

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 06644 01 OF 02 231122Z

53

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-04 ISO-00 SAJ-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

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R 230830Z OCT 74

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 272  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 6644

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PGOV, ELAB, SP

SUBJECT: STATUS REPORT ON TWO OPPOSITION ALLIANCES,  
JUNTA DEMOCRATICA AND CONFERENCIA DEMOCRATICA

REF MADRID 4891

BEGIN SUMMARY: JUNTA DEMOCRATICA COALITION OF SPANISH  
OPPOSITION FORCES AND INDIVIDUALS ANNOUNCED IN JULY WITH  
PARTICIPATION SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY AND SEVERAL  
MODERATE DEMOCRATIC GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS CONTINUES  
ACTIVE. MEANWHILE, DIFFERENT OPPOSITION COALITION OF  
MODERATE CENTRIST FORCES, LARGELY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC,  
AND TO BE KNOWN AS CONFERENCIA DEMOCRATICA,  
IS EXPECTED TO BE ANNOUNCED SHORTLY.  
POSSIBILITY THAT TWO COALITIONS MIGHT EVENTUALLY MERGE  
EXISTS ALTHOUGH SPANISH POLITICAL HISTORY IS ONE OF FRAGMENTA-  
TION. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 MADRID 06644 01 OF 02 231122Z

1 ON JULY 29, A COALITION OF CERTAIN SPANISH OPPOSITION

POLITICAL AND TRADE UNION GROUPS AND SEVERAL PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS ANNOUNCED IN PARIS FORMATION OF JUNTA DEMOCRATICA WITH A 12-POINT PROGRAM TO LEAD SPANISH PEOPLE TO DEMOCRACY. ALTHOUGH NOT ALL JUNTA DEMOCRATICA'S COMPONENTS ARE KNOWN, JUNTA HAS BEEN ALLEGED TO INCLUDE SUCH UNLIKELY ALLIES AS SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY (PCE), MODERATE INTERIOR SOCIALISTS OF PROFESSOR TIERNO GALVAN, CARLISTS, AND COMMUNIST-DOMINATED WORKERS COMMISSIONS. IT ALSO IS SAID TO INCLUDE SEVERAL PROMINENT OPPOSITION INDIVIDUALS AND SO-CALLED REPRESENTATIVES OF DIFFERENT REGIONS AND SECTORS OF SOCIETY, NOTABLY SUCH "CAPITALIST" SECTORS AS LARGE LANDOWNERS, INDUSTRIALISTS, AND FINANCIERS. AMONG THOSE REPORTED AS PARTICIPATING IN JUNTA IN INDIVIDUAL CAPACITY ARE FORMER OPUS DEI EDITOR RAFAEL CALVO SERER, MADRID LAWYER ANTONIO GARCIA TREVIANO, AND CATALAN FINANCIER ANDREU ABELLO.

2. JUNTA DEMOCRATICA REPORTEDLY HAD ITS GENESIS IN MAY AND JUNE IN UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORTS OF SAME GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS TO GET DON JUAN IN PORTUGAL TO JOIN IN THEIR PLANS FOR THE FORMATION OF A SORT OF PROVISIONAL GOVT IN EXILE. WHEN DON JUAN DISSOCIATED HIMSELF FROM THIS SCHEME, ALLEGEDLY AFTER HAVING BECOME CONVINCED THAT IT MIGHT DAMAGE PROPECTS OF HIS SON, PRINCE JUAN CARLOS, TO ASCEND SPANISH THRONE, OTHER GROUPS CONTINUED WITH PLAN AND ANNOUNCED FORMATION OF JUNTA DEMOCRATICA WITHOUT PARTICIPATION DON JUAN MONARCHISTS.

3. CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT FROM JUNTA DEMOCRATICA HAVE BEEN MOST PRINCIPAL CENTRIST SPANISH POLITICAL OPPOSITION GROUPS, I.E., CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, LIBERALS, AND SOCIALISTS. MOST THESE MODERATE GROUPS HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN CONTINUING EFFORTS ESTABLISH FRAMEWORK FOR A SEPARATE OPPOSITION COALITION, REPORTEDLY TO BE CALLED CONFERNECIA DEMOCRATICA. THIS CONFERENCIA DEMOCRATICA HAS STILL NOT BEEN FORMALLY PROCLAIMED, AND SEVERAL ITS COMPONENT GROUPS CONTINUE TO DENY ITS EXISTENCE. NEVERTHELESS, CONFERENCIA DEMOCRATICA IS REPORTEDLY LIKELY BE FORMALLY PROCLAIMED WITHIN NEXT FEW WEEKS.

4. CONFERENCIA DEMOCRATICA WILL REPORTEDLY ISSUE PROGRAM CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 MADRID 06644 01 OF 02 231122Z

SIMILAR TO THAT OF JUNTA DEMOCRATICA CALLING FOR REESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN SPAIN. COMPOSITION OF CONFERENCIA DEMOCRATICA COALITION REPORTEDLY WILL INCLUDE: (1) LEFTIST CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS OF JOAQUIN RUIZ GIMENEZ; (2) CENTRIS CATHOLICS OF JOSE MARIA GIL ROBLES; (3) LIBERAL GROUPING CENTERED AROUKD DIONISIO RIDRUEJO WHO HAVE JUST RECONSTITUTED# THEMSELVES AS NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY; (4) MODERATE MSC SOCIALIST REGIONAL

GROUPING IN CATALONIA; AND (5) CERTAIN OTHER SMALL  
CENTRIST GROUPS.

5. IT IS REPORTED THAT ONE REASON WHY CONFERENCIA DEMOCRATICA HAS NOT YET FORMALLY ESTABLISHED ITSELF WAS THAT THEY WERE AWAITING RESULTS OF PSOE "YOUNG TURK" SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS JUST HELD FROM OCT 11-14 IN A PARIS SUBURB. CONFERENCIA'S ORGANIZERS HAD HOPED "YOUNG TURK" PSOE AT ITS CONGRESS WOULD APPROVE PSOE'S JOINING CONFERENCIA DEMOCRATICA, THUS BRINGING WITHIN COALITION MOST IMPORTANT SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY. HOWEVER, PSOE AT ITS CONGRESS REPORTEDLY SHIFTED FROM MODERATE TO MORE RADICAL SOCIALIST LINE, AND THIS NEW EMPHASIS WOULD APPEAR TO PRECLUDE ITS JOINING CONFERENCIA DEMOCRATICA PSOE REPORTEDLY WILL NOT JOIN EITHER CONFERENCIA DEMOCRATICA NOR JUNTA DEMOCRATICA, ALTHOUGH NEW ASCENDENCY OF PSOE RADICALS MIGHT NOW MAKE MORE LIKELY EVENTUAL ENTRY OF PSOE IN JUNTA DEMOCRATICA. REPORTEDLY CONFERENCIA DEMOCRATICA WILL NOW GO AHEAD AND FORMALLY ESTABLISH ITSELF WITHOUT PSOE PARTICIPATION AND WITH A PREPONDERANT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC ORIENTATION.

6. SIGNIFICANTLY, ONLY TRADE UNION GROUPING WHICH HAS JOINED EITHER OF TWO ALLIANCES IS COMMUNIST-DOMINATED WORKERS COMMISSIONS, WHICH FORM PART OF JUNTA DEMOCRATICA. NONE OF MODERATE NON-COMMUNIST TRADE UNION GROUPINGS, SUCH AS SOCIALIST UGT, CATHOLIC USO, OR BASQUE STV, HAVE JOINED EITHER JUNTA OR CONFERENCIA DEMOCRATICA. THERE HAD BEEN HOPES CONFERENCIA DEMOCRATICA WOULD ATTRACT UGT AND USO TO ITS RANKS, BUT THIS NOW APPEARS LESS LIKELY, WITH ABSENCE OF "YOUNG TURK" PSOE.

7. ADDING FURTHER CONFUSION TO POLITICAL PANORAMA WERE REPORTED OFFICIAL ATTEMPTS, ALLEGEDLY INITIATED BY PRINCE  
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PAGE 04 MADRID 06644 01 OF 02 231122Z

JUAN CARLOS WITH POSSIBLE ACQUIESCENCE OF PRIME MINISTER ARIAS, TO SOUND OUT THROUGH INTERMEDIARIES VIEWS CERTAIN MODERATE OPPOSITION GROUPS RE POSSIBLE DEMOCRATIC EVOLUTION OF REGIME AMID HINTS SUCH MODERATE OPPOSITION GROUPS MIGHT BE WELCOME IN A POST-FRANCO SITUATION. AT SAME TIME RUMORED CABINET LISTS OF POSSIBLE POST-FRANCO COALITION GOVTS CONTAINING BOTH REGIME AND MODERATE OPPOSITION FIGURES BEGAN TO CIRCULATE. HOWEVER, THESE REPORTED EFFORTS TOOK PLACE DURING SUMMER IN WAKE OF FRANCO'S JULY HOSPITALIZATION AND AUG CONVALESCENCE, AND THEY HAVE DIMINISHED, IF NOT DISAPPEARED, SINCE FRANCO'S REASSUMPTION OF POWERS ON SEPT 3.

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PAGE 01 MADRID 06644 02 OF 02 231143Z

53

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 6644

8. COMMENT: AS IT HAS EVOLVED, JUNTA DEMOCRATICA HAS AS ITS PREDOMINANT FIGURE PCE SECRETARY GENERAL SANTIAGO CARRILLO IN PARIS. PREDOMINANT ROLE OF COMMUNISTS IN JUNTA CAN ALSO BE ATTRIBUTED TO FACT THAT, EXCEPT FOR TIerno GALVAN SOCIALISTS, MOST OTHER MODERATE OPPOSITION POLITICAL GROUPS HAVE NOT JOINED JUNTA DEMOCRATICA. ALSO OPPORTUNISTIC MEMBERSHIP IN JUNTA OF CERTAIN SOMEWHAT DISCREDITED POLITICAL FIGURES SUCH AS CALVO SERER AND GARCIA TREVIJANO HAS AROUSED FURTHER SUSPICION BY MODERATE GROUPS OF JUNTA DEMOCRATICA. FOR PCE AND AND CARRILLO, JUNTA PROVIDES TWO MAJOR POLITICAL BENEFITS: (1) IT SEEKS TO GIVE PCE LONG-SOUGHT RESPECTABILITY AND TO BOOST MODERATE PCE IMAGE FOR ITS JOINT PARTICIPATION WITH RELATIVELY MODERATE GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS; AND (2) THROUGH PRESENCE ON JUNTA OF VARIOUS ESTABLISHMENT FIGURES FROM SPANISH CAPITALISTIC CIRCLES PCE COULD CLAIM TO HAVE SECURED TRUST OF IMPORTANT RIGHTIST SECTORS IN SPAIN WHICH PCE CONSIDERS THE SECTORS WITH WHICH IT WILL HAVE TO REALISTICALLY DEAL IN POST-FRANCO SITUATION IF PCE WANTS

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PAGE 02 MADRID 06644 02 OF 02 231143Z

TO SHARE POLITICAL POWER. ADDITIONALLY, JUNTA DEMOCRATICA PROBABLY VIEWS ITSELF AS A POSSIBLE ALLIANCE OF ALL FORCES FROM LEFT TO RIGHT WITH WHICH A POST-FRANCO GOVT WOULD HAVE TO DEAL AND DIALOGUE WITH, ALTHOUGH ITS CLAIM IN THIS RESPECT IS GREATLY WEAKENED BY ABSENCE OF MOST OF IMPORTANT MODERATE CENTRIST GROUPS (SOME OF WHICH WOULD BE LOATHE TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH A COALITION WITH THE PCE).

9. ALTHOUGH THE CONFERENCIA DEMOCRATICA IS SOMETIMES VIEWED AS A COUNTERWEIGHT TO JUNTA DEMOCRATICA, AND BOTH GROUPS ARE LIKELY TO END UP IN COMPETITION IF THEY CAN IN FACT SURVIVE IN A SPAIN IN WHICH POLITICAL FRAGMENTATION RATHER THAN COALESCENCE IS THE NORM, A POSSIBLE EVENTUAL MERGER OF THE TWO COALITIONS CANNOT BE ENTIRELY EXCLUDED.

10. CURRENT SITUATION REMAINS SOMEWHAT FLUID WITH JUNTA DEMOCRATICA CONTINUING TO MEET PERIODICALLY AND WITH CONFERENCIA DEMOCRATICA STILL SEEKING TO GET OFF GROUND AND FACED WITH NEW DIFFICULTY OF PROBABLE ABSENCE OF PSOE SOCIALIST PARTICIPATION. DESPITE REPORTED EFFORTS OF GOVT INTERMEDIARIES THIS SUMMER TO ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH OPPOSITION GROUPS, ALSO UNCLEAR HOW GOVT WILL REACT IN LONG RUN TOWARDS JUNTA AND CONFERENCIA. IT APPEARS GOVT HAS ALREADY ATTEMPTED EXPLOIT AND ENCOURAGE DIVISIONS AMONG OPPOSITION GROUPS IN HOPE THAT TRADITIONAL FRAGMENTATION OF OPPOSITION WILL PERSIST AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE. ONE EXAMPLE HAS BEEN GOVT EFFORTS TO CONNECT REPORTED ETA AUTHORS (NEITHER ETA NOR ANY OTHER VIOLENT EXTREMIST GROUPS ARE BELIEVED TO BE IN EITHER OPPOSITION COALITION) WITH PCE IN WAKE OF SEPT 13 BOMB EXPLOSION IN DOWNTOWN MADRID WHICH KILLED 12 PERSONS. SEVERAL OF THOSE ARRESTED AFTER BOMB EXPLOSION APPEAR TO BE FORMER PCE INTELLECTUALS AND OTHER ARDENT MARXISTS, AND THIS HAS ENABLED GOVT TO SEEK TO LINK PCE IN PUBLIC MIND WITH EXTREMIST AND VIOLENT ACTIVITIES, THEREBY ATTEMPTING TO DISRUPT PCE'S ALLIANCE WITH CENTRIST AND RIGHTIST OPPOSITION FORCES IN JUNTA DEMOCRATICA AND TARNISH MODERATE AND RESPECT-ABLE IMAGE WHICH PCE TRYING CREATE.

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PAGE 03 MADRID 06644 02 OF 02 231143Z

11. I AM SKEPTICAL OF PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS OF EITHER THE DEMOCRATIC JUNTA OR THE "DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE". MY UNDERSTANDING OF THE SPANISH TEMPERAMENT

AND OF THE LONG HISTORY OF FRAGMENTATION IN SPANISH  
POLITICAL LIFE, BOTH IN THE LAST CENTURY AND IN THIS  
CENTURY, INCLUDING THE PERIOD OF THE SECOND REPUBLIC,  
LEAD ME TO DISCOUNT TO A LARGE EXTENT THE LIKELIHOOD OF  
SURVIVAL OF BROAD-BASED POLITICAL COALITIONS BEYOND THE  
INITIAL PERIOD OF ATTEMPTS AT ORGANIZATION. IT IS MORE  
POSSIBLE THAT MORE RESTRICTED GROUPINGS MIGHT EMERGE  
CENTERED AROUND THE PCE AND FELLOW-TRAVELLING MARXIST  
LEFT SOCIALISTS ON THE ONE HAND, AND MODERATE SOCIALISTS  
AND SOME LEFT WING CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS ON THE OTHER, EACH  
ONE OF WHICH WOULD ENJOY A CERTAIN DEGREE OF IDEOLOGICAL  
AFFINITY. AS FOR THE MORE MODERATE, CENTRIST AND RIGHTIST  
ELEMENTS I FORESEE ONLY CONTINUED DIVISION UNLESS SOME  
STRONG PERSONALITY, NOT NOW IN THE HORIZON, EMERGES WHO CAN  
PERSUADE THEM TO SUBMERGE THEIR DIFFERENCES IN THE FACE OF  
SOME TANGIBLE THREAT.  
RIVERO

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## Message Attributes

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