

Anexo 1

Sam Pope Brewer



Undercover Press

By SAM POPE BREWER

PABLO put a copy of the Falange newspaper *Arriba* on the cafe table. He said casually, but keeping his voice low: "I'll leave that when I go out. There is a paper folded inside for you."

When I returned to the privacy of my home I found folded inside the newspaper a single six-by-eight-inch printed sheet of Republican opinion critical of Generalissimo Francisco Franco's regime.

The picturesque underground press, the only means by which Spaniards can express their political ideas freely these days, has lately fallen on bad times and in recent weeks has almost disappeared from circulation. A series of police raids has rounded up many editors and frightened others into inactivity.

Even possession of a single copy of an underground paper is considered proof that the possessor is part of the organization distributing it. And distribution of printed matter hostile to the Government is

Ever since Generalissimo Franco became dictator of Spain, there has been a wide range of underground newspapers—Communist, Socialist, monarchist and anarchist. Most of them appear for a few issues and then vanish, usually when an editor or a printer is apprehended.

The newspaper with the most regular circulation and longest history probably is the Communists' *Mundo Obrero* (Workers' World). When its staff is caught a new one pops up elsewhere. For many months *Mundo Obrero* has not appeared in Madrid, but an edition printed in Galicia, northwestern Spain, appears here periodically. Another raid disposed of the staff which had been putting out the monarchists' *El Barrendero* (The Streetcleaner), a newspaper well known for its satire.

THE police, unable to identify the editors of *Democrito*, rounded up all they could find of the members of the

"Prensa encubierta", artículo de Brewer publicado en la *Sunday Magazine* el 24 de agosto de 1947, sobre la prensa de oposición clandestina en España: "Pablo puso una copia del diario falangista *Arriba* sobre la mesa del café. Dijo en un tono casual, pero manteniendo la voz baja: 'Dejaré eso cuando me vaya. Dentro hay un papel doblado para ti.'

Cuando volví a la privacidad de mi hogar encontré dentro del diario una sola hoja impresa de seis por ocho pulgadas, con opiniones republicanas críticas con el régimen del generalísimo Franco."

"España castiga a obreros de Barcelona; empresarios obligados a recortar paga a huelguistas". Este artículo, publicado en la primera plana del *Times* el 15 de marzo de 1951, fue uno de los que causaron la revocación del permiso de corresponsal de Brewer.

Spain Punishes Barcelona Labor; Employers Told to Dock Strikers

By SAM POPE BREWER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BARCELONA, Spain, March 14—New trouble was believed looming here tonight as Spanish authorities ordered penalties against Barcelona workers who had carried out the first successful "general strike" during the Franco regime.

The Government has ordered employers to dock the wages of all workers who stayed out on Monday or yesterday in a protest strike over high living costs and to dismiss those who have been arrested, numbering several hundred.

There is no provision to protect those who might have been arrested by mistake in the heat of the disturbances. Further disorders are reported likely when payday comes around, if not sooner.

Employers who disregard these orders will themselves be penalized, the Government's labor delegate said in a decree announcing the new measures.

After two weeks of sporadic disturbances precipitated by the in-

creased transportation fares, but really going back to more basic questions of high living costs and alleged official corruption, Barcelona returned almost completely to normal today.

Many factories in the surrounding towns, however, were still on strike, and word circulated in Barcelona despite the apparent calm that there would be trouble Saturday if the pay envelopes were docked. And there were rumors that a new effort to strike might be made tomorrow.

"The hours not worked will be deducted from the next weekly pay," the order said, "and employers for any reason making good these amounts will be put at the disposition of His Excellency, the Civil Governor of the Province, and will be subjected to the penalty suitable in each case."

The Government also warned employers that they would be punished if they closed their shops or

Continued on Page 23, Column 4

The New York Times
Published: March 15, 1951
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Camille Cianfarra

3 Wounded in Madrid Clash Of Students and Falangists

By CAMILLE M. CIANFARRA

Special to The New York Times.

MADRID, Feb. 9.—The feud between Madrid University students and Falange party took a turn for the worse today. Shots were fired and three were wounded when an estimated

total of 700 students encountered a group of Falangists.

One of the wounded, identified as a member of the so-called Franco Guard, which is composed of Falangists picked for their toughness, was reported in grave condition.

Hundreds of policemen were rushed on trucks and jeeps to the scene of the fighting. They sprayed the demonstrators with water from a tank-car and blocked all near-by streets. They arrested dozens of the fleeing students.

The view of responsible Spaniards was that today's incidents, which followed several other clashes in the last few days, were politically serious. In their opinion, the Falange party has become unpopular among youth, which they said no longer wanted to recognize the party's political leadership.

They pointed out that the Government could not countenance that development. They said it would implicitly mean failure of the regime to forge a new generation in accordance with the ideology that justifies the existence of the Falange party as the official political organization.

Red Propaganda Charged

The Government, in an editorial published in Arriba, a major organ of the Falange party, attributed the student

“3 heridos en enfrentamientos entre estudiantes y falangistas en Madrid”, artículo aparecido en la primera plana del NYT del 10 de febrero de 1956. La cobertura de este acontecimiento le valió a Cianfarra una amenaza de expulsión.

MADRID JUBILANT OVER U. N. ENTRY

Ruling Group Sees Franco's
Vindication—Other New
Members Are Gratified

Special to The New York Times.

MADRID, Dec. 15.—Members of the ruling class here today called Spain's admission to the United Nations the Franco regime's greatest foreign policy triumph since the military and economic agreements with the United States were signed in September, 1953.

The official feeling of satisfaction at what is taken here as a vindication of this anti-Communist and military dictatorship and all it stands for was reflected in editorials of the Government-controlled press.

Every newspaper recalled with obvious relish that in December, 1946, the General Assembly recommended the withdrawal of the chiefs of all diplomatic missions from Spain, which, it said, was a “threat to peace.” At that time the United Nations resolution was intended as a diplomatic boycott of Spain to censure the pro-Axis and anti-Allied attitude of its totalitarian government during World War II.

Spanish officialdom now asserts that yesterday's Security Council decision not only wipes out what Madrid considered an “injustice and an affront” but, in the words of the editorialists, proves that Spain was right all along and that it took the United Nations nine years to realize that it had been wrong in promoting an anti-Spanish policy.

As could be expected, critics of the regime received the United Nations decision with misgivings because they regarded it as an implicit endorsement of the Spanish dictatorship.

Izquierda: “Madrid jubiloso por entrada en la ONU”. Todos los corresponsales del Times informaban sobre la desinformación del régimen, que convertía cada victoria diplomática en una reafirmación de las convicciones de Franco.

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Herbert Matthews y Benjamin Welles

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FIVE CENTS

The New York Times.

LATE CITY EDITION

U. S. Weather Bureau Report (Page 40) forecast: Show part of today; continued cold. Mostly fair tomorrow. Temp. range: 34-26; yesterday: 34-23.

STEEL PRODUCERS AGREE TO TALKS BY EACH COMPANY

Bow Reluctantly to Union's Demands—93 Separate Meetings Set Sunday

JOINT SESSIONS GO ON

Finnegan to Meet Teams Again Today—"Last Offer" Vote Is Expected Soon

By JOSEPH A. LOTTIS

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21.—The steel industry agreed reluctantly today to a union demand for company-by-company contract talks.

Officials of ninety-three companies will meet separately with representatives of the United Steelworkers of America Sunday at 11 A. M. Eleven meetings will be held in Washington, the others in the field.

There was no evidence that the new form of bargaining would produce any more progress than the old. President Eisenhower, who expressed the wish for a steel agreement while he toured Europe and Asia, will probably find on his return tomorrow night that the dispute is knotted as tightly as ever.

The steel workers have been on the job since Nov. 7 under an eighty-day injunction, upheld by the Supreme Court, ending a 114-day strike that began July 15.

Teams Negotiating

The company-by-company approach did not necessarily rule out the old method. A management team of four officials, headed by R. Conrad Cooper of the United States Steel Corp., has been negotiating in behalf of eleven of the largest steel producers. The other companies have been standing by.

This group met today with the union team headed by David J. McDonald, president of the union, under the sponsorship of the United States Steel Corp.

Jack Tells Story to Jury; Will Testify Again Today

After 2-Hour Hearing, He Says He Repeated That \$5,500 Was Loan

By CLAYTON KNOWLER

Borough President Hulan E. Jack waived immunity from prosecution yesterday as he went before a grand jury to tell how Sidney J. Ugarc had come to pay the \$5,500 bill for remodeling Mr. Jack's apartment.

Mr. Jack spent two hours before the grand jury and, when excused in the late afternoon, was asked to return for further questioning at 2:30 P. M. today.

As he left the District Attorney's office, he told reporters that he was telling the same story he had told in a public statement last week—that the money was a loan that he planned to repay.

In that statement, he had maintained that he actually voted in the Board of Estimate against a bid by Mr. Ugarc, a real estate developer, for a \$25,000,000 slum clearance contract. The bid was pending when the remodeling bill was paid.

Mr. Jack sought to let Harry J. Halperin, his lawyer, speak for him after he had testified yesterday. But reporters would give him an opportunity to meet party organization workers. It also will demonstrate, it was said, that he has been supporting in one of the few Southern states where Mr. Nixon believes the party has gained strength in recent years.

Mr. Nixon's aides said that his schedule had been made up some time before Governor Rockefeller traveled to Illinois, Wisconsin, Oklahoma, Texas and Florida. However, they said that the Vice President's schedule would give him an opportunity to find out more about the party's strength and his New York rival's reception in her area.

Mr. Nixon's backers have been setting up an organization in New Hampshire in the expectation that he will enter the country's first Presidential primary there on March 6. But there still was no word from Mr. Nixon on his plans.

NIXON TO FOLLOW ROCKEFELLER TRAIL ON POLITICAL TOUR

Starts Own Pulse-Taking Trip in Miami on Jan. 16—Plans California Talk

By WILLIAM M. BLAIR

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21.—Vice President Richard M. Nixon will have a chance after Christmas to assay how Governor Rockefeller is doing around the country.

Mr. Nixon will cover some of the same territory traveled by the New York Governor, starting Jan. 16 with a party reception in Miami. Last week, Mr. Rockefeller ended a week of pulse-taking in seven states in Detroit.

The Vice President also will appear in Chicago and Milwaukee, which were visited by Governor Rockefeller. Mr. Nixon's tour also includes a return to California and two speeches in Detroit.

To Meet Party Leaders

Aides of Mr. Nixon said that although he had vacillated in Florida near Miami several times, the reception next month would give him an opportunity to meet party organization workers. It also will demonstrate, it was said, that he has been supporting in one of the few Southern states where Mr. Nixon believes the party has gained strength in recent years.

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WEST REAFFIRMS BERLIN RIGHTS; INVITES KHRUSHCHEV TO SUMMIT; EISENHOWER IS HAILED IN MADRID

PARIS TALKS END

Germans Are Pleased but There Is Division on Tactical Aims

Communists and Eisenhower Letter on Page 8.

By DREW MIDDLETON

PARIS, Dec. 21.—The United States, Britain, France and West Germany today said the West would maintain its rights in Berlin during the coming negotiations with Premier Khrushchev.

A communiqué issued at the close of the Western summit meeting announced that the Soviet Premier had been invited to meet President Eisenhower, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and President Charles de Gaulle here April 27.

The three leaders and Chancellor Konrad Adenauer discussed the issue of Germany and Berlin as well as disarmament and East-West relations in their talks here in the last two days. The conference ended with a brief session this morning.

Policy Is Reaffirmed

The leaders reaffirmed the policy on Berlin laid down a year ago in a four-power communiqué and a declaration by the North Atlantic Council. These demanded continued free access to West Berlin and respect any unilateral repudiation of Western occupation rights by the Soviet Union or the substitution of East German for Soviet officials in controlling

Rockefeller Avoids Setting Role for Dewey in '60 Bid

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.

ALBANY, Dec. 21.—Governor Rockefeller said today that he had not used former Gov. Thomas E. Dewey as a political agent in the past and indicated he would be unlikely to do so in the future.

The Governor's discussion of Mr. Dewey came at a news conference in response to questions based on published reports of meetings between Mr. Dewey and Vice President Richard M. Nixon in Washington last week-end.

One version of the Nixon-Dewey meeting had the former on his plans.

T.C. WILL CARRY 'BIG STICK' ON ADS

But Kinimer Tells Meeting

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SNOW COVERS CITY, SNARLING TRAFFIC

Slippery Roads Cause Many Tie-Ups and Accidents as Winter Arrives

The season's first snowstorm covered the metropolitan area

President Asks Spaniards To Join in Drive for Peace

By BENJAMIN WELLES

MADRID, Dec. 21.—President Eisenhower called on the 30,000,000 people of Spain today to join the United States in working for a world "free from aggression, from hunger and disease" and from war and "the threat of war."

With words that warmed Spanish hearts, the President

NEHRU BARS TALKS

With words that warmed Spanish hearts, the President

REPORT ON SPAIN: NATION'S PARADOX

Continued From Page 1

latism from Europe and the rest of the world. The dictum that "Africa begins at the Pyrenees" is at last losing its sense.

Always, in governments of this type, wherever they are, one has to take into account those who have a vested interest in the regime: the men of property who fear a civil upheaval, the men of the bureaucracy, high and low, who fear to lose their jobs or power, the professional politicians who are Franquist by definition, the Army, Navy and Air Force officers from the equivalent army rank of colonel up, the clergy, who are especially favored.

Aid to these the great numbers of ordinary people who fear civil strife and above all another civil war, and the forces on which General Franco can count either to support or accept him become overwhelming. The women alone would give him invaluable backing in a country like Spain, where the family is so powerful a social force. Franco has prevented another civil war: Franco kept Spain out of World War II; Franco represents peace and order—this is the way the women think. And it must never be forgotten that few in any society are willing to risk imprisonment or death.

One of the surprises in Spain is to find that the almost universally accepted picture of the Cañullo's retaining his power by balancing and playing off against each other the Army, Falange, Church and big business interests is false. Of these four elements only the Army and the Church really count, and they are not balanced against each other. The bankers and big business men are allowed much latitude in their fields, but are at the zines, books, motion pictures, manuscripts, musical scores and all intellectuals, most university

CELEBRATION IN SPAIN: Generalissimo Francisco Franco giving the Falangist salute at a recent observance in Madrid of the twentieth anniversary of the Falange.

he takes no excuses and out they go. General Franco would not more allow the people to have authority than he would allow the privates and noncoms to say how the Spanish Army should be run. He always said that he was out to defeat what he called "nineteenth century liberalism." Under a law of April 22, 1938, while the Civil War was still in the state was given complete control of newspapers, magazines, books, motion pictures, manuscripts, musical scores and all intellectuals, most university

Arriba: Primera plana del *Times* del 22 de diciembre de 1959. La visita de Eisenhower a España significó un hito para las relaciones hispano-norteamericanas.

Izquierda: Fragmento de la primera entrega de reportajes sobre España escritos por Herbert Matthews en setiembre de 1956. El periodista daba una visión paradójica: "Es más, no es hoy un régimen cruel, ni un estado policial en el sentido comunista o nazi. El tono que prevalece es de apatía y tranquilidad, pero todos dicen lo que les place. Es esto lo que da una sorprendente atmósfera de libertad en un país que difícilmente podría ser menos libre en cuanto a derechos civiles fundamentales."

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Anexo 4

Los Pactos de Madrid



The New York Times
TREATY SIGNED FOR BASES IN SPAIN: Cities denoted by symbols were reported to be those where facilities under the United States defense pact would be set up.

SPAIN SIGNS ACCORD GIVING U. S. THE USE OF MILITARY BASES

**Drops Neutrality in Ten-Year
 Defense Pact—Will Receive
 Arms and Economic Aid**

FORCES TO BE MODERNIZED

**West's Potential Strengthened,
 Washington Feels—Political
 Gains for Franco Seen**

*Text of the defense agreement
 is printed on Page 16.*

By CAMILLE M. CIANFARRA
 Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON, Sept. 26—Spain abandoned today her traditional policy of neutrality, which had kept her outside two world-wide conflicts in this century, by sign-

What Price New Pact?

**Accord With Spain So Ambiguous Its
 Terms and Final Cost Are Uncertain**

By HANSON W. BALDWIN

The long delayed agreement with Spain granting the United States air and naval bases strengthens the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's Mediterranean flank, but at a cost that is as yet impossible to assess.

The agreement has been reached at a time of apparent American retrenchment in foreign aid, overseas commitments and military spending, but also at a time when some of the past opposition of United States Allies to such an agreement has declined. The initial reaction from abroad to last week's signing of the base accord was philosophical rather than emotional; the pact has been accepted, at least on the surface, as a military necessity.

But what the ultimate reactions of Europe will be and just how much the North Atlantic Treaty Organization will be strengthened will depend upon the agreement's detailed implementation.

The terms of the accord gave no real clue to its exact meaning; indeed, there have probably been few accords among nations in history that have been couched in so many generalities and qualified with so many restrictions, limitations and ambiguities. The commitments the United States has assumed in return for the right to use unspecified bases are nowhere clearly spelled out in the published documents, and the obligations of both countries in case of actual war apparently are mentioned only in secret codicils. Thus, the base agreement commits the United States to courses of politico-military action unknown to the American people at an unstated cost in men, military equipment and dollars without the ratification of the Senate.

U. S. Commitments Increased

This is, perhaps, the greatest disadvantage of the Spanish agreement and of some other recent military commitments and com-

medium, and heavy bomber strips. And Spain, behind the rampart of the Pyrenees, provides a last line of defense if the rest of Western Europe should fall, and offers a springboard for offensive land, sea, and air operations. Her bases are particularly important as an alternative to the great bomber strips in Morocco, surrounded by political and social unrest, and the great supply and air installations in France, which might be threatened by a Soviet advance across the Rhine or by a change in present French policies perhaps incident to German rearmament.

Realization of the full military advantages of the accord will require considerably more than the initial economic and military aid of \$226,000,000 that has been promised to the Spanish Government. The Spanish Army of about twenty-two divisions (peacetime strength, which possibly could be more than doubled in war if equipment were available) needs virtually complete re-equipment, except for small arms.

Spain's Planes Obsolete

The Air Force numbers a few hundred propeller-driven planes, all obsolete. The Navy has six cruisers, twenty-five destroyer types and eight submarines plus a miscellaneous collection of gunboats, minesweepers, etc., none of them modern, and none of them fitted with modern electronic gear, minesweeping gear or other essential equipment. If the entire military establishment is to be modernized, the ultimate cost probably will be far more than the \$141,000,000 now earmarked for the purpose.

The cost of the bases, four major airfields and two major naval facilities, is likely to total several hundred million dollars, if past experience with overseas base construction is a guide. And the obsolescent Spanish transportation system must be in part rehabilitated if the bases are to be supplied.

American dollar commitments to Spain are, therefore, certain to increase far beyond the initial figure, and ultimately if the bases are

Arriba: "España firma acuerdo dando a los EEUU utilización de bases militares". La edición del Times del 27 de setiembre de 1953 contenía toda la información necesaria para que el lector entendiera la naturaleza de los pactos, desde mapas con la ubicación de las futuras bases hasta el texto "completo" del acuerdo.

Derecha: "¿Cuál es el precio del nuevo pacto?" El artículo de Hanson Baldwin analizando los acuerdos fue publicado el 29 de setiembre. El periodista hacía alusión a cláusulas secretas: "Los compromisos que los EEUU han asumido a cambio de utilizar unas bases no especificadas no están explicados claramente en ninguno de los documentos publicados, y las obligaciones de ambos países en caso de guerra real aparentemente sólo se mencionan en codicilos secretos."