

# Cambio 16 magazine voices concerns of a different Spain

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Madrid—Three years ago, a group of Spanish businessmen and journalists started a progressive weekly business magazine here with the title, *Cambio*, or Change.

Change being a word that makes dictators nervous, government censors asked them for something less dramatic. The 16 owners adjusted the name to *Cambio 16* with some clever art work.

The magazine got off the ground with a circulation of 10,000, which climbed—satisfactorily for a business review—to 17,000 just a year ago.

Today, however, *Cambio 16's* sales have doubled three times over to 135,000. Stories on economic indicators and industrial plants have taken a back seat to critical articles on Spain's prisons and the CIA, forums of political opinions ranging from reactionary to revolutionary. Full-page ads come from pillars of the Spanish establishment.

The surge in circulation and switch in coverage stem largely from one event—the assassination a year ago December 20 of Prime Minister Carrero Blanco, the hand-picked successor of Spain's aging dictator, Gen. Francisco Franco.

"It changed everything," says one of the magazine's executives. "And the figures show the Spanish people want information."

Carrero Blanco's assassination by separatist Basque terrorists did not change quite everything in Spain. It did not, for instance, sweep away the carefully built-up, tightly controlled institutions of the fascist regime that has muffled the Spanish voice for 35 years. More than 400 political prisoners in jail, many for 20 years for "illegal meetings," can testify to that.

## Assassination important

But many observers here regard the assassination as the most significant single event in Spain since Generalissimo

Franco led the nationalists to victory in the bloody 1936-1939 Civil War.

And, falling within the same 12 months as the overthrow of Portugal's 40-year dictatorship and Generalissimo Franco's near-fatal illness last summer, these developments have pushed open the door on Spain's future wider than it has been since that war.

Poised at the end of a 15-year economic boom that transformed a primarily agricultural country into the world's 10th industrial nation, Spain today is in the throes of a critical struggle over just how far that door should open.

And the outcome will largely decide whether the transition to the post-Franco era now under way will remain peaceful or lead to a dangerous polarization of the same forces that fought the civil war.

Generalissimo Franco, who resumed his role as chief of state after temporarily handing over the reins last summer to Prince Juan Carlos, seem determined to keep the opening to a mere crack. The *condillo*, who turned 82 last week, is still active but so frail that television cameras show him only a split-second. Yet, to date, he is succeeding.

Last Monday, Generalissimo Franco and the extreme right dashed one of the major hopes of moderates and even conservatives when they watered down a new law designed originally to permit political "associations"—or parties.

As the bill was outlined, almost apologetically, by the current premier, Carlos Arias Navarro, it will permit nothing of the sort. Any "associations" will have to swear undying allegiance to General Franco and the ultra-right national movement, now the only legal party.

## Third win for right

"The story is," says a moderate leader, "that Arias gave his association bill to Franco one day at the Pardo Palace, and Franco right away took one out of his drawer and said there is the association bill. The defeat for Mr. Arias, a

former security police chief on whom many moderates pinned their hopes for a promised "liberalization" of political life, is the third recent victory for the extreme right.

A liberal information minister, Pio Cabanillas, was fired October 30 after giving unprecedented freedom to the press, perhaps the biggest breakthrough this year. And 14 moderate politicians were arrested 10 days ago for holding an illegal meeting. (The fact that the law requires a permit only when groups of more than 20 are to gather—which includes weddings and parties—was apparently only a legal nicety).

Some moderates feel the current period is fraught with danger. "There is a climate of ambiguity that promises little good," wrote the count of Motrico recently. "It's the associations or the bunker."

The count, a former Franco supporter active in moderate circles, referred to the siege mentality and militant anti-Communism on which Generalissimo Franco has drawn year after year to 'protect' Spaniards against themselves and 'prevent' another war.

Civil war in Spain, where 70 per cent of the population has been born since 1939, is considered unthinkable by most people. And the main reason is the country's economic 'miracle.'

Most of Spain's 35 million persons simply now have something to lose—their cars, their televisions sets, their \$2,600 per capita income and other signs of the consumer society the country has become.

"Look around you," a resident said pointing to the stream of cars jamming the broad *Calle de Serrano*. "Ten years ago you could walk across here without looking."

Led by a flood of foreign largely-American investment since 1959 and a tourist trade the leaves it second only to the United States, Spain—despite

its political isolation in Europe—middle class and a working class with hope. "The difference is that before we were miserable, and we knew our children would be too," says one businessman. "People now believe their children can be lawyers."

But despite Spain's high growth rate and a prudent closeness to the Arab states, worldwide economic problems are catching up with this country. Inflation is 15 per cent, and workers are still insisting on government-guaranteed raises 5 per cent ahead of the cost of living.

Strikers are illegal in Spain. But like so many paradoxes of Spanish life, strikes are commonplace. The country has the fourth highest strike rate in Europe. And this year there have been more than ever before.

No one knows what a sudden reversal in living standards would bring. "There are even some people now who wouldn't mind Franco hanging around so the next two years can be blamed on him," observes an economist.

But the political and economic uncertainty plays into the hand of the Communist-dominated workers commissions, which employers often must deal with rather than the official trade unions.

## Political activity urged

Most moderates argue that the Communists will have to be banned if the political process is opened up. But they warn that unless real political activity is allowed soon, a chance to set up a viable, non-Communist union structure will be lost as Socialists and other moderates are driven into the arms of the far left.

Naturally, all eyes turn also to the Spanish Army, which for decades has been, along with the Catholic church and the landed classes, one of the three chief props of the Franco regime.

And the church turned against Generalissimo Franco several years ago. More and more priests get arrested today for protests. The business community is still largely pro-Franco. But little is known about the Army.

Its officers are far to the right of the majors and colonels who overturned the Portuguese regime.

Nevertheless, "don't sell the Spanish who claims to know many officers. They are beginning to think, and they're not all for

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