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ANALYSIS BRANCH

FROM : Amembassy Madrid

DATE: Dec. 24 , 1966

SUBJECT : Undersecretary ROSTOW's Conversation with Joaquin RUIZ-GIMÉNEZ.

REF :

Early in the course of his visit to Madrid, Undersecretary Rostow indicated an interest in talking with Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez, who agreed to call at the Residence late in the afternoon of Dec. 17. The following are highlights of Ruiz-Giménez' remarks.

With regard to the Organic Law itself, Ruiz-Giménez said it represented a small but positive step forward. He pointed to two passages in Franco's speech of Nov. 22 to the Cortes which he felt held promise for the future: (1) While inveighing against political parties as such, Franco asserted that there should be competition of political ideas; and (2) his reference to an "open constitution", indicating the possibility of further reform.

The holding of a referendum on the Organic Law was unnecessary, according to Ruiz-Giménez, but he said he believed that even without the strident Government propaganda campaign a majority of the Spanish people, possibly as much as 70-75%, genuinely approved the law, whether on its own merits or because its source was General Franco. The announced results of the voting thus were not actually fraudulent but undoubtedly exaggerated.

There were at the present two tendencies within the Regime: (1) Those who support Prince Juan Carlos for the throne, who include some monarchists, the technocrats, prominent

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members of Opus Dei, etc.; and (2) the remnant of the Falange which was gravitating toward Giron (and Muñoz-Grandes) in an effort to establish a presidential republic. (Ruiz-Giménez did not mention Don Juan as a possible monarch.)

Ruiz-Giménez confirmed that Issue No. 39 of Cuadernos Para el Dialogo was the only overt publication to appear with articles advocating disapproval of the Organic Law (he pointed out that the opposite thesis also was represented in the issue). He said that it was only through the strong support of Foreign Minister Castiella that Issue No. 39 was permitted to appear. He commented that Castiella would make a very competent Head of Government but his appointment was extremely unlikely because of the unresolved problems of Gibraltar and the Spanish Sahara. Ruiz-Giménez stated that Castiella believed Spain should get out of Africa and would not attract sufficient support to regain Gibraltar until it did, but that of course he was opposed by the generals and other elements of the Government.

Asked about sentiment among university students, Ruiz-Giménez said there were two active extremes. One was on the left, anti-American, anti-Franco and included Christian Democrats but with a growing penetration by Peking-oriented communists. On the right there was another extreme, the Defensa Universitaria, consisting of militant Falangists, (who, as the Embassy knows, are not unwilling to use violence to promote their ends.)

As for the future, Ruiz-Giménez advocated that the opposition liberals work for honest implementation of the Organic Law. He said he planned to do what he could through Cuadernos. On balance, he believed Franco was clever enough to recognize that having held out the promise, he would have to deliver.

Ruiz-Giménez said he was not sure whether Franco intended to designate a successor before passing from the scene, but believed that if Franco did not, there would be a regency headed by a general.

In a passing comment on the people who contribute to Cuadernos, Ruiz-Giménez mentioned that Mariano AGUILAR Navarro had washed

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his hands of the Simó ORTS 5 million dollar claim against the United States when "Paco" publicly advocated approval of the Organic Law. (On the other side of the story, Madrid carried a brief article on Dec. 14 which gave the gist of Paco's telegram to the Chief of State and quoted Paco as saying he had broken with Aguilar Navarro when he learned Aguilar had signed the unified opposition petition raising doubts about the Organic Law and referendum. In Simó's immortal words, "I don't want to be represented by anyone who doesn't agree with Franco, because for me, Franco is the most important person, and Spain and Franco are for me, as a Spaniard, my father, because we didn't have any shoes and he gave us shoes.")

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