

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 01142 01 OF 02 191245Z

43

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 1142

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS PINT, ELAB, SP

SUBJECT: STATUS REPORT DEMOCRATIC JUNTA AND DEMOCRATIC
CONFERENCE - PART II

REF MADRID 1143

1. THIS CABLE CONSTITUTES PART II OF STATUS REPORT AND COMMENT ON
DEMOCRATICA JUNTA AND DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE.

2. EFFORTS FORMALLY LAUNCH DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE COALITION
OF MODERATE SOCIALIST AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTIES
AND REGIONAL GROUPS AS RIVAL TO DEMOCRATIC JUNTA HAVE BEEN
DROPPED. EVEN SO, GROUPS INVOLVED IN DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE
EFFORT ARE STILL ACTING TOGETHER AND MEETING PERIODICALLY
IN ORDER TO SEEK TO DEFINE THEIR POSITION VIS-A-VIS DEMOCRATIC
JUNTA. IN FACT ONLY POINT ON WHICH DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE
COMPONENT GROUPS HAVE AGREED IS THAT NONE OF THEM WILL SEEK
JOIN DEMOCRATIC JUNTA INDIVIDUALLY AND THAT THEY WILL SEEK
TO ESTABLISH A JOINT POSITION RE JUNTA, ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE
NOT BEEN ABLE TO DO SO YET BECAUSE OF A DIVERSITY OF VIEWS.

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PAGE 02 MADRID 01142 01 OF 02 191245Z

DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE PARTICIPATING GROUPS (14 OF WHOSE

LEADERS WERE ARRESTED AT NOV 26 MEETING BUT RELEASED NEXT DAY) INCLUDE: (A) IDC LEFT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC GROUP LED BY JOAQUIN RUIZ GIMENEZ; (B) MORE CONSERVATIVE DSC CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS LED BY JOSE NGRIA GIL ROBLES; (C) "YOUNG TURK" PSOE SOCIALIST PARTY; (D) NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC USDE GROUP LED BY DIONISIO RIDRUEJO; (E) PNV BASQUE NATIONALIST PARTY; (F) UDC CATALAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC GROUP; AND (G) NEWLY RECONSTITUTED CATALAN SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, IN WHSIH PRINCIPAL ELEMENT IS OLD CATALAN SOCIALIST MSC. IN ADDITION, TWO SMALL REGIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES, I.E., GALICIAN AND VALENCIAN SOCIALIST PARTIES HAVE RECENTLY JOINED THIS TACTICAL COALITION.

3. SOME OF ABOVE GRVPS REPORTEDLY HAVE BEEN TEMPTED BREAK COALITION'S SOLIDARITY AND JOIN JUNTA. BEST EXAMPLE IS IDC OF JOAQUIN RUIZ GIMENEZ, WHERE A MAJORITY AND RUIZ GIMENEZ HIMSELF REPORTEDLY FAVOR JOINING DEMOCRATIC JUNAT. ACCORDING IDC SOURCE, RUIZ GIMENEZ WAS RECENTLY FORMALLY OFFERED OPPORTUNITY, DURING NOV VISIT TO PARIS IN WHICH HE MET WITH SANTIAGO CARRILLO, TO ENROLL HIS IDC GROUP IN JUNTA OR, IF HE PREFERRED, TO JOIN NATIONAL

DEMOCRATIC JUNAT IN AN INDIVIDUAL CAPACITY, THEREBY NOT COMMITTING HIS GROUP. RUIZ GIMENEZ, THOUGH FLATTERED REPORTEDLY DECLINED OFFER ON GROUNDS HE AND HIS GROUP (WHICH ITSELF IS DIVIDED ON JUNTA) HAD BINDING MORAL COMMITMENT NOT TO JOIN JUNTA UNLESS ALL GROUPS IN DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE COALITION DECIDED TO JOIN.

4. SOCIALIST PSOE,OM IN SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY AND ONLY ONE RECOGNIZED BY SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, IS STILL KEY TO CURRENT SITUATION. ALTHOUGH DIVIDED OVER ISSUE, MAJORITY SENTIMENT IN PSOE IS STILL STRONGLY AGAINST JOINING DEMOCRATIC JUNTA. PSOE HAS THREE OBJECTIONS TO DEMOCRATIC JUNTA, (A) PSOE WAS NEVER CONSULTED ABOUT FORMATION OF JUNTA, WHICH WAS PRESENTED TO THEM AS FAIT ACCOMPLI; (B) DEMOCRATIC JUNTA IS COALITION OF SELF-STYLED "FORCES" AND INDIVIDUALS, NOT OF OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES; AND (C) PSOE BELIEVES DEMOCRATIC JUNTA IS LARGELY A COMMUNIST FRONT COALITION WITH A BOURGEOIS CAPITALISTIC FACADE.
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PAGE 03 MADRID 01142 01 OF 02 191245Z

5. ASIDE FROM PSOE THERE ARE ALSO TWO OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES IN DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE COALITION WHICH ARE OPPOSEDWO JOINING PCE IN JUNTA BECAUSE OF THEIR STRONG ANTI-COMMUNIST HISTORY, I.E., BASQUE PNV PARTY AND GIL ROBLES DSC CATHOLIC GROUP. ADDITIONALLY PNV, CATALAN, VALENCIAN, AND GALICIAN REGIONAL RPJUPS ARE SUSPICIOUS OF POINT IN DEMOCRATIC JUNTA'S PROGRAM CONCERNING REGIONALISM,

WHICH THEY FEEL DELIBERATELY GLOSSES OVER REGIONAL QUESTION

IN HOPED FOR DEMOCRATIC POST FRANCO ERA.

6. PSOE, WHOSE ATTITUDE IS CRUCIAL, IS ALSO, HOWEVER, AGAINST PARTICIPATING IN ANY FORMALLY CONSTITUTED DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE WHICH IS ONE OF PRINCIPAL REASONS CONSTITUTION OF A DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE HAS BEEN DROPPED, ALTHOUGH IT IS STILL CARRYING ON ITS TACTICAL COOPERATION WITH THIS COALITION VIS-A-VIS JUNTA.

7. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT MOST OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE COALITION, INCLUDING PSOE, ARE NOT OPPOSED IN PRINCIPLE TO COOPERATION WITH PCE UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, BUT ONLY TO JOINING ALREADY-EXISTING DEMOCRATIC JUNTA WHICH THEY VIEW AS A COMMUNIST-DOMINATED AND ORGANIZED COALITION. IN FACT, MAJORITY SENTIMENT HAS EVOLVED IN RECENT MONTHS TO VIEW THAT PCE MUST BE

BROUGHT INTO OPPOSITION COLLABORATION SOMEHOW AND THAT IT IS NO LONGER EITHER POSSIBLE NOR DESIRABLE TO EXCLUDE PCE ALTOGETHER, PROVIDED PCE ARE NOT DOMINANT NOR ORGANIZING ELEMENT IN OPPOSITION SCHEMES. THERE APPEARS BE CONSENSUS DEVELOPING IN DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE COALITION (WITH NOTABLE ABSENCE OF GIL ROBLES) THAT DEMOCRATIC JUNTA SHOULD BE DISSOLVED AND A NEW BROAD OPPOSITION COALITION ORGANIZATION, INCLUDING ALL POLITICAL PARTIES IN BOTH EXISTING COALITIONS, SHOULD FORM ONE GIANT ALLIANCE UNDER A DIFFERENT NAME. SUCH AN ALLIANCE WOULD BE FREELY ARRIVED AT BEFORE AND BY ALL PARTIES, INCLUDING PCE, ON A BASIS OF COMPLETE EQUALITY.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 MADRID 01142 02 OF 02 191255Z

43

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 1142

8. DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION GROUPS BELIEVE SUCH A LARGE ALLIANCE INCLUDING NEARLY ALL RECOGNIZED OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES WOULD HAVE PCE IN SMALL NUMERICAL MINORITY WHERE CT COULD BE EFFECTIVELY CONTROLLED, AND THAT PCE COULD BE PROMPTLY EXPELLED SHOULD IT ENGAGE IN FOUL PLAY. SHOULD SUCH A BROAD ALLIANCE, WHICH RUIZ GIMENEZ IS PARTICULARLY KEEN ON, COME INTO BEING, PREVAILING SENTIMENT IN DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE COALITION IS THAT INDIVIDUALS IN JUNTA NOT REPRESENTING PARTIES, (I.E., CALVO SERATR, GARCIA TREVIJANO, BUSINESSMEN, JUDGES, ETC') SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO JOIN.

9. PCE HAS REPORTEDLY RESISTED SUGGESTIONS JUNTA SHOULD BE DISSOLVED AND THAT A BROAD COALITION OPPOSITION PARTIES, NOT INDIVIDUALS, SHOULD REPLACE IT. PCE INSISTS IT CANNOT BETRAY THOSE ALREADY ON JUNTA WHO REPRESENT REAL "FORCES" AND SECTORS OF SPANISH SOCIETY, AND INSISTS POLITICAL PARTIES IN CONFERENCE COALITION SHOULD JOIN JUNTA INSTEAD. PARTIES IN DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE COALITION VIEW THESE SO-CALLED "FORCES" WITH SUSPICION. ONE PSOE LEADER TOLD LABATT DEMOCRATIC JUNTA, AS PRESENTLY CONSTITUTED WITH ITS COMMUNIST-DOMINATION AND SO CALLED "FORCES", BEARS STRIKING RESEMBLANCE TO PORTUGUESE MDP COMMUNIST FRONT.
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PAGE 02 MADRID 01142 02 OF 02 191255Z

10. CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIALIST PARTIES IN PORTUGAL AND FRANCE AT HANDS LOCAL COMMUNISTS IS INCREASING PSOE WARINESS OF PCE. THERE EVEN SOME DOUBT PSOE, DESPITE ITS STATED WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN A BROAD ALLIANCE INCLUDING PCE ON FOOTING OF EQUALITY, WOULD ACTUALLY PARTICIPATE WITH COMMUNISTS IF SUCH ALLIANCE WERE ACTUALLY FORMED.

11. COMMENT: CURRENT SITUATION REMAINS AS FLUID AS EVER. ALTHOUGH DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE WILL NOT BE LAUNCHED AS A FORMAL COALITION, ITS COMPONENT POLITICAL GROUPS CONTINUE JOINT STRATEGY VIS-A-VIS JUNTA AND APPARENTLY WILL NOT JOIN JUNTA, DUE LARGELY PSOE REFUSAL AND RESERVATIONS DSC AND PNV. DEMOCRATIC JUNTA'S TRIUMPHANT PRESS CONFERENCES AND INT'L ACTIVITIES CANNOT CONCEAL FACT MOST IMPORTANT SOCIALIST AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC GROUPS HAVE

SO FAR REFUSED TO JOIN. SHOULD THIS SITUATION CONTINUE OVER TIME, DEMOCRATIC JUNTA LIKELY LOSE SOME OF IMPACT.

12. ALTHOUGH PCE CLAIMS IT WILL NOT ABANDON JUNTA AND INSISTS OTHER GROUPS SHOULD JOIN JUNTA, MANY OBSERVERS BELIEVE PCE ZRULD READILY ABANDON JUNTA IF DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE GROUPS REALLY SEEK LAUNCH NEW BROAD-BASED COALITION ALLIANCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND FORMALLY INVITE PCE PARTICIPATION. THEY FEEL PCE'S OBJECTIVE IN SPAIN RIGHT NOW IS TO PROJECT MODERATE AND RESPECTABLE IMAGE AND TO DISARM HOSTILE ANTI-COMMUNISM WHICH STILL PERVADES GREAT PART OF SPANISH BODY POLITIC. BEST WAY FOR PCE DO THIS WOULD BE TO DEMONSTRATE IT HAS BEEN FULLY ACCEPTED AS AN EQUAL AND TRUSTED ALLY BY MODERATE OPPOSITION GROUPS.

13. SHOULD DEMOCRATIC JUNTA BE ABANDONED BY PCE (WHICH WOULD PROBABLY AUTOMATICALLY CAUSE COLLAPSE OF JUNTA) IN ORDER TO FORM ENTIRELY NEW BROAD-BASED COALITION ALLIANCE IN A SORT OF POPULAR *49,5, SUCH AN ALLIANCE COULD BE FAR MORE SIGNIFICANT AND EVEN DANGEROUS FOR FUTURE OF SPAIN THAN PRESENT DEMOCRATIC JUNTA (WHICH, DESPITE FANFARE, HAS NOT BEEN AN UNQUALIFIED SUCCESS). IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN, HOWEVER, WHETHER SUCH A BROAD AND UNIFIED CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 01142 02 OF 02 191255Z

OPPOSITION POLITICAL COALITION COULD BE FORMALLY SET UP, IN VIEW OF TRADITIONAL OPPOSITION FRAGMENTATION.

14. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT 38 PROMINENT LEADERS OF VIRTUALLY ALL NATIONAL OPPOSITION POLITICAL AND TRADE UNION GROUPS SUBMITTED PETITION TO PRESIDENT ARIAS CALLING ON GOVT TO RELEASE FROM JAIL FAMOUS "CARABANCHEL TEN" COMMUNIST WORKERS COMMISSIONS LEADERS WHOSE APPEALS HEARING WAS HELD ON FEB 11. PRINCIPAL SIGNIFICANCE THIS PETITION WAS THAT IT CONTAINED SIGNATURES OF LEADERS OF PRINCIPAL POLITICAL PARTIES PARTICIPATING BOTH IN DEMOCRATIC JUNTA AND IN DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE, IN ADDITION TO SIGNATURES OF LEADERS OF POLITICAL PARTIES NOT IN EITHER COALITION (E.G., MONARCHIST LEADER J.QUIN SATRUSTEGUI). THIS REPORTEDLY FIRST TIME IN FRANCO REGIME LEADERS OF VIRTUALLY ALL OPPOSITION GROUPS HAVE ENGAGED IN UNITED ACTION ON ANYTHING. ALTHOUGH PETITION NOT RELATED DIRECTLY TO EITHER DEMOCRATIC JUNTA NOR AD HOC DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE COALITION, IT COULD SERVE AS A PRECEDENT OR MODEL FOR POSSIBLE UNITED OPPOSITION ACTION SHOULD SUGGESTIONS FOR FORMING A BROAD NEW OPPOSITION ALLIANCE INCLUDING ALL GROUPS GET OFF GROUND.
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