish Resident-General have confirmed the fears and belied the hopes that were entertained in Paris yesterday. How far the Spanish bid to exploit the situation in Morocco can be made effective, of course, remains to be seen.

The Council of Viziers at Rabat has already sent a vigorous protest to Paris against the events in the Spanish zone, declaring that they are designed to upset the peace and order of the Sherifian empire and to undermine its political and religious unity. To this the French Prime Minister has already replied that the situation is receiving the full

attention of the French Government, which is already taking all necessary measures.

The French Government has assured the Sultan, behind whom the Moroccan people have already rallied, that he has the full support of France. However divided French opinion is as to the wisdom of the policy which led to the dethronement of Mohammed the Fifth last August—and the critics have been very audible in the press recently—there is unanimity in entirely condemning the motives of General Franco's Government in organising to-day's demonstration in Tetuan.

The widespread doubt, however, as to the wisdom of French policy last summer leads to a keen realisation of the advantages which have unfortunately been offered to General Franco in the matter. It is noted at least with satisfaction that General Franco appears to have been doing his best to unite the Western Powers against him, notably by his recent intervention in London with regard to Gibraltar.

It is therefore hoped that in whatever action may prove necessary France will have the moral support of both London and Washington, the latter naturally concerned for the security of her air bases in Morocco. There are, however, no illusions in Paris as to the unpleasant possibilities available to the Spanish Government for causing trouble in the Arab world at the present moment.

## FRENCH LANDING IN ANNAM

### 'Bridgehead'

JANUARY 21.

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MANCHESTER  
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### Moroccan Troubles

The present trouble between France and Spain in Morocco shows, among other things, how hard it is to reconcile some of the polite assumptions of international law with the realities of power. In theory the Sultan is sovereign over all Morocco, though he has delegated some of his powers to France and, by other international treaties, Spain exercises a protectorate over a small zone. In practice France last year deposed Sidi Mohammed V and replaced him with his uncle; but the new Sultan has not been recognised by Spain or by the religious and temporal leaders in Spanish Morocco. In these circumstances it becomes still more difficult to uphold, even nominally, the unity of the country and the sovereignty of the man in whose name it is ruled and must go on being ruled until either a representative and responsible Assembly is created or French "co-sovereignty" is proclaimed—and neither has come about as yet. Meanwhile the leaders of Spanish Morocco, though they have cut themselves off from the present Sultan, have stopped short of proclaiming his deposed nephew or a Regent in his stead. The Spanish authorities have seized the chance which France's troubles (or, as some would say, blunders) give them of standing well with the Arab nationalists; but they, too, though their objections to French policy are sharper and louder than they were a few months ago, seem to have hedged at an outright rift. For all the flurry of messages and the movement of troops and ships it seems unlikely that we shall soon see anything like a clash between the Caliph's followers from the Rif and the Glaoui's followers from the Atlas. But the power of these great magnates to stir up trouble—whether with the approval or in spite of French and Spanish officials—is a curious gloss on a protectorate established in the name of unity and the enforcement of sovereign rule.

### SPANISH CHARGE OF BAD FAITH

#### British Disclosures Denied

##### From our Diplomatic Correspondent

The Spanish press has been charging the British Government with bad faith. It says that when the Spanish Ambassador visited Mr Eden last week to make certain observations about the Queen's intended visit to Gibraltar in May it was agreed that the nature of the Ambassador's call should not be disclosed. The Spanish press has been bitterly protesting that in spite of this agreement the nature of the Ambassador's call was revealed in order to launch a hostile press campaign against Spain.

These charges were refuted by a Foreign Office spokesman yesterday. He said they were quite unfounded and pointed out that no information concerning the Ambassador's visit had been disclosed until press agency reports from Madrid referred to the nature of the call. The spokesman said that after this there had been no alternative but to define in general terms the policy of the British Government towards the Spanish representations.

# Spanish Morocco Secession Is Urged

## Authority Of Sultan Is Spurned

By the Associated Press

TETUAN, Spanish Morocco, Jan. 21. — Moslem leaders of Spanish Morocco today demanded temporary separation from French Morocco and full sovereignty for their Khalif, Moulay el Hassan Ben El Mehdi, under Spanish protection.

The civil, judicial and religious leaders refused to recognize the French-supported Sultan, Mohammed Moulay ben Arafa, or any link between the two zones until the political situation in French Morocco has changed.

The demands were presented to the Spanish High Commissioner, Lt. Gen. Rafael Garcia Valino, while an estimated 30,000 Moors, gathered for a mass demonstration of friendship toward Spain, cheered and applauded wildly.

### 'Virile and Patriotic'

Gen. Garcia praised their "virile and patriotic attitude" and promised to send their demands to Generalissimo Francisco Franco immediately for his decision.

The demands were contained in a lengthy document signed by 430 ulemas, caids and pashas. The presentation of the document was originally scheduled to be held in the Plaza de Espana before the commissioner's palace, but was transferred to a field outside this capital of the Spanish zone because of the large crowd.

After praising the work of Spain in its zone, the declaration made these points:

"1—We do not recognize the authority of Moulay ben Arafa because he was arbitrarily imposed by France in opposition to, and with disdain for, the sentiment of the Moroccan people. We only obey our beloved prince, Moulay Hassan ben El Mehdi ben El Ismail.

"2—While reaffirming the fundamental idea, always defended by Spain, of the unity of the Moroccan empire, we demand the temporary separation of the Spanish zone while political conditions existing in the French zone remain unchanged. We demand that the Khalif of our zone have full sovereignty without any dependence on Moulay ben Arafa.

"3—We fully, nobly and loyally recognize the sacrifice and hardships of Spain in her zone and render an homage of adherence to Spain and her Caudillo, the glorious and unconquered Generalissimo Franco."

The declaration concluded that the Moroccan people place "all our hope and all our spirit at the service of Spain, to whom we join ourselves in an effort to secure together the unity, liberty and grandeur of Morocco that we all desire."

### Thanks Them

TETUAN, Jan. 21 (U.P.).—Gen. Garcia thanked the Moslem leaders for their declaration in a speech that was often interrupted by applause and cheers.

He said that Spain's policy of rapprochement toward the Moroccan people began in 1927 when hostilities ended in that area and Spain began its policy of reconstruction in the protectorate.

He said this policy had taken place with friendly feelings and sincere collaboration throughout the years.

He pointed to two developments which stood out as "white stones" (Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)



Intercontinentale.

Lt. Gen. Rafael Garcia Valino, High Commissioner of Spanish Morocco, reviews a gathering of Moslem leaders which he had called in the capital city of Tetuan.

## France to Take Steps For Unity of Morocco

By Barrett McGurn

The French government announced officially in Paris last night that it will take "all steps deemed necessary" to preserve the unity of Morocco, despite a demand of many leaders in Spanish Morocco that their area secede from the realm of the new Sultan.

The government made no direct comment on the news from Tetuan, capital of Spanish Morocco, where tribal leaders called for the secession yesterday. There was no question, however, that the news, following days of French efforts to head off too violent a Spanish Moroccan protest against the present Sultan, was received in official circles in Paris with sharp disappointment.

Although French officials received the Tetuan news unhappily, many clung to two hopes for a peaceful settlement of the now tense Franco-Spanish situation. One hope was based on the fact that Moulay El Hassan ben El Mehdi did not take part in the Tetuan ceremonies yesterday, sending word instead that he was ill. The other was that the idea of secession is still only a wish among Spanish Moroccan tribal chieftains. Despite the fact that local Span-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

## Landing Made in Ho Area

By the Associated Press

SAIGON, Jan. 21.—French Union assault forces established a beachhead in the midst of Communist-led Viet Minh territory on the southeastern coast of Indo-China today against virtually no opposition.

A spokesman for the French High Command called the operation the first large-scale French offensive of the seven-year-old Indo-China war. Other attacks have been aimed principally at warding off Viet Minh blows, he said.

### Seek Long Stretch of Coast

The operation began at dawn yesterday when 2,000 French Union troops swarmed ashore at Tuy Hoa, 250 miles northeast of Saigon. They occupied the town and were joined today by a column of French Union troops which arrived by way of the Mandarin Highway.

No serious rebel resistance was met. However, the French Command expects to contact Viet Minh troops soon. The Viet Minh is estimated to have eight battalions in the Tuy Hoa region. These (Continued on Page 3, Col. 5)

## Atomic S

By Earl Ubell

Special to the Herald

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## France

(Continued from Page 1)

ish officials took a cordial hand in arranging yesterday's Tetuan meeting, many French still hoped Generalissimo Francisco Franco could be dissuaded from giving his approval to secession.

President René Coty, the new French Chief of State, joined the members of Premier Laniel's government in the formal statement last night.

The statement said that the Moroccan developments have the French government's "full attention," that the international treaties on Morocco give France the responsibility of protecting the "person and throne" of the Sultan of all Morocco, and the safe-keeping and integrity of his empire, and that the French government has taken, and will continue to take, steps considered necessary in the carrying out of France's Moroccan responsibilities.

### Steps Not Listed

The government listed none of the steps it has taken, but messages to the United States and Great Britain and troop movements along the Spanish Moroccan border are among them. Warships also have been moved close to the border.

The new Sultan has the people of Morocco with him, the French government insisted. He can count on full French support "in the defense of his rights and in the maintenance of peace on the territory of the Moroccan state," the French added.

The French gave no hint of the further measures they have in mind, but continued appeals to the United States to use influence with Franco are expected. Many French fear that movements in favor of the nationalistic old Sultan, even if they are restricted officially to the 10 per cent of the Moroccan population under the Spanish protectorate, cannot fail to fan terrorism in French Morocco. Some distinguished visitors in French Morocco already have been assigned bodyguards on their travels, and patrols can be seen guarding such points as bridges. French efforts have failed so far to eliminate nationalist violence.

The French Foreign Office published last night an appeal from the government of the new Sultan reminding France that it has a treaty obligation to support the Sultan against all threats to his empire, and protesting that the press and radio in the Spanish zone have been waging a long-drawn-out campaign of agitation tending to provoke troubles of all sorts, including physical attacks. The Sultan's Cabinet asked the French to "draw the Madrid government's attention to this dangerous situation and to its present and future consequences."

### Arms Aid for Spain

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21 (U.P.).—The Defense Department announced today that a United States freighter with tanks and other military aid equipment is due to reach Spain next month. The department also said that some jet training planes will be flown to Spain next month for the Spanish Air Force.

## Morocco

(Continued from Page 1)

in the history of the two countries.

The first was in 1936 when the Spanish Army in Morocco answered the call of the homeland for help against "the occult forces of international Communism."

They triumphed because the situation was under control in the rear base (Morocco) and because of the help of the Moroccan people themselves.

He added it was for this loyalty that Gen. Franco himself once said: "The best roses of the victory will go to Morocco."

The other development was in 1953 when France dethroned the Sultan. The consequences of this event are still unknown, the High Commissioner said.

France, by this act, had violated all treaty obligations to support the Sultan, who was legally elected by the Moroccan people. France believed it could find a way out of its "political errors" by taking a step which could be called "irremediable" and for which it alone must be held responsible.

Gen. Garcia said France did not consult Spain and that, had it done so, it would have been faced with Spain's "clear and determined disapproval." Unfortunately, he said, "pride won over reason," and the old Sultan was ousted and exiled, only to be replaced by a new one.

The High Commissioner said that today the French zone of Morocco is experiencing "violent unrest and a ferocious repression."

Gen. Garcia said: "Those who found it convenient explained that such strong measures were only of a temporary nature."

### Cites Goal

The High Commissioner assured his listeners that he personally would do all in his power to lead Morocco toward "her objectives of prosperity and liberty."

He added that "your virile and patriotic attitude, as well as your love for and faith in Spain and her Generalissimo will remain deeply engraved in my heart."

The general also said: "My greatest satisfaction lies in the fact that I was right in interpreting your sentiments and aspirations at the most dangerous and trying times which the Moroccan empire presently is experiencing."

The High Commissioner concluded with a shout of "Long live Morocco and Spain."

The crowd bore placards reading: "Spain and Morocco are examples of brotherhood among peoples," "A happy Morocco finds its way along the route which Spain traces," "Lt. Gen. Garcia Valino understands the Moroccan mind and demonstrates to the world the reality of Spain and Morocco."

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## Full backing promised to Sultan

PARIS, Thursday.

**F**RANCE tonight told Sultan Moulay Ben Arafa of Morocco that he could count on her "full assistance" in the defence of his rights.

The assurance followed the demand at a great "popular fete" today in Tetuan for the virtual separation of the French and Spanish zones of Morocco.

The meeting was the work of the anti-French Spanish High Commissioner, General Garcia Valino.

A petition to Franco was read repudiating French policy "which exiled the legitimate sovereign, Sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef." It refused to recognise the authority of Sultan Moulay Ben Arafa.

And it asked that the Spanish-backed Caliph, Moulay el Hassan, should enjoy "complete sovereignty" in the Spanish zone.

France is to send an official Note of protest to the Spanish Government to reinforce verbal protests made during the last two days to the Ambassador in Paris.

#### An Ill-timed Démarche

The unfortunate thing about Anglo-Spanish relations at the moment is that politicians at the head of the Government in each country are not particularly interested in improving relations with each other, and are very ready to sacrifice the chances of improvement for any domestic gain. It can only have been for domestic reasons that General Franco instructed his Ambassador to deliver a protest to the Foreign Office against the Queen's forthcoming visit to Gibraltar, in the course of her Empire Tour.

There are a good many elements in Spain keenly interested to see that Anglo-Spanish relations do not improve. There are those who went all the way with the Germans before 1945, and hope their turn may come again. There are others who do not want to see the present Government of Spain strengthening itself by any better relations with its Western neighbours. There is the usual young student element, encouraged by what it reads in the newspapers, which are consistently unfriendly to this country, who think that if the Persians and Egyptians can shoo the British away, and make them give up unassailable legal rights, it is a reflection on Spaniards if they cannot do the same. It may well be that General Franco, having made his agreement with the Americans, and having been criticized for letting in a foreign Power, finds the Gibraltar issue a convenient one to show such Spaniards that they have no need to suspect his ardent and jealous nationalism. It is equally certain that, as things are at present, the more British Ministers are inclined to give up in the Canal Zone, the less will they be prepared to consider any sort of proposals, which would not be unreasonable in themselves, for any new status for Gibraltar.

#### A Chance for the "Daily Herald"

It may well be true that Gibraltar, in its size and position, is a period-piece of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, part of the military route to India, and that in the only war which we have to envisage in the foreseeable future the American bases at Cadiz, and the whole of the Spanish Peninsula, would be in Western strategy what Gibraltar used to be in the naval strategy of Britain, an outlying strong point. In the last war Gibraltar played an important part, through the benevolent neutrality of Spain, at the time of the North Africa landing. That was the moment when the Germans were urging General Franco to seize Gibraltar, and it makes it all the odder, save in terms of the Spanish domestic scene, that he should be so tactless as to protest now in connection with the Queen's visit, which might be thought the occasion for more than usual courtesy on the Spanish side, such courtesy being in the great Spanish tradition.

If there are demonstrations, as there may well be, it will be difficult for the Spanish Government to disclaim them, because no demonstrations, Monarchist or Socialist or any other sort, can happen in Spain, and what happens is assumed to be permitted. But it will be a great pity if a newspaper war is allowed to grow up, something quite artificial and unrepresentative of any widespread feeling in either country. Here the *Daily Herald* never misses a chance to make General Franco into unfavourable front-page news. Most of the time the *Herald* is very conscious of the *Daily Worker* trying to steal away its more class-consciously proletarian readers, and when the *Herald* has the chance to compete with the *Daily Worker* in its own field, it takes it.

# REPUDIATION OF SULTAN IN SPANISH MOROCCO

## "GIBRALTAR FOR SPAIN"

### DEMONSTRATIONS IN GRANADA

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BARCELONA, JAN. 21

According to reports received here, there were street demonstrations to-day in Granada in favour of "Gibraltar for Spain," in the course of which a group of students was received by the Civil Governor and by the local head of the Falange. In Barcelona there appeared to be unusual police vigilance this morning near the University, but there have been no demonstrations.

## PETITION SEEKING SOVEREIGNTY FOR KHALIFAH

A petition signed by 430 Moroccan notables, repudiating the authority of the present Sultan, was presented in a ceremony at Tetuan yesterday to the Spanish High Commissioner. The petition asked that the Khalifah (the Sultan's representative in Spanish Morocco) be given full sovereignty in that zone.

The French Government, in reply to an urgent message from the Sultan's council of Ministers, has given an assurance that he can count on French support "in the defence of his rights and for the maintenance of peace."

## ASSURANCE GIVEN BY FRANCE

### DEFENCE OF RULER'S RIGHTS

From Our Own Correspondent

PARIS, JAN. 21

To-day's meeting of the chiefs in Spanish Morocco, so far as the course of events can be pieced together from the rather exiguous agency dispatches coming from Tetuan, has certainly resulted in an increase in the tension, rather than the slackening for which officials at the Quai d'Orsay were hoping.

A petition bearing the signatures of 430 notables, which was handed to General Valino, the Spanish High Commissioner, repudiates the authority of the present Sultan of Morocco and asks that the Khalifah (the Sultan's representative in the Spanish zone) be given full and entire sovereignty over Spanish Morocco.

### UNITY THREATENED

Were Madrid to support this request, it would mean that the unity of the Sherifian empire, which France is by treaty bound to protect, would be broken, even though the notables' manifesto expresses the wish to see that unity preserved. Though the petition is naturally distasteful to the French, General Valino's manner of receiving it—and particularly the words he used about the French work in Morocco—has angered them even more.

In French Morocco the Council of Viziers (the Sultan's council of Ministers) has sent an urgent message to the French Government, as the protecting Power which is "pledged to give its permanent support to his Sherifian Majesty against any danger which threatens

there would have been 430,000, all the signatures of the inhabitants of the zone."

To-day's events cannot be undone and their effect in North Africa and among the Arab countries is clearly going to be considerable. But so far as France is concerned the major issue is still open—that is, the attitude of the Spanish Government towards the petition and the demonstrations. It is still hoped that General Franco may refuse to underwrite a policy that can only bring the gravest complications.

In any case, the French position in Morocco is perfectly firm, and, for such consolation as it is worth, the French are telling themselves that those who allow themselves to be used as catspaws for the Arab League are liable to get their fingers burnt. There is even a school of thought—though it is not an official one—which argues that to allow Spain to make a fool of herself in Spanish Morocco might in the end be to French interests.

Conditions on the frontier between the Spanish zone and Tangier are reported to be normal, but apparently no foreign journalist has succeeded in getting a visa for the Spanish zone to-day.

## CHIEFS' PROTEST AT "REPRESSION"

### BREACH OF AGREEMENTS ALLEGED

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BARCELONA, JAN. 21

The document, signed by 430 representatives of all sections of the Spanish Protectorate, which was read to the Spanish High Commissioner at the gathering at Tetuan to-day said: "The very grave events which have taken place during the past few months in the Moroccan empire have filled the hearts of all good patriots with deep sorrow.

"The affronts inflicted by the French Government to all Moroccans, wounding their noblest and most intimate sentiments, have led to a general feeling of revulsion from the strong repressive measures put into operation throughout the empire, which is not only full of sorrow but also deeply concerned at the confusion of a situation so full of dangers and so opposed to what the action of the Protectorate should be.

"We, who signed this document, representative of governing and judicial authorities, members of the most widespread religious brotherhood, of the Zahuyas and of the teaching profession, of the most notable families of the zone, of business and of every branch of life, present to your Excellency, the highest representative of Spain in Morocco, their troubled petition, which may be summed up thus:—

### OPINION DISREGARDED

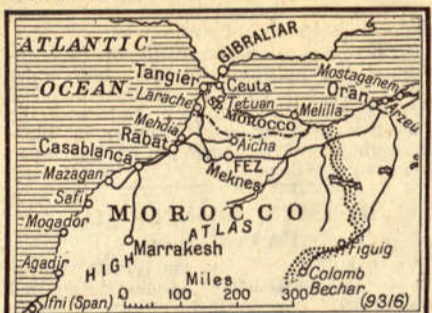
"(i) We energetically repudiate, without reserve of any kind, the policy followed in the French protectorate zone of Morocco and the procedure which led to the dethronement of the legitimate Sultan, Sidi Mohammed Ben Yusef, as a result of the machinations of the French Residency in combination with the autochthonous elements in sympathy with it and behind the backs of the whole Moroccan people of this zone, showing a complete disregard for their opinion and their sentiments, and violating the agreements which established the Protectorate.

"(ii) We express our unconditional adhesion to and our gratitude and that of the whole of the Moroccan people for the policies followed in the Spanish Protectorate zone by your excellency and your high dignity of High Commissioner. Consequent on this adhesion, we declare to you that we do not recognize the authority of Moulay Arafa, because of his having been imposed arbitrarily by France, contrary to and without regard for the sentiments of the Moroccan people."

We recognize only our beloved Prince Muley Hassan the Medhi Ben Ismail, reaffirming ourselves in the fundamental idea, always upheld by Spain, of the unity of the Moroccan empire. We demand the circumstantial separation of the Spanish zone so long as the political conditions which at present obtain in the French zone do not change, and that the Caliph of our zone should have full sovereignty in it without any dependence on Muley Arafa.

"(iii) We recognize fully, nobly, and loyally Spain's sacrifices and watchfulness in her zone and we render homage and adhesion to Spain and to her Caudillo, the glorious and invincible Franco. With all faith in Spain's affection towards Morocco, demonstrated once again now on the occasion of the affront suffered by the Moroccans, we place all our hope and all our spirit in the work of Spain, with which we associate ourselves in the effort to secure together the unity, the liberty, and the grandeur of Morocco which we all desire.

The document was read in Arabic, in Chelja, and in Spanish. The Spanish High Commissioner, Lieutenant-General Garcia Valiño, in his reply said that the peace which the Spanish zone enjoyed in contrast to the malaise that existed in the neighbouring zone afforded the most eloquent testimony in the world of the "chain of unpardonable errors weaved by strong French hands."



his person or his throne or the safety of his empire." The message, which was drafted yesterday afternoon, says that, whatever the outcome of the gathering at Tetuan, it is of a nature to disturb the peace and threaten the political and religious unity of Morocco.

The council therefore expresses its confidence in France's will to "take all the steps made necessary by the activity which has been going on for a long time in the Caliph's zone," an area which is an integral part of the Sultan's empire. The French Government is asked to draw the attention of Madrid to the present dangerous situation and to its present and future consequences.

### FULFILLING OBLIGATIONS

This evening the President of the Republic and the French Government have replied to this protest with an assurance that the Government "has already taken and will continue to take all measures which appear necessary to enable it to fulfil its obligations."

The reply gives an assurance to the Sultan that he can count upon the entire support of France "in the defence of his rights and for the maintenance of peace" in Morocco. The message was delivered this evening in Rabat, where El Glaoui, the Pasha of Marrakesh, who played such a prominent role in the deposition of the previous Sultan, has arrived to keep in touch with the situation.

About 30,000 people, including 1,500 tribal representatives, were reported to have been present at to-day's "popular fête" in Tetuan. The Khalifah himself was absent, but his eldest son and his brothers were present in the reviewing stand with General Valino. The notables' petition was read by the former director of the Islamic study centre in Tangier, and then handed to General Valino, who replied with the words that have given such offence in Paris.

"There are two dangers in the world—Communism and colonialism," he is reported as saying. "France has acted against her obligations and our advice, and has ignored our point of view. The French have said that our attitude was dictated by the desire for material and territorial advantages in Morocco. This is not true. We are not acting as an interested party, unless the desire to see the Moroccan people prosper can be called that. There are 430 signatures at the bottom of our petition; if we had wanted it,

# We Took 'Gib'<sup>44</sup> As Afterthought

*Sunday Repatriate 24/1/58*

**O**NCE more Spain has "claimed" the British fortress of Gibraltar. Last week General Franco ordered every Spanish newspaper to publish an article demanding that the Queen's proposed visit to Gibraltar be cancelled.

Everybody knows where Gibraltar lies. History tells us that it was ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Few know the turbulent history that made it British. Here is how it happened.

It was in the reign of Queen Anne, 250 years ago, that Britain captured Gibraltar from the Spaniards.

A strategic key to the defence of Europe since the days of spears, Gibraltar has remained the only British Colony on the Continent to the present day.

## WAS REPULSED

**C**URIOSLY enough we owe the capture of "The Rock" to an afterthought. Sir George Rooke, a vice-admiral of England, had been repulsed in an attack on Barcelona. He took his ships and a land force of 1,800 British and Dutch Marines under

few hundred yards north of the New Mole was a small bastion also heavily armed."

Sir George Rooke's attack was determined. Probably he was smarting under the reverse of Barcelona. For three days the British ships laid siege to the ancient Rock which had known occupation, siege, and liberation for nearly 1,000 years.

## A KEY POINT

**O**N the second day Sir George Rooke's ships poured into the town 15,000 rounds in six hours. It was enough. The garrison surrendered and the British flag was hoisted on the Rock. In its various forms it has flown there ever since.

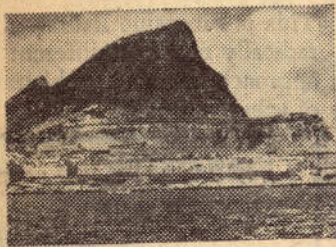
Gibraltar has undergone 14 major sieges, the biggest being the "Great Siege of Gibraltar," which began in 1779 and lasted for three years seven months and 12 days.

It was the third and last siege while Gibraltar flew the British flag.

During two world wars the Rock has proved itself a key point in military strategy.

In this age of atomic warfare Gibraltar's military importance may be lessened. But it still stands stark out of the waters, a symbol of Britain's might, a statue of liberty that points to the freedom of the seas.

*Clement Yorke*



Prince George of Hesse Darmstadt and set siege to Gibraltar in 1704.

Now the defences of the Rock were theoretically strong. One hundred pieces of ordnance were "well appointed with ammunition and stores. Yet the garrison numbered only 150 and the inhabitants 6,000."

An historian of the time recalls that in addition to these fortifications there was "a strong line wall compassing the town from north to south, terminating at the New and Old Moles. On the latter was a tower called Leandros which blew up the day the place was taken. All these works were armed with heavy ordnance and the line was mounted with artillery along its whole length. A

## *Spain and the Arabs*

**R**ENEWED Spanish claims to Gibraltar and the Spanish policy in Morocco must be viewed as part of a wider plan whereby Spain and the Arab League together hope to finish with what Falangist papers call "the drowsy colonialism of France" and the "old-fashioned, tottering imperialism of Britain."

In Morocco, France's rashness in deposing Sultan Mohammed V without previously consulting the Spanish Government has given the latter an opportunity to bring the latent crisis in the Protectorate to a head. By siding so openly with the new Moroccan nationalism and against France, Spain has scored a great success in her deliberate policy of friendship with the Arab world.

The boisterous claim to Gibraltar is designed to reach its climax with the Queen's arrival there in May. Here, too, there is a connection with Arab interests in the Middle East. It has for long been the Spanish

11 46  
view that, should the British withdraw from Suez, they will have no right or reason to stay in Gibraltar. This explains Spain's strong support, through Press and radio, for Egypt's attitude in the Canal Zone dispute.

However, this focusing of attention on foreign affairs may be prompted partly by Franco's desire to divert public attention from the consequences of Spain's recent concession of bases to the United States. Although most Spaniards feel strongly about Gibraltar, many are asking if all the present noise is not a smoke-screen to hide the many "Gibraltars" which Spain has given to America.

**PAY** Railwaymen reject new offer

**PRISONER** Lone Briton left in no-man's-land

**RIOTS** Mob smashes British Embassy windows

**COMET** I. Clue to fuselage? II. Longest flight ever

# 'QUIT GIB' RIOTS GROW

## Franco mobs strike at British

Express Staff Reporter: Madrid, Friday

**ANTI-BRITISH** mobs stormed through seven Spanish cities today smashing the windows of the British Embassy and consular buildings.

Everywhere the rioters chanted "Give us back Gibraltar" and "Long live Franco." Stones, coal, and oranges were thrown.

It is believed these demonstrations are part of a carefully planned campaign to incense public opinion against the Queen's visit to Gibraltar on May 10. More trouble is expected.

Police did little to check the rioters and no one was arrested. Tonight Sir John Balfour, the British Ambassador in Madrid, sent a strong protest to Franco at the failure to protect British property.

In **MADRID** 500 people marched on the British Embassy. A shower of stones smashed windows.

Then the rioters swept round the corner to the embassy's information section and the British Institute.

A group of 50 pushed their way into the institute shouting "Gibraltar belongs to us." They smashed large plate-glass doors and five windows.

Then the mob moved into narrow Orfila-street to the information section. A shower of stones and coal broke ten windows.

At **FERROL**—the new American refuelling base on the Bay of Biscay—a mob pelted the British vice-consulate with oranges and tangerines, breaking all the windows.

### Flag down

At **GRANADA** a group rushed to the vice-consulate, hauled down the British flag, and hoisted the Spanish flag.

Police reinforcements were called. They replaced the British flag, with uniformed guards standing to attention.

In **ANDALUSIA** the vice-consulate had 20 windows broken.

At **SEVILLE** a crowd of 3,000 pelted the British consulate with oranges.

In **CORDOBA** and **MALAGA** there were similar scenes.

Spanish university students have sent a protest message to the British Ambassador in Madrid, it was reported today.

This said: "On learning the sad news of the vital decision Britain has made in insisting that her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, whom God protect, is to visit our Gibraltar, we express the protests of the youth of the university. Long live Spain."

**LISBON ECHO**: The Portuguese newspaper Republica had a poster for Franco today. It said: "The Spaniards may have a reason to wish to regain Gibraltar, but why don't they feel the same about returning Olivenza to Portugal?"

Olivenza is a Portuguese village which Spain "acquired" in the Napoleonic Wars and refused to hand back.

### France protests

**PARIS, Friday**—The French Government made a strong protest to Franco today, condemning the violent anti-French speech made in Tetuan, yesterday, by General Valina, Spanish High Commissioner for Morocco, in supporting the move against the new sultan selected by France.—Express News Service.

**POCKET CARTOON**  
by OSBERT LANCASTER



"He says he better class"

**John**  
by k

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## PLAYBOY FROM

Sequel to fig

Express Staff Re

**A POLICE** launch race bound liner Cons today and took off 31-playboy.

Mele is due to appear in court on March 2 to answer a charge of assault arising from a fight in a Park-avenue flat of Frazier, most talked of debutante who inherited £2,000,000. In 1941, when 20, she married John, football star. Ten years marriage was dissolved.

As Mele, one of the most eligible bachelors and a senator, was taken over by the District Attorney



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# TWO MORE WARNINGS TO FRANCO

GENERAL FRANCO, Spain's dictator Premier, received two swift, stiff protests yesterday — one from Britain, the other from France.

BRITAIN'S protest came after hundreds of students shouting "We want Gibraltar" stoned British official buildings in four cities.

## TER BABY REAMED TERROR'

MIAMI, Friday  
former Olympic diving champion,  
that Russell Tongay was not  
five-year-old "Water Baby"



DINS  
one it. . . ."

FRANCE sent a protest in "firm and precise terms" after a hurriedly-called Cabinet meeting had discussed the anti-French demonstrations in Tetuan, capital of Spanish Morocco.

Sir John Balfour, the British Ambassador, sent his Embassy Counsellor in person to the Spanish Foreign Office to demand police protection for British property.

Stones and lumps of coal were hurled at the British Embassy and the British Institute in Madrid. Windows and a lamp were shattered.

### FLAG HOISTED

In Granada, students smashed 20 windows at the home of the British Vice-Consul. The Spanish flag was hoisted over the building, but it was taken down by the police 20 minutes later.

Students in Seville pelted the British Consulate with oranges, shouting: "Franco, Franco, Franco. Give us back Gibraltar."

The fourth demonstration was outside the British Consulate in Malaga. The demonstrations were obviously carefully organised. Police made no attempt to arrest demonstrators, but merely asked them to move on.

The French Note was delivered yesterday afternoon—only 24 hours after Franco virtually threw down the gauntlet to the French Government over Morocco.

It was discussed by the Spanish Cabinet last night.

M. Maurice Schumann, the French Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, told reporters that the French Ambassador had been instructed to deliver the protest immediately.

On Thursday, 430 tribal and religious leaders in Spanish Morocco petitioned Franco asking him to separate the Spanish Zone from the rule of the Sultan of Morocco.

They refused to recognise Moulay Arafa, the Sultan appointed by the French last August. He technically rules both the Spanish and French Zones.

### AMNESTY

This demand was backed in a speech by General Garcia Valino, the Spanish High Commissioner for Morocco. And yesterday he announced an amnesty to mark the occasion.

All prisoners in Spanish Morocco serving sentences of up to two years will be freed. Other prisoners will get their sentences cut.

No details of the French Note were disclosed, but it is understood that it reminded Spain that the seat of the Moroccan Government was in the French Zone.

## Thru

### Breakfa



# BRITAIN TELLS FRANCO: STOP ATTACKS

*'Hand back Gibraltar' mob  
stones our Embassy*

By Daily Mail Diplomatic Correspondent

**B**RITAIN yesterday made two strong protests against the new wave of anti-British incidents: To Spain, where attacks have been made on an Embassy and a Consulate; and to Egypt, where three of our soldiers have been killed in a week.

Sir John Balfour, British Ambassador in Madrid, has protested vigorously to General Franco's Government about incidents arising from the "Hand back Gibraltar" campaign.

Student demonstrators in Madrid flung stones at the British Embassy and smashed a window. About 20 windows are said to have been smashed at the Consulate-General in Seville.

In Granada the British flag was hauled down by students and replaced by a Spanish flag. The police hauled down the Spanish flag and restored the British.

Sir John made it clear to the Spanish Government that British property must be protected. Police protection will probably be strengthened as a result.

## Talk with Dulles?

An outcome of such incidents—designed to try to stop the Queen from visiting Gibraltar on the way back from her tour—may be talks between British and American representatives.

It would not be surprising if Mr. Eden raised the matter informally with Mr. Dulles in Berlin.

Despite yesterday's anti-British demonstrations General Monereo, the military governor of Algeciras, the Spanish town near Gibraltar, paid a courtesy visit to the Governor of Gibraltar, General Sir Gordon MacMillan. The Spanish general toasted the Queen, and General MacMillan proposed the health of General Franco.

*Paris cable:* France has sent a strong protest to General Franco against Spanish support for the repudiation of the Sultan of Morocco.—D.M. Reporter.

Picture in BACK Page.

## Terror toll charge sheet faces Neguib

By Daily Mail Diplomatic Correspondent

**S**IR RALPH STEVENSON, British Ambassador in Cairo, protested to the Egyptian Government yesterday against the murder of men of the Royal Engineer near Ismailia on Thursday.

His protest also covered the recent disappearance of three men and three soldiers, a murder of a soldier last week near Port Said.

General Neguib is confronted with a complete anti-British killings, kidnappings, and other Zone incidents reported at the beginning of last year.

Foreign Office expects

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**Comet II**  
**RECORD**

**Daily Mail**



SATURDAY, JANUARY 23, 1954

THREE HALFPENCE



**S**PANISH students parade outside the British Embassy in Madrid, giving the Fascist salute. They were protesting against the Queen's visit to Gibraltar in May, but they didn't content themselves with salutes. Stones were flung and a window broken.



## SPANISH STRAINS AND STRESSES

Of those who in this country have persistently recommended normalisation of relations between ourselves and Spain, none need be partisans of any form of dictatorship, nor actuated by anything except political realism. On the whole they are aware of the virtues and defects of Gen. FRANCO's régime. They recognise that it is a form of government which has respectable antecedents in Spanish history; that, if not actively supported, it is at least accepted by the majority of a people exhausted by civil strife; that, if oppressive, it is less so than many of the Governments which noisily criticise it. They are accordingly prepared to support the reinforcement of the Spanish economy and armed forces, a reinforcement which is as much in our best interest as in Spain's. They are not, however, ignorant of the régime's faults. They are not blind to the stifling uniformity of Spanish political life or to the inefficiency consequent upon attempts to direct an entire economy with an inadequate bureaucracy. Least of all are they blind to the xenophobia prevalent in certain Spanish semi-official circles, which has, over Gibraltar, already strained relations with Britain and which is, perhaps, partly responsible for Spanish provocation of France in Morocco.

To place these distasteful tendencies in perspective, it is necessary to note a certain discrepancy between words and actions in Spain's relation with other countries. Spain's traditional foreign policy, dictated alike by geography and by the prudence of successive Governments, is one of neutrality, veering this way or that as is expedient. At present it veers towards

America. Military dictatorships, however, often compensate their subjects for the loss of their liberties by an adventurous foreign policy, such as that of the Napoleons, MUSSOLINI and HITLER. Gen. FRANCO, more cautious than they, knows that Spain can afford no such extravaganzas. The solution he offers—whether by accident or design—is that of adventure without tears. The agitation for Gibraltar may be regarded as in part a synthetic substitute for aggression. It occupies hot-heads who might otherwise be discontented, and projects internal stresses and strains outwards. Meanwhile, the régime looks on with approval but without committing itself. Gen. FRANCO's real intentions may be gauged from the fact that he did not attack Gibraltar during the war, when he had powerful allies and we were in extremis. He is about as likely to act now as to attack Portugal or attempt the reconquest of Spanish America.

Far more serious in its potential consequences is the situation in Spanish Morocco, where the Spanish High Commissioner, in terms intentionally offensive to the French, has endorsed the local chiefs' refusal to recognise the new Sultan of Morocco. Spain has often flirted with Arab nationalism. Yet even this is a synthetic policy. The Spanish must know that, in inveighing against French "colonialism," they are questioning the basis of their own position. If Arab nationalism gets out of hand, it will sweep away Spanish as well as French rule in North Africa. Once out of the bottle, djinns of this sort tend to turn on those who released them. Here, as in Gibraltar, Gen. FRANCO is playing with fire. He has played with it before, and has always been able to withdraw his fingers in the nick of time. Will he always be so clever—or so fortunate?

## BRITAIN MAKES PROTEST TO MADRID

### BUILDINGS ATTACKED IN SPAIN

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT  
MADRID, Friday.

A British Embassy protest against damage caused by demonstrators to British property in Spain yesterday and to-day was delivered this evening to the Spanish Foreign Ministry by Mr. R. Murray, Counsellor of the Embassy.

The Vice-Consulate at Granada was damaged yesterday. The British Embassy and British Institute buildings in Madrid, and the Consulate-General and British Institute buildings in Seville were damaged to-day.

I was in the British Embassy about 1 p.m. to-day when some 400 Falangists and students gathered outside demonstrating for the return of Gibraltar to Spain. They stayed for a quarter of an hour singing Falangista songs and shouting.

One or two stones were thrown and a window broken. The police guard of about six normally on duty near the Embassy could not have stopped the demonstration but reinforcements were requested. Except for the throwing of stones the demonstrators were orderly as far as I could see.

#### WINDOWS BROKEN

They next moved to the British Institute, 300 yards away, where they broke library windows and a glass entrance door. The demonstration ended about 1.30 p.m.

At Granada to-day the British Consulate building was stoned and the windows were broken. The Spanish flag was hoisted over the premises but was later removed by the police.

At Seville the Consulate-General building was pelted with oranges and one window was broken. Most of the oranges fell inside the building because the windows intentionally had been left open. The staff got the oranges.

The Hotel Inglaterra at Seville was also stoned, the lettering of the word Inglaterra being a target. There was a similar demonstration at Cordoba, but without incident.

The only evening paper in Madrid to mention to-day's demonstrations was the Pueblo, of Falangist sympathies. It does not refer to the incidents near the Embassy.

#### GIBRALTAR VISIT

From Our Own Correspondent  
GIBRALTAR, Friday.

Gen. Monereo, the newly appointed Military Governor of Algeciras, to-day paid an official call on Lt.-Gen. Sir Gordon MacMillan, Governor of Gibraltar. He was accorded the customary courtesies, and toasts to the Queen by Gen. Monereo and to Gen. Franco by Gen. MacMillan were exchanged.

## FRENCH SEND PROTEST TO GEN. FRANCO

### RIFT ON MOROCCO

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT  
PARIS, Friday.

M. Meyrier, French Ambassador in Madrid, to-day protested, both in writing and verbally, to the Spanish Government against the anti-French speech made yesterday at Tetuan by Gen. Valino, High Commissioner of Spanish Morocco.

Although French officials declined to give details of the protest, it is understood to have declared that the speech constituted interference in the internal affairs of French Morocco. M. Meyrier was ordered to lodge it after a special meeting of the inner Cabinet to-day.

Gen Valino's speech was made yesterday when 430 pashas, caids and religious leaders of Spanish Morocco presented an appeal to Gen. Franco to renounce the present Sultan of Morocco, appointed by the French when Mohammed ben Youssef was deposed last summer.

#### SEPARATION REQUEST

They asked that Moulay el Hassan, Caliph (ruler) of Spanish Morocco in the name of the Sultan, should be granted sovereign powers, thus separating the two zones of Morocco. French officials hope the Spanish Government will ignore the appeal.

It is realised that this may be difficult in view of the very strong personal position of Gen. Valino, who instigated the demonstration and the petition. The Paris Press to-day attacked him as the "Dictator of Tetuan."

In French Morocco itself it is felt the petition will encourage terrorism. All however was quiet there to-day. The only party supporting it are the Moroccan Communists.

The division of Morocco into French and Spanish zones was agreed by a convention in November, 1912. The French insist that the earlier Treaty of Fex makes them sole protecting Power, and Spanish relations with the Sultan are confined to offering two names from whom the Sultan selects the caliph of the Spanish Zone.

#### Amnesty Ordered

Gen. Valino announced an amnesty yesterday to mark yesterday's call for separation from French Morocco. Reuter reported from Tetuan. All prisoners serving sentences of up to two years will be freed.

Prisoners serving from three to six years will have half their sentences remitted. Longer sentences up to 25 years will be cut by a quarter.

53  
MANCHESTER

23-1-54

### Scoldings from Spain

It is no surprise that General Franco's Administration, fortified by American aid and back-door admission (much like that of Titoist Yugoslavia) to the Western Defensive Association, now lets its press use peremptory tones when picking bones with other Western nations. The tone would surely get still louder if the countries which once combined to inflict a totally ineffective diplomatic ostracism upon the Franco regime were to exhibit fundamental disunity in major world affairs. Western disunion encourages the notion among Europeans of the extreme Right that the time is approaching when America will be giving more weight to her ties with Spain and a patriotically roused Germany than to her war-time Allies. Meanwhile, General Franco's propaganda organs are picking bones with Great Britain about the Queen's scheduled visit to Gibraltar and with France about the Moroccan Sultanate. The controversy with Britain was turning yesterday upon the minute point whether it was by a British breach of confidence that the fact of Spanish official remonstrances about the Queen's visit became known. But in any case, enough had been written of late in the Spanish press to make the indiscretion unnecessary. The Gibraltar question has been "featured" in such a way that the Spanish Ambassador could hardly meet Mr Eden without talking about it.

It must obviously be a warming thought for Mr Molotov that just when the West is having its famous shot at negotiating "from strength" —this new strength consisting largely in an organisation of supra-national land, sea, and air bases up and down the world, whereby the spectacle of American and other foreign troops in

uniform has become familiar in a score of lands—there should be a noisy to-do about the status of bases which Britain established decades or centuries ago for purposes which, from a British angle of vision, seemed progressive and laudable and which now constitute an important part of Britain's strategic contribution to the safety of civilisation. Of course, just as strong historical sentiments exist on our side concerning our connection with these ancient establishments (exactly two and a half centuries old in the case of Gibraltar) so there exists a tradition of resentment on the other side where what we call victories are in the history books called piratical acts or are expunged from the records. This clash of sentiments is a brute fact. Perhaps the wisest reflection to be made upon them is that, as the Prime Minister has just said in another connection, "these events are continually moving forward." Who could have believed in 1870 that a Government of United Italy would come to regard the presence of a sovereign Vatican State inside Rome as tolerable? Who would have thought that Bermuda's minor isles could be made available for a century ahead for American military uses while still flying the British flag? Forms never need be an obstacle where there are shared ideals and interests. Unfortunately, recent history has not been such as to draw Britain and Spain together nor does present-day Spain seem greatly to desire this.

# FIRM FRENCH NOTE TO SPAIN

## Twofold Difficulties in Morocco

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, JANUARY 22.

This morning M. Laniel and his principal colleagues now in Paris approved a "firm and precise" Note to the Spanish Government after yesterday's anti-French demonstration in Tetuan (Spanish Morocco) sponsored by the Spanish High Commissioner. A second Ministerial committee met this afternoon with the Prime Minister in order to consider the Moroccan situation itself.

The French Government has on the one hand to deal with the Spanish Government's attempt to exploit Moroccan unrest for its own ends, and on the other to face the problem of the unrest itself and the lack of any clear French policy at the present moment. What exactly General Franco is hoping for is far from clear—unless he supposes that he can impress American opinion by a combination of strong government at home and anti-colonialism abroad so as to secure at France's expense, a higher place in the hierarchy of America's allies.

### Bickering at Home

There are, however, no two opinions in France about the lack of firm steering in French Morocco itself. It is not merely that the deposition of Sultan Mohammed V has not brought appeasement as its advocates promised, that his successor has no prestige, that the only reforms which have become realities have further subordinated Moroccan institutions to French authority instead of developing a self-government—but that the country has for weeks been awaiting a new Resident-General.

General Guillaume has long considered himself as conducting current affairs while waiting for his successor to be appointed. This has been held up, not least by the disputes among the Coalition parties as to the distribution of high offices. General Koenig, the Gaullist deputy, has been reported to be the Prime Minister's choice for the office, but the M.R.P. has firmly opposed the nomination of a member of the Gaullist group on the ground that it did not give support to the M.R.P. candidate for the Presidency of the Assembly.

While a firm reply to Spain is no doubt necessary, steps to remove

Spain's opportunity in Morocco are still more important. No doubt the demonstration at Tetuan has only confirmed the impossibility of going back on the ill-fated decision of last August to depose the Sultan; through him the French at least had a contact with the young Nationalists. This does not mean, however, that nothing can be done to improve the situation.

There is some encouragement in the fact that the Khalifa of the Spanish zone, who was absent from the Tetuan demonstration on grounds of ill health, at least does not seem to want to commit himself to an irreparable breach with the new Sultan and that the Moroccan Nationalist leaders to whom the Spaniards have given asylum were not in evidence yesterday. But it is obviously high time that any encouraging factors that do exist should be fully utilised.

The French parliamentary delegation containing members of considerable standing has just returned from Morocco and presented a confidential report to the Prime Minister.

## "GRAVE ERROR" IN THE FRENCH ZONE

### Report by Gen. Valino

TETUAN, JANUARY 22.

General Garcia Valino, Spanish High Commissioner for Morocco, has cabled General Franco about yesterday's demand by more than four hundred Moorish chieftains for "temporary separation" from the joint protectorate of French Morocco on the grounds that they did not recognise the new Sultan. They asked for the Sultan's representative in Tetuan, Khalifa Moulay Hassan el Mehdi, to be given "full sovereignty."

General Valino, who attended the demonstration, reported (says an announcement here to-day) that "the meeting was solemn and full of emotion, and it confirmed how Spain had known how to interpret exactly the true sentiments of the Moroccan people and foresee in true proportion the consequences which could be expected from the grave error committed in the French zone."

General Valino also announced an amnesty to mark yesterday's events.—Reuter.

# BRITISH PROTEST TO SPAIN

## Embassy Attacked

MADRID, JANUARY 22.

Sir John Balfour, the British Ambassador, protested to the Spanish Government to-night against attacks on the Embassy and on other official buildings during anti-British demonstrations in various parts of the country earlier to-day.

It was also learned that the French Ambassador, M. Meyrier, had received instructions to express French displeasure at yesterday's demonstration at Tetuan, Spanish Morocco. M. Meyrier was received to-night at the Foreign Office by Señor Navasques, the Foreign Under-Secretary, in the absence of Señor Martin Artajo, the Foreign Minister, who was attending a Cabinet meeting.

The centre of the anti-British demonstrations was Madrid, where hundreds of students marched to the British Embassy carrying the Spanish flag and shouting "Gibraltar for Spain." About fifteen policemen were on duty outside, but they did not use their truncheons and intervened energetically only when windows had been broken by stones and lumps of coal. They then forced the students back to about thirty yards from the Embassy gates and kept them there until they dispersed.

### Police Inertia

At the British Institute building in Calle Almagro three windows and a glass door were broken, as well as the lamp over the door. Another group of

## TWO NEW BILLS

cover a great number of settlements. The judge added that while the action was in one sense a mere formality it might be the judge in front of him. The lorry and trailer, the driver having pulled out without warning, intending to overtake against the owners and the driver of the lorry without warning—and two-thirds of the damages as to one-third against the plaintiffs—the coach driver having elected to make a long overtake on a dangerous hill. Mr Justice Oliver said that he found both parties partly to blame. He assessed the damages at £1,000. The plaintiffs were Ernest Hartness and Thomas Cass, of Skelton Road Ends, near Penrith, Cumberland, suing as executor and trustees of the late John Hartness and the M.T. Trading Company, Ltd., were the driver of the coach. The defendant were the lorry, George Allen, of Stehills Drive, Edinburgh, and the driver, Stateford, Edinburgh. The plaintiffs were Ernest Hartness and Thomas Cass, of Skelton Road Ends, near Penrith, Cumberland, suing as executor and trustees of the late John Hartness and the M.T. Trading Company, Ltd., were the driver of the coach. The defendant were the lorry, George Allen, of Stehills Drive, Edinburgh, and the driver, Stateford, Edinburgh. The plaintiffs were Ernest Hartness and Thomas Cass, of Skelton Road Ends, near Penrith, Cumberland, suing as executor and trustees of the late John Hartness and the M.T. Trading Company, Ltd., were the driver of the coach. The defendant were the lorry, George Allen, of Stehills Drive, Edinburgh, and the driver, Stateford, Edinburgh.



Spanish students shout anti-British slogans in yesterday's demonstrations in front of British

## Note Sent To Madrid By French

The French government yesterday sent a "firm and precise" diplomatic note to Madrid protesting strongly the anti-French speech of the High Commissioner of Spanish Morocco before a tribal gathering at Tetuan on Thursday.

Without waiting for whatever action the government of Generalissimo Francisco Franco may take on Moslem demands that Spanish Morocco secede from the Sherifian Empire of Sultan Mohammed Moulay ben Arafa, the French dispatched their formal diplomatic protest after two Cabinet meetings presided over by Premier Joseph Laniel.

The contents of the note were not immediately known. But it was addressed to the Spanish Foreign Minister, Alberto Martin Artajo. It was to be delivered by French Ambassador Jacques Meyrier.

### Concerned With Remarks

The French note was understood to be concerned principally with the remarks of Lt. Gen. Rafael Garcia Valino, the High Commissioner of Spanish Morocco, who accepted a petition from tribal and religious leaders asking that the Spanish protectorate be separated from the Sherifian Empire "until French Moroccan policy is changed."

Gen. Garcia Valino told the gathering, estimated at 30,000, that France had violated treaty obligations last summer when it exiled Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef and permitted him to be replaced by Mohammed Moulay ben Arafa.

The Sultan of Morocco is in principle the religious leader of all of Morocco, including both the French and Spanish zones. Since the deposition of the old Sultan, Spanish Moroccans have refused to pledge allegiance to the new Sultan and continue to offer prayers in the name of the deposed monarch, now exiled in Corsica.

### To Forward Petition

Gen. Garcia Valino promised to forward to Generalissimo Franco the petition declaring the people of Spanish Morocco refused to recognize the Sultan "imposed" by France and demanding that the Khalif of the Spanish zone, Moulay el Hassan ben el Mehdi, have full sovereignty without any dependence on the new Sultan.

A French Foreign Ministry spokesman explained that France is not protesting against the petition itself, but the manner in which it was received by the Spanish High Commissioner. What was

(Continued on Page 3, Col. 2)

## Unrest Over Gibraltar

# U.K. Embassy Stoned By Madrid Students

By the United Press

MADRID, Jan. 22. — Two thousand shouting students, demanding that Britain surrender Gibraltar to Spain, stoned the British Embassy in Madrid today as 3,000 other demonstrators bombarded the British Consulate in Seville with oranges and smashed several windows.

Students also marched through the streets in Cordoba singing patriotic songs and chanting anti-British slogans.

Other anti-British demonstrations were reported in Malaga and Granada.

### British Will Protest

[In London, the Foreign Office said Friday night that Britain will protest to Spain against the anti-British demonstrations. The protest will charge the Spanish government with failure to protect British properties.]

[The Foreign Office said Sir John Balfour, British Ambassador to Spain, personally will deliver his country's protest.]

Madrid police reported no serious injuries and no arrests among the students but said several received minor injuries when officers swinging clubs charged to smash the demonstrations.

Students marched from Madrid University down the main street chanting "Long live Franco!" and

"Gibraltar is ours!" shortly after noon.

They broke through a police cordon which had been thrown around the British Embassy and broke several windows in a siege of stone-throwing. Police finally regrouped and dispersed the mob with batons.

One youth eluded the police and climbed to a first floor balcony of the embassy where he attached a Spanish flag to an iron grill over a window. He was carried away in triumph on the shoulders of his friends.

### Protest to U.K. Envoy

University students also sent a letter of protest to British Ambassador Sir John Balfour today, protesting the impending visit of Queen Elizabeth II to Gibraltar.

The letter, the text of which was published in several newspapers, said that the Queen's visit was "sad news."

Spain has repeatedly demanded that Britain return the strategic base it ceded to Britain in 1713, and several previous anti-British demonstrations have taken place.

Should Britain agree to vacate the rocky promontory, Spain would control both sides of the Straits of Gibraltar. The international city of Tangier—largely Spanish influenced — and Spanish Morocco face Europe from the African side of the strait.

# Churchill May Retire When Queen Returns

By Joseph Newman

From the Herald Tribune Bureau  
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LONDON, Jan. 22.—There is growing speculation among M.P.s and in the press that Sir Winston Churchill, Britain's 79-year-old

Prime Minister, will retire soon after Queen Elizabeth II returns May from her globe-girdling Commonwealth tour.

Cyril Osborne, who is Winston's Conservative leaguer in the House, made the following night in a speech to members in northeast

"Mr.

"Sir Winston's retirement decision in Westminster will be a surprise."

as a surprise, believed that leading candidates for the Ministry of State will be

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No. 33,581

# NEWS CHRONICLE

SATURDAY, JANUARY 23, 1954

PRICE 1½d.

## BRITAIN PROTESTS TO SPAIN

### Students smash Embassy windows

#### IN SEVILLE IT WAS AN 'ORANGE RAID'

From RICHARD MOWRER

MADRID, Friday.

**M**OBs of students smashed windows at the British Embassy in Madrid today and rioted outside British buildings in many cities.

Swiftly Britain sent an official protest to General Franco. It was handed over by the Embassy Counsellor, Mr. Ralph Murray, at the Foreign Office tonight.

Rioting, shouting, flag-wagging and marching spread through the country in protest against Britain's refusal to cancel the coming visit of the Queen to Gibraltar.

### Berlin

**T**HE dawn of world peace? Or just another conference?

All eyes will be on Berlin on Monday. There, for the first time since Stalin's death, the Western Powers will sit down the same table with Russia—the city that has become the symbol of our divided world.

To make all the moves clear, readers William Forrest, Chronicle Diplomatic correspondent, is in Berlin.

Forrest, with his wide experience, is an acknowledged expert on international trends. His articles will provide a reasoned appreciation of the progress of the conference.

Writing him will be Bruce Well, News Chronicle Berlin correspondent.

Well is the man whose on-the-spot reports have made readers fully informed of today's happenings in Berlin.

Forrest and Well make the ideal team to give full coverage of the week's events.

### Fashion

**L**argest Fashion Story of the year for women begins on Monday.

Paris in the next few days will be the scene of fashion writers and models from all over the world over designs for spring.

Two, we open with a penman Hartnell.

Twelve, dress seen.

### Boy

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Students demonstrate outside the British Embassy in Madrid. They demand the return of Gibraltar to Spain and urge that the Queen's visit should be stopped. Windows are smashed. Below: The Falangist salute



### Winston by a Tory M.P.

**T**HIS is what a Tory M.P. said about Sir Winston Churchill last night:

"His retirement date has been much discussed in Westminster this week. Nobody knows, but many think it will be when the Queen comes home (in May)."

"It is feared Lord Woolton and Sir Walter Monckton will go at the same time. "All three are liberally-minded men who have attracted to the Conservative Government much of its national appeal. They will need to be replaced by moderate men if the party is to retain the support of the floating voter."

The speaker was Mr. Cyril Osborne, M.P. for Louth, Lincs.

### Assault by note

New York, Friday.—Henry Robinson, 24-year-old North Carolina Negro, pleaded guilty to assault and accepted a six-month suspended prison sentence for writing a note to a 17-year-old white girl proposing a secret meeting.—B.U.P.

### The first

New York, Friday.—Arthur Ford, 62, became New York's first negro municipal commissioner. He takes charge of water, gas and electricity for \$5,360 a year.—A.P.

### HUTTON

From CRAW GODFREY had have be be fit

### COMET II STROLLS TO NEW RECORD

5 tons of lead—and juice

**T**HE Comet gave its reply to its traducers to tons of lead to make up its normal load to-Khartoum record

The plane is the Comet II. It flew of London in average speed

"We Cunnin "We fl and

Washington, Friday.—The State Department oil consultant, Mr. Herbert Hoover, jun., will fly to London tomorrow.

He will try to set up an international group of seven companies to handle Persian oil. Four of them are American, two British and one French.

The scheme would more dollars for Britain, would have a larger share Middle East oil output.

It would also mean tion to Anglo-Iranian loss of their Abadan refinery

The group more than 50 fits to the B

Pa Ho Mo th



Governor of Gibraltar, Lieutenant-General Sir Gordon Macmillan.

During a reception at Government House, General Cuesta Monereo rose to toast the Queen of England. Sir Gordon did likewise for General Franco.

Portugal put this question to Spain today:

"The Spaniards may be right in wanting Gibraltar. But what about returning Olivenza to Portugal?"

Olivenza is a Portuguese border town which Spanish troops patrolled on British orders after Napoleon's withdrawal. Despite Portuguese protests the Spaniards never left the town.

### LORRY CRASHES TO SAVE CHILDREN

News Chronicle Reporter

**A**SIX-WHEEL lorry with nine tons of bricks aboard got out of control yesterday, going down a mile-long hill

Twenty yards ahead, narrow road, a "crocodile" children was on its way to infants' school.

The driver tried to lorry into a side road. —and swung the straight at a two-foot-and railings.

The wall collapse impact drove the lorry under the rear axle.

The driver, Frederick Simpson, out with only a broken

"There was not a think," he said. "The children in front only way out was lorry off the road."

It happened in Dowlais, a town in Glamorganshire

### Egypt

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# PORTRAIT OF A CATHOLIC REVOLUTIONARY

## Giorgio La Pira, Mayor of Florence

FROM OUR ROME CORRESPONDENT

No town hall in the world could be more impressive than the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. To reach the Mayor's office one traverses a vast hall, so dimly lit one could not tell whether it was the "Chamber of the Two Hundred" or the even more magnificent Sala dei Cinque Cento, where the notables of the Signoria used to assemble. In the Mayor's office, another splendid salon, I met Giorgio La Pira, a little dark man in an overcoat, with fluttering hands and very bright black eyes behind glasses. Friendly and unself-conscious, he talked with great animation for over an hour of his struggle for the Pignone workers, his social theories, and his faith in the power of faith.

I had heard so much about him: an eccentric, a fanatic, a saint, a new Savonarola (like the original he lives in the Convent of St Mark) who would turn Florence into a religious republic. Some said: "La Pira is not important," and others: "Keep your eye on La Pira." At present all one can say is that he stands for something achieved—but for him four thousand families in Florence would be without bread—and for a new hope in something to be done. Thanks to him the conviction is gradually dawning on thousands of Italians that the power of public opinion can be stronger than the influence of the great. This conviction, so essential to the working of democracy, has been conspicuously lacking in Italy ever since the fall of the Communies.

In England no one would consider La Pira particularly odd. British history provides many examples of his stamp, whose faith and of purpose have caused ideas

seemed revolutionary to ing commonplace. must go back to any further issues of this failure proposed of its on the issues either might prod the ideas for were ordinary shares found a permit the United States of 600,000 shares. stock, 1979-81, in exchange became. The agency of their application. The agency of shares will get as much as 89 per those wanting over 1,000 ordinary will get 42 per cent of their application for larger numbers of preference shares accepted in full. But while applications for preference shares have also been accepted in full. Applications for

tide of dismissals from the factories and prevented the closing down of industries but who, unlike the Communist leaders, is indifferent to political calculation. La Pira laughs at the intrigues of the cabals in Rome. "Problems of the round table," he calls them. "Italians must solve the problem of the square table where the housewife sets down the bread and meat."

According to La Pira the politicians are men of the past. Signor De Gasperi has some intuitions about the social problem but he cannot free himself from the conventional political chains. "And Dossetti?" I asked. Dossetti, the former deputy and leader of the Christian Democrat Left, has retired to the historic castle of Canossa where he is training lay monks. Dossetti, Fanfani, and La Pira were a trio who set out on their social pilgrimage together. Signor Fanfani is now head of the Government. Signor La Pira is in Florence fighting his battle, perhaps preparing the way for the return to politics of the Catholic Left. "Dossetti," said La Pira, "is the man of to-morrow."

The "Right thinkers" defend themselves from La Pira by saying that he is opening the door to the Communists by promising what cannot be achieved—a home for all, and security of work. They say that when the fire of his enthusiasm is burned out, the souls in whom false hope had been kindled will turn to communism. In reality the Italian privileged classes are as much afraid of La Pira's socialism as of communism itself, for what frightens them is not the loss of liberty but the division of the

Alternately Stockholders will have the basis of 69s per £1 unit. been received and negotiations are pro- Cambray Coffee and Cotton Estates has

### BID FOR CAMBRAY.—A bid for COMPANY AFFAIRS

francs. Naturally, the British exporter make dollars exchangeable for Swiss Brazilian regulations amended so as to Government managed to get the may yet succeed because the Swiss competition with the Manchester firm failed to get these orders in straight goods. So the Swiss competitors who can, however, be used to pay for Swiss the payment of sterling invoices. Dollars does not allow dollars to be used for can be bought—but the Bank of Brazil While pounds are not to be had, dollars the currency at the regular auctions. regulations the importer has to obtain Under the latest Brazilian import Brazil to a total value of £2 millions. important orders were secured in firm and its technical experts, three

## FRENCH MESSAGE TO MADRID

### MINISTERIAL TALKS ON MOROCCO

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, JAN. 22

M. Laniel, the Prime Minister, who in M. Bidault's absence is acting as Foreign Minister, presided over a Ministerial meeting this morning, at which the situation arising from yesterday's events in Spanish Morocco was considered.

The meeting took note of the terms of a communication which is to be sent to Madrid. This *démarche* is the sequel to the urgent message which the Sultan of Morocco's Government made two days ago to Paris, asking that the attention of the Spanish Government be drawn to the consequences of the troubles in Spanish Morocco.

Though much will depend on the attitude of Madrid, those in responsible circles in Paris and in French Morocco, on taking a second look at the situation, seem to think that the harm which has been done is not irreparable. At least the worst—in the shape of an unqualified demand for the regency of the Spanish zone—has not happened. What the leaders who signed yesterday's petition asked for was the "temporary separation of the Spanish zone while political conditions existing in the French zone remain unchanged."

Their repudiation of the present Sultan's authority came as no surprise, for neither they nor the Spanish authorities have ever recognized the deposition of the previous Sultan by the French last August. The most disturbing part of the affair therefore remains, in French eyes, the fiercely hostile speech of General Valino at Tetuan yesterday.

French Press comment is divided by the fact that many people here are still doubtful about the wisdom of deposing the Sultan last year, and even more critical of the apparently dilatory policy of France, since then, in giving to French Morocco the promised "new deal." But these divided feelings do not mean for one moment that, though France may have some lessons to learn in Morocco, she is prepared to learn them from General Franco.

### AGREEMENT ON U.S. BASES

As *Franc-Tireur* (left-wing non-Communist) says this morning: "It is paradoxical and at the same time agonizing to see the Franquist High Commissioner giving to the French Republic lessons in democracy and arraigning colonialism."

A point of view that is often encountered in the French attitude towards the present troubles is that it has been the agreement on American bases that has led Spain to assert herself, both in Morocco and over Gibraltar.

## JORDAN RIVER PLAN VETOED

start cutting is undoubtedly foreign military and economic aid. There is considerable surplus at the size of the estimates for these items—a total of \$5,400m., only \$100m. less than for this year. The only thing certain is that this budget will look very different by the time the year it covers begins.

## DEMONSTRATIONS IN SPAIN

### STUDENTS STONE BRITISH EMBASSY

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BARCELONA, JAN. 22

It is reported from Madrid that students carrying Spanish national and party flags staged a demonstration outside the British Embassy to-day, shouting "Gibraltar for Spain" and singing the Falangist song.

The report states that the Embassy was guarded by a double rank of police. A letter said to have been addressed to the Ambassador, Sir John Balfour, by a number of university students is published this evening, protesting against the "unfortunate decision" that the Queen should visit "our Gibraltar."

The Press and radio continue in the same strain, but here in Barcelona, at least, they do not seem to meet with a very enthusiastic response.

MADRID, Jan. 22.—Thousands of demonstrators, shouting "Give us back Gibraltar," smashed windows of British official buildings in several Spanish cities to-day. In Madrid students marched on the British Embassy and hurled stones and lumps of coal, breaking one window in the Embassy and two in the Press section. Demonstrators also broke a lamp over the door of the British Institute. The British Ambassador is understood to have asked the Spanish authorities to assure adequate protection for the Embassy.

In Seville a crowd of about 3,000 students pelted the British consulate with oranges, shouting "Franco, Franco, Franco, we want Gibraltar." One window was broken. The students later hurled oranges against the name over the Hotel Inglaterra (England) until most

power plans had been prepared. It is pointed out that Canada was committed to participation that would not upset present consideration any firm proposal for United States against the International Rapids power project were overcome. At the same time, he pointed out that Canada was committed to the legal hurdles of United States appeals all-Canadian St. Lawrence seaway as soon as Government was determined to construct and in Quebec last night that the Canadian

Mr. Chevrier, Minister of Transport, said OTTAWA, JAN. 22  
FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

### GOVERNMENT PREPARED

## AN ALL-CANADIAN ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

progress. Lord Balfour of Burleigh, after referring to "a heartening catalogue of improvement," said: "Can we, all the same, claim to have got rid of over-taxation or of creeping inflation? It is some consolation that in spite of the greatly increased burden of defence since 1950 it has been possible to prevent taxation absorbing a still larger proportion of private income; nevertheless, the level of public expenditure, and the dead weight of taxation which carries with it, remains one of the chief obstacles to our future stability and of good." It has done me a great deal though possible. I have learned more about Australia in a much shorter time than I ever very good for us. I have learned more about of having contacts outside Britain. It is

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59

## Students Chant for Gibraltar

MADRID, January 23.—Hundreds of students to-day paraded through the Galician city of Santiago singing songs and chanting "Gibraltar is Spanish."

The students decided to send a message to the British Ambassador in Madrid, protesting against the visit of the Queen to Gibraltar.

It is believed that the Government has warned provincial authorities to discourage demonstrations which might lead to further attacks on British property.—Reuter

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# Monde

## ABONNEMENTS

|                   | 3 mois   | 6 mois   | 1 an     |
|-------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| France et Un. Fse | 1 260 f. | 2 450 f. | 4 850 f. |
| Etranger          | 1 800 f. | 3 400 f. | 6 700 f. |
| Afr. Nord (avion) | 1 570 f. | 3 020 f. | 6 000 f. |

Les abonnements partent des 1<sup>er</sup> et 15 de chaque mois

PARIS & DÉPARTEMENTS. le n° 18 fr.  
 ALGÉRIE & TUNISIE. .... — 18 —  
 MAROC (t. comp.) 18 fr. ESPAGNE 2 pes.

## Le gouvernement français fermement résolu à préserver L'UNITE ET LA SECURITE DU MAROC

### LA GRANDÉ-BRETAGNE A ELLE AUSSI ADRESSÉ UNE NOTE DIPLOMATIQUE A MADRID

Le gouvernement français n'avait reçu en fin de matinée aucune communication du gouvernement espagnol en réponse à la note diplomatique transmise vendredi soir à Madrid.

Cette note, a-t-on dit, est rédigée en termes

fermes et précis. Elle est également courte. C'est dire que la France ne s'attarde pas aux déclarations du général Valino. Pour elle il s'agit de savoir surtout quelle réponse fera l'Espagne à la pétition des caïds et des notables réunis à Tétouan.

C'est là le fond du problème. L'attitude et les affirmations du haut commissaire espagnol regardent principalement Paris et Madrid. Les proclamations des Marocains de la zone khalfienne intéressent davantage et directement les relations entre Paris et Ra-

bat. Le gouvernement français s'est engagé à l'égard du sultan à faire respecter « la sûreté et l'intégrité de son empire ». Il va sans dire que si l'Espagne contribuait à les menacer la France serait amenée à resserrer ses précautions et à reconsidérer ses ripostes. Elle con-

tinuerait, comme elle l'a promis au sultan, « de prendre toutes les mesures qui lui paraîtraient nécessaires pour faire face à ses engagements ».

Le bruit ayant couru que le gouvernement espagnol ne répondrait pas à la note française, le ministère des affaires étrangères précisait ce matin qu'il n'avait reçu aucune indication à ce sujet.

En attendant, le gouvernement français a pu constater au cours de ses réunions que :

1° LA CONVERSATION FRANCO-ESPAGNOLE N'A PAS ENCORE EU LIEU. — M. Meyrier, ambassadeur de France, n'a remis la note qu'à M. Emilio Navasques, sous-secrétaire d'Etat ; il a demandé audience aujourd'hui au ministre des affaires étrangères, M. Artajo ;

2° LE KHALIFA S'EST TENU EN DEHORS DE L'AFFAIRE. — Ses liens de parenté avec le sultan ne suffisent pas à expliquer son abstention. Il est vraisemblable que le problème politique et religieux que poserait une dissidence effective de la zone espagnole l'a jusqu'ici retenu d'agir ;

3° IL N'Y A PAS DE TROUBLES AU MAROC FRANÇAIS. — Tous ceux qui ont désapprouvé la déposition de Mohammed V n'approuvent pas pour autant l'attitude des notables de Tétouan en Espagne ; la réserve du khalifa fait impression sur une partie des nationalistes ;

4° L'INCIDENT EST DE PORTÉE INTERNATIONALE. — La France n'est pas seule intéressée à l'affaire ; la Grande-Bretagne l'est aussi, et les Etats-Unis ne peuvent y rester étrangers. Les Trois auront l'occasion d'en parler à Berlin.

Mais, encore une fois, le gouvernement s'arrêterait moins au fait que le gouvernement espagnol ne réponde pas à la note française qu'à la réponse que fera le gouvernement de Madrid à la pétition des caïds et des notables. Les traités signés et la parole donnée lui créent en ce domaine à la fois des droits et des devoirs. — J. F.

## L'ESPAGNE SONGE-T-ELLE A REVENDIQUER un statut d'allié privilégié des Etats-Unis ? SE DEMANDENT LES BRITANNIQUES

De notre correspondant particulier Jean WETZ.

Londres, 23 janvier. — Les attaques contre l'ambassade anglaise à Madrid et les manifestations contre les consulats dans d'autres villes espagnoles ont suscité une protestation immédiate auprès du gouvernement franquiste. La note remise hier soir au ministère espagnol des affaires étrangères s'élève contre les manifestations hostiles et requiert une action plus énergique de la part du service d'ordre. Il n'est pas sans effet que le service d'ordre n'ait toléré des démonstrations auxquelles le gouvernement de Madrid avait lui-même fourni les encouragements indispensables par ses démarches contre la prochaine visite de la reine Elizabeth II à Gibraltar.

Il semble néanmoins que les milieux officiels aient été pris un peu de court par l'évolution qui se manifeste à Madrid. Jusqu'ici en tout cas on affichait à Whitehall beaucoup de sérénité et l'on inclinait à ne prendre trop au sérieux ni la campagne contre Gibraltar ni le flirt du franquisme avec les nationalistes arabes. Personne ne s'imaginait en effet que les Espagnols se fassent la moindre illusion sur les chances de récupérer la forteresse méditerranéenne. Les Anglais ont depuis trop longtemps pris l'habitude de considérer Gibraltar comme un territoire britannique. Ils n'éprouvent même plus le besoin de fournir des arguments sérieux pour y justifier leur présence.

En ce qui concerne l'affaire de Tétouan, on se rendait certes compte dès le début que les initiatives du général Valino risquent de compliquer singulièrement les problèmes que doit affronter la France. Il n'est d'ailleurs pas douteux que Londres est solidaire de Paris pour condamner toute atteinte au régime constitutionnel marocain. Mais

là encore le sentiment prévalait que si le général Franco ne désigne pas de jouer avec le feu il n'avait en réalité nulle envie d'aller trop loin sur une voie dangereuse pour ses propres intérêts.

Cette confiance commence toutefois à être un peu ébranlée, plus d'ailleurs par suite du « flottement » qui se manifesterait dans les intentions du général Franco, que par la confiance inattendue de Madrid. Aussi est-il assez vraisemblable que M. Eden veuille profiter de la rencontre de Berlin pour examiner l'ensemble du problème avec M. Foster Dulles. Sans doute les Britanniques se rendaient-ils compte que l'audace du dictateur espagnol a été stimulée par les accords militaires avec Washington. Mais ils étaient bien persuadés d'autre part que l'intérêt primordial des Américains était de s'opposer à toute agitation dans le voisinage de leurs bases marocaines. Or c'est sur ce point que quelques doutes se manifestent désormais. On se demande avec un peu plus d'inquiétude si les Espagnols ne songent pas à suivre l'exemple de l'Allemagne en revendiquant pour leur pays le statut d'un allié « privilégié » des Etats-Unis. Même si un espoir de ce genre paraît pour le moins prématuré, la nouvelle campagne de Madrid semble en tout cas s'être donnée comme véritable objectif la conquête d'un rang supérieur dans la hiérarchie des partenaires de l'Amérique. De ce point de vue les attaques franquistes ne manquent pas d'être particulièrement embarrassantes pour le cabinet conservateur, qui ne s'était pas dressé aussi vigoureusement qu'il aurait pu le faire contre l'accord militaire hispano-américain.

## VAGUE DE NATIONALISME SUR L'ESPAGNE

Les événements de Tétouan, l'agitation déchaînée à Madrid et en Andalousie contre l'Angleterre à propos de Gibraltar, maint autre événement de ces derniers jours, révèlent que le nationalisme des Espagnols n'aura pas été flâché impunément. Depuis des mois le gouvernement de Madrid ferme les yeux — quand il ne l'encourage pas — sur une propagande phalangiste qui va répétant que l'Espagne seule a su administrer sa zone d'influence au Maroc, que l'œuvre de la France dans la sienne est « pur colonialisme », que Gibraltar « est » espagnol, qu'il n'existe plus de raisons pour que l'Angleterre continue de le posséder. Il n'est pas surprenant qu'ici des subordonnés responsables, ou là des étudiants qui le sont beaucoup moins, confinés depuis quinze ans dans un isolement total, prennent pour argent comptant des affirmations dont on les a nourris et créent pour l'Espagne des situations diplomatiquement pénibles.

Les seuls pays à approuver l'Espagne sont aujourd'hui les Etats arabes. Encore la chose ne va-t-elle pas sans risques : la radio du Caire n'a-t-elle pas demandé à Madrid de donner une preuve de son amitié en évacuant sa propre zone au Maroc ?

On veut espérer que la modération l'emportera à Madrid. Cet espoir serait toutefois beaucoup mieux assuré si les Etats-Unis comprenaient que le meilleur service à rendre à l'Espagne comme à tous leurs alliés serait un discret rappel des droits authentiques de chacun et de ses moyens véritables.

(Lire nos informations en page 3.)

## Le Monde

publiera la semaine prochaine un reportage de son envoyé spécial Claude JULIEN

TANGER VICTOIRE ESPAGNOLE ?

# Agitation Over Gibraltar

## Spanish Viewpoint

To the Editor of The Daily Telegraph  
**S**IR—Agitation for the return of Gibraltar to Spain has not been an occupation only of political hotheads. Spanish Republican leaders in the 19th century continually urged its return, not as part of a programme of imperial expansion but because it seemed to them a question of abstract justice.

They may have been idealists lacking political realism, but they represented a tradition which saw Gibraltar as "de jure" Spanish territory. Whether this belief is right or wrong it has its roots in a national pride which is not the monopoly of any particular party.

Señor Salvador de Madariaga, whom no one could accuse of supporting Franco, wrote in 1946 "that Spain wants Gibraltar cannot even be discussed she cannot be without wanting it. The consequences of the retention of Gibraltar by the English are far deeper than a mere political discussion might suggest. It has cut deep into the national faith and undermined Spain's unity."

Without wishing to sympathise with the artificial stimulation the question has received in the Spanish Press for the past 15 years, might one not suggest that the British attitude towards Spain since the Civil War has only tended to encourage Franco's campaign? That this campaign has found its expression in a controlled Press and in Falangist hooliganism should not blind us to the fact that a reasonable Spanish viewpoint does exist.

To many Spaniards Gibraltar is a symbol of foreign domination, regarded as we might regard a Spanish occupation of Dover. To feel like this, as I found after living in Spain for six months last year, it is not necessary to be either a Falangist or an ardent admirer of Franco.

Any concession made to Franco would only tend to strengthen an already strong position and a diplomatic triumph at Britain's expense would hardly be tolerated by British public opinion. But this alone does not seem to me an excuse to treat the agitation as the expression of a mere minority feeling.

All of us who feel concern for the future of Anglo-Spanish relations know the problem of Gibraltar, with all its implications, will have to be faced. It would be as well for these relations if the Spaniards could realise that a bombastic Press campaign can hardly lead to a satisfactory conclusion.

But we also ought to accept that a refusal to listen to the Spanish arguments by shelving the issue because we dislike the Franco Government may, in the long run, only succeed in widening the support for Gen. Franco's claim. Yours, &c.,

A. HENNESSY.

St. Anthony's College, Oxford.

Sir—For political reasons the Franco régime is trying to convince the world that the Spanish people consider the projected visit of Queen Elizabeth to Gibraltar an offence against their national pride.

I should be grateful if you would let your readers know that Spanish Liberals, including Monarchists and Republicans—that is to say, the majority of Spaniards—do not feel offended by the visit of Queen Elizabeth, that noble prototype of democratic kings, to the territory of Gibraltar, whose international status we do not find it convenient to discuss at this moment. The only thing that offends the majority is the enforced permanence of Gen. Franco on a "throne" which definitely does not belong to him.

Please do not blame the Spanish people for the sins and, in the present case, the discourtesy of Gen. Franco. Yours faithfully

JOSE ANTONIO BA

London

# APRES LE RASSEMBLEMENT DE TETOUAN

## VIOLENTES MANIFESTATIONS ANTIBRITANNIQUES EN ESPAGNE

Madrid, 23 janvier (Reuter). — Dans plusieurs villes d'Espagne les vitres des immeubles officiels britanniques ont été brisées par des manifestants hurlant : « Nous voulons Gibraltar ».

A Madrid trois cents étudiants, manifestant pour le retour de Gibraltar à l'Espagne, ont brisé une fenêtre de l'ambassade britannique et deux fenêtres du bâtiment abritant les services de presse de l'ambassade.

Un cordon de police protégeait les abords de l'ambassade quand un premier groupe de manifestants se présenta vers 13 heures, brandissant le drapeau espagnol et hurlant « Gibraltar à l'Espagne » et « Franco, Franco, Franco ».

Le cordon de police maintint d'abord les manifestants à 50 mètres de l'ambassade, puis il s'ouvrit, et les étudiants se massèrent devant la façade de l'immeuble. C'est alors que des pavés furent lancés et qu'une fenêtre fut brisée.

La police intervint et refoula les manifestants à une trentaine de mètres de l'ambassade.

Vingt minutes plus tard deux cents étudiants environ se dirigèrent vers l'institut britannique, tandis qu'une centaine de leurs camarades se massaient devant l'immeuble abritant le service de presse de l'ambassade.

Les policiers se sont contentés d'invoquer les étudiants à se disperser, sans essayer de les empêcher de lapider les fenêtres. Des manifestations analogues ont eu lieu en Andalousie.

A Grenade la foule s'est attaquée à la maison du vice-consul et a hissé le drapeau espagnol sur le toit, mais la police l'a retiré vingt minutes plus tard.

A Séville trois mille étudiants environ ont bombardé le consulat d'Angleterre avec des oranges, criant « Franco, Franco, nous voulons Gibraltar ». Une fenêtre a été brisée. Ils se sont également attaqués à l'hôtel Inglaterra, dont l'enseigne a été démolie. Puis les étudiants se sont rendus à l'hôtel de ville, où le maire leur a recommandé d'éviter tout excès.

A Cordoue les étudiants ont seulement défilé dans la ville. Une manifestation a également eu lieu à Malaga.

On croit savoir que Sir John Balfour, ambassadeur de Grande-Bretagne à Madrid, a demandé aux autorités espagnoles de protéger les immeubles officiels anglais.

## Le gouvernement Franco a reçu la note du Quai d'Orsay

La note de la France au gouvernement espagnol a été remise hier soir à 19 heures par M. Jacques Meyrier, ambassadeur de France, à M. Emilio Navasques, sous-secrétaire d'Etat espagnol aux affaires étrangères, M. Arrijo étant retenu au conseil des ministres, réuni au Pardo, sous la présidence du général Franco.

Ce texte a été aussitôt transmis au gouvernement français.

On laissait entendre cette nuit à Madrid, à l'issue du conseil des ministres, qu'aucune décision n'y avait été prise quant à la situation créée au Maroc par le « rassemblement » de jeudi à Tétouan.

Le conseil des ministres s'est, semble-t-il, borné à prendre connaissance des répercussions à l'étranger de cette manifestation. L'opinion prévaut dans les milieux officiels que l'on paraît s'être « exagérément ému » en France d'un événement qui n'a eu ni la portée ni le caractère « bruyant » que l'on avait semblé prévoir.

On estime que « la France doit se sentir à présent rassurée à la lumière des faits ». Néanmoins, souligne-t-on, la démonstration de Tétouan doit avoir mis le gouvernement français en mesure de reconnaître lui-même « les erreurs qu'il a commises dans son protectorat ».

La note du gouvernement français exigera de la part du cabinet madrilène un examen approfondi, et on laisse entendre à Madrid qu'il serait de ce fait vain d'attendre des décisions aujourd'hui ou même dans un avenir rapproché.

Toutefois, croient pouvoir affirmer certains observateurs, la manifestation de Tétouan n'a causé, du moins dans les sphères supérieures de l'Etat, aucune surprise réelle. Les grandes lignes de la politique à suivre ont d'ores et déjà été fixées, et il est peu probable que le rassemblement de Tétouan soit de nature à compromettre la position internationale d'une Espagne qui, depuis

quatre mois, a fait son entrée aux côtés des Etats-Unis dans la Communauté occidentale de défense.

Cette opinion ne paraît pas partagée par tous les milieux gouvernementaux. En effet, à l'issue du conseil des ministres, le porte-parole officiel a déclaré qu'il se pourrait que le gouvernement espagnol décidât de ne pas répondre à la note de protestation française, puisque les divers gouvernements français ont agi de même à l'égard du gouvernement espagnol au cours des dernières années à propos de nombreuses réclamations présentées par ce dernier.

Il a également laissé entendre que la note française, « qui proteste contre la manifestation de la population marocaine à Tétouan », offre au gouvernement espagnol « l'occasion d'y répondre en prouvant au monde que ce sont les Français qui ont rompu l'unité de l'empire marocain et qui ont violé la convention d'Algésiras et ses traités complémentaires ».

satisfaction pour tous ceux qui ont consacré leur vie et leurs efforts à la tâche d'aider le peuple marocain sur la voie de sa renaissance et de son bien-être.

« Que Dieu déverse sur ce peuple et sur ses dignes chefs les bienfaits de la paix, la satisfaction et les bénédictions que de tout cœur nous leur souhaitons ! »

Ajoutons que le général Garcia Valino est attendu à Madrid au cours des prochains jours.

## A WASHINGTON ON PARAÎT VOULOIR LAISSER PASSER L'ORAGE

De notre correspondant particulier HENRI PIERRE

Washington, 23 janvier. — Tout en observant la disjonction de rigueur, les milieux du département d'Etat cachent mal, dans les conversations privées, leur embarras devant le développement de la crise franco-espagnole à propos du Maroc. C'est là, dit-on, un tracis supplémentaire dont on aurait pu fort bien se passer, surtout à un moment où les relations atlantiques ont plus que jamais besoin d'être resserrées. Le discours du général Valino, intervenant le jour même où l'on annonçait l'envoi de premiers chars à l'Espagne, a très certainement créé un mécontentement qu'il était difficile d'exprimer publiquement. Dans cette affaire Washington est guidé par deux considérations essentielles : maintenir la sécurité des bases indispensables à la défense atlantique ; éviter que ne se reforme au sein du groupe occidental le courant antifranquiste.

En fait il existe une profonde mauvaise conscience américaine à l'égard de l'Espagne de Franco. On pouvait déjà la déceler au moment où l'on passait les accords avec Madrid. On s'excusait alors, on expliquait, on tentait de justifier une mesure acceptée à contrecoeur par les diplomates, mais dictée par les impératifs stratégiques du Pentagone. Un des arguments les plus fréquemment entendus à l'époque était : « Après tout, nous traitons bien avec Tito... » Ce petit sentiment de gêne, voire de honte, n'est pas confiné aux seuls milieux libéraux, qui en l'occurrence ne peuvent approuver l'action de la France au Maroc. Il persiste dans de larges secteurs de l'opinion publique, car l'Espagne franquiste, pour des millions de protestants, représente le catholicisme sous sa forme la plus intolérante et la plus agressive.

La violence manifestée par le général Valino a très certainement ravivé ce malaise. Il est douteux cependant que ce mécontentement prenne une forme publique, car il existe aussi un « lobby » espagnol, dont le chef de file est le sénateur Mac Carran, et que l'on hésite à affronter. Quant aux militaires, bien que gênés par les incartades de leur nouveau « poulain », ils estiment avoir autant besoin des bases espagnoles que de celles du Maroc. La résultante de ces attitudes est la passivité officielle. Il s'agit de laisser passer l'orage, qu'on s'efforcera de calmer par des démarches officieuses.

Les Français estimeront cependant déconcertant de voir Washington hésiter à prendre publiquement parti dans un différend qui met en cause un de ses partenaires du pacte atlantique auquel on ne cesse de recommander, et parfois sur un ton discutable, de tenir le maximum en Europe et en Asie.

Telle est la logique de l'esprit de crocodile anticommuniste...

## « La France a violé l'acte d'Algésiras » prétendent les organes phalangistes

A Madrid le journal phalangiste ARRIBA déplore « les intrigues internationales directes et indirectes de la France à l'égard de l'Espagne, mais n'exprime aucune crainte pour sa part quant à l'évolution des troubles marocains ».

« Maintenant, en prétendant de fausses interventions, la France voudrait arbitrairement faire considérer comme une provocation la paix et l'amitié entre Espagnols et Arabes dans notre zone... Le fermeté de notre position et la tranquillité de notre conscience nous permettent de nous payer le luxe de laisser cette intrigue tomber dans le vide... »

De son côté le catholique YA, sous le titre « Deux attitudes au Maroc », estime que « le peuple marocain est le même dans l'une et l'autre zone, mais ce qui varie c'est la politique du protecteur : celle de l'Espagne provoque la gratitude et la concorde et celle de la France suscite la haine et la terreur... » L'Espagne, ajoute le journal, gardera sa position et ses droits. C'est pour cela que nous respectons les décisions que les Marocains prennent, notamment sur le point de leur souveraineté interne, qui d'ailleurs leur appartient tout particulièrement. Notre attitude est reconnue comme juste par la presse de tous les pays et notamment des Etats-Unis.

Quant au monarchiste A.B.C., il considère que « ce serait une grave erreur de croire que tout ce qui concerne le grand peuple d'Afrique du Nord est une question plus ou moins française... L'Espagne adopte une position qui n'est pas simplement nationale. Cette position coïncide avec celle du bloc arabe et avec celle des sujets de l'authentique sultan ».

Sous le titre Politique de mauvais voisinage, le journal phalangiste EL ALCAZAR accuse la France d'avoir rompu « non seulement l'unité marocaine, mais aussi les accords d'Algésiras ».

Le même quotidien estime que la France compte faire pression sur le gouvernement espagnol par la menace de retour aux dispositions du traité d'Algésiras.

siras. « C'est là un argument fallacieux, écrit-il, puisque le traité d'Algésiras a été violé par la France elle-même. »

Le journal accuse également la France de vouloir détourner par une campagne de presse l'attention de la situation au Maroc français.

Enfin il estime que le récent mouvement de la flotte française en Méditerranée constitue un troisième moyen de pression, celui-là d'ordre militaire. « Une telle mobilisation de forces, écrit EL ALCAZAR, suscitera chez n'importe quel observateur l'opinion que les troupes françaises seraient mieux à leur place en Indochine, où il existe réellement un conflit sérieux et une grave menace pour la France. »

Un télégramme de Franco au général Valino

Le dernier mot appartiendra au général Franco. La seule indication que l'on possède sur sa façon de voir les choses est le télégramme qu'il adressait hier au général Garcia Valino.

En voici le texte :

« C'est avec une grande satisfaction que j'ai reçu votre télégramme qui me rend compte de l'acte grandiose et émouvant d'adhésion célébré à Tétouan par le gouvernement chérifien, les caïds, les autorités, les confréries religieuses, « chorfas », oulémas et notables, qui représentaient le peuple marocain et qui se faisaient les interprètes de ses sentiments, auquel nous nous sentons tellement liés, dans ses joies comme dans ses peines. »

« Cette communion intime entre les deux nations, dans des circonstances aussi notables, sera un sujet de véritable

La presse française s'irrite de l'attitude franquiste

L'AURORE : Franco est pour le chambardement.

« Tout le monde sait qu'en Espagne il n'y a place que pour des mouvements orchestrés par les autorités. On a crié : « A nous, Gibraltar ! » et « A nous, le Maroc ! ». Ce genre de clamours ne réussit guère à Mussolini... »

« Il est franchement difficile de conserver, quant à l'attitude de Franco, la moindre illusion. Au Maroc Franco joue et continuera de jouer contre nous. Franco est pour le « chambardement » du Maroc au profit des extrémistes arabes. Il appartient désormais à la France, comptable de l'ordre et de la sécurité dans l'empire chérifien, de prendre toutes les mesures conservatoires qui s'imposent. »

COMBAT : les U.S.A. jouent-ils la carte franquiste ?

« On peut se demander si l'opération de Tétouan n'a pas des origines plus vastes. Devant les nationalismes arabes tirant leur force de l'oppression politique, mais aussi de l'exploitation sociale et économique, les U.S.A. ne préfèrent-ils pas jouer la carte franquiste ? Ils jouent une carte anticommuniste, cherchant à grouper un bloc arabe autour de Franco défenseur de l'Islam... »

« Le schisme chérifien semble donc plus inspiré par des considérations stratégiques qu'il n'y paraît dès l'abord. Il n'empêche qu'il n'est, dans une grande mesure, qu'une conséquence directe du coup de force du 20 août, et de la soumission de la politique française à quelques féodaux. »

LE POPULAIRE : nos propres fautes.

« Ceux de nos compatriotes qui aujourd'hui partent en guerre contre les initiatives espagnoles devraient commencer par faire leur mea culpa. N'ont-ils pas prodigué les flatteries au dictateur espagnol ? Ne se sont-ils pas obstinés à vouloir le présenter comme un partenaire amical et loyal et à vouloir faire oublier

Quatre bases aériennes vont être construites en Espagne par les Américains

Washington, 23 janvier (Reuter). — La commission militaire de la Chambre des représentants a approuvé la construction, décidée par le département de la défense, de quatre bases aériennes en Espagne.

M. Dewey Short, président de la commission, a déclaré que celle-ci avait approuvé une dépense initiale de 49 millions de dollars. Le coût total de la construction sera de 200 millions de dollars.

Amnistie au Maroc espagnol

Madrid, 23 janvier (Reuter, U.P.). — Une amnistie a été annoncée au Maroc espagnol en liaison avec les événements de Tétouan. Les détenus dont les peines n'excèdent pas deux ans seront libérés ; les autres bénéficieront d'une réduction de peine.

« Libérez nos détenus », demandent les nationalistes musulmans au général Garcia Valino

Tétouan, 23 janvier.

On apprend dans ces milieux du « parti national réformiste » que des démarches ont été faites auprès du haut commissaire Valino par différentes personnalités musulmanes en vue d'accélérer la mise en liberté de MM. Taïeb Benouna, secrétaire général du parti réformiste, et Mohammed el Khalib, membre du comité directeur de ce parti, qui, arrêtés il y a plusieurs semaines, se trouvent toujours détenus à la prison militaire de Tétouan.

On espère dans ces milieux que les deux leaders nationalistes bénéficieront de l'amnistie ordonnée par le haut commissaire espagnol à l'occasion de la « Journée fraternelle » du 21 janvier et seront prochainement libérés. — (A.F.P.)

LA RADIO DU CAIRE : l'Espagne doit prouver sa sincérité en évacuant la zone de Tétouan.

(De notre correspondant particulier.)

Tunis, 23 janvier. — La radio du Caire a consacré jeudi son émission « La Voix des Arabes » au rassemblement de Tétouan :

« Devons-nous applaudir au geste de l'Espagne, qui a voulu recevoir en une cérémonie imposante les ulémas et les chefs de tribu de la zone espagnole du Maroc ? demandait le commentateur. Non. A moins que l'Espagne ne prouve qu'elle a changé sa politique colonialiste et qu'elle est décidée à libérer le Maroc. L'Espagne doit démontrer sa sincérité, non seulement par le soutien des nationalistes pour la libération du Maroc français, mais encore en commençant elle-même par libérer le Maroc espagnol. »

## EN TUNISIE

Tunis, 23 janvier. — La délégation française à la conférence internationale des juristes pour la défense des libertés démocratiques a déposé une motion demandant que soient graciés les Tunisiens condamnés à mort par les tribunaux militaires de Tunisie. Cette demande a été approuvée par les délégués des pays suivants : Iran, Egypte, Irak, Soudan anglais, Liban, Canada, Bulgarie, Suisse, Grande-Bretagne, Australie, Grèce, Pologne, Belgique, Inde, Italie, U.R.S.S., Chine, Allemagne, Brésil, Argentine, Norvège, Autriche.

Tandis que prenait fin à Tunis la grève administrative des avocats, une grève d'avertissement d'une demi-journée était déclenchée dans la capitale de la Régence par les employés et ouvriers des établissements civils de l'armée et par le personnel ouvrier de la direction de l'aviation civile.

## Franco joue avec le feu assurent les journaux anglo-saxons

Le NEW YORK TIMES estime que « les attitudes de l'Espagne envers la France dans l'affaire du Maroc et envers l'Angleterre dans l'affaire de Gibraltar sont des sources de troubles voulus, calculés et délibérément organisés ». Le NEW YORK TIMES ajoute que « si l'Espagne persiste à provoquer des troubles au Maroc il pourrait se produire un trouble général de déplaisante nature. Les Etats-Unis, du fait de leur pacte avec l'Espagne, de leurs importantes bases au Maroc et de leur alliance avec la France sont directement intéressés aux actes du généralissimo Franco ».

A Londres le quotidien conservateur DAILY TELEGRAPH examine à la fois

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# APRÈS LA MANIFESTATION DE TÉTOUAN

## LE GENERAL GUILLAUME A ETE REÇU PAR LE SULTAN

(De notre correspondant particulier.)

Rabat, 22 janvier. — La proclamation de Tétouan est venue contredire les prévisions optimistes de certains milieux résidentiels. Le général Guillaume, qui devait se rendre à Oujda pour y accueillir M. Pierre July, secrétaire d'Etat à la présidence du conseil, a annulé son déplacement dès que furent connus les revendications des notables de la zone khalifienne.

Le résident général a été longuement reçu ce matin par le sultan, avec qui il a procédé à l'examen de la situation créée par les manifestations de Tétouan.

Il semble que le palais impérial, sans doute exactement informé des intentions réelles des chefs marocains, ait eu sur le comportement de ceux-ci moins d'illusions. La veille de la manifestation le sultan avait en effet personnellement pris l'initiative de réunir le grand vizir et les hauts dignitaires du Makhzen. Les événements de jeudi n'ont fait que renforcer la détermination du souverain de ne pas laisser contester sa légitimité et battre en brèche son autorité civile et religieuse sur l'ensemble de l'empire.

## L'absence du khalifa vivement commentée

On continue à penser dans les milieux proches du palais impérial que bien des manifestants ont été poussés par les autorités espagnoles dans la voie où ils se sont engagés. Mais quel est, se demande-t-on, le rôle exact du khalifa, dont l'absence au stade de Tétouan a provoqué une certaine surprise ?

En dehors de la maladie soudaine dont font état les dépêches, le choix des hypothèses reste large. Adoptant une attitude passive, a-t-il tenu à marquer ainsi sa désapprobation de la politique du haut-commissariat de la zone espagnole ? Désire-t-il ne pas entrer en rébellion ouverte contre le sultan ? Il n'en demeure pas moins que les signataires de la proclamation déclarent qu'ils ne reconnaissent pas Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa et font acte d'allégeance et de soumission au khalifa.

A la Résidence générale, où l'on regrette les déclarations faites à Tétouan, on estime qu'il appartient au gouvernement français de prendre les initiatives qu'il jugera opportunes pour que soient sauvegardées, et l'autorité du souverain et l'unité du Maroc.

## Une réponse de Paris

Le gouvernement français, pleinement conscient de ses devoirs, fera face à ses engagements.

Le Makhzen chrétien, réuni avant-hier mercredi à Rabat autour du sultan, avait, nous l'avons dit, adressé au gouvernement français une note combinant une protestation contre les agissements de l'Espagne en zone khalifienne.

Le rassemblement de Tétouan, disait ce texte, est de nature à semer l'inquiétude et le désarroi dans les esprits, à compromettre le calme et à porter atteinte à l'empire chrétien et à la tranquillité de son unité politique et religieuse, qui a été reconnue et confirmée par tous les traités internationaux, et dont le souverain, Sa Majesté Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa, est le symbole et la garantie.

Dès mercredi soir le président de la République et le gouvernement français adressaient au grand vizir le message suivant :

« La situation à laquelle se rapporte le message du Makhzen chrétien retient toute l'attention du gouvernement français.

« Pléinement conscient des devoirs qu'il a assumés au fait des traités solennellement conclus à l'égard de la personne et du trône de Sa Majesté chrétienne comme de la sûreté et de l'intégrité de son empire, le gouvernement de la République française a déjà pris et continuera de prendre toutes les mesures qui lui paraîtront nécessaires pour faire face à ses engagements.

« Il adresse à S. M. Mohammed ben Arafa, aux côtés de qui s'est rangé le peuple marocain, l'assurance qu'elle peut compter sur son entier concours dans la défense de ses droits et pour le maintien de la paix sur le territoire de l'Etat marocain. »

— On indique de source officielle que le pacha de Marrakech ne se trouve pas à Rabat, ainsi que le bruit en courait depuis trois jours. On précise que le Glaoui, un peu souffrant, est resté à Marrakech.

## POUR LA CONSTRUCTION A PARIS DE PARCS AUTOMOBILES A ÉTAGES

M. Robert Bichel, député M.R.P. de Seine-et-Oise, demande dans une proposition de résolution que le gouvernement, en accord avec la Ville de Paris, mette à l'étude et réalise en dix ans un plan de construction de parcs à étages pour servir au stationnement des voitures, la plate-forme supérieure étant utilisée pour l'arrivée des hélicoptères. Ces parcs seraient édifiés sur les lignes d'arrivée et de départ des gares de Paris : Saint-Lazare, Nord, Est, Anvers, Lyon et Montparnasse.

LA MAISON Y. ROUÉ EST ACQUÉREUR DE PERLES, BRILLANTS RUBIS, ÉMERAUDES SAPHIRS

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## L'ORGUEIL A PREVALU sur la raison déclare, en évoquant l'attitude de la France, le général Valino

Ayant reçu des mains du grand vizir du khalifa le texte de la pétition des caïds et des notables, le général Garcia Valino, haut commissaire d'Espagne, a prononcé un discours dont nous avons publié hier quelques passages. Voici une analyse de ce texte :

« L'année 1953 a mis en danger l'existence de la nation marocaine », a d'abord déclaré le général, qui a poursuivi :

« ...Oublieux des obligations prises par les traités d'appuyer et de renforcer en tous moments l'autorité du sultan légalement choisi par le peuple marocain, la France, qui partage avec l'Espagne le protectorat de l'empire marocain, a cru trouver l'issue de l'empêchement dans lequel l'avaient placée ses propres erreurs politiques en ayant recours à une intervention violente et en s'appuyant sur une requête de certaines autorités gouvernementales de sa zone, qu'elle avait elle-même préparée.

« Ce faisant, la France a fait un pas que nous pourrions, sans exagérer, qualifier d'irréversible, et qu'elle doit maintenant affronter en en prenant toute la responsabilité, étant donné qu'elle n'a en aucun moment demandé à connaître notre avis... »

« Malheureusement l'orgueil a prévalu sur la raison... Il est naturel que, dans de pareilles circonstances, l'Espagne élève la voix pour dénoncer les faits accomplis en l'absence totale de ses conseils, conseils d'autant plus précieux qu'ils s'appuyaient sur la réalité d'une paix et d'une entente incontestables que Dieu a voulu faire régner dans la zone où l'Espagne assume ses devoirs de protectrice dans un esprit de fraternité. »

Rappelant que lors de la dernière fête de l'Aïd el Kébir il avait déjà proclamé sa désapprobation à l'égard de l'attitude française, le haut commissaire ajoute :

« Les faits m'ont douloureusement donné raison. Une partie du Maroc, la plus étendue, se débat contre une répression féroce qui atteint, par les éclaboussures de sang, tous les foyers marocains sans distinction de frontières, ainsi que cela est le cas pour une nation qui, comme l'Espagne l'a proclamé à plusieurs reprises, est une et indivisible.

« Pour salir ce noble geste de l'Espagne à la suite de vos malheurs, ceux à qui cela convenait ont prétendu que ce geste était fortuit et qu'il visait à des avantages ultérieurs dans la situation du Maroc tout en n'interprétant pas la volonté des Marocains et de leurs plus hautes autorités.

« Mieux que moi-même, ce document, qui porte 430 signatures appartenant à toutes les autorités de la zone que vous représentez éminentement ici pour exprimer votre loyauté à l'Espagne et vos souhaits, répond à ces insinuations : il repousse ces insidieuses campagnes politiques en leur offrant un parfait démenti.

« Le Caudillo donnera à votre requête la suite qu'il jugera convenable »

« La paix que la zone espagnole connaît actuellement en dépit de tout ce qui s'est produit, contrastant avec le malaise et l'angoisse qui règnent dans la zone voisine, constitue un éloquent témoignage face à la suite d'erreurs impardonnables forgées par de fortes mains françaises.

« Le général Garcia Valino a ensuite déclaré qu'il ferait parvenir au général Franco le document signé par les dignitaires marocains. « Le Caudillo, a-t-il dit, donnera à votre requête la suite qu'il jugera convenable. »

« Cependant, a ajouté le haut commis-

saire, je veux dès maintenant vous exprimer mon émotion devant la manifestation grandiose que nous sommes en train de vivre. Je veux que vous sachiez que mon plus grand orgueil est de savoir que je ne me suis pas trompé en interprétant vos sentiments et vos désirs en ces moments graves et angoissants que vit l'empire marocain, et d'avoir l'honneur d'en être le fidèle interprète auprès du généralissime Franco. »

« Prenant de nouveau la parole lors de la diffi qui a suivi la manifestation du stade de Tétouan, le général Valino a annoncé qu'il se rendrait incessamment à Madrid « pour être l'interprète auprès du général Franco des vœux exprimés par le peuple marocain ».

« Il s'est déclaré convaincu qu'« à partir d'aujourd'hui, date historique pour le Maroc, les Marocains verront approcher rapidement le jour où leurs vœux seront exaucés. Je vous le promets, a-t-il ajouté, et je suis sûr que le général Franco m'appuiera dans cette tâche. »

« Le haut commissaire au Maroc espagnol a ensuite demandé aux notables musulmans d'opposer « un bloc de granit » à ce qu'il appelle « les forces du mal, jalouses de notre union et de notre fraternité, et qui se déchaineront irrémédiablement contre nous par le mensonge et la diffamation afin de dénaturer le sens de la journée que nous avons vécue aujourd'hui. »

## LA PRESSE FRANÇAISE DU MAROC S'INTERROGE SUR LE « DÉFI » LANCÉ À LA FRANCE

Toute la presse française du Maroc commente abondamment ce matin vendredi les événements de Tétouan.

« Il appartient encore au gouvernement de Madrid de retenir ses subordonnés de Tétouan sur une voie où ils ne seront plus très longtemps maîtres des événements », écrit le Petit Marocain.

« Si l'Espagne, ajoute-t-il, croit retrouver sa place dans le concert des nations par des coups de tête de ce genre, elle commet certainement une erreur, dont le régime franquiste portera la responsabilité. »

L'Echo du Maroc se demande pour sa part « si Garcia Valino n'a pas outrepassé un peu les instructions de Madrid, soutenu en secret par le général Franco lui-même, et si sa tête militaire a bien deviné les conseils modérateurs des diplomates. »

Sous le titre « Relever le défi », le Maroc-Presse s'attache surtout au discours du haut commissaire espagnol : « Il n'est pas concevable, écrit-il, que la France reste sous l'outrage de cette humiliation. »

Le parti communiste marocain publie un communiqué présentant la manifestation de Tétouan comme « un nouveau témoignage de l'opposition irréductible du peuple marocain au coup de force colonialiste du 20 août 1953, qui chassa du trône S. M. Sidi ben Youssef et installa à sa place l'usurpateur Arafa. »

Les Marocains, ajoute ce communiqué, doivent cependant « se garder de toute illusion dangereuse » en raison des motifs réels de l'attitude de Franco ; et il conclut : « Il importe de rester vigilant à l'égard des marchandages qui ne vont pas manquer d'avoir lieu entre les deux puissances occupantes pour la recherche d'un accord éventuel, qui ne peut se réaliser qu'au détriment des intérêts nationaux marocains. »

## LA GRANDE-BRETAGNE S'OPPOSERA à l'octroi de pouvoirs souverains au khalifa de la zone espagnole

Londres, 22 janvier (Reuter). — On déclare dans les milieux politiques que la Grande-Bretagne s'opposera à toute initiative espagnole tendant à doter de pouvoirs souverains le khalifa du Maroc espagnol, ainsi que le réclame la proclamation des chefs marocains de la zone espagnole.

« On exprime une vive inquiétude au sujet de la proclamation de Tétouan, qui, dit-on, peut être une cause de troubles et d'agitation.

« On ajoute que la Grande-Bretagne ne reconnaîtra aucune mesure unilatérale tendant à renverser la position constitutionnelle du sultan. Si la situation devait devenir une menace pour le territoire international de Tanger (dont la Grande-Bretagne est l'une des puissances administrantes) le gouvernement britannique interviendrait sans aucun doute.

« Dans les milieux politiques on n'exclut pas la possibilité de quelque intervention diplomatique britannique, peut-être de nature officieuse, et l'on persiste à espérer que le général Franco ne suivra pas la ligne indiquée par la proclamation de Tétouan.

## M. Nicolas Franco arrive à Londres

Londres, 22 janvier (A.F.P.). — M. Nicolas Franco, ambassadeur d'Espagne au Portugal et frère aîné du chef de l'Etat espagnol, est arrivé à Londres.

Sa visite en Grande-Bretagne, apprenant de source officielle espagnole, a un caractère « strictement privé ».

## DEUX OPINIONS SUISSES

TRIBUNE DE GENEVE (radical) : les Etats-Unis auront-ils une influence sur les décisions de Madrid ?

« Presque simultanément deux conflits latents entre l'Espagne d'une part, la France et l'Angleterre d'autre part, rebondissent ces jours-ci avec une violence qui ne laisse pas d'être inquiétante... Si les chefs indigènes de la zone espagnole mettent leur projet à exécution les relations entre les deux pays intéressés à l'administration de l'empire chrétien entravent dans une phase singulièrement critique. Aussi les chancelleries sont-elles en état d'alerte, et pas en Europe seulement. Washington, qui attache le plus grand prix à la tranquillité d'une région dont l'importance stratégique ne cesse de croître, redoute l'extension d'un incident qui mettrait aux prises deux de ses alliés et donnerait de surcroît à la Russie, signataire de l'acte d'Algésiras, un prétexte à intervenir dans les affaires de la péninsule. Serait-il donc le département d'Etat adressé au gouvernement espagnol. Serait-il prêt à l'attention que Franco leur prêterait en pourra mesurer l'influence que les Etats-Unis ont prise à Madrid. »

(JEAN-JACQUES CHOQUET.)

GAZETTE DE LAUSANNE (libéral) : que fait l'Espagne du Maroc ?

« ...Déjà l'Espagne semble bien ambitieuse. Si encore il s'agissait d'une vraie profession de foi anticolonialiste. Mais l'Espagne a aussi son mandat sur le Maroc : il faut se demander ce qu'elle en a fait.

« J'ai vu, quittant le Maroc français pour me rendre à Tanger, tout le revers d'une médaille. La saleté des villages en zone rifaine, l'absence d'écoles et de routes, la pauvreté des habitants, la multitude des mairies non soignées, l'intérêt sur tout symbolique au rallye de la Phalange, et, en même temps, justifiée par je ne sais quelle rhétorique spéculative, l'activité communiste tolérée, dans la mesure où elle vise la seule politique française.

« Quand Roosevelt parla d'indépendance au Maroc, El Mundo s'étonna. Il mena longtemps campagne contre les maladroites américaines. Puis, soudain, le ton changea. La France seule fut en question et l'Espagne promise championne de la démocratie. »

(CHARLES-HENRI FAVROD.)

## Le Foreign Office dément avoir inspiré une campagne anti-espagnole

Londres, 22 janvier (Reuter). — Le Foreign Office dément avoir inspiré une campagne anti-espagnole dans la presse britannique ou avoir révélé que l'Espagne avait effectué des représentations au sujet de l'escale que doit faire, en mai, la reine Elizabeth à Gibraltar.

« Le Foreign Office ajoute que les accusations espagnoles suivant lesquelles la Grande-Bretagne aurait fait preuve de mauvaise foi ne sont absolument pas fondées.

## Reclamons Olivenza aux Espagnols disent les Portugais

Lisbonne, 22 janvier (A.P.). — Le journal portugais Republica écrit que les Espagnols ont peut-être des raisons de réclamer Gibraltar aux Anglais, mais que les Portugais en ont au moins autant de demander le rattachement d'Olivenza à leur pays.

« Le village d'Olivenza, qui dépendait avant la révolution française du Portugal, avait été confié à la garde des troupes espagnoles par le haut commandement britannique, après l'évacuation des troupes de Napoléon, en 1812. Les Espagnols y sont restés depuis, malgré les nombreuses requêtes des Portugais, qui ont constitué un « groupe des amis d'Olivenza », présidé par le duc de Palmela.

## LES TRAVAILLISTES VEULENT RIPOSTER aux revendications de Madrid sur Gibraltar

Londres, 22 janvier (A.F.P.). — La question des revendications franquistes sur Gibraltar sera évoquée lundi prochain aux Communes. M. George Jeger, député travailliste, a fait savoir qu'il entendait poser au ministre des affaires étrangères la question suivante : « Le gouvernement britannique suspendra-t-il la vente d'armes à l'Espagne jusqu'à ce que cessent les allusions hostiles faites en Espagne au sujet de Gibraltar ? »

« De son côté, M. Ernest Davies, ancien sous-secrétaire d'Etat travailliste aux affaires étrangères, demandera le même jour au gouvernement de « faire une déclaration sur les représentations faites par le gouvernement espagnol à propos de la visite de la reine à Gibraltar, et sur la nature de la réponse anglaise. »

## Les livraisons d'armes américaines à l'Espagne vont commencer

Washington, 22 janvier (A. F. P.). — La première livraison de matériel militaire américain à l'Espagne partira de la Nouvelle-Orléans le 25 janvier prochain, annonce le département de la défense.

« Ce premier envoi sera composé principalement de matériel d'artillerie, de chars, de véhicules militaires divers et de matériel d'instruction pour les forces armées espagnoles. Le département de la défense ajoute que les Etats-Unis remettront le 16 février prochain un dragueur de mines à la marine de guerre espagnole. D'autre part, plusieurs avions d'instruction à réaction seront livrés à l'Espagne le mois prochain.

« Deux appareils américains qui se présentaient avant-hier avec une première cargaison de matériel au-dessus du terrain d'aviation de Madrid-Barajas, l'ont trouvé couvert de brume et ont dû rebrousser chemin, ce terrain étant dépourvu des instruments de guidage nécessaires.

## DEUX DES ACCUSÉS de l'assassinat du colonel Durand SONT CONDAMNÉS A MORT

(D'un correspondant particulier.)

Tunis, 22 janvier. — Le tribunal des forces armées de Tunis a condamné à mort deux des accusés de l'assassinat du colonel Durand. Le troisième inculpé a été condamné aux travaux forcés à perpétuité.

« Comme à peu près tous les procès portant sur des faits semblables, celui-ci a laissé une impression de flottement. La date à laquelle il est appelé, deux ans exactement après le drame, n'y est pas pour rien. Sans doute faut-il en tenir compte quand on enregistre les différences entre les déclarations faites aujourd'hui par certains témoins et leurs aveux devant le commissaire de police et le juge d'instruction. La défense le fait remarquer ; elle s'étonne également de certaines irrégularités commises, notamment lors de la reconstitution du drame.

« Quelques-uns des témoignages n'en demeureront pas moins accablants pour l'un des inculpés, Salem Djerbi, qui aurait donné le coup de poignard mortel. Plusieurs témoins le désignent formellement, et l'un d'eux, un Tunisien, affirme l'avoir vu, un couteau à la main, parmi les agresseurs, prêt à se jeter sur le colonel Durand. Cependant les déclarations de ce même témoin comportent une grave invraisemblance quant à la position occupée par le colonel au moment où lui fut porté le coup fatal. Le fait est d'autant plus important que d'après le procès-verbal d'autopsie seul le coup de poignard peut être retenu comme ayant entraîné la mort. M. Albert Naud ne manque pas de le faire observer.

« Au nombre des autres témoignages retenons surtout celui du maître armurier Guillard, qui a procédé à l'expertise du revolver du colonel Durand, et ceux de MM. Charles Thouvenot et Goulla Hourli, commerçants à Sousse. Le premier confirme que le revolver s'était déjà égaré au cours de l'émeute, avant d'être mis hors d'usage à la suite, vraisemblablement, d'un choc très violent. Les deux autres ont assisté au drame, du même endroit, et ils en ont donné des versions qui concordent en tout point.

« Quant aux inculpés, qui ont tour à tour nié et avoué en cours d'instruction, ils nient formellement devant le tribunal et taxent systématiquement de menteur chaque témoin.

« L'audience a repris ce matin. Le capitaine Grénaud, commissaire du gouvernement, a requis la peine de mort contre les accusés. Toutefois, en ce qui concerne l'un d'eux, il a déclaré s'en remettre à la sagesse du tribunal, mais il considère que la peine ne saurait être inférieure aux travaux forcés à perpétuité.

« Les avocats ont ensuite commencé leurs plaidoiries.

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OBSERVER  
24-1-54

*Spain and the Arabs*

**R**ENEWED Spanish claims to Gibraltar and the Spanish policy in Morocco must be viewed as part of a wider plan whereby Spain and the Arab League together hope to finish with what Falangist papers call "the drowsy colonialism of France" and the "old-fashioned, tottering imperialism of Britain."

In Morocco, France's rashness in deposing Sultan Mohammed V without previously consulting the Spanish Government has given the latter an opportunity to bring the latent crisis in the Protectorate to a head. By siding so openly with the new Moroccan nationalism and against France, Spain has scored a great success in her deliberate policy of friendship with the Arab world.

The boisterous claim to Gibraltar is designed to reach its climax with the Queen's arrival there in May. Here, too, there is a connection with Arab interests in the Middle East. It has for long been the Spanish

view that, should the British withdraw from Suez, they will have no right or reason to stay in Gibraltar. This explains Spain's strong support, through Press and radio, for Egypt's attitude in the Canal Zone dispute.

However, this focusing of attention on foreign affairs may be prompted partly by Franco's desire to divert public attention from the consequences of Spain's recent concession of bases to the United States. Although most Spaniards feel strongly about Gibraltar, many are asking if all the present noise is not a smoke-screen to hide the many "Gibraltars" which Spain has given to America.

**Students Chant for Gibraltar**

**MADRID, January 23.**—Hundreds of students to-day paraded through the Galician city of Santiago singing songs and chanting "Gibraltar is Spanish."

The students decided to send a message to the British Ambassador in Madrid, protesting against the visit of the Queen to Gibraltar.

It is believed that the Government has warned provincial authorities to discourage demonstrations which might lead to further attacks on British property.—Reuter



← FRANCO and

NEGUIB →



# Plan cold war against Britain

**G**ENERAL FRANCO of Spain and General Neguib of Egypt are to meet soon to "co-ordinate the anti-Imperialist campaign of

the two nations and the ousting of the British from Suez and Gibraltar," it was revealed in Cairo last night.

The meeting will be either in Madrid or Cairo.

Demonstrations against Britain for the return of Gibraltar to Spain continued throughout the country yesterday—but General Franco did not appear concerned. He took some of his Cabinet Ministers and spent the day shooting deer.

There were more parades in many Spanish towns by young Spaniards carrying banners and shouting slogans against Britain's "theft" of Gibraltar, says BUP

## Egypt tense

In Egypt, the situation is described as "tense."

Armoured cars and tanks have occupied the right bank of the Sweet Water Canal, which runs through Ismailia.

Five British Servicemen have disappeared since January 1.

Britain's Ambassador, Sir Ralph Stevenson, has told the Egyptian Government that Britain takes a grave view of the increasing anti-British incidents.

Meanwhile, Franco is in trouble over anti-French demonstrations which occurred in Tetuan, capital of Spanish Morocco, three days ago.

A thousand French troops have now been rushed to the Spanish border "as a security measure in face of increasingly avowed Spanish hostility."

D'—Prosecution

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The Queen, Franco and Gib.

# Withdraw our Ambassador

by LORD VANSITTART

**UNLESS** there is an apology forthcoming from Franco following the damage to the British Embassy in Madrid on Friday, Mr. Eden should, in my view, have the firmness to withdraw our Ambassador immediately.

The impertinence of the demand to stop the Queen visiting Gibraltar has brought about these riots in Spain. We must take the strongest possible action to show that we are not going to be pushed around by yet another nation.

He was probably encouraged to arrogant rashness by our progressive scuttles from Burma, Abadan, the Sudan and reports of more British yieldings on the Suez Canal.

But, when it is asked why Britain and Spain are not on better terms the answer is equally as much Franco and his friends. Their stupidity is impenetrable.

How could this man send his Ambassador in London to see Mr. Eden on easily the most imbecile diplomatic mission ever invented? It is a record—you can take my word for it—and as a record I commemorate it.

He actually orders his Ambassador to warn our Queen off her own territory. He intimates that there will be something vaguely approaching the devil to pay if Her Majesty dare to set foot in Gibraltar. Can you beat it?

The Ambassador, of course, got a flea in his ear, but don't blame him, poor fellow. He must have felt his position acutely. The person to blame is that foolish little dictator in Madrid.

### CHEEK

After this exhibition you can write off any betterment of Anglo-Spanish relations for a while: Franco has seen to that.

Those who hope for improvement often point out that Franco is no harsher tyrant than Tito, possibly even a milder one.

This argument receives some force from Tito's recent conduct. He has a bosom friend. The friend spoke out of turn, actually had the cheek to suggest that a little more individual liberty might be allowed in Yugoslavia, that the police should stop interfering with the course of justice, that one party—the Communist—should cease to behave as if its members were the only people who mattered.

Forthwith the party yelled anathema, heresy, excommunication—more loudly than any religious body would do nowadays.

The bosom friend, lifelong member of said party, was stripped of office, privilege and the other amenities that embellish the vast inequalities of life in tyrant states.

### DIFFERS

The accusers said that the sinner—M. Djilas—was under the influence of Mr. Bevan, that he was a deviationist, a danger and all sorts of things; not much of a reward for Mr. Bevan's kindness to Tito.

Possibly this episode may open the eyes of all those of all parties who have leaned towards the dictator and even accepted his lavish hospitality. Once a Communist always a Communist, though the Yugoslav differs appreciably from the Muscovite variety.

Thus the unshakable advocates of Tito have counted it to him for righteousness that he did not kill his friend as Stalin killed his adherents.

Tito is entitled to comparative credit on that score, but it is not the sort of credit which should prevent us from drawing the obvious conclusions.

Indeed, we knew them already. The Communist State is pledged

Continued on Page 7

## LORD VANSITTART

Continued from Page One

—in its own words— to "wither away."

It no more intends to keep that pledge than any other that it has ever made. It is, and intends to remain, omnipotent, in its very essence despotic.

It can never bear any relation to democracy. M. Djilas was condemned precisely because he recommended that a slightly closer relation might be established. That is the point to remember.

All this is no reason whatever for not maintaining close relations and prudent co-operation with Tito's police state. He was — rightly — afraid of Stalin. So were we. He is afraid of Malenkov; our own fears should not be lulled.

You might have thought that this revelation of the true state of affairs in Yugoslavia would have benefited Franco, if he had known how to use it. Spain is, of course, just as important

to the defence of the Western Mediterranean as Tito is to the defence of the Eastern Mediterranean.

But no! Franco did not know how to take his chance. He is apparently not intelligent enough to see it. Anyhow, he went miles out of his way to botch it.

That is no real excuse for him. Which brings me back to my original ground: I don't like dictators—any of them.

### GRIM

I don't like dictators abroad—or at home. And we do have dictatorial elements here too.

Look at the case of the Electrical Trades Union. The Communists push it around at will. If anyone wishes to earn a livelihood against their orders, down come the dictators to threaten fines, expulsion, loss of livelihood.

It is true that membership of the Communist party has been

reduced, but activity has increased, especially in British trade unions.

George Orwell wrote a grim book called "1984," an imaginative picture of Britain's misery under Communism. British workers are, of course, not yet half-way to Moscow, but at this rate 1954 might well be half-way to 1984.

We shall gain only by facing the facts; 1953 was not a good year for the West, though we got through it without major mishap. Let us resolve that in this coming year we will hold our own.

We can do so only by unity, which the Russians are resolved to disrupt at Berlin. Unity in turn can be achieved only by encouraging our Allies. This in turn we can do only by setting an example.

Another forthright article by LORD VANSITTART next week.

## STRANDED BRITON MYSTERY

**THE** worried wife of a London business man with Israeli interests sat in her Golders Green home last night awaiting news of the husband from whom she has not heard since October.

Mrs. Clara Herzberg, wife of manufacturer Samuel Herzberg, said: "My husband told me he would be home for Christmas. I cannot think what has happened."

Meanwhile, in Haifa, Israel, Herzberg's friend of 20 years, British engineer George Brooks, rumped the streets penniless, cardboard in leaky shoes, hoping to catch a glimpse of the man who brought him to Israel.

Yesterday *Sunday Chronicle* correspondent Terence Lyons told by Brooks:

"I came out to Israel last week with Herzberg, who was my London employer for 17 years."

"I was supposed to supervise the installation of machinery for a food factory. I had a contract signed in London. I was to do a day's work since he was to be in charge."

### 'Vanished'

"Herzberg vanished. I had no money to pay my wages. I saw Herzberg in London—always driving a car."

Consul Mr. Cyril Brook complained that Herzberg was stranded in Haifa and was apparently waiting to time by some message to Herzberg.

"I usually his son at the Consulate and had gone wrong. I had to deal with an agent who would be of no help."

"I learned from William that he had to marry Sheila in London. He helped me to get the £69 back on my account."



SUNDAY DISPATCH  
24-1-54

### Spanish Outbreak

THE recent outbreak in Spain, whence I have just returned, must be considered in the latter category. It is rather surprising that General Franco, whose régime, whatever one may think about it, is at present quite firmly in the saddle, should have thought it useful to try to rouse Spanish public opinion on the subject of Gibraltar.

Spanish salaries have just been raised and the agreement with the United States is bringing added prosperity.

British policy towards Spain immediately after the war was egregiously foolish, but lately the irritations of the past were being forgotten and cordial commercial relations have recently been renewed.

More British tourists than ever before have learnt to love Spain and admire her people for qualities which are less in evidence at home.

Only the Falange nurse any noticeable hatred of Britain, and that is born more of spite

and of *schadenfreude* to see a great Power coming down in the world, as Spain had to long ago, than of any serious political conviction.

For instance, the Falangists saw the Comet crash as evidence of British decadence, a fanciful line which they had to drop as soon as news followed of the crash of an airliner owned by so Hispanic a nation as the Philippines.

They did, however, condescend to give unstinted praise to Sir John Hunt, who recently visited Madrid and became almost as admired and popular a figure in the peninsula as the Queen herself, whose picture, despite censorship of the Coronation, is everywhere to be seen.

Many Spaniards had been looking forward to visiting Gibraltar on May 2, in order to cheer the Queen along with her Gibraltar subjects who are so few of them even of Spanish origin.

### Crown Property

GENERAL FRANCO, like that other totalitarian Mr Djilas, has evidently been reading too many Bevanite thrillers.

Gibraltar is not, however, like the Canal Zone a base held by a treaty due for renewal. It was ceded by the Spanish Crown to the English Crown in perpetuity.

A land frontier between sovereign Powers is not by definition an "intolerable affront."

The young Falangist hooligans who broke the windows of our Embassy on Friday afternoon missed the civil war and the late expedition to Russia.

Since it is not presumably Franco's intention to fight on the Communist side in any foreseeable war, these youngsters, whose taste for blood is apparently not sated at the bullfights, would surely be better employed in the Foreign Legion in Indo-China than in street demonstrations against Britain and France, the two closest allies of Spain's greatest friend and benefactor, the United States.

Gibraltar may or may not one day be the subject of friendly discussion between representatives of the Spanish and British crowns, but the time is not yet when the Queen of England must visit her possessions by leave of the self-appointed Regent of the Spanish monarchy.



Two men with another think coming...

# THEY CAN'T GET AWAY WITH THIS!

by James Dow

**I**T was another noisy Saturday afternoon in Egypt and in Spain. They were playing the old tail-twisting game with new insolence and fervour in both places.

And the British Ambassadors protested ... in Cairo and Madrid.

Do we leave it at that, again, this Sunday morning?

It is no joke in the Canal Zone. Not for the British National Servicemen now standing guard. Nor for the watchful crews of tanks out on the Sweetwater Canal. Nor for the wary escorts sitting on the food lorries.

The troops have been put at the ready since two more Servicemen went "missing" yesterday.

## UNARMED MEN

This was the worst kind of outrage. For the patrol went in unarmed to a village on a good-will mission. To help put down mosquitoes in the anti-malaria campaign.

The Egyptian authorities and the people knew they were going into the slum-infested village as Good Samaritans.

So they were added to the growing list of missing and murdered. With the three airmen who disappeared last week, the total since January 1 is now 13 ... thirteen caught in Egypt playing Good Samaritan, defending the Mediterranean and the Canal.

This morning, after another lorry had fought its way out of an ambush, the troops stand by "calmly." The situation is officially described as "deteriorating."

Tanks and armoured cars are out along the Sweetwater Canal, where on a Saturday afternoon two years ago the flames and horror of the Nightshirt Army of terrorists spread among the women and the children and the nuns.

Meanwhile Neguib was speaking—Neguib who promised "peaceful negotiations"—to frenzied parades of Hitler-style National Guard Youth.

"Unless Britain agrees to evacuate Suez, she will be confronted by 22,000 Egyptians fighting to free their fatherland," he shouted.

Peaceful negotiations ...  
But no voice is raised in London, this weekend.

## IN SPAIN, TOO ...

Saturday afternoon, in Madrid and four other Spanish cities, the game's much the same, though still a little absurd. Franco trying to frighten the Queen from visiting Gibraltar!

Saturday afternoon mobs smashed windows, wrecked gates of British properties. Students in Santiago howled through the streets, shouting threats, demanding "Gibraltar." They were congratulated by their Rector for "fervent patriotism."

And British subjects sat in back-rooms, behind shutters, waiting ... for the Ambassador to protest?

In America, the newspapers call it "wanton, calculated, deliberately organised mischief" in both Cairo and Madrid.

In France, watching Morocco, the newsagencies report that the mood is tense. They wonder if Franco is trying to stir up trouble right along the Mediterranean coast.

AND IN LONDON, IN DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES,  
THEY ARE ASKING: WHEN WILL THE  
GOVERNMENT SPEAK OUT?

# MOROCCO RIFT AN ILL WIND FOR FRENCH

## Unrest over Repudiated Sultan as Lever Against Spanish-Zone Chiefs

By COLIN WILLS,

Who recently visited both the French and Spanish Zones of Morocco

WHATEVER France or Spain do about it, the repudiation of Sultan Moulay Arafa by the chiefs and religious leaders in the Spanish zone has done grave and irreparable harm to the existing régime in French Morocco. It is bound to encourage those traditionalists among the tribal leaders who are at best cold towards the new Sultan and at worst secretly hostile.

It must already have aroused doubts about Moulay Arafa's authority among many who had passively accepted him—and in Morocco, even more than elsewhere, the authority of a leader is more important than his personal character.

Finally, this gesture by a group of influential Muslims will provide the nationalists of French Morocco (whose leaders are, if not in gaol, chiefly in voluntary exile in Tangier) with invaluable material for propaganda among their more orthodox countrymen. They will use it to reinforce their contention that Moulay Arafa is merely a tool of the French.

On the other hand, the French authorities in Morocco, and the supporters of Moulay Arafa, are by no means defenceless against this new attack; indeed, the ill wind from Tetuan has blown them some new ammunition. They will be able to arouse feeling against the Spanish-zone chiefs for threatening the unity of the Sherifian Empire, which by tradition and by the Franco-Spanish treaty of 1912 includes the whole of Morocco, French and Spanish.

### Viziers Complain

Already the Council of Viziers (the Sultan's Ministers) has appealed to France to combat this action which "is of a nature to disturb the peace and threaten the political and religious unity of Morocco." And France has replied with the strongest assurances.

Supporters of the régime in French Morocco will not be slow to attribute the Tetuan petition to Spanish machinations. This will help to preserve solidarity among a people who, however

critical of the French, have never preferred the Spaniards.

Whether Spanish influence did, in fact, have a part in the genesis of the chiefs' demand for Spanish-zone independence, it is not yet possible to determine. If it did, an even more interesting question arises: which kind of Spanish influence—that of Spain or that of the Spanish authorities in Morocco? General Valino, the Spanish High Commissioner, certainly welcomed the petition, and made a strong attack on the French administration.

If Madrid backs Valino, it may mean either that Spain was behind the move all along, or that the Government has been presented with, and has accepted, a *fait accompli*. If Madrid hedges, it may mean either that Valino acted on his own initiative, or that his Government welcomes the embarrassment to the French, but is willing to use the General as a scapegoat.

### Startling Independence

The fact is that both the Spanish administration in Morocco, and the French, are startlingly independent of their home Governments in practice. To some extent this is due to the fact that the rule of the two European Powers in that difficult country depends on giving the administrators on the spot great authority and freedom for initiative.

The present French High Commissioner, General Guillaume, is no Machiavellian intriguer, but a loyal servant of France and a devoted believer in Moroccan progress. He has taken many bold decisions, and many grave risks—as in the removal of the former Sultan. To what extent that policy was forced on France by the French-Moroccan administration is again a difficult question to determine.

## Franco's Gibraltar Dilemma

From ERIC SOSNOW,  
Special Correspondent of The Sunday Times

MADRID, Saturday.

AUTHORITATIVE observers here believe Gibraltar has become an obsession with General Franco. It is significant that today's official communiqué on the meeting of the Council of Ministers states that Gibraltar and the recent démarche by the Spanish Ambassador in London over the Queen's visit formed the first topic on the agenda of foreign affairs.

It is also of interest that the Gibraltar issue has flared up at the same time as the differences with France over Moroccan affairs. The Spanish Press links these issues and presents to readers a picture of a French-British bloc aiming at robbing Spain of influence in international affairs.

There are various views of what General Franco can do in face of Britain's blunt refusal to allow Spanish protests to modify arrangements for the Queen's visit to Gibraltar.

### Spain's Best Customer

Spain cannot afford to imperil her economic relations with Britain, her best customer. During the trade negotiations in Madrid last month the Spanish representatives admitted that they get a better bargain from Britain than from any other country. Besides, the terms of American economic and military aid to Spain provide for off-shore purchases from all N.A.T.O. countries, and it would be difficult to discriminate against Britain.

Well-informed Spaniards believe that, as the date of the Royal visit to Gibraltar approaches, General Franco will introduce a social boycott of everything British and an economic boycott in the Gibraltar area only.

Of the 22,000 civilians employed in Gibraltar's dockyards and naval installations, 12,000 cross over daily from

La Linea in Spain. The Spaniards could stop these workers from entering Gibraltar simply by withdrawing their frontier passes. It would be difficult to replace this labour force because there is no space in Gibraltar to house such a large number of outside workers. If Spain decides to cut off her nose to spite her face, and be landed with 12,000 unemployed in La Linea, the situation in Gibraltar would be difficult, though it could be overcome in time, as was done in the Suez Canal Zone.

Official Spanish quarters and the Press are extremely careful not to imply in their protests any personal attack on the Queen, nor to blame her for the Royal tour plans. It is made absolutely clear that Spain looks on this matter as a political issue, for which the British Government is responsible.

### Internal Problems

Emotions play an important part in Spanish policy, and nobody can foretell what General Franco might do for reasons of prestige. His need at the moment is to cover up internal difficulties.

Although on paper the economic situation is full of rosy prospects, there is a difficult time to be faced before the effects of American aid can be felt: there is a shortage of electrical power, industries are on short time, the drought has resulted in a poor harvest, rises in salaries and wages are still chasing inflationary price increases, and there is much dissatisfaction.

If the present political tension does not result in anti-British economic discrimination British exporters will have great opportunities to increase trade with Spain. American aid and military procurement orders cover a wide range of raw materials, capital equipment and light industrial goods for which Britain could tender under the off-shore purchasing scheme.

[WORLD COPYRIGHT]

## GRENADES v. GUNS IN MOROCCO

CASABLANCA, Sunday.—Grenades hurled by armed Moroccan terrorist "commandos" set two French-owned petrol stations ablaze in the city today.

Police patrols with sub-machine-guns fought off attacks on three other filling stations.

One passer-by was killed.

A few hours later, the French-appointed Sultan of Morocco broadcast that "nationalist dissidents" in the Spanish zone were plotting against the country's unity.

He threatened severe punishment.

The Sultan is nominal ruler of all the Moroccan zones. But last week, 400 Spanish Moroccan leaders at a demonstration claimed his rule was illegal, and demanded separation from the French zone.

Although he did not mention Spain by name, the Sultan charged that the demonstra-

tion was inspired by "local authorities"—who are Spanish. General Guillaume, the French Resident-General, said bluntly at the week-end that the separation demand was instigated by Spanish officers who had spent weeks among Moroccan tribesmen preparing for the demonstration.

The Spanish High Commissioner in Morocco, General Garcia Valino, stated that the demand "only reflects the unanimous desire of the Moroccans to separate themselves from an atmosphere of unrest and terrorism."

In CAIRO last night, an Arab League spokesman said Spain had told the Arab countries she will offer self-government to Spanish Morocco soon.

He said that the League's Political Committee had called on member-States to back Spain against France over Morocco; and to support the Spanish demand for British evacuation of Gibraltar.

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DAILY EXPRESS  
28-1-54

## SPAIN: WE WILL FREE THE ZONE

CAIRO, Sunday.—Spain has told the Arab countries she will offer self-government to Spanish Morocco soon, an Arab League spokesman said in Cairo tonight.

On this news, the Arab League Political Committee, in session at Cairo, called on the eight members of the League to support Spain against France in the dispute over recognition of the Sultan of Morocco, Moulay Mohammed Ben Arafa.

Nothing is known in Cairo diplomatic circles of London reports that Franco and Neguib are to meet to plan "cold war" against Britain.

### FRANCO TALK

MADRID: Tomorrow the French Ambassador is expected to be received by General Franco.

After the interview there will probably be a statement by the Spanish Foreign Office.

Spain's High Commissioner in Morocco, General Garcia Valino, denied French claims that Moorish demands for separation from the authority of the Sultan would destroy Moroccan political unity.

CASABLANCA: The sultan threatened stern punishment and banishment from the Moslem community for Nationalist leaders in the Spanish zone who challenge his right to rule over both the French and Spanish zones.

His message was broadcast over the French zone's network a few hours after terrorism "commandos" attacked a series of French petrol filling stations in Casablanca.—Reuter, B.U.P.

## SULTAN OF MOROCCO BLAMES SPAIN

CASABLANCA, Sunday.

**N**ATIONALIST dissidents in the Spanish zone of Morocco are plotting against the country's unity under pressure and threats of the Spanish authorities, said the Sultan of Morocco today.

The Sultan said he was the only legitimate and legally-installed ruler of all Morocco.

He promised stern punishment and banishment from the Moslem community for Nationalist leaders in the Spanish zone challenging his rights to rule over both the French and Spanish zones.

Although the Sultan did not mention Spain by name, his meaning was clear. He said: "A small number, subjected to certain pressure, intimidated by coercion, or giving in to threats, have seemed to openly rebel."

### Terrorists strike

His message was broadcast over the French zone's network a few hours after terrorist "commandos," armed with grenades, attacked French petrol-filling stations in Casablanca, setting two ablaze and killing one Moroccan.

Police patrols used sub-machine guns to halt them. All the attacks were within half an hour.

At the Shell Company's oil depot, where thousands of gallons of petrol are stored, terrorists travelling in a fast car threw a bomb but missed. It exploded against a wall but did not endanger the petrol.

Police reinforcements are searching the sprawling Arab sections of the city for the terrorists.

Today's attacks were carried out despite strict security precautions enforced since demands by religious and tribal leaders in Spanish Morocco for separation from French Morocco.

The Spanish zone religious and tribal leaders were angered when France deposed the Sultan of Morocco, who exercises authority in both the French and Spanish zones of Morocco, last August and replaced him with a pro-French Sultan.

French officials say that since

the Sultan was deposed, 58 people, including 17 Frenchmen, have been killed, and 121 wounded in terrorist attacks.

*Cairo cable:* Spain has told the Arab countries she will offer self-government to Spanish Morocco soon, an Arab League spokesman said here. The Arab League Political Committee called on the eight members of the league to support Spain against France in the dispute over recognition of the Sultan.—Agencies.

### CURTAIN UP

#### Soviet give visas to 34 business chiefs

Thirty-four British business executives were granted visas yesterday. They will be the biggest group of business men to visit Russia since the war.

Their aim is to raise Soviet trade by £50,000,000 a year and they have the full support of the Board of Trade.

### Model ex -2 boys

Two 17-year-old engineers who were involved in the model jet engine project died in hospital at Casablanca after the explosion during a test. One was detained in the other's treatment.

### HEA

Mr. headr  
tory  
Sus  
day

# GIBRALTAR: WE TOLERATE NO 'WARNINGS'

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Minister of State, Foreign Office, said in a Commons reply this afternoon that the Spanish Ambassador on January 12 delivered to the Foreign Secretary "a friendly warning that the Queen's visit to Gibraltar would

cause resentment in Spain." The Foreign Secretary informed the Ambassador that in no circumstances could he accept representations on such a topic from any foreign Power. (Cheers.)

Mr. Lloyd said the Government would take a serious

view if any hostile demonstrations, organised from Madrid, took place during the Queen's visit to Gibraltar.

He would not agree to a suggestion that Britain should suspend sale of arms to Spain until hostile Spanish references to Gibraltar ceased. Amid Opposition cries of protest Mr. Lloyd said: "The sale of arms to Spain is governed solely by commercial considerations."

Agency messages from Madrid state that police fired shots into the air and assault guardsmen on horseback made baton charges when 8,000 to 9,000 Madrid University students marched on the British Embassy here to-day.

The students, who carried banners and shouted "Gibraltar for Spain," fought back with stones, clubs and brooms.

## Novelist and Wife Escape From Blazing Plane

STANDARDS  
25-1-54

# HEMINGWAYS IN JUNGLE

No. 2

THE STAR  
25-1-54

## THE QUEEN & GIBRALTAR

### 'A Serious View If...' MPs Told

"Star" Reporter

A SERIOUS view will be taken by the British Government of any demonstrations during the Queen's visit to Gibraltar, said Mr Selwyn Lloyd, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, in the Commons this afternoon.

He was replying to questions about the Spanish Government's protest in connection with the visit.

After Mr Selwyn Lloyd had described the Spanish Ambassador's "friendly warning" to Mr Eden on January 12, Mr Arthur Henderson (Lab, Rowley Regis and Tipton) said that the Foreign Secretary had the support of Opposition members in resisting any improper pressure of this nature.

Mr Patrick Maitland (Con. Lanark) maintained that diplomatic weakness at one end of the Mediterranean inevitably attracted abuse from the other.

IN MADRID TODAY Spanish police fired into the air to break up an anti-British demonstration by students. Eighteen policemen and about 30 students received minor injuries.

The battle occurred just 100 yards from the British Embassy which had been stoned on Friday in a similar demonstration.

Mounted and foot police charged the students with batons.

After the battle had been raging before the British Embassy for an hour about 600 police were fighting with between 8,000 and 9,000 students.

## Gibraltar protest: Britain warns Spain

The British Government will "take a serious view" if Madrid organised anti-British demonstrations during the Queen's visit to Gibraltar in May.

This was said by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Minister of State, Foreign Office, in the Commons to-day.

He would not agree to a suggestion that Britain should suspend the sale of arms to Spain until hostile Spanish references to Gibraltar ceased.

There were Opposition cries of protest when Mr. Lloyd said:

"The sale of arms to Spain is governed solely by commercial considerations."

IN MADRID TO-DAY police fired revolver shots in the air, and charged with rubber truncheons in a battle with 10,000 university students, who, shouting "Gibraltar for Spain," tried to reach the British Embassy.

Guardsmen on horseback and using batons repeatedly charged the mob.

The students, who were armed with clubs and brooms, stoned the policemen.

Eighteen policemen and 30 students were injured.

The battle lasted two hours. It took place 100 yards from the Embassy.

The shots were fired after the students had bowled over five guardsmen on horseback.

The students screamed insults against Sir Winston Churchill and shouted "Down with Queen Elizabeth"

After the battle the marching students smashed half a dozen windows in a branch of the Bank of London and South America.—Agencies.

## Winning Gibraltar

E. M. KINGSTON [Letters, January 21] considers that Franco's resentment against the



FRANCO

British is reasonable as the British won Gibraltar from the Spanish by force of arms. Surely it was in just that way that Spain won Gibraltar from the Moors in 1462, and was it not in just that

way that Franco won Spain in the civil war?—I. W. McPhee, Chesham Road, Brighton.

MANCHESTER  
25-1-54

**SPAIN'S OFFER TO  
MOROCCO**

**"Self-Rule Soon"**

CAIRO, JANUARY 24.

A spokesman at the Arab League headquarters here said to-night that Spain had told the Arab countries that she would soon offer self-government to Spanish Morocco. The Political Committee of the Arab League, which is at present in session here, to-night called on the eight members of the league to support Spain against France in the dispute over recognition of the Sultan of Morocco.

According to the spokesman for the Arab League, Spain had also said that she would liberate her North African territories from any taint of imperialism. The Political Committee had decided to support Spain in her demand for British evacuation of Gibraltar.—Reuter.

**Spanish Protest Suggestions**

MADRID, JANUARY 24.

A Spanish editor has proposed a one-minute silence throughout Spain on May 10, the day of the Queen's arrival in Gibraltar. The editor of the "Financial World" said that he had sent a letter to General Franco asking that full measures of protest be taken in Spain during the Queen's visit. He also suggested that protest measures should include the flying of flags at half-mast, the suspension of mail deliveries to and from Gibraltar, a ban on Spaniards travelling to Gibraltar, and an official demonstration outside the British Embassy in Madrid.—Reuter.

[French Resident-General accuses Spain:  
page 5]

MANCHESTER  
25-1-54

## SPAIN BLAMED FOR DEMONSTRATION IN MOROCCO

### French Resident-General's Charges

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, JANUARY 24.

General Guillaume, the French Resident-General in Morocco, yesterday accused the Spanish authorities of bearing the entire responsibility for the demonstration in the Spanish zone against the Sultan, installed by French authorities in August. He stated that it was by order of the Spanish High Commissioner's office that the tribesmen and representatives of the towns in the Spanish zone had gathered under the leadership of the caids and pashas at Tetuan.

Spanish officers, said General Guillaume, had for months past been preparing this demonstration, which had taken place entirely according to plan. He went on:

"Thousands of Moroccans, most of whom did not know why they had come, listened to an address signed in their name by the Moroccan chiefs and then to a speech of the High Commissioner expounding the broad lines of Spanish policy in Morocco. Both the address and the speech were more concerned with events here (i.e., in French Morocco) than in our neighbour's zone. This would have been flattering if the two documents had not been aimed at breaking up the unity of the Sherifian empire and destroying the prerogatives of His Majesty the Sultan, and if the tone employed by General Garcia Valino and his services did not appear to be, to say the least, unusual in an act of diplomatic character."

The Resident-General then went on to note that Spain was the only Power

not to have recognised the accession of the new Sultan last year and that the Spanish authorities had prevented him from being acknowledged in their zone. The Spanish Government had complained that it was only informed a few hours in advance of the former Sultan's dethronement. "We could not do better," remarked General Guillaume, "for events which take no account of susceptibilities had not left us the time. At all events, since then the authorities of the neighbouring zones have not ceased to move towards a more and more openly avowed hostility."

#### Spanish Methods

General Guillaume's charge against the Spanish authorities reads convincingly, but will not prevent the French newspaper readers from noticing that he is accusing General Valino of having adopted exactly the same methods as those with which his own services were charged during the campaigns against the previous Sultan of Morocco. The worst that can be said of the actual technique of the Spanish authorities is that they seem to have conducted their campaign with less refinement than did the French. The charges that these were the methods used against Sultan Mohammed V were by no means only made in the French press of the Left: they were also to be found in such newspapers as the "Figaro."

It is reported here that the French Ambassador in Madrid will be received by the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs to-morrow.

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NEWS CHRONICLE  
25-1-54

## M.P. asks for Gib. reprisal

By DOUGLAS BROWN

**T**HE Spanish demand that the Queen should cancel her proposed visit to Gibraltar, and the anti-British campaign accompanying the demand, will be raised in the Commons today.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Foreign Affairs Minister, is expected to make a statement.

Mr. George Jeger (Lab., Goole) is to ask for the suspension of the sale of arms to Spain until the hostile references to Gibraltar cease. Two other Labour members want to know what official representations have been made to the Foreign Office, and what reply was given.

### Fresh concern

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd will have a busy time in the absence of Mr. Eden at the Berlin conference, for other trouble-spots are causing M.P.s fresh concern.

Several Conservatives will demand more information about recent attacks on British Service men in Suez. Mr. Philip Noel-Baker (Lab., Derby S.) wants the Government's views on the next step in Korea.

To the Editor of the  
News Chronicle

**S**IR,—Your leading article (January 21) suggests Franco is exploiting the royal visit to Gibraltar to divert the Spanish people's attention from the hardships they are suffering.

That may well be. But our occupation of Gibraltar is a source of humiliation to every Spaniard.

Surely the liberal approach would be to show every consideration and sympathy for a proud, if unfortunate, people and not to ignore their feelings by sending the Queen to visit a part of their territory which we hold by force?

J. LEONARD SMITH  
Seaford, Sussex.

### No dictation

**O**NCE more we have an Elizabeth on the Throne. Let pompous little Franco remember what happened when a former Spanish tyrant tried to dictate to us: we had an Elizabeth then!

ALBERT RUSSELL  
Erdington,  
Birmingham, 24.

### A habit?

**T**HE English seem to have a propensity for stealing rocks. Some day they will be forced to return Gibraltar to Spain and the Stone of Scone to Scotland.

J. G. MITCHELL  
St. Marks Road,  
Henley.

## SULTAN WARNS OPONENTS

### REPLY TO SPANISH MOROCCO PETITION

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT  
PARIS, Sunday.

The Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Mohammed ben Arafa, stated today in a broadcast proclamation that anyone questioning his investiture as Sultan ceased to be a member of the Moslem community.

This was the Sultan's reply, as spiritual and temporal head, to the 430 caids, pashas and religious leaders of the Spanish zone who last week presented a petition to the Spanish authorities renouncing him as Sultan.

He described them as a "handful of trouble-makers who, either because they have had pressure brought on them or because they have been misled, now appear to be in a state of open rebellion." All was quiet in his dominions, he claimed, since the population had refused to follow them.

#### GEN. GUILLAUME'S CRITICISM

Gen. Guillaume, French Resident-General in Morocco, strongly criticised Gen. Valino, Spanish High Commissioner, and the authorities in the Spanish zone, at Rabat today. "Spanish officers who spent weeks and weeks amongst the tribes prepared last week's demonstration at Tetuan," he declared.

France had informed the Spanish authorities on Aug. 20 of her decision to depose the late Sultan. "We could not have done it earlier because events left us no time."

All the Powers except Spain had immediately recognised the new Sultan. "Since then the authorities in the Spanish zone have been adopting a more and more openly hostile attitude."

He mentioned speeches by Gen. Valino, the fact that prayers were still said in mosques for the deposed Sultan, articles in the Press and broadcasts, "which repeat the most improbable stories or appeal for a vote."

#### AT DIPLOMATIC LEVEL

This, he said, had culminated in the Tetuan demonstration. The matter was now being dealt with on a diplomatic level between Paris and Madrid.

Reviewing the outbreak of terrorism which developed in French Morocco following the deposition of the ex-Sultan last August, he said that 53 people, 16 of them French, had been killed and 121 wounded.

The number of arrests was 370, and 135 convictions had been secured. Police were now conducting investigations in Casablanca and Rabat.

#### Casablanca Terrorists

Terrorists set fire to five petrol-filling stations in Casablanca today, and shot a bystander in the back. A small bomb was placed in the offices of a petrol company. This is the first terrorist outrage in the French zone since the Tetuan demonstration.

## BRITISH PROPERTY TO BE PROTECTED

### MADRID ORDER

From Our Own Correspondent

MADRID, Sunday.

Orders have been given to Spanish civil governors to discourage any attacks on British property during students' demonstrations over Gibraltar. There were no further demonstrations yesterday except at Santiago de Galicia.

Several hundred students demanding Gibraltar and singing the Falangist anthem called on the civil governor, the mayor and the military commandant of the city.

Sultan Warns Opponents—P7

## GREEK VISIT TO SPAIN

From Our Own Correspondent

ATHENS, Sunday.

Field-Marshal Papagos, the Greek Prime Minister, has accepted an invitation from Gen. Franco to visit Madrid next spring, it was stated today.

THE TIMES  
25-1-54

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## FRENCH "VIOLATION" OF UNITY

### COMMENT IN MADRID

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BARCELONA, JAN. 24

It is felt in diplomatic circles in Madrid that if the French Government sends a protest about the Tetuan demonstration this will give the Spanish Government an opportunity, in its reply, of showing that it is the French who have violated the treaty of Algeciras and broken the unity of the Moroccan empire.

On the other hand, a spokesman said, the Government might prefer to send no reply to the Note, "following the example set by France with many of the Spanish claims during the past few years."

General Franco has sent a telegram to General Valino, the Spanish High Commissioner in Morocco, expressing satisfaction at the intimate fellowship between the Spanish and Moroccan people, as evident at the Tetuan ceremony. The High Commissioner, in a statement to the Press yesterday, said that an inter-ministerial commission has been studying the problems of the Spanish protectorate, and had presented its recommendations, among which is the creation of a free port zone at Ceuta as a counter-influence to the free ports at Tangier and Gibraltar.

It is announced that the Foreign Minister reported to the Cabinet yesterday on the "international repercussion of the homage rendered to Spain by the Moroccan people."

## FIRST CARGO OF U.S. AID FOR SPAIN

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BARCELONA, JAN. 24

The American ship North-western Victory will start loading at New Orleans to-morrow the first cargo for Spain under the American aid agreement, and is expected to arrive in this country during the second week in February. This first consignment, which is described as "symbolic," will consist of material for the Spanish Army, Navy, and Air Force. It is also announced that a United States minesweeper will be transferred to Spain on February 16, and that a Spanish naval crew has arrived at San Diego to take over. Lockheed T 33 jet aircraft will be flown to Madrid for delivery at about the same time.

## ARAB LEAGUE CALL FOR SUPPORT FOR SPAIN

CAIRO, Jan. 24.—Spain has informed the Arab countries that she will offer self-government to Spanish Morocco soon, a spokesman at the Arab League headquarters here said to-night. The Arab League political committee, which is at present in session here, to-night called on the eight members of the league to support Spain against France in the dispute. The Arab League spokesman said that Spain had also said she would liberate her North African territories from any taint of imperialism. The league's political committee decided to support Spain in her demand for British evacuation of Gibraltar, he said.—*Reuter.*

As the young men of Spain riot  
against Britain, what of Gibraltar?

# Worry not! The apes are still on the payroll



GIBRALTAR, Monday.  
**E**IGHT THOUSAND Spanish students tried to raid the British Embassy in Madrid today—the latest in a series of riots engineered to win back Gibraltar, that rock-post of Empire, under Spanish rule.



Mounted police go into action against anti-British demonstrators in Madrid.—Yesterday's picture by radio.

In the last week there have been other riots. Consulate and vice-consulate

by **HAROLD WALL**

windows have been smashed all over Spain. Crowds have yelled and shrieked in a frenzy of sentiment and stirred-up patriotism.

Ostensible touch-off for this series of glass-breaking explosions was the announcement that the Queen will visit Gibraltar, which for 250 years has been a British fortress colony guarding the western entrance to the Mediterranean.

The present one is Major A. C. James, R.A., and he draws an annual grant from the Colonial Government of £148 for their maintenance.

"Ape movements" appear in official fortress Orders of the Day, which note births, deaths, and removals—four were sent recently to Glasgow Zoo, and another four, "surplus to local requirements," are shortly to be sent to the zoo at Chester.

All this "Food, Apes, for the use of" seems a long, long way from the riots in Central Spain.

that no demonstrations "likely to cause a breach of the peace" in the neighbourhood will be tolerated—not by him, at any rate.

It seems much more than 300 miles from the business-as-usual atmosphere in Gibraltar to the hot-air-in-winter climate of Madrid.

## All steady

**T**RUE some British tourists, due to penetrate into Spain, have hesitated and changed their minds.

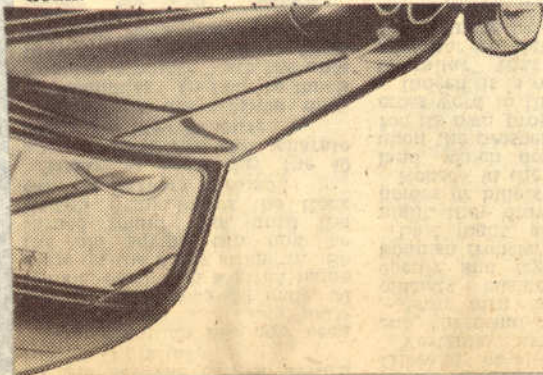
But there has been no hesitation tonight about the Spanish dancers who provide entertainment in the night clubs and restaurants huddled round the

have come in as usual on the frontier. They will be as usual, tomorrow and, as usual, though escorted as far as they will go on

# MC

old Spanish surviving all the streets of

ay it is a Rock.



DAILY EXPRESS  
26-1-54

## 8,000 riot, rave at Britain

Express Staff Reporter

MADRID, Monday.—Eight thousand Spanish youths who started another anti-British riot in Madrid today ended up by losing a battle with 500 police.

The mob, shouting "Churchill the hyena," "Down with Britain," "Gibraltar is ours," found the way to the British Embassy barred by a triple cordon of police.

"Let us through," the mob cried. "We are Spaniards. You can't stop true patriots."

But the police did. The crowd pelted them with stones, oranges

and coal. So the police drew their truncheons and charged.

The battle lasted two hours. Finally the police fired over the mob's heads.

Thirty of the crowd and ten police were injured.

Crowds tried to attack the British consulate in Barcelona today. They were stopped by police.

### Vanguard at Gib

GIBRALTAR, Monday.—Britain's biggest battleship, the 44,500-ton Vanguard, arrived at Gibraltar from Portsmouth today for docking. Other ships of the Home Fleet are expected shortly.—Express News Service.

# B riots in Madrid



Mounted and foot police halt the demonstrators in Fernando El Santo near the British Embassy in Madrid, but the shouting mobs soon broke through the thin defences.

## 8,000 students fight police

MADRID, Monday.

MORE than 8,000 Madrid University students fought a pitched battle with police protecting the British Embassy today. Nearly a score were injured on both sides.

It started as a demonstration for the return of Gibraltar to Spain—and ended in a riot which halted only when police fired revolvers in the air.

### ORDERS

Nearly 15 of the injured assault guards were hit on the head with paving stones. Tonight, it was reported that a policeman and a student had died, but this was not confirmed.

The students screamed insults against Sir Winston Churchill and shouted: "Down with Queen Elizabeth" as they charged police lines.

Later they stormed a British bank, breaking the windows.

The students were obviously disgusted with the Government for breaking up the demonstration.

"This is ridiculous," said one student. "The official Students' Union orders us to demonstrate at the Embassy and the police beat us up because we do it."

Another student said: "I suppose tomorrow we will be ordered to demonstrate in favour of the British."

The British battleship Vanguard arrived at Gibraltar yesterday.

(Arms ban refused—Page Two.)

## ARMS BAN ON SPAIN REFUSED

Parliamentary Correspondent

HOSTILE demonstrations in Gibraltar itself, organised from Madrid by General Franco's Government, during the Queen's visit to "The Rock" on May 10 are feared by Labour M.Ps.

They demand steps to prevent such demonstrations, and a ban on further sales of arms to Spain while the dictator's anti-British campaign for surrender of Gibraltar continues.

"We would take a serious view if any such demonstrations took place," Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Minister of State, told them in the Commons last night.

But he refused any guarantee of precautions, and cries of "Shame!" greeted his refusal to stop arms sales.

Tory M.Ps, torn between their liking for Franco and their British patriotism, were mostly silent.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd told Mr. Ernest Davies (Lab., Enfield E.) that up to last month only obsolescent or common-use military equipment could be exported. In future, however, applications for the sale of more modern equipment would be considered.

Mr. Davies: "What justification is there for this further appeasement of Franco?"

Mr. Lloyd protested that arms exports were one way of "earning our living."

## BETTER (but dearer) MARG

Herald Reporter

RATIONING of margarine, corn and cheese will start on May 8.

Dr. Charles Hill, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry, announced in the Commons in a written reply.

After May rationing will start, Dr. Hill said he hopes to be at the end of it shortly.

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## FLIGHT FOILS SULTAN KIDNAP PLOT

From HENRY KAHN

PARIS, Monday.

THE ex-Sultan of Morocco, who was sacked by the French and exiled to Corsica last August, has been flown to a secret hiding place because of fears that an attempt would be made to kidnap him.

With him went eight blue-robed veiled concubines, his youngest legal wife and two sons—and four tons of luggage and food.

One report says that Otto Skorzeny, the German air ace, who rescued Mussolini during the war, was offered £500,000 to rescue the ex-Sultan—Sidi ben Youssef.

The plan was to get him to the Balearic Islands, off Spain, and from there to Cairo. Skorzeny, who lives in Spain, is said to have been in close touch with Arab leaders.

For this reason and because of the influence he still had on Moroccan affairs, the French hustled the ex-Sultan from the Napoleon Bonaparte Hotel in Bastia, Corsica, at 6.10 this morning.

### TO TAHITI?

Eight cars were used to take him and his party to the airfield where a Skymaster was waiting. It took off at 9.30—for Madagascar.

He will be taken from there to an unnamed island in the Indian Ocean—or perhaps to Tahiti in the Pacific.

The rest of his suite, including his first wife, will follow later.

The French have tightened up in Morocco since last week's anti-French demonstrations in the Spanish Zone. Tribal and religious leaders in the zone rejected the authority of the new, French-appointed Sultan and called for complete separation from the French Zone.



The ex-Sultan

## ATCHED' AGAIN

ned him. Colin was lifted in a grey van and driven off. Hours later the van drew up outside the home of Mrs. Evans, in St. Helens-road.

er, Mr. Ronald Shirley, "I am Mrs. Bryans's another brother, Mr. ey, and a brother-in-law. I drove her today.

UGHTED' outside the school delighted to see

n to Horsham, ns and Colin ar and were house in

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*Gibraltar garrison once made their cannon-balls  
red-hot to set the besieging enemy ablaze*

# 250 Years on the Rock —and There We Stay

**T**HE Spanish Government has lately been claiming that the British fortress and Colony of Gibraltar should be returned to Spain. This claim is not new, but it has become stronger. Students have backed it by violent demonstrations.

The immediate cause of this sharpening of the demand is undoubtedly the fact that the Queen is to visit the Rock later in her tour. This seems to Spaniards to put a fresh seal on British possession. But the United States pact is probably another factor.

Spain sees in it an opportunity to speak more down-rightly, though on the American side there is no hint of any interest in the return of Gibraltar.

Gibraltar has been of immense value to Britain—perhaps most valuable of all in 1797, when we were forced to evacuate the Mediterranean until Nelson recovered control of it at the Battle of the Nile. Yet between the start of this century and 1939 it seemed to many that it was losing its strategic significance.

Some doubters thought it might prove a trap in war. One of them, Gibson Bowles, published just over half a century ago a book with the title "Gibraltar, a National Danger." Naturally this was noticed with favour in Spain.

The doubters were silenced and the doubts blown away in World War II. In that war Gibraltar was actually more valuable than ever.

Let us be perfectly frank in acknowledging that the Spaniards could have made the airfield unusable, commanded the harbour completely, and, if they chose, flattened the town. Let us also admit that in the early stage we had no great power to retaliate, though this was not true later.

## In our favour

**S**PAIN'S attitude at Gibraltar favoured us. Yet Spain would certainly not have invited us to use Gibraltar if we had not been there, and it would have altered the whole course of the war if we had not.

Remember Sir James Somerville's Malta convoys. Remember the preparations for the North African landing, when General Eisenhower set up his headquarters in the caverns of the Rock. But I could fill an article with the services of Gibraltar in World War II. The odd thing about Gib-



*Gibraltar first became British 250 years ago, on July 24, 1704. The above scene represents the destruction of the Spanish galleons and floating batteries by Lord Heathfield, defender of the Rock, on September 13, 1782, as described in this article.*

by **CYRIL FALLS**

*Formerly Chichele Professor of the History of War at Oxford University*

raltar is that it has been held far longer by the Moors and rather longer by the British than by Spain.

I make it: Moors, 751 years, with a break of 31 years; Spain, 242 years; Britain 250 years. The Moors laid hands on it in 711, at a time when there was no Spanish nation, and the Power they took it from was that of the Goths.

We took it by surprise in July 1704, when it was held by only a small Spanish garrison.

In the War of the Spanish Succession we were supporting the claim to the throne of Spain of the Archduke Charles, and may be said to have seized it in his interest; but on his own responsibility Sir George Rooke hoisted the British flag, and his action was endorsed by the Government of Queen Anne.

Since then Gibraltar has been a British possession. It cost more to hold than to take. We beat off the Franco-Spanish attack beginning in 1704, and our hold was confirmed by the Treaty of Utrecht. In 1726 the Spaniards again failed to retake the Rock.

The great siege began in 1779 and lasted, according to Spanish computation, three years, seven months, and

two days. In the War of American Independence the Royal Navy was strained to the utmost.

The blockade by the Spaniards and French was even more dangerous than their heavy attacks by sea and land. Hunger would have done their work but for supply convoys brought in by Darley and Howe.

Another factor in Gibraltar's salvation was the inspiration of the Governor, General Sir George Eliott, later Lord Heathfield.

He prepared grates for heating cannon-balls. The enemy built ten floating batteries, so well "padded" with timber that they could afford to come into closer range than the warships. Their threat was defeated by the Governor's red-hot shot, which burnt them one after the other.

## Good manners

**M**ANNERS were delightful when the peace preliminaries ended the siege. Eliott and the French land commander, the Duc de Crillon, embraced. Crillon, entering the ruined town, was received with "a general huzza." This puzzled and confused him at first, but he then decided that it was a pleasing old English custom. For the remainder of his visit he behaved "with great affability." That was the last siege.

Gibraltar is unique among fortresses in that it is the Rock itself which is the fortress. Without the ex-

cavations it would be of small account. Crillon thought those of his time wonderful and "worthy of the Romans." He would be hard put to it to find suitable terms if he saw those of today.

A tremendous amount of work was done during the war under Lord Gort and others, work which added greatly to the strength of the Rock.

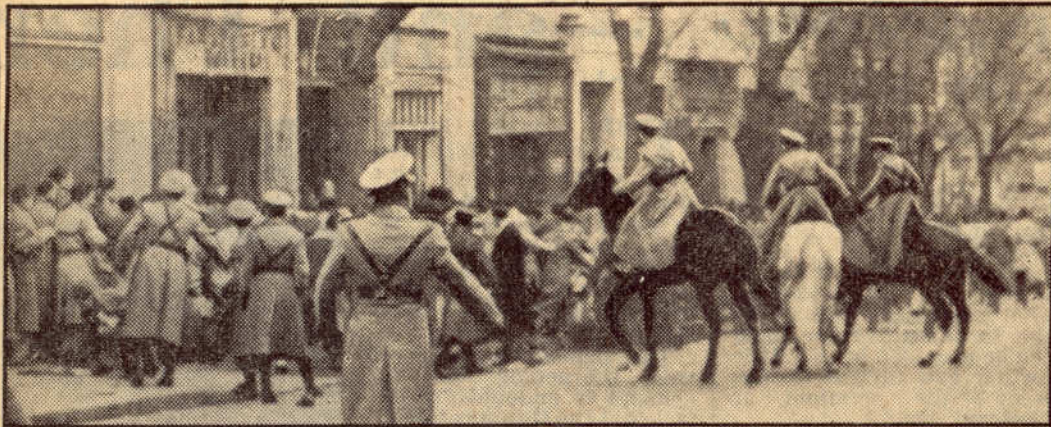
## 'Too dangerous'

**I** WRITE as one who claims to be as convinced a friend of Spain and Spaniards as any man in this country. I protested against the ideological boycott of the country after the war. Yet I hold firmly to the opinion that the reply to any demand for the return of Gibraltar should be a polite but decisive negative.

The world is too dangerous a place to take risks of that sort for the sake of politeness. Just possibly, if we could look ahead with confidence to a long spell of peace, we might regard the question from a different point of view. Today we cannot afford to do so, and we should tell Spain so in the friendliest way.

Let us all hope that her Majesty's visit to Gibraltar will be a great success and that she will be received with acclamation by the people. It will be the celebration of a connection of a quarter of a millenary and of one which has been fruitful and honourable to both sides.

# BRITAIN WARNS 2 NATIONS



RIOTING IN MADRID.—Police force back students demonstrating over Gibraltar.

## EGYPT told: Attacks endanger Canal talks

By RONALD CAMP, Daily Mail Parliamentary Correspondent  
M.P. S, angered by the recent attacks on British troops in the Canal Zone, applauded in the Commons yesterday when Mr. SELWYN LLOYD, Minister of State, said Egypt had been warned that a satisfactory agreement with Britain "is impossible while this kind of behaviour continues."

He said: "We are certain it lies in the power of the Egyptian authorities to prevent these incidents if they wish. Strong representations have been made."

There were cheers for Mr. JULIAN AMERY (Con., Preston N.), who demanded that negotiations with Egypt should be broken off unless attacks on Britons cease.

In answer to another Tory, Mr. Patrick Maitland (Lanark), Mr. SELWYN LLOYD gave these figures of attacks: In 1953 one successful attack with explosives; this year, none. In 1953, attacks with non-explosive weapons, 254; this year, 20. In 1953, 11 Britons killed or died of wounds; this year, three.

MR. MAITLAND: "Is he not aware that this pitiful catalogue of humiliation will be received with a sense of outrage by the public of this country—and that

there is a widespread demand that we should no longer try to negotiate with the Egyptian Government under duress?"

In answer to Sir Edward Boyle (Con., Handsworth) he said a "vigorous protest" was made by our Ambassador in Cairo after the murder of a British soldier on January 19 "and other deplorable incidents."

### Shipping move

Egyptian violation of international agreement by stopping shipping through the Canal is viewed seriously by Britain, Mr. Lloyd said.

He assured Mr. Emanuel Shinwell (Soc., Easington), who raised the matter, and Mr. Attlee, Socialist leader, who urged that the issue should go to the International Court: "We now have under consideration what international action should be taken."

## SPAIN told: Hands off royal visit

SPAIN has been informed that Britain will allow no interference with a visit by the Queen to any of her territories, Mr. SELWYN LLOYD told the Commons yesterday.

"We will take a very serious view if any hostile demonstrations take place during the Queen's visit to Gibraltar," he said.

"The Spanish Ambassador called at his own request on the Foreign Secretary on January 12. He delivered what he described as a 'friendly warning' that the visit of the Queen to Gibraltar in May would cause resentment in Spain.

"Mr. Eden informed him that in no circumstances could he accept representations on such a topic from a foreign country."

Mr. Lloyd told Socialists that Britain would not refuse to sell arms to Spain. Such sales were commercial—"to help Britain make a living."

### STRIKE BEGINS

KHARTUM, Monday.—Sudan electricians began a three-day strike for higher wages today.—B.U.P.

### Will Fleet visit Spanish ports?

## FRANCO KEEPS OUR NAVY WAITING FOR PERMITS

By Daily Mail Reporters

PLANS for Royal Navy spring exercises have been affected by difficulties arising from Spain's "Hand back Gibraltar" agitation.

Permission has not, so far, been received for British warships to make the usual courtesy calls at Spanish ports.

This does not mean that permission may not be forthcoming. But H.M.S. Vanguard has already arrived at Gibraltar, other ships are leaving Britain next week, and further anti-British demonstrations in Spain yesterday are discouraging.

Spanish port authorities are thought to have been told not to expect the usual visits from British ships in March.

But strenuous efforts are being made to restore good will, despite the wave of "resentment" in Spain against the visit of the Queen to Gibraltar on May 10.

The Royal Navy will be in great strength at Gibraltar from now until after the exercises are concluded at the end of March. Altogether, 21 ships of the Home Fleet will be there, and they will be joined by 25 ships of the Mediterranean Fleet under Admiral Earl Mountbatten.

### Madrid police fire over the mob

MADRID, Monday. — Heavily armed police today fired over the heads of an 8,000-strong mob of students who tried to storm the British Embassy here.

Repeated baton and sword charges had failed to disperse the placard-bearing, slogan-shouting youths — some of them boys in short trousers. Several police mounties were hurt.

For three hours the battle went on. Students stoned the 600 police.

When the police fired, the crowd faltered, swelled, faltered again—and then everybody was running away, leaving great piles of stones, timber, and rubble.—Agencies.

Selwyn Lloyd warns Franco and Neguib—Page THREE. The story of our 250 years on Gibraltar—Page FOUR.

## Agitation Over Gibraltar

### Spanish Viewpoint

To the Editor of The Daily Telegraph  
**S**IR—Agitation for the return of Gibraltar to Spain has not been an occupation only of political hotheads. Spanish Republican leaders in the 19th century continually urged its return, not as part of a programme of imperial expansion but because it seemed to them a question of abstract justice.

They may have been idealists lacking political realism, but they represented a tradition which saw Gibraltar as "de jure" Spanish territory. Whether this belief is right or wrong it has its roots in a national pride which is not the monopoly of any particular party.

Señor Salvador de Madariaga, whom no one could accuse of supporting Franco, wrote in 1946 "that Spain wants Gibraltar cannot even be discussed she cannot be without wanting it. The consequences of the retention of Gibraltar by the English are far deeper than a mere political discussion might suggest. It has cut deep into the national faith and undermined Spain's unity."

Without wishing to sympathise with the artificial stimulation the question has received in the Spanish Press for the past 15 years, might one not suggest that the British attitude towards Spain since the Civil War has only tended to encourage Franco's campaign? That this campaign has found its expression in a controlled Press and in Falangist hooliganism should not blind us to the fact that a reasonable Spanish viewpoint does exist.

To many Spaniards Gibraltar is a symbol of foreign domination, regarded as we might regard a Spanish occupation of Dover. To feel like this, as I found after living in Spain for six months last year, it is not necessary to be either a Falangist or an ardent admirer of Franco.

Any concession made to Franco would only tend to strengthen an already strong position and a diplomatic triumph at Britain's expense would hardly be tolerated by British public opinion. But this alone does not seem to me an excuse to treat the agitation as the expression of a mere minority feeling.

All of us who feel concern for the future of Anglo-Spanish relations know the problem of Gibraltar, with all its implications, will have to be faced. It would be as well for these relations if the Spaniards could realise that a bombastic Press campaign can hardly lead to a satisfactory conclusion.

But we also ought to accept that a refusal to listen to the Spanish arguments by shelving the issue because we dislike the Franco Government may, in the long run, only succeed in widening the support for Gen. Franco's claim. Yours, &c.,

A. HENNESSY

St Anthony's College, Oxford.

**S**IR—For political reasons the Franco régime is trying to convince the world that the Spanish people consider the projected visit of Queen Elizabeth to Gibraltar an offence against their national pride.

I should be grateful if you would let your readers know that Spanish Liberals, including Monarchists and Republicans—that is to say, the majority of Spaniards—do not feel offended by the visit of Queen Elizabeth, that noble prototype of democratic kings, to the territory of Gibraltar, whose international status we do not find it convenient to discuss at this moment. The only thing that offends the majority is the enforced permanence of Gen. Franco on a "throne" which definitely does not belong to him.

Please do not blame the Spanish people for the sins and, in the present case, the discourtesies of Gen. Franco. Yours faithfully,

JOSE ANTONIO BALBONTIN,  
London, W.2.

## EGYPT'S ENMITY REVEALED

QUESTIONS in the House of Commons yesterday reflected a rising indignation at Egypt's attitude to this country and, indeed, to the Western world in general. Interference with shipping using the Suez Canal is, as Mr. SELWYN LLOYD said, a matter of international concern. It was censured by the United Nations Security Council two-and-a-half years ago, but has continued and become more flagrant. Egypt now presumes to declare contraband "foodstuffs and all other commodities which are likely to strengthen the war potential of the Zionists in Palestine in any way whatever"; and cargoes of meat and clothing have in fact been stopped. Last week it was reported that an Italian vessel not even in the Canal was fired on by Egyptian shore batteries.

Whatever concerted action may be taken to deal with this violation of international law, Britain is the country most nearly concerned—and that not simply because our shipping makes most use of the Canal. Our concern is with the progressive revelation of the character and intentions of the Egyptian Government, with which we have been negotiating about the future of our military base in the Canal Zone. This Government has been in the saddle for 18 months. Before very much could be known of its intentions, it showed the seeming merit of strength; it was possible to think that Gen. NEGUIB—unlike the Wafdists, who could not control the xenophobia of the mob they had aroused—was master of the country and of its policy. On that assumption, informal talks were opened with his Government about the Suez base. They bogged down three months ago on the issues of whether the technicians remaining behind after our military forces had been withdrawn should wear uniform, and in what circumstances we should have the right to re-enter the base.

On strategic and military considerations there is ground for questioning whether the British Government was not prepared to go beyond the limit of safety in the hope of getting Egypt's agreement. Britain's concern (and not hers alone) is, however, with the security of the whole Middle East area, and if that can be otherwise ensured we certainly do not want to keep 80,000 troops tied down on the Canal. In this country the argument most commonly and reasonably advanced in favour of making concessions to Egypt in these negotiations is that her friendship is an essential factor. The sincerest exponents of this view must now begin to ask themselves whether Egyptian friendship is, in truth, available to us or to the Western world, however high a price we offer for it.

The campaign of hatred has taken on renewed violence. Yesterday the official newspaper of Gen. NEGUIB's dictatorship scarcely veiled its threat of "armed strife" in the Canal Zone, and proclaimed its solidarity with the "struggle against imperialism" in Kenya and Malaya. Is this an attitude which will change suddenly to smiling friendship if we yield to Egypt's demands? Is this a Government which will willingly readmit us to Suez in an emergency, whatever it may promise beforehand? And if (as has been suggested) readmission should be made dependent upon a decision of the United Nations—what reliance could be placed on a Government which already defies the Security Council's resolution on the freedom of the Canal? Meanwhile the Arab League, under Egyptian leadership, has written a wry footnote to Arab history by proclaiming its support for Spanish pretensions in Morocco and Gibraltar. If there ever seemed to be any prospect of Egyptian good faith and friendship, it has been completely—though we must hope temporarily—submerged in this wave of hostility.

## MADRID REBUFF TO STUDENTS

### STRICT POLICE GUARD ON BRITISH EMBASSY

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT  
MADRID, Monday.

Falangist students are resentful, I learn, at determined police action taken here to-day against demonstrators outside the British Embassy.

Crowds of students, estimated to total 8,000, were mobilised to repeat on a much larger scale last Friday's "Give us back Gibraltar" demonstration. The police had, however, also been called out.

At least 200 met the advancing crowds, who were finally dispersed by several charges by mounted police. Thirty students were injured by truncheons and 18 police by stones, but none of the injuries was serious.

The students' resentment is perhaps not surprising since the Gibraltar agitation has all along received official encouragement.

Official counter-measures to-day may therefore well seem inconsistent and irritating to those taking part. As already reported, earlier this month the Duke of Primo de Rivera, Ambassador in London, told Mr. Eden that in the Spanish view the Queen's projected visit to Gibraltar would be "imprudent."

#### ARMY CAR ATTACKED

A curious incident was the halting by students of a car conveying three Army officers. The students, who broke the windows and apparently insulted the officers, were immediately arrested.

Some of the demonstrators broke the plate glass windows of the Bank of London and South America. Then they entered and said they would not leave until the Spanish flag was hoisted. Police removed them.

Before the crowd near the British Embassy broke up a few rounds of blank ammunition were fired over their heads. But there was no large-scale fighting, as suggested in widespread rumours.

Commons Questions—P9

## NAVY EXERCISE PLAN

From Our Own Correspondent

GIBRALTAR, Monday.  
The battleship Vanguard (42,500 tons), with Adml. Sir Michael Denny, C.-in-C. Home Fleet, aboard, arrived here from Portsmouth to-day, and will go into dry dock. Other units are expected early next month and combined exercises between the Home and Mediterranean Fleets are announced for March 15. Both fleets will visit Gibraltar.

# GEN. FRANCO

From Our Own Correspondent

CAIRO, Tuesday.

Gen. Franco has accepted an invitation from the Arab League to visit Arab countries, according to reports published here to-night. There is no official confirmation. It is said that the Spanish leader will first visit Egypt to meet President Neguib.

# STUDENTS END MADRID 'STRIKE'

## RADIO STATION CLASH

From Our Own Correspondent  
MADRID, Tuesday.

The Rector of the University of Madrid said to-night that the students who were on strike in protest against what they described as police violence would return to their studies to-morrow. They complained of police action against a "Give us back Gibraltar" demonstration yesterday.

About 2,000 students demonstrated this morning outside police headquarters in the Puerta del Sol square. They demanded that a flag should be flown at half-mast for a student reported to have died from injuries received yesterday.

The report was denied but the students did not disperse until the flag was lowered. Another party visited the offices of Radio Madrid and asked for facilities to broadcast their account of yesterday's demonstration. The request was refused and after a scuffle the students were driven out of the building.

There was a further clash in the centre of Madrid this afternoon. A Press photographer, Paul Pietzch was arrested when he tried to take photographs of the disturbance.

It is reported that some of the students taking part in to-day's demonstrations bought up all the copies of Arriba, the principal Falangist daily, they could find, and burned them in the streets in protest against the paper's failure to take the demonstrators' part.

### Fresh British Protest

A DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT writes: Sir John Balfour, British Ambassador in Madrid, has been instructed to make another protest to the Spanish Government over Monday's anti-British demonstrations. He protested last week when windows of the British Embassy were smashed.

# POLICE CHARGE SPANISH MOB

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1,000 DEMONSTRATE

MADRID, Wednesday.

**P**OLICE charged to break up a demonstration by about 1,000 students outside the university in Madrid to-day.

The students had intended to march on the Ministry of Information building, a few hundred yards from the British Embassy, to protest against the way Spanish newspapers and radio had reported this week's student's demonstrations demanding the return of Gibraltar to Spain.—Reuter.

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# EXILED SULTAN IN WEST AFRICA

## TAHITI HOME LIKELY

From Our Own Correspondent

PARIS, Tuesday.

Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, 44, the deposed Sultan of Morocco, arrived to-day by air at Brazzaville, French Equatorial Africa. With his two sons, two wives, seven concubines and a medical adviser he will stay in a villa there for two days.

He will then go to Madagascar before resuming his journey to a final place of exile. According to an official announcement this will probably be in Tahiti, in the South Pacific.

The French authorities consider that the former Sultan can lead a freer life in Tahiti than in Corsica, where he had been under constant watch since his banishment. His senior wife, his daughters and his 13 remaining concubines will leave Corsica shortly to rejoin the Sultan.

M. Meyrier, French Ambassador in Madrid, saw Señor Artajo, Spanish Foreign Minister, yesterday. He was told that the French Note protesting against the recent demonstration in Tetuan, Spanish Morocco, when 430 chieftains renounced the new Sultan, was being studied by the Spanish Government.

# LA CRISE FRANCO-ESPAGNOLE A PROPOS DU MAROC

## M. Artajo doit recevoir l'ambassadeur de France

Le général Garcia Valino, dans des déclarations faites à l'A.B.C., affirme que « la manifestation de Tétouan ne signifiait pas que la zone espagnole désirait une rupture de l'unité politique du Maroc ».

Le général Valino a critiqué « les erreurs de la France, qui, dit-il, s'ignore pas qu'elle n'a pas raison », notamment au sujet de la destitution du sultan Mohammed V. « erreur qu'il est très difficile, sinon impossible, de corriger ».

D'autre part, selon l'agence Reuter, le général Valino a ajouté que « la pétition des caïds se rapporte à la demande de pleine souveraineté du khalifat du Maroc espagnol ».

« Ceci implique que la zone sera juridiquement indépendante de la prétendue autorité du nouveau sultan imposé par les Français. Cette indépendance existe déjà en fait ».

Il appartiendra à notre gouvernement d'étudier et de prendre des décisions sur cet aspect de la question dont je ne nie point l'importance ».

Cette nouvelle manifestation du haut commissaire à Tétouan, même si elle ne constitue pas une prise de position officielle du gouvernement espagnol, témoigne à tout le moins qu'il ne faut pas compter sur le général Garcia Valino pour atténuer la crise qu'il ouvre lui-même à Tétouan le 21.

Sa position personnelle dans l'armée espagnole — il est le général le plus ancien après le général Franco, — sa réputation de grand stratège — il était considéré jusqu'à ces derniers temps comme devant devenir chef de l'état-major général espagnol en cas de conflit international, — une sympathie pour le monarchisme qu'il n'a jamais cherché à dissimuler, tous ces traits font de lui une personnalité de premier plan au sein du régime, et qui aurait son mot à dire si le général Franco disparaissait.

Certains bons observateurs madrilènes ne cachent d'ailleurs pas leur surprise quand le Caudillo le choisit pour remplacer à Tétouan le général Varela quand celui-ci mourut voilà deux ans. Ils n'en comprennent que mieux la décision du chef de l'Etat espagnol de ne pas le nommer membre du conseil de régence — comme l'avait été son prédécesseur, — ce qui fut alors considéré comme une *diminutio capitis*.

Dans les milieux qui touchent au ministère espagnol des affaires étrangères — apprenons-nous aujourd'hui directement de source madrilène — l'impression prévaut que le général Garcia Valino aurait fortement accentué de son propre chef les indications que lui aurait données le Caudillo avant le discours de Tétouan. Sans en rien préjuger l'accueil que M. Artajo fera aujourd'hui à l'ambassadeur de France à Madrid, on notera que le correspondant de l'A.F.P. télégraphiait samedi soir « qu'aucune décision irrévocable n'avait été prise au cours du conseil des ministres de vendredi et que, malgré leur laconisme et une certaine raideur de ton, les déclarations d'un porte-parole autostylé au sujet de la manifestation de Tétouan ne fermaient nullement le porte à des négociations ultérieures ». — J. C.

## Sidi Mohammed ben Arafa invite tous ses sujets à « demeurer au sein de la communauté »

(De notre correspondant particulier.)

Rabat, 25 janvier. — Dans un message radiodiffusé, dont la conclusion fait appel à la fidélité de ses sujets aux préceptes légués par le Prophète, le sultan a invité dimanche les Marocains de toutes les provinces de l'empire chérifien à « demeurer au sein de la communauté », avec laquelle est « la main de Dieu ».

Déjà Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa avait manifesté sa ferme volonté de ne pas laisser porter atteinte à la légitimité de son règne et à l'unité du Maroc, notamment en réunissant le Makhzen, qui adressa la protestation que l'on sait au gouvernement français. Le souverain a confirmé cette prise de position avec d'autant plus d'assurance que, dit-il, « notre investiture a été proclamée à l'unanimité et dans toutes les formes légales ».

Disfinguant d'une part ceux qui, dans le complot, « ont pris leur part de responsabilité », et qui « seront, leur heure venue, jugés et punis comme ils le méritent », de l'autre ceux qui « n'ont fait que suivre le mouvement », le sultan précise : « Qu'ils viennent à résipiscence : ils sont assurés d'obtenir leur grâce et leur pardon ».

Pas une fois dans ce message il n'est fait expressément mention de la zone khalifienne et de la manifestation de Tétouan. Le texte ne prête cependant à aucune équivoque lorsqu'il affirme :

« Cette initiative pourrait tendre à rompre l'unité de l'empire chérifien si celle-ci n'avait été affermie par les siècles, consacrée par l'histoire et enregistrée par de nombreux traités et accords internationaux. De toute évidence ce groupe d'égarés n'a pu agir que sous la contrainte et par la force. Leurs actes et leurs paroles sont tout à l'opposé de leurs pensées et de leurs sentiments. Ce sont donc des influences occultes qui sont seules à l'origine du complot fomenté contre notre heureuse nation ».

### La France n'a pas déçu notre espoir

Le souverain rappelle d'autre part la protestation du palais impérial :

« Vous savez aussi qu'animé par l'unique et le constant souci du bien public nous mettons tout en œuvre pour maintenir l'union de tous, sans aucune distinction de race, de religion, de langue, de dialecte, de province ».

viction de la légitimité d'une cause que nous ne cesserons de défendre devant Dieu, devant l'histoire, devant toutes les nations qui se sont elles-mêmes engagées à garantir l'intégrité et l'unité du Maroc.

« A cet égard le Makhzen a pleinement rempli son devoir en adressant une protestation solennelle à la France, qui, répondant aussitôt à son appel, n'a pas déçu son espoir ».

« C'est à cette nation, en effet, que nous faisons confiance pour couper court aux rumeurs et écarter les périls. Maintes fois elle nous a donné des preuves qu'elle mène à bien les missions qui lui sont confiées et qu'elle sait par une politique de sagesse dissiper les nuages les plus épais. Pourrait-elle aujourd'hui en être autrement ? Son action civilisatrice dans ce pays n'est-elle pas le meilleur des gages ? Nul ne pourrait en attribuer le mérite à d'autres sans passer pour confondre l'éclat d'un phare avec la lueur de quelque maigre chandelle ».

La proclamation du sultan a été largement diffusée. On relèvera qu'on y retrouve — « mutatis mutandis » — des termes analogues à ceux qu'employait il y a cinq mois à peine Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef quand il s'élevait lui aussi contre « la campagne de rébellion » qui menaçait alors son autorité.

A ces messages faisaient écho généralement, en guise de riposte, quelques déclarations du Glaoui ou du chérif El Kittani.

### Selon la Ligue arabe

## MADRID OFFRIRAIT L'INDÉPENDANCE AU MAROC ESPAGNOL

Le Caire, 25 janvier (Reuter). — Un porte-parole de la Ligue arabe a annoncé hier que l'Espagne avait informé les pays membres de la Ligue qu'elle offrirait prochainement l'indépendance politique au Maroc espagnol.

La commission politique de la Ligue, qui siège actuellement, a demandé à ses membres de soutenir Madrid dans le conflit qui l'oppose à la France sur la reconnaissance du sultan.

[Nous publions cette information sous toutes réserves. Jusqu'à plus ample informé il paraît prudent de la considérer comme un prétendu avoir tout vu et pouvoir débrouiller des fils enchevêtrés ? Est-on assuré de porter un jugement serein sur des épisodes auxquels on a été personnellement mêlé ? Tiendra-t-on et envers soi-même et envers ses lecteurs l'engagement de tout dire ou tout au moins de ne faire intervenir, dans le choix nécessaire, aucune considération ni d'amitié ni d'opportunité ?

## BIBLIOGRAPHIE

### « Justice pour le Maroc »

Il est toujours dangereux de vouloir « rendre témoignage à la vérité », même si l'on entend ainsi « obéir au plus élémentaire et au plus impératif des devoirs ». L'entreprise ne va pas sans danger, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit d'événements contemporains et contigus. Peut-on prétendre avoir tout vu et pouvoir débrouiller des fils enchevêtrés ? Est-on assuré de porter un jugement serein sur des épisodes auxquels on a été personnellement mêlé ? Tiendra-t-on et envers soi-même et envers ses lecteurs l'engagement de tout dire ou tout au moins de ne faire intervenir, dans le choix nécessaire, aucune considération ni d'amitié ni d'opportunité ?

Ces risques, Robert Barrat les a assumés dans une sorte de journal où il évoque les deux voyages qu'il a l'an dernier accomplis au Maroc (1).

En fait, l'auteur nous présente une série discontinue de témoignages sur des épisodes auxquels il a assisté ou dus rencontres, réunions, entretiens auxquels il a participé, soit au printemps, soit pendant l'été de 1953.

Les sympathies du secrétaire général du Centre catholique des intellectuels français sont connues et il ne songe nullement à les renier. Elles ont sans doute paru dangereuses puisque des exemplaires de son livre ont été saisis par la police dans plusieurs villes du protectorat.

Certains interlocuteurs qui lui avaient fait confiance et sont demeurés sur place regretteront sans aucun doute d'avoir été mis en scène dans les circonstances actuelles, d'autres auraient souhaité que leurs propos eussent été plus fidèlement rapportés. L'auteur se défendra en répliquant qu'il a fait œuvre salubre en rompant des silences timorés et en lutant contre les déformations d'une propagande officielle ou intéressée.

Tel qu'il se présente, son choix sera lu comme une nouvelle contribution à l'histoire d'un tournant dramatique dans la vie du protectorat. On retiendra tout spécialement les visites au palais impérial, où Robert Barrat fut l'un des rares Français à avoir accès dans les chaudes journées de la mi-août. Mais on conviendra qu'il est trop tôt, beaucoup trop tôt peut-être, pour que soit rédigée une œuvre où ne subsiste nulle part de hasard ni de passion. — R. G.

(1) *Justice pour le Maroc*, par Robert Barrat. Préface de François Mauriac. Collection Esprit. Editions du Seuil.

— Une délégation du groupe parlementaire des « Amis franco-marocains » doit se rendre au Maroc pour étudier sur place la situation sociale et économique du pays.

## Je laisse au général Valino le privilège de juger ses voisins déclare le général Guillaume

Le général Guillaume a tenu samedi à Rabat, à l'issue d'un déjeuner offert à la maison de France, une conférence de presse où il a commenté en premier lieu les événements de Tétouan. Après avoir dressé le bilan du terrorisme, il a enfin abordé la question des réformes, dont il a dit : « Celles qui pouvaient être réalisées immédiatement l'ont été, mais la mise en œuvre complète des autres requerrait un important travail préparatoire qui ne pourrait être valablement entrepris avant que les textes organiques aient reçu l'agrément de la France et du souverain. Le travail de base est en bonne voie et sera terminé sous peu. Je suis donc persuadé que, si 1954 a été l'année de la décision et de la préparation, 1954 sera celle de la réalisation sous le signe de l'indispensable coopération franco-marocaine ».

De la manifestation de Tétouan le général Guillaume rappelle le déroulement et les préparatifs en des termes qui sont à peu près ceux que les Espagnols de la zone rifaine ont employés pour relater les événements d'août au Maroc français :

« Sur l'ordre du haut commissariat, des délégations des villes et des tribus de la zone se sont rendues à Tétouan, sous la conduite de leurs pachas et de leurs caïds, pour participer, le 21 janvier, à un important rassemblement... »

« Ce sont des officiers espagnols, qui ont séjourné des semaines et des semaines dans les tribus, qui avaient préparé cette manifestation... »

« Des milliers de Marocains ignoraient d'ailleurs les raisons de leur déplacement... »

« Nous n'avions pu faire mieux, a précisé le résident, car les événements, qui ne tiennent pas compte des susceptibilités, ne nous en avaient pas laissé le temps. »

« Quoi qu'il en soit, depuis lors les autorités de la zone voisine n'ont cessé d'évoluer vers une hostilité de plus en plus déclarée : discours du haut commissariat à l'occasion de l'Aïd et Kébir, Khôbba sur le terrain, déclarations du sultan aux prières du vendredi, articles de presse... »

émissions radiophoniques qui se font l'écho des nouvelles les plus invraisemblables, ou d'appels à la révolte. Cette campagne devait naturellement conduire aux manifestations du 21 janvier.

« Je ne voudrais pas pour autant juger nos voisins, je laisse ce privilège au général Valino... »

Rappelant la protestation du Makhzen et la réponse du gouvernement, français, le résident a conclu : « C'est donc désormais sur le plan diplomatique entre Paris et Madrid que cette affaire est traitée. » On n'a signalé, a-t-il ajouté, aucun incident depuis ces événements. A Oujda, « point sensible du pays », la situation est bonne. A Fès il n'y a eu « jamais autant de monde dans les mosquées » que vendredi dernier. Partout les prières se sont déroulées normalement.

### Le but du terrorisme : ruiner l'amitié franco-marocaine

Le général Guillaume aborde d'autre part la question du terrorisme :

« Un autre sujet de graves préoccupations et un souci de tous les instants... »

Après en avoir indiqué les formes, il précise que depuis le mois d'août, cent trente-cinq inculpations seulement avaient été retenues.

Dans tous les cas, a-t-il dit, « l'objectif est le même : ruiner, en frappant ceux qui la servent et en intimidant la masse, l'amitié franco-marocaine dont S. M. le sultan a fait la règle de sa politique. Les encouragements que les leaders extrémistes réfugiés à l'étranger prodiguent aux terroristes sous la forme de véritables appels au meurtre retransmis par certaines radios officielles, aussi bien que la technique qui préside à la préparation et à l'exécution des attentats, finissent par lever nos doutes sur les instigateurs de cette campagne si nous persistons en conservant. On est frappé de l'étroite parenté qui existe entre le terrorisme au Maroc et les mouvements similaires qui se sont développés dans certains pays du Proche-Orient, en Tunisie et dans d'autres territoires africains. »

Quant au bilan de ce terrorisme depuis le mois d'août, le général Guillaume a cité les chiffres suivants :

Cent quinze agressions, 99 incendies, 48 attentats par engins explosifs et 65 sabotages, sans compter un certain nombre d'actes ou de tentatives mineurs. Ces attentats ont fait : 58 tués (16 Français, 1 ressortissant suisse, 39 Marocains et 2 membres du service d'ordre — l'un français et l'autre marocain). On a enregistré en outre 121 blessés, dont 45 Européens, 63 Marocains et 13 membres du service d'ordre.

### Le départ de Corse de Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef

Le DC-4 à bord duquel Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef et sa suite ont quitté la Corse ce matin dispose de tout le confort, et un médecin militaire effectue le voyage aux côtés de l'ancien souverain.

L'ancien sultan, ayant exprimé la crainte de ne pouvoir supporter les fatigues du voyage, a été examiné par le médecin attaché à sa personne. Le praticien lui déclara qu'il pouvait parfaitement supporter le voyage et lui prodigua des encouragements.

La plus jeune des épouses légitimes de Sidi Mohammed étant enceinte de six mois, un lit a été installé pour elle à bord de l'avion.

Ce matin, à 6 h. 10, le cortège avait quitté l'hôtel Napoléon-Bonaparte où, à l'île-Rousse, résidait le souverain depuis le 12 octobre dernier. Les filles de l'ancien sultan, l'une de ses femmes légitimes et les autres concubines sont demeurées provisoirement à l'hôtel. On sait que « Gloigné », de Rabat le 20 août, Sidi Mohammed avait d'abord été à Ajaccio l'hôte du préfet de la Corse. Le 7 septembre il s'était vu assigner une première résidence provisoire à l'hôtel du Mouffon d'Or, à Zouga, où vingt concubines étaient venues le rejoindre une semaine plus tard.

### « Dans l'honneur il n'y a pas de fait accompli »

affirme M. Louis Massignon

M. Louis Massignon a ouvert ce matin pour la dernière année son cours de sociologie musulmane au Collège de France. Une fois par semaine, le lundi, il étudiera « le rôle axial des formes de pensée arabes dans l'avenir international de l'Islam ».

Le travail et la parole — les deux sources structurales de la vie sociale — se trouvent, montre-t-il, affrontés dans une série de duels avec la France coloniale. S'agit-il d'une incompatibilité naturelle entre deux cultures ? Cette répugnance de l'Islam a trait d'abord légitimement, répond M. Massignon, à ces manifestations de l'euro-pénétration que sont l'usure, la prostitution réglementée, les impôts indirects, les emprunts d'Etat, le monopole de l'eau, le productivisme, l'alcoolisme, la guerre totale, la négation des droits et de la dignité de l'homme, la négation du juste prix, etc.

M. Massignon souligne d'autre part la valeur et le contenu historiques et institutionnels du mot, de la parole, dans la langue arabe. Il dénonce à cet égard le « pétil de certaines tendances de pédagogie colonialiste dans l'enseignement de l'arabe » et se plaint, comme président de jury d'agrégation, d'être privé de candidats marocains. Il accuse les responsables du protectorat d'avoir délibérément donné à certains mots un sens commode pour justifier tel « fait accompli ». Mais, affirme-t-il, « dans l'honneur, il n'y a pas de fait accompli » ; et de proclamer « la nécessité d'une lutte contre l'esclavagisme d'oligarchies techniques immorales pour le vrai Islam, comme pour la vraie chrétienté », avec des armes spirituelles telles que le jeûne privé, la prière et le sacrifice.

## Une déclaration des vicaires apostoliques sur les aspirations à l'indépendance provoque de vifs remous à Madagascar

Dans un communiqué publié au début de décembre à l'issue de leur conférence plénière, les huit vicaires apostoliques (évêques, chefs de missions) de Madagascar se sont prononcés sur la « légitimité » des aspirations à l'indépendance de leurs chrétiens. Passionnément commenté, ce texte a suscité des réactions très vives de la part du haut commissaire lui-même.

Que disaient donc les vicaires apostoliques ?

« Désireux de répondre en toutes occasions aux préoccupations réelles des chrétiens, et sachant que nombreux sont ceux qui se posent la question de la légitimité de leur désir concernant l'indépendance de leur pays », ils rappelaient que « l'Eglise n'est pas une puissance politique chargée de promouvoir une forme de gouvernement ou de déclarer si un peuple est capable ou non de se gouverner lui-même », qu'« elle entend n'être annexée par aucun courant d'opinion ou par aucune force au pouvoir ou aspirant à y être ».

Et le communiqué poursuivait :

« L'Eglise souhaite ardemment que les hommes comme les peuples progressent vers plus de bien-être et assument toujours davantage leurs responsabilités — la grandeur de l'homme vient de ce qu'il est libre et responsable, — et la liberté politique est l'une de ces libertés et de ces responsabilités fondamentales. Ne pas en jouir prouve une évolution inachevée et ne peut être que temporaire. Aussi l'Eglise, comme le droit naturel, reconnaît la liberté des peuples à se gouverner eux-mêmes. Elle ne fait pas d'ailleurs qu'affirmer le principe. La libération spirituelle qu'elle assure chez les chrétiens est un des plus efficaces moyens de faire parvenir l'homme à sa pleine maturité. Et, en rappelant à tous la grandeur de la dignité humaine et les devoirs qui en découlent, elle contribue réellement à l'amélioration des relations entre les hommes. »

En conclusion nous reconnaissons la légitimité de l'aspiration à l'indépendance comme aussi de tout effort constructif pour y parvenir. Mais nous vous mettons en garde contre les déviations possibles, spécialement contre la haine, qui ne peut trouver place dans un cœur chrétien. »

### Les commentaires de la presse

Refletant l'opinion d'une partie de la colonie, la presse française de Tananarive a vigoureusement contre-attaqué. « Les Français de ce pays, écrivait par exemple

Tana-Journal, ne toléreront pas que quelque chose, que ce soit par démagogie temporaire ou par démagogie spirituelle, mette en danger la position de la France à Madagascar. »

### Une déclaration regrettable affirme M. Bargues

D'autres ont vu dans ce communiqué une « surenchère catholique » à l'égard de l'attitude des Eglises protestantes. Quant à M. Bargues, haut commissaire, recevant les corps constitués à l'occasion du Nouvel An, il déclarait :

« Il est regrettable que d'aucuns qui comptent parmi les guides spirituels de la population aient pu s'éloigner des enseignements de l'Écriture et marquer dans une déclaration officielle leurs encouragements à des manœuvres qui auraient pour objet de renverser l'ordre établi, d'enfreindre la Constitution et de soustraire à la communauté française un territoire partie intégrante de la République. Il nous reste à souhaiter que cet appel ne soit pas entendu. J'en ai, quant à moi, le ferme espoir. Les masses rurales malgaches sont pleines de raison ; elles savent à qui elles doivent se confier pour les guider sur les voies de la démocratie et du progrès. »

Il est certes difficile d'apprécier les motifs qui ont conduit les vicaires apostoliques à se prononcer — tout en mettant en garde contre les déviations possibles — sur la légitimité des aspirations nationales. Toutefois, connaissant la prudence dont ils font habituellement preuve en ce domaine, il faut bien admettre qu'ils n'ont pas cru devoir garder plus longtemps le silence. Certains observateurs ont pu qualifier de « léthargique » le climat de Madagascar depuis la rébellion. Un tel état est-il durable et n'est-il pas sans danger ? S'il ne répond pas directement à cette question de pure circonstance, le communiqué des évêques possède valeur d'avertissement et mériterait, semble-t-il, à ce titre d'être pris en considération.

— L'Académie des sciences coloniales, au cours de sa dernière séance, a élu membre M. Philippe d'Estailleur-Chanteraîne.

— Poursuivant son voyage en Afrique noire, M. Paul Reynaud est arrivé dimanche à Bamako.

# LES EVENEMENTS DU MAROC

- La protestation de la France est transmise à Madrid
- L'ex-sultan et ses deux fils sont dirigés sur Madagascar

M. Jacques Meyrier, ambassadeur de France à Madrid, a été chargé de protester auprès de M. Artajo, ministre des affaires étrangères d'Espagne, non plus seulement contre la pétition des caïds et des notables de la zone espagnole, mais contre l'ensemble des incidents survenus à l'occasion des manifestations de Tétouan.

En attendant de connaître le résultat de cette démarche, le gouvernement français a pris une nouvelle mesure de précaution. En application d'une décision prise en principe depuis quelque temps déjà l'ex-sultan et ses deux fils ont été dirigés par avion sur Madagascar, en attendant de se voir assigner un nouveau lieu de résidence. Le sultan d'Abd el-Krim a fait exclure l'île de la Réunion.

Mais, sur le plan des relations franco-espagnoles, deux éléments défavorables ont pu être notés pendant le week-end : le fait que l'audience demandée vendredi par l'ambassadeur français ne lui ait été accordée que lundi, et la confirmation, dans une interview, des déclarations du haut commissaire espagnol.

C'est pourquoi, si la note adressée vendredi soir à Madrid visait principalement l'attitude que prendrait l'Espagne à l'égard de la pétition des caïds et des notables rassemblés à Tétouan, la démarche diplomatique d'aujourd'hui concernera l'ensemble des relations franco-espagnoles.

En revanche le gouvernement français se félicite des déclarations et adjurations du sultan Moulay Arafa sur « l'intégrité et l'unité du Maroc ». Le rappel des principes politiques et religieux qui sont à la source de son pouvoir retiendront davantage encore, espère-t-on, le khalifa de la zone espagnole d'entrer effectivement en dissidence.

Enfin, si les déclarations du général Guillaume sont évidemment approuvées dans les cercles gouvernementaux, elles le sont moins dans certains milieux politiques, notamment socialistes. Si l'on y juge le régime franquiste mal venu de donner à la France des leçons de liberté et de progrès, on ne croit pas que le résident général soit bien placé pour condamner les méthodes qui ont présidé au rassemblement de Tétouan. Les notables de la zone française n'étaient pas eux non plus accourus aux portes de Rabat en août dernier sans — c'est le moins qu'on puisse dire — y avoir été spécialement invités.

Il est vraisemblable que les derniers événements retarderont le remplacement du résident général, dont le prin-

cipe est admis par l'intéressé lui-même depuis quelques semaines. La mission parlementaire qui revient du protectorat a déjà réclamé au président du conseil des changements de personne et de politique, mais il faudra attendre le retour de M. Bidault de Berlin. — J. F.

## Le départ de Corse de l'ex-souverain

« L'ex-sultan du Maroc, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, qui depuis sa déposition en août 1953 avait occupé diverses résidences provisoires en Corse, a quitté l'île ce matin à destination du lieu choisi pour son installation, annonce un communiqué du Quai d'Orsay.

» L'ancien souverain, qui voyage à bord d'un avion spécial, est accompagné de ses fils et d'une dizaine de personnes de son entourage désignées par lui. Il sera rejoint par les autres membres de sa suite au cours de l'escale de quelques jours qui a été prévue pour réduire les fatigues du voyage. »

C'est vers Madagascar qu'en compagnie du comte Clauzel, délégué par le Quai d'Orsay, sont acheminés Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef et sa suite. On indique officiellement que cette destination ne peut être considérée que comme provisoire tant que l'accord ne s'est pas fait sur le lieu de transfert définitif.

(Lire nos informations en page 3.)

*In Commons Debate*

## Britain Warns Egypt, Spain on Disorders

By Joseph Newman

*From the Herald Tribune Bureau  
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LONDON, Jan. 25.—Britain warned Egypt and Spain today against further anti-British incidents arising from their respective claims to the Suez Canal zone and Gibraltar.

During the past few days three British soldiers were murdered and seven were kidnaped in the canal zone. Minister of State Selwyn Lloyd told the House of Commons today that an Anglo-Egyptian settlement would be impossible "if this sort of behavior persisted."

He said this had been made "quite clear" to the Egyptian government.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's remarks were interpreted as a veiled threat to break off current negotiations for withdrawal of 80,000 British troops from Suez unless the Egyptian government takes steps to halt anti-British violence.

Two Conservative M.P.s who belong to the "rebel" faction, opposing British withdrawal from Suez, pressed the government to break off negotiations forthwith.

Both Conservatives and Laborites were angered by Mr. Lloyd's report

listing 254 attacks against Britons last year and 20 so far this year. Mr. Lloyd said 11 Britons were killed in the canal zone last year and three so far this year.

Patrick Maitland, a Conservative, commented: "This pitiful catalogue of humiliation will be received with a sense of outrage by the public of this country."

He added, "There is a widespread demand that we should no longer try to negotiate with the Egyptian government under duress."

Mr. Maitland is one of the leaders of the Conservative group which rebelled openly against the government's policy of seeking a settlement with Egypt involving withdrawal of British forces from Suez.

While Laborites want Britain to persist in seeking agreement with Egypt, they took the lead today in calling for action against Spain.

Laborite Arthur Henderson insisted on measures "to prevent hostile demonstrations organized from Madrid" during Queen Elizabeth II's visit to Gibraltar May 10.

Mr. Lloyd replied with this warning to Spain: "We would certainly take a serious view if any such demonstration occurred."

## Garcia Asserts Status Of Zone Is Up to Spain

*By the Associated Press*

MADRID, Jan. 25.—Spain must decide on the legal separation of Spanish Morocco from the French protectorate, High Commissioner Lt. Gen. Rafael Garcia Valino said yesterday.

In an interview with the newspaper "ABC," the Commissioner said this was the request of its Moslem inhabitants during the Jan. 21 demonstration in Tetuan. Gen. Garcia Valino was interviewed in Tetuan by Pedro Rocamora, who was recently expelled from France where he represented "ABC."

The Commissioner said the main political value of the manifesto handed him during the Jan. 21 demonstration was to give Spain grounds for defending her Moroccan protectorate which she considers to have "equal rights and duties with the French zone."

He added that the Moslem demands for separation from the

French zone "do not in any way mean a rupture of unity in the Sherifian Empire but the unanimous desire of Moroccans to separate themselves from the atmosphere of agitation and terrorism which is all they can hope for from France."

Gen. Garcia Valino said the Moors have demanded "full sovereignty for the Khalif of the (Spanish) zone, which thus becomes independent juridically as it now is in fact from the supposed authority of the Sultan imposed by France. This, he said, is a question Spain must "study and decide."

Asked whether Spain considered protectorate status as a step toward independence, Gen. Garcia Valino said this was Spanish policy in contrast with the "great French errors in their zone of influence."

He said Spain is speeding the "intellectual preparation of her Moroccan brothers" while improving methods of agriculture.

# Spaniards Riot Over Gibraltar

By the Associated Press

MADRID, Jan. 25. — Over 15,000 Madrid University students fought a pitched battle with police protecting the British Embassy today and nearly a score were injured on both sides.

It started as a peaceful manifestation for the return of Gibraltar to Spain. The riot was halted only when the police fired their revolvers in the air.

Nearly 15 of the injured assault guards were hit on the head with paving blocks hurled by the demonstrators. Two were reported in serious condition. At least five students had their scalps laid open by nightsticks and many more had lesser injuries.

### Scream Insults

The students screamed insults against British Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill and "Down with Queen Elizabeth" as they charged police lines. Later they stormed a British bank, breaking the windows.

Barcelona was also the scene of an anti-British demonstration. Several hundred students marched on the British Consulate but were quickly dispersed by police without incident.

Crossed signals seemed the reason for today's riots, because the students obviously had official sanction for the demonstration.

### Embassy Under Guard

But when they reached the embassy vicinity after parading through the heart of the capital, they found it cordoned by more than a hundred assault guards on foot and horseback.

There was a period of indecision during which student leaders tried to talk the police into letting them pass. When they refused, the students tried to force their way through, only to be driven back by nightsticks.

The student leaders at this point lost control of the mob, which again and again charged police lines. Finally the students found a pile of paving blocks and began to rain them on the police. Five of eight guardsmen on horseback went down in the first shower.

The police then charged the crowd repeatedly, driving it back several hundred yards from the embassy. The fighting continued until finally the police began firing in the air, whereupon the students retreated.

From there they marched to the Foreign Ministry and cheered and called until Minister Alberto Martin Artajo appeared on the balcony and sang the Falange anthem with them.

## Spain Makes Trouble

In a rather sudden upsurge of activity, Spain has been making threatening gestures toward both France and Great Britain. There have been demonstrations against Britain's two centuries of rule in Gibraltar and Spanish authorities have countenanced—if not encouraged—an Arab movement against the French-sponsored Sultan of Morocco. The second of these manifestations of Spanish policy can be considered the more serious, since France has many difficulties in Morocco, while the rock of Gibraltar stands firm. But together the two episodes are disturbing.

For many months Spain has been pursuing a conciliatory course toward Arab Nationalists in Spanish Morocco—which is ostensibly a portion of the Moroccan empire under Spanish protection. Another, and much larger, part of the empire is under French protection and a third segment, quite small, is internationalized at Tangier. The authority of the Sultan, under such conditions, is largely religious, but the refusal of the imperial representative in Spanish Morocco, with full support from Franco's governor there, to accept Mohammed Moulay ben Arafa, the present Sultan by choice of the Berbers and the French, has important political implications.

The Imperial Khalif in Spanish Morocco has become the center of a movement which is overtly intended to separate the Spanish Zone from French Morocco. Spanish authorities provided funds to feed a large gathering of Arab notables who voiced their condemnation of French rule; Lt. Gen. Rafael Garcia Valino, Franco's representative, joined in the attack.

The Spanish policy is distinctly dangerous. There is no doubt that Franco hopes to increase his influence over the whole region around the Straits of Gibraltar—the rock itself, Tangier and the rest of Morocco. The Arab Nationalists appear quite willing to assist in this design—probably because they believe, on the basis of the Riff war, that Spain would be no obstacle to their aspirations once France were removed from Morocco. Meanwhile, relations between France and Spain have worsened and Franco's attitude on Gibraltar can hardly find favor in Britain. The United States, which has a deep interest in promoting the unity of Western Europe and a special responsibility to see that military aid to Spain does not become a source of increasing friction in that portion of the world, might well point out the risks which Madrid is incurring by its present course.

—From yesterday's New York Edition.

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## Obey or Leave Faith

# Sultan Warns People Of Spanish Morocco

By the Associated Press

RABAT, Jan. 24.—Sultan Mohammed Moulay Ben Arafa, in a proclamation broadcast today to all people of the Sherifian Empire, declared that any of his subjects who denied he was legally and unanimously invested with the throne "instantly leave the Moslem community."

Obviously referring to Moroccans of the Spanish Protectorate, the Sultan called his subjects' attention to "a few, who, bowing to pressure or force or having been misled, seem to be in a state of open rebellion."

Last Thursday, a mass meeting in Tetuan petitioned the Spanish government to separate Spanish Morocco from the Sherifian Empire until there is a change in French policy, which "imposed" Moulay ben Arafa as Sultan. The petition declared the people of the Spanish zone refused to recognize him as their legitimate monarch.

The Sultan's government has protested this action to the French government, calling it Spanish-inspired.

The Sultan himself replied today with what appeared to be a threat of excommunication addressed to Moroccan leaders of the Spanish zone. "You have been warned," he declared, "Remain unswervingly faithful to divine commandments."

The Sultan not only is regarded by his people as their temporal ruler but also as their religious chief.

Yesterday, Gen. Augustin Guillaume, French Resident General, charged that a Spanish officer prepared the Tetuan petition.

Gen. Guillaume told a news conference that "it was a Spanish officer who had traveled for weeks and weeks among the tribes who had prepared this petition." He did not give the officer's name or say how he got the information.

When the dispute started, Gen. Guillaume said, the French sent a force of 1,000 troops northward toward the Spanish zone border, but he denied that troops were placed on the border itself.

The French fear that anti-Sultan activities in the Spanish zone will step up the wave of terrorism sweeping their zone since they dethroned Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef and exiled him to Corsica last August.

Since then, Gen. Guillaume said, terrorists have killed 58 persons, including 16 Frenchmen, and wounded 121 others, including 45 Europeans. There have been 115 aggressions, 99 cases of arson, 18 bombs thrown and 65 cases of sabotage.

## Rockefeller Grants

NEW YORK, Jan. 24 (U.P.)

The Rockefeller Foundation

announced grants totaling

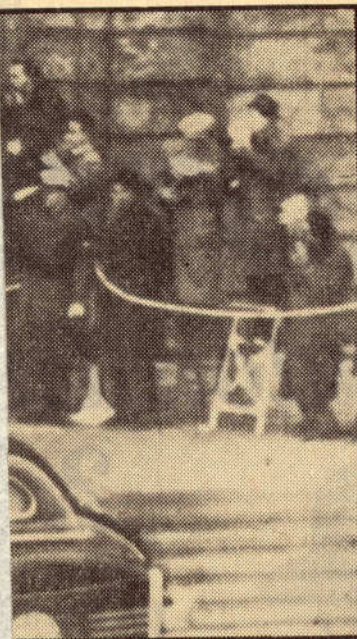
to French institutions

The grants include

Collège de France

cherche

Minister, Mr. Vaycheslav Lotov (arrowed) looks straight ahead towards the Allied Control Commission in Western Berlin for the start of the Big Four talks.



## M.P.s protest over Spain

By DOUGLAS BROWN

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON, Labour front bench spokesman, called in the Commons yesterday for steps to prevent hostile demonstrations, organised from Madrid, during the Queen's coming visit to Gibraltar. He pledged Labour support in resisting Spanish pressure.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Minister of State, had just announced that the Spanish Ambassador in London gave Mr. Eden "a friendly warning" that the Queen's visit will cause resentment in Spain.

Mr. Eden's reply was he would not discuss such a topic with the representative of any foreign Power.

Several Labour back-benchers protested that the Government should ban the export of arms to Spain.

To Mr. Ernest Davies (Lab., Enfield E.) who saw "further appeasement of General Franco" in the recent decision to offer Spain more arms, Mr. Lloyd replied: "This is purely a commercial transaction, governed entirely by commercial considerations."

## SPANISH MOBS STONE POLICE

From RICHARD MOWRER

MADRID, Monday. MORE anti-British riots in Madrid today led to battles between 8,000 university students and strong police guards round the British Embassy.

Bricks and stones aimed at the Embassy windows, just repaired after Friday's riots, hit the grey-uniformed guards.

Mounted police charged and hit many rioters with their five-foot leather truncheons.

[Agency reports: Eighteen police and 15 students were injured, and it was stated that a policeman and a student died in hospital.

Eleven students were arrested and released on payment of an £8 fine each.]

I saw a hatless policeman, blood streaming down his face, being helped into a doorway. Other police picked up stones and threw them back at the rioters.

One group of guards fired pistols over the heads of the mob.

### Falange salute

The students waved the red and yellow Spanish flag and the black-red banner of the Falangist Party. They saluted with raised right arm while singing the Falangist anthem, "Face to the Sun."

Before marching to the British Embassy hundreds gathered outside the Foreign Ministry shouting "Gibraltar for Spain."

The street battles which began at 12.30 lasted past the 2 p.m. lunch hour and well into the siesta.

In Barcelona 300 students marched on the British Consulate, but were quickly dispersed.

### Car overturned

In Granada: It is revealed today that the car of General W. R. Jackson, retired, American Army, was overturned by students and its windows smashed in Friday's riots.

The students thought the general and his wife were British.

## EGYPT WARNED TO STOP ATTACKS

By ALAN BRINTON

A TOUGHENING attitude towards Egypt, over both the Canal Base outrages and restrictions on traffic through the Canal, was revealed yesterday in the Commons.

With members on both sides voicing outspoken criticisms of Egyptian action, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Minister of State, made two important statements:

1.—Britain is sure the Egyptian authorities can prevent the attacks on British soldiers if they wish. Egypt has been told there can be no satisfactory agreement on the Base while the outrages continue.

2.—The Government takes "a serious view" of the apparent intention to extend the blockade or embargo of vessels passing through the Canal. It is considering what international action should be taken in regard to two recent confiscations—one involving a Norwegian ship.

### 'End talks'

There were Tory back-bench cheers as Mr. Julian Amery (Con., Preston N.), one of the leaders of the stay-in-Egypt "rebels," urged no negotiations with General Neguib while attacks continue.

Even louder cheers, mainly from Tories, greeted Mr. Shin-

well's remark that it is "a disgraceful outrage" that so many British vessels should be interfered with, in violation of international law.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd revealed that last year there were 255 attacks on British personnel in the Canal Zone, this year 20. Last year 11 British were killed or died of wounds, this year three.

### 'Humiliation'

This was described by Mr. Patrick Maitland (Con., Lanark) as, "this pitiful catalogue of humiliation." He said it would be received with a sense of outrage by the British public.

Dealing with the Canal, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said Britain had consistently refused to recognise the right of Egypt to impose restrictions on the passage of cargo in peacetime. Our dissatisfaction had been brought to Egypt's notice on many occasions.

He assured Mr. Shinwell that the general question of freedom of passage through the Canal was being considered in the present negotiations.

## ARMS FOR SPAIN "PURELY COMMERCIAL DECISION"

MR. ERNEST DAVIES (Enfield, East, Lab.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to what extent there had been a relaxation of the restrictions on the export of arms to Spain.

MR. SELWYN LLOYD.—Only obsolescent or "common-use" military equipment could be exported to Spain before the relaxation of the restrictions announced in my reply of December 14 last. In future, applications for the export of more modern equipment will be considered.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd added that there was no question of the appeasement of General Franco. This was a purely commercial decision.

MR. G. JEGER (Goole, Lab.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he would suspend the sale of arms to Spain until the hostile Spanish references to Gibraltar ceased.

MR. SELWYN LLOYD.—No, sir.

MR. S. SILVERMAN (Nelson and Colne, Lab.) asked whether there was any guarantee that in no circumstances would the arms be used in an attack on Gibraltar.

MR. SELWYN LLOYD.—We certainly do not believe that any such thing is possible—(some Opposition cries of "Oh!")—nor would we be likely to supply any arms which could be effectively used for that purpose.

## THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO GIBRALTAR SPANISH WARNING REJECTED

Answering questions by MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON (Rowley Regis and Tipton, Lab.) and MR. ERNEST DAVIES, on representations from the Spanish Government regarding the forthcoming royal visit to Gibraltar, MR. SELWYN LLOYD said: The Spanish Ambassador called at his own request on my right hon. friend on January 12. He delivered what he described as a "friendly warning" that the visit of her Majesty the Queen to Gibraltar in May would cause resentment in Spain. My right hon. friend informed the Ambassador that he was not prepared to discuss the Queen's visit to any one of her territories and that in no circumstances could he accept a representation on such a topic from any foreign Power.

MR. HENDERSON said that her Majesty's Government would have the support of the Opposition in resisting any improper pressure from the Spanish Government. Could the House be assured that proper steps would be taken to prevent hostile demonstrations organized from Madrid during the visit?

MR. SELWYN LLOYD.—We should certainly take a serious view if there were any such demonstrations.

## DISTURBANCES IN MADRID

### POLICE STONED BY CROWD

MADRID, JAN. 25

Thousands of students, ordered by their union to demonstrate against the British, to-day stoned police who broke up their march to the British Embassy. Thirty demonstrators and 18 police were reported to have been injured.

Spurred on by their leaders, the crowd of some 30,000 students and others charged the police at least 20 times. The police fired blank revolver cartridges into the air and drove the crowd back with blows from their truncheons. Police cars patrolled the central streets of the city this evening and there were still heavy guards on all streets near the British Embassy.

Earlier, the demonstrators had marched through the city shouting slogans for the return of Gibraltar. When they surged outside the Foreign Ministry Señor Martin Artajo, the Minister, appeared on a balcony and waved to them.

The demonstration was one of a series over Gibraltar in the past week. One of the slogans shouted to-day was "Be careful, Queen Elizabeth."

The struggle in front of the Embassy lasted from noon until 3 p.m. Many of the demonstrators were arrested. Besides stoning the police, the crowd hurled stones at three cars and insulted Army officers who were travelling in them. At the Embassy the staff continued their work.—*Reuter*.

## THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO GIBRALTAR

### FIRM REPLY TO SPAIN WELCOMED

WESTMINSTER, MONDAY

The Opposition to-day welcomed the firm line taken by the Foreign Secretary towards Spanish objections to the Queen's proposed visit to Gibraltar.

MR. SELWYN LLOYD, Minister of State, Foreign Office, told the House that the Spanish Ambassador called on Mr. Eden on January 12 and delivered what he called a "friendly warning" that the Queen's visit to Gibraltar would cause resentment in Spain. Mr. Eden informed him that he was not prepared to discuss the Queen's visit to any one of her territories, and in no circumstances could he accept representations on such a topic from any foreign Power.

Mr. Arthur Henderson assured Mr. Lloyd of Opposition support in resisting any improper pressure by the Spanish Government. When he asked if proper steps would be taken to prevent hostile demonstrations organized from Madrid during the Royal visit to Gibraltar, Mr. Lloyd said that the Government would take a serious view if any such demonstrations were to take place. There had been some Opposition expressions of disquiet earlier when Mr. Lloyd replied in the negative to a question whether the sale of arms to Spain would be suspended until the hostile Spanish references to Gibraltar ceased.

Some Labour members seemed deeply shocked when Mr. Lloyd referred to decisions on such sales as governed entirely by commercial considerations. Mr. S. Silverman asked sardonically if such considerations included a guarantee that in no circumstances would these arms be used in an attack on Gibraltar. Mr. Lloyd replied that the Government certainly did not believe such a thing to be possible, nor would they be likely to supply any arms that could be effectively used for that purpose.

\*\* Parliamentary report on page 5.

## BARCELONA INCIDENT

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BARCELONA, JAN. 25

A group of 200 or 300 students from Barcelona University paraded in the principal streets here this morning in pouring rain. They gathered outside the British Consulate. A stone thrown by a demonstrator broke a window and hit a Spanish subject waiting in the Consulate for a visa. Three windows were broken at the British Institute, where the demonstrators demanded that the Spanish flag be hoisted. They were eventually dispersed by the police.

## EX-SULTAN SENT FROM CORSICA

### BY AIR TO UNKNOWN DESTINATION

From Our Own Correspondent

PARIS, JAN. 25

The Quai d'Orsay announced to-day that the former Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, had left Corsica by air this morning "for the place chosen for his permanent residence."

The Sultan, who was accompanied by his two sons, his youngest wife, and eight concubines, would be rejoined by the rest of his entourage, it was stated, in the course of a break of several days which it was proposed to make in the journey. Everything was being done to ensure that the journey should be carried out in both comfort and safety.

It is understood that the former Sultan was notified yesterday morning of his impending removal at the hotel where he has been residing since last October at Ile Rousse, in the north of Corsica, by the Comte de Clauzel, a Quai d'Orsay official and former counsellor of the Sultan of Morocco, who is accompanying him upon his journey. The Sultan's party took off in a Skymaster airliner at 9.43 a.m. from Bastia Airport, followed by a Dakota carrying the baggage. The Sultan, who had expressed apprehension at the fatigue of the journey, is also accompanied by a military doctor; and a bed was placed in the aircraft for the wife, who is six months with child.

### RUMOURS OF TAHITI

No official statement has been made as to the Sultan's destination, though the Quai d'Orsay stated categorically that it would not be the Island of Réunion, which was the place of exile of Abd-el-Krim. It was widely rumoured this afternoon that the place of the Sultan's final exile would be Tahiti, and that his journey would be broken at Madagascar.

The Quai d'Orsay commented that the Sultan's residence in Corsica had always been of a "summary and provisional" character, and stated that in his new residence, being farther from Morocco, he would enjoy greater freedom of movement. It was emphasized that there had at no time been any suspicion that the former Sultan might attempt to escape, nor that he had in any way been concerned in the recent events in the Spanish zone, but the rumours of possible attempts to carry him off by force had imposed security precautions which would no longer be necessary at his new abode. It might one day be possible for him to leave his place of exile, it was added, when the passage of time had appeased present discords.

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## SALE OF ARMS TO SPAIN

### Appeasement of General Franco Denied

Mr G. Jeger (Lab. Goole) asked the Foreign Secretary in the House of Commons yesterday if he would suspend the sale of arms to Spain until the hostile Spanish references to Gibraltar ceased.

Mr Selwyn Lloyd, Minister of State: No, sir.

Mr Jeger: Can he explain where the sense or logic comes in, in sending arms to our self-confessed enemy?

Mr Lloyd: If the arms we sent to Spain could make any difference to the relationship between the two countries, it would be a different matter, but our sale of arms to Spain is governed entirely by commercial considerations.

Mr S. S. Silverman (Lab. Nelson and Colne) asked whether a covenant was included that the arms would not be used in an attack upon Gibraltar.

Mr Lloyd said the Government did not believe such a thing was possible, nor would the Government be likely to supply any arms which could be effectively used for that purpose. Arms worth £1.3 millions were sold to Spain last year. The sale was purely commercial to help Britain to make a living. Only obsolescent or common-use military equipment could be exported to Spain before the relaxation of restrictions which were announced on December 14. In future, applications for the export of more modern equipment would be considered.

Mr E. Davies (Lab. Enfield E.): What justification is there for this further appeasement of General Franco? Are we receiving anything in return for this relaxation? If not, is it not a question of giving everything General Franco asks for and receiving only brick-bats in return?

Mr Lloyd said there was no question of appeasing General Franco. It was wholly a commercial transaction.

## ANTI-BRITISH MARCH

### Students Clash with Police in Madrid

MADRID, JANUARY 25.

Thousands of angry students, ordered by their union to demonstrate against the British here, to-day stoned the police who broke up their march to the British Embassy. Thirty students and eighteen policemen were reported injured before the police forced the students to retreat.

Encouraged by their leaders, the students, estimated at 8,000 repeatedly charged the police and threw stones at them as they advanced. The police fired blank revolver cartridges into the air and drove the students back each time with truncheons. This afternoon a group of young people broke the windows of a newspaper kiosk here in which there was a British magazine carrying a picture of the Queen on its front page. Police cars patrolled the central streets of Madrid this evening and there were still heavy guards on all streets near the British Embassy.

Earlier, the students had marched through the city shouting slogans for the return of Gibraltar. The demonstration was one of a series over Gibraltar in the last week. One of the slogans shouted to-day was "Be careful, Queen Elizabeth."

## Many Arrests

It took six hours to clear the demonstrators from the fashionable Castellana Avenue. The fight in front of the Embassy lasted from noon to three o'clock and many of the students were arrested. Besides stoning the police, the students threw stones at three cars carrying Army officers and insulted them. It was apparent that the students were disgusted with the Government for ordering the police to break up the demonstration. "This is ridiculous," said one student. "The official students' union orders us to demonstrate at the Embassy and the police beat us up because we do it." Another student said "I suppose to-morrow we shall be ordered to demonstrate in favour of the British." This was the first time since the Civil War that the police have had to repress a public demonstration in Madrid.

A stone broke a window in the Madrid branch of the Bank of London and South America to-night. Small groups of students drifted about the streets, but made no effort to demonstrate.

General Franco is expected to make his displeasure known over the fact that his police and Army officers were stoned and insulted. Political repercussions are also expected, as the demonstrations appear to have been organised by the Falangist group in the University. —Reuter.

## VANGUARD AT GIBRALTAR

GIBRALTAR, JANUARY 25.

The battleship Vanguard with Admiral Sir Michael Denny, C.-in-C. Home Fleet, on board, arrived here to-day from Portsmouth for a refit. The battleship is expected to stay at Gibraltar for about eight weeks, and other units of the Home Fleet are expected at Gibraltar shortly—British United Press.

*cuidarian el Patria  
y tambien el Marrocos  
frances, si Patria no  
pore tanto, con un simple  
bloqueo de fronteras  
en vez.*

MANCHESTER  
26-1-54

## EX-SULTAN TAKEN WELL AWAY FROM MOROCCO

### New Exile in Madagascar—or Beyond

From our own Correspondent

PARIS, JANUARY 25.

The ex-Sultan of Morocco was taken this morning by air from his place of exile in Corsica to an unnamed destination, understood to be Madagascar. He was accompanied by his two sons and by ten members of his household chosen by himself. The rest of his household will join him on the way to his ultimate destination.

Whether he is to remain in Madagascar is not yet clear, and perhaps not yet decided. Another Moroccan exile, Abd-el-Krim, was established on the island of Réunion. It is thought unlikely that the French Government would wish to create too close a parallel between the ex-Sultan and the old leader in the Riff war, who is now in Egypt after walking off the ship on which he was being rather casually transported to a more comfortable form of exile in France.

#### Rumours of Kidnapping

Apart from Madagascar, New Caledonia is a French possession still farther off, in roughly the same direction, that might conceivably be adopted as a place of residence for the ex-Sultan, since it has an agreeable climate. Corsica was evidently thought too close in view of the campaign of active support for the ex-Sultan now being organised in Spanish Morocco. There were rumours that he might be kidnapped, and one report said that Otto Skorzeny, the former Nazi S.S. leader who rescued Mussolini, had been offered 500 million francs to do it.

The statement of General Guillaume,

criticising the Spanish authorities for having themselves organised the Tetuan demonstration, is in turn criticised in France in a number of papers on the ground that he is not, by the record of the Administration placed under his orders, best qualified to make this specific charge—or, as some French commentators put it, only too well qualified.

#### Two Kinds of Outrage

The general is on much stronger ground when he draws attention to the terrorist outrages that have already occurred in French Morocco and to which the Tetuan demonstration is, of course, a direct encouragement. He does not stress this point, but suggests that the inspiration for them has come from the Middle East. These outrages, the general recalls, have been of two kinds—indiscriminate terrorism, such as the explosion in the Casablanca market on Christmas Eve, designed to spread panic by causing the chance death of Moroccans and Frenchmen; and, secondly, the murder of specifically chosen Moroccans, in the service of the Sultan or devoted to the cause of Franco-Moroccan friendship.

The General stated that since August there have been 115 aggressions, 99 acts of arson, 48 outrages with explosives, and 65 other acts of sabotage. These have caused 58 deaths, sixteen of them French, one Swiss and 39 Moroccan, apart from those of two policemen, one of them French and one Moroccan. There have also been 121 persons wounded.

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## GIB. RIOT FLARES UP AGAIN

**M**ADRID, Tuesday.—Rioting Spanish students clashed with police again here tonight. Nine were arrested.

A man described as a foreign photographer was also seized.

Some of the rioters stormed into the Radio Madrid building and tried to take over the station. They were driven out. The radio went off the air for 20 minutes.

But the demonstrators today made scarcely any mention of Gibraltar and the Queen's visit. The riots were entirely against the police.—Reuter.

## Spanish Custom

**R**OMAN emperors used to toss Christians to lions and set gladiators at each other's throats.

Generalissimo Franco tosses Spanish university students into free fights in the streets with his own police.

Even in bullfight land it seems a queer form of amusement. Students are ordered to demonstrate against Britain. Police are ordered to stop them demonstrating against Britain.

Franco is willing to wound, but it is only his own people whom he is not afraid to strike.

AXIS—THAT WAR-TIME WORD—IS BACK AND AGAIN THE TWO PARTNERS IN IT ARE DICTATORS



# FRANCO INVITED TO VISIT NEGUIB IN EGYPT SOON

## Hate of Britain links them

Express Staff Reporter: Cairo, Tuesday

GENERAL FRANCO, the chubby little dictator of Spain, has been invited to visit the dictator at the other end of the Mediterranean — Egypt's pipe-smoking General Neguib. And soon.

This was announced by a spokesman of the Arab League in Cairo tonight. After talks with Neguib, Franco will visit the other seven Arab States which extend from newly independent Libya to the near-feudal Yemen.

The two dictators are busy building up a new friendship, with the Arab League acting as a go-between. And already they have one thing in common — both men are strongly anti-British.

General Neguib waves a sword as his Sten gun girls parade with the Liberation Commandos. He calls for the British Army to quit the Canal Zone, or else...

General Franco looks on benignly as Spanish students mob the British Embassy and consulates and shout for Britain to evacuate Gibraltar.

Plans for Franco's visit are said to have been laid when a high official of the Arab League, Ahmed el Shukairy, went to Spain last month and talked with Foreign Minister Artajo.

The Arabs see Spain as a supporter in their cold war against Israel, and a champion against France in Morocco.

### NEGUIB'S FRIENDS

SOCIALIST M.P.s fulminate against General Franco and demand Government assurances that there will be no yielding over the Gibraltar question.

But at the other end of the Mediterranean the demands of another military dictator strike them in quite a different light. They are all for yielding to Neguib over the Suez question.

It is said that Neguib is in close touch with Franco. Probably briefing him on the art of buttering up the British Socialists.

and Mr. DOWN ... by Walter



Rebellion

## ROW STARTS ON HOW TO RUN A RIOT

From PAUL MCGREEVY

MADRID, Tuesday. — A struggle appeared to be going on inside Franco's Cabinet tonight after students clashed again with the police.

The struggle is between Foreign Minister Artajo and the boss of Franco's Falange Party, Senor Cuesta y Merelo, who ranks as a Minister.

They cannot agree on how to run demonstrations telling Britain to quit Gibraltar.

Senor Artajo wants orderly processions; Senor Cuesta y Merelo likes strong-arm stuff.

As a result of their disagreement 10,000 students were clubbed and driven back by police in the heart of Madrid today.

Then, angry that they should be beaten up after being directed to demonstrate, 200 youths marched into the radio station and asked to broadcast.

Police arrived. Ten students were wounded, nine arrested.

### 'Who keeps us out?'

WASHINGTON, Tuesday. — Air Secretary Talbott said today that bases now building in Spain will be available to the U.S. if war starts. "Who would keep us out?"

## DO YOU THINK EGYPT SHOULD LOVE YOU?

Express Staff Reporter: Cairo, Tuesday

IF Britain forces Egypt to resort to violence it will not be a question of killing two soldiers, or 200, or even 2,000, says Lieut.-Colonel Anwar El Sadat, a member of General Neguib's Revolution Council.

Writing today in the Cairo weekly Al Tahrir [The Movement] on British demands for increased security measures by Egypt, Sadat comments on the murder of two British soldiers last week.

He says: "Supposing these two were killed by Egyptians, what does Britain expect the Egyptian Government to do?"

"Does she want Egypt to issue an army order compelling every Egyptian to love Britain?"

### BODYGUARD

"Does Britain want us to appoint an Egyptian as bodyguard for every British soldier?"

"Does every Britain want us to control the emotions of the Egyptian people and replace their hatred of imperialism by love?"

Sadat says that to ask for increased Egyptian security forces is a joke at which the world laughs because nobody has heard of a thief calling on his victim to protect him.

Egypt could not call on Britain to withdraw troops from the Canal Zone and at the same time be expected to guard them.

### NEGUIB SENDS IN HIS NAVY

CAIRO, Tuesday.—Egypt has stationed two frigates at the entrance to the Gulf of Akaba to tighten her naval blockade of Israel, with whom she is technically still at war.

Extra coastal guns have been mounted at the entrance to the gulf.

Egypt claims the entrance to these waters hers. Britain, the U.S. and other major Powers disagree.—Reuter.

## MOKE 'O TO

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## TANFIELD'S DIARY

# ★ Don Juan's trip with Navy ends in hot water

DON JUAN, the Pretender to the Spanish throne, is, I am told, being sharply criticised by the Spaniards for accepting an invitation to cruise in H.M.S. Glasgow, Lord Mountbatten's flagship.

The Glasgow has been taking part in Fleet manoeuvres in the Mediterranean.

Don Juan is an honorary lieutenant in the British Navy.

### Serious

General Franco has often indicated that he will eventually restore the monarchy.

Accepting an invitation to a British warship is in the opinion of Franco officials "particularly unfortunate" — especially in view of the Gibraltar controversy.

They think it might "seriously prejudice" the chances of Don Juan or his son returning as King.

Don Juan and his family now live in Estoril, Portugal. He is a very keen sailor and is a distant relative of Lord Mountbatten's.

pre-war breakfast standards. The Guards tell me they get porridge (a second helping if required), fried bacon and fried bread (second helping if required), beans and tomato sauce (in addition to the above), and tea, milk, bread, margarine, and marmalade to taste.

Some hotels and restaurants I find are inclined to stick to austerity helpings

### Girl conductor



# Neguib invites Franco to visit Egypt

## STUDENTS INVADE RADIO MADRID

CAIRO, Tuesday.

GENERAL FRANCO, Spanish Head of State, has been invited to visit Egypt and other Arab States, an Arab League spokesman said tonight.

Ex - King Farouk invited General Franco to visit Egypt two years ago. Since then Spanish-Arab relations have greatly improved, and President Neguib renewed the invitation.—Reuter.

Daily Mail Diplomatic Correspondent writes: General Franco and President Neguib would like to arise as champions of the Arab world

Western diplomats believe that the latest surge of anti-British feeling in Spain is the prelude to General Franco's attempt to get a bigger say in world affairs.

"Get out of Suez" and "Hand back Gibraltar" have the same kind of ring. In addition, French influence in Morocco is challenged by the recent petition of 430 Moroccan chiefs seeking full sovereignty for the Khalifah, the Sultan's representative in Spanish Morocco.

Sir John Balfour, British Ambassador in Madrid, yesterday delivered another protest—the second in five days — about the failure of the Spanish authorities to protect Britain's property from rioting students.

### Radio stopped

Reuter cables from Madrid: Student demonstrators today broke into the Radio Madrid building and stopped broadcasting for 20 minutes before they were driven out by police. They demanded to broadcast their version of yesterday's clashes with the police.

There were other disturbances in Madrid's Gran Via. But the demonstrations made little mention of Gibraltar and were entirely against the police, who repressed yesterday's riots.

When a high police official came out on to the balcony of police headquarters to speak to demonstrators they greeted him with such a storm of hissing and booing that he turned on his heel and went inside again.

## CABLE DAMAGED

### Hundreds questioned after sabotage

Hundreds of men working on new Portishead, Bristol, 100,000 power station are questioned by detectives following sabotage of a heavy 10-volt cable.

One place a 4in. nail had been driven into the cable. In other places it was slashed with a pick or the sharp shovel.

## Frankl going to Vienna?

Frankl, Austrian-born conductor of the Scottish National Opera, 1952, is being considered for the post of General Director of the new opera house due to reopen in Edinburgh. He was musical director of the Scottish Opera House from 1946 until

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## EAGLE SAILS FOR EXERCISES

### PLANES EMBARKED

From Our Naval Correspondent  
ON BOARD H.M.S. EAGLE IN THE  
CHANNEL, Tuesday.

After being delayed at Devonport for 24 hours by bad weather this 36,800 ton aircraft carrier left harbour to-day, accompanied by the minelayer Apollo, to carry out exercises in the Channel and to embark her aircraft in readiness for the Home Fleet's spring cruise to Gibraltar.

To-day the carrier, heading into a brisk wind and choppy sea, embarked more than 20 of her complement of over 60 aircraft. They included Avengers and Skyraiders from the Royal Naval Air Station, Culdrose Cornwall.

On Friday the carrier will embark her first squadron of Sea Hawks, the Navy's new jet fighters, which will arrive from Ford a few hours before she anchors at Spithead. The Eagle, wearing the flag of Rear Adm. W. T. Couchman, Flag Officer, Home Fleet Heavy Squadron, leaves Portland on Feb. 5 for Gibraltar.

## POPE CANCELS ALL PUBLIC AUDIENCES

From Our Own Correspondent  
ROME, Tuesday.

The Pope, who is 78, has cancelled all public audiences from to-morrow because of ill-health, it was announced at the Vatican to-day. It was added that there were no grounds for alarm. He gave three private audiences to-day and took his usual garden walk despite a fall of snow.

It is reported that the Pope is suffering from a slight stomach chill. He has had a slight temperature and a prolonged attack of hiccoughs.

## GEN. FRANCO

From Our Own Correspondent  
CAIRO, Tuesday.

Gen. Franco has accepted an invitation from the Arab League to visit Arab countries, according to reports published here to-night. There is no official confirmation. It is said that the Spanish leader will first visit Egypt to meet President Neguib.

## STUDENTS END MADRID 'STRIKE'

### RADIO STATION CLASH

From Our Own Correspondent  
MADRID, Tuesday.

The Rector of the University of Madrid said to-night that the students who were on strike in protest against what they described as police violence would return to their studies to-morrow. They complained of police action against a "Give us back Gibraltar" demonstration yesterday.

About 2,000 students demonstrated this morning outside police headquarters in the Puerta del Sol square. They demanded that a flag should be flown at half-mast for a student reported to have died from injuries received yesterday.

The report was denied but the students did not disperse until the flag was lowered. Another party visited the offices of Radio Madrid and asked for facilities to broadcast their account of yesterday's demonstration. The request was refused and after a scuffle the students were driven out of the building.

There was a further clash in the centre of Madrid this afternoon. A Press photographer, Paul Pietzch was arrested when he tried to take photographs of the disturbance.

It is reported that some of the students taking part in to-day's demonstrations bought up all the copies of Arriba, the principal Falangist daily, they could find, and burned them in the streets in protest against the paper's failure to take the demonstrators' part.

### Fresh British Protest

A DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT writes: Sir John Balfour, British Ambassador in Madrid, has been instructed to make another protest to the Spanish Government over Monday's anti-British demonstrations. He protested last week when windows of the British Embassy were smashed.

## EXILED SULTAN IN WEST AFRICA

### TAHITI HOME LIKELY

From Our Own Correspondent  
PARIS, Tuesday.

Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, 44, the deposed Sultan of Morocco, arrived to-day by air at Brazzaville, French Equatorial Africa. With his two sons, two wives, seven concubines and a medical adviser he will stay in a villa there for two days.

He will then go to Madagascar before resuming his journey to a final place of exile. According to an official announcement this will probably be in Tahiti, in the South Pacific.

The French authorities consider that the former Sultan can lead a freer life in Tahiti than in Corsica, where he had been under constant watch since his banishment. His senior wife, his daughters and his 13 remaining concubines will leave Corsica shortly to rejoin the Sultan.

M. Meyrier, French Ambassador in Madrid, saw Señor Artajo, Spanish Foreign Minister, yesterday. He was told that the French Note protesting against the recent demonstration in Tetuan, Spanish Morocco, when 430 chieftains renounced the new Sultan, was being studied by the Spanish Government.

# LES PROBLÈMES NORD-AFRICAINS

## Quatre jugements sévères

**M. FRANÇOIS MAURIAC** : nous avons fourni les gants à Franco.

M. François Mauriac s'efforce dans le *Figaro* de percer le « mystère diplomatique » qui pèse toujours sur le « fatidique mois d'août 1953 », lorsque fut déposé le sultan :

« Quand tout fut accompli, nous penâmes : « Ils étaient donc parés du côté de l'Espagne. »

Eh non ! Ils ne l'étaient pas...

« Une fois de plus le Quai a peut-être compté sur l'Amérique pour ne pas avoir d'ennuis. Diplomatie qui rappellerait la cour de récréation : « Monsieur, empêchez-le de me donner des coups de pied. » Cela est peu croyable, et je préfère n'en rien croire.

« Je sais bien que des espaces intermédiaires séparent M. Georges Bidault, ministre des affaires étrangères, de l'admirable petit journaliste de l'Aube, du temps que les avions de Hitler, appelés par Franco, détruisaient Durango et Guernica. A Durango une bombe éclata au pied de l'autel au moment où le prêtre élevait le calice. Il le tenait encore dans sa main crispée lorsqu'on retira son cadavre des décombres. Le bureau de Vergennes est certes fort éloigné de celui du directeur de l'Aube ! Il se pourrait tout de même que le ministre des affaires étrangères n'ait pas changé de perspective lorsqu'il songe aujourd'hui au Caudillo. Il se pourrait qu'il continue de voir en lui le complice de Hitler et de Mussolini, avec qui on aurait bien tort de se gêner.

« Les temps ont changé, vous devriez le savoir, monsieur le ministre, mieux que personne. Le paladin de la sainte croisade est devenu le signataire d'un glorieux concordat, l'une des deux dernières colonnes de l'Occident, l'autre étant M. Adenauer : ce n'est plus avec le chancelier Hitler que le général Franco fait la paix, mais avec le chancelier Adenauer. Et nous lui aurons fourni nous-mêmes les gants pour qu'il y cache ses mains que toute l'eau de la mer ne laverait pas, et pour qu'il vienne donner à la France des leçons d'humanité. »

**M. NAEGELEN** : faiblesse du nouveau sultan et de l'administration.

Dans le *Populaire* c'est M. Marcel-Edmond Naegelen qui examine « comment a été rendue possible la manifestation franquiste de Tétouan » :

« Il fallait surtout agir dans la zone française au Maroc. Il y a cinq mois, au lendemain de la déposition de Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, nous avons fait la prédiction facile que si n'était pas immédiatement définie et engagée une politique de réformes et de collaboration confiée avec les Marocains, nous aurions au bout de quelques mois de redoutables difficultés.

« Or rien de sérieux n'a été entrepris... Depuis des mois on annonce le départ imminent du général Guillaume. On a ainsi contribué à diminuer gravement son autorité. On crée l'impression que le Maroc n'est plus gouverné et administré que par une autorité de police, qui apparaît démesurée et souvent excessive...

« C'est parce que Franco connaissait cette situation qu'il s'est permis de déclencher son opération de Tétouan. Elle vise à aggraver l'agitation dans la zone française du Maroc. Mais elle n'est peut-être tentée si la faiblesse du nouveau sultan et de l'administration française n'avait pas été évidente. »

# TANGER, VICTOIRE ESPAGNOLE ?

(Suite de la première page.)

Cette économie en expansion accueillit comme un glas les cloches de l'armistice... Les mouchards d'aujourd'hui sont malingres et moins nombreux. Le journaliste parisien a droit toutefois à leur escorte vigilante. Reconnaissables entre mille, il les retrouve aux terrasses de la place de France, dans les ruelles étroites de la médina ou au café maure de la Kasbah. Ne pourrait-il, de ce promeneur qui domine la ville, lancer quelque mystérieux appel vers Gibraltar, qui veille au delà du détroit, ou vers la crique obscure où, dit-on, des sous-marins de poche venaient mouiller pendant la guerre ?

## La ville tentaculaire

Ces fariboles excitent peut-être l'imagination du touriste, elles ne sont plus la marque actuelle de Tanger. Il n'empêche que la ville a été contaminée et qu'elle reste tourmentée par le prurit de l'espionnage, du complot, du mystère, des ragots. On les colporte de bouche à oreille, les accompagnant de commentaires sentencieux et de gestes faussement évasifs destinés à susciter la curiosité de l'interlocuteur. Le moindre propos du visiteur reçoit aussitôt huit ou dix interprétations extravagantes. Mais ce charme un peu monotone ne gâche nullement la beauté du site, la rade harmonieuse bloquée entre le cap Spartel et la pointe de Malabata.

Sous le soleil de décembre la ville paraît heureuse et prospère. Vue d'avion, elle s'est étendue dans des proportions fabuleuses, bousculant les bidonvilles qui l'enserrent encore. Le miracle a de quoi faire rêver les Parisiens, puisque deux mille neuf cent quatre-vingt-neuf permis de construire ont été délivrés au cours des sept dernières années. Dans le même temps, une quinzaine de milliards de francs ont été investis dans la construction, compte non tenu du prix du terrain.

Des rues, des places, des boulevards, ont été percés dans les terrains vagues. La ville s'étale vers l'est. La colline du Char, où quelques maisons étaient en construction en 1950, sera bientôt une petite agglomération. Dans le quartier résidentiel dit « la Montagne » de somptueuses villas poussent comme des champignons au milieu des parcs. Les lotissements s'étendent jusqu'à 8 kilo-

**FRANC-TIREUR** : nos prisonniers d'Etat.

Franc-Tireur attire l'attention sur la multiplication des « prisonniers d'Etat ». « Il peut paraître ridicule de prendre la défense d'un sultan doté d'une pension civile rondelette et autorisé à vivre avec ses multiples épouses et concubines »

« N'empêche que la France est une drôle de démocratie. On y dispose de certains hommes sans autre forme de procès.

« Sans parler de ceux, moins célèbres, qu'on envoie derrière des barbelés. Sans parler non plus de ceux qu'on retrouve, le corps percé de balles, dans un fossé et dont il est défendu de rechercher les assassins.

« Oui, drôle de démocratie que la France... la seule sans doute qui, sans être totalitaire, s'efforce le luxe d'avoir des prisonniers d'Etat. Comme au temps du Masque de fer. »

**M. SAVARY** : Bourguiba a un plan qui tient compte des intérêts français.

Dans une interview à la *Jeune République*, enfin, M. Alain Savary, député S.F.I.O., affirme qu'une déléte réelle est constatée en Tunisie et ajoute :

« Mais à vrai dire il n'y a pas de solution contre ou sans Bourguiba et le Néo-Destour. Je considère le Néo-Destour comme représentatif de la nation tunisienne. De plus il témoigne de deux aspects modernes dans la vie politique tunisienne. C'est un parti laïc, c'est encore un parti social grâce à ses liens avec l'U.G.T.T. »

« Lors d'un voyage en Tunisie, voici un an, j'ai tenu à rencontrer M. Bourguiba. Il m'a paru s'attacher surtout au principe de la reconnaissance des droits tunisiens. En conséquence il est violemment opposé à toute co-souveraineté. A mon avis si cette idée de co-souveraineté était clairement écartée M. Bourguiba serait prêt à reconnaître la possibilité et l'utilité de la participation des Français à la gestion municipale.

« M. Bourguiba a un plan qui tient compte des intérêts français, et de surcroît il n'y a pas de problème pour les israélites tunisiens. Ceux-ci sont, dans leur ensemble, ralliés aux nationalistes et fondus dans la nation tunisienne. »

## Brazzaville

### première escale de l'ex-sultan

Les deux avions transportant Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef et sa suite se sont posés ce matin sur l'aérodrome de Brazzaville. L'ex-souverain passera quarante-huit heures dans la capitale de l'A.-E. F. et sera ensuite conduit à Madagascar.

M. Arthur Comte, député socialiste des Pyrénées-Orientales, a demandé à interpellé « sur la politique que le gouvernement entend suivre à l'égard de l'Espagne franquiste, qui sous le faux prétexte de servir la cause de l'indépendance marocaine vient en réalité d'indiquer une nouvelle fois son inlassable hostilité à la République française, laquelle ne saurait recevoir de leçon de ceux dont le premier objectif est d'étouffer sur leur propre territoire toutes les formes de la liberté. »

Tunis 26 janvier. — M. Mahmoud Messadi, secrétaire général adjoint de l'Union générale tunisienne du travail, son épouse et M. Zouari, trésorier, ont été victimes d'un accident de voiture à Granbaha. Tous trois ont été blessés.

« Nous espérons que la France saura réparer »

## déclare Si Allal el Fassi

Si Allal el Fassi, président du parti de l'Istiqlal, a protesté, au cours d'une conférence de presse qu'il a tenue au Caire, contre le nouveau transfert de Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef.

Après avoir affirmé que le souverain avait été l'objet de vives pressions en vue d'obtenir son abdication, Si Allal a ajouté :

« L'Istiqlal rend le gouvernement français directement responsable de tout danger qui menacerait la personne ou la famille de S. M. chérifienne. Toutefois, a poursuivi Allal el Fassi, nous ne confondons pas le peuple français tout entier avec les colonialistes. »

Et le président de l'Istiqlal exprima l'admiration de son parti pour « la France libérale des Robespierre, Pasteur, Jaurès, Mauriac et Massignon ». Il conclut :

« Nous espérons que la France saura réparer les dégâts en rendant son trône au sultan Mohammed et en reconnaissant aux Marocains le droit à l'unité, à la liberté et à l'indépendance. »

## L'Istiqlal préconise un rapprochement hispano-arabe

Le Caire, 26 janvier (U.P.). — Le chef de l'Istiqlal, Si Allal el Fassi, a déclaré hier soir au Caire : « Les initiatives espagnoles au Maroc ont opéré un rapprochement hispano-arabe fondé sur une solide base de compréhension. L'Espagne est depuis longtemps désireuse de collaborer avec les Arabes. Chaque initiative prise par l'Espagne en accord avec les aspirations nationales des Marocains reçoit le soutien immédiat des pays membres de la Ligue arabe. »

## Les anciens combattants d'Indochine demandent que soit favorisée une déléte des esprits

Le comité directeur des Anciens combattants du corps expéditionnaire d'Indochine originaire du Maroc publie un communiqué dans lequel, après avoir proclamé leur attachement « à la fraternité franco-marocaine, dont ils constituent un exemple actif », ils « mesurent les conséquences d'une tension dont la prolongation est favorable à l'entretien du terrorisme et à l'apparition du contre-terrorisme. »

Ils « souhaitent... que puissent être instaurés des contacts entre l'administration et les personnalités les plus qualifiées des divers éléments ethniques du Maroc pour étudier des institutions bien adaptées au pays. »

« Il s'agit donc de demander que l'action du gouvernement soit orientée vers la mise en œuvre rapide de mesures de même nature que la déléte des esprits, condition préalable à toute démarche tendant à rallier les hommes capables de participer sans aucune arrière-pensée à une large coopération, continue et efficace, en vue d'élaborer une authentique communauté franco-marocaine. »

# VIOLENTES BAGARRES A MADRID autour de l'ambassade d'Angleterre

Une vingtaine de policiers et plusieurs dizaines de manifestants ont été blessés au cours de violentes échauffourées qui se sont produites hier à Madrid.

La manifestation, qui avait été organisée par le syndicat phalangiste des étudiants, réunit quelque quinze mille jeunes gens. Ce chiffre ne saurait surprendre quand on sait combien populaire a toujours été en Espagne la revendication du « Peñon ». Il semble néanmoins que l'affaire d'hier n'ait d'abord été qu'un simple défilé de protestation, avec cris et pancartes. Il s'acheva, déclarent toutes les agences, en une véritable bataille rangée entre les étudiants et la police. Les étudiants, qui étaient partis du siège de la Phalange, se dirigèrent vers l'ambassade d'Angleterre, rue Fernando-el-Santo ; c'est là qu'ils se heurtèrent à des barrages de gardes de la « police armée ». Après avoir lancé des pierres et des moellons, ils s'armèrent de branches et attaquèrent les policiers. Plusieurs gardes furent évacués, atteints de blessures au front.

A ce moment des coups de feu furent tirés en l'air, par la « police armée » semble-t-il. Les étudiants refluèrent aussitôt dans les rues qui descendent vers la grande avenue de la Castellana. Ils y trouvèrent d'autres formations du S.E.U. (Syndicat de étudiants y universitarios), qui semblaient attendre en réserve. Une nouvelle bagarre éclata à cet endroit avec la police.

Pendant que se déroulaient ces bagarres des milliers d'étudiants, qui n'avaient pu forcer les barrages de police interdisant les abords de l'ambassade britannique et des immeubles annexes — Institut britannique et services d'information — s'assemblèrent devant une autre annexe anglaise, également gardée. Ils hissèrent un drapeau espagnol à l'un des balcons, tandis qu'ils poussaient en chœur les cris de « Franco ! » et « Gibraltar espagnol ! ».

Les chefs du syndicat universitaire, dont les troupes paraissent avoir totalement échappé à leur contrôle, ramuèrent enfin plusieurs centaines d'étudiants et les dirigèrent, toujours criant, vers le ministère des affaires étrangères, plaza de Santa-Cruz. Les cris de « Gibraltar espagnol ! » ne s'interrompant pas, M. Artajo apparut au balcon. De nouveaux cris retentirent alors de « Cuidado, reina Isabel ! » (attention, reine Elisabeth !).

Peu après différentes délégations d'universitaires membres de la Phalange se rendirent au palais de Santa-Cruz et furent reçues par M. Artajo. Ils lui exposèrent « l'attitude de l'Université espagnole à propos de Gibraltar » et lui exprimèrent « l'adhésion totale des universitaires à la politique du gouvernement espagnol à ce sujet ».

Le ministre des affaires étrangères leur recommanda « de toujours maintenir l'esprit élevé dont ils faisaient preuve » et les exhorta « à la correction, qui donne plus de force à leurs manifestations ».

A l'issue de l'entrevue M. Albert Mar-

tin Artajo hissa lui-même le drapeau espagnol à la façade du palais de Santa-Cruz, siège du ministère.

A la fin de la journée une délégation d'étudiants du S.E.U. s'est rendue à la Seguridad pour protester « contre l'attitude adoptée par la police ». Les journaux du soir et la radio se sont bornés à rendre compte d'une « grandiose manifestation d'adhésion à la politique gouvernementale sur Gibraltar » et à signaler que le ministre des affaires étrangères avait recommandé « une attitude correcte » aux manifestants. Aucune allusion n'est faite aux échauffourées ni aux arrestations. — (A.F.P., Reuter.)

## NOUVELLES DE L'ETRANGER

### SYRIE

## Le général Chichakli en faveur d'une neutralité armée

Damas, 26 janvier (A.F.P.). — A Damas certains observateurs relèvent qu'au cours de la dernière semaine le président de la République syrienne, M. Chichakli, s'est prononcé à deux reprises en faveur de la neutralité armée des pays arabes. La première fois ce fut en recevant une délégation de parlementaires britanniques que le général Chichakli a déclaré que « les pays arabes devraient constituer une zone neutre de façon à leur permettre de se défendre contre toute agression ». Il a employé les mêmes termes dans une interview accordée récemment à un journaliste égyptien.

Aujourd'hui le même sujet est abordé par le journal *Al-Tahrir*, organe du Mouvement de libération arabe, répondant à la presse turque accusant les pays arabes de neutralisme :

« Si le peuple turc était libre de fixer son sort il opterait certainement pour la neutralité. Le gouvernement turc ne peut avoir que deux raisons pour prendre le parti des Occidentaux : on bien il est attiré par la générosité américaine ou bien il est effrayé par les Russes. Les Arabes, poursuit le journal, ne sauraient éprouver les mêmes craintes ni se laisser convaincre par les mêmes séductions. »

GRANDE-BRETAGNE. — Le rationnement du beurre, du fromage, de la margarine et de la graisse prendra fin en Grande-Bretagne le 8 mai prochain. Ces denrées étaient rationnées depuis quatorze ans. Seule la viande restera encore rationnée, mais la mise en vente libre de cette denrée est également prévue pour cette année. — (A.F.P.)

La deuxième journée du procès intenté à Lord Montagu, à son cousin Michael Peck-Rivers et au journaliste Peter White-Hood pour pratiques homosexuelles, a été marquée par la déposition de John Reynolds, vingt et un ans, soldat de la R.A.F., avec lequel Lord Montagu et son cousin auraient eu, selon l'accusation, des rapports contre nature. Au cours de sa déposition de quatre heures et demie Reynolds a confirmé les déclarations au sujet de ses rapports avec les inculpés faites par le rapport Mac Nally. Une quinzaine de témoignages restent encore à entendre. La suite des débats a été renvoyée à samedi 30 janvier. — (A.F.P.)

M. Selwyn Lloyd, ministre d'Etat aux affaires étrangères, a laissé clairement entendre hier lundi après-midi aux Communes que les diplomates disparus, MM. Mac Lean et Burgess, se trouvent actuellement derrière le rideau de fer. C'est la première fois qu'une indication aussi nette a été donnée à cet égard par un membre du gouvernement. — (A.F.P.)

ESPAGNE. — Une conférence militaire s'ouvre aujourd'hui mardi à Madrid entre les chefs d'état-major espagnol et portugais. Prévue depuis plusieurs semaines, elle se tient en application du pacte d'amitié hispano-espagnol, renouvelé à Lisbonne en 1949.

La police espagnole a supprimé les permis frontaliers qui permettaient aux Espagnols de venir en France pour un court séjour. Les Espagnols désireux de franchir la frontière doivent s'adresser désormais à la direction de la sécurité ou au gouverneur civil de leur province. — (A.F.P.)

ISLANDE. — Les élections municipales et communales auront lieu le 31 janvier dans toute l'Islande. La campagne électorale, qui a commencé au début de l'année, se poursuit et revêt une certaine acuité à Reykjavik, la capitale. Cinq partis sont en présence : le parti de l'indépendance, le parti communiste, le parti social-démocrate, le parti des progressistes et le parti de la protection du peuple. — (A.F.P.)

U.R.S.S. — M. Malenkov et sept de ses ministres ont assisté hier, dans la grande salle des fêtes du Kremlin, à la séance d'ouverture d'un congrès des conducteurs de tracteurs et d'autres ouvriers agricoles.

KENYA. — Dans la nuit de samedi à dimanche, une bande composée d'environ cent cinquante terroristes a attaqué un camp kikuyu près de Fort-Hall, brûlant les boutiques et une centaine de huttes. Deux membres de la Home Guard et un des assaillants ont été tués. L'intervention rapide de la police et des gardes indigènes a mis fin à l'échauffourée. On a appris d'autre part que cinq cents prisonniers mao-mao s'étaient révoltés dans la prison de Kisumu. L'un d'eux a été tué et quatorze autres blessés, ainsi que douze gardiens indigènes (A.F.P.)

INDE. — La Grande-Bretagne cherchera à mettre sur pied un système de paiements commerciaux qui convienne aux besoins de l'ensemble du monde libre et qui restitue au sterling sa place de devise convertible », a déclaré M. Richard Butler, chancelier de l'Echiquier, devant l'Assemblée des Chambres de commerce de l'Union indienne réunie à Calcutta. « Les Etats-Unis et le Canada, a-t-il ajouté, joueront leur rôle dans l'établissement de ce système. »

O.N.U. — Le secrétariat des Nations unies a reçu la réponse de l'Egypte et de l'Uruguay, qui sont favorables à la convocation de l'Assemblée générale de l'O.N.U. en vue de discuter la question coréenne. L'Islande et le Honduras se sont prononcés contre cette convocation.

ETATS-UNIS. — Dans un message spécial adressé aujourd'hui aux Chambres, le président Eisenhower proposa un programme de construction en huit points destiné à fournir à chaque Américain « un bon logement dans de bons quartiers ». Le président préconise notamment l'élimination des taudis et l'amélioration des maisons existantes grâce à des prêts et dons du gouvernement fédéral favorisant notamment les familles à faibles revenus. (A.F.P.)

Le président Eisenhower a déclaré qu'il était « irrévocablement opposé » à l'amendement Bricker, qui tend à réduire considérablement les pouvoirs du président en ce qui concerne la conclusion de traités avec l'étranger.

# Washington accueille M. Bayar président de la République turque

De notre correspondant particulier

Washington, 26 janvier. — Le président Eisenhower et tout le Washington officiel s'apprêtent à faire demain un accueil chaleureux au président de la République turque, M. Celal Bayar, qui arrive aujourd'hui à New-York. Toute une série de réceptions et de dîners est prévue pour les trois jours de visite de M. Bayar dans la capitale, avant son départ pour une tournée d'environ un mois à travers le pays. Mais en plus des festivités officielles, de ce qu'on appelle ici « le red carpet » (le tapis rouge), organisées pour célébrer la première visite d'un président de Turquie aux Etats-Unis, des entretiens auront lieu, portant essentiellement sur le problème de l'aide américaine.

Les officiels américains s'attendent en effet que le président Bayar demande un accroissement substantiel de l'aide économique, afin d'aider la Turquie à maintenir son importante contribution militaire à l'O.T.A.N. On s'accorde en effet à reconnaître que vingt-deux divisions, même de dimensions réduites, représentent un effort de guerre disproportionné avec la puissance économique du pays. Mais l'accroissement de l'aide économique demandé par les Turcs n'est pas mineur : les 75 millions de dollars envisagés pour la prochaine année fiscale représentent en effet le double de ce qu'ils reçoivent en ce moment. Le dernier mot appartiendra au Congrès, mais il est évident qu'une ferme recommandation du président Eisenhower faciliterait les choses...

## Bastion

### contre le communisme

Au demeurant, la cause de la Turquie est excellente. Il faut bien admettre que pour les Américains les Turcs et les Allemands figurent en tête du palmarès de la lutte contre le communisme. En premier lieu les exploits des soldats turcs en Corée ont reçu ici une large publicité ; de même aux Nations unies le délégué de la Turquie a sans cesse défilé sur le ligne américaine. Ensuite, sous l'impulsion du président Bayar, la Turquie pratique une politique économique de « libre entreprise », et une loi passée il y a quelques jours à Ankara favoriserait les investissements privés. On prévoit en conséquence que M. Bayar insistera pour que soient facilitées les exportations des capitaux privés américains.

Mais on croit savoir que les Turcs insisteront à Washington pour que l'aide américaine soit essentiellement économique plutôt que militaire. Faisant état que depuis 1949 le commerce extérieur de la Turquie a triplé et les exportations doublé en valeur, le président Bayar soulignerait qu'une assistance économique américaine permettrait à la Turquie d'exporter davantage et d'obtenir les devises nécessaires pour payer elle-même son propre équipement militaire. En revanche, une réduction de cette aide

placerait pour plus longtemps la Turquie sous la dépendance des Etats-Unis en ce qui concerne son armement, tout cela au détriment du contribuable américain. Voilà un argument qui ne déplairait pas aux congressmen, bien que certains s'inquiètent du développement des exportations de blé turc, qui déjà concurrencent les Américains sur le marché mondial.

## Le pacte avec le Pakistan

Le plus solide atout de la Turquie reste cependant sa position stratégique. Ses liens actuels avec la Grèce et la Yougoslavie, ceux projetés avec l'Iraq et le Pakistan, lui donnent, aux yeux des Américains une importance vitale. Aussi bien le maximum sera fait ici pour accélérer la construction d'aérodromes, de routes, de pipe-lines et autres installations militaires, afin de renforcer ce flanc capital de la défense occidentale.

Dans le *New York Herald Tribune* de dimanche, les frères Alsop considèrent que la mission Dulles en Proche-Orient, au printemps dernier, comme point de départ des nouveaux plans d'organisation défensive dans ce secteur. Malgré les observations de certains experts du département d'Etat, M. Foster Dulles, considérant qu'il n'y avait plus rien à espérer du côté des Arabes et de l'Egypte, aurait maintenu ses vues ; le soutien actif du vice-président Nixon aurait été décisif dans les délibérations du Conseil national de sécurité, entérinant cette politique. Le pacte entre la Turquie et le Pakistan serait annoncé incessamment, toujours selon les Alsop, malgré les risques courus, à savoir : la rupture irréparable avec l'Inde, menaces de coups de main communistes au Cachemire et en Afghanistan.

« Ni la peur de réactions soviétiques ni le désir d'apaiser M. Nehru ne sauraient permettre de paralyser la politique américaine », avait estimé M. Dulles et ses conseillers. Il n'est pas douteux que les circonstances servent au mieux les intérêts turcs et facilitent au président Bayar, économiste distingué, la présentation de son dossier. — H. P.

(2) Le consulat d'Espagne affirme que 40.000 Espagnols habitent la zone dont 35.000 recensés et 5.000 non-inscrits. La colonie française est de 6.000 environ. Nous verrons pourquoi l'Espagne peut avoir intérêt à gonfler ses chiffres.

CLAUDE JULIEN.



ABONNEMENTS

|                   | 3 mois   | 6 mois   | 1 an     |
|-------------------|----------|----------|----------|
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Les abonnements partent des 1<sup>er</sup> et 16 de chaque mois

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## MADRID RÉPONDRAIT PROCHAINEMENT A PARIS

M. Meyrier, ambassadeur de France à Madrid, a été reçu lundi soir par M. Ariajo, ministre des affaires étrangères d'Espagne. L'entretien a été bref et n'a pas abordé le fond de la protestation française.

Le gouvernement espagnol répondrait d'ailleurs « très prochainement » à la note écrite du gouvernement français. Le dialogue, s'il doit avoir lieu, n'est donc pas encore commencé.

Mais les affaires marocaines et franco-espagnoles se développent en même temps sur un autre plan.

MM. Chamant et Pierre André, indépendants; André Hugues, radical socialiste, et Guy Petit, indépendant paysan et maire de Biarritz, ont demandé à être reçus par M. Laniel. Ces quatre parlementaires estiment que les conditions dans lesquelles a été déposé le sultan en août dernier sont l'une des causes de la crise franco-espagnole qu'ils déplorent aujourd'hui.

Mais, quelles que soient les « infractions de forme » du côté français, ces députés membres du groupe d'amitié franco-espagnole estiment qu'elles ne justifiaient pas les réactions de l'Espagne. Et de ce point de vue M. Guy Petit, qui préside le groupe, se déclare entièrement d'accord avec M. Maurice Schumann.

D'autres parlementaires s'apprêtent,

mais dans un autre esprit, à protester eux aussi contre la manière dont ont été conduites les affaires marocaines.

Cependant, de l'avis du ministre des affaires étrangères, un changement de résident, qui pourrait passer pour un désaveu, ne saurait intervenir à la suite de ce que l'on considère comme une provocation de la part du haut commissaire espagnol.

Le nom du maréchal Juin a été prononcé dans certains cercles militaires et modérés. A une époque où son remplacement était déjà envisagé, le général Guillaume devait succéder au maréchal au commandement du Centre-Europe. Une permutation plus complète n'est donc pas absolument écartée.

Mais la candidature du général Koenig est également soutenue par plusieurs personnalités, notamment du R.P.F. Des députés de ce groupe ont demandé de leur côté à être reçus par le président du conseil.

En attendant, l'ancien sultan sera exilé en lieu sûr et plus lointain, puisque, après une longue escale à Madagascar, il rejoindra la résidence qu'on lui prépare à Tahiti. Mais toutes les difficultés ne seront pas pour autant écartées du Maroc. — J. F.

## une double exigence

augmentez les salaires

ouvrez plus largement vos frontières

Il a donné huit points le programme économique qu'il propose pour la prochaine législature. Il désire pour l'ensemble de l'économie un développement continu. Mais en même temps, compte de la présence des syndicats dans la négociation des salaires. Or, en acceptant une hausse des salaires, l'Etat se voit entraîné en question tout économique et perdrait le bénéfice de la amélioration financière qui résulte de ces derniers mois. Il faut chercher à résoudre les problèmes qui se posent indépendamment les uns des autres de définir une politique qui permette de revaloriser les salaires, de stimuler l'activité et de développer nos exportations sans compromettre la stabilité monétaire.

être opposé à une certaine augmentation des bas salaires. M. Edgar Faure craint qu'une majoration du minimum ne se répercute aux divers échelons de la hiérarchie et ne se traduise ainsi par une sensible augmentation des prix de revient.

Il désire trouver une formule qui permette — en « tassant la hiérarchie » par exemple — de limiter les effets des mesures qui pourraient être prises en faveur des petits salariés. Les délégués de la C.G.T.-Force ouvrière, qui ont été reçus hier par lui, ont l'impression que le ministre n'était pas formellement opposé à une révision du minimum garanti, mais n'ont pu savoir quelle augmentation il accepterait. Les représentants de la C.F.T.C., qui seront reçus ce soir, obtiendront peut-être quelques précisions supplémentaires. Il est probable en tout cas que le ministre leur demandera leur avis sur la possibilité de procéder à une hausse non hiérarchisée.

GILBERT MATHIEU.

(Lire la suite en 5<sup>e</sup> page, 3<sup>e</sup> colonne.)

## LES MANIFESTATIONS ANGLOPHOBES

Un étudiant madrilène meurt de ses blessures

Madrid, 26 janvier (A.F.P.). — Plusieurs milliers d'étudiants se sont de nouveau massés dans le centre de Madrid pour manifester contre la prochaine visite de la reine Elizabeth II à Gibraltar. Un des étudiants blessés au cours des émeutes d'hier est décédé.

Il avait été transporté à son domicile dans un état très grave après avoir été piétiné par les chevaux de la garde placée aux abords de l'ambassade britannique.

[L'agitation antibritannique qui continue à se développer en Espagne est des plus graves, on aurait tort d'en douter. Elle repose sur des fondements réels : une volonté diffuse mais constamment présente dans la masse de la nation de recouvrer Gibraltar. D'autre part, pour retrouver son crédit la Phalange se croit obligée de rechercher une nouvelle raison d'être grâce à une agitation qui — dut-elle nuire à l'intérêt de l'Espagne et même déborder les consignes du général Franco — rejoint un vœu profond de toute la population. La mort d'un étudiant risque d'être exploitée à fond par elle. Et l'équilibre politique de l'Espagne actuelle est trop précaire pour que les facultés d'arbitrage du général Franco ne soient pas mises prochainement à rude épreuve. — J.C.]

(Lire nos informations en page 4.)

## TANGER, VICTOIRE ESPAGNOLE ?

La zone de Tanger offre l'aspect d'un champ clos où peuvent s'affronter en toute liberté la diplomatie française et les ambitions espagnoles. La ville internationale réagit au moindre écho parvenu d'un point quelconque de l'empire chérifien, mais se montre particulièrement sensible aux remous de la zone espagnole qui l'enserme.

Profitant de la victoire provisoire des armées hitlériennes, les troupes espagnoles occupèrent la ville en 1940. Elles en furent chassées en 1945, et le statut international, rétabli à ce moment-là, ne rendit pas à l'Espagne ses privilèges

d'avant guerre. Notre collaborateur Claude Julien, dans la série d'articles dont nous commençons aujourd'hui la publication, expose par quels moyens l'Espagne est arrivée, depuis le mois d'août dernier, à se tailler de nouveau une place importante dans l'administration de la zone.

Ces procédés avaient valeur d'avertissement, et leur signification profonde eût-elle été comprise, la manifestation des tribus rifaines convoquées à Tétouan n'aurait causé aucune surprise.

## I. - Histoires de brigands

Dans les cafés du port, autour des verres de thé à la menthe ou de coca-cola, une population interlope se passionne encore pour de mystérieux récits de contrebande ou pour les aventures des rois du trafic de l'or. L'abordage du *Combinatio*, dont les pâles héros couraient devant leurs juges le dénouement sans gloire d'une folle équipée, fournit la meilleure matière de ces conversations multilingues. Mais tous ces exploits appartiennent déjà à l'histoire. La seule nouveauté de ce monde avide d'extravagances relève d'un autre art.

Une bande de fabricants de fausses monnaies d'or comparait devant le tribunal de la ville : leur originalité consiste à avoir rigoureusement respecté la teneur de leurs pièces en métal précieux. Seront-ils condamnés comme faussaires, ce qui leur vaudrait les travaux forcés, ou simplement pour « contrefaçon de marchandises », délit mineur devant se solder par quelques mois de prison ?

Nul ne saurait mettre en doute l'intérêt de la question. Car selon le verdict des juges, selon la gravité de la peine encourue, c'est toute une industrie nouvelle qui risque d'être soit tuée dans l'œuf, soit promise au plus bel avenir... L'opération est, dit-on, d'invention ita-

De notre envoyé spécial

CLAUDE JULIEN

lienne. Réalisée à Tanger, elle bénéficierait de plusieurs avantages : d'abord la liberté du commerce de l'or, ensuite le prix relativement abordable des hommes de paille et des prête-nom, dont la cote est en baisse en raison d'une offre bien supérieure à la demande.

Ainsi la ville internationale éprouve quelques difficultés à rester fidèle à ses traditions. Quelques ambitieux envient le sort privilégié de Macao ou de Hong-Kong, où les trafiquants d'armes, de drogue ou de métaux précieux se trouvent au carrefour des grandes voies qui alimentent les théâtres de guerre. Certains Tangérois évoquent avec regret l'époque bénie du dernier conflit, alors que le commerce clandestin de trois continents passait par cette pointe avancée de l'Afrique.

Espions en chômage

La crise touche une autre corporation, jadis très prospère. Un ancien administrateur de la zone décrit sa surprise lorsque, quelques jours après son entrée

en fonctions, il assista pour la première fois à la procession des métiers, organisée huit jours après le Mouloud à l'occasion de la fête de Boharrakia, marabout de Tanger. Entre le corps des menuisiers et celui des cordonniers il vit défiler en rangs serrés une cohorte grouillante que ne désignait aucun emblème de profession. Se renseignant auprès de l'officier de police qui l'accompagnait, il apprit qu'il s'agissait tout simplement de la corporation des indicateurs et des mouchards...

Mais les beaux jours de l'espionnage appartiennent eux aussi au passé. Ils laissent sur le pavé de la ville une légion de chômeurs, dépannés de temps à autre par une puissance en mal de renseignements confidentiels. Alors pour 10 ou 20 pesetas (1) ils vendent au rabais de maigres « tuyaux » bien insuffisants pour calmer leur faim. Entre 1939 et 1945 leur activité connut un boom exceptionnel. Ils cédaient à tel consulat, contre espèces sonnantes et trébuchantes, une copie de faux rapport « secret » vendu par eux quelques heures plus tôt à tel autre consulat.

(Lire la suite en 4<sup>e</sup> page, 1<sup>er</sup> colonne.)

(1) Le taux de la peseta oscille à Tanger autour de 9 francs.

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## FRANCO TO VISIT EGYPT?

### Invitation by the Arab League

From our Correspondent

CAIRO, JANUARY 26.

According to Arab League sources to-day, General Franco will visit the Arab world, beginning in Egypt, at a date to be arranged. It is reported that the invitation was issued by the Political Committee of the Arab League, which is concluding to-day a fortnight's session here.

Among seventy items on the agenda, many critical of British and Western policies, was a report by Ahmed Shukeiry, the assistant secretary-general, who visited Spain and Spanish Morocco in October and December. On Sunday the Political Committee adopted a resolution supporting Spain's claim to Gibraltar and her policy in Spanish Morocco opposing France; the Arab League's resolution was based in part on an assurance from Spain, doubtless conveyed through Ahmed Shukeiry, that Spain "intended" to offer Spanish Morocco self-government and would support Arabs in North Africa in the struggle against any form of "imperialism."

Ahmed Shukeiry's reported conversations in Madrid with the Spanish Foreign Minister and in Morocco with General Valino, the Resident-General, stressed the general Spanish approval of Arab aims and dealt particularly with the attitude of Spain to the Israeli threat to the Holy Places of Palestine. The Foreign Minister said that Spain sought the political, economic, and cultural co-operation with the Arab world and rejected an approach by Israel, seeking in conjunction with the Holy See to safeguard the Holy Places.

"Israel has made strenuous efforts in vain to secure Spanish intervention towards a settlement of her dispute with the Arabs, through diplomatic missions in London, Rome, and Paris and sent envoys to Madrid to press the Government," the Spanish Minister is reported to have told Ahmed Shukeiry, "but Franco is the Arabs' friend and Spain could be considered an Arab country as far as Israel is concerned."

### Guardian of U.N.?

Spain had replied to Israel that mediation was useless while Israel continued to ignore resolutions by the United Nations. This is classic Arab reply, coming from a non-member of the United Nations.

Franco is assured of a considerable welcome in the Arab world as any prominent world figure is who gives the flattering appearance of conceding the area's importance and allied to this will be the Egyptian welcome for his anti-British attitudes and long-standing anti-Communist-pro-German policies; good relations with the Vatican will stand him in good stead with Catholics of the Eastern Rite. From Franco's viewpoint the winning of the Arab world to his side will naturally strengthen his chances of regaining a "place in the sun," including a place in the United Nations—or at least strengthen his position at home.

The Spanish Embassy here confines itself to saying that a "report of the visit cannot be confirmed here," but does not intend to issue an official denial. It may be that the Arab League sources jumped the gun somewhat, but an expected favourable reaction here may persuade Franco to note his decision: the "leak" may even have been designed to test local feeling. However ready to accept political favours, the Arabs' keener eye is on the main chance and the cheers of the populace will be accompanied by less jolly talk of trade and financial assistance from economically embarrassed Spain.

[More Madrid demonstrations, page 7]

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## MORE DEMONSTRATIONS IN SPAIN

### Students Try to Broadcast

MADRID, JANUARY 26.

Demonstrating students and police clashed again this evening in the Gran Via here. Police charged a crowd of students and arrested nine of them. A few hours earlier students had forced their way into the Radio Madrid building and had held up broadcasting for twenty minutes before they were driven out by the police.

The demonstrators demanded to be allowed to broadcast their version of yesterday's clashes with the police, but the chief engineer refused and switched the transmitter off the air. The students then seized him and an assistant engineer and locked them in a room. An employee had, in the meanwhile, telephoned the police, and a squad came to the radio station and ejected the students.

Students also demonstrated to-day in front of the Ministry of Justice, shouting: "We want justice." It is reported that the students have asked for the resignation of the head of the National Union of Students. Government quarters to-day denied that any student had been killed in yesterday's clashes with the police. They said that ten policemen and nine students had been hurt, none seriously.

Earlier to-day police made repeated truncheon charges to clear thousands of students from the Gran Via. The students began demonstrating in a "procession of silence" as mourning for a student said to have been killed in yesterday's riots. Later about two thousand demonstrators gathered in front of police headquarters, and when a leading police official came out on to

the balcony to address them they greeted him with hissing and booing. He turned and went inside again. Students also demonstrated to-day in front of the British and French Consulates in Valencia over the Gibraltar and Moroccan questions. Both Consulates were strongly guarded by police. No incidents were reported.

During to-day's demonstration through the centre of Madrid the students bought scores of copies of the Falangist newspaper "Arriba," and burned them or tore them to pieces, apparently as a protest because the newspaper did not support the students to-day.

Political quarters are preoccupied by the turn events have taken in Madrid. To-day's demonstrators made scarcely any mention of Gibraltar, and they appeared to be entirely against the police.

A semi-official view of the present demonstrations was given by the Spanish National Radio Station, which praised the demonstrations by the students, but suggested that they would lose their value if constantly repeated. Although the view was issued as being "comment in journalistic quarters in Madrid," it is taken to reflect the Government's desire to calm the troubled situation. The radio said: "The student demonstrations of recent days have contributed to express the unanimity with which the Spanish people condemn certain foreign political activities.—Reuter."

**Radio Station Riot**

**Students Clash Again  
With Police in Madrid**

*By the Associated Press*

MADRID, Jan. 26. — Spanish police and university students clashed again today for the second time in 24 hours.

The battle came when the students seized the Madrid radio and forced it to interrupt broadcasts for half an hour. Nearly 100 students, eyewitnesses said, invaded the Madrid radio in an effort to broadcast their complaints.

They took over control of the studios, although personnel of the station succeeded in putting it off the air before the students could broadcast and at the same time called the police. The students remained there until a truckload of assault guards forced them out. The radio station was off the air almost half an hour.

The guardsmen called for reinforcements during the ensuing fight, which lasted until a second truckload appeared. The law forces went into action despite flying stones and brickbats. Swinging nightsticks, they soon cleared the avenue in front of the radio station.

**Woman Hurt**

Only a few students were hurt in this fight. A woman bystander was taken to a hospital in a taxi after being hit on the head.

The students were enraged over yesterday's bloody riot when the police broke up a demonstration for the return of Gibraltar to Spain.

Today they called for the resignation of the Director General for Public Security, Brig. Gen. Rafael Hierro Martinez, during a manifestation in the Puerta del Sol in front of police headquarters.

Yesterday 18 policemen and near-

ly 20 students were injured. There were as yet no reports of how many were injured today.

After receiving no satisfaction at police headquarters, the students, who by this time were nearly 1,000 strong, marched to Radio Madrid. Student ire was also directed against the Falange party, believed to have organized yesterday's demonstration, and they demanded the resignation of party secretary Raimundo Fernandez Cuesta, who is also Minister without Portfolio in the national government.

And because Spanish censorship had forbidden publication of news of yesterday's clash, the students demanded the resignation of Information Minister Gabriel Arias Salgado and called for freedom of the press.

The disorders started to subside about 3:30 p.m. as the students drifted off to lunch. Some of them threatened to return later.

A delegation of students, meanwhile, prepared to demand publication in all Madrid newspapers of a note they wanted the general directorate of public security to write, lamenting yesterday's clash.

**2d U.K. Protest to Spain**

LONDON, Jan. 26 (A.P.).—Britain shot off a second protest to the Franco government today demanding it halt violent demonstrations in Spanish cities against the forthcoming visit of Queen Elizabeth II to Gibraltar.

A Foreign Office spokesman told a news conference that British Ambassador Sir John Balfour had been ordered to protest against the failure of the Franco government to prevent damage to British property during the week-long riots.

*Las fotografias demuestran que los Americanos ven con simpatia que Pataotkin pida Gibraltar.*



Associated Press Wirephoto.

University students, shouting "Gibraltar for Spain!" march through Madrid streets toward British Embassy.

## MORE CLASHES IN MADRID

### RADIO STATION RAID FOILED

#### BROADCASTING DELAYED

MADRID, JAN. 26

Demonstrating students again clashed with the police in the centre of Madrid this evening. The police charged a crowd of students and arrested nine.

A few hours earlier, student demonstrators forced their way into the Radio Madrid building and held up broadcasting for 20 minutes before they were driven out by the police. The demonstrators demanded to be allowed to broadcast their version of yesterday's clashes with the police. The chief engineer, Señor Martinez, refused, and switched off the transmitter. The students seized Señor Martinez and an assistant engineer, and locked them in a room. An employee had telephoned the police, however, and a detachment was sent to the radio station.

Students also demonstrated in front of the Ministry of Justice, shouting "We want justice." Government officials denied to-day that any student was killed in yesterday's clashes with the police. They said 10 policemen and nine students were hurt, none seriously.

#### UNPOPULAR NEWSPAPER

During to-day's demonstration in the centre of the city, the students bought scores of copies of the newspaper *Arriba* and burnt them or tore them to pieces, apparently as a protest because the newspaper had not supported the students. To-day the demonstrators made scarcely any mention of Gibraltar; their protests were entirely against the police.

The hostility of the students towards the police has created a difficult situation for the Government. Army leaders, too, are extremely displeased because officers were insulted yesterday and again to-day.

During the disturbances this evening, a photographer was arrested and taken to police headquarters. He was later identified as Paul Pietzsch, a German living in Madrid, who represents a New York photographic agency. He is officially accredited as a Press photographer.

Students also demonstrated to-day in front of the British and French consulates in Valencia over the Gibraltar and Morocco questions.—*Reuter*.

## BRITISH PROTEST

BY OUR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT

Sir John Balfour, the British Ambassador in Madrid, was reported yesterday to be making a new protest to the Spanish Government against the anti-British demonstrations. The Ambassador made a similar protest last Saturday. He was believed yesterday to be calling the attention of the Spanish authorities to their failure to take proper measures to protect British property. The British Government's firmness in dealing with official Spanish protests against the coming visit of the Queen to Gibraltar was emphasized on Monday by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Minister of State, in answer to questions in the House of Commons.

## EGYPTIAN INTEREST IN SPAIN

### 'ANOTHER ARAB COUNTRY'

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

CAIRO, JAN. 26

It was reported in Arab League circles to-night that General Franco, the Spanish Chief of State, had accepted an invitation to visit Egypt and other Arab States at a time to be fixed later.

Whether or not this report is correct, relations with Spain have been given some attention at the current session of the Arab League Council. Ahmed Shukairy, the assistant Secretary-General, who visited Spain and Spanish Morocco earlier this winter, is reported to have found Spain "another Arab country" in its attitude to the Palestine question, intent on establishing a "unified and independent Morocco," and desirous of strengthening relations with Arab countries in every possible way. After hearing Ahmed Shukairy, the political committee of the League recommended that Arab Governments support Spain in its dispute with France over Morocco and its claim against Britain for the return of Gibraltar.

## U.S. USE OF SPANISH BASES

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

WASHINGTON, JAN. 26

The Secretary of the Air Force, Mr. Talbott, said to-night that air bases in Spain would be available to the United States in wartime. "If the balloon goes up we will go right in," he said. Mr. Wilson, Secretary of Defence, said that the Spaniards would have more control of the bases in peacetime, but "we will have more to do with them in a war." He said that Americans would bend every effort to maintain the good will of Spaniards during the construction of the airfields. Partnership should be the key word. Mr. Talbott said that the new bases made it possible to cancel north African air bases.

# FRANCO WILL VISIT NEGUIB

From RAY HARDY: CAIRO, Tuesday

**G**ENERAL FRANCO and President Neguib are to meet in Cairo soon. The Arab League has invited Franco to tour Egypt and other Arab countries.

It has promised to back his move to split the French and Spanish zones of Morocco. In return Franco will probably refuse to recognise Israel and seek to enlist Catholic support for the Arabs on control of the Holy Places in Jerusalem.

But Franco is after something else as well. Spain has close ties with the Arab world, and he wants to discuss the possibility of military co-operation.

Franco may see himself as the man to win the Arabs over to a defence system which the Americans are trying to establish in the Middle East.

# Students fight Madrid police

From RICHARD MOWRER: MADRID, Tuesday

**S**PANISH student rioters who obediently launched anti-British demonstrations on Friday whipped round today and snarled at Franco's police and, indirectly, at the Falangist leadership.

A crowd of 5,000 angry youths this morning demanded the resignations of the Chief of Police, the Minister of the Interior and the Minister of Justice.

They booed and hissed the police, calling them assassins.

The students' fury was whipped up by a report—later denied—that one of their comrades died of wounds after yesterday's clashes.

## Paper burned

Posters appeared on the walls of University City saying 30 students were hit by bullets. The students burned copies of

# POPE ILL

## Prolonged hiccups

**T**HAT THE POPE is ill has been known for some time. The Pope, who is 77, has developed prolonged hiccups arising from a gastric disorder, it was stated today. The hiccups which have persisted for two days have caused fever and fatigue.

Two Rome doctors are joining his private physician, Professor Galeazzi, in a general examination. This was to have been carried out on Thursday but has been brought forward because of the new trouble.

The Pope is staying in his rooms and has cancelled general audiences.—News Chronicle.

# House total higher yet

David Eccles, Minister of Housing, said in London last night that 100,000 houses will be completed this year.

"That," he announced, "is the target for the housing programme in 1954. It is up to 300,000 houses. The programme will spread over the next five years, and will include repairs, conversion and clearance which will have a large share of the total."

## cut

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## LATE NEWS

### Roof fall kills two miners

Rescue team found miners Albert Jenkins and John Davies dead early today in a gallery of Cross Hands colliery, Carmarthenshire, after a roof fall.

## CENTRAL 5000

the Falangist paper Arriba in the streets then massed before security headquarters in the Puerta del Sol, chanting: "We want a free Press." (The papers have published nothing about yesterday's fights with the police.)

Later they paraded down the Gran Via—the city's main boulevard—and tried to storm the studios of Radio Madrid, a small commercial station.

In the evening several students were hurt and some arrested when police tried to break up new concentrations of rioters.

# Spain After the Pacts

166

By R. M. NADAL

**I**N order to understand the assertive Spain of to-day, raising a claim to Gibraltar and using her Moroccan policy to cultivate the friendship of the Arab League, we have to take into account two important developments: Spain's pact with the United States has changed her international position, and the Concordat with the Vatican has changed the internal character of the regime. The Roman Catholic Church and the American Government seem to have welded their interests to the perpetuation of General Franco's rule, and the Caudillo's position looks stronger than ever. But the new situation is not without serious risks for all three parties concerned.

## Bases for America

In exchange for naval and air bases—which give America control of the entrance to the Mediterranean, thus sealing her position as the dominant Power in that sea—the United States has promised Spain military aid and the building or reconditioning of certain seaports and airfields, besides financial help. On paper, the pact does not differ much from the existing agreements between America and other Western countries. Three main factors, however, put the American-Spanish alliance in a different setting.

First, it involves the reversal of the old, deep-rooted tradition of Spanish neutrality. Keeping the country out of international wars has been the mark of statesmanship for the last 140 years, and Franco's unfulfilled promises to Hitler were therefore hailed as a Machiavellian masterpiece. Now, suddenly, the neutral-minded Spaniard finds not only his traditional conception of foreign policy swept away, but he has to realise that, owing to the secret American installations in his country, Spain would be in the front line of fire if war broke out.

## Traditional Hatred

Secondly, the United States has signed an alliance with a regime that remains in power by dictatorial means. Disorganised and powerless as the opposition is, it must represent at least 51 per cent. of the Spanish population: otherwise General Franco would long ago have called for free elections. Any dealings with the dictator are bound to be interpreted by his opponents as directed against themselves. And if to that is added a third factor, the traditional Spanish hatred of all forms of foreign intervention, the stage seems set for an eventual outburst of anti-American feeling on an unprecedented scale.

It lies in America's power, however, either to alleviate or to aggravate such feelings. Under the terms of the pact, America can see to it that the economic and material benefits of her intervention shall reach as wide a section of the population as possible. Of course, if the Americans were to use their influence to soften the worst features of the Spanish regime, they might

easily undermine its very foundations; but the alternative will be to find themselves in a country with a potentially huge and embittered fifth column.

Last August, a month before publication of the Spanish-American alliance, a Concordat was signed between the Vatican and the Spanish Government. In exchange for a limited power to appoint bishops, and for the guarantee that all Spanish priests will now have to say daily prayers for the Caudillo, General Franco has given the Roman Catholic Church such powers as it has not enjoyed even in Spain since the end of the seventeenth century.

Amongst other surprising things, the Concordat states that in criminal cases involving priests or members of the religious orders, the Holy See "allows" the State to judge them in ordinary tribunals, but "with due secrecy so as to avoid any form of publicity." The accused must be treated "with all the considerations due to their status," and terms of imprisonment will be served "in ecclesiastical or religious houses."

## Banning of Books

Under this agreement Church inspectors have the right to investigate all forms and grades of State or private teaching, and power "to order the withdrawal of any book, publication or material which they may consider contradictory to the Dogma or to Catholic morality." Church properties are exempt from all taxation.

No doubt the Vatican, informed of the coming Spanish-American pact, thought the time was ripe for formally securing and confirming, in a Concordat, the privileged position which the Church had attained under Franco's rule. In so doing the Vatican has made it difficult for Roman Catholics throughout the world to deny that their Church favours liberty wherever she is in a minority, only to suppress it as soon as she attains full control of any country. If the Vatican seems to be ignoring this prospect and running the risk of an anti-clerical outburst—which past experience in Spain makes a frightening thought—it must be because the Spanish Catholic Church believes that the present Spanish regime, with or without Franco, is now firmly established, at least for long enough to mould and indoctrinate several generations under a totalitarian religious State, free from non-Catholic contamination.

## Rise or Decline?

Whether this modern theocracy will—as the new religious order, "Opus Dei," and other combative Spanish Catholics genuinely believe—create a new Roman Catholic culture and revive Spain's greatness; or whether—as many Spanish Catholics fear with equal sincerity—it will lead to a decadence similar to that of the second half of the seven-

teenth century, and to an eventual ending in catastrophe of Roman Catholic predominance in Spain, remains to be seen.

So far one thing is evident. The old façade of a modern fascist State with a single party, with blue shirts and upraised arms, has crumbled into pieces. Instead, we see the Spanish Church coming into the open as the chief, all-powerful force in Spain to-day. With American strategic interests in the peninsula now formally vested in the maintenance of the existing order, and counting on the support of the Army, the Church has embarked on a new, daring experiment in Spain: the transformation from above of the political and cultural life of a whole nation. The goal must be glittering, for the dangers are great.

ABONNEMENTS

3 mois 6 mois 1 an

|                   |          |          |          |
|-------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| France et Un. Fse | 1 260 f. | 2 450 f. | 4 850 f. |
| Etranger          | 1 800 f. | 3 400 f. | 6 700 f. |
| Afr. Nord (avion) | 1 570 f. | 3 020 f. | 6 000 f. |

Les abonnements partent des 1<sup>er</sup> et 16 de chaque mois

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Suscitées à propos de Gibraltar

# LES MANIFESTATIONS DE MADRID

## sont maintenant dirigées contre la police

Les manifestations de Madrid ont pris hier un tour nouveau. Lundi elles avaient été dirigées contre l'Angleterre, et elles ne faisaient que poser en termes violents un problème national : celui de Gibraltar. Elles succédaient à une véhémente campagne de presse et à une démarche de l'ambassadeur d'Espagne à Londres protestant contre la visite que la reine Elizabeth doit faire en mai à Gibraltar. Lancées par la Phalange, ces manifestations s'étaient achevées — tous les témoins s'accordent là-dessus — par des scènes d'émeute, des blessés graves et la mort d'un étudiant, officiellement démentie.

Hier mardi une nouvelle manifestation s'est déroulée : le motif en était la protestation contre l'attitude de la police la veille et le deuil ouvert par la mort d'un camarade. Car c'est aux gardes de la police armée que les étudiants persistent à attribuer ce décès. La manifestation a commencé dans un silence de funérailles. Elle s'est achevée par un assaut du poste de Radio-Madrid, et des ministres en exercice, tous phalangistes, ont été vivement pris à partie.

Enfin, ce matin, une colonne d'étudiants qui cherchaient à se diriger vers le ministère de l'information afin d'y protester contre le silence imposé par la censure sur les bagarres de lundi a été dispersée à coups de matraque par la police. D'importants rassemblements se formaient aux abords de la Cité universitaire, aux portes de Madrid. Des coups de feu ont été tirés aux abords de l'université, dans le centre de la ville. Le recteur, M. Luis Entralgo, avait auparavant fait savoir que les cours reprendraient normalement aujourd'hui, avertissement qui équivalait à un désaveu de la grève de trois jours annoncée hier au soir par les étudiants. Malgré tout, déclarent les agences, les étudiants ne se sont pas rendus aux cours ce matin. Il est clair que le gouvernement cherche aujourd'hui à calmer l'agitation que la Phalange avait lancée. S'il y parvient, ce qui paraît vraisemblable, les bagarres de ces trois jours n'en auront pas moins marqué profondément sinon le régime, au moins l'actuel cabinet de Madrid.

Lundi la Phalange cherchait à déborder le gouvernement. Les étudiants hier semblent avoir débordé la Phalange. S'agit-il de l'explosion d'un simple mécontentement parce que la radio officielle n'a pas rendu hommage aux blessés de la veille et a gardé le silence sur les échauffourées avec la police ? S'agit-il d'une déviation de toute l'affaire sur le plan politique ? Il est trop tôt pour le dire. On notera cependant pour l'instant qu'un malaise politique profond — et non plus un malaise économique — existe depuis six mois chez les professeurs et les étudiants espagnols, et que les crises de régime en Espagne ont toujours trouvé dans ces milieux leurs ferments les plus actifs. — J. C.

(Lire la suite en 2<sup>e</sup> page, 4<sup>e</sup> colonne.)

# Les étudiants madrilènes ont réussi à interrompre les émissions de la radio

(Suite de la première page.)

Madrid, 27 janvier. — Des étudiants ont réussi hier à pénétrer dans l'immeuble de la radio de Madrid, et ils ont arrêté les émissions pendant un certain temps, jusqu'à ce que la police ait réussi à les expulser. Ils ont continué à manifester dans les rues, et la police dut intervenir à plusieurs reprises.

Les milieux politiques espagnols sont préoccupés par la tourmente prise par les événements, d'autant plus que les manifestants semblent s'en être pris spécialement à la police. C'est la première fois depuis 1939 que la police intervient pour réprimer une manifestation de phalangistes.

Et c'est aussi la première fois depuis que le général Franco est au pouvoir qu'un général reçoit des insultes en public : le général Hierro, directeur de la sûreté, venait d'apparaître, vêtu de noir, au balcon de son administration, sur la Puerta del Sol, pour apaiser une vague de manifestants quand il fut hué par eux.

Sa voix fut couverte par des vociférations et des cris de protestation. Finalement, il fit demi-tour et disparut.

La manifestation avait été organisée pour protester contre la mort de l'étudiant blessé avant-hier. Le démenti officiel que tenta de faire entendre un délégué phalangiste au balcon de la Seguridad fut accueilli par des vociférations. Les cris de « Hierro, démission ! Jordana, démission ! » retentirent.

José Jordana est le chef du syndicat phalangiste des étudiants. En même temps que retentissaient ces cris des fumées s'élevaient auprès des kiosques à journaux de la Puerta del Sol, où l'on faisait de nouveaux autodafés d'*Arriba*, le quotidien phalangiste.

Les manifestants quittèrent la Puerta del Sol vers 16 heures. Ils se dispersèrent sur la place de Cibeles, aux cris de « Salgado ! Démission ! Fernandez Cuesta ! Dehors ! » Ces attaques contre le ministre de l'Information, accusé d'avoir faussé par la censure l'information sur les bagarres d'avant-hier — dont ni la presse ni la radio ne dirent un mot — et contre le ministre de la Phalange, inquiétaient les observateurs madrilènes, qui se demandent si la revendication de Gibraltar n'est pas en train de dévier sur un terrain de politique intérieure assez glissant. Il est à remarquer d'autre part que les étudiants qui ont manifesté appartiennent surtout aux facultés de droit et de médecine, qui ont été le théâtre d'agitation politique au cours des derniers mois.

Ce matin à Madrid, dans les milieux proches du gouvernement, on accordait une certaine gravité aux manifestations d'hier.

On croit dans ces milieux que le gouvernement prendra des mesures sévères pour éviter leur renouvellement.

Les étudiants — qui ont annoncé une grève de trois jours — formeraient le projet de faire aujourd'hui une marche sur le ministère de l'Information pour protester contre les comptes rendus des manifestations d'hier par la presse et la radio.

Les étudiants arrêtés au cours de la journée ont été relâchés hier soir.

## Une note de protestation anglaise

Madrid, 27 janvier (AFP). — L'ambassadeur de Grande-Bretagne à Madrid a remis ce matin mercredi au ministère espagnol des affaires étrangères une note de protestation du gouvernement anglais contre les dégâts causés à des édifices anglais au cours des manifestations qui se sont déroulées le 23 et le 25 janvier à Madrid.

## MM. Eden et Bidault souligneraient le danger de la xénophobie espagnole

Londres, 27 janvier (U.P.A.). — De source autorisée on assure que dans le cadre de ses entretiens à Berlin avec M. Foster Dulles, M. Eden soulèvera la question des manifestations espagnoles antibritanniques et des revendications sur Gibraltar.

La Grande-Bretagne soulignerait que cette attitude, adoptée par Madrid immédiatement après la conclusion du traité avec les Etats-Unis, est de nature à porter préjudice à l'O.T.S.N.

Selon les mêmes sources il est probable que M. Georges Bidault a fait des remarques identiques quant à la situation de l'Espagne à propos...

# danger

## ETATS-UNIS

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7 janvier (U.P.). — Le

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## La construction des bases américaines

### commencerait au mois de mai

Washington, 1<sup>er</sup> février (U.P., Reuter). — Le général Washbourne, chef des installations de l'aviation américaine, a annoncé devant la commission des crédits de la Chambre des représentants qu'il espérait voir commencer entre le 1<sup>er</sup> mai et le 1<sup>er</sup> juin les travaux d'établissement de quatre bases aériennes en Espagne. Il a confirmé qu'elles seraient construites auprès de Madrid à Torrejon-Barajas, auprès de Séville à El-Copero, à Moron-de-la-Frontera, à 50 kilomètres de Séville, et à Saragosse. La commission des crédits a autorisé l'emploi de 60 millions de dollars pour les premiers travaux.

Les crédits permettront également la construction de 900 kilomètres de pipelines entre les différentes bases navales et aériennes du pays, et l'amélioration des moyens de transport, que les débats de la commission ont reconnus être « épouvantables ».

Quant aux bases navales, selon l'amiral Pegry, directeur des constructions navales, la marine américaine s'attachera principalement à améliorer les installations portuaires et à constituer des dépôts de munitions et de carburant. Des aménagements modernes seront apportés à une base navale voisine de Cadix.

[Ces informations confirment celles que publia le Monde dès la signature des accords hispano-américains. Nous sommes en mesure de préciser que la base voisine de Cadix n'en sera distante que de 10 kilomètres et qu'elle sera établie à Puerto--de-Santa-Maria.]

# Calling For Gibraltar

## What is Behind Spanish Agitation?

To the Editor of The Daily Telegraph  
**S**IR—The British Government have rightly refused to accept the Spanish Government's representations concerning the Queen's visit to one of her territories. But the Spanish agitation for the return of Gibraltar and the deplorable demonstrations and attacks on the British Embassy and various consulates must be seen in correct perspective.

The Spanish Government's recently concluded agreement with the United States for the use of naval and air bases in exchange for considerable dollar credits was a diplomatic triumph for Gen. Franco, and has enhanced his prestige both at home and abroad.

Every improvement in Gen. Franco's position, particularly abroad, is a source of anxiety to the Falange—the old guard of the "Movimiento," and generally unpopular in Spain—whose usefulness to the régime diminishes in direct proportion to the strength of Gen. Franco's position.

Hence the renewed agitation for the return of Gibraltar and acts of hooliganism inspired and fostered by the Falangist party to draw attention to themselves, and to bolster up their waning power.

Thanks to our own post-war attitude towards Spain, which under the Socialist Government was one of ill-informed criticism and in one or two cases downright rudeness, it was hardly to be expected that Gen. Franco would immediately discourage these outbursts, though more recent reports do indicate that the authorities have in fact made some attempt to check the rioters.

During my three years in Spain I developed a great affection for the people and, I hope, acquired some understanding of them. The recent incidents are the work of an unpopular minority, and do not represent the views of the majority. There is still immense goodwill among Spaniards of all classes to Great Britain—Spain's best customer.

Yours faithfully,

W. F. R. SEGRAVE, Cmdr. R.N.  
Naval Attaché Madrid 1949-1952.

London, S.W.1.

From

Mr. BERNARD BRAINE, M.P.

To the Editor of The Daily Telegraph

Sir—Mr. A. Hennessy solemnly tells us that the problem of Gen. Franco's claim to Gibraltar will have to be faced.

Why? Gibraltar has been British for two and a half centuries and there is no earthly reason why it should not continue to be so for all time.

Having regard to the nature of totalitarian régimes, is it unreasonable to suppose that if Spain's dictator commanded as much affection and loyalty from the Spanish people as her Majesty inspires in the resident population of Gibraltar, the present clamour would never have been raised? Yours, &c.,

BERNARD BRAINE.

House of Commons.

To the Editor of The Daily Telegraph

Sir—Mr. A. Hennessy's letter is permeated by an air of compromise and spinelessness.

Many countries owe their speedy relief from oppression to the fact that the British flag floats over the Rock, a bastion keeping the sea lanes open to the free world.

We, Sir, are proven trustees to which this position comes as no new-founded form of self-aggrandisement. In the interests of the world we should not waver or quaver before any demagogic expostulations or bad manners. Yours faithfully,

London, W.1. J. S. EDMONDS.

To the Editor of The Daily Telegraph

Sir—Would we lose a great deal militarily, strategically or economically if we ceded this sore spot to Spain so far as its civil administration is concerned and insisted upon a 500-years' lease of it as a base.

We can, I think, forget the present demonstrations, which are the hot-headed antics of irresponsible students, similar to those we witness here on Nov. 5. They certainly mean no ill-will towards our Queen. Her visit only provides them with the opportunity to focus world attention on something which is hurtful to the pride of a very proud people.

Yours faithfully,

GORDON FLETCHER.

London, W.14.

# PLUSIEURS ETUDIANTS MONARCHISTES SONT ARRETES A MADRID

Madrid, 28 janvier (A.F.P., Reuter). — Les étudiants madrilènes ont continué de manifester hier. La police semble toutefois avoir repris le contrôle de la situation. Bien que violentes, la plupart des échauffourées ont été limitées au quartier de l'Université, rue San-Bernardo. Plusieurs centaines d'étudiants occupèrent la faculté de droit au début de l'après-midi, réclamant à grands cris la démission des ministres de l'Information et de l'Intérieur, du directeur général de la sûreté et du chef national du syndicat universitaire.

Une pancarte portant l'inscription « Assassins, à bas la police ! » a été accrochée à un tramway par un groupe de manifestants.

La police pénétra par les arrières du bâtiment. Des coups de feu furent entendus. Quatre étudiants auraient été blessés, de même qu'un sous-officier de la police armée.

En même temps la police matraquait un cortège qui cherchait à se diriger vers le ministère de l'Information. A 16 heures l'ordre était rétabli et la police regagnait ses quartiers.

Un communiqué officiel est publié ce matin. Il déclare que « des éléments étrangers aux milieux universitaires s'étaient intentionnellement mêlés aux étudiants au cours des manifestations récentes, afin de dénaturer le noble sens de ces dernières dans un but d'agitation politique ».

Selon ce communiqué — qui constitue la première allusion officielle et publique aux incidents sanglants des deux derniers jours entre les étudiants de

Madrid et la police — « dix-huit agitateurs professionnels, ayant déjà un casier judiciaire chargé, ont été appréhendés ».

Enfin le communiqué dément, sans toutefois préciser, la mort d'un des manifestants, annoncée hier, mais que la police avait déjà démentie.

Quelques-uns des étudiants arrêtés appartiennent à la Communión carliste, organisation qui soutient la candidature du prince Xavier de Bourbon-Parme au trône d'Espagne.

Une enquête est en cours pour déterminer qui a lancé l'ordre de marcher contre l'ambassade d'Angleterre lundi dernier, marche qui fut à l'origine des désordres. Les étudiants affirment que cet ordre a été donné par leur syndicat (S.E.U.), qui est un organisme de la Phalange. Les dirigeants du S.E.U. rétorquent que les instructions leur sont venues de la Phalange, laquelle dément les avoir jamais envoyés.

Les professeurs de l'université de Madrid ont adressé hier soir aux étudiants un appel les invitant à reprendre le travail.

Mais ce matin la grande majorité des étudiants n'a pas répondu à cet appel. Les salles de cours sont désertes si les rassemblements dans la rue sont rares. La grève qui se déclenche ainsi est, selon toute apparence, d'ordre politique : les étudiants, hier, n'ont plus hué M. Churchill, mais leur ministre de l'éducation nationale, ainsi que le chef du syndicat universitaire. L'« ABC » d'autre part publie aujourd'hui une lettre pastorale de Mgr Merida Perez, évêque d'Astorga, qui, sans nommer le ministre, conteste le bien-fondé de sa politique culturelle.

Dans les milieux gouvernementaux, où l'on estime que les troubles ont pris fin, on déclare aujourd'hui que la police prendra probablement des mesures plus sérieuses si les étudiants persisteraient dans leurs manifestations. Il semble que les éléments hostiles au gouvernement au sein des étudiants veuillent prolonger le mouvement de protestation s'ils le peuvent. Le moment semblerait propice pour eux.

Le général Franco s'est entretenu hier de la situation avec M. Blas-Perez, ministre de l'Intérieur.

## Nouvelle protestation britannique

Madrid, 28 janvier (Reuter). — La Grande-Bretagne a protesté hier pour la seconde fois en cinq jours auprès de l'Espagne contre les dommages occasionnés à des immeubles britanniques au cours des manifestations contre le voyage de la reine Elizabeth à Gibraltar, prévu pour le mois de mai.

Cette protestation, remise au ministère des affaires étrangères par l'ambassade britannique, fait allusion aux dommages provoqués à la Bank of London and South America à Madrid, au consulat général britannique à Barcelone, et aux vice-consulats à Huelva et à Malaga.

Le gouvernement espagnol n'a pas encore répondu aux premières protestations britanniques remises vendredi.

## Madrid n'a pas encore accepté la participation de sociétés allemandes pour la construction des bases américaines

Washington, 28 janvier (A.F.P.). — Devant une sous-commission sénatoriale des forces armées M. John Davis, secrétaire adjoint à l'Agriculture, a déclaré que les immenses stocks de produits agricoles excédentaires en possession du gouvernement des Etats-Unis pourraient être utilisés en paiement des travaux effectués pour la construction des bases militaires américaines en Espagne ou dans d'autres pays.

La plupart des pays hésitant à recevoir ces excédents d'aliments, la sous-commission est très intéressée par le projet aux termes duquel des entrepreneurs allemands pourraient participer à la construction de bases américaines en Espagne et recevoir en paiement des denrées agricoles excédentaires.

Le sénateur Mac Carran ayant assuré que le ministre espagnol des travaux publics s'était montré séduit par ce projet, l'amiral Perry, qui contrôle la construction des bases espagnoles, a déclaré que les Allemands ne peuvent, aux termes de l'accord hispano-américain actuel, participer à la construction des bases.

Il a ajouté qu'une clause de l'accord limitait clairement la participation aux Espagnols et aux Américains.

Un télégramme a déjà été adressé à Madrid, demandant un aménagement du traité de façon que d'autres nations puissent participer aux travaux, mais aucune réponse n'a encore été reçue.

La sous-commission a décidé de demander au département d'Etat de rechercher auprès de Madrid une réponse rapide.

L'amiral Perry a déclaré que la construction des bases commencerait cet été.

## Une mise au point de M. Talbott

Washington, 28 janvier (A.F.P., A.P.). — M. Harold Talbott, secrétaire à l'air, a publié une mise au point au sujet de la déclaration qu'il a faite mardi au cours d'une conférence de presse sur l'utilisation des bases que les Etats-Unis projettent d'établir en Espagne.

« L'aviation américaine, déclare M. Talbott, a la ferme intention de respecter les accords conclus entre les Etats-Unis et ceux des pays étrangers qui leur ont accordé le droit d'établir des bases aériennes. »

Le secrétaire à l'air a ajouté que c'est dans un esprit d'entière coopération que les Etats-Unis signent les accords qui leur cèdent le droit d'établir des bases en territoire étranger.

Cette mise au point a été provoquée par des remarques faites mardi au cours de cette conférence de presse.

Comme on avait fait remarquer à M. Talbott que le bruit court depuis la conclusion de l'accord entre les Etats-Unis et l'Espagne que les bases espagnoles ne pourraient être utilisées en temps de guerre, M. Talbott avait répondu : « Qui nous en empêcherait ? »

Avant lui le secrétaire à la défense, M. Charles Wilson, avait déclaré que l'on pouvait compter sur la « bonne volonté espagnole » pour l'emploi de ces bases.

« Les bases à l'étranger sont quelque chose de très compliqué, a-t-il dit, et, à moins d'être assuré de la bonne volonté des gouvernants du pays où elles sont construites, on n'obtient rien de bon. »

Il semble toutefois que la remarque de M. Talbott avait été mal accueillie au département d'Etat, où l'on y aurait craint qu'elle ne blessât l'Espagne, très pointilleuse sur toutes les questions touchant sa souveraineté.

# NOUVEAU

## GRANDE-BRETAGNE

### Les Nouvelles-Hébrides ne sont pas à vendre

Londres, 28 janvier (Reuter). — Le Colonial Office a qualifié hier d'« insensée » l'information publiée par un journal australien selon laquelle la Grande-Bretagne serait sur le point de vendre à la France les intérêts qu'elle possède aux Nouvelles-Hébrides.

« Les Nouvelles-Hébrides, a déclaré un porte-parole, ne sont pas à vendre en ce qui nous concerne, pas plus que la France ne pourrait les vendre. » « Le statu quo restera inchangé », a ajouté le porte-parole.

[A Paris, dans les milieux bien informés, on dément de la façon la plus catégorique cette nouvelle en provenance de Sydney annonçant que la Grande-Bretagne se préparerait à vendre les Nouvelles-Hébrides à la France.]

Ce bruit, qui relève de la plus haute fantaisie, ajoute-t-on, pourrait tirer son origine d'une réunion franco-britannique, en mars prochain, à Honiara (Iles Salomon), au cours de laquelle les représentants des deux pays mettraient au point certaines questions d'ordre purement administratif.]

## ALLEMAGNE

### Un avocat berlinois assumera la défense du Dr Ernst

Berlin, 28 janvier (A.P.). — Le Dr Kurt Behling, avocat berlinois, spécialiste en droit international, assumera la défense de Robert Ernst, ancien maire de Strasbourg pendant l'occupation.

Le Dr Behling devait quitter Berlin hier soir par avion à destination de Strasbourg afin de s'entretenir des préparatifs du procès avec M. Eber, avocat strasbourgeois, qui est également chargé de la défense du Dr Ernst.

Parmi ses anciens clients le Dr Behling compte le général Falkenhäusen, ancien gouverneur militaire allemand en Belgique, et le maréchal von Kuechler.

**TRIESTE.** — Une amnistie a été promulguée par le général John Winteron, commandant en chef des forces anglo-américaines de la zone « A » du Territoire libre. Cette amnistie libérerait environ 140 personnes détenues dans les prisons de Trieste. — (A.F.P.)

**YOUgoslavie.** — Le Parlement yougoslave tient aujourd'hui sa première réunion depuis le début de l'année. Il doit désigner un nouveau président en remplacement de M. Djilas, qui a donné sa démission après avoir été exclu de l'appareil directeur du parti communiste pour déviation pro-occidentale. — (Reuter.)

**EGYPTE.** — Le commentateur officiel de la Radio du Caire a dénoncé hier soir mercredi la Grande-Bretagne comme « occupant illégalement Gibraltar, territoire volé à l'Espagne ». « La Grande-Bretagne, a-t-il dit, n'a aucun droit à ce territoire, qui fait partie intégrante du littoral espagnol, et les forces armées britanniques doivent être contraintes de quitter Gibraltar. » — (A.F.P.)

**ETATS-UNIS.** — Le département d'Etat a annoncé hier mercredi la démission de M. William D. Huskey, chef des services de sécurité du département, dont la mission principale est d'assurer la protection des chefs d'Etat et dignitaires étrangers durant leur séjour aux Etats-Unis. La démission de M. Huskey, qui est démocrate, a été acceptée. — (A.F.P.)

# Spain After the Pacts

By R. M. NADAL

IN order to understand the assertive Spain of to-day, raising a claim to Gibraltar and using her Moroccan policy to cultivate the friendship of the Arab League, we have to take into account two important developments: Spain's pact with the United States has changed her international position, and the Concordat with the Vatican has changed the internal character of the regime. The Roman Catholic Church and the American Government seem to have welded their interests to the perpetuation of General Franco's rule, and the Caudillo's position looks stronger than ever. But the new situation is not without serious risks for all three parties concerned.

## Bases for America

In exchange for naval and air bases—which give America control of the entrance to the Mediterranean, thus sealing her position as the dominant Power in that sea—the United States has promised Spain military aid and the building or reconditioning of certain seaports and airfields, besides financial help. On paper, the pact does not differ much from the existing agreements between America and other Western countries. Three main factors, however, put the American-Spanish alliance in a different setting.

First, it involves the reversal of the old, deep-rooted tradition of Spanish neutrality. Keeping the country out of international wars has been the mark of statesmanship for the last 140 years, and Franco's unfulfilled promises to Hitler were therefore hailed as a Machiavellian masterpiece. Now, suddenly, the neutral-minded Spaniard finds not only his traditional conception of foreign policy swept away, but he has to realise that, owing to the secret American installations in his country, Spain would be in the front line of fire if war broke out.

## Traditional Hatred

Secondly, the United States has signed an alliance with a regime that remains in power by dictatorial means. Disorganised and powerless as the opposition is, it must represent at least 51 per cent. of the Spanish population; otherwise General Franco would long ago have called for free elections. Any dealings with the dictator are bound to be interpreted by his opponents as directed against themselves. And if to that is added a third factor, the traditional Spanish hatred of all forms of foreign intervention, the stage seems set for an eventual outburst of anti-American feeling on an unprecedented scale.

It lies in America's power, however, either to alleviate or to aggravate such feelings. Under the terms of the pact, America can see to it that the economic and material benefits of her intervention shall reach as wide a section of the population as possible. Of course, if the Americans were to use their influence to soften the worst features of the Spanish regime, they might

easily undermine its very foundations; but the alternative will be to find themselves in a country with a potentially huge and embittered fifth column.

Last August, a month before publication of the Spanish-American alliance, a Concordat was signed between the Vatican and the Spanish Government. In exchange for a limited power to appoint bishops, and for the guarantee that all Spanish priests will now have to say daily prayers for the Caudillo, General Franco has given the Roman Catholic Church such powers as it has not enjoyed even in Spain since the end of the seventeenth century.

Amongst other surprising things, the Concordat states that in criminal cases involving priests or members of the religious orders, the Holy See "allows" the State to judge them in ordinary tribunals, but "with due secrecy so as to avoid any form of publicity." The accused must be treated "with all the considerations due to their status," and terms of imprisonment will be served "in ecclesiastical or religious houses."

## Banning of Books

Under this agreement Church inspectors have the right to investigate all forms and grades of State or private teaching, and power "to order the withdrawal of any book, publication or material which they may consider contradictory to the Dogma or to Catholic morality." Church properties are exempt from all taxation.

No doubt the Vatican, informed of the coming Spanish-American pact, thought the time was ripe for formally securing and confirming, in a Concordat, the privileged position which the Church had attained under Franco's rule. In so doing the Vatican has made it difficult for Roman Catholics throughout the world to deny that their Church favours liberty wherever she is in a minority, only to suppress it as soon as she attains full control of any country. If the Vatican seems to be ignoring this prospect and running the risk of an anti-clerical outburst—which past experience in Spain makes a frightening thought—it must be because the Spanish Catholic Church believes that the present Spanish regime, with or without Franco, is now firmly established, at least for long enough to mould and indoctrinate several generations under a totalitarian religious State, free from non-Catholic contamination.

## Rise or Decline?

Whether this modern theocracy will—as the new religious order, "Opus Dei," and other combative Spanish Catholics genuinely believe—create a new Roman Catholic culture and revive Spain's greatness; or whether—as many Spanish Catholics fear with equal sincerity—it will lead to a decadence similar to that of the second half of the seven-

teenth century, and to an eventual ending in catastrophe of Roman Catholic predominance in Spain, remains to be seen.

So far one thing is evident. The old façade of a modern fascist State with a single party, with blue shirts and upraised arms, has crumbled into pieces. Instead, we see the Spanish Church coming into the open as the chief, all-powerful force in Spain to-day. With American strategic interests in the peninsula now formally vested in the maintenance of the existing order, and counting on the support of the Army, the Church has embarked on a new, daring experiment in Spain: the transformation from above of the political and cultural life of a whole nation. The goal must be glittering, for the dangers are great.

DAILY MAIL  
28-1-54

DAILY MAIL, THURSDAY, JANUARY 28, 1954

by Illingworth

WRONG ADDRESS



## Calling For Gibraltar

### What is Behind Spanish Agitation?

To the Editor of The Daily Telegraph  
**S**IR—The British Government have rightly refused to accept the Spanish Government's representations concerning the Queen's visit to one of her territories. But the Spanish agitation for the return of Gibraltar and the deplorable demonstrations and attacks on the British Embassy and various consulates must be seen in correct perspective.

The Spanish Government's recently concluded agreement with the United States for the use of naval and air bases in exchange for considerable dollar credits was a diplomatic triumph for Gen. Franco, and has enhanced his prestige both at home and abroad.

Every improvement in Gen. Franco's position, particularly abroad, is a source of anxiety to the Falange—the old guard of the "Movimiento," and generally unpopular in Spain—whose usefulness to the régime diminishes in direct proportion to the strength of Gen. Franco's position.

Hence the renewed agitation for the return of Gibraltar and acts of hooliganism inspired and fostered by the Falangist party to draw attention to themselves, and to bolster up their waning power.

Thanks to our own post-war attitude towards Spain, which under the Socialist Government was one of ill-informed criticism and in one or two cases downright rudeness, it was hardly to be expected that Gen. Franco would immediately discourage these outbursts, though more recent reports do indicate that the authorities have in fact made some attempt to check the rioters.

During my three years in Spain I developed a great affection for the people and, I hope, acquired some understanding of them. The recent incidents are the work of an unpopular minority, and do not represent the views of the majority. There is still immense goodwill among Spaniards of all classes to Great Britain—Spain's best customer.

Yours faithfully,

W. F. R. SEGRAVE, Cmdr. R.N.  
Naval Attaché Madrid 1949-1952.  
London, S.W.1.

From  
Mr. BERNARD BRAINE, M.P.  
To the Editor of The Daily Telegraph  
Sir—Mr. A. Hennessy solemnly tells us that the problem of Gen. Franco's claim to Gibraltar will have to be faced.

Why? Gibraltar has been British for two and a half centuries and there is no earthly reason why it should not continue to be so for all time.

Having regard to the nature of totalitarian régimes, is it unreasonable to suppose that if Spain's dictator commanded as much affection and loyalty from the Spanish people as her Majesty inspires in the resident population of Gibraltar, the present clamour would never have been raised? Yours, &c.,  
BERNARD BRAINE.

House of Commons.

To the Editor of The Daily Telegraph  
Sir—Mr. A. Hennessy's letter is permeated by an air of compromise and spinelessness.

Many countries owe their speedy relief from oppression to the fact that the British flag floats over the Rock, a bastion keeping the sea lanes open to the free world.

We, Sir, are proven trustees to which this position comes as no new-founded form of self-aggrandisement. In the interests of the world we should not waver or quaver before any demagogic expostulations or bad manners. Yours faithfully,  
London, W.1. J. S. EDMONDS.

To the Editor of The Daily Telegraph  
Sir—Would we lose a great deal militarily, strategically or economically if we ceded this sore spot to Spain so far as its civil administration is concerned and insisted upon a 500-years' lease of it as a base.

We can, I think, forget the present demonstrations, which are the hot-headed antics of irresponsible students, similar to those we witness here on Nov. 5. They certainly mean no ill-will towards our Queen. Her visit only provides them with the opportunity to focus world attention on something which is hurtful to the pride of a very proud people.

Yours faithfully,

GORDON FLETCHER.  
London, W.14.

## SECOND PROTEST TO SPAIN

### BARCELONA DAMAGE

From Our Own Correspondent

MADRID, Wednesday.

The British Embassy in Madrid to-day delivered a second protest at the Spanish Foreign Ministry about damage to the British Consulate-General and the British Institute building at Barcelona. Damage to Consular premises at Huelva and Malaga, and at the Bank of London and South America in Madrid was also cited.

No reply had been received by noon to a similar protest, delivered last Friday, about damage to the Embassy; to the Consular premises in Granada and Seville, and to the British Institute in Seville on the previous day.

A protest meeting by 800 students of Madrid University to-day over the rough handling by the police during the Gibraltar demonstrations was broken up. Six students and four policemen were injured. Fifty arrests were made.

# NCE DES « QUATRE »

## adopte l'ordre du jour posé par M. Molotov

ministres des affaires  
au siège de l'ancien  
ony Eden qui préside.  
ce des Quatre s'était  
on. La seconde a ré-  
l'enlèvement dans  
L'ordre du jour a  
ée permettra d'abor-  
d, celui de la Chine.  
Bault commença par  
était le seul à ne pas  
er jour. Le ministre  
ministre soviétique di-  
Il le fit en termes  
nça la défense de  
e, rendit hommage à  
a qu'il acceptait de  
Molotov, et dans l'ordre

Cette proposition fit sensation. C'était la véritable pre-  
mière surprise de la conférence. La réplique de M. Molotov  
contenait des arguments de valeur. Mais, comme le discours  
de M. Foster Dulles, elle n'avait aucun caractère agressif.  
Bien mieux, M. Molotov se défendit d'avoir une position  
systématiquement opposée à celle des Occidentaux. Il parla  
de l'esprit de compromis comme de celui sans lequel rien  
ne saurait être fait, et, un peu plus tard, M. Eden, chef d'une  
diplomatie traditionnellement appuyée sur des solutions  
conciliantes, lui lança un défi amical pour savoir qui des  
deux ferait le plus de chemin à la rencontre de l'autre.

Cette seconde séance fut couronnée par un exposé de  
M. Bidault, qui, en appuyant l'acceptation de l'ordre du  
jour soviétique par M. Foster Dulles, expliqua les raisons  
de cette attitude : il ne s'agit pas d'accepter la conception  
politique de l'U.R.S.S., mais simplement le cadre que son  
ministre propose pour les débats qui vont s'ouvrir.

L'Union soviétique a choisi comme com-  
pagnon pour sa contribution à la cause  
de la paix, et qu'elle veut faire accepter  
par les Etats-Unis et les autres nations.

« Je désire faire savoir ici, clairement  
et sans équivoque, ce que le ministre  
soviétique des affaires étrangères sait  
déjà : les Etats-Unis n'accepteront pas  
de participer à une conférence des Cinq  
aux côtés des agresseurs communistes  
chinois pour discuter des problèmes  
généraux concernant la paix mondiale.

« Les Etats-Unis refusent non, comme  
on l'a prétendu, parce qu'ils nient que  
le régime communiste chinois existe ou  
qu'il soit puissant. Aux Etats-Unis nous  
savons bien qu'il existe et qu'il est puis-  
sant, puisque ses forces d'agression se  
sont jointes aux agresseurs nord-coréens  
pour tuer et blesser cent cinquante  
mille Américains venus en Corée, en  
compagnie de Britanniques, de Fran-  
çais et d'autres forces des Nations unies,  
à l'appel de l'O.N.U. pour résister à  
l'agression. Nous ne refusons pas de dis-  
cutter avec eux lorsque les circonstances  
l'exigent. Nous avons discuté avec eux  
pour arriver à un armistice en Corée.  
Nous avons discuté avec eux à Pan-  
Mun-Jom et nous discuterons encore  
avec eux pour essayer de mettre sur  
pied la conférence de la paix en Corée.  
Mais autre chose est de reconnaître  
l'existence du mal, autre chose de s'em-  
parer du mal pour l'appeler bien.

« De plus les Etats-Unis rejettent la  
conception soviétique selon laquelle une  
« conférence des Cinq » aurait le droit  
de gouverner le monde et de fixer le  
destin des autres nations.

« La charte des Nations unies ne leur  
confère pas un tel mandat, qu'aucun  
principe de justice et de discussion hon-  
nête ne peut justifier. Sans aucun doute  
les grandes puissances ont une lourde  
responsabilité en ce qui concerne l'éta-

blissement et le maintien de la paix, mais  
un tel pouvoir ne leur donne aucun droit  
de donner des ordres aux petites nations  
ou de diriger les affaires mondiales. Nous  
croys au principe, inscrit dans la  
charte des Nations unies, selon lequel il  
existe une égalité souveraine entre tou-  
tes les nations, petites et grandes. »

### L'ordre du jour soviétique

M. Dulles en arrive alors à l'ordre du  
jour proposé lundi par le ministre des  
affaires étrangères soviétique et déclare :

« Bien que ce ne soit pas celui que  
nous aurions proposé, nous l'adopté-  
rions, afin de pouvoir poursuivre notre  
travail. »

L'ordre du jour proposé par le minist-  
re russe comprend les points suivants :

1° Réunion d'une conférence à cinq  
comprenant la Chine communiste, ques-  
tion que, selon M. Dulles, les Etats-  
Unis « sont prêts à traiter et à régler » ;

2° Examen de la question allemande  
et de la sécurité européenne. C'est l'Al-  
lemagne, déclare M. Dulles, qui nous  
préoccupe au premier chef, et plus tôt  
nous arriverons à ce problème mieux  
cela vaudra ;

3° Discussion sur le traité autrichien,  
dont le projet est presque terminé. La  
question devrait être rapidement ré-  
glée, mais, dit le secrétaire d'Etat, si  
les Soviétiques préfèrent « garder pour  
la fin ce qui est le plus facile à régler,  
nous nous accommoderons de leurs dé-  
sirs ».

« Le plus important, dit-il, est que  
nous prouvions rapidement que nous  
sommes capables d'assumer nos respon-  
sabilités envers les autres et non pas  
seulement de perdre notre temps à des  
querelles entre nous. »

## M. Molotov propose la réunion d'une conférence à cinq en mai-juin

Dans son exposé, suivant immédiate-  
ment celui de M. Dulles, M. Molotov, par-  
lant sur un ton que tout le monde s'ac-  
corde à trouver très modéré, reconnaît  
tout d'abord qu'il lui faut quelque temps  
pour étudier en détail les discours pro-  
noncés par MM. Bidault et Eden. « Je ne  
veux pas faire de polémique, dit-il en  
substance : je pourrais souligner des  
divergences entre les points de vue bri-  
tanniques et français ou encore relever  
des incohérences dans des points litigieux. Je  
ne le ferai pas. Je suis d'accord avec  
M. Bidault que les problèmes de Corée et  
d'Autriche ne sauraient être traités simu-  
lanément. Ces problèmes font cependant  
partie d'un tout. »

M. Molotov aborde alors la question de  
l'Allemagne et de la sécurité européenne.  
« On discutera, dit-il, aussi longtemps  
qu'il le faudra. » Se tournant vers  
M. Dulles, il lui dit en substance : « Vous  
comparez Potsdam à Versailles, qui,  
selon vous, sont des accords également  
mauvais. L'U.R.S.S. n'était pas présente à  
Versailles et ne saurait en porter la res-  
ponsabilité, mais Roosevelt, trois fois élu  
président des Etats-Unis, et Truman,  
deux fois, ont approuvé Yalta. »

### La valeur actuelle des accords de Potsdam

« En outre, poursuit M. Molotov, le  
traité franco-soviétique de 1944, le traité  
anglo-soviétique de 1942 et le traité  
franco-anglais de 1947 se situent dans le  
contexte de Potsdam. »

M. Molotov reconnaît alors, et c'est la  
première fois qu'un tel propos est tenu  
par un homme politique soviétique, que  
certaines dispositions des accords de  
Potsdam sont aujourd'hui caduques.

« Mais, ajoute-t-il, l'objectif est le  
même : doter l'Allemagne d'un statut  
pacifique et démocratique. On aurait donc  
tort de prendre à la légère la signifi-  
cation qu'ont encore maintenant ces ac-  
cords. »

### Le rôle de la Chine dans la consolidation de la paix

La deuxième partie du discours de  
M. Molotov est entièrement consacrée à  
la Chine, « une grande puissance mérit-  
tant le respect », a-t-il dit, mettant  
tout d'abord en garde ceux qui se refu-  
sent à reconnaître ce fait et qui, assu-  
rément, « pourraient se mettre dans un très  
mauvais cas » s'ils persévéraient dans  
cette attitude.

Se référant à la résolution des Nations  
unies condamnant la Chine comme agres-  
seur, M. Molotov déclare que l'U.R.S.S.  
maintient son point de vue selon lequel  
cette résolution a fait tort aux Nations  
unies elles-mêmes. Il remarque que l'in-  
tervention des volontaires chinois sur le  
Yalu s'est réalisée au moment où les  
frontières de la Chine étaient menacées,  
ce qui n'est pas le cas des Etats-Unis  
qui intervinrent alors qu'ils se trouvaient  
à 10 000 kilomètres de distance. Il dit  
encore que l'intervention des volontaires  
chinois était très compréhensible, étant

donnée l'amitié des peuples de Chine et  
de Corée du Nord.

M. Molotov a ensuite fait remarquer  
que « si la guerre de Corée s'est termi-  
née c'est sur l'initiative de la Corée du  
Nord et de la Chine populaire, à la suite  
des déclarations de M. Chou En-Lai. Ce  
point montre le rôle de la Chine dans la  
consolidation de la paix ».

### Pourquoi ne pas se réunir à cinq ?

Se référant aux déclarations de M. Dul-  
les selon lesquelles la conception d'une  
conférence à cinq habilitée à traiter des  
problèmes mondiaux serait contraire à  
la charte des Nations unies et à la sou-  
veraineté des peuples, M. Molotov a dit

## OPINIONS INTERNATIONALES

La PRAVDA (Moscou) reproche aux  
trois ministres occidentaux de n'avoir  
pas même touché la question de la sécu-  
rité de l'Europe, et les correspondants du  
journal assistant à la conférence ont sou-  
igné que « les déclarations occidentales  
sont la répétition des idées américaines,  
qui en définitive désirent que le régime  
revanchard de Bonn domine toute l'Alle-  
magne et que ce pays soit inclus dans le  
bloc agressif de l'Atlantique ».

Parlant de M. Foster Dulles et de son  
discours d'hier, la PRAVDA remarque  
que le secrétaire d'Etat américain « a  
complètement laissé de côté la question  
d'une détente internationale et qu'il a  
réaffirmé que les Etats-Unis ne sauraient  
participer à une conférence à cinq ».

La PRAVDA relève que les milieux dé-  
mocratiques de Berlin estiment que les  
ennemis de la coopération internationale  
continueront leur tentative de sabotage ;  
cependant le journal ne manque pas de  
déclarer par ailleurs que « l'adoption de  
l'ordre du jour soviétique permet d'espé-  
rer qu'avec de la bonne volonté des deux  
côtés une amélioration de la coopération  
internationale pourra être envisagée. »

Du côté américain on demeure scepti-  
que sur les résultats de la conférence. Le  
NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, qui  
d'une part exalte les qualités diplomatiques  
de M. Georges Bidault dans son  
attitude à l'égard de M. Molotov, relève  
d'autre part qu'« il est possible qu'un  
retournement soit en voie de prépara-  
tion ». Toutefois, ajoute-t-il, un change-  
ment d'attitude soviétique ne s'est pas  
encore produit : « Selon ce que M. Mo-  
lotov a laissé entendre, Staline pourrait  
aussi bien être encore en vie en train de  
diriger la politique soviétique avec sa  
manière de faire particulièrement vindic-  
tative et soupçonneuse. »

En Grande-Bretagne le NEWS CHRO-  
NICLE (libéral) estime que « M. Molotov  
pourrait faire échouer la conférence de  
Berlin en refusant de passer à un autre  
sujet tant qu'un accord sur la conférence  
à cinq n'aura pas été réalisé ».

Le MANCHESTER GUARDIAN constate

qu'il s'agissait d'excellents principes.  
« Mais, a-t-il ajouté, si l'on admet une  
conférence à quatre, pourquoi ne pas se  
réunir à cinq ? » Et il a rappelé à cet  
égard les responsabilités particulières qui  
incombent aux cinq puissances au sein  
du Conseil de sécurité, conformément à  
la charte des Nations unies. Or, selon  
M. Molotov, la Chine ne saurait être re-  
présentée que par le gouvernement de  
Pékin.

M. Molotov a conclu son exposé en  
déclarant que « tout doit hâter la réu-  
nion des cinq puissances », et il a en-  
fin déposé un projet de résolution dans  
lequel il est dit qu'en vue de diminuer  
la tension internationale, d'éliminer les  
causes de conflit, de développer les re-  
lations économiques et les relations in-  
ternationales dans le cadre de la charte  
des Nations unies, il a été jugé oppor-  
tun de réunir une conférence en mai-  
juin 1954, à laquelle prendraient part  
la France, la Grande-Bretagne, les  
Etats-Unis, l'U.R.S.S. et la République  
populaire de Chine.

## M. Bidault ne veut pas d'une bataille de procédure

Au cours de la deuxième séance de la  
conférence M. Georges Bidault a notam-  
ment déclaré :

« M. Molotov nous a présenté hier, à  
la fin de son discours, un projet d'ordre  
du jour. Ce projet soulève inévitablement  
de nombreuses objections. La méthode  
qu'il implique est à l'inverse de celle que  
j'avais moi-même définie. Au lieu de  
commencer par celles des difficultés qui  
sont susceptibles d'une solution rapide, il  
met en avant les problèmes les plus  
généraux, ceux sur lesquels, pour peu  
que la conférence se laisse aller à une  
pente qui n'est que trop facile, les dis-  
cussions risquent de se prolonger indé-  
finiment et sans résultat. Cette méthode  
éveille en moi des doutes sérieux. D'autre  
part le libellé même du texte de M. Mo-  
lotov est tel qu'il tend à faire admettre  
que dès avant la discussion des problè-  
mes nous aurions accepté certains prin-  
cipes qui sont ceux dont s'inspire la dé-  
légalation soviétique.

« J'estime quant à moi que la priorité  
doit être donnée au problème allemand,  
ainsi qu'au problème autrichien. Je reste  
fidèle à ce point de vue. Mais je reste en  
même temps fidèle à l'idée que nous  
devons aussitôt que possible commencer  
les discussions sur le fond des choses,  
et non pas nous laisser entraîner dans des  
débats de procédure qui tromperaient  
l'attente que les peuples ont mise en nous,  
qui en même temps ralentiraient la  
marche de toute la conférence et nous  
placeraient dans une situation que nous  
avons connue par trop souvent dans le  
passé.

« Je suis décidé à éviter un débat de  
trois mois sur un ordre du jour. Je suis  
décidé à tout faire pour accélérer la  
discussion des problèmes de fond, avant  
tout les problèmes allemand et autrichien.  
Ces problèmes figurent dans l'ordre du  
jour soviétique : ils ne figurent pas à la  
place qui me paraît souhaitable. Est-ce  
une raison pour entamer maintenant ce  
que la presse appelle déjà la « bataille  
» de l'ordre du jour ? Je ne le crois  
pas. Je crois qu'un ordre du jour ne doit  
pas poser le problème de fond, que c'est  
une erreur de lui attribuer une telle  
signification, et que dans le cas actuel  
n'importe quel ordre du jour peut conve-  
nir, à une condition toutefois, qui est  
essentielle : à condition qu'il soit entendu  
clairement entre nous que cet ordre est  
avant tout une liste, c'est-à-dire qu'il  
constitue simplement l'énumération des  
problèmes qui feront l'objet de nos dis-  
cussions. »

que la conférence a pris un départ satisfai-  
sant et déclare : « Les ministres occiden-  
taux ont été raisonnables en acceptant  
l'ordre du jour soviétique, et s'ils peu-  
vent se mettre d'accord pour repousser  
une conférence avec la Chine commu-  
niste jusqu'au mois de juin cela devrait  
aider à surmonter les objections qu'ils  
font à une telle conférence. »

Le DAILY TELEGRAPH (conservateur)  
déploie le silence de M. Molotov au  
sujet des élections allemandes, et le  
DAILY WORKER (communiste) souligne  
que les mesures de sécurité proposées à  
la Russie intéressent aussi la France et  
que « tous les autres Etats européens  
doivent recevoir des assurances contre  
l'agression allemande ».

### LE COLONEL TOULPANOV RENTRE EN SCÈNE A BERLIN

(De notre correspondant particulier.)

Berlin, 27 janvier. — L'ancien chef de  
l'information de la première administra-  
tion militaire soviétique en Allemagne,  
Toulpanov, haut fonctionnaire du parti,  
vient de réapparaitre.

Cet homme, qui joua déjà un grand rôle  
dans la formation du comité allemand  
libre pendant la guerre, fut considéré  
ensuite pendant toute la durée de son  
séjour en Allemagne (1946-1949) comme  
un pôle négatif de la politique russe d'oc-  
cupation par rapport à l'Occident, le pôle  
positif étant représenté par Semionov.  
Toulpanov aurait approuvé en particu-  
lier le blocus de Berlin-Ouest et appuyé  
— toujours en accord avec Jdanov dans  
les conseils du Kremlin — le clan extrê-  
miste allemand groupé autour de Walter  
Ulbricht. L'article qu'il vient de publier  
à la veille de la conférence des Quatre  
dans la Neue Welt, organe de la haute  
commission russe, témoigne qu'il n'a pas  
changé d'opinion.

MANCHESTER  
28-1-54

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## ANOTHER BRITISH PROTEST

### Damage in Spain

From a Diplomatic Correspondent

On "no smoke without fire" principles the reports of Arab League invitations to General Franco to tour their part of the world as a champion of anti-imperialism have been under examination.

The Arab League apparently denied the reports yesterday. So did General Neguib in connection with the adumbrated visit to Egypt in particular. From Arab League or neighbouring sources there have come some complex tales of the Spanish Caudillo having contemptuously thrust aside Israeli petitions for his good offices as a mediator with the Arab States. Instead, he was going to get tough with the Israelis about the Holy Places, apparently both Christian and Mohammedan.

Brains seem to have been working very fast upon procuring a tie-up of some sort between the Spanish and the Egyptian theatres of angry talk. In London it would be thought rather surprising if General Franco consented to go personally to Egypt. He is, after all, head of a great State. There seems no reason whatever to credit the reports of foiled attempts by Israel to procure his mediation. Moscow is also taking an interest in Spain's attitude. "Anybody listening to Franco's propaganda would imagine that he, too, is fighting imperialism," Moscow radio has been telling its Arab listeners. "The ruling circles in Fascist Spain are trying to create a commotion about their services to the Arab people."

Moscow radio argues that Spain is not venturing on its own account but easing the way for America to get a grip in Morocco.

In Madrid the student demonstrations on two fronts, against British buildings and Spanish policemen, continue. The British Embassy is permanently cordoned off. Another official British protest has been lodged about damage to consulates and institutes. Outside Spain the significance of the students' refusal to pitch the tone of their protests precisely by the Government's tuning fork is being pondered.

THE LISTENER  
28-1-54

# The American Attitude of Mind

By HAROLD NICOLSON

ONCE again I repeat that the most important single factor in world affairs is the relation between Great Britain and the United States. In the first place, we constitute between us, together with our associates and adherents, by far the greatest power in the modern world. In the second place, our general principles and objectives are identical and are connected with the hopes and desires of the whole free world. Nothing will ever make me believe that economic justice or equality is either incompatible with, or more important than, political justice; never shall I admit that the four freedoms are not the aim of civilised man or that our interpretation and practice of those four freedoms are not infinitely superior to the communist interpretation and practice. And, in the third place, however much we may differ, there does exist between the British mind and the American mind a greater similarity of texture than between the souls or minds, or even the habits, of any other two nations. Our co-operation is not merely desirable, it is an actual physical necessity.

Thus, when I hear my countrymen grumbling about the Americans and thereby creating bad blood between the two countries, I feel as if they were committing an act of treason. I am as shocked as if I heard them denouncing our connection with the other members of the Commonwealth. Is that a sentimental, or an old-fashioned, reaction? Nothing of the sort.

It is not sentimental, since it is based upon the concrete facts: (1) that if we quarrel, then the whole free world slips into little pieces ready to be swallowed by the big red wolf; and (2) that if we

manage not to quarrel, then our might is overwhelming and no sane person would dare to challenge our superiority by the risk of war. To me, our union means peace and safety, our disunion war and terrible danger. Believe me, my view is not coloured by the fact that I happen to like the Americans very much indeed. Nobody could have spent as much time as I have in the United States without realising what fundamentally decent folk they are. Yet even if I did not know the Americans well, even if I disliked them, I hope I should still feel that our union with them is an essential necessity and that one has simply got to swallow the pill even if unpleasant. So, if I may seem to be critical of American policy and methods, please believe me that I am trying only to indicate the points of friction, perhaps even to isolate the points of friction, and not throwing bits of grit into the machine.

The Americans often assure us that they are a young country inexperienced in the ways of the wicked world. This annoys me. They are no more a young country than we were in 1754, and they must be judged by adult standards. The most important of those standards are tact and good manners. Although I think the Americans are the best mannered people that I know of—in the sense that they take off their hats in elevators and help weak women across the street—I do not think they possess much tact. Least of all do they possess the tact required by a great and powerful country in dealing with other countries, who were formerly as great and powerful, but whose strength and wealth have been diminished in two very trying wars. The fact that they have been

## THE ROCKY RIOTS

GENERAL FRANCO really is a silly little man. The first rule for dictators is that if you are in any danger of being hoist yourself, then don't explode petards.

This the Caudillo has ignored. He worked up some nice riots about Gibraltar. Now he finds that for two days running the Madrid students have been demanding, not only Gibraltar, but also a free Press.

If that sort of thing lasts much longer the Caudillo certainly won't. In fact if the Spanish Press were really to be set free the General might before so very long be glad of a British Gibraltar as a handy refuge.

Clearly he is perched upon an explosive situation and is seeking to divert domestic discontent to foreign issues—like Gibraltar and his Arab friendship plans, which are now being denied so heartily that they might almost be classed among the eternal verities.

Do you remember, General, how friend Mussolini used to call for Nice, Corsica and Tunis?

And do you remember, General, what his people did to him?

## Franco gets protest 2

Madrid, Wednesday.—Britain sent Spain a second protest today about riot damage to British property. The first, sent on Saturday, is still unanswered.

Demonstrations continued in Madrid from the third day, but on a milder scale. Students stopped traffic, jeered at police and protested against sketchy accounts of the rioting in the controlled Press.

Plain-clothes police arrested 30 demonstrators. — News Chronicle.

NEWS CHRONICLE  
28-1-54

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FASHION NOTE: THE LONG-LEGGED LOOK

## USE OF SPANISH AIR BASES

### "CLARIFICATION" BY U.S. MINISTER

From Our Own Correspondent  
WASHINGTON, JAN. 27

Fearing political repercussions in Spain, the Secretary of the Air Force, Mr. Talbott, issued last night a statement to "clarify" his remarks at a Press conference earlier in the day that the United States was going to use its newly acquired Spanish air bases "when the balloon goes up."

In his statement Mr. Talbott assured everyone that the American Air Force had "every intention of living up to the agreement between the United States and those foreign countries that have granted air bases to our country." The Spanish agreement says, *inter alia*, that "the time and manner of wartime utilization of set areas and facilities will be as mutually agreed upon." It is also described as a "self defence" measure. Spain is not a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the question could arise as to what might happen if the United States found herself at war through her Atlantic commitments and Spain was neutral.

### QUESTION ON AGREEMENT

In the presence of Mr. Wilson, the Secretary of Defence, and the Air Force Chief of Staff, General Twining, Mr. Talbott had been most explicit on the issue. He was asked whether the Spanish agreement did not provide only for the peacetime use of the proposed bases. If this was so, what would the Air Force do in wartime? "Well," said Mr. Talbott, "who is going to stop us? There are certain agreements on the use of bases, but when the balloon goes up we are going right in." Mr. Wilson, sensing danger, hastily interposed with the remarks on the necessity of "partnership," and said: "This business of having bases in another man's country" was a delicate one. Good will was everything.

Discussing air power, General Twining said that the United States had now developed atomic bombs sufficiently compact to be carried in fighter-bombers. He indicated that, because of this development, the reduction of two strategic air force wings of the new 137-wing programme would be made possible. This programme will replace the Truman Administration's old target of 143 wings.

## GEN. FRANCO'S PLANS PROJECTED TOUR OF ARAB STATES IN DOUBT

BY OUR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT

Spanish officials in London, though not confirming the report of General Franco's intention to visit Egypt and other Arab countries, emphasize his claim to an unusual knowledge of Arab affairs.

General Franco's military career was established in Spanish Morocco, where he volunteered to serve in 1912. Eight years later, after a brief stay in Spain, spent partly in recuperating from a wound, he was said to be "longing to return to Africa." He did so, and assisted Lieutenant-Colonel Millan Astray in organizing the Spanish Foreign Legion, later commanding it. In 1936 it was to Morocco he flew to begin his own armed intervention in Spanish affairs, which resulted in his defeat of the Republican forces in the civil war. He arrived at Tetuan on July 19 of that year. It is said that his experience in North Africa has given him insight into the aspirations of the inhabitants as well as an acquaintance with the Arabic language.

General Franco has expressed his "utmost satisfaction" at last week's demonstration at Tetuan, when notables of Spanish Morocco refused to admit the authority of the present Sultan of Morocco.

There are strong reasons for doubting, at present, the report of General Franco's intended tour of the Arab States. Should it, in fact, take place it might imply that, having achieved the recent agreement with the United States and the Concordat with the Vatican, both of which events received particular attention in the General's New Year's Eve message to his people, he is seeking greater prominence in world affairs and has chosen the Arab elements of the Mediterranean as his particular sphere of influence. He said, on December 31, that he felt Spain had won back her proper place on the international stage after more than a century of neglect and internal disruption.

It is now confirmed that Sir John Balfour, the British Ambassador in Madrid, has made a second protest to the Spanish Government concerning damage to British property in the recent disturbances. The Note is believed to have mentioned damage to the Madrid branch of the Bank of London and South America and to the consulates at Barcelona, Huelva, and Malaga.

## MORE DEMONSTRATIONS IN MADRID

MADRID, Jan. 27.—Police again had to use their batons to-day to break up a threatened march on the Ministry of Information. About 1,000 students gathered this morning outside the university to protest against the way in which Spanish newspapers and the wireless had reported their demonstrations during the past few days, when both police and students were injured. Police charged them as they tried to block traffic in San Bernardo Street and drove them away from the university.

The Ministry of Information stated late to-night that 18 of those arrested in Madrid had no connexion with the students, and that "the political records of some of these people confirm that they are agitators." The demonstrations were inspired by "highly patriotic spirits," but "the origin and the development of the incidents which followed have called for an official investigation in an effort to clarify matters and to discover those who have been responsible for them."—*Reuter*.

## SULTAN OF MOROCCO

### RECOGNITION REFUSED BY ARAB LEAGUE

CAIRO, Jan. 27.—The Arab League Council to-night announced that it did not recognize the French-appointed Sultan of Morocco, but supported the "legitimate" Sultan, Sidi Mohammed Ben Yusef, who was recently deposed by the French.

A spokesman said the council had decided to send good-will missions to Spain, the Vatican and Asian countries.—*Reuter*.

## VANGUARD IN DRY DOCK AT GIBRALTAR

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

GIBRALTAR, JAN. 27

The battleship Vanguard (42,000 tons) was successfully moved to No. 1 dry dock here this morning. A ticklish job in which the ship clears the dock sides by only 8ft., it was accomplished in a little over one hour. The Vanguard is undergoing a refit lasting over a month before she joins in the exercises of the combined Home and Mediterranean Fleets on March 15. The remainder of the Home Fleet is due at Gibraltar on February 10.

Exactly a year ago to-day the Vanguard made naval dockyard history by being the largest warship ever to dry dock in Gibraltar. The Vanguard has a beam of 108½ft. and is 814½ft. from stem to stern. The Gibraltar dry dock is 125ft. wide and 871ft. long.

THE TIMES  
28-1-54

# GEN. FRANCO AND THE ROCK



Sir Malcolm Hillbery, presiding yesterday at the annual meeting of the Royal Masonic Hospital, reported that the number of patients admitted to the hospital during the year ended June 30, 1953, was 2,500, compared with 2,497 in the previous year. There had been a large increase in the number of patients admitted as emergency or very urgent cases—794 against

ROYAL MASONIC HOSPITAL  
Sir Malcolm Hillbery, presiding yesterday at the annual meeting of the Royal Masonic Hospital, reported that the number of patients admitted to the hospital during the year ended June 30, 1953, was 2,500, compared with 2,497 in the previous year. There had been a large increase in the number of patients admitted as emergency or very urgent cases—794 against

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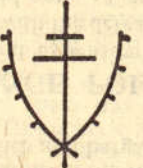
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9/6

**ROBERT HALE**

The Israel Ambassador and Mme. Eliah, Lord Rothschild, Sir Keith and Lady Harlow, Sir David Rogers, Sir Ben Lockspeiser, Dr. and Mrs. H. F. Fox, Dr. E. F. Gross, Dr. and Mrs. R. Horrold, Professor and Mrs. C. A. Keble, Dr. Alec Lerner, Dr. and Mrs. F. I. Macrae, Dr. and Mrs. M. S. Neuberger, Mr. and Mrs. W. Palmer, Dr. Leonard Simpson, Dr. and Mrs. Lester Smith, Dr. Ronald Wien, Dr. and Mrs. D. E. W. Walshe, and Professor Samson Wright, Professor and Mrs. John Yuckin, and Professor S. Zuckerman.

**FUNERAL**

Sir John Carell

A large congregation, representative of the commercial and industrial life of Glasgow, attended the funeral service yesterday for Sir John Carell in Westbourne Church, Glasgow. The Rev. J. Stuart Cameron and the Rev. Dr. Adam Burnett officiated. Burial took place privately afterwards at Hillfoot cemetery.

**MEMORIAL SERVICE**

MR. CHESTER WILMOT

A memorial service for Mr. Chester Wilmot was held yesterday at All Souls', Langham Place. The Rev. J. R. W. Stott officiated; the lesson was read by the High Commissioner for Australia; and an address was given by the Rev. Guy Pentreath, head master of Cheltenham College. The large congregation included:—

The Agent-General for Victoria, the Agent-General for South Australia and Mrs. Greenham, Lady White, Lieutenant-General Sir Ian Jacob (Director-General, B.B.C.), Mrs. Lindsay, Mrs. Harman Greenwood, Mr. John Morris, Miss Mary Somerville, Mr. Robert McColl, Mr. Leonard Mall, Mr. Howard Marshall, Mr. Gilbert Harding, Mr. M. S. Neuberger, Mrs. Wynne, Mr. Francis Gilliam, Mr. Raymond Bottomley, Major J. W. Weber (representing Field-Marshal Viscount Mountbatten), Mr. Thomas Cochrane (representing Air Marshal Clifford Heathcote-Smith, Sir Brian Horrocks, Lieutenant-General Sir William McKie, Sir Lancelot Cradock and Colonel Archer Cuyt (Royal Empire Society), Sir Major-General Sir Frederick and Lady Sykes, the Hon. former colleagues from the B.B.C., Mr. John Green, and other Goldie, Mrs. Malcolm Frost, Mr. John Green, and other

4 THE CATHOLIC HERALD, Friday, January 29, 1954

## CATHOLIC HERALD

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### GIBRALTAR

**M**ANY Catholics in this country who have incurred some unpopularity for seeking over the years to redress the widespread prejudice against the cause of the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War and of Franco's Spain must feel unhappy about the Anglophobia which characterises official Spanish policy today and which is now making headline news through pressing the Gibraltar claim in connection with the Queen's visit to the colony.

Such defenders of the cause of Christian order in Spain as against disruptive secularist ideals imported from anti-Christian sources in Europe and Russia have nothing to regret today.

The so-called Spanish republicanism, supported here by majorities in every political party, could only have led to a country desperately weakened by the play of anarchic and tyrannic forces which would today have meant an added strength to the Communist world and a grave weakness in the defence of freedom.

Nor would this have been a mere accident of history, for Spain's defence of Christian values not only enabled her to understand, long before the democratic world, the real nature of the Communist threat, but to defend that spiritual primacy which must underlie true democratic freedom. And this remains true, even though Spain, for reasons springing from her history and in view of her unsettled internal state, has rejected political democracy as we know it in the Atlantic world.

\* \*

**A**LLOWING all this, it still unfortunately remains true that many of the sincerest friends of the new Spain have been disappointed by the evolution of Spanish policy under her present rulers.

In a world which above all needs the example of what true religion can and must do, if the essential liberties of man are to be saved, Catholic countries bear a very heavy responsibility.

It is not enough that in such countries the practice of religion be restored and its obvious moral and political outworks be politically defended.

Such countries are called upon to give the world the example of how the four freedoms can grow and express themselves on the foundation of the Christian teaching about the spiritual nature of man and his supernatural purpose in life.

This does not, of course, mean, as too many people suppose, that the model of parliamentary democracy should be imitated. There are other ways, as indeed the Popes have indicated.

For example, a Catholic country might well first concentrate on social justice and personal and economic liberty, rather than on the Protestant tradition of political liberalism which in insisting on appearances rather than reality first allows too much to the free play of economic forces and then seeks for a remedy to economic injustices in giving too much power to the impersonal State.

However this be, we cannot but be disappointed by the failure of Catholic Spain so far to give to the world an example of how Catholic principles can make for the realities of the good social State, in which the power of money and of the politicians is restricted in the interests of the good of the common man whose personal Christian life can be lived on a sound spiritual, social and economic basis. Only so can the reality, as distinguished from the appearance, of religion itself grow and spread its example to others.

\* \*

**T**HE present campaign for the possession of Gibraltar is, no doubt, of small significance in itself. Its real purpose may well be to distract Spaniards from deeper troubles at home. But the choice of time hardly consorts with the traditional courtesy of Spaniards who not only pay deference to ancient monarchic traditions, but realise the importance in the world of today of historic and basically Christian symbols of authority and order. Nor is the method of organised hostile demonstrations, more reminiscent perhaps of political tactics in young or semi-barbaric countries, at all consonant with the dignity of one of the great countries of Christendom.

Whatever the Spanish claims to Gibraltar may be, there are more civilised and more Christian ways of pursuing them.

We have before now suggested that the political defence of the West rests today largely on four countries, America, Britain, Germany and Spain. Of these only Spain is Catholic. That is why we feel especially distressed when Spain seems to fall short of the great, responsible and historic role which falls to the regime that first warned the world of the dangers which now encompass us all.

By order of Sir Winston

# FLEET VISIT TO SPAIN CALLED OFF

Express Political Correspondent DEREK MARKS

**S**IR WINSTON CHURCHILL has administered a slap to General Franco. On the Premier's personal instructions, the Navy has cancelled plans for ships of the Home Fleet to visit Spanish ports during the spring cruise.

This is in answer to anti-British riots in Spain organised to protest against the Queen visiting Gibraltar at the end of her Empire tour in May.

The Prime Minister had a long talk with Mr. James Thomas, the First Lord of the Admiralty, at 10 Downing-street yesterday. Afterwards the Admiralty issued a statement which said:—

"During the Home Fleet spring cruise it had been intended that some units should pay visits to ports in Spain and Spanish Morocco.

## Strong feelings

"In view of the recent manifestations of anti-British feeling in Spain, however, the Government have withdrawn their application for Home Fleet ships to visit Spanish ports and have informed the Spanish Government that they do not consider any useful purpose can be served by these visits."

Seven Home Fleet warships, including the new 36,000-ton aircraft-carrier Eagle, visited Vigo, Santander, or Malaga last year.

Sir Winston's personal intervention indicates the Government's strong feelings at Franco's anti-British campaign.

## 4 a.m. NEWS

### Pat Kirkwood's husband dies suddenly



## Navy will not call on Franco

**B**BRITISH warships will not pay their usual good-will visits to Spanish ports this year.

The Admiralty has cancelled them because of the "anti-British feeling" in Spain over the Queen's proposed stay at Gibraltar.

Home Fleet ships usually call at Spanish ports during their spring cruise to Gibraltar.

Applications to General Franco for this year's visits in February and March have now been withdrawn.

Said the Admiralty last night: "In the circumstances we do not consider that any useful purpose can be served by such visits."

In recent Spanish rioting, attacks have been made on the British Embassy in Madrid and the Consulate-General in Seville.

Last year the Navy was given an overwhelming welcome at several Spanish ports. Streets were decorated and about 100,000 people queued to go round the ships.

A report from Spain last night said that a small British cargo vessel, the *Servo*, has been seized by a Spanish warship for suspected smuggling.

DAILY MAIL  
29-1-54

125

Fleet to by-pass  
Spanish ports

# CABINET PUT BAN ON NAVY VISITS TO FRANCO After outbursts over Gibraltar

By Daily Mail Reporter

**T**HE Government yesterday withdrew their request to General Franco for British warships to visit Spanish ports in the spring because of anti-British outbursts and "Hand back Gibraltar" demands.

A joint statement issued by the Government and the Admiralty last night said:

*During the Home Fleet spring cruise it had been intended that some units should pay visits to ports in Spain and Spanish Morocco.*

*In view of the recent manifestations of anti-British feeling in Spain, however, her Majesty's Government have withdrawn their application for the Home Fleet ships to visit Spanish ports in February and March, and have informed the Spanish Government that in the circumstances they do not consider any useful purpose can be served by these visits.*

Two protests made  
by Ambassador

A request for British warships to "show the flag" at Cadiz, Malaga (near Gibraltar), Alicante, and Ceuta, in Spanish Morocco, was made formally some time ago.

But the Spanish authorities (as revealed in the *Daily Mail* on Tuesday) delayed their decision. When student demonstrators began to shout "Hand back Gibraltar" and "Take care, Queen Elizabeth"—a reference to the Queen's visit to Gibraltar in May. The British Embassy in Madrid was stoned.

Twice the British Ambassador, Sir John Balfour, had to protest against the Spanish Government's failure to protect British property.

Eventually the problem was considered in Britain at Cabinet level. And it was decided—it is understood—that even if permission were granted no British warships would call at Spanish ports.

Just a swim from  
the shore

Despite the Government decision there will be plenty of Royal Navy ships near Spain between mid-February and the end of March, when the Home and Mediterranean Fleets hold combined exercises.

More than 40 will be at Gibraltar and ships outside the mole will be anchored within easy swimming distance of the Spanish coast.

Before the war calls at Spanish ports were the highlight of the Home Fleet's spring cruise.

They were resumed two years ago after five years of cloudy diplomatic relations between Spain and the United Nations.

# TANGER, VICTOIRE ESPAGNOLE ?

## III. - Emeutes sanglantes et complot d'opérette

Un dépôt d'armes fut découvert en janvier 1950 à Karia-Seddina, en zone espagnole du Maroc. L'affaire peut paraître mince. En fait, elle ne manque pas de pittoresque et marque la première tentative espagnole pour justifier les revendications sur Tanger (1).

En alerte, la police espagnole perquisitionna à Tétouan, le contrôle militaire fut renforcé et l'on procéda à de nombreuses arrestations dans les tribus Rifaines. Puis le consul général d'Espagne à Tanger protesta auprès du menoub (représentant du sultan), accusant Hadj Ahmed ben Seddik el Ghomari, chef de la confrérie des Derkaoua, d'être l'instigateur du complot.

Un communiqué officiel espagnol résumait l'histoire en quatre lignes : « Des groupes armés organisés à Tanger ont pénétré au Maroc espagnol, mais ont été rapidement écrasés par des réactions vigoureuses des tribus, qui se sont lancées à l'attaque armée de bâtons et d'instruments aratoires. »

Le général Varela, haut commissaire d'Espagne, précisait que la bagarre avait fait deux morts et deux blessés et que trente-six fusils et six mille cartouches avaient été saisis. Devant un aussi beau résultat le Makhzen, les confréries, les notables et la communauté israélite de la zone espagnole se rendaient le 7 février 1950 auprès du général Varela et le félicitaient d'avoir fait avorter des tentatives préparées dans la zone internationale de Tanger par des éléments procommunistes contre la paix et l'ordre qui règnent dans la zone de Tétouan.

La situation ne manquait pas de clarté : Tanger, à cause de son statut de 1945, menaçait la sécurité de la zone espagnole. Il devenait urgent de porter le fer dans la plaie...

### Le cheikh aux deux visages

La police internationale arrêta donc le 18 février 1950 le cheikh Derkaoui, chef de la confrérie des Derkaoua, dénoncé comme l'instigateur du complot. Déféré au tribunal mixte, le coupable déclara avoir été entraîné dans son action par des agents provocateurs à la solde du haut commissaire d'Espagne à Tétouan. Le ridicule commençait de donner au complot une saveur peu appréciée des autorités madrilènes...

Le 30 mars, au cours de son procès, le cheikh Derkaoui affirma : « Les armes saisies m'ont été envoyées par le général Varela. L'entreprise que j'ai préparée avait pour but de montrer à l'opinion publique mondiale la situation désastreuse dans laquelle la zone espagnole se trouve plongée depuis l'arrivée du général Varela. Depuis son entrée en fonctions les habitants de cette zone sont traités comme des animaux. »

Agent double ou triple, se livrant au plus offrant, le cheikh Derkaoui n'en avait pas moins démontré le mécanisme de la manœuvre espagnole. Pour trafic d'armes il fut condamné à trois ans de prison. Le tribunal n'osa pas écarter totalement l'accusation de provocation au soulèvement et, pour ce délit, lui infligea la peine symbolique de trois mois de prison.

En même temps comparut un certain Carlos Martin, se disant républicain en exil et journaliste, mais identifié comme le principal agent provocateur du général Varela. Il purgea six mois de prison... puis retourna à Tétouan, où il occupe un poste officiel dans l'administration espagnole.

Le coup avait raté. Qu'importe, on recommencerait à la première occasion...

### Signé dans le sang

La deuxième tentative atteignit l'objectif visé. Elle se déroula le dimanche 30 mars 1950 pour l'anniversaire de la signature du protectorat. Cette fois-ci il s'agissait d'une véritable émeute. Les agents d'exécution témoignèrent d'une autre habileté que le cheikh Derkaoui. La police internationale, dont les principaux chefs étaient absents, se sentit débordée par les manifestants, perdit son sang-froid et mitrilla sans pitié la foule massée sur la place du Grand-Socco.

Officiellement on dénombra six morts et quatre-vingt-six blessés. Des témoins dignes de foi parlent d'une quinzaine de morts. Soixante-douze personnes furent arrêtées. Une quarantaine de magasins eurent leurs vitrines brisées. Des boutiques furent mises à sac. Quinze ou vingt voitures flambèrent.

Mais le « crime » était signé. Dès les premiers coups de feu des drapeaux espagnols apparurent aux fenêtres des immeubles ou aux devantures des magasins qui devaient être épargnés. Fait plus significatif encore, l'Espagne proposa aussitôt l'intervention de ses forces armées, qui, comme par hasard, étaient stationnées à la frontière, prêtes à entrer en action au premier appel.

Accepter cette offre eût été reconnaître que seule l'Espagne pouvait maintenir l'ordre dans la zone de Tanger. Le ministre de France, M. de Panafieu, s'y opposa catégoriquement et exigea que des troupes françaises fussent appelées en même temps. Le jeudi 4 avril quatre-vingts cavaliers de « réguliers » de Tétouan entrèrent à Tanger, ainsi que vingt-sept soldats français équipés de cinq automitrailleuses et d'une auto

(1) Voir le Monde des 27 et 28 janvier 1954.

### De notre envoyé spécial

CLAUDE JULIEN

tous terrains, venus de Rabat. Quelques mois plus tôt la police internationale avait porté ses effectifs de trois cent quatre-vingt-un à cinq cent vingt-cinq hommes. Aucun éclat n'était à redouter.

### L'aveu diplomatique

Le lendemain des émeutes le chef de la police déclarait que 85 % des manifestants étaient étrangers à la zone, et que pour la plupart ils venaient du Rif. On ne pouvait plus clairement accuser l'Espagne d'avoir fomenté les troubles.

L'aveu officiel vint une semaine plus tard, le 7 avril. Dans une note verbale remise à la France, aux Etats-Unis, à la Grande-Bretagne, à l'Italie, à la Belgique et au Portugal, le gouvernement de Madrid affirmait que le statut provisoire de 1945, qui avait écarté l'Espagne des postes de commandement, ne permettait pas d'assurer l'ordre à Tanger. Les émeutes du 30 mars en avaient fait la preuve. Madrid demandait donc le retour aux accords de 1923 et de 1928, qui confiaient à un officier espagnol la direction de la police internationale, et réclamait la convocation d'urgence d'une conférence destinée à élaborer un nouveau statut.

Cependant, malgré des indices aussi nombreux et aussi éloquents, Rabat mit longtemps à reconnaître que les instigateurs des émeutes se trouvaient à Tétouan. Emportée par une vieille habitude qui servait ses plans, la Résidence

accusa les nationalistes de l'Istiqlal d'avoir choisi le jour anniversaire de la signature du protectorat pour organiser une manifestation antifrançaise. L'Espagne, apparemment, avait donc réussi sur toute la ligne. Il ne lui restait plus qu'à cueillir les lauriers de la victoire.

### Le voile se déchire

Mais vint le procès des émeutiers, qui s'ouvrit le 8 avril devant le tribunal mixte de Tanger, placé sous la présidence d'un magistrat italien, M. Apostoli, assisté de deux juges adjoints (un Anglais et un Français). Dans son réquisitoire le procureur déclara sans ambages que « plusieurs prévenus étaient arrivés comme par hasard du Rif ». Un avocat espagnol essaya de protester contre ceux qui accusaient l'Espagne d'avoir organisé l'émeute, mais il se fit rappeler à l'ordre par le président.

En revanche, lorsqu'un avocat marocain voulut s'élever contre la suspicion jetée sur les nationalistes de l'Istiqlal le président Apostoli l'interrompit en affirmant : « Le tribunal est le premier à féliciter les nationalistes de n'avoir pas participé à ces incidents. »

Le procès jeta une lumière crue sur les agissements de l'Espagne. Il se conclut par des condamnations à diverses peines de prison. Le jeu de Madrid et de Tétouan était maintenant dévoilé. Il n'empêche que le statut provisoire de 1945 avait cessé de vivre. Un nouveau texte serait élaboré, mais cette fois-ci avec la participation de l'Espagne, ce qui effacerait l'« affront » de 1945.

Et les agents provocateurs cédèrent la place aux diplomates.

(A suivre.)

### Le conseil de la Ligue arabe

approuve Madrid

Au Caire le conseil de la Ligue arabe a chaleureusement approuvé hier les mesures prises par l'Espagne en vue de détacher le Maroc espagnol de l'autorité du sultan Mohammed ben Arafa.

Le conseil a en même temps assuré de son appui le khalifa de Tétouan, Mohammed ben Hassan. Il a décidé de se mettre en rapport avec le gouvernement espagnol pour lui exprimer sa gratitude devant la position qu'il a adoptée à l'égard du sultan « français » Mohammed ben Arafa.

Nouvel indice de l'intensification des relations hispano-arabes, une délégation commerciale, accompagnée d'une « exposition ambulante de produits espagnols », a quitté hier Madrid pour une tournée de quatre mois dans les pays arabes.

### Le départ de Brazzaville

de l'ex-sultan est différé

Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef et sa suite n'ont pas quitté Brazzaville hier soir comme il était prévu, bien que l'avion DC-4 tombé en panne à Fort-Lamy ait gagné l'aérodrome de la capitale fédérale dans l'après-midi.

Il est possible que l'ajournement du départ soit dû à l'état de santé d'une des femmes du sultan, auprès de laquelle une sage-femme a été appelée.

On apprend, dit le correspondant de l'A.F.P. à Brazzaville, que le souverain et sa suite accompliront la prochaine étape du voyage vraisemblablement d'une seule traite pour éviter, semble-t-il, de faire escale en territoire étranger.

### DOUZE DIRIGEANTS POLITIQUES

ONT ÉTÉ ARRÊTÉS

EN SYRIE

Damas, 28 janvier. — Accusés d'avoir incité les étudiants à provoquer des troubles, douze dirigeants politiques syriens, dont les organisations ont été dissoutes il y a plusieurs mois, ont été arrêtés hier mercredi.

Deux d'entre eux, l'ancien président de la République, M. Hacheb Atassi, et le leader du Djebel Druze Soltan Attrache, ont été placés en résidence surveillée. Les dix autres ont été incarcérés.

La police a annoncé que ces dirigeants seront mis en jugement.

Parmi les personnalités arrêtées on note M. Ruchdy Kekhya, chef du parti du peuple; Ihsan Djabri et Sabri Assali, leader du parti national; Akram Haurani, chef du parti socialiste; Salah Bitar, chef du parti de la renaissance arabe, et Adnan Atassi, ancien ministre d'empire et fils de l'ancien président Hachem Atassi.

[Les mesures prises par le gouvernement du général Adib Chichakly contre ses adversaires, qui cherchaient à reprendre l'opposition des anciens partis politiques, appellent les réflexions suivantes :

1° Le régime se sent assez fort pour frapper à la fois tous les partis politiques hostiles, et le puissant leader druze Soltan Attrache — notre vieil adversaire dans la révolte du Djebel ;

2° Plusieurs des personnalités arrêtées, et notamment M. Akram Haurani, s'étaient réfugiées à l'étranger; elles étaient rentrées en Syrie sur l'invitation pressante du général Chichakly, désireux de promouvoir la réconciliation nationale. Leur arrestation et leur mise en accusation mettent fin à cette phase de collaboration ;

3° Comme le général Neguib en Egypte, le général Chichakly se trouve désormais en Syrie seul maître du terrain : les partis politiques classiques sont dissous et décapités; l'opposition ouverte a disparu; seule la lutte clandestine peut maintenant porter atteinte au régime.]

### Le comité directeur socialiste dénonce

« l'impudence du général Franco »

A l'issue de sa dernière réunion, au cours de laquelle il a évoqué les récents événements de Tétouan, le comité directeur du parti socialiste publie un communiqué dans lequel il « dénonce l'impudence du général Franco, qui après avoir instauré dans son propre pays un régime de dictature et d'oppression est moins qualifié que quiconque pour dénoncer le colonialisme », et « regrette la politique adoptée par les démocraties occidentales qui a eu pour effet de consolider un régime analogue à ceux qu'elles ont combattus pendant la guerre. »

La déportation du sultan, poursuit ce document, aboutissement de la politique négative suivie depuis plusieurs années au Maroc et de l'indépendance manifestée à l'égard du gouvernement français par certains résidents, le refus d'appliquer les réformes attendues par la population marocaine, les méthodes de répression analogues à celles déjà employées en Tunisie, ont compromis à la fois la position de la France au Maroc et sa situation internationale.

Le comité directeur estime indispensable et urgent un changement radical de politique à l'égard des protectorats et l'abandon définitif des méthodes colonialistes dans l'Union française.

### Madrid ignore la création

d'un « gouvernement marocain

en exil »

Madrid, 28 janvier (A.F.P.). — Un porte-parole du ministère des affaires étrangères espagnol s'est refusé à toute déclaration au sujet des informations publiées au Caire par l'hebdomadaire *Akher Saa* selon lesquelles l'Espagne ne s'opposerait pas à l'installation dans la zone espagnole d'un « gouvernement marocain en exil ».

Le porte-parole a déclaré qu'il n'avait aucune connaissance officielle de ces informations et qu'il ne pouvait en conséquence ni les confirmer ni les démentir.

### L'Egypte n'aurait pas invité

le général Franco

Le Caire, 28 janvier (U.P.). — Le secrétaire général adjoint de la Ligue arabe, Ahmed Choukairy, a démenti hier mercredi la nouvelle selon laquelle la Ligue avait invité le général Franco à se rendre en visite au Moyen-Orient. Le général Neguib a ajouté son démenti au nom du gouvernement égyptien.

### Prochain voyage du sultan ?

(De notre correspondant particulier.)

Rabat, 28 janvier. — Des échanges de vues ont lieu entre la Résidence générale et le palais impérial au sujet d'un voyage du sultan à Casablanca et à Marrakech. Aucune précision ne peut toutefois être donnée quant à la date et à la durée de ce déplacement. On sait que jusqu'à présent il avait été retardé, notamment pour des raisons de sécurité.

La police mobile de Meknès a procédé la nuit dernière à une importante rafle dans divers quartiers de la ville. Plus de quatre cents Marocains ont été interpellés, quarante-trois appréhendés pour vérification d'identité et soixante et un retenus pour pièces d'identité insuffisantes.



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MARIE BRIZA

vous

recommande

SON

RHUM

CHARI

Because of Madrid Riots

# Royal Navy Won't Call At Spanish Ports in '54

By the United Press

LONDON, Jan. 28.—Britain today forbade Royal Navy ships to visit Spanish ports as usual this year because of anti-British demonstrations over Gibraltar and Queen Elizabeth's scheduled visit there.

The government withdrew its application for the ships to make their usual courtesy visits to Spanish ports, the Admiralty said tonight. The announcement said: "During the Home Fleet's Spanish cruise it had been intended that some units of the fleet should pay visits to ports in Spain and Spanish Morocco. In view of the recent manifestations of anti-British feeling in Spain, however, Her Majesty's Government has withdrawn their application for the Home Fleet ships to visit Spanish ports in February and March and have informed the Spanish government that, in the circumstances, they do not consider that any useful purpose can be served by these visits."

The announcement came as calm returned to Madrid after three days of riotous demonstrations, which began against Britain and turned into open defiance of Spanish authorities.

Royal Navy ships already were gathering for the exercises at the big naval base at Gibraltar which guards the western approaches to the Mediterranean. Twenty-one vessels of the Home Fleet will be joined there by 25 ships of the Mediterranean Fleet.

Unofficial reports earlier this week said Spanish authorities had not yet granted permission for the usual courtesy visits to Spanish ports. Tonight's Admiralty announcement followed a Cabinet meeting attended by the service chiefs this morning.

## 18 Arrested

MADRID, Jan. 28 (U.P.).—Police announced today the arrest of 18 "agents provocateurs" accused of turning students' anti-British demonstrations into bitter rioting against police.

Authorities did not disclose charges against them but said the number seized included "former Anarchists" who fanned students' feelings against Britain into demonstrations against Madrid police.

The students, meanwhile, called off their three-day strike and returned to classes at the University of Madrid still nursing cuts and bruises from their bitter tussles with truncheon-swinging policemen.

They walked out of classes Monday to stage a "Give us Gibraltar" demonstrations at the British Embassy. Police defended the embassy in a bloody three-hour battle.

## Molotov

(Continued from Page 1)

UN or in its own propa-

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## NAVY CANCELS SPANISH CALLS

### 'NO USEFUL PURPOSE'

Because of recent anti-British demonstrations in Spain, ships of the Royal Navy will not call in Spanish and Spanish Moroccan ports during the Home Fleet spring cruise. An Admiralty statement last night said:

During the Home Fleet spring cruise, it had been intended that some units should pay visits to ports in Spain and Spanish Morocco.

In view of recent manifestations of anti-British feeling in Spain, however, the Government have withdrawn their application for the Home Fleet ships to visit Spanish ports in February and March, and have informed the Spanish Government that in the circumstances they do not consider that any useful purpose can be served by these visits.

An Admiralty spokesman declined to name the ships which were to have called at the Spanish ports.

Visits by Royal Navy ships to Spanish ports have been made in the past as a courtesy. But it is felt in London that it would be undignified to continue such friendly gestures towards a Government which does not prevent anti-British demonstrations.

## STUDENTS END MADRID STRIKE

### SUBVERSIVE ELEMENT

From Our Own Correspondent  
MADRID, Thursday.

The strike declared by Madrid students on Tuesday in protest against what they claimed to be unnecessary police violence in breaking up "Return Gibraltar" demonstrations, ended to-day. A demonstration was attempted in Barcelona this morning, but the police dispersed it.

Of the 50 arrested in Madrid during the demonstrations many have been released. But those described as having a political background are still in custody.

A Spanish Press Department statement was published in to-day's newspapers claiming that 18 of those arrested had a subversive political background not connected with Madrid University.

## GIBRALTAR CLAMOUR

To the Editor of The Daily Telegraph

Sir—It would appear from the closing paragraphs of Mr. A. Hennessy's letter that he advocates the negotiated surrender of Gibraltar before some unspecified force compels us to give it up. We are to believe that almost every Spaniard feels strongly on this subject.

Yet your correspondent does not explain how it is that for many years before the Franco régime the two countries maintained the friendliest relations in spite of this grievance, which was then much newer.

It would be of interest to know whether his Spanish friends suggest returning to us Minorca or providing other compensation for the reversal of a treaty duly sealed,

and how the tearing up of such a treaty, which would otherwise be implied, accords with Spanish honour, of which much is written.

I feel I am not alone in believing that we have had enough appeasement of foreigners to last us a very long time. It failed in 1939 and there is little cause for believing it will gain anything now.

Cannot Mr. Hennessy guess that the types who clamour for Gibraltar will next be shouting for the return of the Spanish West Indies, that the Argentine will gain encouragement in its wordy battle for the Falkland Islands, and that China will demand Hongkong? No doubt plenty more revisions of the map would prove attractive to others at our expense.

The comparison of Dover and Gibraltar is absurd, as Dover has always been ours, whereas the Spanish occupancy of Gibraltar has been intermittent.

May I suggest that if Mr. Hennessy and those who share his opinions and have contacts in Spain were to devote themselves to impressing on their acquaintances that Gibraltar is not for disposal in the foreseeable future they would do more to help the restoration of normal relations? Yours faithfully,  
Weybridge. C. E. NISBET.

## Spain's New Role in the Economy

### 2 of Europe

From ALAN WALKER

MADRID.

**A** WEEK ago a team of American Air Force instructors arrived in Spain from Germany to train Spanish aviators in the use of jet planes, several of which are expected next month.

Yet it is less than eight years since a United Nations report described Spain as a "potential danger" to peace. A momentous change has come over Spain's relations with the world in general and the United States in particular.

Last September's pact between Spain and America, by which Spain received economic aid in exchange for military facilities, was Gen. Franco's major diplomatic success; he had been carefully working for it for at least three years. Now Spain

no longer feels herself isolated economically and politically.

Hence a new-found confidence, and hence, too, the aggressive manner in which Great Britain and France have lately been treated over Gibraltar and Morocco.

The advantages of Spain's geographical position for the defence of Europe are obvious. But what interests the average Spaniard is the possibility of dollar aid.

The prospect of an American fairy godmother is all the more attractive since Spain, at the time of the Pact, was faced for the second year running with the likelihood of an unfavourable trade balance.

So far 226m. dollars (about £80m.) has been allotted, of which 85m. dollars is for economic aid to be used as far as possible to strengthen Spain's productive capacity. The 85m. dollars has now been entirely allocated, but although private industry is at liberty to apply for what it wants under the scheme, the lion's share seems to have gone to State organisations.

There is nothing in the agreement to say where the goods paid for with American aid dollars must be bought. In practice, "buy American" is the rule. British exporters must therefore expect to meet increasing American competition in Spain.

Moreover, Spain's trade with Britain is not regulated by a bilateral agreement as is the case with her commercial relations with most other States. She is therefore under no obligation to spend sterling earned in Britain on British goods, although Britain is Spain's best customer.

#### Foreign Credits

Britain also faces growing competition from other countries, such as Germany; France granted Spain a £15m. credit last year, and Belgium extended a credit for £5,600,000, repayable in 1960, only a few days ago.

British firms would do well to realise that a three-day rush visit is useless for the purpose of doing business here, as anyone acquainted with the Spanish temperament knows.

There seems to have been little speculation here as to the ultimate political and military implications of the Pact. Spain is not a member of N.A.T.O.; will she eventually be incorporated in the machinery of European defence?

This would seem, under the terms of the Pact, to be theoretically possible, since it is specifically stated that American military aid is for the "effective air defence of Spain and to improve the equipment of its naval and military forces" so far as other political obligations permit.

The clause in the Pact about the "equipment of army units" seems to have attracted little attention, but it can only mean that the American General Staff is taking the Spanish Army into its calculations in planning the grand strategy of the defence of the West.

ERTON

## FLEET CANCELS SPANISH VISITS

### Recent Anti-British Demonstrations

British warships are not now to visit Spanish or Spanish Moroccan ports this month and next. An Admiralty statement last night said:

"During the Home Fleet spring cruise it had been intended that some units should pay visits to ports in Spain and Spanish Morocco.

"In view of the recent manifestations of anti-British feeling in Spain, however, Her Majesty's Government have withdrawn their application for the Home Fleet ships to visit Spanish ports in February and March, and have informed the Spanish Government that in the circumstances they do not consider that any useful purpose can be served by these visits."

An Admiralty spokesman last night declined to say which, or how many, ships would have visited Spanish ports if the plans had not been changed. The battleship Vanguard, which is now refitting at Gibraltar, is to be the Home Fleet's flagship on its spring cruise.

Demonstrations in Spain this month on the theme of "Hand back Gibraltar" have included attacks on the British Embassy in Madrid and the Consulate-General in Seville. Sir John Balfour, British Ambassador in Madrid, has protested vigorously to General Franco's Government about incidents arising from the campaign, and a request by the Spanish Ambassador that the Queen's visit to Gibraltar should be cancelled has been rejected by Britain.

#### Spanish Precautions

To guard against further demonstrations by students and those whom the Spanish Government describes as "agitators," police were on the alert in all twelve Spanish university towns yesterday. Police quickly broke up groups of students trying to organise a demonstration in Barcelona.

In Madrid (add Reuters) there was a general feeling of relief at the return of order after what is generally regarded as the most difficult period for the Government since the strikes in the spring of 1951. It is believed that the demonstrations—against Britain and then against the police—have recoiled on the powers that prompted them and Falange party leaders are now embarrassed if not worried by the consequences of the demonstrations.

# Fleet cuts out Spain

By GRAEME NORWOOD

**A**NTI-BRITISH feeling in Spain has caused Whitehall to withdraw an application for Home Fleet ships to visit Spanish ports.

The Admiralty said last night that Britain has told the Franco Government she "does not consider that any useful purpose can be served by these visits."

It had been intended that units of the Home Fleet should visit ports in Spain and Spanish Morocco during February and March on their spring cruise.

Now they may call at Portuguese ports instead.

In London it was felt that the

presence of British warships in Spanish ports might lead to incidents.

Another possibility considered was that General Franco might not give permission for the visits anyway.

He has not yet replied to two Notes delivered by Sir John Balfour, the British Ambassador, protesting against anti-British outbreaks in Madrid and other Spanish cities.

*Madrid cable:* The Spanish Government blamed "outside elements" yesterday for this week's Madrid riots.

## BRITISH SHIP HELD

**A** SPANISH patrol boat has seized a British freighter off Tarifa in the Strait of Gibraltar. The vessel, The Sevro, was taken to Algeciras, across the bay.

The crew of five—two Britons, two Portuguese and a Chilean—have been detained on board on suspicion of carrying 80 bales of contraband tobacco.

The British Consul at Algeciras, Mr. William Bellocci, said last night: "The Sevro, a small vessel of under 100 tons, was carrying goods and seven bags of royal mail from Gibraltar to Tangier.

"There were no shots fired. I

do not know why the ship was detained in this way as the cargo she was carrying was quite legal.

"She was within Spanish territorial waters. The crew may be released soon."

The Sevro is owned by Serra Brothers, Gibraltar merchants. She has been making the 20-mile run from Gibraltar to Tangier for many years.

THE SPECTATOR  
29-1-54

**General Franco Becomes Difficult**

Neither the recent speech of General Valino, Spanish High Commissioner in Morocco, nor the antics of students in front of the British Embassy in Madrid are likely to improve relations between Spain and the Western Powers. It is true that, by deposing the Sultan of Morocco without prior consultation with the Spanish Government, France has given General Franco some just cause for complaint: the French have mishandled the Moroccan situation, and it was only to be expected that Spain would seize the opportunity of posing as the friend of Islam. (Spanish policy has for some time been directed towards the establishment of specially close relations with the Arab states.) But to encourage the chiefs in the Spanish zone to refuse recognition of the new Sultan is a blow at the foundations of the present régime in Morocco, and, though General Franco's Government may regard itself as a possible reversionary heir of the French heritage, a high tide of Moroccan nationalism would sweep Spain out of North Africa along with France. As for the trouble over Gibraltar, the Spanish Government must have been perfectly well aware of the effect that a protest about the Queen's visit would have on relations with Britain. Moreover, the move was evidently arranged to coincide with the attack on French policy in Morocco. If the Caudillo, on the strength of his loan of bases to the United States, was counting on American support for his ambitions, he will be disappointed. But it is unfortunate that, at a moment when closer co-operation between Spain and NATO seemed possible, the chance should be missed through arrogant claims which the Spanish Government is in no position to make good.

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THE TIMES  
29-1-54

## MADRID INQUIRY ON DISORDERS

### AGITATORS BLAMED

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BARCELONA, JAN. 28

The following official statement on the Madrid disorders was published to-day:—

"In connexion with the demonstration of January 25, which arose in the first instance from high patriotic motives, there occurred in Madrid some distressing incidents which are deplored by all, and into the origin and development of which the pertinent official inquiries are being made to ascertain the facts and determine where the responsibility lies.

"It has already been established that elements extraneous to teaching centres, following a plan of infiltration and agitation, mixed among the students with the idea of spoiling their noble intentions and disturbing public order, which it is the Government's unavoidable duty to maintain. Among the persons arrested yesterday morning in connexion with the incidents near the Faculty of Law are 18 outside university life, several of them with political-social records that confirm their role as agitators. The rumours circulated, with mischievous intent, about irreparable accidents among the demonstrators have proved to be completely untrue.

"The authorities hope that the university students' intelligence, national spirit, and sense of responsibility will in future avoid such occasions as might give rise to disturbances of public order which, by giving the enemies of Spain an opportunity to act, produce dissensions among those who are animated by the single desire to serve the permanent national interests."

The rector of Madrid University notified students there yesterday that classes were being resumed. The police have published the names of 17 persons, mostly students, who were injured in Monday's demonstration outside the British Embassy. Students here tried to form a demonstration group this morning, but were soon persuaded by the police to disperse.

### NAVAL VISITS TO SPANISH PORTS CANCELLED

The Admiralty issued the following statement last night.—

During the Home Fleet spring cruise it had been intended that some units should pay visits to ports in Spain and Spanish Morocco. In view of the recent manifestations of anti-British feeling in Spain, however, her Majesty's Government have withdrawn their application for the Home Fleet ships to visit Spanish ports in February and March, and have informed the Spanish Government that in the circumstances they do not consider that any useful purpose can be served by these visits.

# TANGER, VICTOIRE ESPAGNOLE ?

## IV. - Partie de chasse dans la forêt diplomatique

« Seuls la canaille et moi aimons la France », affirmait, dit-on, S. M. Alphonse XIII. Qui donc oserait insinuer que M. Cristobal del Castillo y Campos, ambassadeur d'Espagne à Tanger, appartient à la « canaille » ? Le même compliment est valable pour le général Garcia Valino, haut commissaire à Tétouan (1).

Lorsqu'il était résident de France à Rabat, le maréchal Juin ne cessa de manifester à l'égard de l'Espagne franquiste des sentiments semblables à ceux que le maréchal Lyautey nourrissait pour l'Espagne monarchiste. On entendait dire couramment que la grande réconciliation franco-espagnole s'opérait à Tanger, terre chérifienne, où cohabitait les intérêts des deux nations. Le miracle s'est-il accompli ?

L'Espagne, grâce au nouveau statut, possède maintenant un lieutenant-colonel à la tête de la police spéciale, nouvellement créée, et un autre officier à la tête du bureau mixte d'informations, qui avait disparu avant la guerre, et qui assume des fonctions comparables à celles d'un deuxième bureau. L'un et l'autre ont un adjoint français, ce qui permet d'affirmer que l'Espagne n'a pas la haute main sur la police. Quant aux anciennes forces de sécurité, elles sont maintenues sous les ordres d'un officier belge, assisté d'un adjoint français. L'ensemble est à la disposition de l'administrateur de la zone, M. Archer, de nationalité portugaise.

### La justice s'installe au tribunal

Dans le domaine de la justice l'Espagne a perdu un privilège qu'elle détenait indûment depuis de trop longues années. Le président de la section d'appel était l'un de ses ressortissants, cramponné à son fauteuil bien qu'aucun texte ne sanctionnât l'attribution de ce poste à l'Espagne. Ce juge avait un code très simple : lorsqu'un citoyen français et un citoyen espagnol comparaissent devant sa haute magistrature le premier avait automatiquement tort et le second toujours raison... D'où la fureur bien compréhensible de nos compatriotes. Grâce au nouveau statut le temps des causes systématiquement perdues ne reviendra plus...

En outre, dans ce territoire étroit où seul joue le rapport des forces, l'ancien tribunal mixte se composait de cinq juges (un Anglais, un Belge, un Espagnol, un Français, un Italien) et de deux procureurs : un Français et un Espagnol. La nouvelle juridiction internationale compte douze juges, dont deux Espagnols et deux Français. Ont été ajoutés : un Portugais, un Américain, un Suédois (marchandage destiné à récompenser l'appui donné par la Suède à la France lors du débat sur le Maroc aux Nations unies) et un Marocain. Grâce à ce dernier la France possède une voix de plus que l'Espagne chaque fois que l'Assemblée des magistrats est appelée à voter.

Aussi bien l'Espagne tenta-t-elle de s'opposer à la nomination d'un juge marocain, malgré la démagogie pro-arabe à laquelle elle se livre dans sa zone du Rif. Les critiques acerbes que la presse déverse quotidiennement sur le « colonialisme français » ne l'empêchèrent pas de trouver excessive la présence d'un juge marocain sur douze, alors que la population marocaine de la zone est trois fois supérieure à celle de la population européenne.

### Postes à Pencan

Avant la guerre l'administrateur de la zone était français. Poste convoité de tous ! L'exemple de M. Le Fur, officier breton, est devenu légendaire... parce qu'assez exceptionnel : retiré, il vit modestement, chose qui à Tanger est un rare certificat de probité. Depuis 1945 l'administrateur ne peut être choisi que parmi les ressortissants des « petits » pays signataires du statut : Belgique, Hollande, Portugal, Suède. Il est désigné par le « comité de contrôle », composé des représentants diplomatiques des puissances signataires. Quatre administrateurs adjoints lui apportent leur collaboration : un Britannique pour les finances, un Italien pour les services judiciaires, un Français pour les affaires marocaines et un Espagnol pour l'hygiène, l'assistance et le travail.

(1) Voir *Le Monde* des 27, 28 et 29 janvier 1954.

De notre envoyé spécial  
**CLAUDE JULIEN**

poste essentiel pour quiconque désire gagner la sympathie des éléments les plus pauvres de la population, qui sont bien entendu les plus nombreux.

Par le nouveau statut l'Espagne a donc obtenu la satisfaction de faire parader dans les rues de la ville ses officiers en uniformes rutilants. Satisfaction de prestige ! Pour le reste, qu'il s'agisse du tribunal ou de l'administration, on ne saurait dire qu'elle a marqué des points. Cependant ses ressortissants envahissent les postes subalternes, dont la rémunération, maigre aux yeux des Français, prend pour eux les proportions d'un pont d'or. Cette prépondérance aux échelons inférieurs irrite nos compatriotes, qui ont l'impression d'être gouvernés par des Espagnols...

### Un condominium franco-espagnol ?

Un haut fonctionnaire espagnol qui suivit pas à pas l'élaboration du nouveau statut nous a déclaré que ce dernier n'accordait à l'Espagne « aucune concession » et qu'il avait simplement « rétabli l'Espagne dans ses anciens droits ».

Comme nous lui demandions s'il s'agissait des « droits » d'avant 1940 (administration internationale) ou d'après 1940 (occupation espagnole), il nous rétorqua :

« Voyons, monsieur, pour l'instant il s'agit uniquement de nos droits d'avant 1940, mais ce n'est pour nous qu'une étape... »

Une étape vers quoi ? Les représentants qualifiés du gouvernement de Madrid ne cachent pas que leur but est d'instaurer un condominium franco-espagnol. Seules la France et l'Espagne affirment-ils, ont des intérêts réels dans cette zone. Le nouveau statut, qui a introduit ou maintenu un peu partout des représentants d'autres nations, n'est donc pas satisfaisant. D'ailleurs, ajoutent-ils, la population espagnole à Tanger est prépondérante : quarante mille d'après le consulat, mais une estimation plus exacte se situerait entre vingt-six mille et trente mille.

### Le jeu des statistiques

Ces chiffres ont leur intérêt puisque l'article 2 du statut établit que la composition de l'Assemblée législative internationale, qui vote les lois et le budget, « sera fixée en considération du nombre des ressortissants, du chiffre du commerce général, des intérêts immobiliers et de l'importance du trafic à Tanger, des différentes puissances de l'acte d'Algésiras ». La France — comme l'Espagne — dispose ainsi de quatre députés, contre trois pour l'Angleterre, les Etats-Unis et l'Italie, et un pour la Belgique, la Hollande et le Portugal, soit vingt au total, plus six Marocains musulmans et trois Israélites, désignés par le mendoub (représentant du sultan) avec l'accord des autorités françaises de contrôle, ce qui assure à la France un total de treize voix sur vingt-neuf.

L'Espagne ne peut donc arguer utilement du nombre de ses ressortissants, car même en gonflant le chiffre jusqu'à quarante mille elle reste minoritaire, en seconde place après la France, dont l'autorité à Tanger s'étend sur cent vingt mille sujets marocains. Car Tanger, comme la zone du Rif, est partie intégrante de l'empire chérifien. La population marocaine relève de l'autorité du sultan, représenté par son mendoub, qui gère, administre et juge. D'ailleurs, si l'Espagne, en vue d'obtenir des droits plus importants, invoquait le nombre de ses ressortissants, elle se heurterait à l'opposition irréductible de la Grande-Bretagne, dont la colonie est insignifiante et qui ne veut pourtant pas que sa place soit proportionnellement réduite. Londres aurait plutôt tendance à pousser vers une internationalisation sur une base paritaire. La France est donc sûre de son appui et de celui des petites puissances pour mettre un frein aux ambitions espagnoles.

Envisagé sous cette lumière, le nouveau statut n'est donc pas une victoire

espagnole, malgré les titres flamboyants de la presse madrilène lorsque le texte en fut promulgué. Les diplomates espagnols ne cachent d'ailleurs pas leur dépit. Jusqu'à l'an dernier ils pouvaient s'indigner contre le statut de 1945, qui leur avait été imposé malgré eux. Le statut actuel est au contraire revêtu de leur approbation. Ils ne sauraient le critiquer sans se déjuger. Ils ne peuvent pas davantage recourir aux expédients, en l'occurrence aux provocateurs de troubles, comme ils le firent en 1950 et le 30 mars 1952 : ils sont maintenant responsables de l'ordre.

A l'écart de la ville, au lieu dit « Forêt diplomatique », on organisait jadis de grandes chasses à courre. La chasse, cette fois-ci, a duré plusieurs mois, tout au long des négociations officielles ou officieuses, autour des tables de bridge ou au Country Club. Dans la broussaille des textes juridiques la vérité est peut-être difficile à déceler. Elle se ramène à ceci : de même que Tanger ne connaît pas de « crise » économique, mais simplement un retour à la normale après un « boom » artificiel, de même sur le plan diplomatique a pris fin la situation paradoxale de 1945, qui tenait l'Espagne à l'écart, en châtiment pour son invasion de la zone en 1940.

Le nouveau statut est valable pour cinq ans. D'ici là l'Espagne essaiera de se tailler une plus large part de gâteau. Cette prétention ne saurait être retenue, mais à l'ignorer la France risquerait d'avoir un jour d'amères surprises.

(A suivre.)

### L'ex-sultan du Maroc est conduit à Antsirabé

L'ancien sultan du Maroc et sa suite ont quitté hier jeudi soir Brazzaville à bord de deux avions militaires qui ont atterri ce matin sur l'aérodrome de Tananarive.

Accueillis par le conseiller diplomatique du gouvernement général, Sidi Mohammed et sa famille devaient un peu plus tard prendre place à bord de l'avion du haut commissaire pour rejoindre Antsirabé, où le centre d'accueil militaire a été affecté à leur hébergement.

A 171 kilomètres de la capitale, Antsirabé est la station thermale et climatique la plus fréquentée de la Grande Ile. Son cadre de montagnes volcaniques rappelle l'Auvergne. La ville compte un peu plus de quinze mille habitants.

Au premier étage du centre, vingt-deux pièces ont été aménagées pour recevoir le souverain et ses femmes. Les princes habiteront au second étage. Un personnel corien (musulman) sera affecté à leur service. Le haut commissaire et Mme Barges sont venus hier s'assurer des préparatifs.

### Un chef de quartier abattu à Casablanca

Dans l'ancienne médina de Casablanca un chef de quartier, Si Bennour, a été abattu de deux balles de revolver. Averti par un coup de téléphone, la police a découvert ce matin le corps sur la chaussée.

### Les chambres économiques tunisiennes vont être réorganisées

Tunis, 29 janvier. — Le bey a scellé jeudi des décrets prorogant jusqu'au 20 octobre les mandats des membres des chambres économiques tunisiennes du Nord, mandats arrivés à expiration le 20 janvier. Le résident général prendrait bientôt des arrêtés prorogant dans les mêmes conditions les mandats des membres des chambres économiques françaises du Nord et des chambres mixtes du Centre et du Sud.

Cette prorogation serait mise à profit pour procéder à une refonte d'ensemble des chambres économiques de la Régence. De nouvelles élections suivraient.

— Les parlementaires du groupe France-Maroc de l'Assemblée nationale, qui effectuent un voyage d'information au Maroc, sont arrivés à Rabat. Quatre d'entre eux : MM. Jean Grousseau et Pierre Hainault (A.R.S.), Henri Laforest (radical) et de Léolard (apparenté radical), avaient fait halte à Tanger. Ils ont été rejoints par MM. Max Brusset et Louis Briot (U.R.A.S.).

— M. Mongi Slim, directeur du bureau politique du Néo-Destour, libéré le 31 décembre du camp de Tahalouine, où il était éloigné, restait consigné à son domicile à Tunis. Cette mesure vient d'être levée.

A propos des revendications franquistes

# GIBRALTAR

Par MAXIME FERRIÈRE

Gibraltar avant les guerres était une merveilleuse escale. Port franc, on y trouvait tout pour rien. Ivoires, laques, bijoux, soieries, alcools... Quel embarras du choix ! Chacune des cent boutiques était une mine de « curios ». Toutes les races du monde y faisaient une pittoresque habitation. Et si l'on voulait se promener on grimpeait les sentiers du Roc et on allait voir les singes. Gibraltar est le seul endroit d'Europe où l'on rencontre des singes. Une légende veut qu'ils y soient venus par une grotte dont on n'a jamais atteint le fond et qui communiquerait par-dessous la mer et la terre avec l'Afrique.

Aujourd'hui la ville, qui n'est plus un port franc, est devenue militaire et puritaine. Les boutiques ont pratiquement disparu, et tout n'est plus que banalité. Impossible même d'aller voir les singes. Les sentiers sont barrés de barbelés et de factionnaires.

Le Roc est aussi étonnant que son histoire. C'est un rocher qui a environ 5 kilomètres de long, 1 500 mètres de large et dont le sommet atteint près de 450 mètres. Ce rocher est baigné de tous les côtés par la mer, sauf sur son côté nord, qui est relié à la terre par un terrain bas, étroite bande sablonneuse qui a été longtemps un champ de courses et qui est maintenant une piste d'atterrissage pour grands avions. De quelque angle qu'on le voie, le Roc est impressionnant de puissance et de majesté. Il est tellement à pic que la route qui le longe à ses pieds ne peut en faire le tour complet. Il y a un endroit où l'on ne passe pas : c'est un « mur vertical ». Sur ce mur encore aplani par des dalles de ciment l'eau de pluie ruisselle et est soigneusement recueillie dans des citernes. C'est qu'il ne pleut pas souvent, et le Roc n'a pas de sources.

A l'ouest se trouve la ville. Il y a une rue parallèle à la mer au-dessus de laquelle les maisons s'étagent les unes sur les autres de plus en plus haut. Jadis elles étaient peintes en noir à cause de la réverbération et pour, disent les vieux chroniqueurs, « en rendre plus difficile la vue à l'ennemi ». Aujourd'hui le Roc est truffé de casernes, de blockhaus, de magasins, de poudreries, d'ateliers, etc., qui sont à l'abri de tous les bombardements, y compris les atomiques. Gibraltar peut soutenir victorieusement un siège de dix ans.

Gibraltar sur son arsenal maritime commande la Méditerranée. On peut affirmer sans paradoxe que le sort de la guerre dans cette partie du monde a été suspendu aux bassins de radoub et aux ateliers de réparations de Gibraltar. Sans eux la flotte anglaise était réduite à l'impuissance. Cela, tout qu'il en ait, une flotte, les Anglais ne l'oublient pas.

En 1704 l'amiral anglais Rooke, suivant les instructions du secrétaire de l'Amirauté, qui s'appelait, chose assez curieuse, Sir George Churchill, prit Gibraltar aux Espagnols. Il mit à terre 1 800 hommes d'élite qui barrèrent la presqu'île, et lui-même, avec ses vaisseaux, lança 15 000 boulets sur la ville. La garnison se rendit avant même qu'on eût donné l'assaut. Elle n'avait que 150 hommes. Naturellement les Espagnols voulurent reprendre le Roc, et les Français de leur côté essayèrent de s'en emparer. Toutes les attaques échouèrent. Mais il est surprenant de constater que les Anglais eux-mêmes, pendant cinquante ans, proposèrent cinq fois aux Espagnols de leur rendre Gibraltar. Evidemment ce n'était pas par gracieuseté, et ils demandaient une contrepartie, en particulier, une alliance anglo-espagnole contre la France. Cinq fois les Espagnols répondirent fièrement qu'ils n'accepteraient qu'une restitution sans conditions.

Les Espagnols, aidés par les Français, commencèrent en 1779 un grand siège. Le principe était de bloquer le Roc par mer et par terre et de le prendre par la famine. L'opération fut plusieurs fois sur le point de réussir. Mais chaque fois, au dernier moment, la flotte anglaise arrivait, dispersant les vaisseaux et ravitaillait le Roc.

En 1781 Français et Espagnols tentèrent un assaut général. Hélas ! les dissensions entre les chefs : le duc de Crillon, qui commandait les troupes, et l'amiral Moreno, qui commandait la flotte, mirent un beau désordre dans les opérations et empêchèrent toute coordination entre l'armée et la marine. D'autre part aucune précaution ne fut prise pour assurer le secret, et les Anglais connaissaient tous nos préparatifs et même le jour de l'attaque. Il leur fut aisé de faire une sortie au moment opportun, de concentrer leur tir sur les embarcations de débarquement, et ce fut un désastre pour les Français et pour les Espagnols. Après cet échec le blocus continua cependant, mais se relâcha beaucoup. En 1783 les derniers coups de canon furent tirés. Gibraltar avait résisté trois ans.

Peu après, au cours des pourparlers de la paix de Versailles, les Anglais, pour la sixième fois — ce devait être la dernière — proposèrent aux Espagnols de leur rendre Gibraltar (la diplomatie anglaise a de la suite dans les idées), mais demandèrent Porto-Rico en échange. Les Espagnols refusèrent avec dédain en déclarant : « Pas de marchandages ! » Comme quoi ils perdirent sur les deux tableaux, car ils n'ont plus Porto-Rico et ils n'ont pas Gibraltar. A la suite de ce refus le Roc resta anglais. Depuis deux siècles il l'est toujours. Il est probable qu'il restera encore bien longtemps, car la flotte anglaise en a besoin. Or, quand il s'agit de leur flotte les Anglais...

## LE CALME EST REVENU A MADRID

Madrid, 29 janvier (Reuter-A.F.P.). — Le calme est revenu à Madrid et le gouvernement cherche maintenant à empêcher l'extension à la province des manifestations organisées par les étudiants. Peu d'étudiants toutefois ont assisté aux cours. Hier la police est rapidement intervenue à Barcelone pour disperser les étudiants qui ont cherché à organiser une manifestation par solidarité avec ceux de Madrid.

Dans les milieux officiels espagnols on estime que ces derniers jours ont été les moments les plus difficiles que le gouvernement ait passés depuis les grèves du printemps de l'année 1951. Dans les milieux politiques on estime que le gouvernement n'est pas rendu compte du risque qu'il court en laissant des « forces opposées au régime » faire tourner à leur avantage les manifestations de rues.

On a l'impression que le gouvernement n'autorisera plus aucune manifestation publique pour le moment dans les grandes villes.

Aucun journal français ou anglais n'a été mis en vente hier en Espagne. Les incidents qui ont mis aux prises ces jours derniers les étudiants madrilènes et les représentants de l'ordre n'ont jamais été révévés par la presse espagnole.

Seul un communiqué officiel publié dans la soirée de mercredi y a fait allusion, sans en donner les détails.

### Les bâtiments britanniques ne relâcheront pas dans les ports espagnols

Londres, 29 janvier (A.F.P., U.P.). — L'Amirauté a communiqué hier soir qu'en raison des récentes manifestations anti-britanniques en Espagne le gouvernement de Londres ne demanderait pas cette année au gouvernement espagnol d'autoriser des bâtiments de la Home Fleet à visiter des ports en Espagne et au Maroc espagnol.

Habituellement, les unités de la Home Fleet visitent ces ports lorsqu'elles se réunissent en Méditerranée occidentale. Cette décision témoigne de la tournure sérieuse prise par les divergences entre les deux pays, estime-t-on dans les milieux diplomatiques de Londres.

Autre signe de cette tension : un bateau de guerre espagnol a arraisonné le petit cargo britannique *Servo*, à un mille au large de Tarifa, sur accusation de contrebande.

Des bâtiments de la Royal Navy se rassemblent actuellement à Gibraltar en

vue des prochaines manœuvres ; vingt et une unités de la Home Fleet seront rejointes dans ce port par vingt-cinq bâtiments de la flotte méditerranéenne.

### Missions aéronautiques française et anglaise à Madrid

Madrid, 29 janvier (A.F.P.). — La mission de l'armée de l'air française, arrivée à Madrid le 25 janvier, est répartie hier jeudi pour Paris, après avoir visité l'Institut technique aéronautique.

Le voyage de cette mission, formée par neuf officiers supérieurs et pilotes d'essais, avait été organisé à titre de réciprocité à la suite de la visite d'amitié accomplie récemment par une mission de l'aviation espagnole à Brétigny.

Les membres de la mission sont repartis à bord d'un prototype nouveau qui a été présenté aux techniciens espagnols. Le colonel Salas, attaché aérien auprès de l'ambassade d'Espagne à Paris, et trois officiers de l'aviation espagnole, qui suivent un cours de spécialisation dans la capitale française, avaient également pris place à bord de l'appareil.

[Une mission de l'aviation britannique, apprenons-nous de bonne source, doit elle aussi se rendre à Madrid au cours des prochains jours. Elle se propose de présenter aux techniciens espagnols certains des appareils anglais les plus récents. L'un de ses buts sera de vendre au gouvernement espagnol des chasseurs Hawker à réaction. Les récents incidents anti-britanniques ne paraissent pas avoir modifié ces projets.]

### Les Russes ont libéré des prisonniers de la division Azul

Madrid, 29 janvier (U.P., Reuter). — Deux cent cinquante-six Espagnols anciens combattants de la division Azul faits prisonniers par les Russes ont été relâchés et arriveront dans quelques jours à Barcelone. Ils auraient embarqué à Odessa à bord d'un navire français. La Croix-Rouge soviétique a informé la Croix-Rouge française de cette libération, et le gouvernement français la porta récemment à la connaissance du gouvernement espagnol.

On estime dans les milieux officiels madrilènes qu'après cette libération il restera encore en Union soviétique un peu plus d'un millier de prisonniers espagnols. Les premiers contacts en vue des négociations auraient commencé à Bonn en 1947.

## LA CRISE ITALIENNE

# La succession de M. Fanfani sera délicate

Rome, 29 janvier (A.F.P., Reuter, A.P.). — A moins d'un revirement inattendu de certains députés de l'opposition, le sort du cabinet Fanfani paraît réglé. Les quatorze libéraux ont décidé hier de s'abstenir, mais cela ne change rien aux données. M. Fanfani ne peut en principe compter que sur deux cent soixante-dix suffrages, alors que trois cent cinquante députés doivent se prononcer contre lui.

Au cours du débat d'hier après-midi, attentivement suivi par M. Kostylev, ambassadeur de l'U.R.S.S., M. Pietro Nenni, leader des socialistes de gauche, a rappelé que « les socialistes désirent que la question de la ratification de la C.E.D., appuyée par M. Fanfani, soit reléguée au second plan en attendant la fin de la conférence de Berlin et l'attitude du gouvernement français au sujet de cette ratification. Il existe à la Chambre une seule majorité capable de résoudre les questions sociales du moment, une majorité allant du centre gauche (démocrates chrétiens) à nos bancs ».

Si M. Fanfani était mis en minorité à la Chambre aujourd'hui ou demain — ainsi

que l'escompte l'ensemble de la presse italienne — sa succession poserait de très difficiles problèmes à M. Einaudi.

La crise étant ouverte, les démocrates chrétiens peuvent envisager quatre solutions différentes :

1° Glisser plus à gauche en confiant la présidence du conseil à un homme comme M. Giovanni Gronchi, président de la Chambre, qui est capable d'obtenir l'appui des socialistes démocrates et l'abstention des socialistes de M. Nenni ;

2° Se tourner vers la droite en faisant appel au ministre actuel des affaires étrangères, M. Attilio Piccioni, et rallier les trente-neuf monarchistes qui votaient pour le cabinet Pella ;

3° Rappeler au pouvoir M. Alcide De Gasperi, sous la direction duquel l'Italie connut une stabilité gouvernementale sans précédent. M. Giuseppe Saragat, leader des socialistes démocrates, serait favorable à la reconstitution d'un gouvernement de coalition du centre présidé par M. De Gasperi.

4° Dissoudre le Parlement et procéder à de nouvelles élections générales.

Cette dernière solution est écartée par certains leaders politiques comme trop coûteuse et pleine de risques. Cependant M. Rinaldo Ossola, ancien ministre de la défense dans le cabinet De Gasperi, ne l'écarte pas a priori. Il a déclaré hier : « Le pays veut un gouvernement. De nouvelles élections sont une aventure. Mais si les institutions républicaines et démocratiques se montrent incapables de fonctionner, de pires aventures sont à craindre. »

## EVIDENCES

N° 37

André SIEGFRIED

Le destin des Etats-Unis

Jacques SOUSTELLE

Le Mexique

d'hier et d'aujourd'hui

Isaiah BERLIN

Jean CASSOU

Panorama d'Israël

Manès SPERBER

Nouveau Maître

Nouvelle Légende

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STATESMAN  
30-1-54

PARIS

Storm Over Morocco

*Our Paris Correspondent writes:* Last August 21, the day after the deposition of Sultan Mohammed V, the Sherif El Kittani, who was one of the principal organisers of the *coup d'état*, announced that "this glorious victory" would enable the Moroccan people "to enjoy the fruits of peace, tranquillity and happiness." The first terrorist act—the derailment of a train—occurred three days after the *coup*. During the last five months, there has been an uninterrupted sequence of acts of violence (250 "incidents" up to mid-January), accompanied by a mounting toll of human life (58 deaths, 117 injured by December 24), and multiple arrests (4,000? 5,000?—nobody quite knows). The authorities have gone to fantastic lengths to crush the terrorists—importing detectives from France, police dogs from Tunisia, offering rewards of up to £1,000 (a fabulous sum for Moroccans, whose average income is £40 a year), imposing curfews and restrictions (bicycling is forbidden in the Arab quarter of Rabat) and enrolling Arab special constables (who have to be watched by French police because they are "unreliable"). At the end of December, General Guillaume informed the Cabinet that "the end of the terrorist wave is in sight"; a week later, the Chief of Police of the Casablanca area told the correspondent of *Le Monde* that his men, apart from catching a few terrorists red-handed, had no chance of striking at the roots of the organisation. Latest reports indicate that unrest is spreading from the towns to the country.

There seems little hope that even a temporary *modus vivendi* can be reached. Most of the "reforms" promised last August have been quietly forgotten. The plan for attaching Moroccan advisors to senior civil servants has been definitely abandoned. After five months, the date of the municipal elections has still not been fixed. The judicial reforms have been "temporarily postponed." The 10 per cent. increase in salaries has officially gone into effect, but the Ministry of Labour has decided not to prosecute in cases of non-compliance. Finally, the scheme to hold

joint meetings of the European and Moroccan government councils has had to be dropped because, it appears, there is no suitable room in Rabat capable of holding 200 people.

All this adds up to a pattern familiar in French North Africa. Frenchmen, even some liberal Frenchmen, are inclined to take things philosophically and point out that the situation in Tunisia, after two years of terrorism, is now relatively calm again. But the two cases are by no means parallel, as the events of last week proved. For some time General Franco has been fishing in the troubled waters of Moroccan politics. Neither the Spanish authorities nor the feudal chieftains of the Spanish zone have ever accepted the new Sultan. Since August, Madrid has been visited by a miscellaneous procession of Arab politicians, culminating with the visit, just before Christmas, of M. Choukheiri, assistant secretary-general of the Arab League. At the end of December, General Guillaume warned the Cabinet that a demonstration of Moroccan notables was being planned in Tetuan, which might lead to a definite schism between the two zones. M. Bidault, who has never even pretended to keep up with Moroccan affairs, did nothing. Last Monday, however, the Quai d'Orsay was informed that the demonstration, scheduled for Thursday, would vote the Khalifa of the Spanish zone full powers "in the absence of the legitimate Sultan." Despite frantic representations by the French Ambassador in Madrid, the meeting was held as planned and its conclusions endorsed by General Valino, the Spanish High Commissioner, and by the Spanish Cabinet in Madrid.

There is some doubt in Paris as to the real significance of Franco's action. Since the demonstration, the Khalifa has been pointedly silent and there were no manifestations in the French zone. Scarcely anyone thinks that the Spanish are able—or willing—to provoke real trouble. Most newspapers agreed that the demonstration was planned mainly as a gesture to mark Spain's return to the international scene. A few, like *Combat*, went further, and suggested that Franco was attempting to gain support among the Arab countries for Spain's admission to the U.N. Frenchmen noted with dismay that the Quai d'Orsay's first reaction, on hearing the news of the demonstration, was to seek the intervention of America—a Power whose presence in Morocco, as public opinion polls testify, is bitterly resented in France.

THE TABLEY  
30-1-54

**Demonstrations in Spain**

We must have great sympathy for the Spanish student who is reported as saying : "The National Union of Students ordered us to demonstrate, and then the police beat us up when we did." They were let off their studies so that they might demonstrate. In a country where the student body is so much under State authority, there should not be this division and contradictory orders. Apparently these demonstrations against the British Embassy or British Institutes or Consulates are not given publicity in the Spanish Press, nor are the remarks encouraging the students which were made by the Rector of the University of Compostela. They were remarks which we must consider singularly ill-suited from one of the chief figures in Compostela, at the outset of Compostela's Holy Year, when English pilgrims are hoping to make their way there in some numbers.

The lack of publicity given to student outbursts is an indication that the Spanish Government appreciates the importance of moderation, when manifestation of youthful spirits might have bad consequences wholly disproportionate to their intrinsic importance. One illustration of this is the way student indignation has been fanned by reports that the British Foreign Office broke a gentleman's agreement that the real purpose of the Spanish Ambassador's call on Mr. Eden should not be disclosed. It was not disclosed in London. It was in Madrid that the enterprise of the United Press got hold of the real story, and sent it out. But there was ready credence for the wholly unfounded report that the leakage had been a deliberate one in London. When the Foreign Office in London found that this story was being circulated in Madrid, it made great efforts to make sure that the Spanish authorities understood the true position, that the greatest discretion had been maintained in London. But the Spanish Press has so far made no mention of these representations.

## SPAIN AND THE ARAB WORLD

**B**EHIND the tension between France and Spain over Morocco is something which would not have come about if recent French Governments had consulted more with Spain. But this is something which MRP Foreign Ministers have been chary of doing. The Spaniards, although they hold less of Morocco than the French, had a right to be consulted before one Sultan was deposed and another one installed. But behind the Spanish refusal quietly to acquiesce in a French initiative is also the whole question which British and French statesmen need to ask themselves: whether they can be surprised if they see Spain pursuing an independent pro-Arab policy? If the Spaniards are cold-shouldered, constantly have it implied that they are not fit associates for their Western neighbours, they cannot also be asked to act as good Europeans, or to show a sense of the solidarity of the European interest in Africa.

On the tour of the Arab countries which the Spanish Foreign Minister, Señor Martín Artajo, made last year, much was said in the exchanges of compliments about the distinction which the Arab world is invited to draw between Spain and the other nations—meaning France and Britain—who have been or are Colonial Powers in the Levant. Towards Islam, as the Crescent, and the religion of the Ottoman Turks, it was first the French and then the British who, for reasons of power politics—the French against the Germanic Empire, the British against Russia—stretched out the friendly hand. As the Turkish power receded from Europe in the eighteenth century, from Africa in the nineteenth, and from Asia Minor in the twentieth, the old Arab Mohammedan world, which the Turks had subdued in one of the most remarkable feats of sustained conquest in history, began to re-emerge. It began to re-emerge in a world dominated by Europe, by European wealth and technical supremacy, and the North African coast was taken over by the European peoples whose shores faced it across the Mediterranean. The Spanish share was the least, and the French the largest, and it was never easy for the Spaniards, who lost their own Empire so largely as a consequence of their dependence on France, to see the French from 1830 onwards re-assembling another Empire, in a part of the world where Spain might have been expected to be the dominant country.

The English public has commonly little understanding of the larger background of French and Spanish relations, relations which are full of the difficulties which result when those who have been the leaders fall to the second or some lower place. The Spaniards, with the Portuguese, were the first of the European peoples to come to the experience of Empire. The Spanish thinker, Ortega y Gasset, has pointed out that the peoples of Europe came to that experience in the same order in which they had themselves been incorporated in the Roman Empire long centuries before. For nearly two hundred years the Spaniards had the sense of Empire, in America and Asia, and their nearest rivals were the French and the English, with much less to boast about. The decline of Spain, of a people who had over-spent and over-exhausted themselves, came in the seventeenth century, but the bitter fruits of decline were experienced in the eighteenth, under a French Bourbon dynasty. The Bourbon Family Compact dragged the fortunes of Spain in the wake of the misfortunes of France, with the Spanish Fleet as junior partner under the French. The new French ideas of the Bourbons provoked the repudiation of allegiance by the more conservative Spanish American colonies. French Jacobin ideas brought into Spain divisions which have lasted to this day, and to traditionalist Spain the memories of the violence and the militant atheism of the French Armies a hundred and fifty years ago are not only historical memories; they represent France as a centre of anti-Christian, immoral and debasing ideas. This tradition made many Spaniards extremely slow to realize, or wilfully blind not to see, the anti-Christian character of the dominant forces in Germany twenty years ago.

It is extremely difficult for the French to gain any Spanish support for capitalist interests in Morocco. Capitalist interests are not necessarily or probably bad things. All these poor countries, after long centuries of atrocious misgovernment,

need the fertilizing irrigation of foreign capital, and a political order which will encourage long-term investment. But while the French as individuals understand as well as any people in the world the importance, and the attraction, of saving and lending at interest, they also have, as part of the revolutionary tradition, a predilection for Left-Wing politics, especially in other countries. Much the same thing can truly be said of this country, and of its dual action in the world, the City of London lending the private savings of English people, and English political and intellectual figures eagerly fanning the ideas which will ruin the investments. So it was an Englishman who first founded Congress in India.

The Marxists in Spain twenty years ago found a great deal of support in a France on the verge of bringing its own Popular Front to power. The other Spain, anti-Marxist, Catholic, Nationalist, found much less understanding and support in France, although it found some among the very divided French Catholics. But the French Radicals, conservative men in France indulging an ingrained anti-clericalism as a way of being progressive without loss of personal income, found it agreeable to be even more progressive in Spain than they were at home. The subsequent collapse of France in War inspired a good deal of *Schadenfreude* in Spain, and behind today's assertion of a different Spanish policy in Morocco is a Spanish feeling that they ought to be, and are not, accorded the status of full equals by the French, who have been very lucky to have had allies who won the war, so that France emerged with its African positions intact.

In the Near East the French, after being forced out of Syria, have had little sympathy for Britain's difficulties, any more than the Italians have had. British policy looks to both those peoples as a denial of any sense of a common European interest. In the eyes of Frenchmen like General Catroux, the British cheerfully sacrificed French interests in the hope of Syrian and Arab friendship. The net effect of our policy, leaving us the only European Power in that part of the world, has been to concentrate all the local nationalist feeling against us. If we had preserved more of the French and of the Italian interests, we should be better placed to claim that the whole relationship between European and Levantine peoples must be seen in terms of a business partnership between capital and labour, to the mutual advantage of all the countries participating in the economic adventure.

It is, unfortunately, very doubtful how far Spain shares this approach. It suited Marxist propaganda at the time of the Spanish Civil War to represent General Franco as the agent of capitalism and big business, and ever since that idea has been continued. So the majority of the British public have no appreciation of the real attitude of the regime, of the way it learnt, largely from German and Italian precursors, the anti-capitalist formulas of National Socialism, and a top-heavy structure of State controls. The Falangist argument is that Spain, like other countries, fell under the plutocratic influence in the nineteenth century, largely through the leadership of England: that this capitalist phase divided the nation, and produced in reaction the class war, and the Civil War. The business of those who had saved Spain from Marxism was then to make sure that the old divisions were not allowed to reappear. When Spanish Falangists claim that they, alone in the modern world, are seriously trying to realize the social Encyclicals of the Popes, they mean *Quadragesimo Anno*, with its adumbration of a corporate structure for industry. The vocabulary of anti-capitalism and anti-liberalism is so habitual that it is applied quite naturally to North Africa and the Levant, and the young Arab nationalists find plenty of common language with Spaniards in derogation of the nineteenth century and its works. How ironical it is that the Americans, the arch-exponents of capitalism, should be at one end of a chain now passing through Spain to the Arab countries—all countries which, whatever they may say or their students shout, need, and are going to need, foreign capital for decades to come, if the wretched human destitution in their midst is ever to be alleviated.

We do not know whether General Franco is going to make a visit to the Arab countries. This is confidently announced.

from Cairo, but not from Madrid. It must not be forgotten that General Franco started his career and made his name in Spanish Morocco, and that he has governed Spain in a military manner, and very much in the spirit of the administration with which he grew up in Morocco. He may well be tempted to think that he can do with the Arabs something that no other European can do, and that it will enhance the standing of his much ostracized country in the world. He may think a Spanish influence in the Arab countries will bring the Christian and Mohammedan forces together against the Marxian enemy of both. As long-term realities there is something in this, but, equally, a Spanish-Arab association could easily amount to no more than a new source

of European weakness, if it is some day aimed at Britain and France. This is specially true if the Spanish Government associates itself with the Arab hostility to Israel, an hostility whose depth and intensity is so very much under-estimated in this country. There may be a temptation for Spaniards to believe the time has come to retaliate for all the Jewish hostility shown, particularly in America, to Nationalist Spain. But the Agreement between America and Spain should have a moderating influence. General Franco has confounded so many of his critics and ill-wishers for so long by virtue of a prudence which is still a most necessary virtue for statesmen, especially when they are tempted to take a hand in quarrels not their own.

# TANGER, VICTOIRE ESPAGNOLE ?

## V. — Au royaume du père Ubu

Le portrait de Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, sultan chassé de son trône, figure en bonne place dans la plupart des boutiques de la médina (1). Ici la prison peut difficilement punir ce délit. Chaque jour la police vient saisir les portraits format carte postale. Mais le seul résultat est d'en faire monter le prix...

Au début du mois deux ulémas ont été condamnés à plusieurs mois de prison. L'un d'eux, une semaine avant la déposition du sultan, avait fait en pleine mosquée l'éloge de M. François Mauriac. Les événements de Rabat n'ont provoqué aucun désordre dans la zone internationale. Toutefois les sentiments profonds des Marocains évolués paraissent assez clairs si l'on en juge par les histoires dont ils brocardent le nouveau sultan.

Comme toutes les villes de l'empire chérifien, Tanger a eu sa béa, sa cérémonie de fidélité au souverain. Officiellement ce fut un succès. Cent trente-cinq notables environ firent le serment d'allégeance. Pour une population marocaine de 120 000 habitants, le chiffre peut paraître maigre. Il correspond malgré tout à une moyenne jugée satisfaisante. Mais en additionnant les fonctionnaires effectifs du Makhzen, les candidats à des postes enviables et leurs proches parents on atteint facilement un chiffre supérieur à cent trente-cinq.

### L'échec d'une réussite

La béa à Tanger a pris la valeur d'un test. Quel qu'en soit le résultat, échec ou succès de la manifestation de fidélité au nouveau souverain, le mérite ne pouvait en être attribué à la « pression policière » dénoncée en zone française par les uns, en zone espagnole par les autres. Le succès devenait une garantie d'authenticité pour ce qui s'était passé à Rabat, Fès ou Marrakech et jetait le doute sur le caractère « spontané » du refus des Marocains du Rif à reconnaître Sidi Mohammed ben Arafa.

L'encerclement de Tanger par un territoire sous contrôle espagnol rendait la « réussite » encore plus délicate. D'autant que, de Tétouan comme de Tanger, les autorités espagnoles ne restèrent pas inactives. Ne pouvaient-elles espérer que la zone internationale viendrait renforcer la position adoptée par leur haut commissaire et le khalifa ? Tout le nord de l'empire chérifien se serait alors trouvé en état de sécession.

L'attitude de certains membres du comité de contrôle et de certains hauts fonctionnaires fut telle que l'affaire se transforma en course contre la montre. Les notables furent convoqués à la mendoubia à une heure inattendue, sans indication de motifs. Ils signèrent. Représentent-ils l'opinion de la population marocaine ? Le prix des portraits de l'ancien sultan constitue, nous l'avons dit, un sérieux élément de doute.

Si la béa n'avait pas eu lieu l'Espagne aurait aujourd'hui beau jeu de faire valoir de nouvelles revendications sur Tanger et de se présenter une fois de plus en champion de l'émancipation du monde arabe, bien que ce programme dans le Rif soit réalisé... en paroles plus qu'en actes (2).

### L'art d'oublier les présents

Ainsi, qu'il s'agisse de la politique générale de la France dans l'empire chérifien ou de l'efficacité de la présence française dans la zone de Tanger (nombre de délégués à l'Assemblée législative, répartition des sièges de magistrats, etc.), nos représentants disposent d'un atout majeur : la population marocaine. Peut-on compter sur son appui durable ?

Somptueux mais d'un goût discutable, le nouveau « palais » de l'administration sent encore la peinture fraîche. Des fenêtres de leurs bureaux les fonctionnaires peuvent contempler, à cent pas de distance, des bidonvilles encore plus pitoyables que ceux du protectorat. Pour loger ses vingt-neuf délégués l'Assemblée législative fait édifier un autre « palais ». Coût : plusieurs centaines de millions.

Un millier d'appartements neufs, nous l'avons dit, restent vides, leurs loyers étant prohibitifs pour des bourses modestes. Une cité marocaine vient enfin d'être construite, mais l'expérience devrait être renouvelée deux cents fois pour que la ville ait des chances d'acquiescer au rang de centre touristique qu'elle ambitionne. Dans l'ensemble, la population marocaine vit à l'abandon. Seule la police s'occupe d'elle avec un certain esprit de continuité, et c'est pour réprimer de menus larcins ou pour enrayer les écarts politiques.

Tanger n'est pas fait pour les pauvres, même s'ils sont ici chez eux. Seule la fortune, honnête ou malhonnête, donne droit de cité. On serait enclin à son égard à une certaine indulgence si elle n'affectait pas un penchant irrésistible pour le toc, le clinquant, le tape-à-l'œil, tout ce faux luxe qui enlaidit l'un des joyaux naturels de la Méditerranée.

### L'enfer de l'anarchie libérale

Outre son lot de diplomates, hommes d'affaires, rentiers, mouchards et trafiquants, la ville compte cependant quarante mille travailleurs. Dans l'industrie du bâtiment, la plus importante, les deux tiers des ouvriers qualifiés sont Espagnols, et les huit dixièmes des manœu-

(1) Voir le Monde des 27, 28, 29 et 30 janvier 1954.  
(2) Cf. Tétouan, ville interdite, « le Monde » du 29 janvier 1954.

## ANNONCES LÉGALES

### A PHILLIP PETER VIEN

(Défendeur), dernièrement domicilié au 28, avenue Hoche, Paris-8<sup>e</sup> (France). Une demande en divorce a été présentée contre vous. Une ampliation de cette demande vous sera fournie sur demande par écrit, adressée au District Registrar, District Registry of the High Court, Small Street, à Bristol (Angleterre). Si d'ici un mois à partir de maintenant aucune requête n'a été présentée, ou si vous n'avez fait acte de présence, le Tribunal pourra entendre la cause et rendre son jugement.

L.H.D. HODGES,  
District Registrar.

### De notre envoyé spécial CLAUDE JULIEN

Les Marocains. Les rémunérations sont d'autant plus basses qu'il n'existe aucune réglementation du salaire minimum. Un manœuvre gagne en moyenne 260 francs par jour, contre 400 francs à Casablanca. Et le salaire de l'ouvrier qualifié oscille autour de 900 francs.

Dans l'hôtellerie et le commerce 60 % des salaires sont inférieurs à 17 000 francs par mois, et 30 % restent au-dessous de 9 000 francs. Les employés des banques et des compagnies d'assurances tiennent le haut du pavé puisque 66 % d'entre eux gagnent plus de 18 000 francs.

Depuis un an et demi le chômage a fait son apparition et atteint aujourd'hui quatre mille personnes environ. La législation sociale n'existe pratiquement pas : qu'il s'agisse des contrats, des salaires, des accidents de travail, tout reste à faire. Un bureau du travail a été créé en 1951. Ses efforts sont admirables et doivent être appuyés par les autorités locales. Son action est capitale non seulement d'un point de vue social et humanitaire, mais aussi pour des raisons strictement économiques. Le bas niveau des salaires raréfie la main-d'œuvre spécialisée. Nous avons vu il y a trois ans se fendre du haut en bas la façade d'un immeuble tangérois à peine terminé. Toute l'économie tangéroise est pleine de lézardes.

### Le médecin, le curé et l'instituteur

La France possède ici son institut Pasteur, qui chaque jour dispense ses soins à des centaines de Marocains. Depuis peu elle a bâti son église. Comme dans les livres d'images ou les manuels d'histoire de la III<sup>e</sup> République elle possède aussi son école. Ou plutôt ses écoles : deux lycées et vingt-cinq écoles primaires, plus un conservatoire de musique et un musée d'antiquités et d'arts indigènes, le tout groupé sous une direction unique dépendant de Rabat.

Sur une population scolaire de plus de neuf mille trois cents élèves les Marocains sont près de six mille cinq cents. Ils représentent 67 % des effectifs, contre 11 % pour les Français et 22 % pour les autres nationalités. L'enseignement est la seule réalisation française exempte de critiques. Des maîtres marocains enseignent l'arabe, les institutions et la religion musulmane. Chaque année il faut refuser des centaines d'enfants, car les locaux sont maintenant trop exiguës, trop vétustes aussi. Le matériel scolaire aurait grand besoin d'être modernisé. Les deux lycées manquent de laboratoires, d'équipement de projection, de bibliothèques.

Le prestige de notre enseignement est pourtant considérable. La ville fut se-

couée d'un immense éclat de rire lorsque au mois de mai dernier elle eut connaissance, dans le magazine *Collier's*, d'un reportage intitulé « Why they love us in Tangier » (Pourquoi on nous aime à Tanger) célébrant les mérites de l'école américaine, qui compte... une seule classe recevant une quarantaine d'élèves. Il est vrai que le même numéro de *Collier's* contenait un article intitulé : « It's easy to bluff Americans »...

Dans la lutte pour Tanger, où chaque puissance essaye de tirer à elle la couverture, la France possède un atout que nul ne lui conteste : son œuvre scolaire, de loin la plus importante. Il serait inadmissible que, faute de crédits suffisants, elle ne puisse se développer pour répondre aux besoins grandissants.

### Les maîtres de la ville

Seuls le boulevard Antée et les grottes d'Hercule rappellent les origines de Tanger. C'est ici que le fils de Jupiter sépara les deux continents après avoir étouffé dans ses bras le fils de Neptune et de la Terre, qui avait baptisé sa ville Tingis. Née de la légende, Tanger vit sous le signe de la plus haute fantaisie, et ses habitants, fidèles à une si glorieuse tradition, continuent de s'étouffer les uns les autres, dignement, en silence, sans éclat.

Quel est le plus puissant ? Qui donc domine la ville ? Officiellement celle-ci est soumise à une Assemblée, dont les séances évoquent à la fois un conseil municipal et une réunion de l'O.N.U. Mais cette Assemblée administre plus qu'elle ne gouverne. Ses membres sont les représentants des divers consulats. Eux-mêmes restent désarmés devant les grandes banques, dont les plus influentes ont parfois des locaux misérables, devant les rois du trafic de l'or, devant des personnages dont on ignore presque tous les jours quelle puissance les soutient...

Ceux-là — on en compte cinq ou six dont l'activité et le pouvoir réels demeurent difficilement contrôlables — sont les véritables maîtres de la ville. Ils s'intéressent moins à sa prospérité qu'à leurs profits personnels.

Tanger s'est donné les apparences d'un gouvernement, mais le pouvoir reste très diffus derrière la façade de l'administration internationale. Les problèmes posés à la ville sont pourtant ceux d'un petit Etat, compliqués d'un jeu diplomatique qui prend toujours tel des allures mystérieuses. Ce jeu reste très fragile s'il ne s'appuie pas sur de solides intérêts économiques et financiers, s'il ne se mesure pas au volume d'investissements et d'échanges commerciaux. A cet égard la position de la France est nettement sur le déclin. L'Espagne, au contraire, améliore ses positions. Elle a choisi la voie la plus sûre pour réaliser un jour ses ambitions : conquérir à Tanger ce qu'elle ne se console pas d'avoir perdu à Gibraltar.

FIN.

## RADIO-LE CAIRE MULTIPLIE LES APPELS AU TERRORISME

Chaque jour pendant deux heures les ondes égyptiennes diffusent, à destination de l'Afrique du Nord, l'émission « La Voix des Arabes ». Depuis l'été dernier les affaires marocaines y tiennent le premier rang.

A plusieurs reprises nous avons fait allusion à certaines informations, plus ou moins fantaisistes, transmises par Radio-Le Caire. L'action de « commandos » nord-africains y est souvent évoquée. Depuis quelques semaines le ton de ces émissions atteint une extrême violence. Il s'agit de véritables appels à la lutte armée, au meurtre, à l'émeute.

Voici quelques exemples repris de documents transmis par les services de la Résidence générale à Rabat :

« O hommes libres marocains !  
Voici que vous pouvez voir aujourd'hui l'impérialisme tituber de fatigue sous la terreur des coups stingsants qu'il reçoit. Cependant cette détestable bête féroce ne veut pas cesser de montrer les dents pour répandre la frayeur chez les faibles, croyant peut-être ainsi échapper à la mort. Mais la mort l'atteindra sans aucun doute. »

« O héros marocains ! Nous vous disons, de façon éclatante : malheur à vous si vous êtes impuissants à vous organiser pour le combat sur la voie duquel vous êtes engagés. L'arabisme et l'islam se lamentent bruyamment si vous vous mettez à combattre individuellement, sans direction et sans plan déterminé... »

« O Marocains, votre pays est montagneux et aussi étendu que la France. C'est un avantage pour lequel vous louez Dieu. En outre vous êtes courageux à la guerre. Vous savez que Guillaume va bientôt suivre l'exemple de son collègue en Tunisie, le général Garbey. »

« Que vos coups soient rapides et fulgurants, en plusieurs endroits à la fois, de sorte que l'ennemi en soit désorienté. Dans un tel combat il n'est pas question de porter seulement de nombreux coups qui s'abattraient chaque jour sur la tête de l'ennemi. En effet de pareils coups ne peuvent être mûrement réfléchis et sagement dirigés. C'est pourquoi il vaut mieux que vous portiez moins de coups, mais qu'ils soient étudiés longuement, dans leur préparation et leur but, et rendez à l'ennemi ceil pour ceil et dent pour dent. »

Ces extraits d'une émission du 16 janvier sont significatifs. Il faudrait encore signaler le récit de prétendues batailles rangées entre Français et Marocains dans le quartier Talca de Fès ; un imaginaire encerclement d'un groupe marocain intitulé « La Nation » à Médiouna, etc. Le tout raconté

avec un luxe de détails où l'affabulation se donne libre cours. Des dialogues ou des scènes entières sont reconstitués et s'accompagnent à la rétransmission de cris, de chants, de clameurs ou de bruits de foule.

Pour grossièrement stupides qu'elles soient, ces émissions n'en risquent pas moins de frapper dangereusement les esprits dans un pays où les milieux urbains les plus populaires ne manquent pas l'écoute d'une émission de Radio-Le Caire, en dépit des surveillances ou des tentatives — peu efficaces, paraît-il — de brouillage. En fait, croit-on, dans les médinas de Casablanca, Rabat, Salé, un foyer sur sept dispose d'un appareil de T.S.F.

L'élite du pays, nous l'avons dit, a, dans sa majorité, conscience que les problèmes du Maghreb ne peuvent être résolus que dans un cadre franco-marocain. Or cette élite est actuellement dans un total désarroi ; elle n'a de plus aucun moyen de s'exprimer. Quant aux masses — les masses urbaines tout au moins — elles se sentent abandonnées. Si l'on veut que la propagande égyptienne ne devienne pas le seul aliment d'une opinion déréglée, c'est à nous qu'il appartient de lui faire recouvrer une confiance et une espérance perdues.

P. A. M.

### « Les possibilités de la France sont épuisées au Maroc »

écrit P A B C

Madrid, 30 janvier (A.F.P.). — Dans un commentaire sur la question du Maroc le journal monarchiste *ABC* écrit notamment :

« Les possibilités de la France sont épuisées au Maroc, tandis que l'Espagne commença à peine à utiliser ses atouts. Face à la nervosité dont fait preuve la presse française, face aux notes verbales de son ministre des affaires étrangères et de son ambassadeur à Madrid, l'Espagne peut utiliser avec succès toutes les armes, même celle du silence, car nous avons en notre faveur la double erreur du Quai d'Orsay. »

Casablanca, 30 janvier (A.F.P.). — Un nouvel attentat a été commis la nuit dernière au Derb-Djedid, quartier de Casablanca. Un mokrâdem (gardien de quartier) âgé de soixante ans, Si Mohammed ben Mohammed, a été grièvement atteint d'une balle de revolver tirée par un terroriste accompagné d'un complice.

— Quinze Marocains ont été arrêtés à Casablanca et inculpés sous le chef : non-assistance à personne en danger de mort.

créer un climat de détente favorable entre les entreprises de navigation aérienne et a conclu : « J'ai un trop grand respect des efforts accomplis et j'ai trop sincèrement le souci de sauvegarder la liberté d'entreprise, sans lesquels aucun progrès durable ne me paraît possible, pour ne pas désirer maintenir entre les entreprises existant sur toutes les grandes lignes de l'Union française un régime de concurrence ordonnée, génératrice d'une saine émulation. »

### Le personnel de la navigation aérienne sur tous les aéroports recevra la « prime de responsabilité »

Un accord est intervenu hier entre le secrétariat d'Etat à l'aviation civile et le ministère des finances sur l'octroi d'une « prime de responsabilité » aux membres du personnel de la navigation aérienne sur les aéroports concédés ou non.

On sait que la question était déjà réglée en ce qui concerne les aéroports concédés (chambres de commerce ou aéroport de Paris), où les primes doivent être versées par les organismes concessionnaires. Le ministre des finances, après de longues discussions, accepte de l'étendre aux techniciens de la sécurité aérienne qui dépendent directement de l'Etat. Les crédits nécessaires s'élevaient à environ 46 millions.

### Les pourparlers se poursuivent en ce qui concerne les revendications du même ordre présentées par le personnel de la météorologie.

### Quarante-cinq bombardiers « atomiques » B-47 vont rejoindre les Etats-Unis au Maroc sans escale

Washington, 30 janvier (U. P.). — L'aviation américaine a annoncé hier que quarante-cinq bombardiers « atomiques » B-47 Stratofort se rendront des Etats-Unis en Afrique du Nord sans escale, en février, pour une période d'exercice de deux mois.

Les appareils seront approvisionnés en carburant en cours de vol par des avions-cargos KC-97. Des avions de transport amèneront à pied-d'œuvre le personnel d'entretien et l'équipement nécessaires.

### VIN DES ROCHERS

Consommateur sois exigeant  
Quand tu fais choix de ton vin blanc.  
Car pour la table et la cuisine,  
Le Rochers blanc est perle fine.

# SPAIN'S NEW POLICY

## Doubts Grow in America

From our own Correspondent

WASHINGTON, JANUARY 31.

Relations with Spain have suddenly become a subject of debate here. No one planned it that way; Mr Talbot, the Secretary for the Air Force, blundered into an indiscretion last week at a press conference in the Pentagon and even the later attempts to make good his slips have failed to end all the anxious questions.

When Mr Talbot was asked if the United States would have full use of the Spanish bases in time of war he replied: "Well, who's going to stop us? There are certain agreements on the use of the bases, but when the balloon goes up we are going to use them." The Air Force's "clarifying" statement was far more tactful, and certainly more respectful of Spain's sovereign rights, but only succeeded in avoiding an offence to Spanish pride by casting doubt on the military agreement signed last year.

For it now appears that Spain's independent decision to enter the war on the side of the United States is one of the conditions which governs American use of the bases. The agreement, as published, simply states that "the time and manner of the war-time utilisation" of the bases "will be as mutually agreed." The technical provisions which explain this clause are still secret. The refusal by the Defence Department to explain America's precise rights under the agreement has led to the belief that Franco's consent would be a limiting factor.

### Dilemma of Defence Department

Writing in to-day's "New York Herald Tribune," Mr Walter Millis points out that the problem would be very different if Spain were a member of N.A.T.O. since she would automatically be at war the moment any member of the alliance were attacked. As it is, Spain would have complete freedom to delay her declaration of war as long as she wished. Where would this delay leave American policy? It certainly would qualify the new principle which would have the United States relying "primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate instantly by means and at places of our choosing." As Mr Millis remarks: "At the very least it transfers from the Pentagon to General Franco the power to choose instantly any of the targets reachable from Spain."

Moreover, the new uncertainty also affects the doctrine of the "peripheral defence" of Europe based on Britain, Spain, and Morocco. Mr Millis, who is clearly reflecting the opinions of one important group in the Defence Department, explains the dilemma in these terms:

"Morocco would, of course, be closed to us the moment we withdraw from the Spanish alliance or ground defence on the Rhine, and whether Britain would still be willing to serve as a dreadfully exposed atomic aircraft carrier if we had no good atomic bases in France, Spain, or Morocco may be open to question. Peripheral defence is thus even less an alternative to the European Defence Community, plus the American ground troops in Europe, the costs and effort which that must entail, than the Administration has been representing it. Our hands are even more completely tied than most of us have realised."

There are still larger implications. When the military agreement was published last year, some Americans predicted that Spain's emergence from diplomatic quarantine would have a heady effect on Franco and increase Spain's provocative policy. That view has now been confirmed by the Madrid correspondent of the "New York Times," who writes this morning:

"The signing of the agreement with Washington marks the beginning of the new phase in Spanish foreign policy. Madrid felt it had broken out of its diplomatic and military isolation and had become to all intents and purposes a partner of the United States in the joint

[Continued on page 10

task of fighting Soviet imperialism. . . . In her attitude towards France there is a feeling amongst some diplomats that Spain might have been encouraged by Washington's criticism of Paris's inability so far to ratify the European Defence Community Treaty."

According to this observer, the agreement has given Franco fresh confidence to pursue his anti-British claims on Gibraltar and to seek greater influence in the Middle East. This unexpected sequel must come as an unpleasant surprise to the architects of the agreement in Washington. They were simply looking for another ally against Russia and putting military reasons ahead of political calculations. They also knew that the Spanish agreement would be very popular with Congress. By his indiscretion Mr Talbot has reopened a debate which the Eisenhower Administration would have liked to avoid.

Installations, referring to the smaller amount of cash being provided by Britain, said that the new agreement "confirmed our impression that the economics of the United Kingdom would not permit the 50-50 cost sharing to proceed completely through the whole programme."—Reuter.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE  
1-2-54

# Work Set On Bases In Spain

*By the United Press*

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31.—United States authorities expect to break ground some time between May 1 and June 1 of this year on four air-base sites and seven Navy sites in Spain, it was revealed today.

Maj. Gen. Lee B. Washbourne, director of installations for the Air Force, announced officially that the air bases will be located at Torreon, near Madrid; El Copero, five miles south of Seville; Moron (de la Frontera), 30 miles southeast of Seville, and Saragossa.

Gen. Washbourne and other officials concerned with the construction of the new bases testified regarding the details of the programs in closed sessions of the House Appropriations Committee earlier this month. The hearings were made public by the committee today.

Clearance has recently been given by House and Senate Armed Services subcommittees for use of approximately \$60,000,000 for preliminary work in getting the construction under way.

The money also includes funds for construction of a 570-mile oil pipeline connecting Navy and Air Force installations throughout the country and for improvement of transportation facilities, which were described during the hearing as "horrible."

The first-year funds include approximately \$19,000,000 for the Navy and approximately \$40,000,000 for Air Force bases and the pipeline.

THE TIMES  
2-2-54

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## FOUR U.S. AIR BASES IN SPAIN

### USE BY BOMBERS ON ROTATION SYSTEM

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

WASHINGTON, FEB. 1

Details were given this weekend about the Spanish air bases, a subject which has caused embarrassment in official circles since Mr. Talbott's "clarifying" statement last Tuesday.

Last night the House appropriations committee confirmed that four air bases are to be built under the 1953 treaty. They are the Torrejon base near Madrid, where the existing airfield will be enlarged at a cost of \$43m.; the El Copero and Moron airfields near Seville, together with the San Jurgo field near Zaragoza, which are to be expanded at a total cost of \$57m.

It is also proposed to construct a 540-mile pipeline from the new airfields to the new United States naval base at Cadiz. This line will cost \$41m., and the cost of the base is estimated at \$50m. A further six fuel and ammunition depôts for the Navy will also be built, but the cost will be relatively small. The committee revealed that the programme also provides for radar and communications covering the whole of Spain.

It is understood that American bomber units will use the bases on a rotation system, and that permanent ground staffs on Spanish soil will be kept to a minimum. Spain for her part will help to build roads to these bases, and will contribute part of the labour and materials costs through counterpart funds.

Two hundred million dollars have been earmarked for Spanish aid.

With regard to the length of tenure of the bases, Rear-Admiral Perry, in charge of air and naval base construction, said that the Spanish pact guarantees the use of 11 bases in the next 10 years, and provides the continual use of bases by mutual agreement of both parties for an additional five or 10 years. Fears have been expressed that the bases would be limited to peacetime use, but the Defence Department, in a message approved by the State Department, said: "We feel assured that there would be no problem regarding their effective use in time of emergency, and that United States interests in this regard are fully protected."

### COST OF BASES IN BRITAIN

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1.—Britain's contribution to maintaining American Air Force bases has exceeded anything she originally contemplated or agreed to, the State Department said to-day. This was because the maintenance programme had been increased in size at American initiative.

Britain and the United States had agreed to share the maintenance costs equally. Now, he explained, although Britain's contribution is 40 per cent. of the whole, it is still bigger than the amount envisaged in the original agreement. The spokesman said he was making the announcement to correct the unfortunate impression in Press reports yesterday of hearings by a Congressional committee on Budget appropriations that Britain had reduced her commitments.—Associated Press.

DAILY MAIL  
3-2-54

## Franco seizes a third British ship

By Daily Mail Diplomatic Correspondent

**S**TRONG British protests to General Franco's Government may follow the seizure of the British cargo ship Cottesmore by an armed Spanish patrol off Barcelona yesterday. This was the third reported incident of its kind in two months. Action will be demanded in the Commons today.

The Cottesmore was three miles off the Spanish port when she was stopped. Her master, Captain J. Thomas, a British subject, was arrested. So were the crew of a dozen, Spaniards and Italians.

Spanish authorities allege the Cottesmore was carrying a "contraband cargo of cigarettes."

This drastic action was paral-

leled only a few days ago in the case of the British motor-vessel Sevro, held at Algeciras since January 26.

This ship left Gibraltar for Tangier on January 26 on a routine trip. Her cargo includes seven mail bags, belonging to the British Post Office at Gibraltar.

Two hours later, when about half-way across the Straits, an armed Spanish patrol ordered her to stop. The ship was boarded. Cargo and manifest were examined. The Sevro was escorted to Algeciras.

The owners, Serra Brothers of Gibraltar, failed to get the Sevro released, but the Spanish officials allowed the mailbags to go back to the Post Office.

Por lo visto el "gallego"  
tiene ganas de pelea, dicen  
que no necesita libras para  
pagar sus embafadas, todo se  
lo merecen los que le dieron  
lo cuando éte no tenía de  
donde adquirirlas.  
H

## STAGNANT POLITICS IN MOROCCO

### Isolation of the Sultan

From our own Correspondent

PARIS, FEBRUARY 2.

The doubt about who is to represent France in Morocco in the near future has been removed by an official statement that M. Laniel has renewed the expression of the Government's entire confidence in General Guillaume, the Resident-General, during his short visit to Paris to pay his respects to the new President of the Republic.

Now that this doubt has been removed it remains to convince the Moroccans, and indeed the French, that there is a policy with which it is worth while to collaborate. In Tunisia the new Resident-General has created an atmosphere in which a new policy might be launched, though this has not yet happened. Nothing suggests that this is the case in Morocco. There the unfortunate Sultan installed in August seems to live in great isolation. The promised programme of reforms has come to a halt, largely, no doubt, because there can be no hope of Moroccan co-operation as long as this programme seems mainly aimed at the destruction of Moroccan statehood; and the security measures adopted in reply to terrorism almost necessarily maintain an atmosphere congenial to terrorism.

### Vilifying Ex-Sultan

The official campaign against the ex-Sultan continues now in the form of a judicial inquiry into the deaths of five women and one man of his Rabat household alleged to be due to a medieval standard of punishment for adultery between Imperial concubines and members of the Imperial Guard. However well founded these charges may be their effect will be mainly on French and not at all on Moroccan opinion. Meanwhile the Egyptian wireless pours out daily incitements to revolt.

In this depressing situation it is at least cheering that the new port of Agadir has been opened. The first jetty was built in 1930 and by 1946 it still had only fifty yards of quay. To these were added between 1946 and 1950, 250 yards with a depth of three fathoms of water and 300 equipped for the fishing industry. The new additions provide a further 750 yards of which one-third is for vessels of deep draught. The area of water in the port has expanded from fifteen acres to ninety.

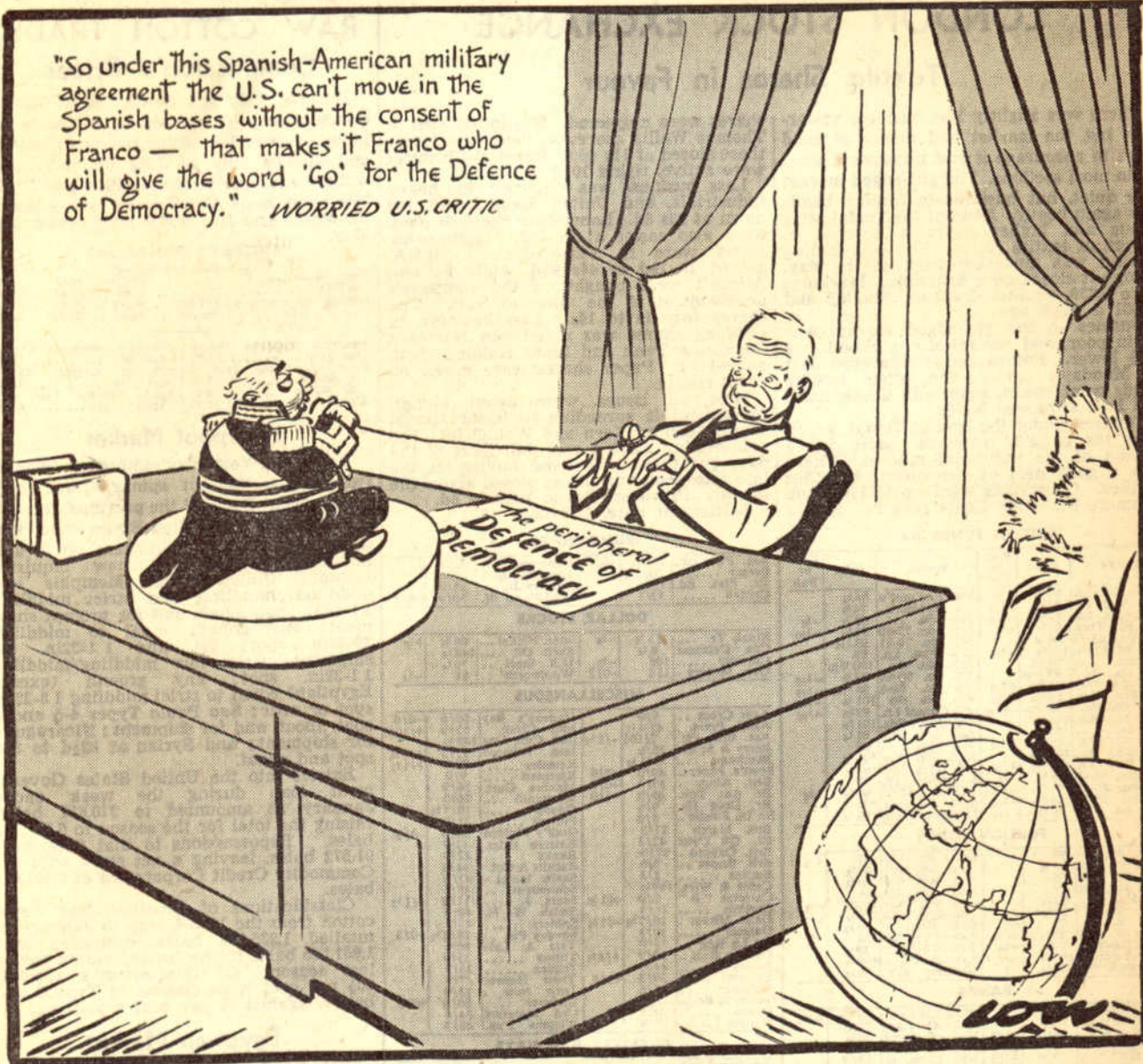
Behind the port a well planned and in part elegant town is rapidly growing up. Three years ago the social problems of the boom town seemed to be being managed with notably greater success (with the help of trained French social workers) than in the earlier French municipal experiments in the North. The rapid growth of Agadir shows what valuable possibilities will be thrown away if, in fact, the political situation is allowed to go from bad to worse.

MANCHESTER  
3-2-54

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THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 3 1954

"So under this Spanish-American military agreement the U.S. can't move in the Spanish bases without the consent of Franco — that makes it Franco who will give the word 'Go' for the Defence of Democracy." *WORRIED U.S. CRITIC*



SPANISH BASE

THE TIMES  
3-2-54

GIBRALTAR

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—I write in reference to the interesting article by your Gibraltar Correspondent on "Gen. Franco and the Rock," published in *The Times* of Thursday last. In his *aperçu* of "the historical events which brought Gibraltar under the British Crown" he makes no mention of the Treaty of Versailles of 1783. This, I submit, is a document of capital and decisive importance, the chief of our title-deeds, for it makes clear beyond any sort of question that, *de jure* as well as *de facto*, the Rock belongs to England. In November, 1782, Spain let it be known that she would forgo claims to Gibraltar in exchange not only for Minorca but also for East and West Florida. This was asking for a lot; but by the treaty of the next year her demands received full satisfaction. England handed over Minorca and the whole of Florida, and thus, by a bargain very advantageous to Spain, was legally (and morally) further confirmed in possession of territory that had been hers for 70 years and more. So little true is General Franco's claim that Spain has "never accepted" England's ownership of Gibraltar.

The Treaty of Utrecht (1713), which your Correspondent rightly calls a "lucid deed of transfer," is not the only one previous to that of 1783 in virtue of which the Rock was secured to England. As a party to the Treaty of Seville of 1729 Spain, in the words of the *Cambridge Modern History*, "granted, for the first time, frank and ungrudging recognition of the full consequences of the Treaty of Utrecht, in so far as it secured . . . the English possession of Gibraltar." But the Treaty of Versailles is of much greater importance than any earlier one; it put England's right to the Rock on a firm legal and ethical basis, making it dependent on a freely negotiated exchange. To demand the handing over of Gibraltar—particularly without the return of what was given for it—*i.e.*, Minorca and the Floridas—is to seek to break a contract.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,  
RANDOLPH HUGHES.

The Athenaeum, S.W.1, Jan. 30.

U.S. AIR BASES IN SPAIN

WORK EXPECTED TO START IN MAY

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BARCELONA, FEB. 2

A Washington message published here to-night, quoting an announcement by General Washbourne, director of United States Air Force installations, gives the location of the four American air bases to be established in Spain as Torrejón, near Madrid, El Copero, five miles from Seville, Morón de la Frontera, 30 miles south-west of Seville, and Saragossa. It is expected that work on the bases will begin in May, the three main contractors being the Raymond Concrete Pile Company, of New York, the Walsh Construction Company, of Davenport, Iowa, and Brown and Root, of Houston, Texas. The Spanish sub-contractors are to be appointed from Madrid.

Torrejón will be the largest of the bases, and is to cost some \$43m. (over £15,350,000), of which \$9m. (£3,215,000) has been assigned for the first year's expenditure. This base should be ready for use in the second year. El Copero and Morón are to cost \$30m. and \$12m., respectively, and are expected to be in service within two years. At Saragossa, part of the civil airport, nearly 10 miles from the city, will be converted for use by the United States Air Force.

An oil pipeline costing some \$25m. is to link the four bases, which will, it is said, accommodate B 36 bombers capable of carrying atomic bombs. Preliminary work on the naval installations is to cost \$19m.

## Malgré l'offensive diplomatique de Madrid

# LA FRANCE DOIT JOUER SON ROLE EN AMERIQUE LATINE

par Marcel NIEDERGANG

Peu importe que le gouvernement de Madrid ait envoyé ou non un mémorandum sur sa politique au Maroc espagnol à ses représentants en Amérique du Sud. Peu importe qu'il ait ou non prié ces derniers de faire valoir le point de vue espagnol au détriment de la position française auprès des gouvernements auxquels ils sont accrédités. Peu importe enfin que Madrid ait ou non invité le général Peron. Un fait est certain : l'Espagne pose de plus en plus au guide éclairé des républiques sud-américaines.

Voilà sans doute qui coïncide avec la spectaculaire rentrée de l'Espagne sur la scène internationale. La manifestation de Tétouan, les démonstrations antibritanniques, les invitations au général Peron, qui aurait refusé, et au maréchal Prago, qui n'a pas encore accepté, en constituent les points les plus récentes. Elles ont particulièrement impressionné les capitales occidentales.

On a négligé l'apologie de la « hispanidad ».

C'est évidemment une erreur. A long terme une intensification de l'offensive diplomatique espagnole dans ce qui fut, en partie du moins, son prestigieux empire colonial pourrait avoir des conséquences fâcheuses pour la France.

Depuis quelques semaines la presse espagnole met de plus en plus l'accent sur les manifestations d'amitié entre l'Espagne et certaines républiques sud-américaines.

### L'heure est bien choisie

L'heure de cette offensive est bien choisie. Aujourd'hui la majorité des républiques sud-américaines attendent quelque chose de la vieille Europe. La dernière guerre a accentué une dépendance, qu'elles estiment maintenant trop exclusive, des Etats-Unis. Washington a une tendance naturelle à considérer ses rapports avec l'autre moitié du Nouveau Monde sous l'aspect strictement économique. Dans ce qu'ils voudraient être une chasse gardée les businessmen yankees ont, aux yeux des gouvernements latino-américains, un tort essentiel : ils sont plus préoccupés de l'exploitation immédiate des fantastiques richesses du continent sud-américain que de son harmonieux développement économique.

Ce quelque chose n'est donc pas seulement une intensification des échanges culturels, que les « gringos » ne sauraient de toute façon leur apporter. C'est aussi une aide économique rationnelle permettant aux nations sud-américaines de s'industrialiser. Ce pourrait être enfin un rapprochement politique entre l'Europe et l'Amérique latine.

Il s'agit aujourd'hui de savoir quelle notion européenne réalisera la première toutes les aspirations des peuples latino-américains. Il est évident que l'Espagne cherche à se placer dans cette course de

vitesse silencieuse. Il est non moins évident que la France a des atouts incontestables pour la distancer.

Encore faudrait-il que l'on comprit ici l'enjeu de cette course. N'est-ce pas M. Bidault qui répondait à l'un des trop rares hommes qui s'efforcent de faire connaître en France les vrais problèmes sud-américains : « L'Amérique latine, bien sûr, vous avez raison ; mais il y a les Etats-Unis, il y a l'U.R.S.S., il y a l'Allemagne... »

Pour être juste, les milieux d'affaires français commencent à s'intéresser sérieusement au développement de l'Amérique latine. Quelques beaux succès ont récemment récompensé cette curiosité méritoire (1). Pour la première fois une mission économique française a effectué en décembre un séjour officiel extrêmement profitable au Venezuela.

Il reste à poursuivre cet effort. Il reste à convaincre les milieux politiques de la nécessité d'un renouvellement profond des échanges culturels. Les conférences de distingués académiciens ou les présentations de modèles de la haute couture parisienne, c'est bien. Des échanges d'étudiants, de professeurs, de techniciens, c'est encore mieux.

Si les proclamations de la Révolution française, les idées d'Auguste Comte, voire celles de Maurras, ont profondément influencé certaines élites latino-américaines, il est évident que ces idées ne correspondent plus ni à la réalité française d'aujourd'hui ni aux besoins réels de l'Amérique latine. Ce continent méconnu est en passe de réussir une révolution économique et sociale d'une portée incalculable.

Il faut donc en finir avec ce fantôme désuet du riche et oisif Sud-Américain échappé de régions mystérieuses où ne résonnent que les accents de la samba et les galopades de chevaux sauvages dans les pampas. C'est alors que les journalistes espagnols ne pourront plus, comme le chroniqueur de l'A B C, ironiser sur cette « perla » d'un de nos ministres, qui aurait déclaré : « J'ai tenu une conférence de presse à Buenos-Aires ou à Rio, je ne sais plus... »

Sur tous les plans, culturel, économique, politique, la France peut et doit jouer un rôle très important en Amérique latine. Il suffit de le savoir.

(1) Voir le Monde du 14 octobre 1953.

### La réponse à la note française n'a toujours pas été envoyée

Madrid, 6 février (A.F.P.). — Le conseil des ministres espagnol s'est réuni hier soir au palais du Prado, sous la présidence du général Franco.

Le communiqué publié à l'issue du conseil déclare que M. Martin Artajo, ministre des affaires étrangères, a fait un exposé sur les travaux de la vingtième session du conseil de la Ligue arabe qui vient de se tenir au Caire.

Il se confirme que le gouvernement espagnol n'a pas encore répondu à la note diplomatique du gouvernement français au sujet de l'affaire marocaine, qui avait été remise à Madrid le vendredi 22 janvier par M. Jacques Meyrier, ambassadeur de France.

La majeure partie de ce conseil a été consacrée à l'augmentation des salaires de certaines catégories de travailleurs et des prix des chemins de fer. On serait inquiet de voir l'exportation des oranges réduite de 50 0/0 à la suite de la vague de froid.

### Mise au point

Le ministère des affaires étrangères a publié une mise au point dans laquelle il conteste « que le gouvernement français ait fait connaître aux chancelleries étrangères la position qu'il a prise au sujet des événements survenus récemment dans la zone espagnole du Maroc ». Il ajoute que « le gouvernement a simplement tenu au courant ses représentants dans les pays étrangers des événements survenus et de la façon dont il convient de les envisager ».

[Est-il permis d'ajouter sans craindre le moindre démenti que nos représentants n'ont été tenus au courant que pour informer à leur tour les gouvernements auprès desquels ils sont accrédités ? Et faut-il préciser, ainsi qu'il a été fait au conseil des ministres de jeudi, que ces instructions visaient spécialement nos représentants en Amérique du Sud ?]

### « La question marocaine se réglera de Paris... »

déclare M. Max Brusset

La délégation parlementaire du groupe d'amitié franco-marocaine, qui vient d'effectuer un voyage d'étude au Maroc français et à Tanger, est rentrée à Paris. M. Max Brusset, député U.R.A.S. de la Charente-Maritime, a déclaré à cette occasion :

« Le problème franco-marocain est devenu un problème de compréhension psychologique. Il importe moins désormais d'accomplir des actes spectaculaires que d'appliquer des réformes réelles, d'ailleurs déjà préparées. Rien de profondément grave ne sépare Français et Marocains. Il s'agit d'un simple malaise, mais toute perte de temps, tout atermoiement, serait désormais dangereux. »

« La question marocaine se réglera de Paris, mais le Maroc se dirige de Rabat. Nous avons formé là-bas des générations nouvelles. Il importe aujourd'hui de donner à chacun sa libre tâche sans arrière-pensée et hardiment. »

— Les neuf terroristes auteurs d'une tentative de déraillement du train Casablanca-Marrakech, dont huit ont été condamnés à mort par le tribunal militaire de Casablanca, se sont pourvus en cassation. Le pourvoi sera porté devant le tribunal militaire de cassation d'Alger.

MANCHESTER  
H-2-54

## SPAIN'S "DIPLOMATIC TRIUMPH"

### Conditions for U.S. Bases

MADRID, FEBRUARY 3.

The Madrid newspaper "ABC" said to-day that Spain had scored a diplomatic triumph in her defence agreements with the United States, reserving the right to fix conditions for the use of bases in wartime. The paper said:

"No other nation has obtained from the United States such full recognition of sovereignty concerning strategic points in common. Spain reserves the right in each concrete case to fix in agreement with the United States the conditions for the use of these bases in the case of war."

"The troops of the great republic across the Atlantic will be received here hospitably in accordance with Spanish traditions. They will always be our guests here, but can never be more than that. This permits us to accept their friendly presence and proudly offer them our hand and place our name next to theirs in the certainty that we fight in a common cause which, far from weakening our Spanish pride, on the contrary strengthens it."

—Reuter.

## SPANISH SEIZURE OF BRITISH SHIP

### Formal Charge of Smuggling

Colonel A. D. Dodds-Parker, Foreign Under-Secretary, stated in a parliamentary written reply that he was informed that the British registered motor-vessel Sevra was detained on January 26 while on her way to Tangier from Gibraltar by a Spanish Customs gunboat and taken to Algeciras where her crew and cargo were seized. The crew had since been released, and mail which the ship was carrying had been returned. He continued:

"A formal charge of smuggling has now been made and the case will be heard at the Provincial Court at Cadiz on February 6. The British Vice-Consul at Cadiz will be present at court."

## SPANISH SEIZURE OF GIBRALTAR VESSEL

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BARCELONA, FEB. 3

The motor launch Cottesmore, registered at Gibraltar, has been seized by the Spanish naval vessel Triton while alleged to be within Spanish territorial waters with a cargo of contraband tobacco, and has been escorted to this port, where some 1,500 cases of cigarettes have been discharged and taken into custody by the Spanish authorities. The cargo is reputed to be worth four million pesetas, equivalent to nearly £37,500. The vessel is said to be owned by a Gibraltar resident.

TIMES  
H-2-54

## BRITISH SHIP SEIZED OFF GIBRALTAR

### SMUGGLING CHARGE

MR. BRAINE (Billericay, C.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in what circumstances the British motor vessel Sevra was seized by the Spanish authorities in the Straits of Gibraltar on January 26 and escorted to Algeciras.

MR. DODDS-PARKER, Under-Secretary, Foreign Office, states in a written reply: I am informed that the Sevra was detained on her way to Tangier from Gibraltar by a Spanish Customs gunboat and taken to Algeciras, where her crew and cargo were seized. The crew have since been released, and mail which the ship was carrying has been returned. A formal charge of smuggling has now been made, and the case will be heard at the provincial court at Cadiz on February 6. The British Vice-Consul at Cadiz will be present in court.

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## Britain and the Two Generals

By MICHAEL CURTIS

I WANT to discuss two generals who have been giving us a certain amount of trouble lately: General Franco, dictator of Spain, and General Neguib, dictator of Egypt. General Franco has protested strongly about the visit of the Queen to Gibraltar on her way home from the Commonwealth tour. Spanish students were ordered into the streets, and the old cry was raised that we should return Gibraltar to its rightful landlords. I suppose that if we were perfectly rational we should have to admit that there is some justice in this claim. If the Isle of Wight were a Spanish fortress and Spanish warships were cruising within hailing distance of Bournemouth pier, we should not feel happy about it. But I must confess that I do not feel at all rational about Gibraltar or about General Franco. If the world were a safer place than it is, if we had not held Gibraltar for 240 years without once threatening Spanish security, our attitude might be different. But it goes deeper than that. The trouble with dictators is that they arouse emotions, and emotion is always a dangerous thing in diplomacy.

The reason for the General's sudden irruption into the world's headlines is not hard to explain. Franco had hoped that last summer's agreement with America, an agreement which provided bases for the American navy and air force in exchange for economic aid, would restore Spain to favour among the democracies. But it has not worked out that way. Even the Americans appear to be having second thoughts since it was revealed in Congress last week that there is no guarantee that Franco will allow America to use

those bases in the event of war. Perhaps the Caudillo has been too clever, and perhaps the latest anti-British outburst is just another case of a dictator trying desperately to re-establish his country's, and hence his own, self-respect. But I do not think we should ever forget that this ostracising of Spain has been a real tragedy for post-war Europe. The Spanish people have something to teach this frenzied world of ours—dignity, courtesy, patience, and friendliness: qualities we can ill-afford to lose. It has been a disaster for Spain, and for Europe, that one man and all that he stands for has prevented a reconciliation.

General Neguib is a rather different figure. He has not yet provoked the emotional distaste which his Spanish colleague inspires. We have an image of a friendly, pipe-smoking soldier who has risen to power by promising to clean up the appalling corruption of Egyptian politics under ex-King Farouk. His pictures in the newspapers, and his innumerable interviews with visiting journalists and politicians, suggest a homely, honest sort of tough-guy—a political Cary Grant, you might think. Perhaps he is. I have not yet had the privilege of meeting him. But I think that we should be under no illusions that he is a strong man and a very shrewd one. He has subdued all opposition with an iron hand. Democracy in Egypt has always been somewhat theoretical. Today even the forms have ceased to exist.

All this is clear enough, but I was rather astonished to hear so experienced a diplomat as Lord Killearn refer in a broadcast\* to our relations with Egypt and particularly our attitude to the Suez

\* See next page

Canal dispute as if they were precisely analogous to the policy we have adopted to Franco's protests about Gibraltar. According to Lord Killearn we turned Franco down flat and that is what we should do with Neguib. There are times, he argued, when only firmness pays dividends. We are in the Suez Canal by virtue of our rights under the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936—a treaty which expires in two years time—and we should say we intend to stay until a new treaty is drawn up. If the Egyptians do not like it, they—and we—must face the consequences. This argument is also supported by a small but influential section of the Conservative Party. It is not shared by Mr. Eden or the Government, and certainly not by Liberal or Labour opinion in this country. After all, the Suez Canal is not, and never has been, a part of the British Empire. After 1956 it will be difficult, to say the least, to uphold our right to station troops there in a court of international law.

The Egyptians have no absolute claim on Suez either. It has, time and again, been ruled that the strategic and commercial importance of this waterway which divides Europe and Asia from Africa—the crossroads of the world—is so great that its destiny must be of international concern. To surrender our historic role as policeman of this vital area without first being sure that these traditional international rights are still going to be respected would certainly be madness.

We cannot overlook the fact that at this moment Egypt is

refusing to allow even cargoes of food to pass through the canal if their destination is marked 'Israel'. And we are rightly determined that the enormous stake we have built in Middle East security—the huge and costly military bases in the Suez Zone—should not be thrown to the wolves.

But we do recognise, as I think we must, that these are bases on Egyptian soil (just as the Americans have bases on British or Spanish soil). And in the long and protracted negotiations with Egypt we have conceded that British troops shall be withdrawn but that British technicians must remain to keep those installations in proper order in case of emergency. But what constitutes an emergency? Under what conditions would the British Army be allowed to return? It is the same problem that confronts the Americans in regard to their bases in Spain. It is the key problem of one nation's pride and another's security. If we can only reconcile them amicably, a tremendous advantage will have been gained—for ourselves, for Egypt, and for world security.

I do not personally agree with Lord Killearn that we shall ever reach a solution by standing pat on our rights and by implicitly threatening force as our ultimate sanction. The world has changed a great deal in the last fifty years. We are not, let us face it, as strong as we once were. Our policy must surely, then, be to win the friendship and confidence of those nations who are important to our welfare and security.—*Home Service*

## The Case for Standing Firm in Egypt

By the Rt. Hon. LORD KILLEARN

IT was a safe bet, in the light of our policy of concession, first over Abadan, next over the Sudan, and now over the Suez Canal zone, that it would not be long before we heard something about Gibraltar. The net result is that our position both at the eastern and the western end of the Mediterranean is being challenged, and, frankly, can we be surprised? Once you begin to give way it encourages others to follow suit in pressing their claims, and where is the process to end? Accordingly, it was refreshing not only to learn the firm line taken by the Government over the royal visit, as revealed in the House of Commons, but also to read in the newspapers about the cancellation of the visit of the British fleet to Spanish ports. One only wishes that our reaction at the other end of the Mediterranean, that is to say towards Egypt, had been equally firm. Is it still too late?

First of all a word about the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 which I helped to negotiate. It is commonly assumed that the treaty automatically expires in 1956. That is not so. For what does the treaty say—especially Article 16? This Article provides that by mutual consent the treaty can come up for revision after twenty years from its entry into force; that is, after December 22, 1956. And then follows the extremely significant phrase: 'It is agreed that any revision of this treaty will provide for the continuation of the alliance between the high contracting parties', that is, between Great Britain and Egypt. According to the letter of the treaty, therefore, far from its expiring automatically in twenty years—that is, in 1956—it was to be continued in a revised form of the Anglo-Egyptian alliance acceptable to both parties.

Unfortunately, in October 1951, the Egyptian Government of the day—the Wafd Government before General Neguib's coup—unilaterally tore up the treaty. But that does not detract from the fact that our position and legal rights under the treaty remain in our view perfectly valid and irrefutable in international law.

But the problem has not only its judicial but its practical side; and, despite the glaring irregularity of the Egyptian action, the British Government agreed to friendly discussions for the revision of the treaty before due date. According to the press, we seem to have gone a considerable way towards accepting a great diminution of our treaty rights. We appear to be contemplating the withdrawal of all our fighting

forces from the canal zone and the termination of the alliance. Indeed, according to the press, there are now only three points of disagreement still outstanding: duration of the new agreement; numbers and status of our so-called 'technicians' left to maintain the base; and the right of 'reactivation'—that is to say, re-entry of our forces in case of need.

On those three points we appear for the time being to have stuck. In my opinion, we should beware of accepting any compromise which does not fully safeguard the security of the canal and ensure the efficient maintenance of the base. Rather than that, surely we should do better to aim at getting back to our strict treaty rights and announce that we intend to do so. That would mean a gradual reduction of our forces from the present crisis strength to the 10,000 land forces and the 400 R.A.F. pilots prescribed by the treaty. At the same time we should declare that we are still genuinely anxious to come to an amicable settlement of this teasing problem: nobody knows better than I do from practical experience during the whole of the war what a friendly Egypt means. We should announce that we regret that the Egyptian terms so far offered cannot reasonably be accepted by us. If, then, unfortunate incidents occurred, the Prime Minister has already declared in the House of Commons on May 11 that our troops would naturally have no option but to defend themselves.

Granted, this attitude would entail a definite risk, but there are occasions in the lives of governments, as of individuals, when a decision has to be taken, either to let things slide (which is always so much easier), or to stand up for your rights and take the consequences. If we hold on to the base in the face of an unfriendly Egypt, it might make it harder for us to draw the full profit from it in an emergency. Against that there is the far greater risk of the loss of our leading position in the whole area of the Mediterranean and Middle East, throughout Africa, and indeed throughout the world. Those of us who feel that the Commonwealth still has an invaluable role to play in this distracted world take the view that we should preferably face the lesser risk involved and stand firm in Egypt. One would hope that if we did stand firm, opportunity might well offer for a revival of the scheme for an international Middle East command under the aegis of Nato, with Egypt as full partner.—*Home Service*

### Gibraltar

Legend has it that the British will never lose Gibraltar so long as the Barbary apes inhabit the Rock. The British have been there since 1704, and the apes also endure somehow, though their demise has been predicted periodically through the years.

Now students in Madrid demonstrate, shouting for the return of the Rock, shouting because Queen Elizabeth II is coming to call in May, shouting up and down Madrid's Gran Via amid the ancient taxicabs.

Spain is getting louder and louder about Gibraltar and, with the country's gradual acceptance back into the family of nations, the demands may continue to grow.

It can be but pride and politics, for Gibraltar is already Spanish although not Spain's. Most of its inhabitants are Spanish, and English is the foreign language there. In addition to those who live on the Rock, many Spanish people from the mainland go to work there daily.

The British pour their pounds on to the Rock to maintain military and naval installations. Nearly all the British pounds end up in Spanish pockets.

After 250 years, the British are no more likely to be moved than the Rock of Gibraltar. The Spanish might as well be content to have their *torta* and eat it, too.

—From the Atlanta Journal.

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# TREATIES BROKEN SAYS GEN. FRANCO

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## RIFT IN MOROCCO

From Our Own Correspondent

MADRID, Tuesday.

Till "reason had triumphed over force" the Spanish zone of Morocco would remain under Spanish protection, said Gen. Franco to-day, replying to a delegation of notables from the zone. It would remain under the sovereignty of the Caliph, Prince Moulay el Mehdi.

The present situation (meaning that set up by the deposition of the Sultan by the French) was at variance with the treaties governing the status of Morocco.

Alluding presumably to the United States and Great Britain, he said he considered that the silence of other countries did not mean that they approved of the violent character of the French action.

Gen. Garcia Valino, High Commissioner of the Spanish zone, handed to Gen. Franco the document submitted by the notables. In this they proposed that Spanish Morocco should be separated provisionally from French Morocco "as long as conditions do not change."

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# RADIODIFFUSION et TÉLÉVISION

## RAPPEL DES PRINCIPALES ÉMISSIONS DE LA SOIRÉE (SAMEDI)...

**Programme national (347 m.) : 20 h. 30,** Nathan le Sage », de Lessing, trad. et adapt. par René Jougllet et Otto Gräutloff réal. Alain Trutat), avec Almé Clariond, Jean Lanier, Pierre Bertin, Laurence Baille, Éléonore Hirt, Jacqueline Morane, François Vibert, etc.; **22 h.,** Mélodies, par Odette Myrta; **22 h. 15,** Les nuits découchées. Nuits du monde : « Une nuit pour ten »; **23 h.,** Des idées et des hommes; **23 h. 25,** La fête du rêve, musiques nocturnes de Jean Rivier.

**Programme parisien (280 m.) : 20 h. 30,** Val Berg et son grand orchestre, avec Mado Robin; **21 h. 15,** Concerto pour une ombre, par Stéphane Pizella, avec Claude Gensac; **2 h.,** La chanson éternelle; **22 h. 30,** Microsilon music-hall.

**Paris-Inter (1 829 et 514 m.) : 20 h.,** Chansons des temps difficiles; **20 h. 30,** A petite semaine; **21 h. 2,** La bride sur le cou; **22 h. 20,** Bonsoir, l'Europe! Ici Paris!

**Télévision : 20 h. et 22 h. 15,** Journal télévisé; **20 h. 15,** « les Justiciers du Far-West » (15°); **20 h. 27,** Magazine féminin; **20 h. 40,** « la Vie chantée », de Noël-Noël; **21 h.,** « le Mystère de la chambre Noire ».

Mme Courteline; **21 h. 45,** Avant-premières; **22 h. 50,** Le monde est un spectacle.

**Paris-Inter : 9 h. 18,** Cantates à Saint-Thomas; **10 h. 18,** Ronde des chansons; **12 h. 25,** Regards sur la musique américaine (opérette); **13 h.,** Musique de Morton Gould; **13 h. 45,** « les Deux Vieilles Gardes », opéra bouffe de Delibes, et « le Fiancé de Margot », opéra bouffe de Planquette; **14 h. 45,** Tribune des critiques de disques : « Concerto en la pour clavier et orchestre » de Bach; **15 h. 45,** Concert diff. Fernand Guiradous (Mozart, Honegger, Schubert); **18 h. 18,** Cinéma pour les ondes : « Histoire de trois amours », musique de Rachmaninov; **19 h.,** Magie du chant noir; **19 h. 30,** Paris à l'heure des étoiles; **20 h.,** Microsilons classiques; **21 h.,** Aspects de la musique française contemporaine : Martinet, Le Roux, Boulet; **22 h.,** Grandes voix humaines : Francesco Tamagno; **22 h. 30,** Près du beau Danube bleu.

**Culture française (312 m.) : 9 h.,** Connaissance scientifique; **10 h.,** Le romantisme; la Renaissance française; **11 h.,** Variétés littéraires.

**Club d'essai (312 m.) : 14 h.,** Club des liseurs; **14 h. 45,** « L'Enfance du crime », d'André Aimuro, d'après l'œuvre de Jean Genet; **15 h. 30,** Double audition commentée de la « Troisième Symphonie » d'Albert Roussel; **16 h. 45,** Principauté des sciences; **17 h. 15,** « Un poète vient du Rhin », de P.-C. Delalande; « la Punition du ciel », conte dialogué d'André Nicolas, et « le pauvre Bertrand », conte de P.-L. Hervieu.

**Télévision : 10 h. 30,** Messe en la cathédrale du château de Versailles; **12 h., 20 h. et 22 h. 5,** Journal télévisé; **12 h. 15,** La séquence du spectateur; **16 h. 30,** « Captifs de la jungle », film; **18 h.,** Bridge-variétés; **18 h. 30,** Camille Sauvage et son orchestre; **20 h. 15,** Magazine du temps passé; **20 h. 30,** La Chute de la maison Usher », film d'après Edgar Poe.

## PRINCIPALES ÉMISSIONS DU LUNDI 8 FÉVRIER

**Programme national : 8 h.,** Le moyen âge : le Royaume de Germanie au dixième siècle; **12 h.,** Courrier du tourisme; **12 h. 15,** Quatuor vocal russe de Saint-Petersbourg; **12 h. 30,** Orchestre de Lille; **13 h. 20,** Le goût des livres; **13 h. 40,** Musique au Japon; **14 h. 30,** Concert spirituel, avec solistes (Jean Alain Honegger); **15 h.,** Orchestre de Strasbourg; **16 h.,** Musique de ballet (Rimsky-Korsakov, Stravinski); **16 h. 50,** Musique de chambre par Quintette de l'Île-de-France, avec Lella Ben Sedra, cantatrice; **17 h. 55,** « Paysages du continent africain », conférence par André Siegfried; **19 h. 1,** Histoire du poème symphonique, par notre collaborateur René Dumesnil : Paul Dukas; **20 h.,** Concert diff. par l'Orchestre national, avec Pierre Sancan, pianiste, dans le « Concerto en ré mineur » de Mozart (Purcell, Schumann, R. Strauss); **21 h. 45,** Belles-Lettres

## Des notables marocains se rendent auprès du général Franco

Madrid, 8 février (A.F.P.). — Une délégation des notables de la zone khalfienne arrivera cette semaine à Madrid. Dirigée par le grand vizir du khalifat, elle comprend entre autres les pachas de Tétouan, de Larache, de Villa-Sanjurjo et de Xauen. Elle est accompagnée par le colonel Bermejo Lopez, délégué adjoint aux affaires indigènes de Tétouan, qui assume le rôle de « chef politique de la délégation » et par trois représentants civils et militaires de l'administration espagnole de la zone.

Cette délégation de notables marocains va retrouver à Madrid le général Garcia Valino, haut commissaire à Tétouan, arrivé depuis une semaine, et qui a déjà eu un long entretien avec le général Franco.

Au cours de son séjour la délégation remettra au général Franco la « médaille d'or de Tétouan », qui lui a été décernée par cette municipalité, et, pense-t-on, un manifeste.

Il n'est pas impossible, déclare-t-on dans certains milieux officieux, que « la séparation provisoire de la zone khalfienne du Maroc, tant que l'ancien sultan n'aura pas été rétabli sur le trône chérifien », figure parmi les vœux que se propose de présenter la délégation.

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10-2-54

## TREATIES BROKEN SAYS GEN. FRANCO

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The present situation (meaning that set up by the deposition of the Sultan by the French) was at variance with the treaties governing the status of Morocco.

Alluding presumably to the United States and Great Britain, he said he considered that the silence of other countries did not mean that they approved of the violent character of the French action.

Gen. Garcia Valino, High Commissioner of the Spanish zone, handed to Gen. Franco the document submitted by the notables. In this they proposed that Spanish Morocco should be separated provisionally from French Morocco "as long as conditions do not change."

10-2-54

## MOORISH LEADERS IN MADRID

### GOLD MEDAL FOR GEN. FRANCO

#### FRENCH "VIOLENCE"

From Our Correspondent

BARCELONA, FEB. 9

The Grand Vizier and Khalifan officials of the Spanish zone of Morocco who are visiting Madrid to express in person the loyalty of the people of the protectorate, were to-day received by General Franco when they bestowed on him the decoration of the gold medal of Tetuán. The Spanish High Commissioner in Morocco was also present.

General Franco, in his reply to the Grand Vizier's address, said: "You know how great have been the anxieties and sacrifices of our nation to pacify your land, to raise the standard of living of your people, and lead you to the administering of your territory. The community of feeling between our people is so strong that even if the sad events which we to-day bewail had not touched our responsibility and interests as co-protectors in the Moroccan empire, we should have felt them as our own.

"You well know, for you have been partners in it, how great and patient has been our work to bring about the unity of the Moroccan people. Their rights, liberties, and personality were safeguarded by international treaties, by the nobleness and honour of the protecting nations, of which the double presence of Spain and France was a guarantee.

#### POLITICAL BREACH

"It is therefore not surprising that once the political basis of the protectorate had been broken by the violent action of France you should raise your lament and your protest, for if that violence should persist a large part of the Moroccan people would be forsaken and subject to the arbitrariness of the protecting nation.

"The fact that other interested Powers maintain silence before the situation of grave tension in which the world lives does not mean that they approve the violent and peculiar French action; for my part, I can assure you that Spain will continue true to the treaties and loyal to her Moroccan brothers. She will defend inflexibly the unity of Morocco and the letter and spirit of the agreement, not accepting situations or facts which are contrary to our way of thinking and at the same time to international morality and the signed treaties. We are sure that the force of reason will in the end triumph over the unreason of force. Until that time comes the Moroccan zone entrusted to our keeping will continue under the sovereignty of his Imperial Highness Prince Muley el Mehdi, with the assistance of our High Commissioners, the authority of the Majzen and their officials, true to the unity of the empire and the feelings of the Moroccan people."

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MANCHESTER

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## FRANCO ON FRENCH "VIOLENT ACTS"

### Pledge of Loyalty to Moroccans

MADRID, FEBRUARY 9.

General Franco to-day received a delegation of Spanish Moroccan leaders, including the Grand Vizier, who reaffirmed their loyalty to Spain and presented him with the gold medal of the City of Tetuan. Addressing the delegation in the El Pardo palace, General Franco said:

"I can assure you that Spain will continue faithful to the treaties and loyal to her Moroccan brothers. Spain will defend firmly both the unity of Morocco and the letter and spirit of the agreements. But she will not accept situations which are contrary both to our sentiments and to the letter and spirit of the agreements. We feel certain that reason will end by triumphing over force. . . . The special characteristics of the Spanish zone have meant that the population of our protectorate has lived traditionally outside the authority of the Sultans. The rights, liberty, and personality of the Moroccan people were safeguarded by the international treaties and the sense of honour of the protecting nations. The double presence of Spain and France in their respective zones formed a guarantee. So we cannot be surprised that you express to us your sorrow and your protest at the violent action of the French. Because if this state of violence should persist, a great part of the Moroccan people would remain subject to the arbitrary action of the protecting nation. The fact that other interested nations remain silent in view of the grave tension which exists in the world does not mean that they approve. Nor does it mean that they do not have their reservations concerning the surprising and violent nature of the action taken by France."

General Franco concluded by promising the Moroccan leaders that the Spanish zone would continue under the sovereignty of Prince Muley Hassan, assisted by the Spanish High Commissioner and the Moroccan authorities of the zone.—Reuter.

**UN NOUVEAU VÊTEMENT**  
**« ANTIFEU »**  
 met les sauveteurs à l'abri  
 de très fortes chaleurs

Les combinaisons d'amiante actuellement utilisées pour la lutte contre l'incendie ne laissent pas les sauveteurs très libres de leurs mouvements et ne les protègent des fortes chaleurs que pendant quelques minutes.

Un constructeur français d'extincteurs vient de réaliser un nouveau vêtement « antifeu » inventé en Suisse. Fait d'un tissu métallisé brillant et souple, il réfléchit les ondes calorifiques au lieu de les absorber. Les flammes sont ainsi arrêtées à une vingtaine de centimètres du corps. La température à l'intérieur de la combinaison atteint à peine 40 degrés après vingt minutes d'utilisation en plein foyer. Des chaleurs de 1500 degrés peuvent être affrontées sans risque.

Au cours d'une démonstration qui a eu lieu hier mardi des sauveteurs ont évolué pendant près d'une demi-heure au cœur d'un brasier entretenu au mazout. Des techniciens de la défense nationale et des sociétés de carburant, des sapeurs-pompiers, assistaient à l'expérience, ainsi que des représentants de l'aéronautique civile et militaire. Ces derniers paraissent intéressés par le procédé nouveau, qu'ils jugent très utile pour le sauvetage rapide des avions en flammes.

**LA SEPTIÈME SEMAINE INTERNATIONALE DU CAR SE DÉROULERA A NICE**

Le quatrième « Rallye international routier Paris-Côte d'Azur », réservé aux autocars de tourisme, aura lieu à la fin du mois de mai prochain. L'arrivée de l'épreuve, qui ne comporte pas un nombre de journées déterminé, s'effectuera le 28 mai à Nice, où se déroulera la « Septième Semaine internationale du car », sous la présidence d'honneur du ministre des travaux publics et des transports.

**LES JOURNÉES DE L'ÉCLAIRAGE AURONT LIEU A MONACO**

Après Toulouse en 1952, Dijon en 1953, c'est la principauté de Monaco qui sera cette année, du 8 au 12 juin, le cadre des journées d'études sur l'éclairage, organisées par l'Association française des éclairagistes. Un vaste programme d'illuminations de ce site admirable est en préparation, et les installations prévues pour le congrès demeureront pendant toute la saison d'été, ce qui permettra aux touristes d'en profiter.

**Les navires météorologiques seront maintenus dans l'Atlantique nord**

Le réseau international de navires météorologiques dans l'Atlantique nord ne sera pas supprimé. Tel paraît être le résultat acquis lors de la première journée de la conférence réunie par l'Organisation de l'aviation civile internationale au siège de l'U.N.E.S.C.O., à Paris. Après l'élection du délégué des Pays-Bas, M. Bekker, à la présidence, de MM. Haqueneau (France) et Windberg (Suède) à la vice-présidence, M. Devinat, secrétaire d'Etat à l'aviation civile, a souligné dans son discours de bienvenue l'importance croissante des observations météorologiques, particulièrement en altitude, au moment où se développe l'aviation commerciale à réaction. Le président de l'O.A.C.I., M. Edward Warner, a indiqué que le nombre des passagers aériens sur l'Atlantique avait doublé en quatre ans et atteignait l'an dernier cinq cent mille environ.

Les délégués des pays intéressés se sont montrés favorables au maintien du réseau météorologique flottant. La France et la Grande-Bretagne ont indiqué qu'elles consentiraient à rajuster sur des bases équitables les charges d'entretien des navires.

Le représentant des Etats-Unis a indiqué que les crédits votés par le Congrès ne permettraient pas en principe le maintien des quatorze fréquences américaines (sur un total de vingt-cinq) au delà du mois de juin. Mais il n'a pas annoncé le retrait total des fréquences affectées par son pays. Il a lui aussi demandé une meilleure répartition des charges. En fait, il apparaît que l'attitude américaine avait pour but d'obliger les autres nations intéressées à accroître leur part de contribution. Reste à déterminer le pourcentage des frais supportés par chacune. Plusieurs commissions vont étudier ce difficile problème et s'efforcer en même temps de rechercher les moyens d'accroître la rentabilité du réseau.

**OUVERTURE D'UNE MAISON D'ACCUEIL POUR CANCÉREUX**

Le ministre de la santé publique et M. Roger Gènebrier, préfet de Seine-et-Oise, inaugureront le 19 février la maison d'accueil pour grands malades installée dans le château d'Ecquevilly par la section départementale de la Ligue contre le cancer.

Cet établissement, qui pourra accueillir cinquante cancéreux hommes, sera l'un des premiers centres en Europe à appliquer les règles de diététique, c'est-à-dire à renforcer l'effet des remèdes et des interventions chirurgicales par un régime alimentaire approprié.

**LAVAGUE DE FROID n'a causé aucune perturbation sensible aux transports par chemins de fer**

La vague de froid n'a nullement ralenti l'activité des transports par chemin de fer. Au cours de la semaine du 31 janvier au 5 février 158 600 tonnes de charbon ont été transportées des centres miniers du Nord et du Pas-de-Calais vers la région parisienne. L'effort accompli par la S.N.C.F. a permis d'assurer l'ensemble des transports au moment où les canaux étaient gelés et les routes verglacées. Les horaires des trains ont été dans l'ensemble respectés.

La moyenne journalière des retards de plus de quinze minutes s'établit à 7,7 % et celle des retards de plus d'une heure à 1,6 % alors que pendant la semaine précédente ces moyennes étaient respectivement de 3,7 % et de 0,4 %. En décembre 1938 au cours d'une période comparable les retards de plus de quinze minutes atteignaient 37,3 %.

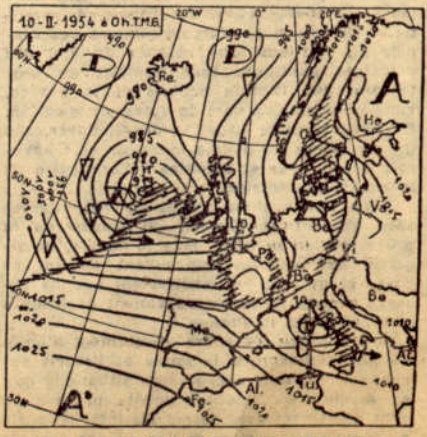
Ces résultats sont dus en grande partie aux améliorations techniques réalisées depuis la libération. Notamment à la mise en service de locomotives plus puissantes et au remplacement de la traction à vapeur par la traction électrique et diesel. En outre la liaison étroite réalisée avec les services de la Météorologie nationale a permis de prendre en temps voulu les mesures appropriées à la température.

**PRÉVISIONS MÉTÉOROLOGIQUES**

**Temps toujours doux et pluvieux**

Evolution probable du temps en France entre le mercredi 10 février 1954 à 0 heure et le jeudi 11 à 24 heures :

Les perturbations qui sont liées aux basses pressions qui ont envahi l'ouest de l'Europe, et notamment celle liée à une profonde dépression qui abordera l'Irlande le matin du 10, maintiendront sur tout le pays un temps généralement couvert et pluvieux. Ces pluies feront place à partir



— Lignes d'égale hauteur du baromètre cotées en millibars (Le millibar vaut environ 1/25 de mm.)  
 [Symbol] Zone de pluie ou neige, d'averses et orages  
 [Symbol] Sens de la marche des perturbations

de la nuit du 10 au 11 dans le nord-ouest de la France à un temps variable avec éclaircies et averses, qui s'étendra à tout le pays, le Nord-Est et l'Est exceptés, dans la journée du 11.

Les vents se renforceront et deviendront forts avec tempête de sud-ouest dans l'Ouest et le Nord-Ouest dès le 10; ils tourneront au nord-ouest ensuite sur tout le pays, puis faibliront peu à peu, sauf dans les régions méditerranéennes, où ils resteront assez forts.

Les températures s'élèveront un peu dans l'Est et commenceront à s'abaisser dans l'Ouest et le Nord-Ouest le 11.

[En raison de la grève des services météorologiques, nous n'avons pas eu communication des températures.]

**AU JOURNAL OFFICIEL**

Ont été publiés au Journal officiel du 10 février (15 francs) :

**UN DÉCRET**  
 • portant promotion sur place de trésoriers-payeurs généraux.  
**DES ARRÊTÉS**



## QUE VEUT le général Franco?

La réponse faite hier par le général Franco aux notables de la zone espagnole du Maroc constitue — inutile de chercher des échappatoires devant une attitude aussi cavalière — la réponse à la note par laquelle la France avait protesté contre les paroles prononcées à Tétouan le 21 janvier par le général Garcia Valino. Certes l'attitude de la France ne s'y trouve pas critiquée dans les termes inadmissibles employés par le haut commissaire à Tétouan. Il n'appartenait cependant pas au général Franco — qui ne manque pas d'ennuis dans sa propre maison — de faire la moindre remarque sur la politique de la France au Maroc.

Cette réponse est faite de termes contradictoires: « L'Espagne défendra résolument l'unité du Maroc, ainsi que la lettre et l'esprit des conventions », mais le général Franco laisse au général Garcia Valino le soin de faire allusion à celui qu'il estime le « souverain légitime », il assure que la zone espagnole « sera maintenue sous la souveraineté » du khalifa. C'est oublier que la « lettre des traités » précise que le khalifa n'est pas le souverain, mais le délégué du souverain; c'est amorcer la transformation d'un état de fait en état de droit; c'est porter atteinte à cette unité qu'on assure vouloir défendre.

Ces contradictions révèlent — et certains Espagnols de la coulisse du régime ne le dissimulent pas — combien le général Franco est incertain sur la voie où il doit s'engager. Le seul principe clair de son action est que, à moins de renoncer à la position de l'Espagne en Méditerranée, il ne peut créer une situation qui amoindrirait la position de l'Espagne au Maroc.

La manifestation d'hier — où chacun pourra trouver confirmation de ses désirs — est bien faite pour nourrir certaines illusions arabes, dont l'Espagne serait la première à pâtir.

Il paraît évident que les difficultés actuelles — où ni l'Espagne ni la France n'ont à gagner quoi que ce soit — n'auraient pas existé si les rapports diplomatiques entre les deux pays se déroulaient normalement. Un tel déroulement est-il impossible?

Faut-il insister sur les gestes multipliés l'an passé par l'actuel gouvernement en faveur de l'Espagne: entrée à l'U.N.E.S.C.O., entrée au pool vert, nouveau statut de Tanger? Ce furent les principaux. L'Espagne les a toujours omis dans ses références à la politique de la France envers elle. On nous dit qu'il existe un « contentieux », des affaires de postes clandestins, d'indemnités pour dommages subis tantôt par des Français, tantôt par des Espagnols, etc. Ce sont là des questions de simple routine diplomatique. Elles sont faciles à régler, à condition d'y apporter de part et d'autre un minimum de bonne volonté et de bonne foi. Madrid ajoute, depuis la déposition de Mohammed V, qu'aucune démarche française n'a été faite — en dehors d'une information in extremis — pour faire part à l'Espagne des considérations profondes dont s'inspirait notre politique actuelle au Maroc. Sur ce point on peut admettre qu'il eût mieux valu procéder à un échange de vues, même a posteriori puisque la nature des événements n'avait pas permis qu'il en fût autrement.

Cela dit, et une atmosphère de détente ayant été créée, il serait d'autant plus facile à la France de refuser d'autres concessions que le gouvernement de Madrid affecte jusqu'ici de n'en pas demander. L'Espagne doit savoir en tout cas que la France n'est pas disposée à satisfaire les exigences de son irrédentisme, en particulier sur le terrain africain.

En 1952 elle demandait une réforme du statut de Tanger, et grâce à la France elle y acquerrait de larges responsabilités administratives. Elle semble aujourd'hui vouloir remettre en question ledit statut et réclamer Tanger pour elle seule. C'est oublier qu'il s'agit d'un statut international, et qu'elle vient d'accepter sans réserve. De trop insister sur sa modification donnerait l'impression qu'en échange d'avantages matériels elle se prêterait peut-être avec moins de zèle aux combinaisons de la Ligue arabe.

Une telle netteté dans l'attitude de la France aurait l'avantage de mettre l'Espagne au pied du mur, de replacer l'ensemble du problème sur le plan des intérêts mutuels et non de la propagande ou des préséances. Elle lui donnerait un aspect pratique qui serait mieux compris à Londres et à Washington.

(Voir nos informations en page 5.)

LA FRANCE A AGI DANS LA LIMITE  
DE SES PRÉROGATIVES 156  
EN DÉPOSANT LE SULTAN DU MAROC  
déclare le Foreign Office

Londres, 10 février.

A la suite de la condamnation par le général Franco de la décision française de déposer l'ancien sultan du Maroc, on déclare au Foreign Office que la Grande-Bretagne estime que le gouvernement français a agi dans la limite de ses prérogatives.

« Nous considérons, dit-on, que le gouvernement français a le droit de maintenir l'ordre dans sa zone du Maroc. La décision qu'il a prise l'année dernière est conforme à ses prérogatives. »

# Ben Arafa Rejected By Franco

By the United Press

MADRID, Feb. 9.—Generalissimo Francisco Franco declared today that Spain refuses to recognize the new French-supported Sultan of Morocco and considers the Khalif of Spanish Morocco to be sovereign in the Spanish zone.

"Spain will never accept this de facto situation," he said in reference to the ousting of Sultan Mohammed ben Youssef in the French zone of the strategic protectorate last summer and his replacement by a new ruler.

Generalissimo Franco's statement to visiting Spanish Moroccan leaders was interpreted to indicate virtual secession of Spanish Morocco from the larger part of the protectorate, political observers here said.

## Sultan Sent Into Exile

He charged that France has disrupted the "political fundamentals" in Morocco, where, by treaty, France and Spain exercise control over their respective zones but remain under obligation to keep it intact under one Sultan.

France is sending the previous Sultan into exile in Tahiti. The action aroused widespread opposition in the Spanish zone.

Franco told the delegation, which called on him at his El Pardo residence, that Spain will respect all international accords guaranteeing Moroccan unity.

## Loyal to Spain

But he said that until reason triumphs in the French zone, Spain will continue to recognize in its zone the sovereignty of Khalif Moulay el Hassan Ben El Mehdi, assisted by the Spanish High Commissioner Lt. Gen. Rafael Garcia Valino.

The delegation, in turn, pledged Spanish Morocco's loyalty to Spain. It was headed by Grand Vizir (or Minister of Foreign Affairs) Sidi Ahmed Ben Sidi Abdel Krim el Haddad.

Generalissimo Franco told the delegation: "Loyal, delightful friends, you know more than anybody how great were our worries and sacrifices in order to pacify your lands, improve the standard of living of your people and lead you to public management of your own affairs.

## 'Sad Developments'

"...The community sentiment of our peoples is so great that even if the sad developments whereof you complain today did not affect our responsibility and interest as co-protectors of the Moroccan empire, we would have felt them as our own since they involved you."

He said the presence of France and Spain in their respective zones of Morocco represented a guaranty of Moroccan rights and unity.

"It cannot surprise us, therefore, that once the political fundamentals were destroyed by violent French action, you bring your grief to us and you protest to us," he said.

"...The fact that other interested nations keep quiet in the face

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)

## Ben Arafa

(Continued from Page 1)

of the grave tension in which the world lives does not signify that they approve and do not make reservations.

"For my part I can assure you that Spain shall remain faithful toward the treaties and loyal to her Moroccan brothers. Spain will defend bravely the unity of Morocco and the letter and spirit of the accords, but she will never accept de facto situations which are contrary to our sentiments and also contrary to international morals and against the letter and spirit of the agreements reached.

"We feel certain that the force of reason will triumph eventually over the unreasonableness of strength. Until such a time arrives, the Moroccan zone entrusted to our protection will continue under the sovereignty of his Imperial Highness Prince Moulay el Mehdi, whom the Almighty enlighten and protect.

"Prince Moulay will be assisted by our High Commissioner, the authorities of the Khalif's government, zone pashas and caids, all together safeguarding the pure essence of the protectorate, faithful unity of the empire and the sentiments of the Moroccan people, whereon I ask the Almighty that he shower his goods and blessings."

## FRANCE STANDS FIRM BY RECENT POLICY IN MOROCCO

### Dusty Answer for Gen. Franco

From our own Correspondent

[The French Ambassador in Madrid, M. Meyrier, has been recalled for consultations on the Moroccan question. It is understood that the French Cabinet will consider his report at a special meeting to-morrow.]

PARIS, FEBRUARY 11.

The Foreign Affairs Commission of the National Assembly to-day heard two important statements on Morocco. One was an outline of the Government's official attitude to General Franco's policy, defined by M. Schuman, the Deputy Foreign Minister, in the absence of M. Bidault in Berlin. The other was a report by M. de Moustier, a member of the commission, on his own visit with three other deputies to Morocco.

M. Schuman's statement is presumably the first sketch of what the Government will say in answer to the Caudillo's last statement. French opinion wants the answer tough and watertight. On the question of principle, M. Schuman's statement will probably be found satisfactory, though it will certainly be criticised in some of its historical statements describing the events of August.

M. Schuman described General Franco's speech on Tuesday as an inadmissible attack on French policy in Morocco, which itself had followed on a campaign of propaganda favoured by the Spanish authorities for months past. France thought it necessary to make its position clear in this grave crisis, which threatened the unity of the Sherifian Empire and the Sultan's Government. The French Government, he recalled, had dethroned and exiled the former Sultan so as to avoid a general rebellion against him. In so doing it had acted in accordance with the letter and spirit of the treaty of March 30, 1912, by which France undertook to safeguard the tranquillity of the Sherifian Empire, to maintain the dynasty, and to ensure the personal security of the Sovereign.

#### Treaty Respected

The change of monarch had been carried out in accordance with Moroccan institutions. No text of any treaty indicated by even an allusion that France was under an obligation to consult Spain in the matter. At no moment in the past had Spain suggested that there was any such obligation. France was merely under an obligation of courtesy to notify foreign Powers of the accession of a new Sovereign.

France had acted in August as she had in 1927, when the former Sultan came to the throne. Whereas France had thus conformed to the spirit and letter of the treaties, General Franco's declaration on the "sovereignty" of the Khalifa of Tetuan (the representative of the Sultan in the Spanish zone) was contrary to Spain's international obligations.

By the Franco-Spanish declaration of 1904 Spain had affirmed her firm attachment "to the integrity of the Sherifian Empire under the sovereignty of the Sultan." She had committed herself in a similar manner in the Act of Algeciras, and her solemn commitment had been confirmed by the Franco-Spanish agreement of November, 1912. It was evident that by recognising the "sovereignty" of the Khalifa, Spain was infringing the temporal and spiritual authority of the Sultan.

The French Government had always conducted a policy respectful of Spain's interest and plans in her own zone. It had given evidence in recent years of its sincere desire for friendly collaboration with Spain in Morocco. General Guillaume, the present Resident-General, had given personal assurances of this desire on the occasion of his visit to General Valino, the Spanish High Commissioner in Tetuan. In 1952 France had agreed to a revision of the Statute of Tangier in conformity with Spanish wishes.

The new programme of democratic reform now being carried out in Morocco constituted a new stage in the progressive policy which France had been pursuing with success in her zone throughout her presence there. The French Government declared that the action of the Spanish Government aimed at the destruction of the unity of Morocco and of the Sultan's authority solemnly recognised by the treaties.

#### Deputy's Report

In the morning the commission had heard from M. de Houstier, the most conservative of the group of four deputies which it had sent to Morocco to examine the situation on the spot. His report is only known in its general line. Although he agrees that the prevailing circumstances the deposition of the Sultan had become necessary, he appears to have been sharply critical both of the conduct of affairs which allowed this situation to arise and of the subsequent conduct of Moroccan affairs. In particular he emphasised the error of having failed in the promise of immediate reforms to mark the new reign.

M. de Moustier stressed the gravity of the problem arising from the dethronement (which its advocates seem to have largely overlooked) owing to the Sultan's importance to wide sections of Moroccan opinion, including that of the urban masses. He seems to have been very critical also of a state of affairs which allowed groups of Frenchmen in Morocco to appear more powerful than the Resident-General and determinant in the formation of French policy.

M. de Moustier has not completed his report, but he was evidently given a very favourable hearing by the commission.

### Spain Is Spanish

On seeing news of riots in Madrid some Americans have looked hopefully for indication that the disorders manifested a desire to liberalize somewhat the government of Gen. Franco. There is no evidence of this intent.

It is true that students in the University of Madrid have protested against rough treatment by the police and demanded that the police chief resign. But apparently the reason was that they resented police restraints on their efforts to smash British consulates by way of demonstrating against the appearance of Queen Elizabeth at Gibraltar.

They may have felt that they had the encouragement of the government in asserting Spanish claims to the British-held "Rock," and anyway the extreme Rightist Falange organization has usually had the run of the streets for such affairs. They were merely going a little further than Franco's Governor-General of Spanish Morocco a few days before when he received a petition to reject the establishment by the French government of Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafat as Sultan of Morocco.

These two manifestations of Spanish nationalism must make American military officers wonder just what they have bought by the recent agreement with the Franco government for use of naval and air bases in Spain in re-

turn for equipment promised to the Spanish Army.

Air Force Secretary Talbott the other day conceded after a faux pas that use of the Spanish bases in war time would depend, under the agreement, on the assent of the Spanish government at that time. Is it not possible that some Spaniards will feel about American air bases much the way they feel about the British at Gibraltar?

Regarding foreign bases, Defense Secretary Wilson remarked: "Unless you have the other man's good will you have nothing." What will be the price of the continuing good will of the Spanish government?

—From the Christian Science Monitor.

A L'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE

## La commission des affaires étrangères entend le rapport de M. de Moustier sur la situation au Maroc

La commission des affaires étrangères de l'Assemblée nationale a entendu ce matin le rapport que M. de Moustier (indépendant) a préparé au nom de la délégation qu'elle avait chargée d'étudier la situation au Maroc. Outre M. de Moustier, cette délégation comprenait MM. Verdier (socialiste), Raymond Laurent (M.R.P.) et Genton (radical).

Les quatre députés ont mené leur enquête auprès de tous les milieux français et marocains, officiels ou privés ; il leur a même été donné d'interroger des nationalistes actuellement emprisonnés. Aussi ont-ils pu être informés non seulement sur les faits, déjà connus de beaucoup, mais aussi sur l'état d'esprit de la population du protectorat, état d'esprit qui contredit, d'après eux, les informations officielles.

La commission a été frappée en particulier de ce que M. de Moustier lui a dit d'une part de la jeunesse marocaine, dont les ambitions dépassent sans doute les capacités, mais qui trouve difficilement les débouchés auxquels elle pourrait prétendre, et d'autre part du prolétariat marocain, classe sociale en décomposition qui n'est protégée par personne, et qui, assez paradoxalement, voyait dans l'ancien sultan son seul défenseur. Car le Maroc moderne, celui des écoles et des villes, qui pose les plus graves problèmes à l'administration française, c'est aussi à son égard que la répression a été la plus sévère, et parfois la plus aveugle.

### La répression

Autant les membres de la commission des affaires étrangères admettent dans leur grande majorité que le désordre et les délits doivent être réprimés durement, autant il leur est apparu, avec les membres de la délégation, qu'une fois l'ordre rétabli les brutalités et les tortures d'une part, les emprisonnements pour délit d'opinion de l'autre, risquent de se retourner contre ceux qui les tolèrent. C'est l'un des aspects de la crise d'autorité que tous les parlementaires ont pu constater dans le protectorat. Les cadres subalternes, notamment dans la police, sont trop souvent laissés à eux-mêmes. Des sanctions individuelles ne résoudraient rien. L'exemple doit venir d'en haut.

### Le désarroi de l'opinion

Après avoir écouté avec beaucoup d'attention l'analyse qui lui a été présentée sur l'état d'esprit des divers milieux français, dont certains, jeunes patrons ou intellectuels, sont sincèrement acquis à l'idée d'une collaboration franco-marocaine amicale et confiante, mais à l'égard de laquelle d'autres adoptent une attitude équivalant à un refus, la commission a pu constater que l'insécurité et l'incertitude où se trouve la population française engendrent l'inquiétude et parfois même une certaine défiance à l'égard de la Résidence. Un état d'esprit d'« autonomie » va jusqu'à se manifester dans quelques milieux.

### Définir une politique

Cette toile de fond brossée, les événements les plus récents ont retenu la commission. M. de Moustier ne s'est pas arrêté aux causes profondes et lointaines de la déposition du sultan — il considère personnellement qu'elle était inévitable au moment où elle s'est produite.

parée et exécutée illustrent singulièrement la crise de l'autorité gouvernementale ou résidentielle. Le passé étant ce qu'il a été, les conséquences de la décision ont été ensuite commentées. Il a été déploré que le résultat n'ait pas été exploité immédiatement sur le plan des réformes, et qu'une répression souvent aveugle se soit poursuivie. Les dons de joyeux avènement ont trop tardé...

Il est vrai que si le résident a en droit des pouvoirs considérables, ceux-ci sont tempérés par la puissance des organisations économiques et de la presse. Des représentants des Français du Maroc se font entendre à Paris sans passer par Rabat. En dehors de directions techniques qui méritent tous les éloges, il manque une autorité politique agissante et responsable. Ni la reprise du dialogue entre l'administration française et l'élite marocaine ni même le changement de personnel à Rabat ne dispenseront de réexaminer la conduite des affaires d'Afrique du Nord. C'est d'abord à Paris que la crise d'autorité et l'absence d'imagination doivent trouver remède.

M. de Moustier a d'autre part évoqué le problème de la Télévision marocaine. Il complètera et achèvera son rapport mercredi. Une discussion suivra.

are now being cut to a dangerous level by a sliding scale hitched to the selling price of rubber and to an index. By and large, sliding scales would seem to make for inflation in time of boom and for deflation in time of slump, and if they have not had this effect in Britain it is simply because of their restricted use. Conversely, they seem to be least harmful when the purchasing power of money is stable; but that, according to their theory, is when they are least necessary.

Finally, it is the use which sliding scale agreements have made of the index of retail prices that has been responsible for the superstitious regard in which the index is now held. The index is a most efficient rough-and-ready guide to the overall movements in prices of the sort of things that a wage-earner spends his money on; it is excellently conceived but grossly abused.

However, it is one thing to consider the whole development of sliding scale wage agreements as unfortunate, and quite another to suggest that the index on which they are based has suddenly become much less trustworthy. The effect of the campaign to discredit the present working of the index should soon become apparent. It is an important part of the building workers' claim for 9d. an hour increase that the index of retail prices is not now reflecting the cost of living (the fact that the builders' sliding scale payments are much less generous than most may have helped them to this decision). Other unions have made similar complaints. But if the index comes generally to be disregarded, the Labour movement may find it has stirred up more trouble than it can itself cope with.

## DISTURBANCES IN SPAIN

Impressions of a British Visitor

By CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS, M.P.

I DO not pretend to the competence to estimate the strength of rival forces in Spain, and it is for those who know the country well to give their explanations of the events of the last weeks and their prophecies of the future. My concern is simply to tell what I found when chance took me to the country on quite other business at the time of the recent riots.

Every sensible person can, I think, understand that a patriotic Spaniard should resent the British position at Gibraltar. Historical arguments about the conditions in which, and the date at which Gibraltar was acquired are of little but academic importance. The wishes of the present population, even, are a secondary matter. It is perfectly reasonable for a Spaniard to feel that the British would not have remained in possession of Gibraltar over the years if Spain had not been regarded as a second-class Power, and perfectly reasonable for him therefore to desire an acknowledgment of Spanish sovereignty in some form or another as a symbol that Spain has now become a first-class Power. In the years after the war Spain was condemned to isolation by Britain and the other Powers. She has in recent months emerged spectacularly from that isolation, with her agreement with the United States, and it is not unnatural that she should wish to mark that emergence.

On the other hand, the years have been years of British withdrawal. We have withdrawn from India and Persia and Palestine. It is confidently expected that we are about to withdraw from Suez. It is easy enough for the Spaniard to think that the British are on the run, and that now is the time to make demands upon them. But of course, from the British point of view, the fact that we have made, rightly or wrongly, these various withdrawals makes it especially difficult for us to make any further withdrawals that are not inevitable. For there are all sorts of concessions which a Power can make from strength which it is not possible for it to make from weakness.

Anyway, it was at this moment that—as far as I am aware—as a mere matter of routine, it was arranged that Her Majesty should pay a visit to Gibraltar in May as a part of her Commonwealth tour. The Spanish Government protested, but the British Government rejected the protest. It was hardly to be expected that it would do otherwise. It clearly cannot discuss formally with a foreign Government the movements of Her Majesty on British territory. There then followed the visit

of the Spanish Ambassador to Mr. Eden, and the subsequent announcement that Gibraltar had been one of the topics discussed at that interview. Spanish opinion was led to believe that this disclosure was the result of a breach of faith at the Foreign Office. But it is clear that it was not so, and that it was in Madrid and not in London that the leakage took place.

The recent riots were in protest against this situation. They were, of course, in accordance with custom, described in the Spanish Press as "spontaneous demonstrations," but, needless to say, nobody was expected to take that description very seriously. There is one sufficient proof, if proof be needed, of the lack of spontaneity of the demonstrations. I asked of a number of people who would have reason to know the answer whether there had been any instance of an insult by an individual Spaniard to an individual Englishman in any town or village of Spain where there was not an organized demonstration. All assured that there was no single instance of that sort. The pattern was that the University students were excused for the day from their classes and told to go out on to the streets to demonstrate against the British. I was in three towns in which such demonstrations took place, Madrid, Barcelona and Seville.

In Madrid the first demonstrations took place on Friday, January 22nd. They were a nasty business. At first the police provided no effective protection, and the windows of both the Embassy and the British Institute were smashed. Happily there were no British casualties, but there well might have been. One lady in the Institute had just moved away from a table, by a few seconds, when a ugly stone landed on it, which would have done very serious injury had she still been there.

On Monday, January 25th, the students, again under instructions and with leave, tried a second demonstration, but the authorities had apparently reached the conclusion that one day's rioting was all very well, but that it was too dangerous for an authoritarian regime to allow a habit of street rioting to develop. This time, as they tried to move up towards the Embassy and the Institute, they found the way barred by a really formidable body of Civil Guards. The Civil Guards produced their truncheons and started to crack heads with no hesitation at all. Later there were charges of mounted police, and at the last a few shots, from one of which it was alleged—though nobody seemed to be quite certain—that a student was killed. As a result, on this day the students were not able to get through to the Embassy or the Institute at all. They had to content themselves with going down town, where they were able to wreck the windows of the British bank—and also to make an elderly British lady get out of her taxi and walk with the threat that otherwise they would overturn it, to chase an American boy of ten in the belief that he was British, and doubtless to perform a few other feats of a similar nature.

In Barcelona the two-day pattern was the same, though the dates were different. There the first attack was on January 25th. Happily it chanced to be raining. Some of the demonstrators were clearly more patriotic than informed, as they wasted some time by making their way to the French Institute in order to demand that the French should abandon Gibraltar, and then beat up the porter there to punish him for their mistake. The British Consulate is on a high storey. Nevertheless the demonstrators succeeded in reaching some of its windows with their stones. The only casualty there was a Spaniard who happened to be in the office asking for a visa to England. He earned his living in a circus, being shot across the stage out of the mouth of a cannon, and he was anxious to practise that art on the English halls.

But the most serious rioting at Barcelona was at the Institute. The police failed in their initial duty of protection, and some of the rioters were able to get inside before the gates were shut. There was on the ground floor an excellent exhibition of modern English books. The rioters threatened to destroy these books. A deputation of three of their leaders were able to force their way upstairs into the Director's office and to submit him to an interview that cannot have been pleasant. They demanded that he hoist the Spanish flag. He replied that the Spanish flag was always flown on all appropriate occasions of national holiday, but that he could not hoist it thus in face of a threat. By keeping them in conversation and by telephoning in English to the Consulate, he was able to play

## WAGES AND THE COST OF LIVING

The Retail Price Index and the Use of Sliding Scales

FROM AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

IT is only a matter of months since its political and industrial wings were bitterly disputing the future policy of the Labour movement. Now there is apparent harmony. One reason for this notable change is, quite simply, that the period of policy-making is (at least until an election manifesto is prepared) for the time being over. But another, positive and more powerful reason, is that the two wings have united to attack the Government on the cost of living issue. It would be more accurate to say that the two wings have somehow found themselves in agreement, for their motives are quite distinct, and worth examining further.

For the first time since the war, strikes are being threatened or conducted officially by the national executives of trade unions on an alarming scale. There is, of course, the dispute in the electrical contracting industry; there was the one-day stoppage in the ship-building and engineering industries, with the threat of further restrictive action still in existence; there was the threatened strike at Christmas on the railways—a nationalized industry. There may still be others. As yet the Labour Party has not defined its attitude to these strikes, almost certainly because it has not got one; but it will need to acquire one should it ever return to office. In the meantime it can avoid making up its mind—a process which could only be painful to the trade unions—by withholding judgment on the trade unions' action and instead blaming the Government for making these actions inevitable. It is, in fact, to use the classical industrial term, branding the Government as an *agent-provocateur* for having abolished the policy of fair-shares, cut the food subsidies and forced up the cost of living.

The trade unions, for their part, admit that rising wage-rates may price goods out of the world markets, and may even revive inflationary forces; but, they argue, they are bound to safeguard their members' interests, and it is the Government's policy which, by increasing the cost of living, has forced them to seek higher wages.

The unions and the Labour party could hardly be in closer harmony, and they are likely to remain so while the fiction can be preserved that the present trade union policy is inevitable and therefore not a useful subject for critical examination. But the more the Labour party, to avoid facing the issue of official strikes, attacks the Government on the issue of the cost of living, the more dangerous is the crisis it is helping to create in industry.

The nature of the crisis is simple. The Government's reply to the allegation that it has forced up the cost of living is that the interim index of retail prices—often referred to as the cost of living index—stood in December, as it did in May, 1953, at 140, and that, therefore, the over-all cost of living has not recently changed. If that be the case, the Labour movement rejoins, the retail price index is false, and it is this particular allegation which is causing general unrest, especially among that hitherto quiet section of the working force whose wages are linked to the index.

The Labour movement has two arguments to support its allegations. One is the argument from common experience: "Don't ask the statistician, ask the housewife." It has the merit of simplicity; nobody is excluded from speculating on whether the cheapness of eggs and fresh vegetables compensates for the dearness of meat and fish; but it tends to cast doubt on the competence of the Civil servants who calculate the index; and for this reason a more sophisticated attack is preferred by the Parliamentary Labour Party. The politicians allege that by removing food subsidies Mr. Butler forced people to spend much more of their income on food, and that this drastic change in the pattern of consumer expenditure has destroyed the basis on which the index is calculated. The index is based on changes in the cost of a fixed "basket" of goods, the "average" working-class householders' monthly purchases, and, since a decision to make up a new "basket" would be a political decision, the criticism falls on the Government and not on the Civil Service.

Now it is totally to misunderstand the nature of the index

for Members of Parliament (or, if one may perhaps anticipate, readers) to claim that this or that has risen in price by 50 per cent while the index has risen by 2 or 3 per cent, and that therefore the index must be wrong. One cannot really expect the index to do something which it was never constructed to do and then blame it for not doing it.

The Cost of Living Advisory Committee (which was asked by the Labour Government to report) stated in 1952 that the index, which was then based on a pre-war pattern of expenditure, would not have been much different had it been based on a post-war pattern, and, although it recommended the use of a post-war "basket," it did so primarily not for statistical reasons but to allay suspicions of the kind that are being voiced today. Clearly, if the index were to be adjusted every time the Chancellor of the Exchequer shifted the incidence of direct taxes and subsidies (which is the logical conclusion of the Labour Party's criticism) it would soon lose its present validity for rough comparisons. In fact, by the use of weights exceptional rises in the prices of certain goods of the "basket" can be accounted for in the index. Although only 26 per cent of disposable personal income is spent on food, the proportion of the index shopping basket represented by food is 42 per cent. In fact, the 26 per cent being spent on food is exactly the same figure as that in 1938.

How is all this relevant to industry? The wage increases that have been granted in the last ten months have not been in compensation for a higher cost of living (for the index has not risen) but partly on account of industry's ability to pay and partly on account of the unions' power to extract. Those workers (about three million of them) whose wages are tied to a sliding scale based on the retail price index can see themselves falling behind in the wages race, and they are restive at the prospect. They need not be too restive, because, since the increases given to other workers will certainly put up the cost of living, their turn will come. But, and this is the second rub, if the index no longer reflects the cost of living, are they not already being robbed of their rightful increases? Many fear that they are, and the building workers have plainly said so.

Sliding scales are to be found in all sorts of odd areas and trades, but they also exist in certain big industries, chiefly building (over a million workers), printing, iron and steel, furniture, boot and shoe and hosiery manufacture. They are very varied. They vary in the extent of movement of the index (generally one, three or five points) required to permit a wage adjustment; they vary in their awards ( $\frac{1}{2}$ d. an hour for each 3-point rise for builders, 1s. a week for each point rise for printers); and they vary in their arrangements for pay adjustments (after each month, or in the case of builders at the end of each year, or after a movement of one, three or five points).

These sliding scales (and their antecedents, the sliding scales based on the selling price of a product) hold a curious place in wage negotiations; they have been praised and condemned by employers and employees; it would be hard to say where their supporters or their opponents mostly lie. Probably their chief advantage—and this recent year has shown it to be a considerable one—is that they avoid lengthy and costly wage negotiation. But it does seem a pity that wages should be linked to the retail price index at all, for it fosters the illusion that real wages can be maintained, come what may, without any increase of individual effort.

Keen supporters of sliding scales would no doubt argue that they need not have this effect; that they merely safeguard the real wage promised by contract to the worker against fluctuations in the purchasing power of money, and that they do not preclude a fresh negotiation of basic rates should fresh circumstances demand it. Experience hardly bears out this contention. Inflation in Australia was nourished by quarterly reviews of the national minimum wage in the light of movements in a cost of living index right up to the time that the review was abolished; the Malayan rubber-workers' wages

for time until a more adequate force of police arrived, and the deputation was then forced out, leaving with unpleasant threats that the day would come when they would wreak their vengeance for having been thus tricked. Meanwhile a number of stones had come through the windows. I saw those stones. They were by no means casual pebbles that might have been picked up at a road-side, but very vicious implements that had clearly been well prepared beforehand, and had been sharpened to a fine point which would certainly have split open any head on which they had landed. Two English cars were destroyed in the streets of Barcelona, and the rioters were setting to work to destroy a third car when they discovered, just in time, that it was not British but American.

In Seville things were more gentlemanly, and took on themselves more of the nature of a normal and humane undergraduate rag. There they threw oranges instead of stones; but at Granada, I am told, there was a nasty attack on the house of the British Consul, who is an old gentleman in his seventies, living with two sisters of similar age.

What of the future? Rumour says that there is considerable bitterness among the students against the authorities, who first encouraged them to demonstrate and then beat them up when they did so. I have no means of knowing whether this is so, but it seems inherently probable. Responsible Spaniards are, of course, much shocked at the uncouth hooliganism, and all British officials have received many telephone messages of apology. A reception given at the British Institute at Madrid two days after the second riot was ostentatiously attended by many more Spaniards than are normally to be found at such functions, and by a number of distinguished people who do not commonly attend them. On the other hand, pro-British Spaniards are careful to explain that, though they disassociate themselves from the ungentlemanly tactics that have been used, it must not be assumed that they are therefore unsympathetic to their country's claims on Gibraltar. It seems that the Government has decided that it would be altogether too dangerous to allow a habit of rioting to develop, and therefore, unless of course a really revolutionary movement should develop—which some prophesy, but which is, I should think, improbable—it is unlikely that there will be any further riots over the next few months.

On the other hand, the Spanish Government has put itself into a position where it will be very difficult to let Her Majesty's visit to Gibraltar in May pass off without some sort of demonstration and protest, and has also put the British Government into a position where it would obviously be impossible for it even to discuss the possibility of the cancellation of that visit, or of any compromising formula, to save the faces of both sides, under which it could take place. Very vile threats have appeared in a newspaper against Her Majesty's person when she makes her visit. We can hope and be confident that security measures will be adequate to prevent any possibility of any such threats being carried out. But of course there must be a grave fear that, for that very reason, those who are excluded from Gibraltar on that day may wish to take their vengeance in one form or another on British buildings and property in Spain. The months ahead will clearly be anxious months for all British subjects in Spain, and no one can be without anxiety until May has come and gone.

Meanwhile, opinion here at home is, as far as I can gather, almost comically indifferent to all that goes on in Spain, or, indeed, anywhere else in the world. With very few exceptions, I found on return that my friends asked with conventional politeness whether the weather had been good in Spain, and when I replied that the weather had, indeed, not been good but that Englishmen in Spain had had more serious things to worry about than the weather, there was always a casual reply of "Oh, yes, I think I did see something about something happening in the paper." There is today an almost complete gap between the English who live abroad and the English who live in England. The English abroad constantly talk, as is natural, about the problem that is set to them in their lives by the falling prestige of this country, the steady decrease in respect with which the Englishman is treated—in one way in one country and in another in another. The Englishman in England, with rare exceptions, seems quite unaware of this problem.

## TELEVISION AND THE MASS

Père Pichard's Avant-Garde

By FRED A BRUCE LOCKHART

"LET us this time not be left behind as so often before," urged Père Avril, preaching last Sunday in Paris at a televised Mass held in the Dominican chapel in the Rue Faubourg St. Honoré. Nobody who attended the foregoing week's international conference held under the auspices of UNDA (the International Catholic Association for radio and television) could possibly make the old accusation of Catholic lagging behind in the development of television. Rather did Père Pichard and his Dominicans seem like the *avant-garde* by the energy and enterprise with which they have set about the problem and potentialities of the new medium. Bland, benevolent and tireless, Père Pichard, driving force of the whole meeting, is the director of the television department of UNDA—as Père Avril pleasantly pointed out, the name is not one of the baffling bunches of initials among which we move, but good old Latin for a "wave."

Priests and a few laymen had come from a dozen countries, as different as Cuba from Canada or Papua from Britain. Mgr. Charrière, Bishop of Fribourg and Lausanne, arrived in time to represent the Holy See. There was no doubt of the eagerness of all to carry out the Pope's wishes of turning television into a precious, not a dangerous instrument. The approach throughout was strictly positive and practical. The week began with Mass in a television studio. At the end of the week, Père Pichard was able to claim with satisfaction that the discussions had been not vague or negative, but strictly practical and concerned with production.

Discussion was put on this firm footing by M. Jean D'Arcy, director of French television programmes. He insisted, out of his experience of the poverty of available material, on the need for television to be developed on the continental, not the national level, for an international pool of talent, and for the broadcast of possible international programme exchanges—on the lines of the former Anglo-French TV week, which culminated in the High Mass from St. Denis, and of the forthcoming exchange between seven countries this summer.

Much the most interesting single discussion was that on the propriety or otherwise of televising the Mass. It also revealed the greatest divergencies, running on geographical lines. The German delegates were not adamantly opposed to all televising of the Mass. But they believe it should only be done rarely, and with the greatest circumspection. Fr. Kochs made this discretion an issue between North and South, saying that Northern people were shocked by any display of intimate feeling, emotional or spiritual. The Belgians were harassed by their dual language problem, the Dutch with their dual confession programme. The French and the Italians produced learned argument, quoting St. Thomas on natural mysteries and secrets in support of the practice of showing the Host, which so scandalised the Germans.

Considerable understanding was shown for the greater difficulties of televising Mass in Protestant countries, and for the objection raised by several delegates to the televising of Mass to be shown perhaps in profane places. But the French tend to think that the advantages of televised Mass far outweigh the dangers. An agreed point was that if Mass is shown in ordinary TV time, people would rather watch Mass than nothing—an advantage which we in this country cannot enjoy.

On the closing Friday, a masterly exposition of the nature of television in action was given by Jean-Pierre Chartier, the young editor of *Radio-Ciné-Television*, and executive producer of the religious transmissions on French Television. (The director-general of these transmissions, Père Lintanf, is a young Dominican who was a parachutist in the British Army during the war.) M. Chartier valuably defined the two fields of Television as spectacle and personal witness ("*témoignage*") and examined the proper use of each in religious transmissions. He went into great detail—with illustrations—on the placing of cameras in church, with due regard to protecting the faithful from distraction or annoyance; he stressed the photogenic quality of old stone, the value of small churches without too much distance between the faithful and the altar over more

spacious ones. And he returned to the French preference for trying to allocate an existing church as a Television Church.

At the closing session, Père Pichard was able to list as practical conclusions the setting up of work commissions with the following objects: (a) programme exchanges between various countries; (b) mission films; (c) script consultation; (d) educational films; and (e) the magazine. The last-named is probably the most immediate, and will call on the various nations to contribute an item each to form a monthly magazine to show aspects of the life of the Church. For the next major programme exchange this summer, although an unfortunate misunderstanding about the date will make it impossible for the canonization of Blessed Pius X to be included, it is hoped to include the celebration of the twelfth centenary of St. Boniface, from Cologne.

In general the vigour with which the French priests tackle these problems made an inspiring week.

## HOW CATHOLIC IS GERMANY?

### II: Some Basic Statistics

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

IT is no longer possible in Germany today to speak of wholly "Catholic" and "Protestant" areas. Before the war, with a total population of 65,000,000, about one third were Catholic and two thirds Protestant. The main areas of the Protestant population were in Northern and Eastern Germany, while the Catholics predominated in the South and West. A great change has taken place in this territorial structure. For instance, of the refugees who settled in Bavaria after the war, 1,300,000 were Catholics, and 500,000 were Protestants. Areas formerly entirely Catholic today contain large Protestant communities, and *vice versa*. Of the present population of 47,600,000 in the Federal Republic, 21,576,179 are Catholics and 24,000,000 are Protestants.

This means, in fact, that the confessional structure of the German population has changed only very little since before the war, although the changes *within* the various *Länder* are considerable. In relation to the pre-war figures, the Catholics have increased only by 2.1 per cent, and the Protestants by 0.7 per cent. The strong movement of a return to the Church which set in after 1945 has made no significant difference to the general picture. The number of Catholics who left the Church in the years of the Nazi regime, from 1933 to 1942, has been officially given as 479,170. In addition, there is the estimate of some 120,000 for the years 1939, 1943 and 1944, when no official returns were available. The total of nearly 600,000 Catholics—that is, about two per cent of the Catholic population—must be regarded as a loss that is certainly not in relation to the tremendous efforts of the Nazis regime to destroy the Catholic Church, nor to the expectations which its propaganda led one to entertain. The formal loss of what was undoubtedly in any case an unstable Catholic element is certainly one proof of the strength of the Catholic Church in Germany. On the other hand, only 47,000 persons of those 600,000 have since returned to the Church, and the number of Catholics formally leaving the Church has grown steadily. In 1949 there were 30,000 Catholics who gave up their Church membership, while the number of Protestants was considerably higher. The peculiarity of Church organization in Germany must naturally be taken into account, since Church membership is retained and Church taxes are paid by many Catholics who must be regarded as "nominal" in the full sense of the word.

The suppression of the Church under Hitler thus led to the internal strengthening of the remaining community, as is always the case during periods of persecution, but on the other hand showed that the numerical losses incurred could not be recovered. Statistical surveys of annual Communion and attendance at Mass produce a not unfavourable picture especially when compared with other countries. The percentage of Catholics who fulfilled their Easter duties in 1948 was given as 52.7 per cent—in 1915 it was 57.5 per cent, and in 1935 it reached the peak figure of 60.8 per cent. Church attendance is estimated in Germany by taking a sample on two ordinary Sundays of the year, in Lent and in September.

In 1935, in the early phase of the Nazi regime, it reached 56.3 per cent, and then it fell to 44.3 per cent in 1942, rising again since the end of the war to 47.3 per cent in 1948. The after-effects of the anti-Christian propaganda and of the war are unmistakable, and in keeping with the scale of Easter Communion. Naturally, these figures vary from diocese to diocese, and they are lower in the *Diaspora* than in Catholic districts.

The Cologne statistical office, which was founded by Fr. Heinrich Krose, S.J., in 1915, and is now conducted by Dr. Franz Groner, receives and digests statistical material from all over Germany on the religious Orders, institutes and organizations, vocations, the Catholic Press and parish life and so on. Questionnaires are completed and signed by the parish priest, checked by the *Dekan* who has jurisdiction over a number of parishes, and then collected by the diocese, whence they are passed on to Cologne. The office there employs a staff of six trained statisticians, who sift this considerable material and publish the results.

According to the Institute, the number of Catholics in Germany rose by one million between 1915 and 1948, while the number of priests in parish work fell by 10.4 per cent (from 18,417 in 1915 to 16,689 in 1948). The average number of the faithful under the care of one parish priest in 1948 was 1,493 (as against 1,309 in 1915), although there are a number of city and diaspora parishes in the dioceses of Münster, Cologne, Meissen (Eastern Germany), Fulda and Munich with up to and over 14,000 souls per parish priest. These are naturally the problem districts of Catholic Germany.

As regards the male religious Orders, their numbers rose from 3,014 in 1924 to 5,193 in 1950, with the addition of 2,734 religious who are employed in overseas missions. According to the 1925 census, there were 5,332,666 men aged between twenty and thirty; in 1946 there were only 2,770,436 of the same age-group (excluding large numbers still in prisoner of war camps) so that the number of 1,476 seminarians and scholastics in 1950 may be considered as an appreciable increase in the religious vocations. The numbers of lay brothers, on the other hand, decreased considerably (to 3,684 in 1950). The peak year for lay brothers and for members of the religious Orders of women was the same, 1935. In 1950, 88,924 sisters were counted (plus 16,646 abroad), which is still higher by four thousand than in 1935, and above any previous figures. The vocations vary widely in the different Orders, but there has been a notable increase in vocations to the contemplative Orders of women.

Most numerous appear to be the Franciscans and Capuchins—some 1,300 altogether, who are active in parishes and shrines and as missionaries. The Franciscan spirit is a noticeable feature of the *Pax Christi* movement, which has a wide following in Catholic Germany today. Its Capuchin secretary, Fr. Manfred Hörhammer, may be taken as the representative of a generation of young priests who were members of the Catholic German youth movements of the 'twenties and had been soldiers in the second World War. These priests and nuns now in their middle-forties have kept alive the enthusiasm of those movements, so peculiarly German in their protests against the conventions and the materialist ways of German society during the first decades of this century. Their idealism and longing for spiritual liberation easily led to exploitation by nationalistic and pseudo-religious forces, but the Catholics remained largely immune.

Essentially this movement has been a good influence on the formation of a generation of Catholic graduates who had great intellectual leaders in Romano Guardini and Carl Muth, the founder of the review *Hochland*. A new form of Catholic apologetics had its beginnings in the 'twenties and 'thirties which showed that the Church in Germany was discarding the "defensive" outlook which followed the *Kulturkampf* of the nineteenth century, and, in the last resort, the attack of the Lutheran Reformation. The present mental climate of German Catholicism cannot be properly understood without reference to that tradition and to the profound effect which the Nazi persecutions of Christians, and the war, had in compelling those who believed in Christ to stand and suffer together and revise many of their past prejudices against each other.

(To be Concluded)



Associated Press Wirephoto

Generalissimo Francisco Franco shakes hands with Sidi Ahmed Ben Sidi Abdel Krim el Haddad, Grand Vizir (Minister of Foreign Affairs) of Spanish Morocco. At right is Lt. Gen. Rafael Garcia Valino, Spanish High Commissioner. Generalissimo Franco told the Grand Vizir at a Madrid meeting that Spain refuses to recognize new French-supported Sultan of Morocco.

## Expulsion of Sultan Upheld by Schumann

Maurice Schumann, Deputy Foreign Minister, told the French National Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee yesterday that France had no obligation whatsoever to consult with Spain when the Paris government deposed Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef last Aug. 20.

The order authorizing the French Resident General in Morocco to depose the Sultan was given "to avoid a generalized rebellion" growing out of the increasing opposition to the Moslem leader within the country, M. Schumann said.

He addressed the committee on French-Spanish relations, with special emphasis on a speech by Generalissimo Francisco Franco last Tuesday in which the Spanish dictator attacked French policy in Morocco. Gen. Franco accused France of failure to respect the letter and spirit of its international agreements concerning Morocco.

### Conformed to 1912 Treaty

By sending the Sultan into exile, M. Schumann added, "France conformed to the letter and spirit of the Treaty of March 30, 1912, by which she contracted the triple obligation to safeguard the peace of the Sherifian Empire, maintain the dynasty and assure the personal security of the sovereign."

The selection of Sidi Mohammed Moulay ben Arafa as new Sultan, the speaker continued, was made by the Sherifian governing council presided over by the Grand Vizir and as the protecting power, "France only verified its regularity."

"No treaty text makes any provision that France must consult with Spain or even act in concert with her on the subject of the dynastic problem in Morocco, and never in the past has Spain presumed to have such a right," M. Schumann said.

The only obligation France has is to notify foreign powers of the accession of a new Sultan, which is what France did in this case the day after the Sultan's removal, M. Schumann said.

The speaker then attacked Franco for supporting the "sovereignty" of the Khalif of Tetuan, in Spanish Morocco. M. Schumann said this was contrary to Spain's international engagements.

"By the French-Spanish declaration signed in Paris on Oct. 3, 1904, Spain affirmed her firm attachment to the integrity of the Sherifian Empire under the sovereignty of the Sultan," M. Schumann declared.

### Reviews Tetuan Meeting

M. Schumann reviewed the meeting of tribal leaders in Tetuan last Jan. 21 during which the Spanish High Commissioner for Spanish Morocco, Gen. Rafael Garcia Valino, criticized French policy in Morocco.

"It is evident to all observers that the presentation he (Gen. Valino) made of the situation in

the French zone contradicts the desire, highly proclaimed everywhere, that peace should reign in the Sherifian Empire.

"The French government can only question the character of the declarations of Gen. Garcia Valino and pray the Spanish government to make known what meaning it attributes to them," M. Schumann concluded.

Meanwhile, the French government made public the Spanish reply to its note of Jan. 22 asking about the Tetuan affair. The Spanish Foreign Minister said briefly that the question involved "an act of interior policy of the protectorate, public expression of a state of mind of its inhabitants."

Last night, the Quai d'Orsay announced it had called the French Ambassador to Madrid, Jacques Meyrier, to Paris for talks.

## USIS Probe Is Opposed

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11 (A.P.).—The Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee suggested yesterday that Congress should quit investigating and shaking up the United States Information Service, including Voice of America and overseas libraries.

"What is needed most during the next three or four years is a program of stability and continuity in the direction of the information program in which policies now being developed can be applied and tested," said a subcommittee report filed by its chairman, Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper, R-Iowa.

The report was made available to Senate subcommittee investigations headed by Sen. Joseph P. McCarthy is shaping probes of the program.

## French Jail In Stavisk

The public prosecutor in Paris was asked yesterday to conduct a formal re-examination regarding the 1934 case of Judge Stavisk who was investigated for financial scandal made in a case of the Prince of Monaco.

It was reported that after the arrest of Stavisk, who was on suspicion of the judge's death, he was jailed on Sunday.

United States officials who were victorious in a labor court ruling on other cases in Paris by the judge's death.

## FRENCH REPLY TO GEN. FRANCO

### RIGHTS IN MOROCCO REASSERTED

#### EXCHANGE OF NOTES

From Our Correspondent

PARIS, FEB. 11

M. Maurice Schumann, Under-Secretary at the Quai d'Orsay, appeared before the foreign affairs committee of the National Assembly this evening to make a statement in reply to what he called the "inadmissible attack" by General Franco last Tuesday on French policy in Morocco.

General Franco, he said, had accused France of failing to respect the letter and the spirit of international agreements, and had declared that the Spanish zone of influence would in future be maintained under the sovereignty of the Khalifah of Tetuan. These declarations, following a propaganda campaign against France and the Sultan which the Spanish authorities had fostered for several months past, constituted a threat to the unity of the Sherifian empire, and made it necessary for the French Government to make clear its position.

#### SOLE OBLIGATION

Firstly, M. Schumann asserted that the French action on August 20, 1953, when the Resident-General was authorized to send into exile the Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef to prevent a general rebellion, was fully in conformity with the treaty of March 30, 1912, by which France undertook the triple obligation of safeguarding the peace of the Sherifian empire, to maintaining the dynasty, and assuring the personal safety of the sovereign.

No agreement provided, even by implication, that France must consult Spain over dynastic questions in Morocco, and Spain had never in the past claimed any such rights. France's only obligation was to notify foreign Powers, from courtesy, of the accession of a new Sultan, as part of the exercise of her exclusive right over Moroccan relations with foreign Powers, which was expressly recognized by Spain in the convention of November 27, 1912.

Secondly, General Franco's declaration on the "sovereignty" of the Khalifah of Tetuan was contrary to Spain's own international engagements. The Franco-Spanish declaration of 1904 affirmed "the integrity of the Sherifian empire under the sovereignty of the sultan" and this was one of the principles of the Act of Algeciras. This principle was reaffirmed by the convention of 1912 setting up the Spanish zone of influence; it specified that the zone was subject to the civil and religious authority of the Sultan and was administered, under a Spanish High Commissioner, by a Khalifah chosen by the Sultan and deriving his powers from him.

The French Government had always respected Spanish interests in Morocco—for example, by undertaking a large share in the pacification of the Riff—and the present Resident-General, soon after assuming office, had expressed during an official visit to Tetuan his desire to establish cordial relations with the Spanish zone.

#### FURTHER STEP

Finally, the present programme of democratic reforms, approved last autumn by the Sultan, was a further step in the policy of progress pursued successfully by France in Morocco for many years. This progress, M. Schumann concluded, was France's guarantee that the attempts of the Spanish Government to destroy the unity of the Sherifian empire, to sap the Sultan's authority, and to sow trouble in a region vital to world peace, would be in vain.

It was announced to-night that the French Ambassador in Madrid, M. Jacques Meyrier, has been recalled to Paris for consultations, and that the Government will discuss the Spanish question at a Cabinet meeting on Saturday morning. M. Reynaud, the deputy Prime Minister, to-day cut short a visit to French Africa to attend.

The Foreign Ministry to-night issued the text of the Notes exchanged between France and Spain after the Tetuan demonstrations on January 21. The French Note, dated January 22, expresses surprise at the terms in which General Valino, the Spanish High Commissioner, alluded to the events of last August, and his "inadmissible" references to the policy of the French residency at Rabat and asks the Spanish Government what significance should be attached to these declarations.

The Spanish reply, delivered at the French Embassy in Madrid on February 5, states that the "event referred to" in the Note "constitutes a political act internal to the protectorate, the public expression of convictions held by its inhabitants."

## Spain Hits France on Morocco

MADRID, Spain, Feb. 12 (U.P.).—The Spanish Foreign Ministry reaffirmed the sovereignty of Spanish Morocco's Khalif tonight and rejected France's latest protest of Spanish activity in the North African protectorate as "without foundation."

An official spokesman replied to the charge yesterday by Maurice Schumann, French Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that Spain was guilty of an "inadmissible attack" on French policy in Morocco in receiving a delegation of anti-French native leaders.

The spokesman said M. Schumann's statements represent "an additional proof of the nervousness and disorientation on the subject (of Morocco) which is noticeable in certain ruling circles of French policy."

If M. Schumann's accusations were true, he added, "a situation of government mismanagement and insecurity in the Moroccan zone entrusted to France's protection would have to be admitted, in which case the Spanish government would be the first to deplore it."

Spain accused France of violating the treaty of Fez, which in 1912

(Continued on Page 3, Col. 1)

## Spain Hits

(Continued from Page 1)

granted France and Spain joint protectorate rights over the strategic area guarding the western Mediterranean.

Already Spain had declared it would recognize only the joint sovereignty of the Khalif in its zone, alongside the Spanish governor general.

France protested this declaration and last month's pro-Spanish demonstrations in Tetuan as violating the 1912 agreement. M. Schumann spoke out last night against both the Tetuan manifestations and the visit of Moroccan leaders to Generalissimo Franco three days ago at which both sides exchanged assurances of loyalty.

Tonight, the Foreign Ministry traced the dispute to France's deposing of the old Sultan of Morocco last August. Its spokesman termed this an event of "international importance (which) certainly required the previous approval of the Spanish government as provided for in Article 26 of the Spanish-French agreement of Nov. 27, 1912."

### Raps Exile of Sultan

Speaking of the 1912 treaty, the spokesman said: "It is not the best manner to fulfill these obligations by deposing the Sultan and expatriating him because he refused to inaugurate a system of co-sovereignty which would be contrary to the existing agreement in spirit and letter and which also would threaten the very system of protectorates."

He noted that the treaty obliges France to give constant support to His Sherifian Majesty, the Sultan, defending him against any dangers to his person or his throne.

Because Spain desires the fulfillment of the agreement, the spokesman said: "The Spanish zone continues under the rule of the Khalif, who shall continue to exercise sovereign rights which in a general and permanent manner are given to him by Article 1 of the Spanish-French agreement of 1912 and which up to this date have never aroused in the French government those preoccupations which now disturb it."

He said the preoccupations "however do not seem to reflect the unanimous opinion of the country."

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## FRANCO'S PRISONERS SMILE IN HANDCUFFS

From RICHARD MOWRER : OCANA, Friday

**A** COURT sitting in the windswept village of Ocana, near Madrid, today found 10 Spanish Socialists guilty of subversive activities and sentenced them to prison terms ranging from two to 15 years.

An eleventh prisoner was acquitted. Like the others, he had spent a year in jail awaiting trial. He has no redress.

Tomas Centeno, a twelfth Socialist detained with the others last February, would have been present had he not died in Madrid police headquarters within a few days of his arrest.

A medical certificate said his death was due to "cardiac collapse caused by loss of blood from self-inflicted wounds."

### In open lorry

Three of the men were charged with trying to set up a Socialist executive committee; the others with organising a secret union of railwaymen.

After the trial the handcuffed men were bundled into an open lorry. They smiled and nodded at friends in the crowd.

A wife, close to tears, shouted at one of the prisoners: "Oh, you crazy one!"

A grey-haired woman turned to her and said gently: "No, he is not crazy. He is a man."

Then the lorry drove off.

## FRENCH DEPUTIES' ADVERSE REPORT ON MOROCCO

### Police Repression: Promise of Reforms Unfulfilled

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, FEBRUARY 14.

The most depressing aspect of French North African policy, as also in the past of French policy in Indo-China, is the thick and clogging syrup of hypocritical nonsense with which official policy is protected. When this is even momentarily dissolved or dispersed, it is difficult not to feel a quite unjustified optimism at the mere spectacle of highly placed people talking with realistic pessimism.

This is the situation to-day now that the four deputies sent to Morocco by the Assembly's Foreign Affairs Commission have begun to make their report, even though this has not yet been officially made public. The report is the more impressive because on essentials, the Socialist, M. Verdier, and the Independent (that is, Conservative), M. de Moustier, seem to be in agreement and the latter's statement on behalf of all four has made a deep impression on the commission.

One is recalled to a less rosy view of prospects, however, when one has to note two nearly simultaneous happenings: one was M. de Moustier's report to the commission on how widespread and deep is the opposition in Morocco since the Sultan's deposition, making for the moment impossible any reform that requires co-operation between Moroccans and Frenchmen. The other was a statement to it by M. Maurice Schumann, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the Government, on the same day, that the Sultan of

Morocco was dethroned to forestall a "generalised rebellion" against him—a rebellion that is by the high Moroccan officials who would probably be swept from their posts if the French left the country.

#### Promise of Reform

It will be recalled that one of the counts against the Sultan when he was dethroned was his opposition to the French programme of reform. One of the fruits of this dethronement was to be that at last structural reforms would be pushed actively forward. M. Verdier in his report to his own party, summarised in "Combat," makes the excellent point that the Sultan was dethroned by the combined efforts of those Moroccans and those Frenchmen who least want reforms, and that the only one which has in fact been carried out is the creation of a mixed council of viziers and French directors (i.e. heads of Ministries) in whose hands all power is concentrated.

This in fact creates the regime of "co-sovereignty," a principle contrary to the Protectorate Treaty, as the French Government has in the past admitted, and in practice destroys the last remnants of Moroccan sovereignty.

All four deputies seem to have come back profoundly depressed with the spectacle of police repression now in progress. It is not, of course, that they deny the need for putting down terrorism, but the police in Morocco appear to have become a law unto themselves and the repression an end in itself. What, asks M. Verdier, is the hope of introducing a Western conception of the rule of law through the reform of the Moroccan judiciary, when any Moroccan can be indefinitely detained by decree without any charge?

Incidentally, the effectiveness of measures of repression in the form of censorship of newspapers or the local wireless seems now eminently questionable since the delegates had widespread evidence and indeed the Resident-General had repeatedly complained of the effects of Egyptian broadcasting in Morocco, which is now quite openly aimed at provoking violence and revolt.

#### Pressure Groups

The general conclusion of the four deputies seems to be that nothing can be hoped for without a change of atmosphere. One must ask, however, whether anything of the kind is possible until there is a Minister in Paris who is in a position to fight the very strong pressure groups that oppose all progress in North Africa, and to teach the local groups of officials in Morocco that it is for them to carry out the policy of Paris and not to dictate it. M. Robert Schuman when Minister of Foreign Affairs, tried to do this with regard to Tunisia, a smaller area where resistance to decisions in Paris would certainly be easier to overcome.

He met such opposition within the Government that he ended by doing the opposite of what he intended and being blamed for both policies. This was an important factor in his loss of office. It is not surprising therefore, that M. Bidault his successor, who has so many heavy responsibilities as Minister of Foreign Affairs, seems to have kept as aloof as possible from the North African question for which he is nominally also responsible.

Meanwhile in Tunisia, where a greatly improved atmosphere has indeed been created (although there is still no sign of a policy being adopted that could exploit and prolong this improvement), it is now officially denied that there is any proposal to change the Government. There seems to be no doubt, however, that M. Mzali, the Bey's alleged candidate for the Premiership, was conducting conversations with a view to such a change.

It is likely that the difficulties which have been met with are in part at least due to the declaration of the Neo-Destour party declaring that a change of Government without any attempt to face the Nationalists' demands and to deal with the real nationalist leaders would solve no problem.

## BRITISH GOODS FOR RUSSIA

### Contracts Worth Over £15 Millions

MOSCOW, FEBRUARY 14.

Three British industrialists announced to-day that they had signed contracts with the Russians to supply tools worth £3.5 millions, Anglo-Soviet trade deals concluded in the past fortnight up to £15 millions. The new contracts have been signed by firms in Gloucester, Peterhead and Halifax, but the authority of the Board of Trade may be required for the export of some of the items.

The largest contract of the three—worth £2.25 millions—goes to Messrs. J. H. Platt, managing director of Platt, Ltd., Gloucester. The other two are for Messrs. J. H. Platt, managing director of Platt, Ltd., Gloucester, and Messrs. J. H. Platt, managing director of Platt, Ltd., Gloucester. The latter had signed a contract worth £750,000.

The industrialists are the only British manufacturers in a group of firms who arrived in Moscow to explore possibilities of trade with the Soviet Union. The group are still continuing negotiations.

The group announced here that they had secured £15 millions for the sale of various types of engines, including Russian oil, and that the British are to conclude a trade agreement with the industry, and to be their.

## FRENCH POLICY IN N. AFRICA

### A SOVEREIGN SULTAN

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, FEB. 14

The French Council of Ministers, meeting yesterday to consider, among other things, the situation that has arisen because of Spanish policy in Morocco, reaffirmed the determination of the French Government to safeguard the unity of the Sherifian empire and the sovereignty of the Sultan. At the same time, the Council emphasized the importance of the reforms envisaged in French Morocco and hoped that they would be hastened as much as possible.

French official circles maintain, in answer to the latest claim from Madrid that France was by international agreement bound to consult Spain before deposing the Sultan last summer, that in fact no such consultation was stipulated by the French-Spanish convention of 1912. That convention laid it down that international arrangements arrived at by the Sultan should not extend to the Spanish zone except with the consent of the Spanish Government. This does not, the French argue, affect the internal sovereignty of Morocco, nor do the international arrangements here mentioned have anything to do with the deposition of the Sultan.

This purely juridical approach does not seem very realistic, for as nearly every one here realizes, it was a mistake not to have at least informed the Spanish (if consultation with them was considered unpromising) of the French intention last summer; and Spanish pique at what happened is a fact that cannot be argued out of the way. The French Ambassador to Spain is visiting Paris this weekend.

Meanwhile the emphasis laid by the Council of Ministers upon the need for haste in bringing about the proposed reforms in Morocco is a significant reminder of the tense and unsatisfactory situation that exists there.

General Guillaume, the French Resident General, who has been in Paris recently consulting with the Government, was received at Rabat by the Sultan yesterday afternoon.

## SPANISH CLAIM TO TANGIER

### 'THE GIBRALTAR OF AFRICA'

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BARCELONA, FEB. 14

The Madrid *A.B.C.* in a leading article yesterday claimed for Spain sovereignty over Tangier, which it called the "Gibraltar of Africa." In tracing the history of this small "redoubt" within a Spanish protectorate, the article said that the various conferences and statutes which followed each other with respect to Tangier were all directed to depriving the adjoining coastal nations of the dominion of the straits in the name of an alleged freedom of the seas and taking as a pretext the balance of power. "On Tangier would rest in future a curse, that of Nelson when he said that if it did not belong to England it should remain neutral. Since that time Tangier has been considered as a guarantee of the Straits of Gibraltar, free and apparently available to all, but of whose formal neutrality only England and France were to derive the benefits. There has never been a greater paradox, for Tangier was never effectively neutral until the last war, when, under the Spanish occupation, the exemplary intervention of General Franco kept it outside the conflict. Spain is to-day the only link between western civilization and the Moroccan world because ours is probably the only nation against which the Muslims hold no fears of imperialistic ambitions." The revision of this problem, the article concludes, is "to-day the unanimous desire of the Spanish people."

The Grand Vizier of the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco left Madrid yesterday for Tetuan after broadcasting a message in the Spanish radio's Arabic programme expressing his satisfaction at his reception by General Franco, which was a "cordial meeting between brothers" rather than a formal function.

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*With Compliments*

*Levon Manuel de Guyo*

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# U.S. MINESWEEPER FOR SPAIN

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## FIRST ACT IN NAVAL AID FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BARCELONA, FEB. 18

The Spanish Ambassador in Washington, Señor Lequerica, yesterday accepted delivery at San Diego, California, of the United States naval vessel renamed the Nalón (375 tons), an anti-magnetic minesweeper transferred to the Spanish flag as the first act in the naval installations programme of aid to Spain.

Rear-Admiral Dyer, who handed the ship over on behalf of the United States Government, said that in putting her into the hands of the Spanish Navy he was adding to the "squadron of liberty." The Ambassador assured him that, should the "danger signal" be given, the Spanish officers and men now in command of the ship would be at their posts and "at the side of yours against tyranny."

The Nalón is to remain at San Diego while her new Spanish crew undergoes training before setting out on the voyage to Spain.

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## DERNIERES NOUVELLES

EN CONSEIL DES MINISTRES

# Le gouvernement confirme sa résolution de sauvegarder l'unité de l'empire chérifien

LE GENERAL BOYER DE LA TOUR DU MOULIN  
REMPLECE LE GENERAL GARBAY A TUNIS

*Le conseil des ministres qui s'est tenu ce matin à 10 heures, à l'Élysée, sous la présidence de M. René Coty, s'est terminé à 13 h. 30.*

Le conseil a entendu l'exposé de M. Maurice Schumann, secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères, sur le déroulement de la conférence de Berlin. Il s'est félicité de la persévérance et de la fermeté dont fait preuve le chef de la délégation française dans la recherche d'accords sur les différents problèmes et notamment pour la réunion, dans des conditions satisfaisantes, d'une conférence internationale consacrée au rétablissement de la paix en Indochine.

Le secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères a exposé les derniers développements de la crise survenue à la suite des attaques menées par l'Espagne contre la politique de la France au Maroc. Il a rappelé la position du gouvernement français telle qu'il l'a exposée à la commission des affaires étrangères le 11 février.

Le conseil des ministres a approuvé le secrétaire d'Etat d'avoir ainsi rétabli l'exactitude juridique dans le cadre des droits respectifs des parties intéressées, et confirmé la résolution du gouvernement français de veiller à la sauvegarde de l'unité de l'empire chérifien et de la souveraineté de Sa Majesté le sultan.

Le conseil a en même temps souligné l'intérêt qu'il porte à l'exécution des réformes en cours et souhaité qu'elle fût hâtée dans toute la mesure du possible.

## L'Espagne est restée dans la limite de ses droits affirme le gouvernement de Madrid

Madrid, 13 février (A.F.P.). — Le ministre espagnol des affaires étrangères a répondu hier vendredi soir, dans un communiqué, aux déclarations faites la veille devant la commission des affaires étrangères de l'Assemblée nationale par M. Maurice Schumann au sujet du Maroc.

Le communiqué précise que c'est en vertu de l'article premier de la convention franco-espagnole du 27 novembre 1912 que la zone espagnole du Maroc sera maintenue sous le gouvernement du khalifa, qui continuera à exercer les droits souverains qui lui sont reconnus d'une façon générale et permanente par cette convention.

D'autre part, a ajouté le porte-parole, « il est indéniable, en raison de la portée internationale de cette mesure d'éloignement du sultan, que celle-ci exigeait le consentement préalable du gouvernement espagnol, prévu par l'article 26 de la convention franco-espagnole du 27 novembre 1912.

« Le gouvernement espagnol considère comme essentiel de maintenir le régime juridique de la nation marocaine dans les termes mêmes qu'avaient établis les traités internationaux et par lesquels ont été réglementées les conditions du protectorat partagé par l'Espagne et par la France ».

Enfin le porte-parole a ajouté que « les déclarations de M. Maurice Schumann ne

reflétaient pas l'opinion unanime de la France ».

[Il paraît inutile d'insister sur l'effort déployé à Madrid pour détourner l'affaire de son terrain. La question n'est pas de savoir si l'opinion française est unanime ou non sur la politique suivie par le gouvernement au Maroc, mais si les traités ont été respectés.

Quant aux traités, l'article 1<sup>er</sup> de la convention de 1912 précise que le sultan délègue d'une façon permanente son autorité sur la zone espagnole à un khalifa.

M. Schumann n'a pas dit autre chose. On peut évidemment ergoter à l'infini sur la notion de « droits souverains » — dans le cas présent — et sur ceux que possède effectivement le « délégué du sultan ».

Quant à l'article 26 de la convention du 27 novembre 1912, un esprit d'extrême courtoisie pourrait lui donner une large interprétation, mais ce n'est certes pas de sa lettre qu'on peut tirer que la France devait consulter Madrid avant la déposition du 20 août 1953. Il ne dit en effet rien d'autre que ceci — et l'on regrettera que le porte-parole espagnol n'ait pas cité les textes : « Les accords internationaux conclus à l'avenir par le sultan ne s'étendront à la zone espagnole qu'avec le consentement du gouvernement espagnol. »

Ajoutons que, d'après une note officielle de l'A.F.P., les milieux autorisés français, se basant sur le texte de l'article 26 que nous reproduisons ci-dessus, déclarent « qu'il est clair que la déposition et l'éloignement du sultan du Maroc n'ont rien à voir avec les accords internationaux qui font l'objet de l'article 26 de la convention franco-espagnole ». — J.-C.]

# The Fleet 172 visits Spain —overland

## SOME ENCHANTED EVENING

From Daily Mail Services  
Correspondent

GIBRALTAR, Sunday.

**T**HE Home Fleet went to Spain after all—overland.

Hundreds of officers and men of the Royal Navy set a course for the Spanish frontier in taxis, buses, horse-drawn carriages, and on foot at sundown yesterday.

They waved their *salvoconductos* (safe passes) at the border police and passed into Franco's Spain.

Their ships were unwelcome; but their pesetas brought smiles and cries of "Olé! Olé!" from scores of inn and cabaret proprietors, dancing girls, and bartenders all along the 12-mile route from La Linea to Algeciras.

At one time there were so many taxis and private cars passing over the frontier that the car with Admiral Sir Michael Denny, C.-in-C., Home Fleet, aboard, also Spain-bound, got caught in the traffic jam.

### Later closing on frontier

Spanish police spotted the admiral's flag and waved his car to the head of the queue—one of the many friendly gestures made towards our sailors on what will live long with many of them as "some enchanted evening."

The frontier was kept open until 2 a.m. instead of the usual midnight.

The Home Fleet men wore civvies, but in the crowded cafés, bars, and night clubs they looked just as conspicuous as if they wore uniform.

Admiral Denny was guest at a party at the Reina Cristina Hotel in Algeciras, the Shepherds of the Western Mediterranean.

I called in at a dozen places between the frontier and Algeciras and found them all full of British tars taking easily to the finest sherry at 6d. a glass and not-so-fine brandy at 2d. a nip.

### Sackcloth town celebrates

At San Roque, the hamlet whose *alcalde* (mayor) has announced that he will order "sackcloth and ashes" for the two days of the Queen's visit to Gibraltar in May, I had to push my way through gay throngs celebrating with the Home Fleet men.

Yes, it was fiesta in Spain last night. Early tonight taxis were queueing again at the frontier with the second batch of liberty-men.

Whatever may have occurred between our two Foreign Offices, people this end of Spain are giving a warm welcome to the Royal Navy.

## Le maréchal Papagos est parti pour Madrid, Paris et Lisbonne

(De notre correspondant particulier.)

Athènes, 7 octobre. — Accompagné de MM. Stephanopoulos, ministre des affaires étrangères, et Rhallis, ministre à la présidence du conseil, le maréchal Papagos est parti pour l'Espagne et le Portugal. Le président du conseil grec est invité par les gouvernements de Madrid et de Lisbonne, et son voyage présente un caractère surtout amical. Cependant la presse grecque d'opposition fait ressortir que certaines rumeurs font allusion à la constitution d'un nouveau bloc politique, qui, sous l'égide américaine, grouperait l'Allemagne, la Grèce, la Turquie, l'Espagne.

Ce projet apparaît en vérité comme fort brumeux, car le gouvernement grec ne saurait ignorer la réalité politique découlant des engagements balkaniques et le fait que la Grèce appartient à l'O.T.A.N. Or il est évident que la Yougoslavie accepterait difficilement de collaborer avec l'Allemagne et l'Espagne franquiste en dehors d'une réelle communauté européenne. D'autre part la Grèce devrait attendre une plus harmonieuse articulation des rapports entre l'Espagne et les démocraties occidentales pour préciser une étroite collaboration avec Madrid. Pourtant le facteur politique ne saurait influencer les relations gréco-espagnoles.

Le gouvernement grec a toujours respecté le régime intérieur de ses alliés et amis. Ayant réalisé une étroite alliance avec la Yougoslavie titiste, le gouvernement grec ne saurait se préoccuper des régimes politiques en Espagne et au Portugal. D'ailleurs le Portugal est allié de la Grande-Bretagne et l'Espagne se trouve liée par de nombreux accords avec les États-Unis. Les pays de la péninsule Ibérique sont ainsi directement ou indirectement alliés de la Grèce, d'autant plus que le Portugal est membre comme la Grèce de l'O.T.A.N. Enfin les milieux politiques athéniens se félicitent de l'heureuse évolution des rapports entre l'Espagne et les démocraties occidentales, ce qui facilitera de plus étroits contacts, tant économiques que culturels, entre Athènes et Madrid.

Sur le plan politique la collaboration entre la Grèce et l'Espagne demeure fonction de nombreux facteurs qui ne semblent pas devoir autoriser de trop rapides évolutions. Après Madrid et avant de se rendre à Lisbonne le maréchal Papagos s'arrêtera à Paris, ce qui lui donnera l'occasion de faire avec les hommes politiques français un large tour d'horizon.

# LE PENTAGONE SOUHAITE UNE EXTENSION des relations militaires entre l'Espagne et les alliés

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L'amiral Carney, chef des opérations navales à Washington, vient de séjourner en Espagne. Il a annoncé le 1<sup>er</sup> décembre qu'il « ferait tout son possible pour que la flotte espagnole soit rapidement modernisée ». Le secrétaire à la marine, M. Thomas, l'avait précédé. Déjà le 10 octobre la marine américaine avait affiché son intérêt pour notre voisine : une démonstration de l'aviation du Coral Sea avait eu lieu devant Valence en l'honneur du général Franco. Deux répétitions avaient précédé le « big show ». Elles coûtèrent deux avions et la vie d'un pilote.

A cette cordialité du Pentagone, Madrid répond généreusement. Cinq cent cinquante familles de militaires américains se sont établies dans la capitale espagnole. Leurs chefs ont calqué leur vie sur celle de leurs collègues : en civil après le service, ils circulent dans la journée en uniforme dans leurs voitures et dans les couloirs du ministère qui héberge leurs bureaux. Le général Franco a en effet mis à la disposition de la mission militaire américaine en Espagne, et sans accepter aucun loyer, une partie de ce petit Escorial qu'est au cœur de Madrid le ministère de l'air.

Voici quelques semaines, apprenons-nous à bonne source, le Pentagone tâta les dispositions des Espagnols à l'égard du pacte atlantique. L'accord bilatéral entre Madrid et Washington ne permet pas en effet aux forces espagnoles de contribuer avec un plein rendement à l'organisation de la défense en Méditerranée occidentale. Les principales autorités militaires françaises n'ont pas ignoré cette démarche.

## Trois aspects du problème

Le problème de la coopération militaire avec l'Espagne offre au moins trois aspects.

Pour le Pentagone il s'agit aujourd'hui de procurer à la VI<sup>e</sup> flotte en Méditerranée une solide base sinon de réparations — il ne paraît pas en être question pour le moment — au moins de stocks. Aujourd'hui encore une telle base fait défaut. La VI<sup>e</sup> flotte se ravitaillait et s'approvisionne en mer grâce à des bâtiments-nourrices qui font la navette entre les Etats-Unis et ses unités. Les Américains ont attendu le 20 novembre pour décider que celles de ce secteur achèteraient en Espagne une partie de l'alimentation de leurs équipages. Trente mille dollars sont prévus chaque mois pour ces achats. Carthagène va être la principale base de stockage de la marine américaine en Espagne. Sur la côte atlantique, c'est au petit port de Rota — un peu au nord de Cadix — que le Pentagone a l'intention, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, d'établir la

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tête du pipe-line qui amènera le combustible vers ses bases d'Andalousie, de Castille et d'Aragon. A propos de ces bases les travaux ne sont amorcés — depuis quelques jours — qu'à la base aérienne de Torrejon-Barajas. La mission militaire américaine a l'intention — sauf décisions différentes à Washington — de laisser les entrepreneurs espagnols travailler à leur cadence, préférant de légers retards à une accélération coûteuse. Cette première question des bases est réglée, ou peut l'être, grâce à l'accord bilatéral.

Des relations militaires plus étroites entre l'Espagne et les alliés présenteraient, selon les chefs militaires américains, un double avantage : elles pourraient éventuellement permettre aux marins espagnols d'accéder aux exercices interalliés de cadres et dans l'avenir à leur flotte d'opérer en liaison avec celles des alliés ; elles donneraient au régime une satisfaction de prestige et contribueraient à dissoudre les hésitations de certains éléments non militaires devant une coopération totale avec les Etats-Unis.

Du côté espagnol le problème se présente sous un aspect moins précis. Pour des raisons d'ordre militaire l'état-major tient à voir le dispositif espagnol s'articuler sur celui des alliés. Néanmoins, cette coopération étant envisagée d'abord sur le plan naval, l'état de la flotte espagnole en constitue le principal élément. Or les bâtiments espagnols ont pour la plupart quelque trente ans d'âge. Une coopération tactique entre eux et les flottes alliées sera possible seulement du jour où ils auront été dotés de moyens modernes de détection et de direction de tir, et quand ses officiers auront reçu la formation technique commune à leurs camarades occidentaux. Les Etats-Unis ont l'intention, semble-t-il, d'assurer cette dotation en moyens électroniques aux bâtiments existants plutôt que de les changer tous. Tel est le sens qu'il faudrait donner, selon la mission militaire américaine en Espagne, à l'attribution début novembre de deux dragueurs de mines à la marine espagnole, qui attendait mieux.

L'opinion des Etats membres du pacte atlantique constitue le troisième élément du problème posé par une extension de la coopération entre l'Espagne et les membres du pacte atlantique. Certains, comme la plupart des Scandinaves, y sont hostiles. Les Anglais n'y voient pas d'inconvénients. Le commandement italien en est vivement partisan. Le français demeure, comme il l'a toujours été, favorable à son principe. Il est douteux cependant qu'une formule, même limitée, soit acceptée par

lui aussi longtemps que la propagande anti-française de l'Espagne au Maroc cherchera à troubler l'opinion arabe de l'Afrique du Nord (1). Sans doute appartient-il davantage à Madrid qu'aux alliés de créer une atmosphère favorable à cette décision.

D'un autre côté le gouvernement américain ne peut ignorer qu'aux yeux de Paris la question déborde le terrain militaire, que la stabilité politique française doit constituer dans son jugement un élément aussi sérieux que celle du régime espagnol, et que dans un tel domaine la lenteur peut être le comble de la rapidité.

(1) Le 18 novembre une émission de Radio-Tétouan en arabe présentait les hors-la-loi de l'Aurès comme « des forces nationalistes », puis comme « un groupe de sabotage de la résistance algérienne qui avait réussi à isoler Batna, siège du haut commandement français ». Le 20 novembre « l'armée de libération algérienne terrorise les colons français, qui se réfugient dans les villes et dans les villages fortifiés ». Au Maroc les décisions de la France sont qualifiées d'« arbitraires, violentes et criminelles... » « Le roi légitime bien-aimé a été enlevé par les Français. Puisse Dieu le comble de la victoire et permettre qu'il revienne dans sa patrie qui l'attend ! » (18 novembre).

Ce zèle entraîne parfois quelques bavures : le 21, Radio-Madrid et Radio-Tétouan diffusent un violent discours anti-français. Ils l'attribuent à l'ancien sultan. Le lendemain, démenti : on a découvert que le discours « était un faux ».

## Ma succession est assurée déclare le général Franco

Madrid, 6 décembre (A.F.P.). — « Si au moment de ma mort le problème de la succession ne devait pas être résolu, et cela parce que je n'aurais pas pourvu moi-même à cette solution, le conseil de régence serait convoqué. L'Espagne aura alors soit un prince régnant, soit un régent. Elle poursuivrait son chemin avec toutes ses institutions inchangées. »

Cette déclaration a été faite par le général Franco au cours d'une interview accordée à l'envoyé spécial du journal cubain *Alerta*, publiée hier par tous les journaux madrilènes.

Après avoir rappelé que « pendant presque toute son histoire l'Espagne a été une monarchie », le général Franco a ajouté : « Cela ne veut pas dire que l'on reviendrait purement et simplement à la forme de monarchie que connaissait l'Espagne au moment où ce régime a disparu. On maintiendrait en revanche l'essence de l'institution monarchique, à savoir le commandement et la direction d'une seule personne. »

» Si la personne désignée par le jeu de la loi de succession ne remplissait pas les conditions requises, il pourrait être fait appel à un régent.