

# SPANISH INFORMATION

## SERVICE **texts**

## and documents

A WEEKLY RÉSUMÉ OF OUR DAILY "SERVICIO ESPAÑOL DE INFORMACION"

N.º 13

Barcelona, March, 4, 1938

556, Av. 14 Abril

# Speech delivered by Doctor Negrin at Barcelona on February 26, 1938

Spaniards:

The great superiority of material, which is only a transitory, of the opponent's army has forced the soldiers of the Republic to abandon Teruel. The news of the evacuation of that city was not withheld a single instant from the public. The Government announced long before the rebels themselves decided to announce the capture of Teruel in their official communiqué.

It has always been the pride of the Government of the Republic that it keeps the country informed of the exact course of our war. No episode, whether dramatic or daring, has ever been hidden from the nation or disclosed. The Government, faithful to the behaviour befitting a democratic regime and certain of the moral strength of our people, which has so often been demonstrated, has at all times gone to the people fearlessly to tell them the exact truth and to show them at the same time the causes of a given situation, and to give them the necessary advice, orientation, and solutions. In short, the Government has carried on its administration without vacillation, in full view of the people, and has received their enthusiastic collaboration, aimed at achieving victory.

This faithfulness to the truth is justified by the feeling of confidence which influences all the Government's decisions.

Not all governments can permit themselves such a frank procedure. There have been very few cases similar to this in our history. Only a Government which knows that it has the confidence and support of the people can work in this way. Confidence and support which are shown for a thousand different motives and which are given in a thousand different ways.

Invested with this authority, I address all Spaniards today, those who are here and those who are beyond our own trenches, in order to proclaim to all, to those fighting for Spain and for the Republic at the fronts; to those who give their services in their studies, in the laboratory, factory, or countryside; and also to enemies, both hidden and open, in order to tell them that a complete, unquestionable, decisive victory will be gained by the Spanish people, who possess the spirit, energy, and resources to achieve it.

At Teruel the Republic destroyed the enemy's plans. For two months the most violent battles since the beginning of the war were taking place on this front. The Levante front has, therefore, attained extraordinary importance both nationally and internationally. And the changes which took place there show a favourable balance for the Republic.

The Italo-German command had been preparing an offensive since the middle of November, which was boastfully announced with the greatest publicity. It was announced by the press, the fascist radio, and the newspapers of the countries which are invading Spain. This offensive was used by the diplomats of those countries in order to further their intrigues in the chanceries. Even the propaganda about this offensive, which it was declared would be a decisive one, was in itself a weapon which the enemy was using against us. For the leaders of the fascists it was also a support by which they tried to bolster up the rotten morale of their rear. By promising a lightning victory they tried to animate those of their partisans who displayed fatigue and doubt. They wished above all else to disarm and discourage those Spaniards in fascist territory who desire our victory and who are becoming more numerous each day.

Under these circumstances, the Government of the Republic decided to put into practice an elementary rule of strategy; to upset the enemy's plans by striking first. The Government decided to impose its will on the enemy and to oblige them to fight where it suited us. In the middle of December we began the Teruel offensive. In one week we captured the fortified city. Our Army took thousands of prisoners. Our splendid Air Force brought down many German and Italian planes. It thus became known throughout the world—we knew it long before—that the Republic possesses an Army not only animated by spirit and enthusiasm, which enabled it to oppose a stronger enemy during the first months, but an Army which also has the necessary strength and requirements successfully to attempt undertakings which, from the point of view of military technique, involve incalculable risks and difficulties.

Our success was a terrible blow for the enemy. The military prestige of Italy and Germany crashed as it had before at Jarama, Guadalajara, Brunete, and Belchite. In this way the diplomatic manoeuvres of these countries were hindered. Behind the fascist lines there was commotion: some were in panic, the rest rejoicing. As a result of the strength shown by the Republican Army, the enemy were forced to renounce their plans. In order to recapture Teruel they threw their best shock troops against our line. These troops had been held in preparation for their offensive. During two months, in view of the courage of our soldiers, entire divisions of the rebel army collapsed. The recapture of the city, which from the beginning of January the rebel leaders considered certain, appeared to be hindered by insuperable difficulties. The traitors had to ask for additional aid from their bosses abroad. Many ships laden with planes and guns arrived in fascist territory from the harbours of Germany and Italy. With these considerable reinforcements in material, for which they were paid with pieces of the land of our fatherland, the enemy were able, after two months of desperate attempts, to recapture territory which has proved a cemetery for their picked troops.

But on the day when, after overcoming the last strongholds of resistance inside the city, the People's Army captured Teruel, we believed in the victory of the Republican cause with the same conviction, with the same faith that we believe in it now that, entirely as a result of the Italo-German artillery and air-force, Teruel is no longer in the hands of the Republic or of Spain. Our will for victory and our absolute confidence in triumph has not in the least diminished. We maintain these intact and give them inspiration by new enthusiasm and work.

In the legitimate rejoicing which took place throughout the whole country—even in that part which is not under the authority of the Government, but which is none the less pleased with Republican victories—in the general rejoicing following the capture of Teruel, the Government was careful to sound a healthy warning, for it knew that the days of adversity had not passed. The Government felt the obligation of its responsibility and understood its duty to warn the country against excess optimism which, when it receives a setback, produces discouragement which is difficult to cure. The Government even spoke words of warning in Parliament and in a most solemn manner mentioned the danger of too much optimism. The Government reaffirms this today. Teruel was yesterday and continues

Ayuntamiento de Madrid

The destruction of Guernika was not only a horrible thing to see:

it led to some of the most horrible and inconsistent lying heard by Christian ears since Ananias was carried out feet foremost to his long, central-heated home.

to be today an episode of the war which has no decisive character.

It does not interest the Government nor is it befitting to Spanish honesty to neutralise the bitterness of a bad piece of news. Since the foundations of its confidence are more solid, the Government prefers not to deceive people by fictitiously minimizing adversity. It adopts this attitude because, among other reasons, it feels it is strong enough to convert adversity into strength and to transform it into national energy. But once more I reiterate to you, Spaniards, with the solemnity which my position as Prime Minister can give to these words, that our military plan at Teruel achieved its fundamental aim of destroying the enemy's plans and that the evacuation of the city by our Army does not in the least modify the importance of the advantages thus obtained.

**Duties and obligations at the present time: the necessity of giving our soldiers the material they need in order to achieve victory**

This fact, nevertheless, sets forth the duties and obligations which the Government publicly and openly expounds to the Spanish people. Because in this way, just as our successes are ours alone and are never tarnished by the stain of foreign protection, we must also face our difficulties by ourselves and alone. Time and time again in the course of their history our people have shown what they are capable of doing in order to defend their dignity and independence. Little more than a century ago the Spanish people, without arms, without an Army, and betrayed by those governing them, succeeded in defeating the armies of Napoleon. Likewise, in July 1936, disarmed and hemmed in by treachery and treason, they knew how to oppose the military rebels. And now, faced by the aggression of the fascist powers, they have been able to organise a powerful Army and will make all the necessary efforts and sacrifices to render this Army invincible.

After weighing the capacity of our Army and comparing it with the resources of the enemy, but also taking into account the inexhaustible energy of our people, I can tell you, without fear of erring, that we shall triumph. We must support this conviction by setting in motion the efforts of all to ensure the rapid disappearance of the inequality in war material which is against us, and thus accelerate our victory.

To the foreign artillery and air force we must oppose a similar quantity of Republican artillery and air force. This task can be fulfilled. The Government says so with few words but with great conviction. Among other things the Government bases its conviction on the knowledge it has of the heroism of the anti-fascist workers, who will be pleased to contribute by increasing their productive capacity and thus supply our soldiers with the material they need in order to achieve victory. Our own industry, on the one hand, and the resources the Government has at its disposal, on the other, will assure at a very early date the disappearance of the present inequality in material which affords a temporary advantage to the rebel forces. The Government makes itself responsible for this new undertaking: to supply the Army with the elements which it needs to wage and win the war. All those who help us with the energy of their arms to achieve



this urgent aim will contribute in an important way to the victorious conclusion of the war and will earn the gratitude of the Republic. The People's Army itself will not be insensitive to this greater contribution of efforts in the rear. The Government, which knows exactly how much it can expect from abroad, asks of all producers an increase in production.

### The war in Spain does not end because Europe does not wish it to

The Republican Army, in accordance with its needs and our desires, will in the end obtain the material it requires in order to withstand the rebel columns and the foreign soldiers, who are both inferior to our soldiers in spite of their equal opportunities. Face to face with a numerous Army of native conscripts and foreign legions the Republic has built up a Spanish Army which is regular and disciplined and capable in itself of ending the war if Europe, divided into countries of unheard of audacity and shamefully complacent nations, did not consent to Italy and Germany continuing to send in to the Spanish rebels tremendous quantities of the latest models of their war material. The war in Spain does not end because Europe does not wish it to. Its so-called policy of «Non-Intervention» is responsible for our greatest misfortunes: the bombardments of open cities, piracy in the Mediterranean and the evacuation of Teruel. The material which the democratic nations systematically deny to the legitimate Government of the Republic is being supplied by the totalitarian States with expert technicians to General Franco. Those shipments were kept secret during the first months of the war. At the present time neither Italy nor Germany are in the least interested in wasting time by pretending to be neutral. While the chanceries are morosely speculating about the need of finding a formula for the withdrawal of volunteers, the material indispensable to enable the rebels to prolong the war is being sent to fascist Spain from the sea and air ports of Italy and Germany: aeroplanes of great speed and military power, large units of heavy artillery, automatic firing arms... If these shipments were stopped, the Spanish war, which is the reason for the justified anxiety for the peace of Europe, would end very soon in a victory for the Republicans. If the rebels had had to rely on their own economic resources for the purchase of war material, the war would have long since been a thing of the past. The economic resources of the insurgents were used up in the first month. And their supplies did not disappear with their resources because, in their betrayal of Spain, they did not hesitate to mortgage it to Italy and Germany, who are supplying them with arms and who, by doing so, are seeking an admirable base of operations in the Mediterranean and the Pyrenees for their future operations against Europe. In the hope of success tomorrow they are sacrificing their material today, which they have openly granted to the rebel faction of a country which, independent and free according to international law, cannot find in the world markets anyone who will supply it with arms which it is determined to pay for with its money. This is the fundamental truth with which Spain can put the world to shame. This is the reason for the other reproaches which Europe is forced to bring forth when it feigns anxiety over the events in Spain.

Prolonged simulation of a feeling is exposed to constant errors and mistakes, any one of which betrays the grotesque deception which is being carried on. In relation to our national problem there are constantly errors of simulation, but there is one in particular which it is necessary to point out. Let it be well noted that before the Republic was able to build up a regular Army the weight of the fighting units sent by Germany and Italy to the rebels was decisive. In Europe, where people were better informed than ourselves, they did not wish to acknowledge the presence in Spain of invading troops, and all efforts made to prove this grave fact were in vain. It was only when the International Brigades—a generous and spontaneous group of men from the five parts of the world, who ask for nothing but a land in which to die for freedom—participated in the defence of Madrid, that people, in view of their strength, began to look for a subterfuge which would not harm the two invading countries, and hit upon the idea of the withdrawal of «volunteers». The conversations begun then are still continuing. Nobody has imagination enough to know when they will end. Today these diplomatic conversations do not interest us. Had the withdrawal been carried out efficiently and the proper time it might have been useful for us. Now it is not. The invading soldiers can be withstood and defeated—Guadalajara is proof of this—by the soldiers of the Republic. The problem of the invading troops is of secondary importance. That of arms is of prime importance. But although the latter is of great and pressing importance, Europe neglects to examine it, and feigns an ignorance which is all the more comical in view of the great curiosity shown to discover the type and quality of the new material which Italy and Germany are sending to the rebels. We are right in turning down

the feigned concern with which Europe tries to excuse itself to us for its profound breach of international law. The Spanish problem has always been a clear one, but today it is perhaps clearer than ever. Thanks to the accumulation of elements which Germany and Italy have sent to rebel territory, the Republic has lost the city of Teruel which its Army so bravely captured. A loss which has been a setback but which does not frighten us. We are confident of the free destinies of our country. For just as we knew yesterday that the Republic would possess a disciplined and heroic Army, we know today that it will possess tomorrow, early enough to safeguard victory, adequate war material. This conviction is within the reach of those who have not lost faith in the moral strength of our people, who love their independence above all other things and who know that without independence they can never achieve freedom.

### In order to attain victory we need a concentration of energy at the fronts and in the rear

The loss of Teruel obliges us to declare, breaking the collective decision of the Government to work on these problems with the greatest efficiency but in silence that, in the same way as the Republic overcame the confused and heroic period of the Militia, it will overcome the present period in which the inequality of arms has permitted the rebels to recapture a city taken from them at a moment when they were most loudly proclaiming an offensive which they declared would be decisive. We shall overcome this inequality and shall again place the Army in a position to take the initiative. The Government is able to fix a time limit for this, but is obliged to keep it silent. The Government counts on the help of the mass of the people and expects them to play their part in order to shorten it. It is, in fact, a short period of time. And the greater efforts of the working class, who should not be influenced by any tendentious propaganda to lessen their confidence in victory, the shorter it will be. This confidence, in order to be fruitful, must be active and not passive. The waging and winning of a civil war is always painful. Waging and winning a civil war and a war of invasion is not only painful, but difficult. In order to triumph in the one and the other we need a concentration of energy at the fronts and in the rear, in the most advanced outpost, and in the most hidden factory. Not one single activity is disconnected with the war. Even those which seem most peaceful in appearance contribute to winning the war. Now the deficit is one of material. Italy and Germany, with the complacent inactivity of the European guards of the purity of neutrality, have enriched the rebels to such an extent that their resources have surpassed ours. The Government has the economic resources to purchase in the markets of the world the war material which would neutralize this superiority. But by an international agreement no one is allowed to sell this to us. Therefore we must produce it ourselves. And we will produce it. It is an undertaking which we must give to the Army. It will not be only with rifle and heroism that the Army will defend and reconquer its fatherland. It will possess artillery and an air force which will open the path for conquest. The incredulous will see it, the sceptics will bear witness to it. And one day we shall be able to speak of the evacuation of Teruel as the only military operation which, while it appeared to be a defeat, was one of the sources of the Republican victory. In long wars, and ours is indeed a long one, it is not rare for the enemy's caprice, the strength of the forces they propose to annihilate. If the surrender of Toledo was, in view of the time it meant to the rebels, the cause of their failure to take Madrid—this statement is now a problem of history, but is realistic enough not to be discounted—it is possible that the capture of Teruel means—we shall see this before very long—the beginning of the end of the war for the rebels. This depends on our will for work and victory. The possibilities for this fortunate event may be said to lie in this battle which appears adverse to us. It depends on us. On us means on all Spaniards. On us who answer, by falling into line, the voice of the land which created us, when it cries out against the insults and wounds of which it has been made a victim by those who are trying out on it their capacity for destruction and their power to conquer. Let us emphasise this primary truth: the secret of victory lies in us ourselves and not, as some people insist in believing, outside the limits of our own efforts. The rest of the world can continue in peace, for, despite what people may believe, by its conflagration we would hasten our triumph little or not at all. Finding a way out through catastrophe is not to be recommended; and the Government omits this from its calculation, among other reasons, because it does not have to have recourse to catastrophe. In order to reaffirm its faith it has sufficient elements in the heroism of the soldiers and in the enthusiasm of the rear. From this heroism and this enthusiasm it obtains, with the certainty of victory, the confidence to carry on its work of looking after the present needs and those of the future. For this reason

we are willing to forgo easy decisions which would gratiate the Government with all kinds of selfish interests, in order to make provisions for the future. Hence it is anxious that the war, however long it may last, should not end in a defeat for the Republic. For in this decision, the Government can declare that the Republican Army with high morale and great heroism will possess in abundance the elements which will return to it the city of Teruel together with the power to take the initiative. And Teruel, for the ambition of the People's Army for independence, is Spain. For this victory the Government has gathered together abundant resources and will see, with the aid of the working class, that they are transformed into material. By the collaboration of three forces: the Army, the Rear, and the Government, the Republican victory which Spain is awaiting for her rebirth, will come forth.

Men and women of Spain: At the battle fronts we have an excellent Army which has already written many pages of glory and which will earn new laurels. The Government turns to it today and in your name says: You will have, soldiers of the people, all the arms which you need to attain, with your bravery and your skill, decisive victories in the struggle for the freedom of Spain. To achieve this our rear will struggle by working more and better, inspired by the desire to contribute efforts, vigilance, and sacrifices for the rapid triumph in this struggle which honours all those who take part in it.

### A sole thought and a sole desire: to crush the enemy

Now is not the time to have more than one thought and one desire: to crush the enemy. By fighting at the front, working more in the rear, by pursuing and uncovering the enemy when they hide among us. Because they trust less in military successes than in manoeuvres in our rear. They take advantage of and utilise the weak-hearted, those who, lacking faith in the people, doubt that the people will be able to conquer. They take advantage of the cowards, of those who are overwhelmed by the least success, because they think that their sacrifices are going to end immediately and of those who are terrified at the first reverse and thing of flight or of surrender to the enemy through foreign intermediaries.

Our people should treat as a traitor anyone who limits himself to speaking of the present superiority in arms which the enemy possesses. And also anyone who does not help to mobilize all the energy of the Spanish people and who does not by his own energy contribute to double and multiply our arms a hundredfold. The people who behave in this way are those who some time ago would have denied the possibility of building aeroplanes in Spain, and today are making aeroplanes and war material in places where it was never thought that this industry could exist. Our entire problem consists of producing more. This must be furthered by every means possible. Those who do not place the common desire to crush the enemy and to aid the Government in this task before everything else should be treated as traitors. He who doubts that our people can make the necessary effort to fully satisfy the needs of our Army should likewise be considered a traitor.

### For an independent, free, and happy Spain

These are moments of sacrifice, but also of confidence in victory. Moments which demand that we should increase still further the common desire which unites all of us Spaniards against the enemies of the people.

A few days ago an international adventurer cynically proclaimed from Germany his aim to regulate his caprice the destinies of our country. This he will never achieve. The Spanish people have never, nevertheless, allowed themselves to be ruled by the will of foreigners. They fought in the past and are fighting today for the right to decide their own destiny for themselves.

The last foreign cannon-shots in Teruel have been able to extinguish the echo of our first victory which will flourish again with the help of all in our and decisive victories.

The will to conquer should ring like a song of certainty and strength at the lathes, at the wheels in the factories, in the work of the peasants, in the offices and workshops. And with a model rear working at the highest tension in the service of our arms, we shall be able to say to our heroic fighters:

Officers, Commissars, and Soldiers of the People's Army! All the Spaniards are endeavouring to excel themselves. Excel yourselves, too. Do not yield an inch of ground to the foreigners. With rigid discipline, with conscientious training, with invincible heroism, make of our Army the victorious Army of an independent, free, and happy SPAIN.



# The Destruction of Guernika

Monday was the weekly market day of Guernika, when the town existed. At about four-thirty the market, in summer, was at its fullest. The civil war had not made great difference to the Guernika farmers who brought in their animals and produce for sale from the rich valley. Rather there was better business. In Guernika, where the population was usually seven thousand, there were now an additional three thousand refugees and two Basque battalions, who had plenty of pesetas to spend. A few of the factious rich had been jailed or run away, but only a few. Their fine stone houses with the floreate blazons engraved hugely over wide doors were shut; but they never had used the market much, and most of them visited peace-time Guernika little.

Guernika remained a modest Vizcayan country town. The population behaved itself, the priests walked about in the cloth, mass was held in the churches all day and every day. The two Basque Nationalist battalions quartered to the north of the town, where a water-green avenue of plane trees rippled out towards Bermeo, were popular with the people, and in Guernika itself there was the usual post of Basque motorized police. There were no troops retreating through the town. The armies were beyond Markina, miles to the east, and at Oitz, miles to the south. Guernika lay well behind the front, on part of its communications with Bilbao; to destroy it would cut off the retreating armies from the General Staff and their base.

After four there were farm carts coming to Guernika, rolling on solid wooden wheels and drawn by oxen whose heads were shaded under fleeces of sheep. Basque peasants in their long puckered market smocks walked backwards in front of them, mesmerising the oxen to Guernika with their slim wands, with which they kept touching the horns and yoke gently. They talked to the oxen. Others were driving sheep to market. There was an assembly of animals near the parish church, a stately structure cavernous, tall and dark within, standing upon a flight of thin steps like leaves piled one upon the other.

It is improbable that anyone was thinking about the war when at four thirty the church bell rang out loud. All over Spain a peal on a single bell is an air-raid warning. The population took cover, and the sheep in the square were left to their own devices.

There were numerous air-raid shelters in Guernika, constructed after the terrible raid on Durango on March 31st. Any cellar was covered with sandbags, and the entrance protected in the same way: a cardboard at the door painted ornamentally *refugio* showed where the people had to dive. Though there had been few raid warnings at Guernika since the war began, the whole Basque population by now took their church bells seriously.

In a few minutes a Heinkel III came over and dropped six medium bombs, probably fifty-pounds, near the station, with a shower of grenades. A director of the railway company who was in the office rang up Bilbao

to inform them that an aeroplane was bombing Guernika.

A few minutes later another Heinkel III appeared, to bomb the same area, but nearer the centre. The telephone with Bilbao was now cut. The plane from its slant and speedy sides machine-gunned the town at random, then veered homeward.

The parish priest, Aronategui, left his church with the sacraments, for dying people were reported near the railway station. He went calmly through the deserted streets with the holy oil. No fires had yet started.

Fifteen minutes passed, and the people were coming out of their shelters. A heavy drumming of engines was heard to the east. It was what we called in lighter moments the *tranvías* — the trams — the Junker 52's, who were so clumsy that they seemed to clang rather than to fly. These were the heaviest bombers that Germany had sent to Spain.

Over the town, whose streets were once more empty trenches, they dispersed their load a ton at a time. They turned woodenly over Guernika, the bombs fell mechanically in line as they turned. Then came the crack of the explosions; smoke stood up over Guernika like wool on a negro's head. Everywhere it sprouted, as more heavy bombers came.

Besides many fifty — and hundred — pound bombs, they dropped great torpedoes weighing a thousand. Guernika is a compact little town, and most of these hit buildings, tearing them to pieces vertically from top to bottom and below the bottom. They penetrated refuges. The spirit of the people had been good, but now they panicked.

An escort of Heinkel 51's, the same perhaps that had molested us that afternoon, were waiting for this moment. Till now they had been machine-gunning the roads round Guernika, scattering, killing or wounding sheep and shepherds. As the terrified population streamed out of the town they dived low to drill them with their guns. Women were killed here whose bodies I afterwards saw. It was the same technique as that used at Durango on March 31st, nearly a month back.

The little fighting planes came down in a line, like flashing dancing waves on shingle. They burst in spray on the countryside as they merrily dived. Twenty machine guns working together in line, and the roar of breakers behind them from ten engines. Always they flew nose towards Guernika. For the pilots it must have been like surfing. The terrified people lay face down in ditches, pressed their backs against tree trunks, coiled themselves in holes, shut their eyes and ran across sweet green open meadows. Many were foolish, and fled back before the aerial tide into the village. It was then that the heavy bombing of Guernika began.

It was then that Guernika was smudged out of that rich landscape, the province of Vizcaya, with a heavy fist.

It was about five-fifteen. For two hours and a half flights of between three and twelve aeroplanes, types Heinkel II and Junker 52, bombed Guernika without mercy and with system. They chose their sectors in the

town in orderly fashion, with the opening points east of the Casa de Juntas and north of the arms factory. Early bombs fell like a circle of stars round the hospital on the road to Bermeo; all the windows were blown in by the divine efflatus, the wounded militiamen were thrown out of their beds, the inner fabric of the building shook and broke.

On the shattered homes, whose carpets and curtains, splintered beams and floors and furniture were knocked into angles and ready for the burning, the planes threw silver flakes. Tubes of two pounds, long as your forearm, glistening silver from their aluminium and elektron casing; inside them, as in the beginning of the world in Prometheus reed, slept fire. Fire in a silver powder, sixty-five grammes in weight, ready to slip through six holes at the base of the glittering tube. So, as the houses were broken to pieces over the people, sheathed fire descended from heaven to burn them up.

Every twenty minutes fresh raiders came. And between the explosions and the spurts of flame as the burning metal seeped into curtains and beams, doors and carpets, while a grey pall stood over Guernika supported from below by white pillars where fires were starting, in the pauses of modern battle the population ran about the street to clear away the doors of smothered refuges, to pull children and other small worthless belongings from houses afire.

There was much groaning in Guernika, much breathless work to dig out wounded people before the next planes came. Twenty minutes was the interval between fire, and the priests spoke to the people to keep them calm. By now something like a spirit of passive resistance had been built up in them. Guernika's face was turning to ashes, everybody's face in Guernika was ash-grey, but terror had reached a condition of submissive stubbornness not seen before in Vizcaya.

In the intervals people moved out of the town, but the fear of the fighting plane and separation from their families persuaded many to remain in Guernika. And then the planes returned with their tinsel tubes to shower over Guernika, and another part was destroyed, and more were buried in the *refugios*.

I do not know whether you have ever sat in a railway station having lost one train and waiting for another which will come in two and a half hours' time. A country railway station, where you can buy nothing to read or smoke or eat; and the hours take days to pass if you cannot go to sleep. Now in Guernika it was well nigh impossible to go to sleep, except in an obligatory sleep which had no morrow in Guernika, or Vizcaya, or this world. And since there was nothing to eat or smoke, and fumes prevented one from reading, no other diversion remained but to allow terror to expand those hours past days into months and years. Years half-spent in dug-outs that might crash at any moment, and half-spent in streets of an unrecognisable town looking for people who may now be unrecognisable.

And so you see that to be in Guernika when it was destroyed was, in a limited sense, like waiting for a train in a country

## Franco Saves the Children

Barefoot, ragged and dirty the children of Málaga beg on the streets

We quote the following item from the rebel paper «Unidad» describing the *happy* life of the children in *Blue Spain*:

«Any stranger or a citizen of Málaga entering an establishment or merely sitting at the terrace of any café will soon be pestered by a mob of begging children, who do not limit themselves to begging, but they pull the people by their coats, push them, place their dirty hands on the tables where people have their drinks, and thus they put up the most disagreeable spectacle, because it shows lack of respect and culture.»

How wicked the children in rebel Spain are. The indignation of the *journalist* is highly justified. The children who beg on the streets because they are hungry deserve to be killed, because they annoy the gentlemen when they are drinking placidly in the cafés. How dare the children go out on the streets to beg dirty, barefoot and ragged, even if they are hungry?

On the score of the shameful spectacle of these begging children, it is only natural that the rebels hate children, and this accounts for the fact that when they send German and Italian warplanes to bomb behind the Republican lines, they seem to aim mainly at children. They don't deserve to live. They came to this world only to be hungry, dirty, ragged, barefooted and to annoy placid *señoritos* when they are having their drinks.

Besides, it must be irritating to the rebels that the Government in the territory under their control have no children begging on the streets. The Government is providing homes, education, food, and is making tremendous efforts to provide children in loyalist territory with all they need.

This is intolerable! The rebels starve the children in their territory to death, and those in loyalist territory must also die, that is why they drop bombs, many bombs, on them. The others die because the rebels put their fathers in prison, shot them or took them to the front to be killed. These must die under the bombs.

station. Time in both cases passed slowly.

Soon there was little of the town to move about in. The Church of San Juan was burning fiercely, with a huge bomb-hole through its roof and its altar and pulpit rippling fire. Even a few isolated buildings were touched; at the old Parish Church of Andra Mari, in the corner of the square where the sheep had been gathered, the chapel behind the altar was aflame.

As the people not trapped in the refuges moved northwards before the general fire the planes that raided Guernika came very low. It must have been difficult for them to sight their target in the smoke and grit which rose from the spreading campfire below them. They flew at six hundred feet, slowly and steadily shedding their tubes of silver, which settled upon those houses that still stood in pools of intolerable heat; then slipped and dribbled from floor to floor. Guernika was compact as peat to serve as fuel for the German planes...

\*\*\*

The destruction of Guernika was not only a horrible thing to see: it led to some of the most horrible and inconsistent lying heard by Christian ears since Ananias was carried out feet foremost to his long, central-heated home.

The night after Salamanca had read the *Reuter* telegram about it in the world's press, Radio Salamanca (an Italian station) gave the air to Señor Gay, who had read a lot about Goebbels, and was now chief of Franco's Propaganda. Señor Gay appropriately described his talk as «*Mentiras, mentiras y mentiras*» which means «Lies, lies and lies». The title conveys not only the substance but the spasmodic style of little Gay's address.

In the style of Queipo de Llano, after the bombing of Duran-

go, Gay declared roundly that Guernika had been destroyed by the Reds. He could provide no evidence, and did not even trouble to invent any. His statement was official; and how Salamanca could — a day after the bombing of Guernika, and two days before they entered it — know that it had been destroyed by Reds when it was still ten miles the other side of the retreating Basque army, I leave to you, gentle and complacent reader. No means have ever been suggested; no declaration of an eyewitness was ever put before the foreign press working with Franco.

On April 28th the Government of Salamanca were openly dishonest. They stated officially that no plane had left the ground on the day that Guernika was said to have been bombed, and offered to show pressmen with them the in-and-out books of Vitoria aerodrome for April 27th. They may have deceived a few of the more helpful kind by this means; but the rest knew very well that Guernika was not burnt on the 27th but on the 26th. And Mr. Gerahty, the correspondent of the *Daily Mail* at Vitoria, has written in his book, «The Road to Madrid» that he saw a fleet of heavy «Nationalist» bombers passing northwards into Vizcaya on the 26th, the very day itself.

A «Nationalist» communiqué declared «we have eye-witnesses to the bombing of Guernika by the Reds; witnesses to their work with incendiary material and petrol;». But these eye-witnesses had to wait four months before they were produced; to convince, not experience journalists and impartial inquirers, but itinerant British officers of Fascist sympathies, convinced in their cradles.

From the book «The Tree of Guernika», by G. L. Steer, published by Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., St. Paul's House, Warwick Square, E. C. 4.



## Spanish Intellectuals Reaffirm their Support of the Government and of the People

We have heard the voice of warning and confidence addressed to Spain in the name of legitimate Government by the Prime Minister who represents our country with such dignity. We, men of science, writers and artists are deeply moved by his words, which are so clear, so valiant, so Spanish, which are free from euphemisms and which conceal nothing. —He was able to speak thus, as he himself truthfully said, as a result of the confidence which the Spanish people have placed in their Government. — We wish publicly and solemnly to reaffirm our support of the Government of the Spanish Republic and to declare our determination of helping it to defend, until such time as complete victory is attained, the independence and freedom of Spain.

We appeal to the intellectuals living under the yoke of fascism in rebel territory. And we hope that they, conscious of their duty and of the destinies which History has bestowed on our people, will help from their side in bringing about the victory of the Republic, which in its turn will signify the freedom and rebirth of Spain.

Likewise we appeal to the intellectuals of all countries and ask them to work with energy in aid of the Spanish people, who are not only fighting in their own defence, but who are also fighting for the freedom and culture of the world.

The war has strengthened us and has stimulated our patriotism. Today, more than ever, we feel part of our people. And we know that there is no sacrifice which can deter the Spanish people in their irrevocable decision to win the war by helping and supporting the glorious People's Army.

In our schools, in our laboratories, in our studies and in every other place of work assigned to us, we shall henceforth devote ourselves to our work with more enthusiasm in the conviction that the other workers will do the same in the factories and on the land. Our people cannot answer in any other way the appeal which the legitimate Government has just addressed to all the Spaniards through the Prime Minister.

We promise to answer this appeal with all our energy. Let all unite to save Spain, which has been betrayed and invaded, but which is invincible and certain of victory! (Signed):

Aguilar (Juan María), professor; Alaminos (Luis), professor; Alberti (Rafael), writer; Alvarez Santullano (Luis), professor; Alvarez del Vayo (Julio), writer; Bacarisse (Salvador), composer; Bahamonde (José L.), architect; Ballesteros (Antonio), professor; Barga (Corpus), writer; Berinaga (J.), mathematician; Bautista (J.), composer; Bellido (J. M.), doctor; Benavente (J.), playwright; Bergamín (J.), writer; Blanco (Vicente), professor; Bolívar (Cándido), naturalist; Bolívar (Ignacio), naturalist; Bonet (Juan), professor; Bosch Gimpera (Pedro), archeologist; Buen (Demófilo de), lawyer; Buen (Odón), naturalist; Buñuel (Luis), moving picture producer; Calandre (Luis), doctor; Carreño (Francisco), printer; Castelao (Alfonso B.), artist; Castrovindo

(Roberto), writer; Corominas (Pedro), writer; Beileto Piñuela, writer; Díaz Canedo (Enrique), writer; Díaz del Moral (Juan), lawyer; Domenchina (Juan J.), writer; Dorronsoro (José M.), engineer; Duperier (Arturo), professor; Elías (Emilia), professor; Encina (Juan de la), writer; Fabra (Pompeyo), professor; Fábregas (Abelardo), teacher; Falcón (César), writer; Felipe (León), writer; Fernández Valbuena (R.), painter; Ferrán (Angel), sculptor; Folch y Pi (A.), professor; Frosteria (Ramón), professor; Garfias (Pedro), writer; Gerhard (Roberto), composer; Gori Muñoz, painter; Graos (José), professor; Halfitter (R.), composer; Iscar (Agustín), professor; Junyer, painter; Lacase (Luis), architect; Landa (Ruben), professor; León (María Teresa), writer; Lombardía (César C.), teacher; Machado (Antonio), writer; Márquez (Manuel), doctor; Martínez Arconada (César), writer; Martínez Ferrando, professor; Martín (Marcelino), professor; Medina-veitia (Antonio), chemist; Medinaveitia (Juan), doctor; Millares (Agustín), professor; Mira (Emilio), professor; Miranda (José), professor; Moles (Enrique), professor; Montilla (Carlos), engineer; Nadal (Emilio G.), professor; Navarro Tomás (V.), professor; Nelken (Margarita), writer; Orueta (Ricardo del), writer; Osoro y Tafall, professor; Ots (José María), historian; Pérez Rubio (Timoteo), painter; Pi Suñer (Augusto), doctor; Pi Sunyer (Carlos), engineer; Pla y Beltrán, writer; Planells (J.), doctor; Porras (Antonio), writer; Pous y Pagés (Ji), writer; Prados (Emilio), writer; Prados Such (Miguel), doctor; Prat (José), lawyer; Puche (José), doctor; Quero Molares (J.), professor; Renau (José), painter; Riba (Carlos), writer; Rioja (Enrique), professor; Rivas Cherif (Manuel), doctor; Rocas (W.), professor; Rodríguez Bachiller, professor; Sacristán (José Miguel), doctor; Saiz (Fernando), professor; Salas Viu, writer; Salvador Amós, architect; Sánchez Arcas (Manuel), architect; Sánchez Barrado, professor; Sánchez Covisa (José), doctor; Santaló (Miguel), professor; Serra Serravinyals (S.), professor; Sender (Ramón J.), writer; Serra Hunter (J.), professor; Suñer (Santiago), doctor; Taxis y Marca, writer; Torner (Eduardo M.), composer; Torner (Florentino M.), professor; Trabal (Francisco), writer; Trías (Antonio), doctor; Trías (Joaquín), doctor; Trille (Gabriel), professor; Uriz (Elisa), teacher; Vázquez Díaz, painter; Vázquez Humasqué, engineer; Viladomat (Jorge), sculptor; Vinos (Ricardo), professor; Xirau (Joaquín), professor; Xirau (José), professor; Zambrano (María), writer; Zozaya (Antonio), writer.

**All articles  
and items in  
this weekly  
may be  
reprinted**

## Galicia Under the Rebels

### The first act of terrorism in Coruña

The rebel casualties after the struggle to capture the Governor's building, which was being held by assault guards, republican elements and workers loyal to the Government, were two soldiers killed and six wounded, and 38 killed and wounded on the people's side, mostly women who were killed when they were in their homes by volleys fired by the civil guards. The wounded amounted to about a hundred, and these had to be given medical attention secretly.

The prisoners taken at the Civil Governor's were taken to María Pita Square, where they were kept, surrounded by menacing rifles, for several hours while the new masters decided what to do with them. When the defenders of the Civil Governor's building surrendered, few, very few, were able to escape. Among them were Sr. Manuel Guzmán, Left Republican deputy and an employee of the Coruña Town Hall, who hid in a house on Florida street. A few days later they were found, arrested and executed.

In the Plaza de María Pita were the Civil Governor and his wife, the People's Front Committee, the assault guards and the policemen who remained loyal to the Government. A selection of prisoners was made. Some were released, only to be arrested later and executed, as was the case of Señora Pérez Carballo.

Nothing was known for a while about the fate of the prisoners, until a few days later there were rumors that they had been sentenced to death by a secret court martial, including the Governor, Sr. Pérez Carballo, Commander of the Assault Guard Quesado and Captain Tejera. Even right-wing elements believed then that the sentence would not be carried out, because it was considered that the condemned men had only done their duty which was to defend the legal Government of Spain. But the sentence was carried out that same week, and to justify the executions the rebels published a note explaining that after putting up the white flag, the prisoners had fired at the troops. This was a lie.

But the fight went on. The elements who remained loyal to the Government entrenched themselves in several buildings, and although they had only a few short arms and dynamite, they held out until Tuesday, July 21, and in many places they only abandoned their positions when the rebels resorted to artillery bombardment.

The offices of the C. N. T. was taken by the Civil Guard at five o'clock in the morning. A great number of workers, who were resisting there, were made prisoners, and with their hands tied behind their backs, the Civil Guard forced them to march in front of them to the building of the Lavaca schools where a group was holding out. By virtue of this stratagem the rebels were able to oust them from their positions, which they were defending with dynamite and hand grenades. In this inhuman manner the last defenders of the Republic were vanquished.

In their retreat, this desperate group set fire to a convent located in front of the Station and the

house of Manuel Linares Rivas, the playwright.

Except for occasional sniping shots at night, the city was entirely under the control of the insurgents. Several troop detachments were sent in persecution of the retreating groups, and the insurgents set themselves about the reestablishment of law order in Coruña.

What the Government had not done, because the republican authorities preferred to fall under the sway of the rebels rather than to give arms to the people, the insurgents did in a few hours. In a few hours all the reactionary elements in Coruña, all the rabble, all the criminal elements and gunmen with whom the old reactionary political bosses were surrounded, all the sons of the rich, who believed themselves fascists, were given arms by the rebel military. It was said that those arms had come from Madrid camouflaged as potatoes, and consigned to the Deputy Sr. Guzmán, but this statement proved to be untrue, as they were taken from army arsenals which the Army had stocked well from Italian and German sources. Many thousands of Galicians were to fall bestially murdered by these arms so indiscriminately given to the rabble and known criminals. The army officers did not have the same scruples as the Republican authorities, who refused to arm the people.

A few hours before the attack on the Civil Governor's office started, I myself overheard the Mayor of Coruña saying, "I find ourselves with the rebels against the wall. If we give arms to the people, what will happen then? And if we do give arms to the people, what will happen to the Republic?"

The military would have laughed at this hesitation. They did not stop at anything. They gave arms freely, indiscriminately, a class to exterminate another class.

The administrative organs were promptly set up. The rebels broadcast an appeal to civil servants, who were frightened threats to resume work. Colonel Cánovas de la Cruz issued an edict stating that "no one will be persecuted for his ideas, but only for his acts." Colonel Florentino González Valdés, of the Civil Guard, was appointed Governor. He had arrived only a few days prior to the rebellion, and had been complicated in acts against the republican regime, but continued, nevertheless, in command of armed forces. All the posts were occupied by officers. The scene was all set.

The republican flag was raised on all official buildings. All the official communiqués, broadcasts, etc., ended with the ritual "Long live the Republic!" with the notes of the Republican anthem, up to the first days of August. (To be continued.)

## The Campaign Against Tuberculosis in Loyalist Spain

Prior to the advent of the Republic, the Royalist State only made very feeble attempts to fight tuberculosis. The measures adopted by the State against this terrible disease, which had become a menace to the nation, were so inadequate that they constituted a glaring insult to the working class.

The Monarchy maintained only a total of 565 beds for tubercular patients. During the first two years of Republican administration this number was increased to 1,664. And in July, 1936, at the time of the rebellion, the State maintained a total of 2,571 beds.

In May, 1937, as the result of the loss of the territory under the rebels, the number of beds in Loyalist territory had been reduced to 790, distributed in the following manner:

150 in the Valdelatas Sanatorium, Madrid; 150 in the Sierra Espuña Sanatorium, Murcia; 325 in the Malvarrosa Sanatorium, Valencia; 115 at Chamartín de la Rosa, Madrid, and 50 in Torrevieja, Alicante.

In October of the same year, the Government added 2,000 beds to this number, which were distributed in the following sanatoriums: La Pineta, Huesca; Canals, Valencia; Pla de Valles, Valencia; El Prat, Castellón; Villafraña, Castellón; El Neveral, Jaén; Sierra Espuña, Murcia; Valdelatas, Madrid; Escuela Busot, Alicante; Malvarrosa, Valencia; Enfermería Chamartín, Madrid; Serra, Valencia; and Alcoy, Alicante.

By April, 1938, 1,160 more beds will have been established, distributed in the following manner: Sanatorium of Canteras, Murcia, 160 beds, and 100 beds in each of the following: Yecla, Murcia; Santa Eulalia, Alicante; Jaén; Piqueras, Albacete; 200 in Escuela Peñascosa, Albacete, and Escuela Jaén; and 100 at Pedrosa de Duero, Alicante.

In order to be admitted to the dispensaries the patients must first be examined by the director who proposes their admission to the Under Secretariat of Health. Should the patient live in a province where there are no dispensaries, he must request his admission from the Under Secretary of Health, and his request must be accompanied by a medical certificate, X-ray diagnosis and clinical history.

Preference is given to urgent cases, who must be admitted within eight days from date of application. Less urgent cases are admitted within one month from date of application, and ordinary cases are admitted strictly by turn. 50 per cent of the beds are reserved for ordinary cases; 35 per cent for less urgent cases, and 15 per cent for very urgent cases.

Refugees living collectively are given preference above all other patients, and they are admitted immediately admittance is applied for by the director of the refugee colony. This is the only exception to the rules establishing admission by turns.

In establishing these rules the Government aimed mainly at eliminating a vice which had deep roots in the previous regime, the "favor", "political influence" and graft played an important rôle.