Spanish conscripts will get new deal after 200 years

From Harry Debelius
Madrid, May 2

Spanish conscripts will no longer be legally obliged to fight against the personal enemies of the King, nor to obey orders that might make them war criminals, according to the first complete revision of the Standing General Orders of the Armed Forces since the eighteenth century.

The revision of the Orders, which were laid down about two centuries ago, has not yet been put into effect, but it is expected to get final approval soon from the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Lieutenant-General Manuel Gutiérrez Mellado, the Deputy Prime Minister for Defence.

Several career military men have opposed any alteration of the old standing orders for fear that the changes might undermine morale and discipline.

One high-ranking officer felt so strongly about it that he wrote an article last winter in the right-wing Madrid newspaper *El Alcazar*, without the approval of his superiors. He called the proposal "madness" and part of a scheme for "the disintegration of the Fatherland." The officer, Lieutenant-General Luis Cano Portal, was placed under house arrest for two months.

The new Orders, which will probably bear the title of "Orders of Juan Carlos I", take into account modern developments and attitudes. For example, they leave the door open to the formal incorporation of women into the Armed Services for the first time, in a clause which prohibits discrimination against any member of the Armed Forces for reasons of "politics, religion, social status or even sex".

The new standing orders do not, however, specifically say that Spanish women should perform military service, and that question is bound to create controversy once the orders are officially published.

So far feminists here have not commented on whether women should form part of the defence forces. The proposed standing orders imply that, if women are admitted, there can be no discrimination regarding tasks just because they are female.

Suarez move to tighten control of ruling party

From OurCorrespondent
Madrid, May 3

The executive committee of Spain's ruling Centre Party who yesterday decided to resign met again today to consider their position.

The 10-man committee apparently decided to resign in order to give Senor Suarez, the Prime Minister, a free hand to be more directly involved in organizing the party.

The differences of opinion within the Centre—a motley collection of Christian Democrats, Liberals, Social Democrats, Conservatives and Independents—have become increasingly clear.

The Centre is nowhere near as well orgasized as the Socialists and Communists, and with fresh general and municipal elections due within the near future, Senor Suarez feels the need to put his house in order.

Defeats bring changes in Spanish Cabinet

From Harry Debelius
Madrid, May 4

News of a coming Cabinet reshuffle came here today on the heels of the Government party's fourth defeat in the Spanish Parliament—its second in the course of one week.

The Madrid evening newspaper *Informaciones*, which usually reflects the point of view of the Prime Minister's Centre Democratic Union (UCD), reported today that Cabinet changes can be expected "once the constitution has been practically approved."

All Madrid newspapers carried reports about Wednesday's session in the Lower House, where a Bill to furnish more help for the unemployed, sponsored by the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) was passed over UCD objections.

This time, unlike the voting last week on the question of relaxing restrictions on contraceptives, UCD delegates maintained party discipline. The Government party was defeated in the latest case because the conservative Popular Alliance (AP) as well as the Basque and Catalonian minority groups, sided with the Socialists.

Señor Suárez, the Prime Minister, is in the midst of a profound reorganization of his party in the face of ever more apparent internal divisions. On Tuesday the Centre's Executive Committee offered to resign in order to make Señor Suárez's task easier.

A young militant of the Communist-led Workers' Commissions, Spain's most powerful trade union, died in the Castilian city of Soria today from gunshot wounds which he suffered a week ago in an argument in a bar with a security policy trainee.

In the Basque city of Bilbao, unknown raiders caused damage amounting to about £550 on Wednesday at an office of the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV).

In Pamplona, where police and demonstrators clashed on May Day, about 25 youths overturned a police vehicle

Lisbon: Mario Soares, the Portuguese Prime Minister met King Juan Carlos of Spain today to discuss improved cooperation between the two nations.

Dr Soares described the hour-long talks as warm and cordial. "We spoke of our common positions in relation to European problems and of the Common Market in particular, as well as Africa and Latin America", he said.

He told reporters that Portugal was actively preparing to pay indemnities to spanish investors whose properties in Portugal were illegally seized at the height of the revolution.

The King arrived in Portugal yesterday on a three-day official visit.—UPI.

WEST EUROPE

Triumph of Catalan artist who opposed Franco

Madrid honours Joan Miró with exhibition of 130 of his works

From William Chislett
Madrid, May 4

Joan Miro, the 85-year-old Catalan painter, acknowledged as one of the world's greatest living artists, was today given the exhibition he had dreamed of having in Madrid but which he would not have under General Franco.

Senor Pio Cabanillas, the Culture Minister, and Senor Josep Tarradellas, the President of the Generalitat, the Catalan autonomous Government, opened the exhibition of 130 paintings at the Madrid Museum of Contemporary Art in the presence of the artist and his wife.

At the same time, Senor Miro was awarded the Grand Cross of Isabel the Catholic, one of the country's highest honours, by King Juan Carlos.

The ceremony was held in a restricted part of the museum and as a result most people were unable to catch a glimpse of the artist, but when he emerged he was almost mobbed by photographers and their incessantly flashing cameras dazzled him.

Taken on the arm of Senor Cabainillas and Senor Tarradellas, himself 79, Senor Miro looked at several of his paintings before he left.

"This exhibition represents the rehabilitation for all those artists who died in exile", one of its organizers, who was himself born in exile, told *The Times*. Picasso died before General Franco.

The paintings on display include "Catalan Countryside" (The Hunter), on loan from the Museum of Modern Art in New York. This was reportedly the first time this mustum has cooperated with a Spanish exhibition.

The idea for the retrospective exhibition arose last year when Senor Cabanillas visited the Miro Foundationin Barcelona. The foundation, which was opened in 1975 and last year won a special Council of Europe award ,is dedicated to Catalan culture, Senor Miro himself covered half the costs.

Twenty two of the 130 paintings were painted this ytar, the last one on April 33. They show many of his favourite themes : the sun, the moon, swallows, stars and eyes.

When Senor Miro arrived in Madrid last week from his home inPalma, Mallorca, with the 22 paintings, he went straight to the museum to help to uncrate them. His wife, Pilar, accompanied him and, anxious lest he became too excited and tire himself out, advised him to take a rest. He told her: "Leave me alone with my offsprings". He then wandered round the museum.

Senor Miro returned to Spain from France in 1940 because the Gastapo, Hitler's secret police, were after him. He though that the Spanish police would arrest him at the border. But he was allowed to set up home in Palma.

He has always said that "the roots of my work, my inspiration" are in Catalonia and he is a fervnt upholder of Catalan sentiment and autonomy. Recently he painted a poster called : **Volem statut**—we want the (autonomy statute.

His anti-Franco feelings were commonly known. In 1973 he was one of 300 intellectuals and artists who staged a sit-in in the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat, near Barcelona, to protest against the Burgos trial of members of the Basque separatist group ETA. In 1937 when Picasso painted Guernica, which depicts the destruction of the Basque town from the air by the Condor Legion, Senor Miro produced his "Aidez l'Espagne" poster showing a man defiantly raising his fist.

Influenced by the French surrealists and by the poetry of Garcia Lorca, the Spanish poet shot during the Civil War by the nationalists, Senor Miro's opposition to the Franco regime was above all peaceful and creative. One of the paintings on display is called: "Triptych of the Hope of a Man Condemned to Death". It was inspired by the death sentence passed on Puig Antich, a young anarchist.

Senor Miro is now working on a sculpture for Chicago, ceramic murals for Barcelona and a large tapestry called: "Women, Birds, Stars", soon to be displayed in the Washington National Gallery.

Plea for concensus on new Spanish constitution

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, May 5

The constitutional committee of the Congress of Deputies today began discussing the draft of the new democratic constitution, which is to replace General Franco's Fundamental Laws.

Señor Emilio Attard, spokesman for the ruling Centre Democratic Union, urged at the opening of the session that the constitution be based on consensus so that what happened in 1931 (when the republic was declared) would not happen again.

He said he did not expect the constitutional referendum to be held before September. The draft will have to go before the Senate's constitutional committee and then to plenary sessions of the Congress and the Senate before the referendum can be held.

The main points of discussion will be the form of the state, which according to the draft is a "parliamentary monarchy", the question of regional autonomy, the role of the Roman Catholic Church and educational rights.

While accepting the working draft agreed by the main parties last month, the Socialists have said they have reservations about voting in favour of the article concerning the monarchy. The party maintains in public its republican tradition, although privately it does not attach much importance to the issue.

Madrid, May 5.—Señor Santiago Carrillo, the Communist Party leader, today warned the Socialists that any attempt to replace the monarchy with a republic would provoke a disaster.

He said the Communists too had been hostile to the monarchy because it seemed at first to be an extension of the Franco dictatorship, but King Juan Carlos had proved to be the main inspiration behind the transition to democracy.

"By struggling for a republic, we would be rushing towards a catastrophic adventure in which we would not obtain a republic and would lose democracy", he said. "While the monarchy respects the constitution and popular sovereignty, we shall respect the monarchy."—Reuter.

Suárez party in search of identity

From William Chislett
Madrid, May 7

Señor Adolfo Suárez, the Spanish Prime Minister, was reported today to be considering the appointment of a coordinator for his ruling Democratic Centre Union Party in order to try to stop the internal squabbling and make the party more cohesive.

His decision to appoint a "No 2" for the party has surprisingly not resulted in the different wings of the party—a coalition of liberals, conservatives, Social Democrats, Christian Democrats and "independents"—jostling for this position.

The political colouring of the nomination will give a clearer idea of the ideology of the splintered centre.

Señor Suárez met his executive committee yesterday for the third time in a week. The committee resigned early last week in order, so it said, to give the Prime Minister a free hand in tightening up the party.

It is believed that the job will go either to Señor Arturo Moya, one of his advisers, or to Señor Rafael Arias Salgado, a deputy Secretary of State in charge of relations with the Cortes, or possibly to Señor Landelino Lavilla, the Justice Minister. The first two are Social Democrats, while the minister is closely linked with the Christian Democrats.

On at least two occasions in the past few weeks members of the centre have voted with the left in parliamentary debates causing the Government to be defeated, albeit only by a handful of votes.

Owing to the splintered nature of the centre, Señor Suárez is finding it difficult to impose a party discipline, which is an embarrassment every time he loses a vote and ammunition for the left in its claims that the centre is not united.

The centre was hastily formed last May to contest the country's first general elections for 41 years and its birth pangs have been more difficult. The Communists and Socialists benefited from their clandestine years under Franco.

It soon became clear that the centre—which was a new alignment—lacked a coherent line and that its policy was whatever Señor Suárez decided on at a given moment.

The conservative wing of the centre is beginning to ally itself with the right-wing Popular Alliance of Señor Manuel Fraga Iribarne, who has been talking of forming a "centre right".

The situation is exasperated by the fact that Señor Suárez himself has yet to declare publicly where exactly he stands. Although he is believed to have said in private that he considers himself a Social Democrat. In fact, he has deliberately blurred his own position for fear of possibly antagonizing the other factions.

By devoting so much time to the new democratic constitution, the draft of which was read in Parliament for the first time on Friday, Señor Suárez is being criticized by some factions for neglecting the proper formation of his own party.

Señor Gonzalo Casado, a member of the executive committee, resigned for this very reason over the weekend. He said that some people were trying to put off the party's first congress for as long as possible, and this, he argued, "was leading to an undemocratic internal situation".

He added that it was vital "to achieve the ideological identity of the party".

At the same time a poll in the latest issue of the magazine *Cambio 16* showed that the Socialists, with 124 seats in the Congress, compared to the centre's 166, are increasing their popularity.

William Chislett

8 MAY

Labour rights reversal calms Spain's employers

Spanish employers are beginning to smile a little for the first time since the death of General Franco as the result of a substantial modification of a controversial article in the draft law regarding labour rights in firms.

The article, as first put forward, stirred up a hornets' nest of complaints from employers who protested that it was little short of bringing Marxism to the shopfloor.

At the same time as the article was changed, last Thursday, the Madrid Stock Exchange, reflecting the new mood of the employers, made an unprecedented upward turn, climbing 3.99 points to 109.15; the highest figure since the death of General Franco in November, 1975

Since the dictator died the stock market has hardly ceased to decline, but at the end of April the index broke through the 100 barrier for the first time this year and now with the modification of the article, the upward trend looks like being consolidated.

As a result of the changes, the left is beginning to make angry noises. The controversy centres on Article 9, which, had it been approved, would have given works councils the right to be regularly informed on company activities, permitted monitoring of wage and work agreements and conferred rights over control of health, work safety and levels of unemployment. Many of these rights were basically the same as those enjoyed in other West European countries.

The offending article also stipulated that at the obligatory three monthly meetings between the works councils and employers, the works council would have had the right to seek advice from experts on common issues and at the expense of employers. Firms in effect would not have been able to go ahead with many plans without the prior consent of their works council.

The left initially succeeded in getting its own way because the ruling Centre Party had only four of the 13 members on the committee responsible for drafting the labour rights law. But the Government was able to redress matters last week when the draft law went before the special labour committee of Parliament where the Centre has a majority of members.

As a result the new Article 9 is basically the same one which the Government originally submitted to the first committee. Instead of granting specific rights it allows the works councils only to be informed on the stipulated issues. As a result, works councils will have very few powers and employers will not have to pay for advice which councils decide to seek.

Both the Government and the left-wing trade unions were anxious to appease the employers a little after angry remarks were made about the original draft but the left was hoping for some kind of compromise.

Sr Carlos Ferrer, the president of the Spanish Confederation of Industry, fired the first warning shots when he went to New York recently and declared to American businessmen that the draft law represented "the end of the free enterprise system in Spain". He hoped it would not be approved by Parliament.

He was soon joined by the other powerful employers organization, the Spanish Confederation of Small and Medium Firms (CEPYME) which came out against it in a long report prepared by Sr Joaquin Garrigues y Diaz-Canabate, former ambassador in Washington, and father of Sr Joaquin Garrigues Walker, the Minister of Public Works.

His report claimed that the draft law could be unconstitutional, that it would aggravate the dearth of investment and lead to "a type of firm of clear socialist stamp".

The storm presented the Prime Minister, Sr Adolfo Suárez, with a dilemma, for while publicly proclaiming that he would not submit to pressure the voice of employers is an important part of his ruling Centre Party and so could not be ignored.

The CEPYME argued that the rights granted in the draft law were an excessive interference with the rights of employers to run their firms, and anyway such rights, they said, should be introduced "gradually" into Spain.

The Communist dominated Workers Commission recently won the country's first trade union elections since the civil war and was followed at some distance by the Socialist General Union of Workers. The independent unions, which the Centre supported, did not do well. The Centre itself does not have a trade union of its own.

The works councils will be elected in firms over a certain size, which the left is hoping will remain at 500, but which the Centre may decide to raise to 1,000 employees.

The works councils will be elected and will not automatically be formed from those employees who were elected in the trade union elections, although they will most probably be the same people.

But on Article 29, which has yet to be approved, employers know that it is useless to complain. This article mentions the rights of trade unions (such as holding meetings in work time) —as distinct from the works council. Trade unions are a reality which can no longer be denied.

Communist rally banned after fascist threats

From Harry Debelius
Madrid, May 10

The Government today banned a Communist Party rally in the face of a threat of right-wing violence and following terrorist killings of two policemen yesterday.

One of the policemen was a member of a four-man Civil Guard patrol ambushed last night in the Basque city of San Sebastian by two or three persons firing machine guns.

Another Civil Gard died earlier yesterday in Pamplona, when the vehicle in which he was riding was destroyed by a remote-control bomb.

Today the Civil Governor of Madrid announced that a communist festival and rally planned for next Saturday in Paracuellos, a village near Madrid announced that the Com-

A large number of Nationalist prisoners was killed at Paracuellos during the Civil War by Republican forces, at a time when Señor Santiago Carrillo, now Secretary-General of the Spanish Communist Party, was responsible for public order in Madrid.

Earlier, a spokesman for the fascist New Force party had said that his group considered the planned festival at Paracuellos an outrage, which it would "impede at all costs".

New Force called the proposed gathering a "provocation of the Spanish people and of the friends and members of the families of those who were executed by order of Santiago Carrillo".

Madrid pledge to act on wave of violence

From Harry Delielins
Madrid, May 11

Señor Rodolfo Martín Villa, the Spanish Interior Minister, announced today that he was giving priority to stamping out political violence. He was speaking only hours after a bomb damaged a police station in a street fight between leftists and right-wingers in Pamplona.

Other developments were an attempted jail break today in Barcelona, a sit-in by Basque separatist ex-convicts at the town hall Irun, and a tough communiqué from the Policemen's Association demanding immediate anti-terrorist action by the Government.

Meanwhile, in San Sebastian, a Civil Guard with two bullet wounds in his head lingered close to death. If he dies he will be the third police victim of terrorist ambushes in the Basque country since last Tuesday.

In Madrid, doctors were attending about 200 common prisoners who injured themselves yesterday by cutting veins, swallowing bed springs or other methods. Their action was promoted by Copel (Committee for the Freedom of prisoners), a leftist-sponsored movement favoring the release of all convicts.

The bomb at the Civil Guard station in Portugalete, near Bilbao, went off early today, causing considerable damage but no serious injuries. The militant Basque separatist group ETA is suspected.

Since the beginning of this year, there have been 29 terrorist attacks on Spanish police, resultin gi n 1 1deaths and 20 injuries. The two most recent ones, in each of which a Civil Guard was kiled, took place this week in San Sebastian and Pamplona. Last March, terrorists fired from a passing car on policemen on patrol in Madrid, killing one and wounding another.

The Pamplona street fight between rightist and left-wing militants raged intermittently for several hours last night and did not end until 52 people had been arrested and a number injured, including a Civil Guard lieutenant and a security policeman. There was extensive damage to shops and private cars.

The battle began when about 100 youths, some of them wearing black hoods, began attacking individuals in the streets and bars of the old quarter. They were presumed to be members of Warriors of Christ the King, an extreme right-wing organization.

Bullfight spirit behind Basque riots

From William Chislett

Pamplona, May 14

A pro-amnesty week called mainly by extreme leftist Basque political parties has been one of the most violent weeks in the Basque country for a long time.

When it ended today, two Civil Guards had been killed by the separatist organization ETA and six had been seriously injured, one of whom is said to be "clinically dead", and two ETA members had been shot dead by the police. There have been numerous arrests and demonstrations throughout the Basque country, mainly in Pamplona where the trouble began with the blowing up of a Civil Guard jeep.

"They are like toreros and bulls", an old taxi driver said as we watched the police chasing students down the narrow streets in the old quarter. "The students (toreros) provoke the police (the bulls) by insulting them and pulling cars across the streets and the police react accordingly".

It would appear that ETA has deliberately chosen Pamplona for its "armed struggle" against what it calls the continuation of a "military dictatorship". It is estimated that there are no more than 17 Basque prisoners and they are said to be activists and not political prisoners in the accepted sense of the word.

The last time there were such scenes of violence was in October when the Cortes approved the general amnesty law. This time the violence coincided with the beginning of the parliamentary debate on the new democratic constitution. While students and police were fighting it out in Pamplona, the article declaring Spain indivisible but allowing regional autonomy was approved.

Navarra is the one Basque province controlled by the ruling Democratic Centre Union and as a result it did not join the other three provinces in the Basque Council, the pre-autonomous "government" formed in February. Whether Navarra is to be incorporated into the Basque country, which is dominated by the Basque Nationalist Party and the Socialists, depends on the outcome of a possible referendum.

The Basque provinces of Vizcaya, Guipuzcoa and Alava took the Republican side in the Civil War, but Navarra, which is traditionally conservative, fought on the side of General Franco. Consequently Navarra was allowed to keep its *fueros* (statute laws). It has administrative and fiscal autonomy and is the only province in Spain where no death duties are paid.

The assembly of parliamentarians in Navarra has just finished drafting a law which will regulate the elections of the new democratic Consejo Foral, Navarra's equivalent of an autonomous government.

"Only if an absolute majority of the new Consejo is in favour of joining the other provinces will there be a referendum", Señor Pedro Pegenaute, one of the Centre deputies told me. He was confident that the Centre would win the majority.

A private opinion poll carried out by the Centre concluded that more than 60 per cent of the province's population of 440,000 was against incorporation into the Basque country.

After the killing of the Civil Guard men, groups of extreme rightists, including some policemen in plainclothes, went on the rampage in the old part of Pamplona.

The Civil Governor, in a statement issued yesterday said that if any policeman was "found taking part in street clashes on his own behalf and is identified, he would be dealt with with the full weight of the law".

WEST EUROPE

Catalan leader offers to mediate between Madrid and Basques

From Harry Debelius
Madrid, May 15

In the middle of a separatist terror campaign which has resulted in five deaths in the past six days, Basque nationalist leaders today were reported to be considering a proposal from the President of the Catalan Regional Government, the Generalitat, to intercede with the extremists in the hope of bringing peace to the north of Spain.

Senor Josep Tarradellas, the Generalitat President, made a surprise visit to the French Pyrenean village of Le Bolou last Friday to confer with Señor Jesús María Leizaola, the President of the Basque Government in exile, and offer his services as a mediator in the Basque problem.

Today, Señor Miguel Isasi, who is a member of the Basque home-rule council recognized by the Spanish Government and a member of the Government in exile as well, was said to be discussing Señor Tarradellas' offer in Paris with Señor Leizaola.

Senor Isasi was expected to return to the Basque city of Bilbao immediately after the Paris meeting to inform other members of the Basque General Council, the organization to which the Madrid Government intends to cede some powers.

Señor Adolfo Suárez, the Prime Minister, was aware beforehand of Señor Taradellas' peace-making effort, and supported the idea, the President of the Generalitat disclosed at a Barcelona press conference on Saturday.

Although full details of the Catalan proposal were not immediately known, Señor Tarradellas did explain at the press conference that he suggested that the Basque council recognized by Madrid, the Basque Government in exile and the extremist ETA should "sit down at the same table and negotiate".

The death in a San Sebastian hospital on Sunday of a Civil Guard policeman, wounded last Tuesday in the ambush of a police vehicle by the ETA brought the total of deaths resulting from violence in the Basque country in the past six days to five, in addition to more than a dozen injuries and scores of arrests.

Unidentified attackers burned down a television repeater station on a mountain top near San Sebastian on Sunday. On the same day more than 1,000 demonstrators took part in an assault on a Civil Guard polict station in a San Sebastian suburb which was repelled with smoke grenades and rubber bullets.

Exiled cardinal's body goes back to native Catalonia

From Harry Debelius
Madrid, May 16

The body of the "Cardinal of peace", who died in exile in 1943 after being vilified, imprisoned, and threatened with death by political forces which would not accept his independent attitude, was welcomed home to his former see of Tarragona yesterday by thousands of grateful Catalans. He was a native of Catalonia.

Eight Roman Catholic bishops and about 200 priests took part in a Mass in Tarragona cathedral for Cardinal Vidal y Barraquer and those of other clergymen who suffered for their faith.

Cardinal Vidal y Barraquer's first clash with political authorities occurred in 1923, when as Archbishop of Tarragona he was accused by General Primo de Rivera's government of separatism for promoting the use of the Catalan language for preaching and teaching the Catechism.

Under the Republic his situation was alternatively one of honour and disgrace, as a result of his insistence on "not turning questions of faith into matters of civil discord".

Despite his refusal to side with the majority of the Spanish clergy and support the 1936 military uprising that brought General Franco to power, the Cardinal was arrested by members of FAI (Iberian Federation of Anarchists) on July 22, 1936, and threatened with the firing squad.

He was freed only after the intervention of the President of the CaCtalan Government, and sent into exile.

After the war Franco refused to allow him to return.

A final farewell to Franco

The quite remarkable degree of consensus among Spain's political parties not to do anything to upset the dogged march to a more democratic society is now being put to its final and most severe test, with the entry into the Cortes (Parliament) of the draft of the new constitution.

When ratified in a national referendum, possibly by September, it will be the crowning point of the three-year transition period and General Franco's system will be well and truly buried.

The draft went before the constitutional committee of the Congress, the lower house of the Cortes, on May 5 which symbolically was the day of Europe when the European flag was flown over the parliament along with the Spanish flag. Spain does wish to form part of Europe and come right out from its traditionally xenophobic refuge behind the Pyrenees.

After the Congress committee, the draft, which is unlikely to be substantially changed, will go to a plenary session of the lower house and then to the Senate before the referendum.

General Franco always said that he had left his system "tied up, well tied up" and it has taken a considerable time to unravel the many knots.

The greatest one facing the 36 man inter-party committee, made up on a proportional basis, is to ensure that the constitution is flexible and that it will serve the future with minor alterations.

This constitution will do away with General Franco's fundamental laws (they had constitutional status) and they replaced the 1931 Republican constitution which in turn superseded the preceding monarchy of Alfonso XIII, the grandfather of King Juan Carlos. The king is maintaining an absolute silence these days in order that parties cannot misconstrue anything he says or use it for their own political ends.

In his "geheral introduction to Spanish law" published in 1967 Sr Manuel Fraga, former Information Minister under General Franco and now the spokesman for the right wing Popular Alliance in the committee, summed up Spain's constitutional law in the following way.

"The Spanish state is unitary, and not federal, confessional, in that while allowing full liberty of conscience and religious practice, it declares itself officially Catholic, social, that is to say, its social and economic order occupies an intermediate position between capitalist individualism and Marxist totalitarianism, monarchic, as to its political form and representative."

He then went on to list the "fundamental rights and duties" of the Franco regime including free expression of ideas, liberty of the person and right of association.... The fundamental laws were an ingenious piece of doublespeak regulated by the Catch 22 inherent in all dictatorships (in Spain's case the principles of the national movement, the Falange party) which allowed anything to be done providing it didn't contradict the law.

Article one of the new constitution declares Spain to be "a social and democratic state under a rule of law which proposes as the maximum values for its juridical organization freedom, justice, equality and respect for political plurality. The political form of the Spanish state is the parliamentary monarchy".

Article two says that the constitution is "based on the unity of Spain" but it "recognizes the right to autonomy of the nationalities and regions which make up the indisoluble unity of the Spanish nation". The state is declared non-confessional, although the Catholic Church is specifically mentioned. Private enterprise is recognized without defining too clearly the economic system.

The draft lays more specific stress on rights, declaring for example that "all Spaniards are equal before the law without discrimination for reasons of sex, race, birth, religion, opinion or any other personal or social condition". It took several amendments to the American Constitution before that basic right was guaranteed.

The Spanish constitution is long, containing in the draft 161 articles, some of them very pointed. One can almost hear the fathers of the constitution apologizing for the excesses committed during the dictatorship in such articles as this one: "No one may be submitted to torture nor to inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment."

On another issue—corruption in high office—the constitution is equally adamant. The head of state—the King—cannot exercise his power of pardon in any case involving the Prime Minister or ministers. General Franco pardoned his ministers who were involved in the multi-million dollar Matesa government credit scandal seven years ago before they even came to trial.

The constitution, one of the most modern in the world, also deals with the various new problems facing society, including incorporating a provision for protecting individuals nad families against the invasion of privacy through the use of computerized data. But far more sensitive issues like abortion and divorce are not dealt with, and will be later regulated by law.

The draft was drawn up by a seven man inter-party committee and took seven months. Shortly before it was finished the socialists withdrew from the committee over differences of opinion including opposition to the article which allows the state to continue to subsidize private schools. However, the socialists signed the finished text while maintaining their reserves.

Their withdrawal was a continuation of the party's double game of playing to its gallery on the one hand and going along with the consensus on the other. It will be very interesting to see whether the socialists continue this tactic in the final stages for, with the communists of Eurocommunist leader Santiago Carrillo, behaving like lambs, they have been cast in the role of the awkward child.

The socialists also have reservations about whether to vote for the articles defining Spain as a monarchy, the most sensitive part of the constitution. The party likes to maintain in public its republican tradition, unlike the communists, who have shelved it along with Lenin, and are more intelligent about the issue. Already Sr Carrillo, whose star seems to get brighter every day as he tires to outbid the socialists, has warned that if the issue is pushed it will have "catastrophic" consequences and will only result in losing democracy.

The role of the king, who has played a vital part in this constituent period, and ironically one that would have been almost impossible but for the autocratic powers left to him by General Franco, is largely reduced to a symbolic one in the constitution. He nominates the Prime Minister but only with the approval of parliament which selects the candidate.

Spain's problem historically, as justice minister Sr Landelino Lavilla pointed out to the constitutional committee, has been that "While we have had constitutions of every type we have never had a well structured constitution which expresses the common beliefs of Spaniards and not the ideological content of a specific option of power."

Spain will have such a constitution in effect, and so while it can be changed—with the approval of three fifths of the members of both houses—the desire to change it, which in the case of the republican constitution brought on the civil war and in the Franco era led to pent-up frustration, should fade from the minds of most Spaniards.

William Chislett

King Juan Carlos takes a hand in moves to gain agreement with Basque Nationalist Party

From William Chislett
San Sebastian, May 17

King Juan Carlos of Spain is reported to be taking a personal initiative in trying to solve the problems of the Basque country. Several factors point to his growing concern for this part of the country which is generally acknowledged to be the most troublesome.

An informed source said that the King viewed with sympathy the visit made last weekend by Señor Josep Tarradellas, the President of the Catalan Generalitat, to Señor Jesús María Leizaola, the head of the Basque "Government-in-exile" in France, to whom he brought a message about Basque problems. The visit was made at the suggestion of Señor Adolfo Suárez, the Prime Minister, with the King's knowledge.

The Basque Council, which like the Generalitat is in a pre-autonomous stage, accused Señor Tarradellas of meddling in affairs which were not his concern. Logically, it would have been for Señor Ramón Rubial, the president of the Basque Council, to have seen Señor Leizaola.

It appears, according to the source, that the King is dissatisfied with the way in which Señor Rubial, a leading Socialist, is running the Basque Council.

The King has not forgotten an incident in February when Señor Rubial told him during the official inauguration of the Basque Council in the Zarzuela Palace that he wanted to get rid of him.

Above all, the King feels that a member of the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) should head the council given the high degree of nationalist feelings in the Basque country. As a result of an agreement between the ruling Centre Party and the Socialists, Señor Rubial was elected President in order to prevent a nationalist from being given the post.

The King feels that having a member of the PNV at the head of the Basque Council could help to calm the Basques. PNV sources even suggest that the King and Señor Suárez may be forcing a situation which would lead to Señor Rubial's resignation.

Another factor pointing to the King's involvement is that he is apparently interested in the idea put forward by the PNV that he should swear allegiance to the *fueros* (statute laws) of the Basque provinces. This is said to have been mentioned recently when several PNV members of the Cortes saw the King. The same parliamentarians later saw the King's father, Don Juan, at his home in Estoril, Portugal, to discuss the idea of the *fueros*.

The *Fueros* were abolished in 1886 but there is talk of restoring them after the constitution is approved in the autumn.

One of the problems facing the King, apart from the continued violence by ETA, the Basque separatist organization, is the Centre Party's resistance to continuing the process of autonomy for the Basque country.

ETA has threatened to kill a Basque industrialist, whose identity must remain anonymous, if he does not pay "revolutionary taxes" of 10m pesetas (£67,430) within five days from today.

The copy of a letter sent to him a few days ago has come into the possession of *The Times*.

In the past week a number of industrialists in the Basque country have received similar demands. Some of them, according to one source, have paid a part of the money demanded out of fear.

General resigns: Lieutenant-General José Vega Rodriguez, Spain's Army Chief of Staff, has tendered his resignation, a Defence Ministry spokesman said today.

The spokesman said the resignation, which had not yet been officially accepted, was for personal reasons. However, one newspaper report said the General had offered his resignation because of a disagreement with the Defence Minister over recent Army appointments. —Reuter.

WEST EUROPE

Basques stand firm on their terms for giving up struggle

From William Chislett
San Sebastian, May 19

The Basque separatist organization ETA (Basque Homeland and Liberty) intends to intensify its campaign of violence to demand five conditions which it says must be granted before it will agree to a cease-fire.

The five conditions are: Legalization of all political parties (nationalist ones like ETA remain illegal); workers' rights; withdrawal of police and military forces; recognition of the right of sovereignty; and self-determination for the Basque country.

The withdrawal of police and military forces is negotiable, sources close to ETA told me. Only when the five conditions are accepted in principle, however, is ETA prepared to lay down its arms.

The Madrid Government appears reluctant to negotiate on any of them, but the Basque Council, the body set up by the central Government as a stepping stone to autonomy, does seem prepared to enter into discussions.

By "withdrawal", ETA does not mean that all the police, paramilitary Civil Guard and armed forces must leave the Basque country, but that they must come under the control of the political parties and the Basque Council or an autonomous government. Only the main Francoist figures in the forces, like Inspector José Sainz, the police chief in Bilbao, would have to leave.

ETA would also expect that after a period of time, during which the five conditions would be fully worked out, a referendum would be held in the Basque country to decide whether people wanted to remain in the Spanish state, or be independent, which is ETA's aim.

A source said the ETA was prepared to accept the result of a "clean" referendum.

There are now about 100 ETA activists living in France, among them the man who assassinated Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco, General Franco's Prime Minister, in 1973.

Some of the activists continue to cross into Spain and then return to France after they have committed acts of violence, but they now fear that the French authorities are going to crack down harder on them.

In Spain 70 people are estimated to be active in ETA groups. Those in different groups do not know each other. Two died last week in Guernica in a gun battle with the police.

ETA is being approached by people who want to join the organization, but it is not accepting any new members through fear of being infiltrated, as has happened in the past.

ETA is also getting some outside help and maintains "good" relations with the IRA and with Algeria. Recently ETA activists have been trained in Algeria.

Spanish Socialists drop Marxism from party line

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, May 22

Señor Felipe González, the Spanish Socialist leader, will ask his party to drop the word "Marxism" from its programme, according to reports published here.

The secretary-general of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) made his remarks at a dinner in Barcelona organized by the Barcelona Press Association.

His decision to "soften" the Socialist Party line was announced only a fortnight after the Spanish Communist Party's congress dropped the word "Leninist" from its official description.

Claiming that not even Karl Marx would use the term "Marxism" today, Senor González, said: "From a social point of view the term has just not been accepted." He added: "They will say that this is electioneering. I do not deny it, but everybody in this country is dong the same thing. I want to win the eight million votes we need to get into the Government."

The Socialist leader hinted that members of his party had rejected the opportunity of forming a coalition Government with the Centre Democratic Union under Señor Adolfo Suárez, the Prime Minister.

Asked to comment on a recent statement by Señor Alfonso Guerra, a Socialist MP, to the effect that five ministers had been in touch with the Socialist Party regarding such a coalition, Señor González replied: "My only contact is with Suárez. I do not speak with ministers. Nevertheless, if Alfonso said so, he must have had his reasons."

Señor Javier Solana, another leading Socialist MP who was also present at the dinner, commented: "There were six ministers, not five, who contacted the PSOE.."

Señor González said he was not embarrassed to call himself a Social Democrat. He continued: "There's nothing shocking about these changes. Lenin himself was an authentic Social Democrat."

He claimed that the area in which is party could gain more votes was to the right of it, rather than to the left, since that space was occupied by the Communists.

He was, he said, opposed to forming an electoral coalition with the Communist Party, but he did not rule out cooperation with the left and other groups in Parliament.

Spanish left wins education concession

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, May 25

The right-wing Popular Alliance withdrew yesterday from the Cortes committee discussing Spain's new democratic constitution. Most of the other parties had on the previous night reached agreement over speedier approval of the articles.

The ruling Centre Party, the Socialists, the Communists and the Catalan minority group in the constitutional committee agreed quickly on a number of controversial issues and approved 27 articles.

The popular Alliance and the Basque Nationalist Party were not party to the agreements.

The Popular Alliance, which has 16 members of the Cortes, said that it rejected the "Centre-Marxist" agreement, claiming that it was undemocratic

The agreement concerned mainly articles dealing with education. The Socialists withdrew just before the final draft was finished in March over article 26 which would allow the state to subsidize private schools. They returned, however, to sign the final draft while maintaining their reservations.

The Centre reached agreement with the Socialists whereby "freedom of education" is specifically mentioned. The draft spoke of "the right and duty of education". The Popular Alliance wanted education to be "guaranteed" and not "recognized".

The left appears satisfied by the agreement reached while there is a feeling in the Centre that they have given away too much.

Barcelona strikers face lockout

From Harry Debelius
Madrid, May 23

Barcelona businessmen are threatening massive lockouts of workers who stage lighting strikes for political purposes.

About 1,000 businessmen met in the city last night to discuss frequent and unannounced work stoppages, organized by trade unions in order to bring pressure on Parliament at a time when a controversial draft law on labour relations is being discussed.

They agreed to respond to the strike wave with every legal weapon they have—including one-day lockouts for each day lost through strike action and general lockouts in response to general strikes.

An estimated 300,000 workers took part in sit-ins all over Spain yesterday and today, as deputies in the Cortes (Parliament) considered a clause in the proposed law, which would oblige management to share decision-making in important company affairs with representatives of trade unions.

The sit-ins and strikes are backed b ythe country's two main trade unions, the socialist UGT and the communist Workers' Commissions, as well as by other unions.

The Barcelona businessmen decided to complain to Señor Rodolfo Martín Villa, the Interior Minister, about the "unjust, unfortunate and incorrect" attitude adopted by the Barcelona Civil Governor over the labour disputes.

In Madrid Señor Martín Villa came under fire last night, when he explained at a press conference that a government attempt to incorporate a clause in the draft constitution, which would have allowed the authorities to suspend civil rights, was intended merely to make such action constitutional in the event of an emergency.

That proposal was roundly defeated in the constitutional committee of Parliament last week, when opposition deputies accused the Government of submitting the last-minute amendment in order to establish "a permanent state of emergency".

The Interior Minister said the proposal had been drafted some time ago in his ministry. He did not make it clear why the ruling Centre Democratic Union had not aired the proposal when the draft constitution was being drawn up by a multi-party congressional committee. He left the impression that the Government might try to slip in a similar amendment later on.

Señor Martín Villa was speaking after what he referred to as a "routine" meeting in Madrid of the provincial civil governors.

High on the agenda at that meeting was terrorism and related questions of law and order. Señor Suárez, the Prime Minister, attended the meeting, together with the directors-general of security and of the paramilitary Civil Guard.

Señor Martín Villa told reporters that the Government would not negotiate with the ETA separatists in an effort to end the violence in the Basque country, but he did not deny that "certain persons, on their own responsibility" might be engaged in such negotiations.

energetic this autumn than in a long, long time.

In the onward-march-of-progress department, Joe O'Steen, the Sheriff of Lauderdale county, Tennessee, is investigating a twenty-five-pound chunk of green ice which fell from the sky near the town of Ripley. 'What I suspect is that someone emptied an airline toilet and it froze at high altitude', the lawman hypothesised. In New York, a seven-year-old named Kira heard the expression 'homosexual politician' on the television and asked her mother to explain. While her mother tripped over a definition for the first word, Kira interrupted to say, 'Oh, I know what a homosexual is. What I don't know is: What is a politician?'

Born to be Basque

William Chislett

San Sebastian

Kostituzioko Enparantza (Basque for Constitution Square) is the new name of the square in the old quarter of this most elegant of Spanish cities. When I was here last year it was called Plaza de 18 de Julio after the day the 1936 Franco uprising began. The change of name and the fact that it is now in Basque, a prohibited language under the dictator, are symbolic of the 'defrancoisation' of Spain. But the change is something more than this, for in most other parts of Spain main squares are still called Generalissimo Franco and avenues José Antonio Primo de Rivera (founder of the fascist-rooted Falange). In the Basque country the writing is already on the wall.

I can remember my last visit here most vividly. As the red, white and green *Ikurrina*, the Basque flag banned under Franco, was run up the brand-new pole in the square, next to the red and yellow Spanish flag, for the first time in forty years, thousands of Basques jumped up and down chanting: 'Everyone who does not [jump] is a Fascist.' Everyone jumped and Francoists, who were nowhere to be seen, must have trembled in their homes and envisaged the breaking up of the state.

Since then there have been general elections and this year the government condescended to grant three of the four Basque provinces a degree – a tiny degree – of the autonomy which was taken away from them by Franco during the Civil War. A Basque council was set up for Guipuzcoa, Alava and Vizcaya which took the Republican side in the Civil War and were most severely repressed afterwards. The fourth province, Navarra, home of the Carlists, was on Franco's side and was rewarded by being allowed to retain its special status enshrined in its *fueros* (statute laws). Navarra is controlled by the ruling Centre party and is unlikely to join the other three provinces.

The outburst of violence this month by the Basque separatist organisation ETA which has so far resulted in the deaths of four policemen and two ETA members has confirmed that the Basque country remains a painful thorn in the side of Madrid. For Franco the Basques were always the most troublesome part of his divided nation. They never forgave Franco, and never will, for the destruction of Guernica, the traditional heart of the Basque country, by the Condor Legion. The regime stamped down on anything that smacked of Basque nationalism, be it displaying the *Ikurrina* or speaking the language, And during the process ETA (Basque Homeland and Liberty) grew up. ETA's most famous exploit was the assassination of Franco's prime minister, Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco, in 1973 when they blew his car a hundred feet up in the air and into the courtyard of the Jesuit church in Madrid.

ETA's account of the assassination plot – *Operacion Ogro* – has just been published and is a best seller in the Basque country – itself a sign of how much has changed since Franco's death. The other emotive best-sellers are reproductions of Picasso's 'Guernica' which are displayed in almost every bar. If so much has really changed then why is ETA still fighting against what it calls the 'continuation of the military dictatorship'? In Madrid the official line is that ETA has lost all support and is just out to wreck the emerging democracy and provoke a military coup so that it can feed off the repression that would follow.

It is true that ETA has lost ground, notably since it set off a bomb in the nuclear power plant at Lemoniz and killed two workers, and that its *raison d'être* has ceased to exist; but the fact is that ETA still enjoys a wide amount of sympathy. The wounds of the dictatorship were deepest in the Basque country and ETA was the first to fight back. The same police and armed forces, which are likened to an invading army, are still there and maltreatment has not disappeared completely, although it has been greatly reduced. And the home rule which has been granted is a sham until the full autonomy statute is worked out, probably after the approval of the new democratic constitution this autumn. All this works in favour of the essentially Marxist-Leninist ETA which is still pushing the visionary idea of an independent Basque country formed out of the four Spanish Basque provinces and the three French ones.

The great majority of Basques do not want independence, but the feeling for autonomy is as strong as the feeling that what they have achieved so far is only formal democracy. A high percentage of the working population are immigrants from other parts of Spain, like Andalucia, and many have become identified with the Basque cause, although they tend to vote for the Socialists and not the Basque Nationalist party (PNV) or the Centre party. The Basque council, the so-called 'pre-autonomous government' (the Basque government of 1936 is still in exile) is absolutely powerless. It has a Socialist president, four PNV and Socialist councillors and two from the Centre party. Logically, one would have thought, the Basque council's Interior 'minister', the Socialist Txiki Benegas, would work in close conjunction with the police. In fact he is hardly consulted, for the police still depend upon the Madrid-appointed civil governors. And so a power vacuum has arisen with Madrid paying lip service to the idea of autonomy and keeping the Basque council on a string – the council itself unable to do anything except make symbolic noises while ETA takes advantage of the situation.

That a certain romantic, almost heroic aura still hangs over ETA is easily gauged from going to any funeral for their members killed by the police. During my visit several thousand people attended one such funeral in Durango for two ETA members shot in Guernica. Most of the mourners were either PNV supporters or the extreme left-wing fringe groups of *abertzales* (patriots) as they are called. On the other hand when a policeman is killed by ETA the funeral is attended by few people but sometimes leads to rioting by extreme right-wing elements. This happened recently in Pamplona where the civil governor had to admit later that some of the 'uncontrollables' were in fact plainclothes policemen.

The prime minister, Adolfo Suarez, a centralist as well as a centrist, is now beginning to realise that it was a mistake to support the Socialist candidate for the Basque council presidency instead of the PNV man. Suarez did it, breaking the deadlock produced by the elections, in order to keep the council out of the hands of the Basque Nationalist party and in part to assuage the conservative military whose sabres rattle at the mention of autonomy.

The ideological differences between the ruling Centre party and the Basque Nationalist party, whose strength is growing, are slight apart from the fact that one is *espanolista* and the other *nacionalista*. A PNV president of the Basque council would certainly pacify some of the nationalist feelings and take a lot of wind out of the sails of ETA. But not until the Basque council is given its powers and itself assumes responsibility for some of the problems like law and order is the situation likely to get any better. At times, listening to Basques talking about Madrid, one wonders whether it is the capital of the same country, which, of course, for those in favour of independence, it isn't.

Vote-seeking Socialist leader edges towards centre

From William Chislett
Madrid, May 30

The announcement this month by Señor Felipe González, Spain's Socialist leader, that he is a social democrat and intends to shelve Marx at the party's congress later this year continues to produce tremors in the political scene here.

His remarks, more explosive in their effect than the decision in April by Señor Santiago Carrillo to drop "Leninist" from the Communist Party's official title, have given rise to a heated debate. Several Socialist federations have criticized Señor González openly while reaffirming their Marxist faith, and some Socialist deputies in the Cortes (Parliament) have protested.

Señor González's move is part of a carefully thought-out plan. The young Socialist leader is trying to cast off his loose-fitting revolutionary mantle for good political reasons, but he will find it more difficult than Señor Carrillo did.

The Socialist leader deliberately made his remarks at a press dinner in Barcelona ahead of the December congress, so that the party's machinery can get to work on persuading the rank and file of the wisdom of such a decision.

Essentially Señor González is after a substantial slice of the same electorate as Señor Suárez, the Prime Minister, and the possibility of some kind of pact between them after the next general election, incredible though it may sound, cannot be ruled out. There is even talk of a coalition Government if neither party wins a majority.

Señor Suárez declares himself a social democrat, but so far only in private in order not to antagonize the other groupings in his ruling Democratic Centre Union, which is suffering a crisis of identity. It was no coincidence that, just after Señor González's remarks, Señor Suárez appointed social democrat, Señor Rafael Arias Salgado, to be the Centre's "Co-ordinator", and he will try to make the Centre more coherent and "centre-left".

The Socialist leader admits that he has to look to the right and not to his left, which is covered by the Communists, in order to achieve the eight million votes he needs to win the next elections. They will be held after the referendum on the new democratic constitution.

The political leader who seems to have been most affected by the proposed change is Señor Carrillo—and not surprisingly. As an excellent tactician and arch-exponent of Eurocommunism, he realises that Señor González is going all out, without the Communists, to add to his party's 118 seats in the lower house of the Cortes.

If the Communist leader is a little perturbed, Señor Manuel Fraga, head of the right-wing Popular Alliance, is happy, for this gives him the chance to form the "centre right" party he dreams of, combining the right wing of the centre party and the neo-Francoists.

The political map would thus become clearer, assuming Señor González has calculated correctly. It is far too early to tell and the possibilities are numerous, including a Socialist split. While Señor González has admitted that the word "Marx" frightens away many of his potential voters, such as the middle-class professionals, the party's radical base has reacted angrily to his remarks and insists that Marx is not about to be forgotten. The Party's trade union, the General Union of Workers, which proclaims its belief in the class struggle, is also not too happy.

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