

# Great Decisions: 'Spain-End of Franco Era?'

(Editor's note: This is the fourth in a series of discussion topics provided by the Foreign Policy Association, New York, in connection with the Great Decisions program for 1963. This week's subject is "Spain - End of the Franco Era?")

U. S. and Spanish diplomats are preparing to discuss an issue of prime importance to the Western world: the operation of U. S.-built air and naval bases in Spain.

A decade ago the U. S. began funneling military hardware and economic aid to Spain. Total aid has amounted to nearly \$2 billion. In exchange, Spain's General Franco gave the U. S. rights to construct and operate strategic military bases on Spanish soil.

The rights are up for renewal this year. There is every indication that Spain is prepared to make significant demands as the price for renewal of the U. S. rights.

As far back as 1961 General Franco stated that the agreements between the two countries should be "modified." "The military, political and economic aspects of the agreements," the Spanish Information Minister said recently, "are being studied with an eye to revision."

### Request for Weapons

High on Spain's military shopping list is likely to be a request for up-to-date jet planes, rockets and missile-firing destroyers. The estimated cost may approach \$300 million. Franco tends to justify his requests for such equipment on the grounds that, as an anti-Communist country, Spain's defenses should be kept at peak strength.

France also is expected to press hard for U. S. political support whenever Spanish interests are involved in the United Nations and elsewhere. This would include U. S. favoring of Spain's efforts to associate itself with the six-nation European Common Market, which takes 40 per cent of all Spanish exports. If the Spanish economy is to prosper, association with the Common Market is a



**RELAXING IRON GRIP**—This United Press International newsmagazine shows the country of Spain, whose ruler, Generalissimo Francisco Franco, appears to be relaxing the iron grip he has held on the Spanish people since 1939. (UPI)

must. Without such association, Spain's exports will face tough tariff barriers.

France believes that the Spanish bases continue to be vital to the U. S. Therefore, he reasons, the U. S. will be willing to pay the price he asks.

### Value of Sea Base

The U. S., to be sure, would like to renew the agreements. A fully operational naval base at Rota, in southern Spain, has become of increasing value. This base would serve as a headquarters for nuclear submarines due to operate in the Mediterranean Sea.

On the other hand, some strategists consider U. S. air bases in Spain to be of diminishing value in the age of long-range missiles. In addition, many people deplore any U. S. ties at all to an authoritarian regime like Franco's.

Two months ago an international commission of jurists commented that the Franco regime has not abandoned the "intolerable and subjugation of all opposition which characterize a totalitarian system."

Thus it is not certain that this country will be eager to meet the terms Franco may present. Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.), chairman of the Armed Services committee, has said that increased U. S. payments for the Spanish bases would be "completely unjustified."

While U. S. and Spanish negotiators have been sounding each other out on renewal of the agreements, General Franco's government has been in consultation with French officials.

It is believed that French President de Gaulle is eager to forge close ties with Spain as part of his grand design to form a united Western Europe under French leadership.

What can De Gaulle offer Spain? For one thing, De Gaulle can help smooth Spain's path to association with the Common Market. For another, De Gaulle can hold out prospects of a military agreement with Spain. Thus Spain would be linked with France and West Germany (both of which recently

signed a military agreement). This could be the nucleus of a future European army and even a possible replacement for the U. S.-led North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

In a sense, De Gaulle may be competing with the U. S. for the favor of Spain. Speculation to this effect stems from recent French actions, which have blocked British entry into the Common Market. De Gaulle also hopes to reduce U. S. influence in Western Europe. A French-Spanish rapprochement may be an important step toward this goal.

Spain's overall diplomatic aim is to win full acceptance within the Western community of nations. For some years after World War II Spain was shunned by most of the free world countries, which generally characterized Franco's regime as fascist.

An end to isolation began in 1953, when the U. S. and Spain signed the bases agreements. Since then, Spain has joined other international organizations, including the UN.

## 70-Year-Old Leader Appears in Good Health

By PETER KNOX  
United Press International  
Old soldier Generalissimo Francisco Franco shows no signs of dying, but he might fade away.

The tough, wily little Spanish leader, who turned 70 last Dec. 4, appears in good health despite wishful rumors generated by his opposition.

But he shows an increasing disposition toward relaxing the iron grip on the Spanish people which once characterized him.

His doctors say he has no serious health problem apart from a partial paralysis of his left hand as a result of a Christmas Eve hunting accident at his El Pardo palace near Madrid in 1961. His activities seem to bear the doctors out.

He is possessed of an energy enjoyed by few men his age; he personally presides over 14-hour cabinet sessions, travels frequently from one end of the country to the other and goes on hunting trips.

Yet what many think he stood for is fading. The Falange, a virile fascist political force when his regime began, has degenerated to a grumbling voice in the background; the wealth of Spain, once so poorly distributed, has begun to spread; the nation's formerly throttled newspapers have started publishing foreign policy editorials which do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the government and genuine criticisms of government domestic policies.

**Little Political Interest**  
Yet Spaniards seem to pay little attention to the country's political development. The foreign reporter encounters less spontaneous criticism of government in bars, taxis and restaurants than before the trend toward liberalization began.

Spaniards, many of them earning slightly more than a starvation wage for the first time in their lives, are jamming football stadiums and buying motor scooters, transistor radios and an extra pair

of shoes—paying in installments—and their individual welfare interests them more than politics.

Coupled with the political and economic changes is the possibility that the "Caudillo" might fade into the background. When he appointed his 67-year-old army buddy, Capt. Gen. Agustin Munoz Grandes, former commander of the Blue Division, which fought with Germany against Russia in World War II as government vice president last July, he created a new post above ministerial rank.

The decree specified that Munoz Grandes could substitute for the chief of state for reasons of "absence, illness or incapacitation."

Some observers speculated that Franco might be planning to let Munoz Grandes take over most of the work of governing, with Franco going into semi-retirement as titular head of state. Though the generalissimo still charts the course for his ship of state, he lets the vice president take an occasional turn at the wheel.

### Could Solve Nightmare

Munoz Grandes could be the solution to Spain's national nightmare, the problem of succession. Technically Spain is a kingdom without a king. A public referendum in 1947 indicated the people preferred to return to the monarchy, so Franco declared his country a kingdom and subsequently said a king would take over when he ceased to rule.

Presumably the king would be either Don Juan de Bourbon, Count of Barcelona, or his son Prince Juan Carlos. Don Juan has never renounced what he believes to be his right to the throne; and his son is only 25 years old, five years shy of the age required by the law of succession. So Don Juan would be the likely candidate—except that sources close to him say he wants more than the role of a mere figurehead.

The law of succession calls for an interim rule, until the king has been formally named, by a "council of the realm," presently headed by Esteban Bilbao, president of the Spanish parliament. Cortes Bilbao, however, is rumored to be retiring soon

and Munoz Grandes is undoubtedly the strongest and most influential member of the council. Hence, regardless of who was president, Munoz Grandes would probably dominate.

In any case, with pressing problems like Spain's economic need for foreign markets (hinged to a great extent to the country's bid for association with the Common Market), the renegotiation of the American bases in Spain, and Spain's weakening hold on its African possessions, Franco is not likely to step down for awhile.

Among the liberalizing steps which could mark the end of an era, the most recent one considered by the regime is a proposal to lift restrictions on Protestants and give them the heretofore unheard-of rights to build their own schools, distribute Bibles and hold public office.

### Relax Press Censorship

The most notable move toward liberalization was the relaxation of press censorship announced last summer by new 40-year-old minister of information, Manuel Fraga Iribarne.

Changes began occurring in formerly isolated Spain in 1953, when Spain—after being rebuffed and quarantined by the United Nations—suddenly became important to American world defense planners. The first influence toward change in the interior came with the base construction program, which gave

work to thousands of Spaniards, poured money into the pockets of Spanish contractors, and brought about 2,000 American construction workers, with their high standard of living and infectious democratic ways.

Then came U. S. military forces, compounding the influence. In the meantime, Spain began to increase its economic contacts with other countries, saved from bankruptcy by American aid.

By 1962 that aid totaled more than \$1.6 billion. By 1962 also sunny picturesqueness Spain became one of the biggest tourist attractions in the world, and the foreign visitors spent over \$350 million in Spain last year.

ence on Spain's own "miracle." It funneled off tens of thousands of workers from Spain where jobs were poorly paid and not abundant, and gave them well-paid jobs in labor-short German factories. Many of them came back, bringing money, industrial skills they had learned, and ideas about social standards and human rights which seeped through the Spanish community.

### Still Totalitarian State

In spite of Franco's apparently relaxed grip, Spain is still basically a totalitarian state.

Francisco's 19-man cabinet includes eight military men, four Falangists, five of indefinite political affiliation and two members of the Opus Dei, a relatively new power source in Spain. Opus Dei, a Roman Catholic political organization, appears to be oriented toward economic and social reform without prejudicing the reactionary or the power of the Catholic hierarchy, a difficult task at best.

One unique aspect of the Franco regime's political system is the organization known as the Sindicatos. The Sindicatos, government-run "unions" combining representatives of labor, management and government at every level and in every branch of industry, are the regime's substitute for free labor unions, which are outlawed.

Strikes are also outlawed; however the government implicitly admitted the validity of localized labor disputes of a non-political nature when it reacted to last spring's crippling nationwide strike wave by declaring Labor Ministry courts competent to resolve such disputes.

### Opposition Parties Outlawed

Political parties, except the Falange, are officially outlawed in Spain. Among the most significant operating however are the Socialists, various middle of the road or slightly left of center democratic groups, the Basque and Catalan separatists who cling to their impractical dreams of making their respective provinces independent states, the extreme leftist Frente de Liberacion Popular and the Communists, Appar-

ently the Socialists are the strongest numerically, but with perhaps only 20,000 active supporters in Spain.

The military forces are largely political, and would probably be the most stable element on the political scene if Franco were to die tomorrow. The top generals are pro-Franco and would probably rally with their troops under Munoz-Grandes' banner.

The reason behind much of the liberalization is Spain's desperate need to build up its economy. Franco knows he must deal with other Western nations, but to do so he needs a degree of political respectability in the eyes of the Western democracies.

Let liberty be habit-forming. To retract a freedom creates greater resentment than to maintain totalitarianism. It is hard to predict when, if ever, Spaniards will have a voice in their government, but the circumstances of an aging dictator and a vital economic need have forced Franco to break the mold of the past. It is the end of an era—but not the end of Franco.

### Olds Appointed As Enlisted Advisor

Sgt. First Class Kenneth D. Olds has been appointed enlisted advisor to the Second Battalion, 414th Regiment of Medford, according to Lt. Col. John F. Rush, CE, USA, commanding officer.

Sergeant Olds' appointment comes from the X Corps, Ft. Lawton, Wash. He has completed 34 months of duty at Augsburg, Germany, with the Southern Area command.

Sergeant Olds enlisted in the United States Army in 1941 and served in the Asiatic-Pacific area. He is a veteran of the Papuan and New Guinea theaters with the 201st Signal Depot. In Korea, he served with the Korean Central command.

He is a native of Grass Valley, Ore. His service decorations include the American Defense Service medal, Asiatic-Pacific, Philippine Liberation, National Defense and United Nations medals.

## Snow-Less Winter Unexpected Boon for Crews

The snow-less winter has proved to be an unexpected boon to campground and highway cleanup efforts, according to Emil M. Sabol, district ranger at Union Creek, Rogue River National Forest.

As a result of the Columbus Day storm-forest service re-

creation areas on the Union Creek Ranger district were storm strewn with down timber and debris. The Crater Lake and Diamond Lake highways also were hit by the storm.

While the areas are usually under several feet of snow at

this time of the year, the sunny weather this year has allowed restoration work to proceed uninterrupted.

The first job to be tackled was the restoration of the roadsides. According to Sabol, both the Crater Lake and Diamond Lake highways are

classified as Landscape Management areas, and preservation of the scenic qualities is of paramount importance.

The removal of down timber was accomplished through commercial timber sale procedure. Four sales, totalling 500,000 board feet were sold. Successful bidders were S. and W. Logging company, Wayne Ash Logging company, and Spencer Logging company.

Following this, Oregon state highway department crews joined forest service crews in piling and burning what was left after the logging operation. Clyde White and Lee Curry, section foremen, directed highway department personnel, while Lowell Ash, fire control officer at Union Creek, supervised forest service crews.

After this phase was done, forest service crews moved into Muir Creek, Farewell Bend, and Natural Bridge campgrounds, where logging of the blowdown timber had been completed. The stumps of the uprooted trees presented a problem, both from the standpoint of safety to campers and of unsightliness.

At Natural Bridge campground, the problems were solved by loading the massive stumps into dump trucks and hauling them away to an inconspicuous spot in the forest, miles away from Natural Bridge. This project was supervised by Herbert E. Barth, forester in charge of recreation at Union Creek.

Meanwhile, state highway department crews, taking advantage of the suitable weather, had cleared off the brush along the shoulders of the Crater Lake highway between Prospect and Union Creek.

The brush along this section of highway was encroaching on the highway and was detracting from the scenic qualities, in addition to being a safety hazard. According to Sabol, the brush clearing project fits into the forest service concept of landscape management.

Restoration work will continue on the Union Creek recreation areas as long as the weather permits. Next to be treated are the Union Creek and Woodruff Bridge campgrounds.



**HIGHWAY CLEANUP**—The lack of snow along the side of the Crater Lake highway this winter made it possible for forest service and state highway department crews to clean up brush that was encroaching on the highway and also debris from the Columbus Day storm. This scene, taken near the Natural Bridge area, shows how neat the roadside appears following completion of the work.



**TIMBER REMOVAL**—Numerous trees were blown down at Natural Bridge and other campgrounds in the Union Creek Ranger district during the Columbus Day storm. Here a McGraw Brothers logging truck loads some of the blowdown salvage at Natural Bridge campground.

**SAVE! SAVE!**  
This Week's Special

200 AMP-20-CIRCUIT  
**BREAKER PANEL**  
Complete with 5' x 2" Conduit, Meter Base, Fittings & Breakers. **\$89.50**

SPECIAL PRICE ON  
**WESIX WALL HEATERS**  
8-3 Range, Dryer Wire. 23c Ft.

Built-In Ranges  
**Universal Waste King**  
Electric Range Top With Full Size Glass Door Open  
Reduced to **\$185.00**  
Cal/Ore League Bonus **20.00**  
This Week **Only \$165.00**

**BROOKS ELECTRIC**  
1116 North Riverside 772-5209

## LOCKER BEEF SALE

Feed Lot Beef—Primal Cuts

<b>CHOICE CHUCKS</b> Pot Roasts—Ground Beef—Stew Meat <b>49¢ lb.</b> Cut & Wrapped	<b>CHOICE ROUNDS</b> Round Steak, Roasts, Ground Beef, Sirloin Tips <b>63¢ lb.</b> Cut & Wrapped	<b>CHOICE LOINS</b> T-Bone, Sirloin, Filets <b>89¢ lb.</b> Cut & Wrapped
---	---	---

<b>CHOICE RIB</b> Steak—Prime Rib Roast Cut & Wrapped <b>69¢ lb.</b>	<b>GROUND BEEF PATTIES</b> 5 Lb. Pkg. <b>\$2.45</b>
--	--

**BEEF** 1/2 or Whole Cut & Wrapped, Frozen **47¢ lb**  
**CHOICE LAMBS** 1/2 or Whole **45¢ lb**  
FULL LINE—BEEF, LAMB & PORK

Nothing Down, Up to 4 Months to Pay On Approved Credit  
**JOE DEENIN & RON METE** Are Now At  
**MEDFORD ICE COLD STORAGE**  
PH. 779-1587 - 535 S. FIR  
★ ALL MEAT CUT AND WRAPPED FREE ★  
TO YOUR SPECIFICATIONS