

Spanish King cancels son's investiture

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, Nov 1

The authorities today substituted an "act of homage" to Prince Felipe, the nine-year-old heir to the throne, in place of a planned investiture ceremony for him as Prince of Asturias, the traditional title of the heir to the throne.

The title was conferred on him in a royal decree signed by his father, King Juan Carlos, in January. The Palace had realized that the investiture might cause ill feeling, however, and the ceremony was changed to an act of homage.

Socialist and communist politicians in Asturias who were invited to the homage decided to boycott the ceremony. They say the investiture should be made after the new constitution is drawn up, when the exact form of the Spanish state is described. It should wait until the constitution is approved although it has already been agreed generally that the state will be described as a monarchy.

As a result, the Palace was advised, apparently within the past 48 hours, that it would be better to postpone the investiture.

King Juan Carlos, accompanied by Queen Sofia, Señor Rodolfo Martín Villa, the Minister of the Interior, and members of the Council of the Realm, the country's highest advisory body still in existence, attended a religious ceremony this morning in Covadonga, the village in Asturias where the Spaniards claimed their first victory in their campaign to expel their Moorish conquerors. The whole Government had been due to attend but, when the ceremony was changed, it was thought appropriate to send only one representative.

The provincial delegation of Asturias, whose idea it was to hold the investiture ceremony, is not considered representative by politicians in the region, traditionally a left-wing stronghold.

Rival of Señor Carrillo returns to Spain

From William Chislett
Madrid, Nov 1

Señor Enrique Lister, one of the last surviving civil war leaders, will return to Spain next week after 38 years in exile, according to reports published here today.

Señor Lister, secretary-general of the Spanish Workers' Communist Party, was granted a passport in Paris yesterday. He formed his party seven years ago after being expelled from the Spanish Communist Party.

Señor Lister's party was recognized by Moscow as "the true Spanish Communist Party", in an attempt to split the party headed by Señor Santiago Carrillo, who was

then espousing Eurocommunism and had condemned the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Moscow reverted to recognizing Señor Carrillo's party in 1974, having concluded that Señor Lister was a spent force.

Señor Lister still regards Señor Carrillo as a "traitor". Señor Carrillo travels to Moscow tomorrow, reportedly for the first time in seven years, to attend the sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution. Señor Lister will not be there.

Señora Dolores Ibarruri, "La Pasionaria", the Spanish Communist Party's president, left yesterday for Moscow, where she spent 38 years in exile.

Socialist leader's warning on Spanish austerity

From William Chislett
Madrid, Nov 2

Señor Felipe Gonzalez, the socialist leader, warned the Spanish Government in a television interview last night that his party, the strongest opposition group in the Cortes, would be "very exacting" in making sure that the Government fulfilled the agreements contained in the two pacts on economic and political issues.

Señor Gonzalez was one of four political leaders interviewed on television for the first time since the general election on June 15. He said that the agreements meant that "the Opposition has not disappeared, but now has to fulfil a very different and interesting role. We Socialists will be a

very constructive Opposition". The Socialist Party has 118 of the 350 seats in the Congress of Deputies.

Señor Gonzalez said that the ceiling for wage increases of 22 per cent for 1978 should not apply to those on the lower end of the pay scale and that those higher up should accept less.

Señor Santiago Carrillo, the Communist leader, who left for Moscow today, said that the wage ceiling was unprecedented. He cited the case of Britain where the government had a wage guideline of 10 per cent while prices, he said, were increasing by 20 per cent. In Spain the percentages were equal.

The economic pact stipulates that price increases will be kept

to a maximum of 22 per cent in return for the ceiling on wage rises of the same amount. Both Señor Carrillo and Señor Gonzalez said that if prices rose above the agreed rate (inflation is running at 30 per cent at the moment) then they would support a higher wage ceiling.

Señor Carrillo said that there were certain sectors, which he called the "economic bunker", who were out to "force an economic crisis".

Señor Manuel Fraga Iribarne, the conservative leader of the Popular Alliance, was more adamant on political issues. The Alliance was the only party not to sign the political pact. In a reference to the planned reorganization of the police, he said that the state was being

"disarmed" against terrorism and subversion.

"The positive thing is that parties have given up party politics for the next two years and we all believe that we have to work harder and save more."

The last to speak, Señor Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo, of the ruling Democratic Centre Union, said that in an exceptional situation exceptional measures were needed. The fact that the economic measures were left of centre did not mean that the Centre party had renounced its centrist election programme.

Señor Calvo Sotelo said that political fighting had been postponed for the time being. "We are near to the consolidation of democracy. I hope everyone understands this and is capable of making sacrifices."

Spaniards urged to work and save more

From William Chislett
Madrid, Nov 3

Señor Suárez, the Spanish Prime Minister, left here this morning for Bonn on the final leg of his tour of the EEC capitals after appealing to Spaniards last night to support his economic pact with the Opposition.

In his first televised speech since the June general election, he urged Spaniards to make sacrifices for the economic pact of austerity measures to be successful in righting what he described as a "grave situation". They should work harder and save more.

"Spain can no longer allow the luxury of losing millions of work hours a year and one of the lowest rates of productivity in Europe," he said. Four main steps would be taken:

1. The amount of money in circulation would not increase by more than 17 per cent next year.
2. There would be a wage ceiling of 22 per cent.
3. Price increases would be kept to the same amount.
4. Tax reforms would fall heaviest on those who earned the most.

If all these points were fulfilled, Spain's huge balance of payments deficit, expected to reach \$5,000m (£2,800m) by the end of the year, would be reduced and the present inflation rate of 30 per cent would come down.

The opposition parties have reiterated their support for the pact, with warnings from the Communist and Socialist leaders that they would be very exacting in making sure that the Government fulfilled its side of the bargain.

Señor Suárez said there were no magic formulas. Pacts would be useless in spite of the many votes behind the parties which signed, unless all Spaniards threw their weight behind them.

It was essential to restore confidence so that investment would start again, he said.

Police in the Basque country were searching today for three men who last night shot dead a police sergeant outside his home in Iruñ.

Spanish party leader cuts short Moscow visit

From William Chislett
Madrid, Nov 4

Señor Santiago Carrillo, secretary-general of the Spanish Communist Party cut short his visit to Moscow today and decided to return to Madrid because of the ban imposed to prevent him speaking at a Kremlin rally.

The rest of the Spanish delegation at the celebrations to mark the sixtieth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution was returning with him. The only exception was Señora Dolores Ibarruri, the party president, who lived for 38 years as an exile in Moscow. She was staying on for a few more days to see her daughter and grandchildren. She will not attend any official functions.

Interviewed on the Spanish radio last night from Moscow, Señor Carrillo said that if he had been allowed to speak at the rally he would have "hailed the October revolution, which is the patrimony of all the progressive forces in the world, paid tribute to the participation of the Soviet peoples in the destruction of fascism and I would have said a few things explaining how we conceive socialism in Spain".

Undoubtedly it was his desire to speak about Eurocommunism that caused the Soviet authorities to ban the scheduled six-minute speech, Señor Carrillo wrote it during the flight to Moscow and handed it in on arrival "to be translated." Señor Carrillo said that communism needed a kind of Second Vatican Council but what happens is that there in (Moscow) it is more difficult than in the Vatican.

In another interview Señor Carrillo said: "As they say I am a traitor, it would be a little odd for them to allow me to speak." He said he had been put in the back row of the delegates "Where those who wanted to see me had to look hard." Normally party leaders are put in the front row.

It was learnt today that a pro-Moscow communist party has presented its papers to the Spanish Interior Ministry for legalization, so highlighting reports that Moscow may try to form a more pro-Soviet party in Spain, the Party seeking legalization said in its list of statutes, that it was "faithful to the international proletariat and the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Increase in serious crime is partly blamed on the amnesties granted by King Juan Carlos

Spain brings back night watchmen

From William Chislett
Madrid, Nov 6

Spanish police are so alarmed by the increase in crime since the death of General Franco that the Government decided at the weekend to bring back night watchmen—phased out after the General's death—to help to combat the crime wave.

A royal decree signed by King Juan Carlos and published in the official State Bulletin yesterday stipulated that *serenos*, the traditional night watchmen, will be back on duty within three months, and armed for the first time.

They will work in towns with a population of more than 100,000, in close conjunction with the police.

According to figures supplied to *The Times* by the Directorate General of Security there were a total of 59,234 robberies last year and 42,538 in the first six months of this year. If this rise continues at the present rate then by the end of 1977 robberies will have increased by 44 per cent.

The number of *robos* and *atracos*, robberies respectively without and with violence, have gone up most. But rapes, murders and assassinations with political motives are also on the increase.

In 1976 there were 287 rapes, 94 murders and 24 assassinations. In the first six

months of this year the figures were 198, 53 and 24.

The increase in crime is blamed mainly on the rise of unemployment and on the release of many criminals from prisons in the past two years under pardons and amnesties.

Figures released by the Ministry of Justice reveal that a total of 10,843 prisoners have been released since the death of General Franco. Under a pardon granted by King Juan Carlos on November 25, 1975, after his ascent to the Throne, 8,903 prisoners were released and later another 1,940. When General Franco died on November 20, 1975, there were 15,518 prisoners and in October 1977 there were 9,978.

The police now admit that it was an error to phase out the night watchmen, who, with their long dark blue coat, peaked cap, heavy stick and a bunch of keys used to be a familiar sight at night. They came on duty at about 10.30 pm when the main doors of buildings and blocks of flats were locked. The only way to get in after this time, except for people who had the key to the main door, would be to clap hands and seemingly from nowhere a *sereno* would appear.

They were badly paid, overworked and had to live on the good will and charity of neighbours in the areas they covered. When they began to

be gradually phased out their duties were theoretically taken over by the police.

In fact municipal police in particular are understaffed and could not keep the same kind of watch on buildings.

The authorities estimate that about 7,000 watchmen are needed for the service to be effective. For example, a working class district outside Madrid, like Moratalaz, has only 21 watchmen at the moment to cope with a population of 13,617 and an area of about 950 acres, whereas in the centre of Madrid, in the Salamanca area, there are about 60 night watchmen for 40 acres and a population of about 420,000.

For the right wing the increase in crime, which is similar to what happened in Portugal after the revolution, is symptomatic of the authorities' laxity.

Criminals are certainly becoming most ingenious in Madrid as an incident that happened to Spanish friends of mine, demonstrates.

They returned at night to find their car stolen. Next morning they found it parked in the street with two theatre tickets pinned to the windscreen and an apology for taking the car for an emergency reason. That night they went to the theatre and when they returned found their flat virtually wiped clean.

Catalan leader seriously ill in hospital

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, Nov 6

Señor Josep Tarradellas, the President of the Generalitat, the recently restored Catalan autonomous Government, continued to be in a serious condition today in a Barcelona hospital where he is receiving treatment for lung and renal insufficiency. He is 78.

Señor Tarradellas signed a decree from his hospital bed last night nominating Señor Frederic Rahola, his delegate, as a *conseller* (minister) of the Generalitat.

The decree signed by King Juan Carlos nominating Señor Tarradellas makes no mention of what would happen in the eventuality of his being unable to continue at the head of the generalitat. Señor Tarradellas returned last month after 38 years in exile.

WEST EUROPE

Carrillo party gives the lie to Tass report

From William Chislett
Madrid, Nov 7

The Spanish Communist Party today rejected a statement from Tass about the failure of Señor Carrillo, the party's leader, to speak at the Kremlin during the sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution. Tass said it was because he arrived late, but the party maintained that he was invited to speak and then banned.

The Tass version, based on an interview with Mr Victor Afasiev, the editor of *Pravda*, was yet another sign of the rift between Moscow and the Spanish "Eurocommunist" party. The Soviet news agency's statement was tantamount to calling Señor Carrillo a liar.

In its reply, the Spanish party limited itself to listing chronologically what happened. It said that Señor Carrillo and other members had originally told Moscow they would be able to go only for the end of the celebrations because of other commitments.

However, after a delegation from Moscow arrived, including the *Pravda* editor to tell the Spanish party that Señor Carrillo was invited to speak and that his presence was requested from the beginning, the party changed its timetable and agreed.

Señor Carrillo was then invited to prepare a speech last-minute—and he handed it in to be translated on arrival in Moscow. The party had by then told Moscow that he would arrive late as he had to attend the congress of the Catalan Communist Party. The statement added that the Spanish knew the speech was translated but that Señor Carrillo was not called to speak.

It added that the offer made to Señor Carrillo to speak at another meeting or outside Moscow was "inconsiderate" and anyway his schedule did not permit staying any longer.

Señor Enrique Lister, Señor Carrillo's rival as secretary general of the Spanish Workers' Communist Party, formed after he was expelled from Señor Carrillo's party in 1970, returned to Madrid this evening after 38 years in exile.

The pro-Moscow party of Señor Lister was recently legalized and he said on arrival at Madrid airport that he intended to continue to fight for a communist society. His differences with Señor Carrillo are well known and their relations appear to have reached an all-time low. Señor Lister has called his rival a "political gangster".

A communist commander in the Spanish Civil War, Señor Lister went on to serve as a general in the armies of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Poland.

The Civil War heroes and villains in blue and red on a Madrid cinema screen



Picture from the past: Franco meets Hitler.

In this film all the actors including millions of Spaniards interpret their own history: with the live performances of Pasionaria... anything similar between what happens here and reality is not fantasy.

Protagonist: . . . , Francisco Franco.

Scene: Spain.

Date: 1936-39.

At first sight this announcement displayed in bold letters outside a cinema in Madrid looks like an advertisement for a spoof film on the Spanish Civil War. In fact it is the billboard of the first authentic film on the Civil War: a documentary called *Caudillo* after the late General Franco, the self-styled "Caudillo of Spain by the Grace of God".

Not surprisingly, the film is a hit, for the great majority of Spaniards belong to the silent (post Civil War) generation and have little idea of what really happened to the generation which took part in the war, the survivors of which are also flocking to see the film. For the first time Spaniards are able to examine that tragic past, previously only covered in the official propaganda of the Franco era.

Above the announcement is a huge cut-out figure of Franco in military uniform with his arm outstretched towards a Nazi plane. Another scene shows two women clasping each other while bombs explode around them. Inside the cinema there are cut-out figures of an anarchist, a Falangist and other wartime participants. On the walls there are old black-and-white photographs of "Civil War" scenes. The red and yellow Spanish national flag is draped in several places—the Republican flag, however, is not to be seen for it is still illegal on public buildings.

A police jeep nightly patrols the area by the cinema, just off the Gran Vía in case of attacks on the cinema by right-wing extremists.

Caudillo is the third documentary by Sr. Basilio Martín Patino. His first one *Canciones para después de una guerra* (Songs for after a war) used, as *Caudillo*, newsreels, material and commentaries of the time to brilliantly recreate life after the Civil War. It was banned for six years—or to be more precise it was approved on June 3, 1971 by the board of censors and then not allowed to be shown until August, 1976, because it offended various regime figures who overruled the censors' ban. *Caudillo* also experienced some problems.

It is a strange experience to see the film, which uses a blue tint for the sequences of the Nationalists—the *azules* (blues) as they were called—and a red tint for the sequences of the Republicans—the *rojos* (reds) as they were nicknamed.

Brought up on official propaganda (the ban on publishing Professor Hugh Thomas's standard book on the Civil War was only lifted a year ago) Spaniards are seeing for the first time the protagonists of that period. It is an eerie sensation to walk out of the cinema afterwards and realize that many of the "heroes" and "villains" shown on the screen are alive and well in Spain like "La Pasionaria", Dolores Ibarruri, the 82 years old president of the Spanish Communist Party, back in Madrid after 38 years exile in Moscow.

In *Caudillo* she is seen addressing Republicans and telling them that many aspersions have been cast on her character by the Nationalists and that if they mean that these are her "children" then she could not be prouder than if they fought against Fascism. "La Pasionaria" gave basically the same message at a rally in Madrid this month.

Historic film of the bombing of Guernica is shown in a dramatic scene interchanging the destruction of the ancient Basque town with haunting shots of the child-like eyes of Picasso, who immortalized the bombing by the Condor Legion.

The same day that I saw the film the senate approved four proposals: the return to Spain of the painting "Guernica" and of the remains of Alfonso XIII, Sr Manuel Azara and Sr Niceto Alcalá (both presidents of the Republic, who like the king died in exile). It was as if history was catching up with itself.

One of the many moving scenes in the film (which includes gruesome pictures of people shot) shows Alfonso XIII leaving Spain in 1931 just before the second Republic was established. His grandson, Juan Carlos, is now one of the driving forces behind the transition from dictatorship to democracy and the two sides are reconciled after the October amnesty.

Sr Rafael Alberti, the communist poet, also back in Madrid, is shown reading poems to troops. On the other side Sr Raimundo Fernandez-Cuesta, now trying to get together an extreme right-wing National Alliance, is seen praising Fascism. The face of Sr Jose Maria Gil Robles, the leader of the powerful conservative CEDA in the 1933 election, is seen on posters: Sr Gil Robles was joint leader of the Christian Democrat alliance in the June general election and won a mere 1.4 per cent of the votes.

Spaniards are watching *Caudillo* calmly with few of the expected cheers and hisses for the "heroes" and "villains" while they search their consciences for the causes of this fratricidal confrontation.

William Chislett

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Non-speech estranges Spanish and Kremlin

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, Nov 8

Relations between the Spanish Communist Party and Moscow appear to have reached an all-time low as a result of the dispute between Señor Santiago Carrillo and the Kremlin leadership over the speech which he wanted to deliver during the anniversary celebrations of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Many have been the differences between Señor Carrillo and the Kremlin. He condemned the 1968 intervention in Czechoslovakia and his book *Eurocommunist and the State* provoked accusations of traitor to the Soviet cause. From the version given by Tass as to what happened last week in Moscow it seems Señor Carrillo is now regarded as a liar.

Tass insisted that Señor Carrillo was not banned from making his speech but arrived too late to deliver it. Señor Carrillo is adamant that he was banned and last night boycotted the reception given by the Soviet Embassy in Madrid to mark the anniversary.

Nevertheless, the Spanish party has no intention of breaking with Moscow. "That would be to behave like a child", a member of the executive committee said. On the other hand, the Spanish party is not expecting to see much of Moscow in the near future, either in the form of visits there or to receive delegations in Madrid.

Señor Carrillo's speech, which he has since said he tore up, would have been no stronger than the one given by Signor Enrico Berlinguer, the Italian leader, the source said. Only passing reference would have been made to the party's conception of socialism in Spain. Señor Carrillo did not go to Moscow to insult it to its face.

The Spanish party believes that the Kremlin may be trying to split the Eurocommunist movement, or it could be that preference was given to Signor Berlinguer because his party is very much nearer to power than that in Spain.

But although Señor Carrillo's party is small and has only 20 seats in Congress, the lower House of the Cortes, the Kremlin, the source said, regards him as a far more serious threat.

The "hawks" in the Kremlin are outraged by his outspoken theories—that socialism can only come to developed Western countries through respect for democracy—while the "doves" want to take a softer line realizing that the kind of treatment given him is counterproductive.

In the party's view, an order to ban Señor Carrillo from speaking came from high up, perhaps from President Brezhnev himself. Señor Antonio Gutierrez, the secretary general of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, who also went to Moscow, was quoted in yesterday's *Informaciones* as saying: "I am convinced that there are serious tensions in the leadership of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union."

The party believes that the hawks won the day because of the continued and obsessive fear which Moscow has over the seeds of discontent which Señor Carrillo could sow in the East European countries. The Kremlin fears that his waving of the flag of independence from Moscow could have serious repercussions.

The Spanish party feels that Moscow now regrets what it has done and neither side knows what will be the next step. Señor Carrillo has no intention of renouncing his foreign policy ideas with Eurocommunism as a separate force from Nato and the Warsaw Pact. He left for Yugoslavia today for a meeting with President Tito and then goes on to Rome to see Signor Berlinguer.

The party will continue to broaden its contacts. The source said that as a result of the latest Moscow treatment, it would probably be easier to start relations between the party and China.

But the visit which Moscow most dislikes is the one next week when Señor Carrillo goes to the United States as the first invited Eurocommunist leader. There he will speak in the universities of Yale and Harvard about Eurocommunism.

While there are no fixed contacts with the Carter Administration there will be meetings at some level for, the source said, the new Administration was interested to know what Eurocommunism was all about.

Far from being humiliated by the Moscow skirmish, the Spanish party feels it has gained more supporters, which is probably the main reason for the present relaxed atmosphere in the party's headquarters. Accusations that this might have been the reason for Señor Carrillo's brush with Moscow are dismissed as rubbish.

The Times November 8, 1977

Spanish left denies 'secret deals'

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, Nov 10

The Spanish Workers Socialist Party today denied that there were any "secret clauses" in the political and economic pacts between the Government and the opposition parties over postponing municipal elections.

There have been reports that the political parties who signed the pacts have agreed to put off municipal elections until next year. While these reports have been denied, the different political parties are in disagreement over the issue.

After the June general election all parties spoke of the need for the municipal elections

to be held before the end of 1977, but this is now considered most unlikely.

Señor Felipe Gonzalez, the Socialist Secretary-General, saw Señor Suárez, the Prime Minister last night for two hours and told him that as far as his party was concerned the municipal elections must be held before next spring.

One of the problems is that there is no democratic legislation on municipal elections yet, as General Franco's laws are still in existence. Another problem is that for various reasons some of the parties are less keen than others to hold the elections quickly, in particular,

the ruling Democratic Centre Union which, according to secret opinion polls, is losing votes. The Communists on the other hand are keen for they consider that their star is rising.

Municipal elections are regarded here as very important, but for the moment the parties seem far more concerned with the trade union elections, which could be held in December.

While the parties themselves seem quite happy to put them off until next year there are increasing signs of restlessness over the matter in the Basque country where many mayors resigned last year.

Fundación TRANSICIÓN Española

Thousands pay tribute to Gen Franco's memory

From William Chislett
Madrid, Nov 20

Pouring rain did not dampen the spirits of tens of thousands of supporters of General Franco's ideas who gathered in Madrid today on the second anniversary of his death at an open-air mass for his soul. The organizers claimed that about a million people had attended.

In the Plaza Oriente, where Franco had made his last public speech shortly before his death, the crowd denounced the Government of Senor Suarez for dismantling the general's system.

Waving banners with such slogans as: "Carrillo to the firing squad" (Senor Santiago Carrillo is the Communist

leader) and a red-and-yellow national flag, the assembled Francoists, young and old, in jeans and in fur coats, vented their anger on the new democratic Spain.

They applauded and shouted: "Franco, Franco", when the provincial head of the right-wing Fuerza Nueva, Senor Javier Alba, called for the resignation of the Government.

Senor José-Antonio Giron, the leader of the Civil War veterans' organization who was Minister of Labour after the war, said that history could not be buried by royal decree. There was disorder, chaos, moral laxity, economic ruin and terrorism.

Suárez party decides its line after election

From William Chislett
Madrid, Nov 21

Spain's ruling Democratic Centre Union has drawn up its ideological programme exactly four months after winning the country's first general election in 41 years.

The party went to the polls with a hastily drafted outline which included a colour photograph of Senor Suarez, the Prime Minister, and has now had time to study the matter more carefully and present a more coherent plan.

It reads not unlike that of the British Conservative Party—emphasis on the importance of the individual, rejection of Marxism, belief in a market economy and in the humanistic values of Christian ethics.

The party, which is a conglomeration of Christian Democrats, Liberals, Social Democrats and converts from the Franco regime, has tried to satisfy all these interests by defining itself as drawing from the principles of the Christian Democratic, Liberal and Social Democratic Parties.

There have been repeated reports of internal differences within the Centre as each of these political families tries to assert itself. The programme has left the issue open by not allying itself with a particular political grouping.

The lengthy programme, which has to be approved at the party's congress is a sign that the Centre is at last starting to organize itself as a party and not just an electoral force: two distinct things.

It won the general election with an absolute majority in the Senate and a working majority in the Congress of Deputies, the two houses of the Cortes (Parliament), more

because of the image of its leader, Senor Suarez, than for any organizational excellence.

Senor Suarez knows that in the next election the party will need to be far better organized. Perhaps for this reason he has just started to visit provincial party headquarters. Dr. Mario Soares, the Socialist Prime Minister of Portugal, arrived here today on an official visit during which he will sign a treaty of friendship and co-operation with Spain to replace the archaic Iberian Pact.

Dr Soares was met at Madrid airport by Senor Suarez and then went to the Zarzuela Palace for an audience of King Juan Carlos. The Iberian Pact was signed in 1939 by Franco and Salazar, the Spanish and Portuguese dictators, and dealt with matters of security in their respective countries.

"La Pasionaria" challenged Communists in the constituency of Senora Dolores Ibaruri ("La Pasionaria"), the party's president, have renewed their demands that the veteran revolutionary should hand over her seat in Parliament to a younger person in better health.

Party sources said that the demands were made yesterday by a majority of the 17 delegations attending a regional meeting of the Communist Party in Oviedo, the capital of the Asturias coal mining region.

Senora Ibaruri, aged 82, returned from exile in Moscow six months ago to contest the June 15 general election in her old Asturian constituency. She won a seat in the Congress of Deputies, but has been ailing and recently had a pacemaker implanted to control her heartbeat.—Reuter.

Times Profile

The man who would be king

"When you are head of state you will be able to do some of the things which I have been unable to do", General Franco once told his successor, Juan Carlos, who tomorrow celebrates his second anniversary as King of Spain. It was the only remark, rich in irony, which the dictator ever made to his designated successor about his conception of the king's role after his own death. Few people dispute that what the 39-year-old King has achieved in the past two years has been remarkable—one of the most successful transitions from dictatorship to democracy of all time, though still to be consolidated.

The Spain of Juan Carlos is

unrecognizable as the country General Franco left behind. There are now political parties, trade unions, a democratic Cortes (Parliament) and statutes of autonomy in progress—all the "enemies" of the dictator.

The King has always wondered whether General Franco's remark was a hint that the dictator realized change was inevitable, or may be that he suspected that Juan Carlos—"The Child" as he was then known—was not as simple as he appeared. If the "old generalissimo" had been a fly on the wall of the King's elegant study during the long and frank conversation I had with Juan Carlos this month, he would have marvelled, undoubtedly shuddered, at the astuteness and political intelligence of his successor. But then who better to teach the art of survival than Franco?

Was this the same man who was nicknamed "Juan Carlos the Brief" and whom many Spaniards assumed would be a puppet king to maintain the regime? I kept asking myself during our meeting. Then I remembered a joke about the king which he himself appreciates, with a keen sense of humour reminding one of his uncle, the Duke of Edinburgh, whom he greatly admires. The joke went: Why was Juan Carlos crowned in a submarine?—Because deep down he is not stupid. Nothing could be more true.

The King's modest Zarzuela Palace is several miles outside Madrid, in wooded parkland. There is one checkpoint as you enter the grounds and another

just before you reach the palace, which is quite near the dictator's old residence.

Juan Carlos Víctor María de Borbón y Borbón was born in Rome on Twelfth Night 1933, in the middle of the Spanish Civil War. The royal family had by then been seven years in exile. Don Juan, the Count of Barcelona, the King's father, had tried to enlist on General Franco's side in July 1936. He secretly crossed the Pyrenees and arrived at an hotel under the name of Juan López. General Mola, who controlled the north for General Franco, soon got wind of his presence and politely but firmly put him back into France.

General Franco later justified the action by saying: "If a king is again to be head of state he should appear as a peacemaker and not come from the camp of the victors." Seen in the light of today, it was an ironic defence, for General Franco's idea behind later grooming Juan Carlos to succeed him was to maintain the regime born out of his civil war victory.

Alfonso XIII abdicated in favour of Don Juan in 1941, two years after the end of the civil war and six weeks before he died. Don Juan and family moved to Switzerland then to Estoril, Portugal, where he still lives. The rift between Don Juan, who considered that he should be king of Spain, and Franco soon became apparent with a declaration by Don Juan in 1945 calling for the dictator to "recognize the failure of the totalitarian conception of the state" and to restore the monarchy.

General Franco ignored the call and snubbed Don Juan in the 1947 referendum when Spain was declared a "Catholic, social and representative monarchy" with him as the lifetime uncrowned monarch. The dictator had the right to name his successor as king or regent.

Don Juan was furious and denounced the referendum. The following year, on August 25, he met the dictator on board his yacht Azor off San Sebastian and agreed to send his son Juan Carlos to Spain to be educated. General Franco did not want to alienate the monarchists, upon whom to a small extent he relied for support in his policy of divide and rule, and Don Juan wanted to leave the door open so that one day the monarchy might return under him or his son. "I was conscious that he would lose contact with reality unless he lived in Spain", Don Juan told me.

Juan Carlos was only 10 when his father and mother put him on the train at Lisbon for Madrid. Don Juan, with tears in his eyes, turned to his wife and told her: "We are losing a son..." It was the beginning of "Operation Juan Carlos" which later led to Don Juan reproaching his son for accepting the nomination from General Franco and which put both father and son in painful and ambiguous positions. Both are now reconciled and emphasize the strong bond between them.

Juan Carlos arrived in the hungry "dark night of the dictatorship" when Spain was shunned by the rest of the

world and was in the aftermath of a fierce repression. He was a melancholic and sulking child, separated for long periods at a time from his father and drawn into the cold bosom of General Franco, who never had a son. Juan Carlos was an impressionable and sensitive child. A member of his father's privy council in Lisbon remembers how a Swiss nurse once gave Juan Carlos 250 escudos to give to a beggar who appeared in the garden. "It seems little to me", said Juan Carlos, "we must give him more... I have the obligation to give him more."

The young prince came with his younger brother, Alfonso, and was assigned a formidable team of private tutors appointed by Don Juan, although there were one or two which General Franco later insisted on approving or naming himself, like Sr Torcuato Fernandez Miranda, a law professor, who later played a vital role in the transition. It was a rigorous schedule: up at 7 am, Mass before breakfast, studies and gymnastics until 1 pm and in the afternoon riding and shooting. Juan Carlos did not see his first film until he was 17. In his library were books like the complete works of Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, founder of the Falange and hero of the Franco regime, shot during the civil war. The prince's examination results were read out on Radio Nacional. One private report read: "Tries hard, but no real academic flair."

After a second interview between Don Juan and the dictator, Juan Carlos started his military education, passing through the academies of all



three services. Some of Don Juan's supporters feared that Juan Carlos would be "taken in" by the regime. Don Juan warned his son about this. During a visit to Estoril when he was about 16, another member of Don Juan's privy council, now a member of the Cortes, remembers how Juan Carlos told him: "I know you are a friend of my father's and I just want you to realize that I shall always be loyal to him." The pressures were already beginning to show.

In 1954 the prince was invited by Pablo and Federica of Greece to join them on a cruise. There he met his future wife

Sofia, the daughter of the Greek royal couple. Juan Carlos gave her Spanish lessons, for he is a "considerable" linguist, speaking five languages. He met her again in Rome in 1960 where his future brother-in-law, Constantine of Greece, won a gold medal in the Olympics for yachting, and in 1962 they were married.

Juan Carlos was now studying law, political science and economics. He has an inquisitive, inquiring mind, and during this time would ask his tutors what he should read and from where he could take advice to help him for the future. Sr Fernandez Miranda told him once that he could give him no "crutches" and that he would have to think for himself. It was advice which stayed with the King.

In 1968, when he was 30, he became eligible under the terms of the organic state law to be appointed successor. Don Juan wrote to his son to warn him of the dangers of accepting the nomination and of the dynastic problems this could create. By this time Juan Carlos had spent 20 years in Spain and according to one person who knew him "the regime had convinced him that democracy was decadent". Juan Carlos felt from early on that the only way he would survive after Franco would be to become a constitutional monarch, but he realized his limits and never said during the dictatorship more than he thought would be wise. He was highly conscious of not overstepping the mark, particularly with the reactionary military, and creating problems for the future.

Juan Carlos always showed the dictator respect and loyalty and would report back to him things which his supporters were saying in his name but which Juan Carlos knew he had not said. General Franco always politely thanked him for what he told him. However, the two of them never had a close relationship and after Juan Carlos was named his successor they did not see much of each other, except at hunts and official occasions.

On July 22, 1969, Juan Carlos accepted the nomination, feeling that he had to do so to save the monarchy. He was aware that to have turned it down would probably have meant losing the crown not only for himself but also for his father. More than this, there was a danger, real at this time according to well placed sources, that the dictator might have named Juan Carlos's cousin, Alfonso, as his successor. Alfonso's father, Don Jaime, born deaf and dumb, had renounced his claim to the Spanish throne in favour of his younger brother, Don Juan. Alfonso married the dictator's granddaughter Carmen and was given the title of the Duke of Cadiz.

One person who went to parties given by the Duke of Cadiz after Juan Carlos's nomination remembers prominently displayed pictures of Alfonso XIII with inscriptions to the Duke: "To my favourite grandson."

Juan Carlos accepted the nomination in the only terms which he could by swearing allegiance to the regime and to the "political legitimacy which rose from July 18, 1936", the date of General Franco's military uprising.

Don Juan denounced his son's appointment and for a time his relations with his son reached a low point. His wife, Dona Maria, acted as an intermediary between father and son. Juan Carlos "suffered" a lot during the last six years of the dictatorship. He was so affected by the nomination and egged on to "confront" his father to abdicate that thinking about it would make him cry. There was never any chance of General Franco naming Don Juan to succeed him, for the differences between the two of them were too great and Don Juan's liberal views and opposition contacts too well known.

From his nomination until the dictator's death, Juan Carlos had to move carefully. His father's telephone in Estoril was tapped, and probably his own was, too. People who saw the prince during this time came away impressed by his understanding of the situation.

The recently published diary of Sr Jose Maria Arellaza, the King's Foreign Minister in his first government relates how Sr Carlos Arias, the Prime Minister of that government, had in his possession according to another minister, "Tapes of conversations when the monarch was prince. It seems that they contain commentaries and tremendous judgments. It would be a dynastic Watergate." The King has demanded to know if there were any tapes but has never been given any.

Don Juan continued to denounce the dictator from Portugal, and there was a tense moment when he fired off an attack in the presence of Juan Carlos. Madrid was agog: was the prince expressing by proxy through his father's voice feelings which he had to suppress? Five months before General Franco died, Don Juan was banned from setting foot in Spain for a brief time after he said that his son's nomination was "logically no use at all in bringing democratic change."

Throughout the last six years of the regime Juan Carlos was very much in the shadows, but he took every opportunity to show that he had a mind of his own without overplaying himself. Once when attending a reception his aides told him that a group of Carlists, who support a rival claimant to the throne, were outside and wanted to kick his car in. When they advised him to leave by the back entrance he answered: "You can, but I am leaving by the same door that I came in." And he did.

When General Franco died

leaving his system "well tied up" there were many who thought Juan Carlos would be a prisoner of the situation.

In fact the King asserted his authority right from Franco's death, but subtly, behind the scenes, acutely aware that to break too quickly with the past might provoke a coup and that to go too slowly towards change might unleash the pent-up frustration of the democratic forces. He sweated over his inaugural speech to the rubber-stamped Cortes. No mention of July 18, a clear reference to his father and to a "new stage". One of his household at the speech remembers: "It was almost frightening to see the cold way the Cortes reacted."

Juan Carlos bore in mind the mistakes of his brother-in-law, King Constantine of Greece. He was convinced that to survive he must become a constitutional monarch but the problem was how. When the post of President of the Cortes and of the Council of the Realm, bastion of Francoism and the country's highest advisory body, became vacant a week after the dictator's death, the King personally appointed, among murmurs from the right, Sr Fernandez Miranda to the job.

It was a smart move for, although no liberal, Sr Fernandez Miranda was very loyal to the King and told him that he must become constitutional. Rather than accept the formal resignation of Sr Fernandez Miranda, last Prime Minister, and so run the risk of the Council of the Realm recommending someone even more Francoist—and more seriously for the King someone whom the ruling clique could manipulate more easily—the King asked him to stay on.

The King perfectly understands the highly conservative military. As one of his ministers in his first government told me: "He always keeps an eye on the armed forces to see how they will react to decisions but this does not mean that he consults them."

"You too have had to wait..." the King told Sr Arellaza after he was appointed Foreign Minister. It was the release so much frustration which built up again when it soon became clear to the King—who maintained during the first months after the dictator close telephone contact with Dr Kissinger, Herr Walter Scheel, President Giscard d'Estaing and Don Juan—that Sr Arias was a disaster and would have to go. They were dark months for the King, and he wondered if he would ever see light at the end of the tunnel.

In July, 1976, he took the decision and asked Sr Arias to resign, and then to everyone's amazement appointed Sr Adolfo Suarez. It had all been carefully planned. Sr Suarez was chosen as the man to dismantle the system from within. Almost everyone criticized the King, but he has been proved right. "A king is as wise as the ministers he chooses," a close friend of Don Juan told me.

The King spotted Sr Suarez, who is a few years older than he is, when he was a civil governor. He really got to know him when he was head of television and tried to promote the image of Juan Carlos. Juan Carlos had by now plucked up enough courage to accept the responsibility of bringing democracy. Those opposed to it would have to "swallow" it. He told Sr Suarez right from the start that one of the many problems would be the legalization of the Communist Party, which was not done until last April. The Communists were letting the palace know that unless they were legalized they would call demonstrations, and the palace was letting them know that if the King were pushed into anything he might find himself a prisoner in his own palace surrounded by tanks. April was a sticky month for him.

Ten days before the first electoral campaign in 41 years, Don Juan abdicated so that there would be no problem in the new democratic Cortes with the drafting of the new constitution as to who was king.

Juan Carlos exudes a strong feeling of having his feet firmly on the ground—he stamped them several times for me as if to demonstrate the point. Spaniards do not want a playboy king and neither do they want a monarch who is too involved in politics. Juan Carlos wants to be, as he has said in speeches, "the king of all Spaniards."

He wants to retain just sufficient powers so that Spaniards still feel his presence as being above party politics and having at heart the interests of the country as a whole.

A measure of his considerable success is that Spain's Euro-communist leader, Sr Santiago Carrillo, is now numbered among the King's fans. He said dramatically but with some truth, that without the King, "the shooting would already have begun."

Shortly after I left the palace after our one and a half hour conversation—during which the King, visibly tired from overwork, had to stifle a few yawns—a blue Mercedes sped past me followed by a black Dodge. The King was driving, and he bleeped his horn as he passed me. It was a typical gesture of a remarkable man who is here to stay.

William Chislett

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Premiers give pledge on Iberian accord

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, Nov 21

Dr Mario Soares, the Portuguese Prime Minister, arrived here today on an official visit during which he will sign a treaty of friendship and co-operation with Spain to replace the archaic Iberian Pact.

The pact was signed in 1939 by General Franco and Dr Salazar, the Portuguese dictator.

Madrid, Nov 21.—At a dinner tonight, Señor Suárez, the Spanish Prime Minister, warned Portugal that the future of democracy in the Iberian peninsula depended on close co-operation between Lisbon and Madrid.

In reply, Dr Soares said the two nations should cooperate in their common aim of joining the EEC.—Reuter.

Spanish parties agreed on parliamentary monarchy

From William Chislett
Madrid, Nov 22

Spain will be a "parliamentary monarchy" according to the first draft of the new constitution which is being drawn up to replace General Franco's fundamental laws.

The monthly magazine *Cuadernos para el Diálogo* is to publish the draft later this week. It was finished last week after three months of discussions between representatives of the main political parties.

It had been thought that the term "monarchy" might not appear in the first draft in deference to the republican ideas of the Socialists and Communists. The political leaders have cooperated remarkably well over the first draft and can be expected to reveal their differences when work on the second draft begins.

The issue of monarchy or republic is not as sensitive as some make it out to be. The Socialists and Communists are traditionally republican but, as

their leaders have said, the issue at the moment is the consolidation of democracy.

King Juan Carlos, who today celebrated the second anniversary of his ascent to the throne, does not, apparently, view the issue with alarm. He would be quite content if the word "monarchy" was left out of the final draft of the constitution if this meant avoiding a political dispute.

Another contentious issue is that of a state religion. Article three of the first draft, according to the magazine, says that Spain will be declared a non-confessional state.

The Archbishop of Madrid, Cardinal Enrique y Tarancón, made an appeal on the first day of the episcopal assembly yesterday for the state not to ignore the Roman Catholic Church in the new constitution.

He said that the state could not turn its back on the social reality of the country in which many people belong to the Catholic Church.

Leaking of new constitution draft attacked

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, Nov 23

The leaking to the monthly magazine *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*, of the first draft of the new Spanish constitution has brought widespread condemnation by politicians and the resignation from the board of directors of the magazine of Señor Gregorio Peces Barba, the Socialist member of the committee responsible for the draft.

The inter-party committee did not intend to publish the draft until December 10, by which time members would have discussed the constitution for the second time. Señor Peces Barba wrote yesterday to the editor of the magazine which is noted for its radical line, to protest at the publication and offer his resignation. The editor replied that one of the draft's articles in which they had published recognizes the freedom of expression without prior censorship. The magazine is considering publishing the rest of the draft.

The constitution committee held a special meeting today to discuss the publication.

Memoirs to upset Señor Carrillo

From William Chislett
Madrid, Nov 24

Early next year the second volume of the memoirs of Señor Enrique Lister, for over 30 years a highly placed member of the Spanish Communist Party, will go on sale here. They can be expected to embarrass the party and its leader, Señor Santiago Carrillo.

The book will deal with the period from 1939, at the end of the Civil War when Señor Lister fled to Moscow, until after he left the party in 1970 over serious political differences. Señor Lister has returned to Madrid this month after 38 years in exile, most of it in France.

In an interview with *The Times* he said his book would "denounce the political means by which Carrillo has destroyed the party". He would cite documents and material from the time when he and Señor Carrillo worked together, from 1945 until 1970.

The animosity between Señor Carrillo and the sprightly, 70-year-old Señor Lister is well known in Spain.

"If Carrillo were dead, or if he were not the leader of the Communist Party, then all this would not be published. But it is because he represents one

of the greatest dangers for the future of Spain. What is now called the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) is not communist. Let them give it another name if they want, but not communist", Señor Lister declared.

The firm publishing the book confirmed that the memoirs will contain some "sensational" things. A PCE spokesman said he knew of the book and that it was typical of its author's tactics.

Señor Lister talked to me in a small, freezing ground-floor flat near the River Manzanares, the headquarters of his own party, the small Spanish Workers' Communist Party (PCOE) formed after he left the PCE. The PCOE is far more pro-Moscow than the PCE. Señor Carrillo's brushes with the Soviet Union are well known.

Paint was peeling off the walls of the PCOE headquarters. There were posters of Señor Lister on the damp walls, an old battered sofa and a picture of Lenin. The contrast between the two headquarters could not have been greater. The PCE has comfortable offices in the centre of Madrid.

Señor Lister is widely acknowledged, even by his enemies, as having been a brave military expert in the Civil War. He

left Spain in 1939 with the rank of colonel.

In the Soviet Union—where he had military training from 1932 to 1935—he rose to the rank of general and was also a general in the Polish and Yugoslav armies. But he prefers to be known as plain Señor.

He claims that Señor Carrillo is politically dangerous because he is leading Spain towards a situation similar to that during the Second Republic. Señor Lister said it was not just Franco, Hitler and Mussolini who brought about the Civil War, but also the failure of Republican leaders to solve any of the problems of the turbulent period from 1931 to 1936.

He sees the same thing happening again, as he considers the left to be "bourgeois" and the Communist Party failing to defend the interests of the working class.

Señor Lister called the economic pact between the Government and the opposition parties "miserable". "The same people as usual are paying for the economic crisis—the exploited, agricultural labourers. And who is one of the main supporters of the pact? Carrillo. He is now an adviser of Suárez (the Prime Minister)." —Reuter.

Spanish bishops attack draft constitution

From Harry Debelius
Madrid, Nov 27

The Roman Catholic Church, a champion of liberty in the latter years of the Franco regime, yesterday denounced the proposed constitution drawn up by a committee of Parliament.

A spokesman for the National Episcopal Council said after a meeting of that body in Madrid that the bishops objected to the way such matters as divorce, abortion and education were dealt with in the document. The meeting was presided over by Cardinal Enrique y Tarancón, Archbishop of Madrid.

The bishops claim that unless the draft of the constitution is changed, "it will not correspond sufficiently to the religious reality of the Spanish people". They argue that the constitution should prohibit abortion and guarantee "the stability of matrimony and the integral development of the family". They also say it should take a stand on public morality and even promise support to Third World countries.

The reaction to the hierarchy's appraisal of the document was swift. Perdisis, an incisive cartoonist whose sketches appear in the newspaper *El País*, showed Cardinal Enrique y Tarancón telling a man: "Render unto God that

which is God's, and unto God that which is Caesar's". A leading article in the newspaper accused the hierarchy of interfering in political affairs.

During the bishops' press conference, Cardinal Enrique y Tarancón expressed the fear that Spain might change "from a confessional state to a belligerently anti-confessional state". He maintained: "The state should recognize that we Catholics are a majority."

The document criticizing the proposed constitution was approved by 49 of the 59 bishops attending the meeting. Nine voted against it and one abstained.

As a grim background to the discussion, separatists last night assassinated the chief of the security police of the Basque city of Pamplona. Earlier in the day Basque members of Parliament had approved the text of a provisional autonomy statute for their region.

The extremist organization ETA accepted responsibility for the killing.

Navarra divided on Basque issue

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, Nov 28

The conservative National Alliance Party today published an appeal to Spain's political leaders to prevent strife in the northern province of Navarra after a political killing heightened tension there between pro-Madrid and pro-Basque factions.

The Basque separatist organization ETA assassinated the local chief of the National security police in the provincial capital, Pamplona, on Saturday night. The extremist attack, although it was condemned by the main political parties of the Basque country, was the spark which set off anti-Basque demonstrations on Sunday and today, involving as many as 2,000 people at a time.

The demonstrations reflected a division of opinion among residents of the province about whether Navarra should be included in the Basque region, which is about to win provisional home rule, or whether the province should continue to be an administrative dependency of the central Government in Madrid.

Navarra, once a kingdom in its own right but historically associated with the other three Basque provinces, did not form a part of the independent Basque state which was formed at the time of the Spanish civil war. Its Carlist forces fought fiercely on the side of General Franco, although the Carlist movement later became an enemy of the Franco regime.

Both the National Alliance, headed by Señor Manuel Fraga Iribarne, and the Centre Democratic Union, which brought Señor Suárez, the Prime Minister, to power, have been pursuing a divide-and-conquer policy on the issue of Basque annexation of Navarra, the only Basque province where the Madrid-oriented conservative parties have any appreciable strength.

Demonstrations continued throughout the afternoon in Pamplona today, after the funeral of Major Joaquín Imaz, who was shot dead by Basque terrorists on the day on which Basque members of Spain's democratically elected Parliament gave their approval to the text that will grant provisional home rule to the region.

A military chaplain attached to the security police forces poured fuel on the fire with a sermon in which he alleged that such an assassination would not have taken place during General Franco's rule and praised the tough security police as "guardians of peace". After the funeral, demonstrators marched to the offices of the provincial government, where officials acceded to their angry demands to display the Spanish and Navarra flags.

The killing not only deepened the split between centralists and home-rulers; it isolated further the extreme left wing of Basque nationalism, including minority parties that openly support the ETA.

In a statement the Basque Socialist Party called the killing not only a crime but :

Woman admits placing bomb in Madrid office

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, Nov 29

A young married woman has said she set off a powerful bomb at the offices of a Madrid daily newspaper because it had accused her revolutionary organization of being sponsored by the right wing, according to reports published here today.

The woman, who was arrested on Friday and subsequently accused of terrorist activities, admitted at a news conference in the central police headquarters here yesterday that she placed the explosives which caused £171,000 worth of dam-

age to the offices and press room of the newspaper *Diario-16* on June 26.

Acknowledging that she was a member of Grapo (First of October Antifascist Revolutionary Groups), Señora Elvira Diéguez Silveira de Muñíos, aged 19, explained: "*Diario-16* said that we were managed by the CIA and that we were an extreme right-wing group, and that is not true."

Regarding the aims of Grapo, she said: "We are trying to overthrow Francoism and our arguments are still valid despite the democratic situation."

A Look at Juan Carlos Two Years After Franco

By William Chislett

MADRID—There will be one notable absence at Sunday's rally in the Plaza Oriente to mark the second anniversary of the death of Generalissimo Francisco Franco—his successor, King Juan Carlos, who most probably will be spending the day at home in his Zarzuela Palace, located outside of Madrid.

The 30-year-old King, who in the last two years has presided over the most remarkable transition from dictatorship to democracy, still to be consolidated, knows very well that he would be given a rough time by the dictator's diehard supporters were he to show his face in the large square by the old Royal Palace.

Two years ago the King watched, tired and gaunt, as a granite slab weighing more than a ton and a half sealed off the embalmed body of the protagonist of 40 years of Spanish history at the Valley of the Fallen civil war monument. Then he was called by some "Juan Carlos the Brief," nominated to maintain the regime, and he had no option, as Franco's designated heir, but to attend the burial service.

Forgotten

Last year there was an official memorial service which the King attended, but this year there is no official service. Franco has been forgotten by all but a hard-core minority of civil war veterans, young rightist extremists and a strata of the bourgeoisie, for so much has happened in the last year. The King has always shown respect for the past, but it is the future with which he is now concerned.

The Spain of Juan Carlos is unrecognizable with the country which Franco left behind. There are now political parties, trade unions, a democratic Cortes (parliament) and statutes of autonomy in progress—all the enemies of the dictator.

The only advice which Franco ever gave Juan Carlos was when he said, "When you are head of state you will be able to do some of the things I have been unable to do." It was a strange, ironic remark and one which the King has always thought about. Was it a hint that Franco realized that change was inevitable or maybe he suspected that Juan Carlos—"the child"—was not as simple as he appeared?

The King has worked tirelessly for the democratic cause and is probably the world's most traveled monarch. There are few countries that he has not visited. His trip to Belgium this week almost completes his visits to Western European countries and he has visited the United States and many South American countries.

The furthest that Franco ever went out of Spain was once to meet Hitler on the Spanish-French frontier and an earlier brief tour of German military schools before he took power.

Proves Point

When I saw Juan Carlos this month in his small palace (located near Franco's old residence, which is now a museum), he stamped his feet on the ground several times as if to prove the point that he really has them on the ground. And he has. He exudes confidence and serenity with a fine sense of humor and understands the many problems.

There were those who assumed that the King would be a prisoner of the situation after Franco, but he moved subtly behind the scenes, acutely aware that to break too quickly with the past might provoke a coup and that to go too slowly toward change might unleash the pent-up frustration of the democratic forces.

There were those, too, who thought that the regime had "taken him in." Juan Carlos said little during the Franco years. He was always highly conscious of not overstepping the mark, particularly with the military, whom he understands well. Long before Franco died he realized that the only way he would survive would be to become a constitutional monarch, but he could hardly go to Franco and tell him this. The fate of his brother-in-law ex-King Constant-

ine of Greece was uppermost in his mind.

If a king's wisdom can be judged from those whom he appoints ministers, then Juan Carlos—contrary to all expectation—is a wise monarch. It was his decision after the resignation of his first premier, the Francoist Carlos Arias, in July, 1976, to appoint, out of the blue and to the horror of many, Adolfo Suarez, 44, as Premier. As the minister under Arias of the National Movement, the only legal political organization, Suarez was chosen, as a young man who

knew the system intimately, to dismantle it.

The King has been able to achieve many of the things which he has done thanks to the authoritarian powers left to him by Franco. He now wants to retain just sufficient powers so that Spaniards can still feel his presence as being above party politics and having the interests of the country as a whole at heart. He wants to be "King of all the Spaniards."

He knows that the economy is a serious problem. The strike by

11,000 airport workers closing all of Spain's 33 airports to a standstill for the second time in a week is a disturbing sign that the government's economic pact with all the opposition may be doomed. The government is firm that it will not give way to the pay demands which would break the pact.

Even Santiago Carrillo, the wily, headline-making leader of Spain's Communist party, is now numbered among the King's fans. He said dramatically that but for the King "the shooting would already have begun."