

Anexo 1

Sam Pope Brewer



Undercover Press

By SAM POPE BREWER

MADRID. 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 *Demócrata*, 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

"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

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Anexo 2

Camille Cianfarrá

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 Cianfarrá 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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Anexo 3

Herbert Matthews y Benjamin Welles

The New York Times.

LATE CITY EDITION
U. S. Weather Bureau Report (Page 4)
Snow Part of Today, continued
Cloudy, Mostly Fair Tomorrow
Temp. page 1 34-28 yesterday 34.7-25.5

FIVE CENTS

STEEL PRODUCERS AGREE TO TALKS BY EACH COMPANY

Jack Tells Story to Jury; Will Testify Again Today

After 2-Hour Hearing, He Says He Repeated That \$5,000 Was Loan

By CLAYTON KNOWLES
Borough President Fulton R. Jack waived immunity from prosecution yesterday and went before a grand jury to tell how Sidney J. Unger had come to him with a \$5,000 loan, according to a newspaper account of the meeting.

Mr. Jack spent two hours before the grand jury, which adjourned in the late afternoon, was asked to return for further questioning at 10 a.m. today.

As he left the District Attorney's office, he told reporters that he had been asked to testify as he had told in a public statement last week—that the amount was a loan that he planned to repay.

In that statement, he had indicated that he had voted in the Board of Estimate against a bill by Mr. Unger that would have given him \$250,000 in annual clearance contract.

The bid was pending when the committee held its hearing.

Mr. Jack sought to let Harry J. Hirsch, his lawyer, have his testimony read at the hearing yesterday. But reporters

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Rockefeller Averts Setting Role for Dewey in '60 Bid

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, Dec. 21.—Gov. Nelson A. 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 disclosure, made during a news conference in response to questions raised by Gov. George E. Pataki, was the latest in a series of revelations by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and Vice President Richard M. Nixon in Washington last week.

One version of the Nixon-Dewey meeting had the former

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F.T.C. WILL CARRY 'BIG STICK' ON AD

But Kinney Defies Meeting

REPORT ON SPAIN: NATION'S PARADOX

Continued from Page 1

lition from Europe and the rest of the world. But I think 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 régime: the men of property, who are the upholders of the men of the bureaucracy, high and low, who fear to lose their jobs or power, the professional politicians who are managing the régime, the Army, Navy and Air Force officers from the equivalent army ranks of colonel up, the clergy, who are especially favored.

Add to this the large numbers of ordinary people who fear civil strife and above all another civil war, and the forces on which the régime can count either to support it or to let him become overwhelming. The women alone would give him invaluable backing, a country like Spain where the woman is a powerful 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, if any, society are willing to let a régime like this go.

One of the surprises in Spain is to find that the almost universally accepted picture of the Caudillo's retaining his power by a balance of platoons of against each other the Army, Falange, Church and big business interests is false. Of these four elements only the Army and the Falange are really important. They are not balanced against each other. The bankers and big business men are allowed much latitude in their fields, but are at the mercy of the bureaucratic state

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

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."

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

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

By WILLIAM M. BLAIR
Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Dec. 21.—Vice President Richard M. Nixon will have a chance after Christmas to assess the situation in Europe, and to see what the Soviet Union is doing around the country.

Mr. Nixon will cover some of the same territory traveled by Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in November, starting Jan. 16 with a party tour of the United States. His pulse-taking in seven states in Miami.

The Vice President also will appear in Chicago and Milwaukee, which were visited by Governor Khrushchev in November. His tour also includes a return to California and two speeches in Washington.

Mr. Nixon's aides said that although he had vacated his office in the White House last month, the reception next month would give him an opportunity to meet with business leaders and workers. It also will demonstrate, it was said, that he has strong support in the new Southern states where Mr. Khrushchev's policies have caused strength to grow.

Mr. Nixon's aides said that his first stop will be in the Midwest before Governor Rockefeller's trip to the South.

However, they said that the Vice President's schedule could change, and he could go to the South more about the party's strength and his New York City's recent inactivity.

Mr. Nixon's backers have been setting up an organization in New Haven, Conn., to express the opinion that he will enter the campaign first in the primary there on March 8. But they are not sure of what Mr. Nixon on his plans.

SNOW COVERS CITY, SNARLING TRAFFIC

President Asks Spaniards To Join in Drive for Peace

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

NEHRU BARS TALKS

SPANISH WELCOME: President Eisenhower waves to crowd that lines road as he and Generalissimo Francisco Franco ride in an open car from Torrejón Air Base to Madrid.

PARIS TALKS END

Germans Are Pleased but There Is Division on Tactical Aims

Communicado and Eisenhower Letter on Page 8.

By DREW MIDDLETON
Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Dec. 21.—The United States and the Soviet Union and West Germany told the Soviet Union today that the West would not be drawn into Berlin during the coming negotiations with Premier Khrushchev.

A communiqué issued at the close of the Western summit meeting said that the United States and the Soviet Premier had been invited to meet President Eisenhower, President Charles de Gaulle of France, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of West Germany and the heads of government and East-West relations were April 27.

The United States and Chancellor Konrad Adenauer discussed the issues of Germany and Berlin in the framework of government and East-West relations during the two days. The conference ended with a brief session this morning.

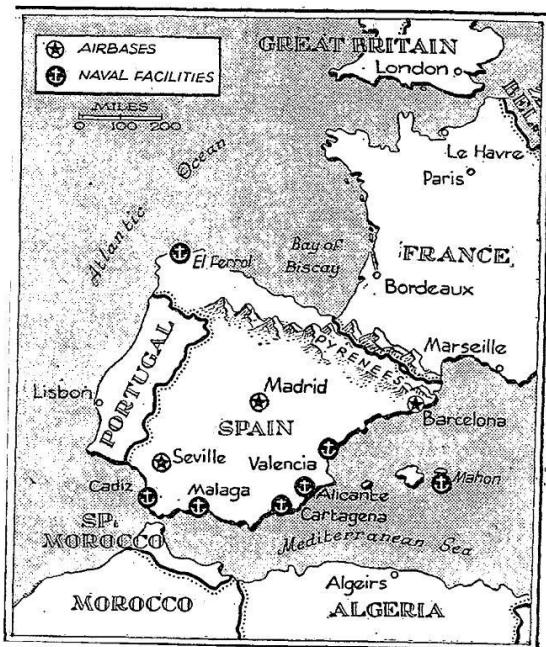
Policy Is Reaffirmed

The leaders reaffirmed the position on Berlin laid down a year ago, that the United States would not be drawn into the North Atlantic Council.

They also reaffirmed their desire to maintain access to West Berlin and rejected any unilateral repudiation of the 1949 Potsdam Agreement by the Soviet Union or the substitution of East Germans for Soviet officials in controlling

Anexo 4

Los Pactos de Madrid



The New York Times Sept. 27, 1953
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.

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."

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. CHANFARRA
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 yet impossible to assess. The agreement has been reached at a time of apparent American retrenchment in foreign aid, over-against a continuing 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 had been accepted, at least on the surface, as a military necessity.

But what the ultimate reaction 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, and the only thing that has been few records among nations in history that have been couched in so many generalities and qualifications 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 war were largely conditioned only in secret codicils. Thus, the base agreement commits the United States to certain practical military action unknown to the American people at an unestimated cost in men, military equipment and dollars without the ratification of the Spanish people.

U. S. Commitments Increased

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

ditions, 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 American bases and air operations. Her bases are particularly important as an alternative to the great number in France, now surrounded by political and social unrest, and the great supply and air installations in France, which might be threatened by Spanish Communists across the Rhine or by a change in present French policies perhaps induced by German armaments.

Part of the full military advantages of the accord will require considerably more than the initial economic and military aid of \$224,000,000 that has been promised to the Spanish Government. The Spanish Army of about twenty-five divisions (peasant strength, which probably could be more than doubled in war if equipment were available) needs virtually complete re-equipment, except for the tanks.

Spain's Planes Obsolete

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

The cost of the bases, four major airports and two naval facilities, is likely to total several hundred million dollars, if past experience with overseas bases is followed. 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,