Speedier handover to Catalans pressed

From Harry Debelius
Madrid, April 3
Señor José Tarradellas, the president of the Generalitat, the Catalan regional government, conferred in Madrid today with Señor Adolfo Suárez, the Prime Minister, and other political and military leaders in an effort to speed up the transfer of responsibilities and authorities to the Generalitat.

After a one-hour meeting with the Prime Minister, Señor Tarradellas said that it had been as cordial as the previous one, but he refused to disclose what had been discussed. He denied that a proposal to establish full legal parity between Castilian Spanish and the Catalan language was the most important of the matters under discussion. Señor Tarradellas told reporters that he would meet Señor Suárez again on Thursday. He then left for talks with Lieutenant-General Manuel Gutiérrez Mellado, the Deputy Prime Minister for Defence.

King Juan Carlos will receive the Catalan leader on Wednesday. Before their meeting, Señor Suárez said that there were no conflicting viewpoints between himself and Señor Tarradellas.

"We both agree to work for a more democratic Spain, to strengthen the unity of Spain through the establishment of home rule."

Although neither of the two mentioned it, one of the toughest points in the negotiations about the degree of autonomy for Catalonia is the matter of taxes and government expenditure.

Señor Manuel Fraga Iribarne, the leader of the conservative Popular Alliance and former Minister of the Interior, said in Granada that the weekend that the death penalty should be mandatory for the killing of a policeman. He also called for a law to increase police powers to deal with terrorism.

Princess returns: Princess Irene of Holland, wife of Prince Carlos Hugo de Bourbon-Parma, leader of the Spanish Carlist Party, returned to Spain today after nine years in exile.

The princess and her husband, who have French nationality, were expelled from Spain in 1968 for political activity against General Franco’s regime. Prince Carlos Hugo returned to Spain five months ago.—AP

Remains of ex-President brought home to Spain

From Harry Debelius
Madrid, April 6
Closing ranks in a way they had failed to do in his lifetime, Spanish Communists and Socialists paid homage here today to Señor Francisco Largo Caballero, the late President of the Republic, as his body was brought back to his homeland for burial.

A coffin bearing the remains of the socialist leader arrived in Madrid by air from Paris, where he died in exile in 1946 at the age of 76. Relatives and a delegation of the general Labour Union, which he once headed, received the coffin and took it to the union's headquarters.

The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, the Popular Socialist Party and the Spanish Communist Party all arranged special ceremonies in honour of the late President. His body is to be reinterred in Madrid’s civil cemetery, next to that of his wife, on Saturday. Until then it will lie in state at the union headquarters.

Although he was called “the Spanish Lenin” because of his revolutionary attitude, he lost the support of the communists at a critical moment during the Spanish Civil War. Señor Largo Caballero was President from September, 1936, two months after the outbreak of the Civil War, until April, 1937.

In another political development, Señor Suárez, the Prime Minister, has told the Congress that he intends to continue to seek a consensus on policy until after the approval of a new constitution.

Appearing before the Lower House last night to give his first address to Parliament this year, Señor Suárez denied that there had been any “government crisis”. He said that the shake-up last month was the result of the resignation of Professor Enrique Fuentes Quintana from the post of Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs.

The Prime Ministr defended his practice of seeking general agreement among leaders of the various parties before adopting any political or economic course. He called for a “truce” in the meantime.

The special plenary session of Congress lasted until after midnight and was resumed again this morning.

Señor Manuel Fraga Iribarne, a conservative and once General Franco’s Ambassador in London, rejected the Prime Minister’s idea and called for a simple majority vote.

“We have not come here to ask the Government to quit, but to ask it to govern, to administer... The horse has been saddled long enough. It’s time to ride.”
Spain debates case for joining Nato

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, April 4

The policy speech to the senate last month by Señor Marcelino Oreja, the Foreign Minister, in which he broached for the first time the sensitive issue of Spain joining Nato, has started a timid debate on the issue after two years of official silence.

With the new democratic constitution and Spain's application to join the EEC under discussion, with the country's mounting economic problems, the Government has more than enough on its plate.

Nevertheless Señor Adolfo Suárez, the Prime Minister, has felt that the time has come to give the subject an airing and take some of the wind out of the sails of the left, which has lately been reiterating its opposition to Nato membership. There is talk of a parliamentary debate in October.

One of the main problems is that whereas there is agreement on EEC membership and the need for Spain to play its economic role in Europe, there are widespread differences over Spain's political and military role.

The left wants the country to stay out of all alliances. In his list of reasons for Nato membership, Señor Oreja left no doubt about the Government's position. He declared that Spain already had "contractual obligations" in the defence of the West (through the American-Spanish joint defence committee to which the commander of the American forces in Europe acts as a military adviser).

The American bases agreement was renewed in January, 1976, authorizing the United States to continue to use military bases in Spain until 1981. The agreements with America have formed the pillars of Spain's defence policy since 1953.

Adopting a stance of neutrality would, he said, have serious repercussions on the European balance of power. The Pentagon takes the same view.

Since the Oreja speech Señor Enrique Mugica, the Socialist president of the Cortes' defence committee, and Señor Luis Solana, a Socialist MP, have visited Washington, where Nato was discussed.

The American view is that while Spain's membership of Nato is very important, any undue pressure to join would probably be counterproductive. It is also held that the different parties must arrive at some kind of general agreement on the issue, for a divided Spain would not be a very desirable member. If Spain's wish is to be part of Europe, then it cannot pick and choose and must belong wholeheartedly.

In both the Socialist and Communist parties there is a strong anti-American feeling generated by the American influence during the Franco dictatorship.

Recent Western estimates put the numerical strength of Nato forces well below that of the Warsaw Pact countries. Spain's membership (the Army numbers about 220,000, the Navy 47,000 and the Air Force 34,000) would not greatly alter those ratios. But in strategic terms, with its commanding position in the Mediterranean, Spain's contribution to the Atlantic alliance would be far more important.

A far more serious problem is Gibraltar, for as one well placed source put it: "Spain could hardly form part of an alliance a member of which owned a piece of Spanish territory."

The Gibraltar problem, a good emotional rallying point for any government, would have to be solved beforehand in some form.
Carrillo check-up exposes split in communist ranks

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, April 9

The Catalan communist party (PSUC) is in crisis today after the party's president, secretary general and another leading member resigned yesterday over disputes about whether to abandon its Leninist concept.

The resignations came at a meeting in Barcelona after the party rejected a proposal by Señor Santiago Carrillo, the (national) head of the Spanish Communist Party, to change from a "Marxist-Leninist party" to a "revolutionary Marxist party". The three Catalan leaders felt obliged to resign as they are Carrillo followers.

Señor Carrillo and other leaders of the national party have been visiting the regional communist parties in preparation for the National Congress later this month when the Leninist concept will be debated. The visits have exposed wide differences of opinion.

The PSUC (the United Socialist Party of Catalonia) which did well in last June's general elections and picked up more seats in Barcelona than the national party did in Madrid, is divided into Eurocommunists and Leninists and there is a feeling that Madrid is exercising far too much control over its sister party. The PSUC claims to be autonomous.

At its own congress last year it voted to maintain the Leninist threat line and members feel that the petition to change is too sudden.

Gonzalez socialists gain from merger of parties

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, April 10

Professor Enrique Tierno Galván, the leader of Spain's popular socialist party (PSP), has no regrets about the decision to join his party with the big Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSP), according to reports published here today.

"I'm happy because I have achieved socialist unity" he commented after an overwhelming majority of the delegates attending his party's fourth congress in Fuengirola over the weekend voted in favour of the motion to enter the PSP as a block.

The fusion is expected to be given the routine approval of the federal committees of both parties this week. This will mean that the PSP, under the leadership of Señor Felipe González, an Andalusian lawyer, will gain six seats in the Congress of Deputies, increasing its total to 124; and two seats in the Senate, increasing its total to 30.

The increase in the number of MPs under the control of Señor González means little, since these congressmen and senators consistently have voted with the PSOE. The new total of 124 seats in the Congress is still well short of the 165 held by the Centre Democratic Union of Señor Adolfo Suarez, the Prime Minister.

"As far as I'm concerned there's no sentimental problem", the professor said after his party voted itself out of existence.

Although the matter was not discussed at the PSP Congress, it is believed that as part of the deal for bringing his followers to Señor González, Professor Tierno Galván was promised the opportunity of being the socialist candidate for mayor of Madrid, when the long-awaited municipal elections are held.

In an indirect reference to such speculation, the professor said: "I'm not in politics because of a thirst for power, but rather because of the circumstances and a feeling of ethical responsibility. Nevertheless, if they offered me the post of prime minister of that of mayor of Madrid, I would accept it because I would consider it my duty."

Smuggling is denied by daughter of Franco

From Harry Debélius
Madrid, April 12

General Franco's only child denied today any intention of smuggling when airport customs agents confiscated a bag containing 19 diamond-studded gold medals as the boarded an air liner from Madrid to Geneva last week.

Señora Carmen Franco, Marchioness of Villavere, sold a news conference at her Madrid flat: "A person in my position would not think of taking money out of the country in the form of medals if that person had any sense at all."

She claimed that the medals, given to her father by the municipal authorities of a number of Spanish cities, were to have been used in place of numerales on the face of a clock which she planned to have made in Switzerland as a gift for her mother, Franco's widow.

She called the news conference after returning last night from Switzerland, "considering all the fuss that was raised about this matter of the medals and the way the thing has been blown up."

Señora Franco showed journalists a letter a friend in Switzerland whom she had asked to seek an estimate for making the clock. In the letter, the friend told her that the clockmaker would have to see the medals first.

"It did not occur to me that this could be any kind of fraud", she said, adding: "If I was not aware that any permit was needed to take these medals out of the country, I had planned to bring them back to Spain again. They were not going to remain abroad."

She said that the medals had been valued at between 200,000 and 300,000 pesetas (£1,352 to £2,027) but that their value was "more symbolic than economic". She was "very hurt" by the way the incident had been reported.
From Our Correspondent
Madrid, April 11

The three leading members of the Catalan communist party, the PSUC, who resigned last weekend over disagreements about whether to abandon Leninism, have been reelected to their positions after two days of intense debate.

Their reelection is interpreted as a moral victory for Senor Santiago Carrillo, the head of the Spanish Communist Party, and a strengthening of his Eurocommunist line.

Senor Carrillo has been canvassing support for the abandonment of the Leninist concept in preparation for the national congress next week, when the party is expected to drop it officially.

The president, secretary-general and organizational secretary of the PSUC (the United Socialist Party of Catalonia), which is the strongest regional communist party, resigned when a majority of the party committee came out against the proposed change.

The PSUC decided at its own congress last year to change from a "Marxist-Leninist party" to one based on the principles of Marxism and Leninism, and indicated that Senor Carrillo's idea to become a "revolutionary-Marxist Party" without any reference to Leninism, was unacceptable.

The three Catalan party leaders were obliged to resign, the Carrillo followers, and very much aware that behind what appears to be a matter of mere semantics is a crucial problem for Western communists—a choice between Leninism and Eurocommunism.

The reappointment of the three resulted in the resignation of six other members of the PSUC committee who are considered to be on the right of the PSUC.

A statement issued by the Catalan party said that there were no basic contradictions between what the PSUC congress had approved and what the national congress of Spanish Communists would approve next week. However, the facts suggest that all is not as well in the Spanish party as the leadership would like to think, and that the differences have been merely papered over in order to present a united front at next week's congress.

Meanwhile, the Spanish Socialist Party has signed the finished draft of the new democratic constitution. The Socialists withdrew from the inter-party committee responsible for the draft last month after criticizing various articles.

William Cholet writes from Madrid: Senor Suarez, the Spanish Prime Minister, is to visit the Canary Islands later this month for the first time since taking office. This was learnt today at the same time as reports reached Madrid of the attack on Senor Cubillo.

The national news agency EFE quoted a spokesman for the MPAIC as saying that their struggle would continue.

Proof of this was the fact that the organization had planted a bomb in the police headquarters in Las Palmas soon after Senor Cubillo was injured.

The bomb destroyed part of the offices, but no one was injured. It was reported today that police have arrested five people over the explosion, including two alleged members of the MPAIC.

The islands have serious social problems and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) recently claimed them as part of Africa. The OAU's proposal, put forward by Senor Cubillo, will be debated when the heads of state of the OAU meet in Khartoum in July.
Spain seeks to protect atom plants

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, April 18

Spanish officials are said to be studying a British-American plan to protect nuclear power plants against terrorist raids. Basque separatists are continuing their campaign of violence against a Spanish power company that is building a nuclear plant near Bilbao.

Gunmen wounded two state security policemen early today at the San Sebastian offices of Iberduero, which is building the Lemoniz nuclear plant near Bilbao, and seriously wounded a municipal policeman at Algorta, on the outskirts of Bilbao, late last night. In both cases the extremist ETA (Basque Homeland and Liberty) is suspected.

The British-American security scheme known as "Civex" was developed jointly by the British Atomic Energy Agency and the California Electrical Energy Research Institute. The principal security feature of "Civex" consists in maintaining the level of radioactivity of the plutonium used in power plants at a level that would kill instantly any one handling it without the necessary precautions.

Top Soviet diplomat ordered out of Madrid

From William Chislett
Madrid, April 17

The Spanish Government has given a senior diplomat at the Soviet Embassy a week to leave Spain after he was found spying, according to newspaper reports here today.

He would be the fourth Soviet diplomat ordered out since diplomatic relations between the two countries were reestablished after a 38-year break.

He is reported to be Mr. Yuri Isaev, a political counsellor ranked fifth at the Embassy. The Foreign Ministry would neither confirm nor deny the reports but said there might be an official statement later.

However an informed source confirmed the reports, adding that he had been asked to leave, rather than expelled, in the hope that the incident could be kept out of the newspapers.

Tunnels found on route for King Juan Carlos

False alarm for police in Madrid

From Harry Debelius
Madrid, April 18

Sirens screamed. Lights flashed, firemen stood by with hoses at the ready, armed policemen armed with sub-machine guns surrounded a building. Interior Ministry before dawn here today after grim inspectors reported the discovery of tunnels dug from the basement near the route of next month's big military parade where King Juan Carlos will pass.

Police feared that the tunnels were to be used in an assassination attempt similar to the one in 1973 in which General Franco's most trusted adviser, Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco, was killed when Basque terrorists packed a tunnel under a road with explosives and blew the car carrying the Admiral over a five-storey building.

However, in the cold light of day it all looked different. The police, whose faces seemed slightly red, disclosed that after talking to the owners of the building they found that the tunnels were part of authorized repair work intended to check the source of dampness in the basement and the solidity of the foundations.

There were three tunnels, each pointing in a different direction from the basement of the abandoned building on the broad Castellana Avenue, where the parade will pass. One of the tunnels reached just under the avenue. The building where the excavations were found is just one and a half blocks from the Interior Ministry, across the street from the Commerce Ministry, and two short blocks from the British Embassy.

A suspicious neighbour called police when she saw light in the building. Police who raised the building in the hours before dawn today found picks and shovels lying about and electric lights blazing in several interior basement rooms.

In one room they found a doorman's uniform, several air mattresses and bottles of tranquilizer tablets and alcoholic beverages. There were also reports that they had found four passports, a mechanic's tool kit and a small motor. Alarming conclusions were quickly drawn.

One of the subjects on the agenda of the Cabinet meeting to be held here tomorrow is special measures to combat terrorism.

In Bilbao, a policeman wounded in one of two weekend machinegun attacks by urban guerrillas was reported to be still in very serious condition. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Police in the Canary Islands have detained 24 suspects and seized a quantity of explosives and timing devices believed to be connected with recent bombings.
Spain’s Communist leader faces a party showing signs of unrest

Señor Carrillo’s rise from exile to high society

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, April 17

No other political organization in Spain has had such an eventful and controversial year as the Communist Party, which on Wednesday starts its first legal congress in the country since the Civil War. Just over a year ago the party was legalized. Its Eurocommunist leader, Señor Santiago Carrillo, who spent nine months in 1976 living clandestinely in Spain, emerged to face a country profoundly different from the one he had fled in 1939 on the same day that General Franco’s troops entered Madrid.

In the past year Señor Carrillo, as the cartoons have enjoyed pointing out, has gone from the political underground to hobnobbing with Señor Adolfo Suarez, the Prime Minister, and attending receptions given by King Juan Carlos. Indeed, in 12 months Señor Carrillo has proved himself, as even his political enemies admit, to be the astute politician in Spain, the best speaker in the Cortes and a man with a Madison Avenue sense of publicity.

He has published a book, Eurocommunism and the State, in which he denounced Soviet communism for failing to build "the state which Lenin imagined". This confirmed him as the enfant terrible of the Kremlin (he had previously denounced the invasion of Czechoslovakia) and he was repeatedly attacked in Soviet journals.

Last autumn, for the first time in seven years, he went to Moscow to participate in the celebrations of the sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution. He was unable to speak and claimed he was banned. The Soviet version was that he arrived too late and there were insinuations that Señor Carrillo had stage-managed the affair to gain popularity at home.

To crown it all, soon after he returned to Madrid protesting that in Moscow "no one speaks except those they want", one of his former lieutenants, Señor Jorge Semprun—who was expelled from the party in 1964—attacked Señor Carrillo's Stalinist past in a "novel" which won Spain's top literary award and has so far sold 189,000 copies.

But the party leader has weathered it all and is even more firmly convinced that "the Eurocommunist way is the only valid way (in Spain) to advance to socialism".

Nevertheless, Señor Carrillo is beginning to face problems within his party, which until now he has kept remarkably under control.

One of the main points of debate at this week's congress will be the decision to depart from Leninism and become a "Marxist democratic revolutionary party" instead of a "Marxist-Leninist" party. Earlier this month the three main (pro-Carrillo) leaders of the Catalan Communist Party resigned after the proposal to abandon Leninism was rejected; however, the guards was soon patched up and the three were reinstated, reaffirming Señor Carrillo's line.

This sign of restlessness may be echoed in another important issue facing the Communists—the level of democracy in the party and the limits of dissent, both of which will be measured at the congress. It will perhaps be in Señor Carrillo's interests to let some dissent surface, in an attempt to convince people that his party is democratic. And while democracy in Spain remains a fragile plant, he knows that he must continue to keep both the Eurocommunist and Leninist wings of his party happy.
Communists threaten rift if Spain joins Nato

From William Chislett
Madrid, April 19

Señor Santiago Carrillo, secretary-general of the Spanish Communist Party, reaffirmed his Eurocommunist line today in his opening speech at the party's first legal congress in the country for 46 years.

He emphasized his willingness to abide by the agreement between the Government and the political parties, but gave a warning that the Government's stand over joining the Atlantic Alliance could lead to the left breaking away from it.

The Communists and Socialists were resolutely opposed to Nato membership, he said.

In his two-hour speech to an enthusiastic audience of young militants, old exiles and delegates from worldwide parties, including the Soviet Union, Señor Carrillo said the party's legalisation had been the most delicate moment during the transition to socialism. He said the party's legalisation had been the most delicate moment during the transition to socialism. He said the party's legalisation had been the most delicate moment during the transition to socialism. He said the party's legalisation had been the most delicate moment during the transition to socialism. He said the party's legalisation had been the most delicate moment during the transition to socialism. He said the party's legalisation had been the most delicate moment during the transition to socialism. He said the party's legalisation had been the most delicate moment during the transition to socialism. He said the party's legalisation had been the most delicate moment during the transition to socialism. He said the party's legalisation had been the most delicate moment during the transition to socialism.

In reality, they could not govern without the help of the Communists, he said. He hoped they would change their single-minded attitude before the municipal elections, which should be held urgently.

Although the speech was generally moderate in tone, Señor Carrillo said the right was becoming uneasy and preparing to defend its privileges. In particular he attacked Señor Carlos Ferrer, the head of the Spanish Employers' Confederation, for his recent "unpatriotic" remarks in New York. Señor Ferrer said the draft law on trade union rights in factories amounted to bringing Marxism to the shop floor.
Señor Suárez arrives in troubled Canary Islands

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, April 20

Señor Adolfo Suárez, the Spanish Prime Minister, arrived by air in Tenerife today for his first official visit to the troubled Canary Islands. He was accompanied by Señor Rodolfo Martín Villa, the Interior Minister, and Señor José Manuel Otero Novas, the Minister for the Presidency.

Señor Suárez will hold meetings on the archipelago over the weekend with commanders of Army, Navy and Air Force units stationed in the islands.

On Monday a multi-party delegation of the Spanish Parliament will set out on a 12-day circuit of eight African capitals in an effort to convince leaders of the countries involved to withdraw their support for a motion to be presented to the Council of July's summit meeting of the Organisation of African Unity to support de-colonization of the Canary Islands.

They will explain that, not only the Government but opposition parties as well, consider the Canaries to be an integral part of Spain.

The archipelago, known to the ancients as “the Fortunate Isles”, is suffering from separatist violence, led from Algiers by Señor Antonio Gabilondo, a Spanish lawyer, economic depression and long neglect of social and economic needs by the highly centralized Franco Government.

To complicate matters for Señor Suárez, an internal party dispute threatens to split his Centre Democratic Union in the islands over the question of representation in the newly authorized Canary Islands regional government.

Even the Communist Party, busy in Madrid with its congress, is disturbed by the situation in the Canaries.

Support for separatism could throw us into the arms of Nato”, a Canaries delegate said.

Mass rally crowns triumph for Carrillo line

From Harry Debelius
Madrid, April 23

A crowd of 30,000 people cheered Señor Santiago Carrillo, the leading exponent of Eurocommunism, in a packed bullring in a working-class neighbourhood of Madrid today at a rally which brought to a climax the first legal congress of the Spanish Communist Party for four years.

Señor Carrillo was re-elected secretary-general of the party last night, the 50th anniversary of the birth of Lenin.

The previous day his proposal to drop the word “Leninist” from the official description of his party had been approved by nearly two thirds of the 1,000 delegates attending the four-day congress here. His list of candidates for the Central Committee was elected too.

Señora Dolores Ibarruri, the aged “La Pasionaria” of Civil War days, was re-elected president of the party, despite the fact that she represents the old pro-Moscow line rather than the independent Eurocommunist line of the secretary-general.

Señor Carrillo told the celebrating crowd at the Vista Alegre bullring that Professor Ramon Tamames, a prominent Eurocommunist, would be the party’s candidate for mayor in the coming municipal elections in Madrid. Professor Tamames delivered a lively harangue in which he promised to put an end to corruption.

Señora Ibarruri, dressed in black as usual, evoked delirious chants of “Dolores, Dolores, Dolores” when she accepted a gift of a bouquet of red carnations and led the crowd in singing the communist anthem, the “Internationale”.

All around the bullring, young men and women were selling left-wing propaganda items, ranging from books and magazines to postcards and caps bearing the hammer-and-sickle emblem.

Actors jailed in Spain fail to obtain amnesty

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, April 21

There will be no amnesty for the four actors recently sentenced to two years’ imprisonment each for “insulting the armed forces”, military authorities announced in Barcelona today.

A ‘commissio” from the judge’s section of the Military District of Catalonia was sent out to the convicted actors in their respective prisons in the presence of their lawyers. Señorita Maria de Maestres, Manos de Zuñiga is in the Trinidad women’s prison; Señor Gabriel Renou, Señor Antonio Solsona and Señor Arnaud Villardebo are all in Barcelona’s Model Prison.

Military authorities also disclosed that a counter-suit brought by the actors’ counsel against the commander of the military district at the time of their court martial, alleging that he had falsified a public document, has been rejected on the ground that no offence was committed.
The eight-man crew of a Canary Islands fishing vessel believed to be in the hands of the Saharan Liberation Front (Polisario) today was discovered by a Spanish warship not far from the coast of Western Sahara.

The Polisario has stated several times that it considers the waters off the coast of the Western Sahara to be part of the territory of the Saharan nation and that it should be free of foreign forces.

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"Let the crime rate increase; let the mobs take to the streets; let the peace guard stay out for revolution; then you will be justified in taking over."

That is the advice which General Agustín Pinochet gave to the then Spanish Army Minister, Lieutenant-General Felix Álvarez-Arenas y Pacheco, when the minister visited Chile last year, according to an apocryphal story making the rounds in Madrid.

True or false, the statement reflects fears about what could happen to Spain if Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez's government ever loses its grip on law and order. It may not be an immediate prospect, but it would be naive to reject the possibility entirely.

There is an unrelenting attitude on the part of some of the higher-ranking military officers, in the face of the new march towards democracy, is evident from the Basque government's recent statements, such as the four civilian actors were sent to prison for two years; each for the armed forces", because they acted out their silent rights. The mobs have not taken over the streets; but the frequent massive demonstrations, marches and assemblies are making rightists nervous.

For the most part such gatherings have been peaceful, such as the ones in which hundreds of thousands took part throughout the Basque country in Easter Sunday in celebration of Basque national day. As disturbances like the Bielbarrieta's riot at the end of March in the southwestern port of Cádiz, where property was damaged and cars were burned, are now exception rather than the rule.

There is a real terrorism problem, however, and arch-conservatives constantly cite it as justification for their demand for harsh measures. Recent examples include the bombing of a nuclear power plant under construction near Bilbao, in which two workers were killed, and the machine-gun assassination in the capital of the Director-General of Prisons, Sr Jesús Haddad Blanco, during Holy Week. Following repeated shootings of policemen by urban guerrillas, four policemen usually make their rounds in groups of three or four here, and in other cities.

In a number of cases, dissident military leaders have been relieved of their assignments, like Brigadier-General Manuel Prieto López, former chief of the sixth region of the paramilitary Civil Guard police. Outspoken officers have been disciplined, like Brigadier-General Luis Cano Portal, former chief of army publications, who was under house arrest for two months this past winter after he wrote an article in El Alcázar without the permission of his superiors.

The "hawks" are alarmed not only by domestic developments but also by external threats, such as that represented by the recent decision of the Organization for African Unity to support the Algerian-sponsored extremist Movement for the Self-determination and Independence of the Canary Islands. The "hawks" are bitter about Spain's hasty withdrawal from its former Sahara colonial territory, a withdrawal which was decided by Franco's allegedly assassinating Sr Martín Villa at the funeral of a terrorist victim, the Deputy Prime Minister told an audience of officers and commissioned officers of the three armed services in San Sebastián last February. Speaking shortly after a plainclothes member of the Civil Guard had been arrested in Barcelona for allegedly assaulting Sr Martín Villa.

"Groups of ultras are trying to provoke the army", the Deputy Prime Minister told an audience of officers and commissioned officers of the three armed services in San Sebastián last February. Speaking shortly after a plainclothes member of the Civil Guard had been arrested in Barcelona for allegedly assaulting Sr Martín Villa at the funeral of a terrorist victim, the Deputy Prime Minister told an audience of officers and commissioned officers of the three armed services in

King Juan Carlos, a graduate of all three of Spain's military academies, remains on good terms with the nation's top brass, and even the "ultras" profess loyalty to him because—instrumental as he may have been in forging Spain's democracy—he is the chosen successor of the Generalissimo. If a coup ever occurred, it would probably be against the government rather than the King, the living symbol of political continuity and of a united Spanish state.

Harry Debelius
Jiament compared to the Socialists. Carrillo's dilemma is how to convert the 'power' which the party wields – particularly in their trade union, the Workers' Commissions (the major union), and which is out of all proportion to its electoral strength – into votes.

The Socialists are determined not to seek many alliances with the Communists. Carrillo is equally adamant about his long-term target of eating into the Socialist vote and achieving a government of 'democratic concentration'.

Now that Leninism has apparently been superseded by Carrilloism – the victory essentially of one man's views – we shall see how united and how powerful the party really is.
Carrillo’s present from Russia
William Chislett

Madrid

Santiago Carrillo, the secretary-general of the Spanish Communist party, which last week at its ninth congress (the first legal one in Spain since 1932) became the first Communist party in the world to shelve Leninism, does not know what to make of a present given to him by the Russian delegation — a huge painting of Lenin in classic pose wearing a long overcoat. The Russians are not noted, unlike Carrillo, for their sense of humour — not with ‘heretics’ anyway — and the strained relations between the Kremlin and Carrillo, arch-exponent of Eurocommunism, are hardly likely to improve now. Carrillo is so far treating the present situation with typical bravura and emphasising that he still regards Lenin as the ‘great revolutionary’.

It would not be beyond him to hang the painting in his office at party headquarters alongside the message sent by the Soviet party which ended with the rousing phrase: ‘Long live Marxism-Leninism, the victorious doctrine of Marxism-Leninism’.

The doctrine suffered defeat at the congress by a majority of four to one and ironically the decision to remove it from the vocabulary of Spanish Communist came on the very eve of the one hundred and eighth anniversary of the birth of Lenin. And the following day, when Pravda made no mention of the Spanish move and the propaganda agency Novosti put out an article affirming that ‘whoever is against Leninism is also the enemy of Marxism’, Carrillo was re-elected secretary-general, a post he has now held for eighteen years.

The party’s eighty-two-year-old president, ‘la Pasionaria’, Dolores Ibarruri, who, unlike Carrillo, all her thirty-eight years exile in Moscow (Carrillo was hardly ever there and when he returned last autumn for the first time in eight years he was banned from speaking at the October anniversary celebrations) was also re-elected. But she did not attend the session when Leninism was put to the vote. It was she who handed in the letter to the Kremlin in 1968 protesting at the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, but this latest decision was probably too much for her or possibly, although she is a woman of quite remarkable strength, she felt tired after the endless hours of debate. She now has a heart pacemaker.

What does it all mean? Most people have not read, as Carrillo has pointed out, the thirty-five volumes of Lenin and so no practical answer can be given. The party will now be ‘democratically centralised’ as opposed to ‘bureaucratically centralised’. The feeling is that most party militants, except the dialectical experts, do not really know what they have abandoned and that the decision is one more step down Carrillo’s individual road to socialist, or as his critics’ claim social, democracy. As Carrillo has succeeded in confining Lenin to the history books the painting probably represented yet another cold shoulder from Moscow. Carrillo has already denounced Soviet Communism in his bestseller ‘Eurocommunism and the State’ for failing to build the ‘State which Lenin imagined’; and now he cannot easily turn his back on the past.

It is an ambivalent situation — while shelving Leninism Carrillo has already been at pains to stress that this does not mean abandoning the doctrine but merely adapting it to new circumstances, applying Marx’s dictum of ‘a concrete analysis of a concrete reality’. One detects a note of being on the defensive, almost apologising, for while it would appear on the surface that what has happened is little more than a question of semantics this is far from the case. Carrillo now declares himself to be a ‘democratic revolutionary Marxist’ instead of the old ‘Marxist-Leninist’ (even ‘la Pasionaria’ used the new term in an article on the eve of the congress) and doubtful badges will now be made to that effect for the benefit of the party’s alien funds.

Stickers proclaiming ‘I am a Marxist-Leninist’ were sold at a huge rally in the bull-ring in the working-class suburb of Carabanchel on the last day of the congress, and on the walls outside the ring were posters reading ‘Marxism-Leninism cells of the Spanish Communist party.’ The Leninist stickers sold well at the rally and the accusation that Carrillo has sold out in his bid for power is one that he is in danger of facing unless his policies bear fruit. At the moment he is basking in self-confidence.

Carrillo has triumphantly carried the party with him in its first year of legality and gone a long way towards erasing the Francoist myth of Communists as monsters. But in doing so he has accepted — and now renounced — so much that little will remain of the Communists’ identity unless the process is halted. And so it is likely that Carrillo will now start to be a little more aggressive. He has to deal with both the Eurocommunist and Leninist wings, the latter small but potentially vociferous and damaging as it is centred in the Catalan Communist party, the PSUC, which has long been in the vanguard of the Spanish Communist movement.

Only a year has passed since the party was legalised by King Juan Carlos and in that year Carrillo has managed to get more than a foot in the door of the Moncloa Palace, the residence of the centre-right prime minister, Suarez, and even occasionally of the King’s Zarzuela Palace. He has won respectability and endorsement at the congress for his policies: acceptance of the monarchy, of the democratic way to power and of the ‘bourgeois’ Moncloa pact, the broad package of economic and political measures between the government and the opposition parties. It is difficult to believe that only a year ago Carrillo told Suarez, when asked in private about how the first days of legalisation had gone, that at the first door at which party militants knocked the woman who answered it fainted and at the second they were told to come in and help themselves.

Perhaps more than anything the congress has shown that the party’s leaders, nearly all of whom were exiled, remain in firm control. Unlike their rivals the Socialists, whose leaders all belong to the silent (post Civil War) generation, the Communists are still very much led by the old, now slightly renovated, guard. ‘la Pasionaria’ can only be interpreted as the party wishing to maintain her, old and out of touch though she is, as a symbol. Critics would say as a relic of the past. This basically Stalinist past was forcefully denounced in a book last autumn by Jorge Semprun, who was expelled from the party in 1964 for — ironically — espousing fundamentally Eurocommunist views. Semprun was asked by the magazine Cambio 16 to cover the congress and it was revealing that the party refused to accredit him. While Carrillo has pushed his ‘national reconciliation’ policy he seems incapable of stretching the hand of forgiveness to his own kind.

In recent relations with the Socialists have taken a turn for the worse since the congress. The Socialists boycotted the congress after Carrillo accused them of trying to go it alone and of being obsessed with the ballot box. This is Carrillo’s problem, for the Communists have only twenty seats in par-