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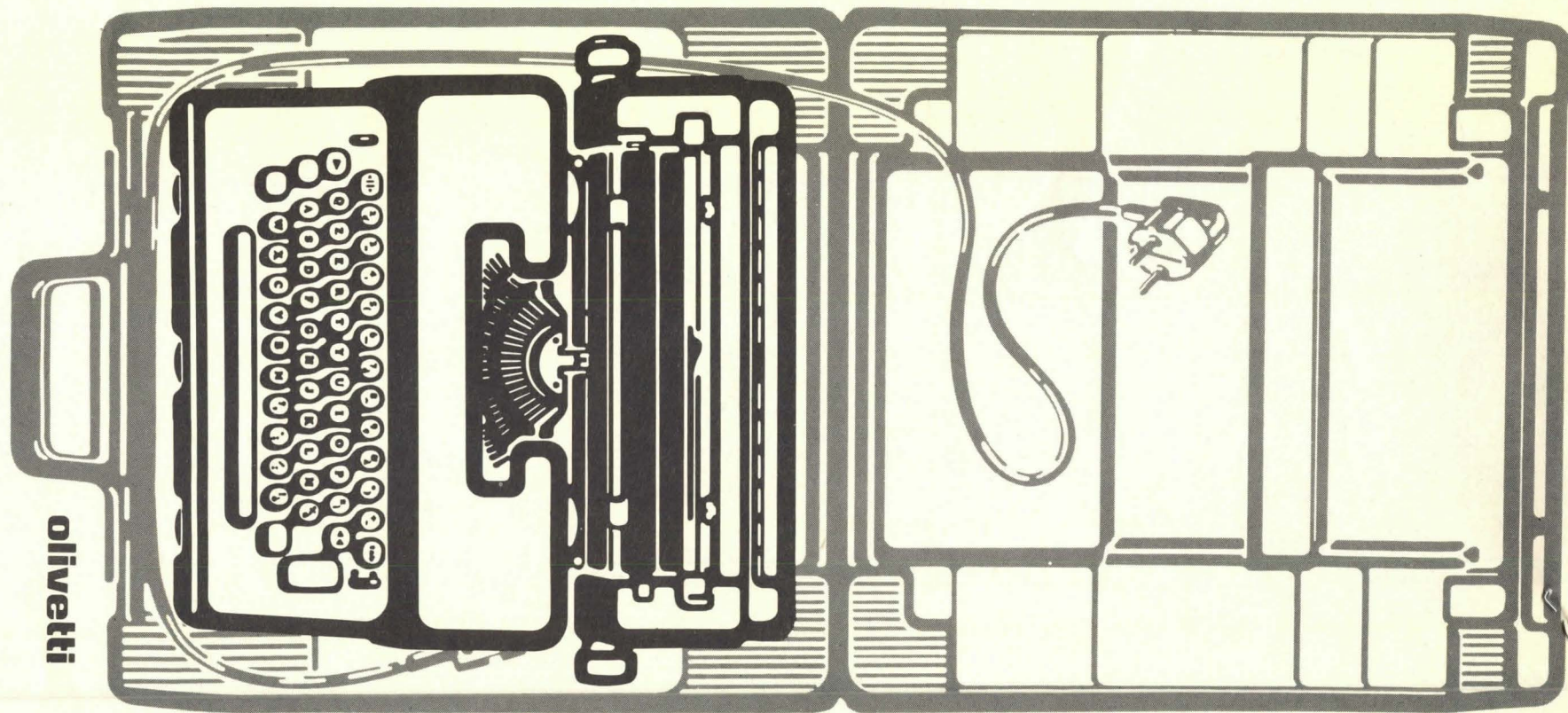
No. 32 DEC 1972

25 FB; 2 DM; 2,50 FF; 250 Lir; 1,50 fl.; 3,50 NKr; 2,50 SKr; 20 p.; \$ 1.0.

SPAIN IN THE COMMON MARKET?

POLITICAL SPECTRUM: FINLAND
ITALY: PRICE OF A MIRACLE
BRANDT: LEADING EUROPE LEFT

LETTERA 36 OLIVETTI, MACHINE A ECRIRE PORTATIVE ENTIEREMENT ELECTRIQUE



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1971 Nixon...



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SPAIN IN THE COMMON MARKET?

In December 1972 Generalissimo **Franco** is 80. Everyone is waiting for what the official press prefers to call « the biological event ».

Behind the scenes, the opposition is marking time, having already agreed on a programme for the post-Franco period : re-establishment of political parties, the right to form trade unions, freedom for the mass media, regionalisation, and amnesty for prisoners of the Franco regime.

The banks, which have always backed the regime, are cultivating new men, not compromised by their past. The big « modern » firms are doing the same. Even the former collaborators of the regime, now out of power, are

playing at opposition.

So today *Franco's* only ally, and the only believer in the future of Franquism, seems to be Admiral Carrero *Blanco*, backed by part of the army and by the **Falange**.

For the opposition in Spain today does not stand for a popular front, still less for radical or violent change. Memories of the civil war are still very much alive and it is realised that a popular uprising is impossible in the face of a modern army.

The establishment, well aware that the last of the « great » fascists will soon be leaving the scene, is distancing itself from him more and more, seeking to establish an alibi which will enable it to go on ruling after he has gone.

Franco's successor, Prince Juan *Carlos*, holds court at Zarzuela with those who will be his men when he takes over. They are not his friends — they are there because that is where the power is most likely to lie.

The European alibi

The « opposition » — from the monarchist *Areilza*, a former Ambassador to Paris and Washington, to Catholics like Ruiz *Jimenez*, Tierno *Galvan's* Socialists, and even the Communists of Santiago *Carillo*, — have one thing in common : they are « for Europe ». In the present situation in Spain, this is an elegant way of being against the regime. For institutionalised integration with the rest of the continent must necessarily mean the end of Fascism, at least in the forms it takes today...

Tactically, the opposition can exploit the fact that the European Community continues to reserve membership for those European countries which have similar political structures to its own members. But the reality is rather different.

Spain is already effectively a member of the capitalist club that is western Europe today. It is enough to look at the pattern of her foreign trade, the flow of investment, the movement of migrant workers, the ever-growing flood of tourists from the rest of Europe, the strategic and military co-operation with other governments...

European capitalism is the objective ally of Franco's regime and its strongest support. The continued opposition of certain countries to Spanish membership of the European Community is no more than gesture, salving the consciences of politicians like *Brandt*, *Nenni*, *Saragat* or *Manholt*. For none of them opposed the conclusion of a preferential trading agreement between the Community and Spain.

The big losers in all this are the workers. Capitalists from the rest of Europe invest in Spain, which is not only a tax heaven, but one where workers are badly paid, have no right to strike and no real right of collective negotiation on wages or working conditions. Because of this exploitation of their comrades in Spain, workers in the rest of Europe face having their factories shut down for lack of investment capital or because of low-cost competition from plants in Spain. Worse still, faced with a strike in a democratic country, the multinationals can safely switch production to Spain.

A capitalist bastion

The process of integrating Spain with the rest of the capitalist world, and

most of all with western Europe, is already well advanced. This applies to everything from trade to military bases.

According to the figures available the biggest single sources of investment are the EEC countries (Germany is the biggest single investor), Switzerland and the United States. It is of course impossible to ascertain the real origin of the capital. Most of the figures quoted are misleading, because they take account only of the investment projects that involve acquisition of over 50 % of the capital in a given firm. This takes no account of the possibility of controlling a company by holding well under half the capital and leaving the rest in the hands of allies or nominees.

In trade terms the enlarged European Community is far and away the country's biggest supplier — and customer : around 40 % of Spanish imports come from EEC, and nearly half her exports are to the nine countries.

Nearly one million Spanish men and women are migrant workers in other western European countries — making nearly two million people in all. The money they send home — an estimated 500 million dollars a year in foreign currency — plus income from the tourist trade is enough to balance out the 3,000 million dollar deficit on the Spanish balance of trade.

Though not formally a member of NATO, Spain is in reality an integral part of the American military alliance covering western Europe. Under an agreement with the USA dating from August 1970, and a defensive pact renewed in June 1972, there are four major bases in Spain used by US military forces. The naval and air base at Rota, 11 km. from Cadiz (guarding the entrance to the Mediterranean) has 75 underground fuel storage tanks and moorings for giant air-craft carriers, and is the only base apart from Holy Loch in Scotland that housed Polaris submarines equipped with nuclear warheads. Twenty kilometres outside Madrid is the Torrejon de Ardoz air base. The others are at Saragoza and Moron de la Frontiera near Sevilla. US military investment in Spain so far totals 400 million dollars.

Into Europe

All that remains for the regime is to institutionalise this state of integration

with the western military-economic complex. The first step came with the preferential trade agreement with the EEC which came into effect on October 1, 1970 — the Dutch having abandoned their opposition in order to win a similar deal for Israel.

But the new arrangements with the EFTA countries not joining the enlarged EEC threaten to leave Spain as the only western European country not to have an industrial free trade area with the Community.

The European Commission has sought to remedy this situation, without breaching the past refusal of association or membership, by proposing an overall settlement embracing all the Mediterranean area countries (though with Spain probably benefitting most). If this comes off — and negotiations on it are due to start early in 1973 — then Spanish industrialists and foreign firms located there will be bound to feel the squeeze of tougher industrial competition without any say in what is happening. In that case they can be expected to pressure *Franco* (or its successor) to move towards democracy, as a means of getting Spain accepted as a member of the club.

The message for socialists and democrats in western Europe is that the barriers still up against having *Franco's* Spain inside the Community are vitally important. If there is to be an overall Mediterranean pact, hard to refuse since Greece, and now Portugal, get industrial free trade, then Spain should be told to meet certain conditions in order to benefit from it. (In this connection, a speech made on November 6 in Madrid by Fernandez *Miranda*, secretary-general of the *Falange*, is significant : Spain, he said, would not accept any conditions : « to re-introduce political parties would be a fundamentally anti-democratic change... »).

But it is when *Franco* goes that the left will have to be most vigilant. There is sure to be a wave of pressure from conservative and industrial circles inside the Community to take whatever slight liberalisation occurs then (or even the mere fact of his death) as an excuse for taking Spain in.

The left should take its cue from the recent statement of the Spanish Communists (see below) that they want to work with those forces whose goal

is a democratic and socialist Community to replace the Community of the trusts.

This would mean debating with the forces that want a democratic Spain — the socialists, communists and their allies — what line to take on Spanish membership. Spain is not going to change overnight from a country where there are no elections, no civil liberties, and no trade unions,

where arbitrary imprisonment and torture are the order of the day. Only if the democratic forces inside Spain are prepared to agree, should the veto on Spain in the Market be lifted. Until then, the Spanish capitalists and the Spanish right should continue to be told that the goodies of full membership will be withheld from them until Spain is again a democracy.

Paolo Giuliani.

FRANCO'S POWER STRUCTURE

The Army

The army sees itself as the guardian of the established order, which it defends and will go on defending at any price.

After *Franco* dies, it will be the army that determines the limits within which *Juan Carlos* can operate, and the political choices open to him. The leading military figures range from ultra-Fascists like General *Iniesta* to pseudo-liberals like General *Diez de Alégría*. But they are all aware that they have to remain united if they are to survive the shock of the dictator's departure. The main components of the army's attitude are deep-rooted anti-communism, fierce hostility to regionalisation (which in Spanish terms means national autonomy for the Basques, Catalans and Galicians) and hatred of cultural development, which is seen as a breeding-ground of revolution.

This is the kind of law and order attitude well calculated to appeal to President *Nixon* and to the **CIA** : it is not for nothing that the Spanish and American forces carry out joint exercises in the Mediterranean area, though Spain is not formally part of **NATO**.

The army is closely involved in the capitalist structure of Spain today — another element encouraging it to give unrestricted support to the regime. Several generals on active service are even on the boards of the big firms, especially state firms or those close to the state ; others are « supported » by multinational companies. General *Gallera* is on the board of **Tabacalera**, the state tobacco monopoly, and General

Lobo on that of the **Catalana de Seguro** (insurance).

Lower down, the colonels, who did not take part themselves in the civil war, get their share of the cake too : they are allowed to combine their military careers with posts in the civil administration or in the police. Thus Colonel *Blanco* is also head of the security service and a lieutenant colonel in the artillery, *Lanza*, is deputy director of the cinema school...

The Secret Police

The ordinary police is a part of the Armed forces and does what it is told. Then there is the Social and Political Brigade in charge of repression. There is another police force, responsible directly to *Carrero Blanco*, the likely strong man of the post-Franco period, and headed by Colonel *San Martín*. It has its men not only in all opposition circles but also in the various ministries and regional organisations. At first, this secret force was hidden under the guise of an export-import agency with offices in the Calle Serrano in Madrid. But since 1970 it has been officially attached to the Vice President's office. Opposition circles concerned at their close contacts with the **C.I.A.**, fear a Greek-style coup after *Franco* goes.

Opus Dei

« The Work of God » continues to furnish the intellectual basis for the régime. Totally compromised by its thirst for power, this technocratic-Fascist-religious organisation has for

a long time now controlled both the financial establishment and the government.

Out of eighteen ministers, 14 belong directly or indirectly to **Opus Dei** : they include the minister for foreign affairs (*Lopez Bravo*), the minister Secretary to the Presidency (*Lopez Rodo*) and the ministers of education (*Viler Palasi*), industry (*Lopez de Letona*), trade (*Fontana Codina*), finance (*Monreal Luque*), war (*Castañón Mena*), information (*Sanchez Bella*), the head of the sole trade union (*García del Ramal*) and the Attorney General (*Herrero Tejedor*).

Opus Dei has a total of about 20,000 members, organised according to a militaro-ecclesiastical hierarchy. It includes both priests and lay people. Even high-ranking lay members take vows of chastity and often wear a *cilicio* (a metal band with points pressing into the flesh, which means permanent self-inflicted pain : women wear it on their thighs, men on other parts of their body). **Opus Dei** is a Catholic and technocratic élite, with no hold over the workers or peasants. It is detested by all the democratic forces in Spain. Still tied both to *Franco*'s régime and to the mediaeval catholicism of the old Spain, it seems destined to decline in importance. But there does exist a so-called « liberal » wing, seeking to establish a new image, and flirting with the opposition in the hope of remaining close to the sources of power (the group producing « *Madrid* », the paper shut down last year by the government, belonged to this wing of **Opus Dei** : *Calvo Serer, Fontan*).

The Falange

Known as the National Movement, this is the sole legally authorised political party in Spain. In recent years it has turned into a paid bureaucracy. It has a lot of members, but most of them are civil servants and technocrats with no political motivation, membership of the **Falange** being a condition for getting a government job. The only thing that holds the **Falange** together is the administration of power at the various levels, right down to regional and local government.

This pseudo-party, which is supposed in theory to run the country, is itself run by a National Council with one hundred members, meeting behind closed doors with *Franco* present.

The leading figures in the Falange are *Fernandez Miranda* (chairman), the minister of agriculture *Tomas Allende*, the minister of labour *Licinio de la Fuente*, the speaker of the « Cortes » (the pseudo-parliament) *Rodriguez de Valcarcel*, and the president of the supreme court, *Ruiz Jarabo*.

One wing of the **Falange**, nevertheless, opposes the present régime, which it holds to be too closely tied to the capitalists.

The Traditionalists

This is an ultra-conservative group involved with the big farming interests. It includes the minister of justice *Antonio Oriol* and the chairman of the Council of State, *Joaquim Bau*.

The Church

The Church is a political force, which dominates the life of the country and will largely determine its future. Significantly, its role in the present government is relatively limited.

It is only the older bishops, the heirs to the old « black » church, who play any part, and who support *Franco*. There is one bishop in the Council of State, and three others have seats in the **Cortès**.

The Assembly of Bishops, on the other hand, wants a democratic régime. And the younger priests are on the side of the forces of the left, helping to organise Christian workers in close contact with the socialists and communists. Not a few of the parishes have become veritable training centres for political militants. There are currently forty priests imprisoned in a special « prison for priests » at Zamora.

The economic and financial establishment

Franco and his régime have traditionally been able to rely on the backing of the five top Spanish banks (grouped in the **Consejo Superior Bancario**), the insurance companies (**Sindicato del Seguro**), the state enterprises (**INI**) and the state oil company (**Petrobras**).

The multinational companies, for whom Spain is a « tax paradise » as well as offering a « peaceful social climate » (all strikes illegal, and

quashed by the police), are raking in the profits, and understandably support the régime.

The Spanish banks, on the other hand, seem to be changing their tune, as the old men at the top are replaced by young managers, and in preparation for the change that must come, pro-European attitudes are the order of the day.

Three men

General Francisco Franco : the man responsible for 33 years of ruthless repression. 200.000 people have died *since the end of the civil war*, tortured to death or executed. *Franco* continues to govern as he has always done, playing off the political and economic forces against each other. He is suffering from arterio-sclerosis and Parkinson's disease, and will give up his power only when he dies. No-one will inherit the power that was *Franco's*.

Admiral Carrero Blanco : Vice-President, a Fascist, a Franquist and a soldier.

Catholics and the technocrats of the establishment who are not compromised by their relations with the régime. If the army will let him, it seems he would like to become a democratic constitutional monarch.

The many faces of the opposition

With the exception of the government itself, almost everyone in Spain today is playing at opposition to *Franco*. But it does not always mean they want to bring about changes in the political, economic or social set-up in the country.

Precisely because the « opposition » covers the whole political spectrum from extreme left to extreme right, it is necessary to make a distinction between opposition to the present governments and opposition to the régime itself.

We shall outline here the various trends within this second group, including the regional aspect : in Catalonia today there are the beginnings of a « national anti-Fascist front », the like of which does not yet exist elsewhere in Spain.

PORTRAIT OF THE OPPOSITION

A devoted and loyal follower of *Franco*, he will ensure the stability of the army in the post-*Franco* period. Of limited intellectual ability, he is at times manipulated by **Opus Dei**, which runs the state for him, a task of which he would be incapable. His Mazarins are *Lopez Rodo* and *Lopez Bravo*, cynical and greedy for power.

Juan Carlos, Franco's successor : Appointed by *Franco* as his successor in 1969, *Juan Carlos* is the key to any possible « legal » change. Son of the Count of Barcelona, a liberal monarchist, *Juan Carlos* is gradually shedding his former image as the docile, not-very-intelligent puppet whom the army and **Opus Dei** could use at will. He is now in regular touch with the non-Fascist right-wing opposition, the

This report is based on talks with several of the leaders of an opposition which is deprived of the right to meet, or to express its views, still less to discuss its strategy and its goals in public. Forms of repression which are not just violent but more and more sophisticated prevent the new leaders from establishing themselves with public opinion, even through clandestine meetings. This not only makes impossible any assessment of the strength of support for the various groups ; it also means that the names that are known to the general public are still those of the men who were active before or during the civil war. These are the rare individuals who have survived the blood-bath of the post-war years, which has never entirely ceased in the 35 years that have followed, adding to the million dead of

the war years a gruesome toll of 200,000 people executed (out of 250,000 condemned by the military tribunals), plus a further 500,000 democrats who fled into exile.

It is this policy of cold-blooded extermination, on a scale amounting to genocide, coming on top of the massacres of the civil war, which explains the revulsion from violent change that pervades the whole opposition scene. But is also that the economic boom of recent years has raised living standards to a point where the Spaniards, whether workers or members of the bourgeoisie, react in essentially the same way as the vast majority of their opposite numbers in the rest of western Europe, and are not prepared to see their standard of living — and their lives — endangered by a violent revolution.

Nothing brings this out more clearly than the conclusions of the 8th Congress of the **Spanish Communist Party**, held in October somewhere in Spain (neither the date nor the place have been disclosed): the party's top priority is a return to basic democratic liberties.

The opposition to the present government...

The ultras

The group « **Fuerza Nueva** », led by *Blas Pinar*. The **AUN** (Association for National Unity) has 500 militant members, who maintain links with French and Italian neo-Fascist groups. They see themselves as defenders of the church, and hold commemorative services for Hitler and Mussolini. Enjoying government-tolerated immunity for their activities, they would be available to provoke urban fighting to justify the use of the army, if ever there were a coup d'état à la grecque.

Falangisme

The « progressive » wing of the **Falang** consists of the former **Youth Front**, led by *Cantarero del Castillo*, and the « *José Antonio* » political discussion circles, under *Diego Marques*.

Opus Dei

A small fraction of the movement seeks to build up a « democratic right » (*Calvo Serer*).

Franco's former ministers

Several of them (*Frage Iribarue*, *José Solís Ruiz*...) play at opposition to rid themselves of the stigma of their past.

The Monarchists

A group of liberal monarchists aims at « legal » change (*Areilza*, *Satrústegui*).

The Catholic right

Federico Silva, a former minister whom many observers see as likely to become the key man with *Juan Carlos* in a period of transition, leads a group within the Catholic propaganda organisation (**ACNP**).

... and the opposition to the regime

The Catholics

The Catholic opposition is not yet openly organised as a **new Christian-Democrat** grouping, the Church, it seems, having refused to agree to the move. But it uses the existing Catholic organisations, and does constitute potentially the strongest political force in Spain.

Having marked themselves off from *Franco* and his régime, the progressive Catholics are able to keep up excellent relations with the communists and socialists.

The progressive wing is led by *Ruiz Jimenez*, leading figure behind the important political magazine « **Quedernos para el Dialogo** », and the group **IDE** (Spanish Democratic Left). The conservative wing centres on *Gil Robles* and his Democratic Social Christian group and the **CEDA** (Spanish Conference of the Autonomous Right).

The Catholic left is also partly present in the clandestine trade union movement (**UGT**) and in the **Union Syndical Obreros**. Catholics also play an important part in grass-roots organisation and active contestation, working through **HOAC** — *Hermanidades Obreras de Action Catolica*.

In both cases the Catholics work hand-in-hand with the Socialists and Communists. There is also a revolutionary workers' organisation (**ORT**) which is predominantly Catholic.

The socialists

The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (**PSOE**) covers the whole country, and is especially well organised in the Basque country and in Barcelona. It enjoys the sympathy of many Spaniards, and would be potentially one of the most powerful forces in the country in the event of free elections. *Pablo Castellano*, a « young Turk » of the generation too young to have known the civil war, has been using the **PSOE** a broader base in the country.

In Madrid the situation is more complex, with several dissident trends, some following *Llopi*, others the grand old man of Spanish socialism, *Tierno Galvan*.

The **PSOE** are very close to the left-wing Catholics, and *Castellano* and *Ruiz Jimenez*, leader of the Catholics, work effectively together.

The socialist party makes its presence felt in union affairs through the **General Workers' Union**, in which it holds an absolute majority.

The Communists

The traditional Spanish Communists are split between two parties: the **PCE** — *Partido Comunista de España*, led by *Santiago Carrillo*, which is independent of Moscow; and the **PC** (*Partido Comunista*), of *Enrique Lister*, which maintains allegiance to Moscow. The former is far more important. Both parties protest their opposition to reformism, but will keep their forces in hand while awaiting a return to democracy in Spain. The field of most people in Spain against the very word « communist » — for this brings with it the threat of remaining outlawed even after a change of régime. The communists would resort to violent revolution only as a last resort.

At its last (clandestine) congress in October 1972 the **PCE** took a stand on Europe similar to that of the Italian communists: *in the event of association with EEC, we shall unite our efforts with those of the communists, socialists and other forces that are seeking to democratise the Community and turn the Europe of the trusts into a socialist Europe*.

At the union level, the **PCE** controls the **Comisiones Obreras** (workers' committees) which play a key role in the political education and action of the grass-roots.

The Marxist groups

There are several active revolutionary groups, some using violence. The main one is the **PCI** (International Communist Party, which is Trotskyist). The others are the **Marxist-Leninist party**, the Communist revolutionary league (Trotskyist), the **FRAP** (Anti-Fascist and Patriotic Revolutionary Front) which follows a pre-Chinese line.

Other groups

A Republic Falangist group (**FEN**)

A left-wing monarchist group with growing influence among the followers of *Don Carlos*, a pretender to the throne in the nineteenth century.

... and the opposition in the regions

The Basque country

PNV (Basque nationalist party) — bourgeois, nationalist, Catholic
ETA (the prevailing wing of which is revolutionary marxist)

Comunistak (Basque Communist party)

Galicia

Galician Communist party

Galician Socialist party

UPG (Union of the Galician people), Catholic-inspired

Catalonia

This is the only region of Spain where the forces of the opposition have linked up in a « national front » — the **Comisión coordinadora de las Fuerzas políticas catalana**. This includes :

- **PSUC** (Unified Catalan Communist party)
- **PSOE** (Spanish Workers' Socialist party)
- **UD** (Democratic Union), Catholic run
- **MSC** (Catalan socialist movement)
- **FRONT**, a Liberal group
- **la Esquerra Catalana**, a bourgeois radical movement

Only the Catalan social-democrats, fiercely anti-Communist, say no to any coordination.

from the life of the country. For over twenty years the hundreds of thousands of politically aware individuals who live for the end of the Franco régime have had not the slightest margin of manoeuvre, kept docile by this legal straightjacket.

The range of instruments which make up this « legalised » repression, and which can be applied in any combination, includes :

- a special « law and order » court of five judges, sitting in Madrid but competent for the whole of Spain, operating under criminal law and able to impose vast fines, with prison for those who cannot pay
- widespread use of legislation on public order against political opponents
- military tribunals, like the notorious one that operated in Burgos at the end of 1970
- labour courts that can order the sacking of workers from a plant, with virtually no right of appeal
- academic disciplinary tribunals, which since the summer of this year (1972) have begun to demand from all students and professors a certificate of good conduct issued by the police
- tribunals on « threats to society » run by a single judge, empowered to rule without trial in cases involving drugs, young people or workers
- the special tribunal for the press and printing trade.

After 22 years, the fear of being subject to the arbitrary « justice » of one of these seven courts has become an effective deterrent to active opposition. At the present time there are 1500 political prisoners in Spain, but another 15,000 cases are pending before one or other of these special courts. Often the court's ruling is intentionally delayed, the threat of what it can impose being a more effective way of neutralising opponents than actually sending them to prison. Forms or repressive action the régime can take without sending people to prison include withdrawal of a driving licence, of a passport, or of the permit to exercise a particular profession : in short, a civil death sentence.

LAW AND TORTURE

They often say in Spain that there are two kinds of people in opposition : the torturable and the non-torturable. Workers and students come into the first category, liable to be tortured, to « disappear », to lose their jobs or be thrown out of the university, with no hope of protection or support. The opposition among the bourgeoisie, including in particular the liberal professions, is rarely the object of physical persecution.

Judging skilfully when to criticise and when to keep quiet, they succeed in creating tensions within *Franco's* régime. They criticise the government's economic policy, or its policy towards Europe, protest about corruption, and make a point of running democratic candidates in the elections for posts in professional bodies like the lawyers' associations — the only ones that hold democratic elections. Thus the elect-

ions for the guild of Madrid lawyers, due to be held in December if the government does not ban them, are likely to see a challenge to the official candidate. That this should be so important is the measure of the total lack of political freedom in Spain.

It is sometimes asked why the government does not simply impose martial law since it does not have to suspend constitutional guarantees to act as it does. The reason is simple : in 1950, as Spain finally emerged from its post-war period of reprisals and extermination, the régime « legalised » the means of repression. Physical violence was cut back to what was strictly needed, and a whole barrage of sophisticated legal machinery was set up, making it possible to deal with those whom the régime sees as a threat either by imprisonment or by the more subtle tactic of effectively excluding them