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and documents

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FALSE ACCUSATION

The Bishop of Teruel and the Propaganda Letter Issued by the Spanish Hierarchy, of which he was one of the Signers

Monsignor Polanco, the Bishop of Teruel, now a prisoner of the Republican Army, is one of the signers of the pastoral letter issued by the Spanish hierarchy at Franco's command for propaganda purposes, and which was sent to the bishops of the whole world. He is, therefore, a dignitary of the Church who has taken an active part in the war in favor of the rebels.

Perhaps rebel propagandists are not interested to know that his life has been respected; but the truth is that without violence, without ill-will or humiliation, while the bodies of the soldiers who fell in the siege of Teruel are still warm, the prelate awaits the decision of the Law, which has not been broken either for him or for any other prisoner taken there. This fact is by itself strong enough to weigh on the conscience of all the instigators of this struggle, among whom the most noteworthy are the Spanish hierarchy, whose intention it has been to rouse the world by stories of atrocities attributed to the «reds».

The signers of the document headed by Cardinal Gomá included the Bishop of Teruel. The principal aim of this document was to rebuke criticism which had arisen from the sanest section of international catholic opinion, which condemned the Spanish church for taking an active part in the civil war. True catholics found it hard to accept the fact that violence and crime were blessed in the name of a doctrine of «tolerance and peace». In the eyes of their supporters the bishops tried to justify their behaviour towards the rebellion. Their second aim was to contribute with favourable testimonies to Franco's propaganda. In order to do this they did not hesitate to violate one of the commandments, the one which says «Thou shalt not lie», because they lied openly when they asserted that the atrocities and murders committed by the rebels «were due to an error and to the initiative of subordinates». At the same time they asserted that the atrocities attributed to the «reds» have always been greater than those which have taken place in «national» territory.

The bishop of Teruel will have to admit that these assertions, which were, spread all over the world with the idea of damaging the cause of the Republic, are absolutely false. The several thousands of persons murdered in his diocese were mainly executed under orders issued by Franco himself or by officers and authorities under his command. The monstrous murder of Sr. M. P. Vilatela, the wellknown republican deputy, who was an upright and straight-forward man, whose sole crime was that he had strengthened Teruel's democratic movement, was ordered by officers and authorities directly under Franco's command. So were the two girl State employees who were sacrificed by the fanatic rage of rebel authorities, who were also directly responsible to Franco for their acts. The crime committed by these two young women was that they sympathized with the People's Front Government. And were the irresponsible subordinates who committed these ghastly crimes punished? We might ask the Reverend Prelate Sr. Polanco.

Crimes like these show the insanity of those executioners whom the wrinkled hand of the Reverend Prelate has sincerely blessed. In the case

in question the subordinates were not the murderers, just as they were not in any town or village where thousands of defenseless people were executed. They were merely the killers, the orders were given by Franco himself or by officers and authorities under his command.

Cruelty and extermination were the foundation of the plans of the rebels. They have imported the methods of foreign fascists, which praise political terrorism and totalitarian war, in the same way as in the instructions issued by the rebel General Staff it is recommended, in accordance with the German understanding of war, that ambulances and hospitals be preferred as military objectives «because it demoralizes the enemy». It was recommended to military leaders and the civil delegates to carry out the «cleaning of society», thus passing beforehand a death sentence on every person with the slightest liberal ideas. The rebels knew only too well the people's dislike for their cause and tried to impose their dictatorship by crushing all their enemies. Franco said so cynically enough, when he asserted that he would not go back in his purpose even if he had to kill two-thirds of the people of Spain.

Bishops knew it and with satisfaction they are helping Franco to commit this enormous crime. The Bishop of Teruel can verify now, although he ought to have been convinced before, that there is no comparison between the behaviour of the rebels and the republican forces. The rebel forces execute their prisoners. The Bishop of Teruel along with the rest of the prisoners have had their lives respected and are being well looked after by... the «reds»!

The victors at Teruel think neither of reprisals nor revenge. The Spanish Republic does not receive its system from abroad, because that system, when operating in territory other than its own, lacks the power to appreciate the value of those Spaniards who continue to remain true to their own feelings.

This is another aspect of the pastoral letter. It is said in it that the Komintern prepared a «red» uprising in Spain and that the troops which are fighting against the «nationalists» are foreign troops. The lie is now clearer than ever to monsignor Polanco's eyes. Were the soldiers who captured him in Teruel, after routing Franco's forces, Russian? They were true Spaniards, talking our own language, they were real men of Spain, taken from the real people of Spain and converted into soldiers at the service of the legal Government of Spain, to conquer a real Spanish town for the Republic. On the other hand, His Excellency has been able to observe—with sad reflections, I suppose—the gangs of Mohammedans, Italians and Germans who crowded Teruel at the service of the «nationalist» cause. In the document signed by Sr. Polanco not a word is said about these «nationalists» sent by Mussolini and Hitler. Or rather, the document said «that the prudence shown by the rulers—the Franco Junta—will take steps to prevent all modelling of the future Spanish State on foreign pattern». The bishops showed their fear of fascism. They thought that perhaps the parti-

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Franco Imprisons the Peasants

Newspapers here and abroad have recently published a significant news item from rebel territory. It is a good testimony of the means employed by Franco to save the nation.

«Rabat, 10.—The Civil Governor of Cordova has published an urgent note, in obedience to one issued by the Southern Division of the Army, demanding that all peasants, who received a loan for the crop of cereals which has not as yet been harvested, refund the money lent to them and giving them forty eight hours in which to pay it back. At the expiry of this term, those who have not paid will be arrested and kept in prison until the debt is cleared.»

The Republic Helps the Peasants

Almost at the same time as the above order was issued, the Government of the Republic, through a branch of the Crédito Agrícola (Bank of Agricultural Credit), was studying the needs of peasants in Aragon in order to give them the necessary financial assistance in the form of liberal credits to attend to their crops without experiencing any economic hardships.

Besides, the Republican Government has recently declared a moratorium to alleviate the situation of the peasants, and to help them to work their own soil with ease and with the maximum of freedom. («From «Frente Rojo». Barcelona, Jan. 18, 1938.)

Eighty Basques were Shot on December 14

Paris. — All the information which comes from the Basque region bears the same characteristics: hunger and terror. The bestial persecution has not abated. The rebels have no respect for sex or age. The methods which the rebels employ to subdue the people: terror and murder, do not vary from one place to another. They only succeed in making the people hate them all the more.

The terror has attained such proportions in some villages and towns that it is impossible for any decent Republican or Basque Nationalist to live in them. They are denounced through envy and rancor by anonymous enemies, who do not even have to give their names to the rebel authorities, and those who are denounced in this manner are arrested and many executed.

In the municipalities the rulers are the braggarts and bandits of the respective towns, who are now enjoying the spoils of their conquest, and robbing the treasuries of the municipalities. These elements are the trusted henchmen of the predominant reactionaries and the privileged classes.

Murders are an every-day occurrence all over Vizcaya. On December 14 eighty Basque citizens were executed. And more or less the same number of people are executed every day. One of the victims is Melchor Larrinoa.

Courts Martial are functioning every day, condemning people to death and other penalties for the

sole crime of being Basque Nationalists, Republicans or Socialists. A young teacher by the name of Inchaurre and another called Zidorra were sentenced to a life term for this reason. Felipe Manterola and his brother Txomin were sentenced to twelve and six and a half years respectively, the former for being a Socialist councillor and the latter merely for being his brother. The property of both was confiscated, so that their families composed of wives and small children had to go to live with relatives who took them in out of charity.

There was an old man by the name of Rotaetxe who died of shame and sorrow. His palace in Zubiate was confiscated, and his widow and daughters had to be taken care of by friends of the family.

All Basque Nationalists who have held a public post have been arrested and are being kept in prison without any trial. Republicans and Socialists share the same fate.

Money is very scarce in the region. Work is hard to find also, and as a consequence people are living in misery. On top of this, the rebels go around the towns every day making «voluntary» collections for this and that. This aggravates the misery of the people, many of whom wish to be imprisoned, because it is the only way to avoid starvation.

The people are so irritated that it will not be long before the rebels will need a real army of occupation to subdue them.

The People in Rebel Territory

BY ANTONIO RUIZ VILAPLANA

The panorama in rebel territory presents to the student many interesting aspects, but perhaps none so vigorous and dramatic as that of the people as a whole.

What about the people, what are they doing and saying in rebel territory? This is the question which is always present in everybody's mind.

The impression prevailing throughout the world is that the people in rebel territory have been subdued by military force; but to what extent? What is the attitude, what are the feelings of the people towards those who pretend to have subdued them?

What do the people think? What do the people say?

Before I attempt to answer these questions, even if it is only to a certain extent, I must say what I mean by the people.

By the people I do not mean only the working class, which has attained to a predominant level after having been so unjustly treated for so many centuries. I do not mean by the people a given political party or social class. I mean the sum total of persons, ideas, affections, interests, the humble family and the bourgeois employee, the rich merchant and the shepherd, the mechanic and the student, the peasant and the army man, all the factors in the life of the nation.

What do these people think about the nationalist regime?

At the outbreak of the military rebellion Spain was not divided into two zones. Spain was a homogeneous whole, with the natural differences of land and races in the different regions; but these differences did not affect the organic whole which constituted the Spanish State. Not even the Catalan and Basque autonomous regions represented a social distinction, but merely political and administrative one.

The failure of the military rebellion in certain districts left Spain artificially divided; it is not a rational division, for the frontiers were created wherever military urgency required. It can, therefore, be said that the border line lies between both lines of trenches. Wherever a trench was made, a border line was created.

The consequence of this chance division has been the existence of an absurd and stupid civil war in Spain. It is not a war of ideas or races, but a geographical war pure and simple.

Two vast zones were created: the red and the white zones. The borderline ran between both lines of trenches. The civil population had to take refuge in these two zones as well as they could, and there was no getting away from it.

I only know the white zone. The people in the white zone are composed of all those who found themselves living in that zone at the outbreak of the military rebellion. This assertion may seem stupid, but it is the key to the whole situation.

The people continue thinking just the same as they thought ever before, previous to the rebellion. They were not confronted by vital problems. The bestial movement which is destroying the Spanish nation is not a popular rising against an oppressor, nor is it a mature attempt to become imperialist; it is a military, royalist and reactionary coup pure and simple, and the people were pressed and dragged into it.

The employer, the laborer, the merchant, the student, all the members of the civil population were not aware of it when the rebellion was being prepared, nor were they able to grasp its scope when it broke out.

Ignorant at the beginning and terrified afterwards, ever since July 18, 1936, the people have been victimized by two forces, which have been maintained at the level of their intellectual inferiority. One of the forces is the terror let loose by the dominating reactionaries, and the other is the deceitful and misleading propaganda by which they are kept ignorant of the facts.

At this time very little that has not already been published can be said about the effect that the ghastly terror has worked on the people.

The tremendous number of executions and arrests, the regime of compulsory denunciation, the dramatic and clerical atmosphere with its constant acts of vengeance have submerged the defenseless people of that zone into an indescribable state of dreadful inertia and terror.

In particular, those workers who were caught unawares and have been delivered entirely into the hands of their tyrants, are suffering a grave crisis of helplessness and anguish.

Stunned by the bestial militarist coup, gripped by the predominance of the old forces of the oppressive reaction, the people have sought a refuge in the organizations of the insurgents themselves. This is the secret of the rapid growth of the Phalanx. The workers and the people feeling terrorized and insecure turned to the Phalanx, where admittance was easily ob-

tained, where they found cover against the bestial persecution.

In their flight from that storm of torture and death each one sought refuge in the group which was considered more agreeable or where admittance was more easily obtained.

That is the reason why the forces which are collaborating in the rebellion were so easily increased. They were not increased by people who sympathized with it, but by terrified people who sought protection against the ghastly terror.

Although terror was an effective lever, especially as far as the workers were concerned, deceit and slander also played an important rôle in subduing other social classes.

The press, which was the only source of information and culture in that zone, was subjected from the beginning to a brutal military censorship. Newspapers were allowed to print only news and articles issued by the Army headquarters through the Press Bureau. Thus, convenient doses of stupidity and hatred were administered to the people.

The rebellion, which met with failure at the beginning, has been kept alive by means of a furious campaign of deceit and slander. On July 18th it was affirmed that the Republic no longer existed, and ever since that date all the organs of propaganda, including the pulpit, have been constantly employed to dupe the people into believing all the stories about the social overthrow, communist rising and horrible crimes committed in the Republican zone.

The rebels stop at nothing in order to stimulate the ignorant, easily impressed masses to feel the necessary amount of rancor and hatred. The press every day publishes long, monotonous stories — bearing the unmistakable trade-mark of the Jesuits — about tortures and murders committed by the «reds». These stories are later denied, but it does not matter, since they have already produced the desired effects. Stories about the execution of famous writers like Benavente, whose execution was published with an excess of details; about that of famous scientists like Dr. Gómez Ulla, about that of popular figures like the bull fighter Villalta, and dignitaries of the Church like the Bishop of Valladolid.

I remember going myself along with all the local authorities to a funeral mass celebrated in Valladolid in memoriam of the famous football player Ricardo Zamora. He had been executed by the «reds». Zamora himself, not his spirit, is at present playing in a French team.

Pompous funerals were also celebrated in memoriam of Sr. Gadañegui, Archbishop of Valladolid, «who was barbarously murdered by Basque separatist red hordes». Twenty days later the Reverend Prelate presented himself in person in Valladolid, in his official car! He was coming from the «red» zone where he was at the outbreak of the rebellion... He denied before the astonished crowd who went to greet him all the stories they had invented about his being tortured. On the contrary, he said that he had been treated with the utmost respect and consideration. The reactionaries immediately termed him «the red bishop», and he had to be protected by a permanent guard of Requetés, because some one had said something about taking him for a ride.

Another fabrication which yielded wonderful results was the one about the famous «red lists», in which the «reds» had compiled all the names and addresses of rich and Right-wing people, even setting forth how they were going to be put to death.

From time to time on making an arrest one of these lists was produced, and by this trick two objects were attained. The arrest was justified, and it roused the wrathful indignation of those whose names appeared on the lists as being condemned to death by the «reds». These persons proved to be later valuable elements in the repression for vengeance.

This system of «lists» acquired a refined perfection and worked wonders especially in Burgos.

Some names were listed merely to be «eliminated». More prominent names were listed «to be tortured or subjected to painful poisoning before being executed» and lastly came the names of those who were listed «to be eliminated from this world along with their whole family and servants».

These lists astonished me, and I was expecting from day to day to see my name in one of them, because the omission was creating an unfavorable atmosphere for me.

The «reds» had been in power from February 16 to July 18, 1936, and had not even been capable imprisoning the Right-wing people, and all of a sudden, out of a clear sky, in one day, in a few hours, they converted

themselves into murderous criminals with a refined wickedness. It was a good thing for Right-wing people that the «reds» only developed their murderous instincts after the military rebellion broke out, for this had occurred before, when they were in power and therefore able to carry out their wicked designs. It is difficult to imagine just all the horrors to which peaceful Burgos would have been submitted...

The persistent campaign of deceit and slander, invention of horrible crimes which were attributed to the Republic, to the «reds», gave the narrow-minded people in that zone a conception of the Republic State more or less as follows:

«The Government of the Republic no longer exists. All the posts are occupied by a few criminals directed by the bandits of Moscow (Moscow an obsession to them).

«Azaña and Companys no longer count for anything in the red zone, and have tried to escape twenty-seven times.

«The streets are patrolled by reds who go around cursing and pillaging. If they see a religious token in a house, they kill everyone in that house straight away.

«To say «adios» (God be with you) in a loud voice is equivalent to signing your death sentence.

«The different Ministries and official centres occupied by former convicts. Azaña, Prieto, Azaña, Negrín and a few others of the same sort meet in the underground passages of the Bank of Spain to divide among themselves, with daggers ready on the table, the jewels and the gold stolen from the safes in the banks.

«The red officers and soldiers, ragged and howling — enraged by the glorious advance of the nationalists who are brave knights, wearing beautiful uniforms, twisted their big moustaches and fled, but before their flight they killed ten or twelve Right-wing people and plundered their homes.

«In the Spanish Embassy in Paris Araquistain took down all the tapestries and paintings to sell them right away, to «swipe» everything before his successor, Ossorio y Gallardo, arrived, who, having arrived «too late» dispaired to think there was nothing left for himself.

«Marcelino Domingo was in México going to peddle rounds peddling bags full of gold and jewels which were the products of his robberies.»

To many this may sound like a comical argument. But no, this is the truth as it was given to the people in articles and news items systematically published by the entire press in rebel territory.

Let any one read and examine all the news articles published by the rebel press ever since the military uprising, and once the low quality and immorality of these vicious attacks have been proved it is easy to surmise the state of mind of the people in the so-called nationalist territory. Misled by deceit and slander, kept in a miserable atmosphere within the struggle, many people in rebel territory are full of motiveless hatred, and the majority are absolutely ignorant of the causes of this war.

The people are entirely in the power of the commanding officers. The officers can dispose of them at will, of their lives, of their property. The officers dictate what the fate of the people shall be, while they are to rejoice, what their beliefs should be, and even how they are to amuse themselves.

The freedom of the people is encroached on more and more every day, and they are kept constantly in a duped and excited state of mind.

Even the most lenient sentences passed by Republican courts are represented to the people as vulgar crimes.

As an illustration, let us take the following item published by «La Voz de España», a San Sebastián newspaper, which says literally:

«Tomorrow will be the first anniversary of the death of General Muslera and Lieutenant Colonel Baselga, who were murdered in San Sebastián during the red separatist rule. They were submitted to summary trial.

«The summary scarcely filled 22 legal sheets. There were no concrete charges against them, nor any evidence to prove their guilt... According to the Law they should have been acquitted. Nevertheless they were condemned to death. We must state that according to information we have, both General Muslera and Lieutenant Colonel Baselga, had agreed with General Mola to assume an important mission in the national rising.»

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The people read these cynical declarations without making any comments, without a protest. Deceived in this manner, the people lead a lamentable moral existence. They do not like the war, neither do they go to the war with enthusiasm. They watch long files of their sons being taken to the fronts, dragged by force into an imperialism which does not inspire them. Rebel leaders know this very well. They know perfectly well that they can never convert the people to their cause. The «Tebic Arru» who is the official chronicler for General Headquarters in Salamanca, has admitted this in an article published in the weekly «Domingo» on September 5: «Let us not be deluded—he stated—when this war is ended we shall have overcome the resistance of many people; BUT WE SHALL HAVE CONVINCED NO ONE.»

of many people; BUT WE SHALL HAVE CONVINCED NO ONE.»

And as the military command know this, they are compelled to keep the flame of hatred falsely burning, always kindled, feeding it with wicked, base lies, to keep alive that wicked hatred which they have created between the two zones, «red» and «white», hatred which they intend not to limit to this generation, but which they intend to extend to future generations.

This makes possible the publication of such advertisements as the following, which appeared in the «Diario de Navarra» on August 27, 1937. It is an example of that Christian charity which pities only the children of the nationalists, and makes the children from the «red» zone the object of rancor and hatred:

«Advertisement. Orphan children. Charitable per-

son intends to adopt two small boys, and another family a little girl. They must have neither father nor mother. The adoption is subject to the following conditions:

«First: Both the boys and the girl must not be over two or three years old and in good health.

«Second: It is necessary for the father of the children to have given his life defending our country against marxism.

«The children will have their future provided for. Address: Presbyter Gevasio Villanueva, Maternity House, Navarra.»

From the book «Doy Fe...» (I Certify...) by Antonio Ruiz Vilaplana, Secretary of a Law Court in Burgos, who recently escaped from rebel territory. This book has just been published in Paris.

THE BISHOP OF TERUEL...

(Continued from page 1)

icipation of foreign armies in the struggle would and by their imposing their political protectorate. Their suspicion has been absolutely confirmed; but the bishops have not had the gallantry to admit it, avowing themselves once more accomplices of the generals, who out of hatred and, prompted by their ambition, gave away their country to the invaders. What is really monstrous in this case is that the regime Franco offered them was outlined by the heretical inventors of German anti-Christianity. Those who call themselves rebuilders of the Catholic Empire expect to win the crusade with the assistance of

Moors and pagans. Moors fight in the front lines and Germans are organizing the totalitarian state as conceived by Hitler who, without being Napoleon, dares to threaten putting the Pope in one of his jails. Such is the regime that the bishops have defended, and among them the Bishop of Teruel, Mgr. Polanco, who signed his name to a letter full of lies.

J. DIAZ FERNANDEZ

(Written especially for «Servicio Español de Información».)

THE MILITARY SITUATION

Franco Will Try to Avenge his Defeat

It was a reporter well known for his sympathy for Franco, the professional soldier who follows the Spanish war in the «Daily Mail», who said that even if we, the Republican, lost Teruel as a result of the rebel counter-attack, we could still boast of having won the battle. And he is right. We should have lost the tactical action; but by imposing our will on the enemy and by destroying their plans, we compelled them to acknowledge our strategic superiority.

We write on January 9th. Ever since December 15th we have been outmanoeuvring the enemy. And the enemy let themselves be manoeuvred against their will. This is the truth, the real truth, which indicates a fundamental change in the outlook of the war. Franco should know, he certainly does know, that a general who is not able to impose on his opponent his strategic conceptions, has half lost the campaign. Miracles are very rare in war. War is always routine and discipline, order and exact execution of commands. The armed masses of the people who took the place of the regular army which had risen against them, know this only too well, since they took part in the first confused skirmishes, where enthusiasm reigned on the one hand and confusion on the other.

And as miracles are very rare in war, Franco, when taken by surprise by our unexpected attack on the Teruel salient, could not react in time.

What will have happened when these comments are published? The Teruel battle may end in a draw or may go on indefinitely. With its cold climate, its mountainous and unfruitful soil, its special importance as a road junction and gateway to the Eastern coast, the country around Teruel and its surrounding hills, the Sierra de Albarraçin, Sierra Palomera, Montes Universales, etc., have been an ideal ground for the Republican Army.

The important details of the entire operations which will one day be called the «Teruel manoeuvres» can already be pointed out. First, there was a well prepared brisk action by the Republicans, who in six days surprised the rebels, broke their lines, isolated their forces, surrounded their garrison, besieged Teruel, established a defensive front against the probable arrival of relief columns and entered the city by force. In this first stage some reactions of the rebels were recorded. Misled, confused by what they believed at first to be a small attack, a great reconnoitering offensive, the rebels did not until at least seventy-two hours later, realize the danger of the threat. It was too late. Their attempts to help the besieged garrison failed. And the problem was simplified.

Inside Teruel, which was in our hands, there remained some thousands of soldiers and non-combatants who, fearing just reprisals, a consequence of seventeen months of crimes, would not surrender. Their leaders, Rey d'Harcourt and Barba, received messages over the radio from General Aranda. Aranda ordered them to hold on. And they resisted, laying aside all pity for the old people, the women and children whom they had taken with them to their strongholds and who died by the dozen from hunger and thirst.

Second stage. Franco decides to take drastic actions. This decision causes him great anger because it means the adjournment «sine die» of his plans for an irresistible, overwhelming offensive. Thinking logically, he should have done as in Belchite, that is to say, to be a good loser, to strengthen his front line and to go on preparing his attack on the Guadalajara front. What did it matter if the garrison of Teruel surrendered? Very regrettable, of course. But after all, what was lost would be compensated for by the saving of lives and material.

A leader careful of his shock

troops and of his arms and ammunition would have abandoned the battle of Teruel on December 22nd and 23rd. But Franco mobilized almost all his air force, an enormous amount of artillery, entire tank regiments and especially his shock troops. Moors, legionaries, Requetés, Civil Guards, backed by Italian troops were thrown against our outer lines at Teruel. And at the beginning they succeeded in obtaining some tactical advantages. On the 29th, 30th and 31st they arrived as far as Conclud, San Blas and placed some guns on the Tooth of Teruel which fired on the city and the road to Villastar. But to the rebel pressure we reacted strongly. Our reserves in their turn arrived. On one flank we withstood the enemy whilst on the other we drove them back. The batteries on the Tooth of Teruel did not fire any more on the republican positions referred to above. The most terrible bombardments both from land and from the air failed in the face of the heroic obstinacy of our infantry who held their ground and defended it inch by inch. Our air force excelled itself. On the 7th it was quite plain that Yagüe, Cabanellas, Aranda and Varela, in spite of their claims spread by the press and by the radio, could not get through.

And as they could not get through, Rey d'Harcourt and Barba became discouraged and surrendered.

Franco must seek his revenge. He is obliged to try and avenge his defeat. The exotic public to whom we have referred consider themselves cheated and, instead of applauding, begin to deride him. The «Frankfurter Zeitung» and some Italian papers have published bitter criticisms. And these bitter criticisms mean that foreign support is only obtainable when deserved. Does Franco deserve it? In Rome and Berlin they are beginning to think that he doesn't and so does the City of London, which is very important.

Therefore Franco needs to have his revenge. A spectacular and noisy revenge, which will be at the same time rich in results. Will he look for it in Aragon? Will he in Madrid? In the Mancha? In Andalusia? As we write these lines the pro-fascist press of Franco and England is referring to a rebel offensive on Jaen and Linares, on Almeria, along the tourist road that winds along the Andalusia coast, from Malaga to the Province of Murcia. The Province of Jaen is harvesting an enormous olive crop worth millions of pesetas. Moreover the Linares mining district would be a booty worth while. And all this, to say nothing of what the moral success means. As for Almeria, its possession would have less importance: but nevertheless it would make a great impression abroad.

Would all this mean the end of the war? Certainly not. And Franco knows it, better than anybody else. This truth cannot escape anyone's mind, however stupid he may be. Franco is a

prisoner of his own ominous work, and will not succeed in breaking the chains that tie him. In vain will he try to free himself. He asked for these chains when he was near defeat after the failure of the uprising in Madrid, Bilbao, Malaga, Gijon, Barcelona, Valencia, Alicante Cartagena. Recently, as we have said in these comments, he asked for them again in a dishonouring telegram to Mussolini.

The war is going to change. It is going to change because we have finished being an anvil and have become a hammer. And we will beat hard with unbreakable stubbornness, without resting for one moment. There is no possible truce when the dead are waiting to be avenged and when the country laid low in ruins, demands its independence and longs for its freedom.

(From the Decennial Information Bulletin issued by the General Staff of the Army.)

The Architectural Monuments of Teruel

Damages Caused by the War

Valencia. — The Committee for the Preservation of the Artistic Treasure has now received the report from the delegation which they dispatched to Teruel to investigate the damage caused to buildings by the recent battles. It is reported that the damage done is not very great after all.

The four famous towers, built in the typical style of the architecture of the Mudejar of Aragon are standing. All of them bear marks of bombs, which have spoiled part of the tile work, but the sculptural work of the towers has not been damaged to a great extent, and restoration will not be difficult. But the tower of St. Peter has lost the whole of its upper part, which was recently rebuilt.

The Cathedral seems a little more inclined to the side of the temple; this, however, will have to be checked.

The stone and wood work in the Cathedral suffered the most serious damage. This is a true masterpiece of Mudejar art. It

dates from 1335. One of the panels, the lower one, is completely destroyed, as is also one of the pieces of the next one.

The XVII century vaults which covered them have been demolished except the part next to the crossing, which will make restoration easier.

The sides have also been slightly damaged. The most valuable «retablos» are almost intact. The lantern dome is also almost complete.

Saint Peter's image has also been slightly damaged.

In other monumental buildings (all of secondary interest), some damage was also done. The well-known viaduct which gave Teruel an interesting appearance lost one of its arches.

The Delegation also sent a note to the Commissary of War informing him that an important library in Barbastro had also been saved by the Republican Army.

(«La Vanguardia». Barcelona, Jan. 16.)

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The Origin of the People's Army President Azaña

In a Recent Speech

The Monastery school of the Salesian order on Francos Rodríguez street, in Cuatro Caminos, norther working-class suburb of Madrid, is new, ugly, and has no works of art worth mentioning. You will not find it in the guide books.

In the history books of the future however it will have its page. For it has been one of the nerve centres of Spain's fight for democracy, the cradle, the nursery and the first training ground of the People's Army.

The Fifth Regiment of Militia was started with two hundred men who had fought in the attack on the Montaña barracks, and fought on the Sierra front in the first days of the fascist rush for Madrid.

With difficulty, these two hundred were persuaded to come into the barracks in Francos Rodríguez street — whence the monks had fled after abandoning a machine-gun nest on the church from which they had sprayed death upon the people of that suburb — and undergo a special course of training.

It was considered in those days a long training if you had more than twelve hours of it. In one of the first battles on the Sierra, men who were to handle the extremely complicated Spanish hand grenades, which go off on your hand and blow you to pieces unless you handle them just right, had to undergo their whole course of instruction in an armoured train going up to the front.

The journey lasted just forty minutes.

The two hundred men at the Cuatro Caminos barracks got eight days training, and were immediately formed into the backbone of the first «Steel Companies». These shock troops swore an oath to one another that they would never retreat except under orders, and that everyone of them would shoot any comrade who broke the first part of the oath.

The men of the Steel Companies never did retreat.

Of the first four hundred of them who went into the line, only eighty returned alive, the majority of them more or less seriously wounded.

The first shock troops gathered new shock troops round them, and the Steel Companies multiplied.

Then came recruiting on a big scale. By the end of August the Fifth Regiment had already sent no less than 16,000 men to the front. All sorts and conditions of men from half the towns and villages of Spain were in the long lines that shuffled slowly past the recruiting examiners, presenting their Union cards, to be scrutinized in order to ensure that they were Trade Unionists in good standing, then stripping to be examined by the doctor for medical fitness.

They say an oath. Here is the text of it:

«I, son of the people, citizen of the Spanish Republic, freely accept service as a militiaman. I promise the Spanish people and the Government of the Republic, elected as a result of the People's Front election victory, that I will defend with my life democratic liberty and the cause of peace and progress; and bear honourably the title of militiaman.

»I promise to study military science and take most scrupulous care to keep from deterioration or the possibility of damage war material owned by the nation and entrusted to me. I promise to keep and see that others keep the most rigid discipline, carrying out fully all the orders of my commanders.

»I promise to abstain from all dishonourable acts and to prevent them from being committed by others, making every effort to conduct myself correctly on all occasions with my thoughts on the high ideals of the democratic republic. I promise to come to the defence of the democratic Spanish Republic at the first call of the Government, putting all my efforts and my life at the service of the Republican regime and the people.

»If I fail to keep this promise freely and solemnly given, may the contempt of my comrades fall on me and the implacable hand of the law punish me.»

The first words I heard after joining that remarkable Regiment was an angry cry from a young man standing on the barrack square. «Sergeant», he shouted, «come over here and drill me. There's nobody drilling us.»

It was the first time I had heard a soldier actually demanding to be drilled. The Sergeant came over and talked to him for a moment, explaining there were not enough sergeants to go round, that there had to be some pauses in the drill.

When I was a child I saw Northumberland miners who had joined Kitchener's First Army, drilling with broomsticks in the fields at Berkhamsted. In Francisco Rodriguez Street I saw men tearing planks from a neighboring ruin with their bare hands, and trying to break them into something approximately of equal length and weight to a rifle, so as to have something to train with.

Every morning when the just-risen sun was still throwing long shadows across the barrack square, and the women of Cuatro Caminos were queueing up at the foodshops in the street outside, the men of our platoon, who had all been enlisted together a few days before, used to gather round the half-dozen professional sergeants and officers we had there and ask, «Shall we get rifles to-day?»

And the would say, «Perhaps this evening. Perhaps to-morrow. In the meantime...»

So in the meantime, with the crucial hours sliding past, and gentlemen in London and Paris arguing that «non-intervention is what the Spanish people really want», we marched and counter-marched, and practised moving in extending formation, with never a rifle among the lot of us.

There was a big peasant lad from Albacete, who had a fine voice and used to sing and dance sometimes for the platoon. One blazing afternoon, when for the twentieth time we had hung around the armoury waiting for rifles, they handed us out some dummy rifles to drill with.

He snatched his, thinking it was the real thing at last. Then he saw what it was. The new disappointment was too much for him.

I can see him now, standing with the dummy held above his

head and the tears running hotly down his bronze cheeks. «I want to fight, I want to fight, I want to fight for my country, and you give me this.»

And turning slowly on his heels, a full circle, calling to all four corners of the barrack square, he shouted, «Why? Why? Why?»

I did not, as an Englishman, think it a suitable moment to tell him that there were certain of my countrymen who were at that very moment engaged in telling the men and women of England that «non-intervention is working out all right.»

After days of time wasted through the fault of nobody except of those who held up the supply of rifles to the democratic troops, we had moved up to the front.

In the platoon I was in there were 18 men besides the sergeant: six peasants from south of Madrid, a young carpenter from the Ciudad Real district, whose father had been executed by the Fascists in 1935 for the crime of being an alleged Socialist, two clerks from Toledo, a commercial traveller who worked for a chain library organisation, three mechanics and a barber from Madrid, a brush-maker from Talavera, a boot-maker who had spent five weeks tramping across country to join up, a 16-year-old boy from Valencia, who had been delivery boy, and myself.

Standing packed like sardines in a score of lorries we and the other men of the regiment's new companies jolted out of the barrack-square one windy afternoon into the street where the workers of Cuatro Caminos were gathered in a vast cheering, flag-waving, singing multitude to see us off.

Women tossed huge green water-melons from their fruit barrels into the lorries to slake our thirst on the journey. Men surged around the lorries, roaring out their last «Good-bye and good luck».

Then Pedro Sánchez, a tough, fair-haired, blue-eyed peasant boy from Albacete, climbed on to the side of our lorry, and raising a voice like a bull's roar above the din, shouted what might stand as the slogan of the men who are fighting for Spain, and for a good life for themselves: «Long live the Spanish Republic! «Long live democracy! «Long live the People's Army!»

(From «Reporter in Spain» by Frank Pitcairn.)

ILLITERACY DECREASES

The reports recently received by the Ministry of Education concerning the work of the Cultural Militia, which is subsidiary to it, indicate a remarkable decrease in the number of illiterates in the Republican Army. During the month of October out of a total number of 57,429 illiterate recruits 11,602 learned to read and write. In the same month 33 libraries and 23 «Soldier's Homes» were set up under their auspices. Besides all this, 752 talks were given and 78 wall newspapers were started. To this work should be added the special short courses organised for officers and sergeants.

(«Frente Rojo». Barcelona, 2 January 1938.)

Ayuntamiento de Madrid

We return this simple answer: we are fighting in self-defence, defending the life of our people and its highest moral values, all the moral values of Spain, absolutely all—the past, the present, and those which you will know how to create in time to come.

We, the innovators of Spanish policy, we, the restorers of the Republic, the workmen of the Republic, who laboured to make it an instrument to bring civilization and progress to our country, we have denied nothing of all that is noble and great in the history of Spain — absolutely nothing. I have such reverence, such devotion for the genius of my country; for when political differences are settled, discords done away, and all the rubbish of discords burned for ever, those of us whose judgment is clear enough, whose heart is high enough, to think as patriots, are permitted to love, and to admire, things which at the present time we could not admit, and should abhor and fight against.

Therefore we have not rejected any Spanish value, anything which is noble and great, and bears the stamp of the genius of our country. Who before a war could give a clearer answer, a sounder answer, an answer more fitting to a rigid conscience, than this which we give? And this answer, this moral conviction are necessary, for none of us, who accepts duty as it presents itself, with all its rigidity, with all its greatness, with all its disaster, none of us, and none of these soldiers who are here with me, consider war as a gay festival, as a sport, as an entertainment for vigorous adults. No, our conscience is clear; we know that war is a terrible calamity and that civil war is a monstrosity — for in a war with a foreign country it is sometimes possible to have the illusion that the material disasters and costs will fall on the vanquished — but in a civil war, victors and vanquished alike have to face a tomorrow in which they and the generations to come must bear the burden of this catastrophe.

We must be honest enough to comprehend the bitterness of this problem and to say it with vigour and clarity — yes, civil war is a monstrosity. We face this

civil war because it is our duty because we are defending ourselves, because we are defending the liberty of Spain, not because we like doing it, or because we are going to found in war a future military glory; we are founding a glory of national independence and of national liberty.

In these cases it is usual to invoke the name of «country». When the thunder of the cannon is heard, there are few who, in either camp, do not call upon the name of their country, or even the name of God. And frequently they assure themselves before hand that a God protects our army against the other, and that they rely on divine protection in the battle. But even more frequently do they invoke the name of «country».

I protest. No war can be voluntarily begun in the name of one's native land unless it be a war to defend the national independence. The only sacred value of a country which justifies a war is the defence of oneself against a foreign invader; but to invoke the name of «country» to stir up a civil war is not right unless they think that the native land is a sort of remote and bloodthirsty deity before whom hundreds of thousands of its sons must be sacrificed from time to time to keep it satisfied.

We do not think of the country in this way; our country is one that is not separable from Spaniards. We are our country morally, our territory is our country, as are our cities, as will be the generations that are to follow us, as we are who are the heirs of those gone before. But I do not believe, and no one can admit, that there exists an indefinable entity, unknowable, remote, distinct in its interest, in its aspirations, and its demands from the aspirations and interests of us, the citizens of the country, and before which, through the caprice of a policy, or the ambition of a policy, or the demands of a party, in the name of this sanguinary country the life of thousands of its sons must be sacrificed. To me this seems a monstrosity, whence comes the enormous monstrosity of the civil war which we are all suffering.

And the People of Spain Will be Glad to Have Them

A member of our staff was present during a private conversation between Marcel Acier, the American writer, who is now in Barcelona after an extended tour throughout loyalist territory and an Englishman who is a resident of Barcelona.

The conversation centered around the almost miraculous manner in which the Negrin Government have organized and controlled all activities in the rear in spite of the war and the tremendous and more urgent task they have had in organizing and equipping a modern army such as the Republican Army is today.

Acier had seen life in the trenches and life behind the lines. Many activities in the rear do not seem to suffer from the war at all, he said. Life seems to

be almost normal in many respects. Freedom and order prevail everywhere.

The Government is carrying on a tremendous amount of educational work, both at the fronts and behind the lines, where new schools are opened and the old ones modernized. Many thousands of illiterate soldiers are learning to read and write right in the front lines through the wonderful work of the Culture Brigades.

«The best propaganda for the Spanish Government would be to bring over as many British and Americans as possible to see for themselves the work that is being done», he said.

And all to safeguard freedom, culture, democratic principles for the Spanish nation — and for the world, too.

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