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CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY

POLITICAL COMMITTEE

The situation in Spain

Preliminary memorandum

submitted by Mr. Gustafson, Rapporteur

1. On 25th April 1961, the Assembly referred the motion tabled by Mr. Kirk and others on the situation in Spain to the Political Committee for a report and to the Committee on Non-Represented Nations for an opinion. In accordance with the Assembly's decision, the Committee on Non-Represented Nations transmitted its opinion (which was prepared by Mrs. Renger) to the Political Committee on 16th November 1961. This document (AS/NR (13) 14 revised) is now before the Committee, together with Mr. Kirk's original motion (Doc. 1226 revised). The Political Committee must, therefore, decide what action to recommend on the opinion of the Committee on Non-Represented Nations and on Mr. Kirk's motion.

2. Mr. Kirk's motion proposed "that European public opinion should be fully informed on current events in Spain through the medium of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe." During the time that has elapsed since it was tabled, several organisations have published reports on particular aspects of the situation in Spain. Three reports, in particular, deserve attention: the Economic Survey in Spain approved by the Economic and Development Review Committee of the OECD in May 1962 (1), the Report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development called "The Economic Development of Spain" issued in February 1963 and the Report

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(1) Reports on Spain were also published by the OECD in July 1961 and by the OEEC in August 1960.

published by the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva in November 1962.

3. Further, Mr. Maurice Macmillan (in Doc. 1420) and Mr. Margue (in Doc. 1477) have discussed the question of Spain's application for association with, leading to full membership of, the European Economic Community, and the Consultative Assembly took a stand on this matter in Recommendation 314 which was adopted on 17th May 1962. The Political Committee has also been able to study the opinion of the Committee on Non-Represented Nations, which was prepared after the Committee had heard evidence from both representatives of the present regime and from representatives of exile groups.

4. The report of the International Commission of Jurists published in Geneva in November 1962 has given rise to much controversy. It was the result of very thorough investigation but was nevertheless criticised on some points even by some of the members of the International Commission. This shows that it is impossible to make a useful report on Spain unless it is based on first hand evidence concerning the present political, social and economic conditions there. This would involve a considerable amount of work, much of which would have to be done in Spain by a delegation from the Committee with the help of a number of experts.

5. From newspaper reports I see that changes were made last year in the composition of the Spanish Government and that social reforms and other measures are being introduced in Spain. If these developments can be verified, I am sure that the Committee will welcome them as far as they go, but to the best of my knowledge the changes that appear to have been made are not fundamental and in no way alter the basic character of the present regime.

6. The resolution adopted by the Congress of the European Movement at Munich on 8th June 1962 confirmed that in the eyes of the participants genuine democratic conditions did not exist as yet in Spain (see AS/Pol (14) 7).

7. It will be recalled that the Spanish Government, in April 1962, invited a delegation of the Political Committee to visit Spain to study the situation on the spot. Such a visit is, however, not possible under the present circumstances, because of the following reasons:

- (a) A memorandum sent to certain members of the Political Committee by the Spanish Embassies in their countries in May 1962 contained the statement that the Spanish Government wished amendments to be made to the draft

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recommendation adopted by the Political Committee on 6th April 1962 and that "Spain would not welcome the visit of a sub-committee unless the body sending it - the Political Committee - had previously corrected the passage in its recommendation on the general policy of the Council of Europe which relates to the association of Spain with the European Economic Community and had struck out all references to constitutional changes in Spain." The draft recommendation in question was not amended (see AS/Pol (13) PV 12 revised).

- (b) The Bureau decided on 5th July 1962, following certain events which took place in the summer of 1962, that a visit to Spain by a delegation of the Political Committee would be undesirable in the circumstances prevailing then.

8. Since Mr. Kirk's motion was tabled, several reports on Spain have been published by different organisations and there has been a lively international controversy on some of them. The requirement that European public opinion should be fully informed on the situation in Spain has thus been fulfilled to the extent that is possible unless it is desired that the Assembly of the Council of Europe should undertake an investigation even more far-reaching and thorough than that of the International Commission of Jurists. But I submit that such an investigation would go beyond the resources of the Political Committee and indeed of the Assembly.

9. Accordingly, I would suggest to the Committee that, having regard to the above considerations, no further action need be taken for the time being on the motion tabled by Mr. Kirk and others and, if this solution is acceptable to the Political Committee, that the matter should be reported to the Bureau of the Assembly.

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A P P E N D I X

Note on certain recent
developments in Spain

This note contains some information about developments in Spain since the beginning of 1962 and in no way claims to give a comprehensive picture of what has happened in Spain during this period. It is, however, appended to the preliminary memorandum of the Rapporteur for the personal use of members of the Committee as it may on some points add to what members may have learned from other sources.

Internal situation

The most important internal developments in Spain in 1962 were the wave of industrial strikes which broke out in April of that year; demands made by members of the Cortes and underground political groups for political and social reforms, and giving support to the workers' claims; the reorganisation of the Spanish Government and the statement outlining the Government's forthcoming programme; new social legislation and the relaxation of press control.

The strike movement

The principal factors believed to underlie the strikes are these:

1. The effects of the economic stabilisation programme of the worst-paid workers, who had to face rising living costs with no compensatory wage increases;
2. The feeling that the official "vertical" syndicates were not suited to the system of direct collaborative bargaining concerning wages which had been introduced in 1958. Since employers were represented it was considered that these syndicates were not genuine trade unions; besides, the higher officials in the syndicates were appointed by the Government. Details of the new collective agreements also caused resentment, such as wage increases being linked with higher production targets. Higher paid workers resented the threat of the elimination of pay differentials between them and less skilled workers, which would be the result of certain of these agreements.

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3. Widespread resentment of denial of the right to strike and of official opposition to general wage increases.
4. Resentment that the Papal encyclical Mater et Magistra had not resulted in many advances in social policy. In February 1962, the Bishop of Bilbao condemned: "these Catholics who think that there are people predestined to enjoy the abundance of wealth while others must be satisfied with the scraps falling from the tables of the powerful." The Archbishop of Seville, in March, called for a minimum daily wage of 110-120 pesetas for a married industrial worker with two children.
5. Growing awareness of the differences between the conditions in Spain and those of other countries in Europe.

Despite anti-strike legislation, 170,000 workers were affected by strikes between April and the beginning of June 1962, principally in the areas of Asturias, Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa. A large number of the strike leaders were reported to have been arrested, but there were no violent clashes between the police and strikers.

The Government declared "a state of exception" (emergency) for three months in the three affected areas on May 5th. This involved the suspension of certain rights contained in the Fuero de los Españoles.

The Government decree of 24th May authorised a rise in coal prices and made possible pay increases for coal miners. Following this, the situation rapidly improved and there was a general return to work in the first week in June.

Demands for political and social reforms

In the spring and summer of 1962 most of the underground political parties issued statements demanding various reforms. The Union of Democratic Forces (UFD, which is a left-of-centre political grouping; the first in Spain since 1936. It is the potential rallying point for all radicals in Spain) issued a statement on 17th May denouncing the Government as "despotic and bankrupt" and calling on the Church to express her responsibility in favour of the settlement of the labour disputes. The document called on the professional classes and intellectuals to "heighten their fight for liberty" and on all Spaniards to "multiply their protests" and to "carry out acts of resistance" where possible. Finally, the document urged "all democratic political groups" to unite and to offer to the

nation "a peaceful solution in place of the existing situation, which clearly represents both an obstacle in the way of social peace and of the integration of Spain in Europe."

The Union Española (an alliance of different monarchist groups) stated on June 5th that the situation must lead to "either a deliberate but honest and effective evolution, or else a revolution". Under the circumstances all classes should work for "a transition towards a democratic and enduring regime, which, in Spain, could only be the monarchy".

The Popular Liberation Front (FLP), a left-wing group, containing socialists and "catholic progressive" members, gave solid support to the strikers. In a declaration issued on 22nd May, it supported the strikers and stated that the Government's alleged suppression of news about the strikes showed its fear of public opinion.

The Communist Party supported the strikers, declaring on 22nd May that the time for co-ordinating action against the position of General Franco was ripe and called for "every form of mass struggle" leading up to a general strike. After this statement the UFD stated that its constituent groups were not allied to the Communist Party.

Further unrest of a minor degree was reported in the New York Times of 4th December 1962, which stated that there had been strong criticism of the Spanish Ministry of Housing because of the construction of new housing for workers in Madrid which have not been provided with water, electricity, roads, schools and other facilities. One of the sides of the Mayor of Madrid made an outspoken speech criticising the mal-administration of the Government. The Mayor of Madrid disassociated himself with these criticisms. Two Madrid newspapers published leaders stating that the problems of the city should be properly investigated and not hushed up. The Ministry of Housing was openly attacked for its mistakes in the City Council.

On May 8th a group of distinguished intellectuals including opposition politicians issued a statement which called for the establishment of "a system of negotiations for meeting wage claims by the methods in general practice in the world" and also for "freedom of information".

Various outbreaks of terrorism in Spain have been reported. The Irish Times of 6th December 1962 stated that four plastic bombs had been exploded in Madrid and other Spanish cities within the previous week. It commented that these explosions "are a clear indication that the opposition to the Franco regime is not only persevering in its work, but what is more,

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is doing so with organisation and decision behind it." According to the official "Agencia Cifra" the Basque separatist party and Communists are responsible for the explosions. The Irish Times comments that the Government is anxious to conceal the fact that many Catholics are now in opposition to the Franco regime. It considers that recent speeches made by Cardinal Montini "must have provoked something like hysteria in the heart of the Government".

In Madrid, 70 women were arrested on 15th May during a "silent demonstration" in the Central Square in support of the strikers. Many of them were subsequently fined.

On 11th July, General Franco reorganised his Government - making the first major changes since 1957. Eight new ministers were appointed and seven ministers were retired. Captain-General Munoz Grandes was appointed Deputy Prime Minister. The Falangist element in the Cabinet was weakened. The Deputy Prime Minister was to "carry out those functions which are expressly delegated to him" by General Franco and act as his substitute "in the event of absence or illness".

The other principal appointment was that of Señor Manuel Fraga Iribarne as Minister of Information and Tourism. Mr. Fraga, who was one of the witnesses who made a statement to the Committee on Non-Represented Nations, is regarded as representing the advent of a rather more liberal point of view into the Cabinet.

The plenary session of the Cortes approved several bills on 14th July 1962 including (i) legislation on industrial co-partnership, providing for one workers' representative to sit on boards of directors for every six management directors, and for similar representation on workers' factory councils; and (ii) a bill on the terms of the valuation of compulsorily purchased land, to enable land to be bought at reasonable prices for housing and resettlement schemes.

On 30th July Mr. Fraga announced that he would introduce a new press law in December to replace the press law of 1938. Mr. Manuel Jimenez Quilez was appointed Director-General of the Press by Mr. Fraga on 20th July. On 13th August he announced that direct State censorship had been lifted in all areas except Madrid and Barcelona - he explained that this did not mean an abolition of the censor, but the transfer of "our power to censor newspapers to the papers themselves". An announcement made by the Ministry of Information on the same day stated that foreign publications would no longer be banned "unless they offensively attacked the Head of State or contained flagrant errors".

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On 6th December a National Press Council was established. Its sixty members were nominated by the Journalists' Union and Mr. Fraga stated that its main purpose would be to consider the draft press law that was being prepared by the Government.

The New York Times of 1st December 1962 reported that the Falange was "launching a drive of activism and individuality" in the form of establishing political clubs. The paper commented that these clubs were aimed at directing the Spaniard's innate passion for political debate into legal channels. Critics of the Falange interpreted this tendency as one that will introduce splits into the monolithic unity of the Falange, thus leading to the formation of splinter groups. The views of these new Falange clubs are said to be "radical". In discussion these clubs have advocated higher living standards for workers and peasants and the introduction of measures of social reform.

The New York Times of 14th December 1962 states that the Falange newspaper "Arriba" of Madrid had criticised the large profits made by Spanish banks and demanded their nationalisation. Arriba is reported as stating that the capital of the banks was dominating the national economy and was keeping workers' salaries far below European standards. The paper further stated that the Spanish development plan for 1964/67 would provide improved opportunities for profiteering by the banks. It stated that 130 board members of the five major private banks control 745 industrial enterprises with capital investments totalling 1,750 million US Dollars. The right wing Roman Catholic technocrats who hold high posts in the economic and State administration were also criticised.

A session of the Cortes was held on 19th and 20th December 1962. A remarkable feature of this session was the presentation of a petition to the Government by over 400 of the 605 members of the Cortes asking for a more active role in making the country's laws. It asked that the Cortes should meet at least between three and five times a year and stated: "a greater number of plenary meetings would make unnecessary a large number of legal decrees that should be reserved only for cases of extreme urgency." The petition also criticised the internal administration of the Cortes and asked for higher salaries for the staff and for better office equipment and facilities for members. A Government statement issued on 19th December said that in future meetings of the committees of the Cortes, previously held in secret, would be "regularly" opened to the press.

At its December session, the Cortes approved 263 laws in two days.

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Among the new laws that were approved by the Cortes were: one laying down the scale of punishment for driving offences and making third-party insurance obligatory; another concerning the reform of municipal finances and one concerning the freeing of certain imports from customs duties.

New social legislation and the relaxation of press control

After the first meeting of the new Cabinet on 13th July 1962, Mr. Fraga made a statement outlining the Government's programme.

In the economic field Mr. Fraga said the Government would continue its existing policies as the monetary stability attained since 1959 had provided a firm contribution for future development, which would be achieved through the proposed development plan. All Spaniards would benefit from this and the Government would pursue its efforts in housing and agrarian reform. In the latter connection, the Cabinet had approved a decree establishing an agricultural credit bank.

The Government would also ensure parallel social progress and well-being on the basis of the encyclical Mater et Magistra. The syndicalist organisation would be perfected; popular participation in public affairs "by way of organic representation" would be increased; there would be judicial reforms; and the Government would "pay every attention to the various attitudes of public opinion and to its legitimate manifestations by means of public information."

The Government reaffirmed Spain's "European vocation" and her readiness to take an increasingly active part in economic co-operation and political integration. It believed that Spain could give special help in meeting the challenge facing the free world, chiefly through her relations with Portugal and her ties with the Hispanic peoples and the Arab countries.

General Franco, in his New Year message of 30th December 1962, announced that from the beginning of 1963 the minimum daily wage for unskilled workers would be increased from 36 pesetas (4/6d) to 60 pesetas (7/6d). The increase would affect about 1,600,000 of the country's 9 million workers and a Government spokesman stated that after family allowances and extra pay for Sundays and official holidays had been added the actual daily pay-packet would amount to about 100 pesetas (12/6d).

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Protestants in Spain

In January 1963 there were widespread comments in the world press concerning the likelihood of a relaxation in the attitude of the Spanish Government towards the right of Protestants to practise their faith in Spain. The conference of Catholic bishops held in January recommended that Protestants should be allowed to have their own schools, that discrimination against their entry into the civil service should be abolished and that they should share fully in civil rights. Later, the Government announced that the British Bible Society would be allowed to resume its work, that had been suspended for several years, in Spain.

Economic position

The OEEC annual report on Spain in July 1961 stated that "internal financial stability, which has been restored - after a long period of pressure - through the stabilisation programme of July 1959, has been maintained ever since. On the other hand, the rather prolonged recession which had followed the stabilisation measures, has given place, after the summer of 1960, to a gradual recovery in production, so that many branches of industry in the first months of the current year had gained or exceeded their pre-recession levels of output."

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"Spain's foreign balance of payments deficits have been replaced, after the devaluation and reforms of 1959, by considerable surpluses and by an important accumulation of foreign exchange reserves." (In the first six months of 1961 foreign exchange reserves increased by approximately 190 million US dollars).

The OEEC report stated that the stabilisation programme reforms should be completed and, secondly, "a long-term balanced policy will have to be elaborated for exploiting the country's considerable economic potential and thus achieving substantial improvement in the present standard of living".

The cost-of-living index rose very slightly since the previous summer.

In its conclusions the OEEC report of July 1961 stated: "continued substantial surpluses in Spain's balance of payments are partly due to a number of exceptionally favourable factors and to the low level of domestic economic activity. It is, however, beyond any reason of doubt that there are also more permanent elements of improvement, resulting from the restoration of financial stability established by a realistic rate of exchange and the wide and indirect benefits of a changeover to liberal and multilateral trade and payments. The present very comfortable level of external reserves and the prospect of a new surplus in 1961 permit substantial increases in production and investment to take place without important strains on the price level, since any excess demand that might appear could, and should, be matched by an increased flow of imports, and it would be quite inappropriate that part of domestic saving should continue to result in further increases in foreign reserves, when the funds for productive investment in the country are so substantial".

The 1961 report finally concluded "Spain's great possibilities for economic progress are not always fully realised. If the same determination in the choice of rational economic policies, which made a success of the Stabilisation Programme, is also shown in the preparation and application of the Development Programme, a substantial increase in the standard of living of the Spanish people will not take very long to materialise".

The 1962 OECD report

The 1962 report on Spain of OECD states that the recovery during 1961 from the period of stagnation "was very gradual, and it is only in the last months of 1961 that the movement of expansion has accelerated". The prospects at the beginning of 1962 are for an appreciable further increase of internal demand, due to a considerable rise in public expenditure as well as to a comparable increase in private effective demand. Provided that appropriate measures of policy are taken in time, these developments should not endanger internal financial stability, which has been maintained up to the present. There are indeed important margins on the side of the balance of payments, which continues to yield surpluses despite the fact that exports have remained approximately stable, while imports have increased considerably; the level of external reserves is particularly high, representing about nine months' imports.

OECD states: "Apart from the immediate problem of combining a high level of economic activity with the maintenance of financial stability, the Spanish authorities are faced with certain fundamental issues of economic policy. Although the basic option made in 1959 to give a preponderant role to domestic and international market forces was followed by important measures in certain fields - for instance, import liberalisation - in some others the reforms consistent with the new general direction of policy have not so far been carried out". The report states that Spain's application for association with and ultimate full membership of EEC "calls for early action to correct a number of structural defects in the country's economy and to help forward the process of industrial development."

The report states that the striking feature of 1961 was the "progressive recovery of internal demand". Imports increased steadily during 1961, and private consumption increased partly because of longer working hours and wage increases.

The OECD report concludes: "A fundamental issue of general and economic policy is the degree to which the Spanish economy should be integrated with the major Western markets. Experience has proved conclusively that rapid and sustainable growth in Spain is incompatible with autarkic economic policies. The new orientation of official policy since the Stabilisation Programme stems from that experience and the recent decision to seek negotiations with EEC is a confirmation of the trend

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towards an open economy. This process of integration, which will require an important measure of understanding and co-operation on the part of the industrialised countries, must be prepared by adequate action on the Spanish side. The early formulation of a national tariff policy, implying no more than a reasonably low and selective protection of domestic industries, the detailed study of export potentialities, and the adoption of measures to promote the expansion and diversification of Spanish exports have undoubtedly the highest priorities in this respect."

Repayment of International Monetary Fund Loan

On 1st May 1962, the IMF announced that Spain had repaid, ahead of schedule, the equivalent of 50 million US dollars obtained in credits in 1959 for Spain's new economic measures. Earlier in 1961, Spain had repaid 24 million US dollars, which it had drawn from the European Monetary Fund under the 1959 arrangements with OEEC. The balance of undrawn IMF and EMF credits were also cancelled at the same time.

The IMF announcement said that "these advance repayments and cancellations reflected the success of the Spanish stabilisation programme". It stated that Spain's gold and foreign exchange reserves had increased from 63 million US dollars at the time of the introduction of the programme to 600 million dollars by the end of March 1961. Rises in prices had been checked, exports substantially increased and the income from tourism greatly expanded. Restrictions on imports and unfavourable transactions had been considerably reduced and with new foreign investment legislation the chances of attracting foreign capital had been enhanced. Thus "the stage has been set for renewed efforts to accelerate the development of the Spanish economy under conditions of balance of growth".

Spain and European activities

Eurochemic. In January 1959 the Council of OEEC approved Spanish participation in Eurochemic - a scheme for the chemical processing of irradiated fuels at Mol in Belgium, and this was followed by an agreement by Spain and the United Kingdom in January 1960 opening up possibilities for exchanging information on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Space Research. Spain took part in a twelve-country conference on European space research which was held in Strasbourg in January 1961.

EEC application. Spain made her application to the Council of Ministers of EEC for association with the Community leading to full membership in February 1962. The Council of Ministers held an exchange of views on this application at its meeting on 5th December 1962.

The Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted Recommendation 314 on 17th May 1962, which recommended that the Members of the EEC should examine the possibility of some form of economic agreement between Spain and the European Economic Community, bearing in mind the constitutional changes that will be necessary before any form of political association can be contemplated.

In a speech made at the December 1962 session of the Cortes, M. Ullastres, the Minister of Commerce, said that he wished "to thank France and Germany for the help that their governments have given to Spain by supporting its request for entry into the Common Market". He further said that "Spain wishes to become integrated in Europe but it is not prepared to pay for entry with a blank cheque". He concluded by saying "if we continue to pursue the same ordered and peaceful policy, we will succeed in integrating ourselves with Europe. Time is working for us and we are moving towards Europe, but at our own speed".

Munich: The Congress of the European Movement held in Munich on 7th and 8th June 1962 approved a resolution calling for "the establishment of authentically representative and democratic institutions" as a condition of Spain's participation in the process of European integration. This resolution had been drafted, on 5th and 6th June, by representatives of Spanish Opposition groups from both inside and outside Spain, including eighty representatives of movements within Spain and thirty-eight exiles.

The leading delegate from Spain was Senor Jose Maria Gil Robles, leader of the Right Wing Group of Christian Democrats and a member of the Privy Council of the Pretender, Don Juan. Other prominent delegates from Spain included Senor Joaquin Satrustegui, leader of the "Union Española", Senor Fernando Alvarez de Miranda, Secretary of the Spanish

Association for European Co-operation (who had made a statement to the Committee on Non-represented Nations on the situation in Spain) and Senor Ridruejo, the poet. The exiles included Senor Rodolfo Llopis, leader of the Socialist Party, and Dr. Salvador de Madariaga.

Two committees of the Congress, one including all the representatives from inside Spain, under the chairmanship of Señor Robles, and the other including most of the exiles, under the chairmanship of Dr. de Madariaga, had drawn up separate resolutions but an agreement was eventually reached on a compromise which was said to be closer to the terms of the draft of the exile group.

The resolution as finally approved by the Congress states:

"The Congress of the European Movement ... considers that the integration of any country with Europe, whether in the form of full membership or of association, requires democratic institutions on the part of that country. In the case of Spain this requires, in accordance with the European Convention on the Rights of Man and the European Social Charter:

- (1) Establishment of authentically representative and democratic institutions, guaranteeing that the Government be founded on the consent of the citizens.
- (2) Effective guarantees for all personal human rights, especially those of freedom of the individual and of opinion, and the abolition of Government censorship.
- (3) Recognition of the personality of the various natural communities.
- (4) Exercise of trade union freedom on a democratic basis, and the workers' defence of their fundamental rights, notably by the right to strike.
- (5) Freedom to organise movements of opinion and political parties, and respect for the right of opposition!"

The immediate reaction of the Spanish Government was to issue a decree suspending the right of Spaniards to choose their own place of residence within Spain as laid down in the Fuero de los Españoles. A number of the more prominent participants in the Munich Congress were detained when they returned to Spain and were offered the choice between exile or being sent to Fuerteventura in the Canary Islands. Gil Robles chose exile while certain others accepted forced residence in the Canaries. By the 14th June twelve people were reported to have been sent to the Canary Islands including Alvarez de Miranda. Most of the Congress delegates were, however, allowed to return to their normal homes.

The Spanish press denounced the Congress as "the ultra secret and un-Spanish conspiracy of Munich" carried out by "traitors plotting against Spain". Señor Robles, in an interview in "Le Monde" of June 10th, denied that the Munich meeting was part of any conspiracy against General Franco's Government.

Señor Robles said that he had written to the Under-Secretary to the Presidency before leaving for the Congress stating the reasons for his journey and outlining the views which he would put forward at the meeting. He said that at the meeting there had been "no formal pact of union" between the political groups in Spain and those outside Spain but there had been "a very much more profound agreement" since there was a "fundamental solidarity" between the sometimes apparently divergent views of the different groups. Both the groups in Spain and out of Spain were agreed that there should be no renewal of violence.

General Franco strongly attacked critics of his regime in several speeches made in the Valencia area between June 16th and 18th. Declaring his support for European unity, General Franco said: "Our wish to unite with Europe is sincere, because we feel ourselves to be Europeans; but in no case will we give up our domestic peace solely to please people abroad. People in foreign countries may or may not like what we possess in Spain, but it must be recognised that our regime is incomparably more democratic in essence and in practice than the other systems existing in the world".

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On 5th July 1962 General Franco received a delegation from the European Movement led by Mr. Pierre Wigny and including Mr. John Hynd, M.P., and Mr. Etienne Hirsh, though General Franco refused to receive the fourth member, Mr. Robert van Schendel (Secretary-General of the Movement).

Following this meeting Mr. Wigny and Mr. Hynd said that they had expressed the European Movement's concern at the punishment of the Spanish representatives at Munich. General Franco had said that in the event of Spain's associating with the Common Market, he would respect the terms of the Treaty of Rome; he had no objections to Spaniards being members of the European Movement; the Spanish delegates were not punished for taking part in the Congress but for their other political activities in Munich.

NATO

There were several press reports, in January 1963, concerning the Spanish Government's hope of obtaining its entry into NATO. As far as Spanish defence co-operation with France is concerned General Ailleret, Chief-of-Staff of the French armed forces, visited Madrid at the beginning of February and it was announced later in February that four Franco-Spanish combined naval exercises would be held in the course of 1963. Mr. Garrigues, Spanish Ambassador in Washington, was reported by "Le Monde" of 5th January as stating that when the present military agreements between Spain and the United States lapse, "they may be replaced by the incorporation of Spain and its bases into NATO".

American military bases

Negotiations for a new lease by the United States of military bases in Spain were to have been held at the beginning of 1963 but these negotiations have been postponed. As a result of the Nassau agreement, the American base at Rota in the Gulf of Cadiz has become more important and it is expected that the American Government would like to station Polaris submarines there. American air bases in Spain, on the other hand, have diminished in importance with the phasing out of the B 47 bomber, which has been replaced by the B. 52 which can operate directly from the United States. It is understood that the Spanish Government intends to ask for considerably larger sums of aid from the American Government in return for the renewal of leases for military bases.

Human rights in Spain

In December 1962, the International Commission of Jurists published a report on "Spain and the Rule of Law" which stated that Spain's present regime was characterised by "a lack of rule of law". The report says that the exercise of certain freedoms contained in the Charter of the Spanish people "has for years been rendered impossible" by legislation. In particular, "the press is completely gagged" and "freedom of association is in a similar predicament. Freedom is not granted in precisely that area in which there is the most urgent need for an organised and autonomous union of individuals, namely in the creation of political parties and labour unions, activities which are forbidden and punishable by law".

The publication of this report was given wide publicity in the world press and, in Spain, Señor Iturmendi, the Minister of Justice, speaking on 13th December, rejected the allegations made in the document. The Minister read at a press conference a statement of over 5,000 words, in which he declared that the present Spanish regime has always been concerned with ensuring the fundamental bases of liberty and the independence and responsibility of its judges and magistrates. He referred to "the confused allusions of the jurists" who had claimed that "a lack of rule of law" characterised Spain's present regime. The Minister said that the rights of all Spaniards were guaranteed by law.

The Minister stated that prisons in Spain were inspired "by a high sense of humanity, a profound Christian spirit, and respect for the personality of the prisoner". Nobody in Spain was condemned for his political ideology, but only for activities of a subversive character and attempts to disturb social and institutional order. The Minister explained that those responsible for banditry, bomb explosions, etc., could not be tried as political delinquents "and this is why they were summarily brought before military courts which could provide quick and adequate justice". The Minister stated that Spain had no Iron Curtain and welcomed all who desired to find out objectively how the regime was solving its problems but no-one, he said, would be authorised to interfere in Spain's internal affairs.