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# SPANISH INFORMATION

## SERVICE texts

## and documents

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

N.º 17

Barcelona, April 1, 1938

556, Av. 14 Abril

# Speech delivered by Dr. Negrin

## Over the Radio on March 28, 1938

Spaniards:

The man who is speaking to you, as head of and in the name of the Government, has a right to demand of you complete confidence in his words, for he repeatedly warned you, and in happier times, of the approach of days of cruel tests, such as the extremely difficult days through which we are at present passing.

We are passing through hard times. The invading army has undertaken a very violent offensive in which it is employing a huge quantity of war material. This offensive, by the very manner in which it is being carried out, in reality reflects the frightened haste of the invaders to modify the map of Europe in their own favour by annexing Spain before they are asphyxiated by the wave of indignation which is sweeping the world as a result of the designs of the aggressors on peaceful peoples. Day by day this indignation is mounting, and it is beginning to assume tremendous proportions.

But in the very haste with which they are attempting to convert our country into a colony lies the seed of their failure, because our glorious Army, with the entire Spanish people at its side, is undertaking to convert this haste into a pause. Our soldiers have been obliged to abandon positions, but they have done this after having put up superhuman resistance to the combined attacks of the foreign air force, artillery, and tanks. The invading army has been able to verify that it is no easy undertaking, whatever means may be employed, to drive back an army like our own, consisting of Spaniards who are defending the dignity and the independence of their country and, at the same time, the principles of law, justice and peace. These principles are dear to all peoples, and however disdained they may be in other parts, they retain their everlasting virtue in Spain.

### HEROISM OF THE ARMY AND AIR FORCE

In Upper and Lower Aragon, our soldiers, the Spanish soldiers, are carrying out acts of heroism which excel any recorded by history. Even the foreign press, which is hostile to us, has been obliged to admit with what fortitude and bravery the Republican Army has borne the avalanches of fire of the foreign air force and artillery; how our soldiers have fearlessly faced the hundreds of tanks of the invaders; how they have allowed themselves to be crushed by these tanks rather than open the soil of our fatherland to them. And the enemy have not merely encountered resistance. The Army of the Republic has fought with such heroism that in some battles it has captured Italian prisoners and tanks. And our aviators, the aviators who do not machine-gun women and children in the rear, but who, although outnumbered, face the huge air force sent by Italy and Germany and thus impede the barbarous action of the enemy in the air, are writing pages of glory.

Our entire people are shaken with pride by the heroic deeds of the Army, which shows that its soldiers know how to carry themselves like Spaniards.

### THE WILL TO CONQUER AND THE UNITY OF OUR PEOPLE

This heroism and this unselfishness of the Army of the Republic are merely the reflection of the will of the entire Spanish people to cause the plans of our country's enemies to fail. This is shared by all honourable Spaniards, by all the good and industrious people of our country, because they

all know what it would mean to be reduced to the vile condition of colonial vassals of Italian and German fascism. This is understood by country and city workers, by small industrialists, the middle class, and the intellectuals. They know that it not only means oppression, ruin and misery, but also physical annihilation. They know well the murders and persecutions carried out in the countries where fascism has imposed itself, and the voices of those who have been assassinated in the part of Spain they have taken from us resound in their ears.

The Basques know what fascism has done to their country, where all their beloved traditions have been cruelly trodden under foot.

The Catalans are not unaware that one of the most important aims of our enemies is the brutal elimination of the liberties which Catalonia achieved following the establishment of the Republic. They can see this in the measures adopted in fascist territory, where it is considered a crime to speak the Catalan language.

This conviction on the part of our people of what the triumph of fascism would mean for them compels all Spaniards to unite firmly in order to bar its passage. The Government is continually receiving from all corners of Republican Spain, from cities and villages, from the fronts and the rear, testimonies of support and words of encouragement to continue the struggle undismayed until victory is achieved. These messages of support are proof that Spain is mobilised for war, that the Government is receiving not only words of loyalty but active support.

The Spanish people, spurred by their deepest feeling, their love of independence, are doing everything they can.

### THIS GOVERNMENT IS A WAR GOVERNMENT

These words of loyalty and this active support constitute an inexhaustible reserve of energy upon which the Government will draw and which it will know how to use, for it is able and wishes to show to its people that it knows how to be a war government, a government worthy of the people.

The effectiveness of our Army will be increased by drawing on the reserves of volunteers who are now presenting themselves. Specialised workers will be incorporated into fortification brigades, and in this way a double barrier of cement and soldiers will be created against which the enemies of Spain, of the civilised world, and of peace, will end by destroying themselves. Implacable action will be taken against the cowards, against the feeble-hearted, and against those who are not able to rise to the level of the magnificent deeds which the Spanish people are performing. In the struggle against these elements the Government will be in the lead, and I myself at the head of it.

### INVINCIBILITY OF OUR CAUSE

Let us realise that our strength is incalculable. The confidence and affection of the people for the Government of the Republic, which are shown in a thousand ways, are not enjoyed by our enemies. In their rear there are millions of Spaniards who do not wish to see their country in the hands of foreigners; and in the ranks of their Army, not only among the soldiers, but also among their officers, there is growing a patriotic feeling, as well as a fervent desire that the Republic be victorious in spite of all difficulties, so that it may guarantee the independence of Spain.

We are more numerous than they, and we are fighting

Soldiers: Continue your heroic defence of the soil of Spain. Resist, resist! Your Government will give you the means to do so and the means to attack later and destroy the enemy. Spaniards: confidence in triumph. Onwards! Long live the Republic! Long live Spain!

for a worthy cause, which cannot be conquered either by the steel or by the gunpowder which they are receiving from abroad, as payment for their treason.

And to the people who are supporting us and giving us inspiration we, of the Government, assure and ratify in full the declaration made to the Cortes to the effect that this is not a Government of pacts, capitulations, or compromises. The Government will fulfil, without weakness or vacillation, the mission it received when it was formed, namely, that of defending the independence of Spain. And this it will do not only because it wishes to honour its word, but because it is convinced that by persisting in the defence of Spain it will achieve victory. The military situation is difficult, and we do not attempt to conceal this fact. But the difficulty is, fortunately, not insuperable. We insist that the two foreign nations, which first provoked the Spanish Civil War and which then converted it into a war of invasion, are trying by all possible means within their reach to hasten the end. They are in a hurry to put an end to the independence of Spain because they are convinced, just as we are, that time is against them. Every day of resistance is a day gained for Spain.

### CATALONIA WILL BE ANOTHER MADRID

The assurances which the Government gave the Army regarding war material are not vain ones. If there is resistance, there will be war material. Or, to put it more clearly: if we resist, we shall obtain the victory which we desire. There must be only one order in everyone's mind: resist! This order is all the more sacred in view of the fact that it is the mandate of the Spanish fatherland which, in these moments of trial, calls to all Spaniards alike, to those fighting at the front and those working in the rear to resist. The summons is final and decisive. All our capacity for sacrifice must be set on foot. With much or with little material, with bread or without bread, we must resist. The soldier at the front, the worker in the workshop, the woman in the home, and the child in the school must resist. Every day of resistance causes an upset in the plans of the invaders, which they attempt to offset by increasing the violence of their air raids on open cities. They try to break the morale of the Spanish people in order to weaken their spirit and to overcome the threat of delay. And now they are speculating with the idea that the Catalan people are incapable of repeating the brave resistance of the people of Madrid. We are convinced of the contrary. We place our faith in the Catalan people whom we believe to be capable of rivalling all the peoples of the earth in heroism in the same way as we were certain of the impregnability of Madrid.

Catalonia wishes to fulfil her destiny and this destiny can be fulfilled only within an independent and Republican Spain. The very spirit of Catalonia is made up of liberal ideals. Neither she nor her sons were made for colonial slavery. The invading armies will find her determined to put up a united and vigorous resistance. And by this resistance Catalonia will save herself and contribute to the salvation of Spain. All her material and moral energies are urgently demanded, but they are demanded with hope. The effort of Catalonia will not be lost just as no effort on the part of the Spanish people has been lost. We have needed the efforts of all the Spaniards in order to make the outside world see the Spanish war in its exact setting.

(Continued on page 2)



## THE DEMOCRACIES HAVE NOT HELPED US

The democracies of Europe have not desired or have not been able to spare us suffering. They denied us what we needed to suppress the insurrection, and their denial has caused us untold losses of blood and has had the final result of converting this war into a war of invasion, which is also a grave menace to the peace of Europe. The deception of the European democracies has caused incalculable damage to our country. But this damage will be small compared to that which will be caused to Europe unless, as one may legitimately expect, the democracies of Europe decide to emerge from their hiding-place of fears and vacillations. This hope, which is not only a hope of Spain, but of the whole world, cannot be frustrated in Spain. We are determined to prolong resistance. We feel strong and calm. We ask the soldiers to be heroic and we ask the civilian population to be confident. Whatever trials the enemy may put us to, we ask the people for resistance. The Government conserves intact the spirit in which it was born: it remains faithful and if, as the Government is certain, the mobilisation of material resources and moral energy, for which it calls, is responded to with enthusiasm, it will achieve victory.

The situation is difficult, we admit. But fortunately for our cause it is neither more nor less difficult than other painful stages which were overcome. And the present stage will also be overcome. We shall with a collective effort rise to the difficulty and reconquer the land we have lost, which is clamouring for the return of its independence. Catalonia will help us with her enthusiasm as a liberal people to achieve this reconquest. Her nerve centre, the proletariat and the middle classes, maintain from olden times the unbreakable resolution not to yield their freedom to the aggression of the invader. Catalonia has spontaneously raised the order to resist. May the whole of loyal Spain imitate her resolution and copy her firmness. May the heroism of the soldiers be answered by the heroism of the workers. May the shovels and picks help the work entrusted to the rifles. May the Spirit of the people show itself in an overpowering and decisive manner. In short, may the will of all, full of determination, be concentrated energetically on the fronts, where the battle for victory is in progress. Resist, resist, and resist! Produce, produce, and produce! With every day of resistance and labour we achieve a new chance of victory. He who deserts his post is a traitor. He who allows his will to be broken is a traitor. He who utters words of discouragement is a traitor. Now that the destinies of Spain are at stake, we can only have a fever of heroism and a passion for service. In the presence of the world and in the tragic intimacy of our country the Government says to all Spaniards:

On with resistance to the invader! Perseverance in the defence of our independence! By resisting and persevering we shall conquer.

When it rallies you to resistance, the Government knows that it is not asking a useless sacrifice of you. Every week, every day which we gain serves to compensate for the inequality in material between ourselves and the enemy. Since I spoke to you and assured you that the prospects regarding an increase in war material were favourable, the power of the Republican Army has increased considerably. Had this not been so, the present resistance would not have been possible. It is only in aircraft that the rhythm has not been accelerated sufficiently to avoid the superiority of the enemy. But our tenacity will not yield and we shall also succeed in dominating them in the air. Hundreds and hundreds of young Spanish pilots are waiting for a plane to be given to them so that they can oppose and defeat Italians and Germans.

## THE FARCE OF NON-INTERVENTION

To those foreigners, who still insist on shutting their eyes to evidence, who at the beginning of Non-Intervention denied the arrival of German and Italian planes, who declared they did not believe our exposure of the accumulation of regular Italian and German divisions — to which the Pharaonic name of «volunteers» has been given — who with the greatest hypocrisy have coined the expression of the «unknown submarine» in order to avoid obligations and compromises, who believe that the swarms of enemy planes which are razing our land have been spontaneously born of themselves, I should recommend, if, as they indicate, they do not trust their own information services, that they read and verify the concrete data on the arrival of war material and war technicians formulated today by our own Minister of National Defence.

Let them reflect whether the German ships which unloaded twenty-eight centimeter guns in Bilbao and which conveyed modern heavy artillery to Pasajes to be placed along the Franco-Spanish frontier, and those which have transported powerful material, long-range and fixed artillery to Melilla and other places, let them reflect, I repeat, whether they believe that this material is to be used for fighting on the fronts in Aragon, the Centre, Levante, or Andalusia. And if they believe that the German technicians, who are coming to settle definitely with their families, have come for such a long stay merely to assure the triumph of the fascists, let us repeat once again:

That our struggle is not a civil war; it is a defence against the invasion and tyrannisation of Spain by foreigners. The error of those fascists who believe that their triumph would be the triumph of Franco and his Falange is a grave one. No. Their triumph would mean the offering up of generations of Spanish youth in a future war, who would be sacrificed in foreign lands on the altars of Italian and German interests. It would mean handing over our riches and our fields to their exploitation as plunder for the invaders and new lords. It would mean the iniquitous slav-

ery of our people by those who, ingrained in the belief of a proud superiority engendered by their sheep-like servility feel in their heart of hearts a profound contempt for a people whose greatness, nobility and virtues they have never learned to understand.

What is taking place in Spain is not a fight of ideologies. Our land is being stained with blood as the prelude, where it not for the efforts of our people would be decided of a dispute for the hegemony first of Europe and then the world. And whatever may be our political and social conceptions, whatever may be the soil which we call our fatherland, every man who feels the pride of his country and of his race cannot but arise against those who, owing to the fact that they consider themselves a new chosen people wish to submit the rest to vassalage. Therefore, Spain, defending herself is defending the entire world.

## FAITH IN VICTORY

Faith in victory, Spaniards! Spain will not allow herself to be devoured. Spain will not surrender, and a people which does not surrender cannot be conquered. The conduct of Spain is an example for the whole world. And in all parts of the world it is already known that on Spain's fate depends the fate of all the free and peaceful countries which are threatened by the greed of fascism. Let certain countries not forget that if the battles which the Spanish people are today fighting were adverse to us in their final results, they would have their back an Army of a million men ready to attack the world.

The world is on our side. Millions of men and women in all countries are following our struggle with anxiety. The cause of Spain today influences and moves the life of countries which have not been converted into a gaol. Let all be worthy of the admiration shown to us, of the confidence everywhere in our victory. Let us show the world a noble effort to save our country by hastening every one of us to fill the posts in which we are needed. When we see our unbreakable determination to conquer, millions of people throughout the world will be stimulated with ardour to help us.

All to the struggle! Let us mobilise all our energies! Officers of the Army: Remember that you are following the tradition of the heroes who in the past knew how to destroy the invaders.

War Commissars: You are the interpreters in the world of the cause which our people are defending. Continue your brilliant record of unselfishness and heroism!

Soldiers: Continue your heroic defence of the soil of Spain. Resist, resist! Your Government will give you the means to do so and the means to attack later and destroy the enemy.

Spaniards: confidence in triumph. Onwards!  
Long live the Republic!  
Long live Spain!

## When the Spanish Fascists Want to get rid of unpleasant elements, they "discover" a conspiracy

It is always the same. «I can't disclose my name. I've got relatives on the other side.»

«They will take reprisals against my family. They have done so with others.»

Men, who out of fear or repugnance leave the territory controlled by the rebels to seek refuge in Government territory, show an almost hysterical fear of signing their names to any declarations they may make. They know that if their names are disclosed, the rebels will take revenge on their relatives. The rebels stop at nothing. There have been many executions as reprisals for relatives who escaped to Loyalist territory.

A man who has just escaped from rebel territory, after travelling over the major part of *Nationalist Spain*, has furnished important information regarding Italian and German activities.

«The Germans and the Italians do not tolerate even a look of reproach, which is severely punished, as if the Spaniards were real slaves. In reality *Nationalist Spain* is an Italo-German colony.

«Recently a great number of policemen were executed and many imprisoned in Salamanca, Saragossa, Burgos, Valladolid and Leon, for laxity in carrying out orders issued by German

and Italian military authorities established in those cities.

«There was also a great number of executions of café and restaurant waiters for refusing to serve foreign soldiers. The waiters had taken this stand, because Italian and German soldiers never paid for what they consumed and abused the waiters when they demanded to be paid.

«The invasion of Spain by Hitler's and Mussolini's forces is humiliating to the Spaniards, who have to accept it by force; and there is a silent reaction against the invaders, even amongst natives who at first supported Franco, but who now no longer accept the bogus «Communist» intervention in Spain.

«In many cases this reaction is not solely expressed in silent protest. Many Spaniards risk everything by voicing their protests and bitter criticism. This is creating a delicate situation in rebel territory.

«Acts of reprisal against foreign officers and technicians are continually recorded. Many have been killed in this way.

«The Italian and German General Staffs established in Valladolid and Salamanca, respectively, and with branches in Seville and Saragossa, have protested to the rebel authorities because in the majority of cases these

murders remain unsolved. Martinez Anido, the author of the «ley de fuga» (killing men while trying to escape), has issued severe orders to his secret police, and the terror has been greatly intensified.

«The Spanish population are profoundly disgusted with this shameless invasion of their country and for the complicity of the traitor generals, who have submitted to the invaders with repugnant servility.

«In Valladolid the Italians have requisitioned the best buildings for their own use. They have their own police force brought direct from Rome, who continually abuse the people. There are people disappearing continually, and their bodies are later found along the bank of the Pisuerga River; but the «Nationalist» authorities do not take the trouble of investigating into who is responsible for their death.

«The Italians recently removed all the patients from the Military Hospital, and installed their own patients, with Italian doctors and nurses, in that hospital.

«In the building, where the Cavalry Academy used to be, they have quartered their Black Arrows and Blue Arrows. The Hotel de Inglaterra (English Hotel) has been converted into

Hotel de Italia (Italian Hotel) and is occupied solely by Italian military leaders. All hotels and restaurants on the road from Valladolid to Burgos have been «intervened» by the «Italian Administration» for the use of Italian officers, and the former owners dispossessed without any compensation. No one is allowed to travel along the highways without a special safe-conduct from the Italian police.

«Exactly the same conditions prevail in Burgos. The only difference is that it is run by the Germans instead of the Italians. Whole detachments of the *Gestapo* are operating in this province, employing the brutal methods imported direct from Germany.

«The Italians have a prison of their own in Venta de Baños, and the Germans one in Lerma. These are entirely under their control, and no *Nationalist* territory is even allowed to go near them. There are hundreds of Spaniards in these prisons, and their lives depend entirely on Hitler and Mussolini. The great *Caudillo*, Franco, leader of a New Spain, United and Great, has no jurisdiction whatsoever over these prisons or over the prisoners.

«If the German *Gestapo* or the Italian Police force suspect a Spanish officer or civilian of being unfriendly to the invaders, and fear that their views may influence the population of the towns dominated by them, they make use of the Martinez Anido's secret police. The latter do

not even take the trouble of holding an investigation, but merely «discover» a conspiracy. This was the case recently in Valladolid.

«According to discoveries made by the police, there was a conspiracy among officers of the Spanish army, phalangists and workers for a coup to seize power in Valladolid. The plot consisted of releasing the political prisoners, attacking the artillery barracks, and killing the most prominent «nationalist» personalities.

«The plot was discovered in time, and in an emergency court-martial eleven officers, sixteen workmen and thirty phalangists were sentenced to death and executed immediately. The men died crying Long Live Spain! and Down with Franco the traitor!

«An official communiqué issued on this occasion declared that the condemned men had meetings in a milliner's workshop, and that they had a radio transmitting set, with which they communicated with the rebels installed inside a mannikin.

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



# Monsters Over Barcelona

Barcelona. Spring. The sweet warmth of Spring wraps the city. The air of Spring reaches out to the Mediterranean, gently lapping the coast line. In the wide boulevards trees are blossoming and the birds chirp on their branches. The trees and the birds feel a new life stirring in them.

Tiny white clouds dapple the deep blue sky above.

The reality of the war is not absent. But the war is 200 miles away. In Barcelona nearly two million souls struggle to carry on a boisterously brilliant life, vibrating with its music, its trepidations, its songs and laughter, hawkers' chants, hammering, shouts, motor horns and the distant shrieks of the steamship sirens.

The daily papers publish sensational accounts of the battle in Aragon and comment on them in passionate editorials in which anguish and hope are blended. No doubt, the city feels the grip of a profound uneasiness. But there is complete normality. Life in the rear has not lost its wonted rhythm. The daily tasks are as regularly performed as ever.

The population are aware that the foreign air force, whose base is in Majorca, continues bombing the cities along the Mediterranean coast. The tragedy of the San Felipe Neri home, and the bodies of the 80 young children killed in the air raid on January 30, have gone around the world in the pages of the newspapers. Do the men responsible for their tragic death feel any remorse?

## TECHNICIANS OF CRIME

H. G. Wells, the English writer, when the first attempts were made the use the airplane for the transportation of passengers, predicted the terrible and magnificent possibilities of aviation. When men were able to fly like birds, they could either be a god or a devil. Wells predicted that aviation in the hands of the militarists would for humanity mean a retrogression to primitive barbarism.

He was right. His predictions came true in Barcelona.

A Prussian now dead, Ludendorff, and an Italian who is still living, Douhet, are responsible for the crimes committed in Barcelona by the warplanes whose base is in Majorca during three days of nightmare. The former is the author of the totalitarian war theory, that infamous process for intimidating the civilian population behind the enemy's lines, whereby non-combatants are exposed to more danger than combatants. The latter promoted the general use of aviation as an instrument of war. According to the old-fashioned European general staffs, aviation was an auxiliary instrument of war, but according to Douhet's theories, it is a deciding element of victory.

Ludendorff and Douhet blended their theories, and the result of this monstrous composition was a systematic bombing of civilians. «It is necessary to cause more damage to non-combatants than even to the combatants proper», writes Ludendorff. «Terrorised in this manner, civilians will press the government to surrender.» And Douhet writes: «It is necessary to employ the air force all over the enemy's territory. Thus his morale will be broken and he will be compelled to surrender.»

## THE NEW GENIUS OF DESTRUCTION

Germany and Italy went into the Spanish war not only to achieve their political, military and economic plans — to secure a source for raw materials and to take up strategic positions in order to isolate and encircle France and to dominate the Mediterranean — but also to try out their new instruments of destruction. Their new two- and three-engined bombers, their new pursuit planes, their new anti-aircraft guns, their new anti-tank guns, their modern machine-guns and high ex-

plosives, and their new tanks, are being tried out in Spain, on the bodies of the men, women and children of Spain. The destruction of cities, the machine-gunning of terrified crowds running for cover, are carefully timed.

## CONCUSSION BOMBS

To Barcelona goes the ghastly honor of having been chosen as a testing ground for the new concussion bombs invented by Teutonic barbarism. She was already acquainted with incendiary and explosive bombs, and now she has experienced the effects of concussion bombs which are the product of the most up-to-date chemical process for the destruction of humanity.

Concussion bombs: liquid air, enclosed in thin aluminium casing under enormous pressure, when it is released becomes a wicked element, producing havoc and extermination. It is more deadly than an earthquake. It sweeps the most solid buildings off their bases. It kills without wounding. It kills with hypocrisy. It does not produce visible wounds. It destroys the inner organs of its victims. The atmospheric concussion destroys the lungs, the liver, the heart; it tears and shatters these vital organs. The victims die before they can be given medical aid...

## AIR RAIDS WERE CARRIED OUT EVERY THREE HOURS

The air-raids began during the night, and were carried out every three hours with Teutonic regularity. In little less than a day and a half, Barcelona was bombed eighteen times. The planes flew in at an enormous altitude. Their presence was announced by the explosions of the bombs they dropped. The sirens shrieked the alarm, people ran terrified to seek refuge, traffic was stopped. The anti-aircraft guns persistently boomed their response, but the damage had already been done. The ghastly crime, even if it was absurd, was already a reality. Whole buildings had crumpled down in a second, burying in the debris dozens of innocent victims, mostly women and children. The streets were strewn with dead bodies, bodies of people caught in their flight by the bombs. Several buildings were set on fire, and the smoke and the flames rose above the city. Some streets had craters, like those on the Moon...

And again later... And once again later... People did not sleep. Many did not eat. But the work went on. The alarm sounded periodically, but it was always too late. The bombs had already fallen.

The orders came from Berlin and Rome through Salamanca or Burgos. It was necessary to terrorize, to break the morale of the rear, to provoke panic and flight, to create an atmosphere of capitulation. How can the people resist this continuous anxiety, this permanent danger, how can they survive these minutes of profound anguish? Is this calculation criminal, inhuman, savage, devilish? Of course it is. But that is precisely what the totalitarian war lords expect...

A bombardment produces scenes which do not seem real, but which on the contrary appear a terrible nightmare. A bus loaded with passengers stops because the drivers heard explosions far away. A few seconds pass in silence. Suddenly the whizz of a bomb is followed by a terrific explosion, and people scream in agony. A bomb dropped on the bus, and it is turned into a live volcano, where fifty people writh in agony and are burned to death...

A square. On one corner there is a kiosk near a column painted red and black. It is the official tram stop. A group of passengers are waiting...

A bomb drops between the kiosk and the column. The kiosk is blown to

pieces, and only an ugly crater remains where it was standing. The column is also shattered, and it trembles in fragments. When the fumes blow away, nothing is left of the group of passengers but pieces — an arm, a limb, a head whose eyes still keep an expression of surprise, a bleeding torso... And in the middle of the avenue, a little girl who tries to stand up supporting herself with the little stumps of her arms. Her hands have been blown away.

Similar scenes were enacted eight times — eighteen times! — in less than forty hours.

## THE TRAGIC TOLL

The Government issued official figures. 875 dead. 1,500 wounded. 48 buildings destroyed, and 75 seriously damaged.

But there were still more dead. Many of the wounded died in the hospitals.

Over two thousand victims in a city with a population of over one and a half million souls; over one hundred buildings totally and partially destroyed. What does it all mean to a large city?

What did the aggressors gain by these barbarous air-raids? Nothing. The next day after the bombings Barcelona continued her usual life. The blood-stained streets were cleaned. The dead were buried. The wounded were being cared for in the hospitals. The debris was removed, and Barcelona was Barcelona once again.

## THE FAILURE

Between air-raids, the population carried on the rescue work at a furious pace. Women and children worked alongside the men. They felt certain that the criminals would return again, that new explosions would soon be heard, but that did not deter or frighten them. Their solidarity was one of sorrow and indignation which was above class and even ideology. Municipal workers, bourgeois, laborers and professionals, policemen and soldiers, women and children worked side by side, moved by a single desire, to rescue the victims, to save those who were still alive under the debris.

Certainly, there was a also general panic; crowds running madly for the refuges, for the underground passages. But amidst it all, there were cases of bravery, silent heroism and sublime resignation.

They are wasting time and bombs:

Salamanca and Burgos, Berlin and Rome, must know it. The Majorca murderers are wasting time and bombs. Neither Barcelona nor any other of the Spanish towns fighting for their freedom and independence will be subdued by these methods of wholesale murder. Their nerves may be temporarily shattered, but calmness is soon regained. Our

will is to be free or die. What if the Germans and the Italians come on their powerful machines, with their powerful weapons to exterminate Spain? What if the civilized world regards unperturbed this wholesale slaughter? A man can only die once and he must rise to his destiny.

But abroad...

Chamberlain declared in the House of Commons that when he read the accounts of the bombardments of Barcelona, he felt horror and repugnance. This was only natural. Every human being must feel the same. Horror at the crime. Repugnance at the ruthless and cowardly manner in which it is committed, and the miserable excuses given for committing such ghastly murders.

Objectives of military importance! The rebel radio stations in their official communiqué stated that their air force had successfully bombed the official and military centres of Barcelona. They expect the world to accept their shameless lying. Not a single official building was hit. They could not be hit, either, for the bombs were dropped from an altitude of over 15,000 feet. And they were deliberately aimed to hit the center of the city. They were sure, in this manner, somehow or another, to score a hit...

They hit private homes and commercial houses. In this way Barcelona is an enormous target, covering many square miles. It is a large city, a brilliant exponent of civilization. It is the product of efforts of several generations of hard working people. It is the pride of a proud and noble race, who know how to provide for the future and who have a serious conception of life. It is the work of two thousand years of history...

And this is the objective of the flying executioners, of Mussolini's *condottieri*, of Hitler's *reizigen*. And what is the result? They commit a few hundred crimes each time, they carry out thousands of murders, and then what? Are they ashamed? They may be ashamed of their impotence, but of nothing else.

Let the civilized world not lose sight of these crimes. They have been committed before, and were soon forgotten. They are only the prologue, the dress rehearsal for the great drama coming to France and to England. Have the people of Paris and the people of London seen the outline of Goering's plan, published in the German military reviews, for the destruction of the French capital by intensive bombing?

The totalitarian powers are trying out their methods and their material on Spain. They check their calculations and train their men and their technicians. Spain is serving as their laboratory and testing ground.

It is high time for the democracies to be moved by their instinct of self preservation.

## German Air Base at Pollensa, Majorca

### Declarations of four German prisoners.

On March 15 the British merchant ship "Stanwell" was bombed in Tarragona harbor. There were several victims on board.

One of the seaplanes forming the bombing squadron was brought down a few minutes later when the planes were strafing a train between Vinaroz and Uldecona. It was a German Heinkel seaplane.

The four members of the crew were made prisoners. They were all of German nationality. They are: Rudolf Rüker, Lieutenant, observer, commander of the plane; Alfred Tonollo, second Lieutenant, pilot; Hermann Strohscheter, second Lieutenant, radio operator, and Smitz, mechanic.

The prisoners declared that the members of the German squadron which has its base in Pollensa, Majorca, are all Germans. Their names are as follows: Hallinghausen, commander of the squadron; Deecke, pilot; Zenker, pilot; Jorgenz, senior lieutenant; Stood, pilot; Franz, pilot; Zunker, pilot; Rahtgeber, pilot; Braf, lieutenant and Brauner, lieutenant.

All these men, including the prisoners, belong to the German Air Force. Their mission is to bomb Spanish loyalist towns along the Mediterranean coast, and to attack merchant ships bound for Loyalist ports. Their most recent victim was the British merchant ship «Stanwell», in which British sailors were killed by the German planes.



# New Exposure of German and Italian Intervention

During the last few weeks the rebels have received a huge amount of material

The intelligence service of the Ministry of National Defence has compiled information regarding the intervention of Germany and Italy in the Spanish war. The following data are incomplete, and refer only to the last few weeks:

**Pilots and Technical Personnel:** On February 27 twenty-eight German pilots left Totow, near Stralsund, for Spain. They travelled on two Junkers 86, and flew direct to Burgos.

On February 28, eighty more German pilots of the Magdeburg Flying School, flew direct to Portugal, and from there went over to rebel territory.

On March 19, fifty-four pilots left the Zeilsdorf airfield for Spain, and there are at present 85 pilots being trained in Luneburg for service in Spain.

On March 16 the S. S. «Franca Fassio» landed 250 Italian pilots in Seville.

**Troops and Material:** On March 2 a body of German troops arrived in Bilbao. Before they landed a crowd which had gathered was cleared from the docks.

On March 10 the Spanish steamers «Andraca-Mendi», «Ultra-Mendi» and «Jupiter» arrived in Cadiz escorted by two Italian destroyers and several planes, and on March 11 the Italian steamer «Trieste», which is a hospital ship, also arrived in Cadiz. These vessels landed a total of 4,500 infantry troops, 500 black shirts, 90 soldiers belonging to the Italian Air Force, 200 artillery men and a number of drivers.

These same steamers landed 15 pursuit planes, 3 bombers, 5 heavy tanks, 10 light tanks, 4 ambulances, 3 trucks with gasoline tanks, 8 truck chassis, 300 heavy aerial bombs and a great number of pieces of light artillery, machine-guns and ammunition. The two destroyers which escorted the transport ships landed a large number of cases of the same material.

On March 16 the Spanish ship «Mar Negro», escorted by the destroyer «Velasco», landed a large cargo of war material from Italy in Cadiz.

On March 19 an Italian warship landed a cargo of rifles and ammunition in Cadiz.

On March 11 two Italian merchant ships landed 71 Italian military technicians in Algeciras, who departed at once for Saragossa.

On March 11 and 13 the Ceuta mail boat landed Moorish troops in Algeciras. In the second expedition there were 240 young boys, about 17 years of age, destined for the front. The rebels continue recruiting Moors in French

Morocco. On March 6, 300 natives of Moxerah, French Morocco, arrived in Alcazarquivir, and were incorporated into the Moorish *Regulares*.

On March 11, at eight o'clock, two Italian merchant ships landed 40 heavy trucks, machinery, aviation material and ammunition in Cadiz.

Three German merchant ships landed 28 cm. guns in Bilbao, and every week huge quantities of war material are received in Bilbao from Germany. The German cruiser «Emden» protects the transport of war material to the northern ports, which are used on a large scale for landing German war material and technicians. 30 pieces of heavy artillery were landed in Pasajes recently and were later installed along the French border under the direction of German technicians and manned by Germans.

Many of the Germans arriving in the North of Spain bring their families with them. The families of 300 German officers have landed in Pasajes alone.

A German merchant ship recently landed in Villa Alhucemas a cargo of wheat and corn and three 15.5 cm. batteries, which are being emplaced at Morro Viejo near Punta Fraile.

Another German merchant ship landed a large quantity of war material in Ceuta, which was immediately trans-shipped to Algeciras.

On March 17 the German ship «Porto» landed war material in Seville, and the «Catarnia», also German, landed war material in Motril on the 20th.

On March 7 there were seven German officers in Larache who arrived from Tetuan and departed immediately for Alcazarquivir. It is believed they are technicians who are studying a method for improving the fortifications along the French Moroccan border, for they have recently sent strong detachments of troops to this frontier.

**Navy** — Italy has recently sent to Spanish waters twenty «vedettes» equipped with two 500 H.P. Isotta Fraschini engines. These boats develop a speed of 53 miles per hour and have two detonation tubes for 250 kilo torpedoes.

They left Italy in groups. They fly the rebel Monarchist flag, and have the mission of sinking all ships bound for Loyalist Ports.

Two flotillas of submarines have been seen in Cadiz, one of small submarines and the other of large ones. The crews are entirely German, but they wear no uniform.

## ORDER AND LABOUR IN REPUBLICAN SPAIN

«After having been oppressed for many years, the Spanish people know how to make use of the liberty given to them by the Republic, for they respect the law and obey the Government authority» says the Civil Governor of Albacete.

**Truths and Facts efface Fascist propaganda.** — All the foreign representatives who have visited Albacete and its province, are now fully convinced of the absolute falsity of the propaganda which the Spanish Fascists and their International Allies spread in order to throw dust into the eyes of the world regarding the supposed disorganisation existing in the Loyal territory. The order and activity in Albacete and its province — as in all towns of loyal Spain, — offer the world an example which counteracts the cynical impudence of fascist propaganda. The maintenance of public order and steady development of labour are a proof of the discipline and moral responsibility the Republican people have taken upon

themselves. After so many years of tyrannical oppression these people have shown their ability to make use of the freedom given them by the Republican Government.

Albacete and its province have suffered more than any other part of Spain from the tyranny of the political and social leaders. It can be stated that the whole town and its province were owned by eight or ten of these political leaders and their families, who had in their power thousands of citizens and farm labourers, whom they forced to obey their orders and to submit to their despotism under the threat of instant dismissal from their ill-paid work, if they dared to show any signs of independence and democracy.

The old Government organizations were nothing but a mere fiction. The Town Councils were inactive, because the administration of the towns and villages was carried out in the private offices of the political leaders. Municipal Justice was

administered by men who were bribed by the rich people to use their authority as a means to impose their will upon the people. The farm labourers' wages — with few exceptions — were 3 pesetas a day. The schools were few and empty, because the children were obliged to help their parents on the land.

In some places, like Alcazar, for instance, the poor people were all illiterate, and their hunger, ignorance and superstitious fear of their masters paralysed the activity of the Republic which attempted to free them from the cruel despotism of the landowners. Practically all social activities were in the hands of these privileged eight or ten landowners. Agriculture was carried on by primitive methods; Trade and Industry were also in these landlords' hands and even the work of Public Services was administered by them. They even formed companies in order to prevent any one except themselves from enquiring into finan-

(Continued on page 5)

Ayuntamiento de Madrid

Ministry of National Defence

## Interview with Mayor Hilario Salvadó on the Bombing of Barcelona

On 25th March, 1938, Sr. Hilario Salvadó, the Mayor of Barcelona, gave an interview in connection with the savage bombings carried out by fascists on that city on March 17 and 18.

Sr. Salvadó stated that he had only recently returned from London and Paris, where he had arranged for the purchase of balances and medical material to take care of the people of Barcelona in case the need should arise. A large portion of the above material, sent by the French Socialist Party, had arrived a few days before the bombing took place. It was a tremendous help in attending to the needs of the wounded.

Up to the present time the number of victims caused during the ten air-raids on March 17 and 18 is known to be as follows: 512 men, 245 women and 118 children, and 1,500 wounded. This includes only those who had their wounds dressed in official dressing stations. Many of the more lightly wounded are, therefore, not recorded.)

Forty-eight buildings were completely destroyed and 75 severely damaged, notwithstanding the fact that they were all five stories or more in height. Sr. Salvadó then spoke of the heroic work performed by the two thousand doctors, doctors' assistants, architects, first-aid men and members of the salvage squads. He paid a tribute to the firemen who worked for 48 hours without rest and he praised the service rendered by the various departments of the Passive Defence, which had to work in 42 different places at the same time. In addition, he made of the citizens who volunteered to help clear away the wreckage and who in this way saved people buried by debris, who otherwise would have died.

On the fifth floor of a house which had been split in two by the explosion of a bomb, a four months old baby was found quietly sleeping in its cot 24 hours after the last air-raid. This tiny creature is now being taken care of in a safer place.

Sr. Salvadó concluded by saying that despite the fact that the air-raids were carried out by the fascists not only with the aim of experimenting with a new type of bomb containing liquid gas, but also with the object of demoralising the civilian population, the morale of the people of Barcelona is today higher than ever.

## Part of Franco's Service to Humanity

(from an article by William Forrest)

Just beyond the village of Cambrils I saw the charred remains of one of those highwaymen of the air. It was a Heinkel bomber shot down by a Republican chaser. I stripped the plate off the engine and read: «Motor-muster B.M.W. 6, Hersteller J. Eberspacher. G.M.B.H. Esslingen A.N.» That is model B. M. W. (Bavarian Motor Works), 6, maker J. Eberspacher, Limited, Esslingen on the Neckar.

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Long before we came to Tortosa — to the place that was Tortosa — we saw the refugees. Not many of them. For the fight began many days ago and most of the city's 30,000 inhabitants were already dispersed among surrounding hills, living just how it is impossible to say.

Those who were now leaving were the last-ditchers, who had held grimly on, defying raid after raid, moving on from house to house as the warplanes proceeded with their remorseless work of destruction; until the cataclysmic finale two days ago, when the city was bombed without respite from dawn till dusk, and the last habitable dwelling had been wrecked.

It was strange to walk in broad day through streets where but a few days ago women gossiped in little clusters in the doorways, to cross sunlit plazas which echoed the cries of children at play, to pass cafés and bars which were noisy with argument and thick with tobacco fumes — and where now there was nothing but ruin and desolation and a silence unearthly.

I quickened my pace to escape from this nightmare. An armed guard — what was there left of a guard? — hearing my footsteps came out of an alleyway, staring at me, but let me pass unchallenged.

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As I was crossing the Bridge the drone of war-planes broke the silence. I sprinted across, but there was no time for alarm. The bombers passed contemptuously overhead. What was there left to bomb?

Towards the southern skirts life began, where the republicans, left to Valencia and south; right to Aragon and front.

Cars and lorries came tearing up the road from the south, slowed down when they reached the city, then accelerated again when the drivers saw that there was no danger of running over a child. Nor even a dog.

Fallen trees and the debris scattered houses had been cleared from the middle of the streets to let traffic pass through the city. For the war must be fed. Fed with mater and fed with men.

I watched the men going today, up towards the rough hills of Aragon, where the decisive battle of the war is now being fought. And as I turned towards Tortosa, towards the place that was Tortosa, I wondered how many other cities Western Europe would share the fate if these men lost the fight.

(«The News Chronicle».)



# ORDER AND LABOUR...

(Continued from page 4)

al expenditure and to avoid any democracy or social justice from developing.  
*Feudalism in the XX century.*  
A vivid picture of real feudalism is given in the village of Villatoya. This village and all its municipal land was owned by one dy. The Marchioness of Villatoya. The contracts of houses leases of the land were drawn up in such a manner that their fulfilment always led the tenants to want and misery. Exorable instalments and all during parts of taxes and tithes on the follows: shops plunged the inhabitants into the most abject poverty, for the product of their labour passed into the hands of the landowner, thus making it impossible for them to support themselves and their families. The Marchioness on seeing the possibility of a reaction took place against her exploitation, took every precaution to have her riches in the time of the Monarchy by taking advantage of her political influence; she succeeded in having a Civil Guard detachment created in the village, in order to protect her property. This lady gave one of her houses to be used as a bar-quietly sleep. The duty of this armed force was only to intimidate the poor people, by their presence or punish them for any actual or supposed transgression.  
The old Government—continued the Civil Governor—made another of its many extravagant deals by granting the maintenance of this Civil Guard detachment, which cost the Treasury 25,000 pesetas annually,

although the total revenue of this village to the Government only amounted to 3,000 pesetas a year.

The Republic, always careful in its respect towards all private owners, could only resolve the case of Villatoya little by little, because the owner of this village always managed to defend her so-called rights by appealing to endless legal proceedings.

## PRESENT PROSPEROUS POSITION

Despite the fact that the Civil war brought about by the capitalists and the military insurgents is now at its height, the province of Albacete—like others in loyal territory—, has entered into a new social life. The eighty-six Town Councils of the province are functioning in a regular manner, and their functions are performed according to the legal municipal statutes. The municipal affairs are administered with perfect honesty; old debts have been duly paid off and the way to prosperity in economical, cultural and health affairs is assured.

Naturally, the success of this work has been achieved in different ways according to each particular case. For instance; in those towns where labour organization was already functioning, the administrative transformation has been done much quicker than in those others where no organizations of this kind were in existence.

The township of Villarrobledo should be mentioned as one

example of the rapid social and economical transformation; the agricultural production has increased; cattle-breeding has passed from 6,000 to 12,000 heads; thirty new schools have been inaugurated and more are on the way to being opened. This township patronizes the Federation of Spanish Universities and contributes towards the maintenance of the children's colonies; it also maintains a Drawing School and grants ten scholarships a year to the most intelligent pupils. It has paved all the streets of the town and has set up health organizations. Moreover, it has mobilised 2,000 volunteers to fight for the independence of the Spanish Republic.

This example of Villarrobledo has been followed by many other towns in loyal Spain, including La Roda and Almansa. All these towns cooperate very keenly in supporting and upholding the authority of the Government. It also should be mentioned that the standard of living has been improved in every sense, especially in the villages where the living conditions of the labourers were deplorable.

Public order is perfect everywhere in Republican territory, and proof of this is shown by the fact that since July, 1937, only one criminal offence has been committed. Other offenses, such as those against property, etc., are almost nil. This present satisfactory situation is due to the development of education and the principles of equity and respect for the legal authority of the Republican Government.

tion. This year 200,000 kilos of cheese have been made in Albacete. In normal times the maximum figure was 100,000 kilos. This increase is due in great part to the campaign carried out by the Agrarian Reform for the education of the peasants. Until recently the greater part of the sheep were killed for meat. Now the peasants have been made to realise that the milk of sheep is of more value than the meat. A good sheep, well cared for, will give sufficient milk to make nine or ten kilos of cheese in a season.

The coordination of agricultural production and stock raising has been a great step in the elimination of waste. Previously every farmer worked his own bit of land without any other interest than that of his own convenience. New land is chosen with a view to its suitability for certain types of produce, and

## Agricultural School at Albacete

The Government of the Republic has undertaken to give the peasant scientific training. To this effect it has organised a good number of travelling schools that bring knowledge to the most out of the way villages. It has distributed literature on the various methods of cultivation and the way to improve crops, etc., has organised travelling libraries, and has organised a campaign to end illiteracy among the peasants by means of the so-called «flying brigades against illiteracy in the country» which are composed to a large extent of people from the youth organisation under the guidance of the

# The Man and the Book

## To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—The brutality of Hitler's move in Austria is yet another demonstration to our country that we are dealing with a man whose word is of no value. This act of aggression is yet another betrayal of the peoples of Germany. England, France and Italy guaranteed the independence of Austria, but as in Abyssinia and Spain democracy and common sense yield to the stamp of the jackboot and the rattle of the sabre.

Our statesmen should study Hitler's «Mein Kampf» carefully. He is following step by step the lines of action marked down in his book. He laughs at the idea of the frontiers of Germany being merely those of 1914. The Third Reich must include Austria and all Continental peoples of Germanic origin. He states definitely that France must be destroyed, and that Italy and England must be allied to Germany for this purpose. The Anglo-German Naval Treaty of 1935 was the first step towards this alliance. Hitler openly boasts that the bigger the lie the more readily will it be believed—the vast masses of a nation are in the depths of their hearts more easily deceived than they are consciously and intentionally bad. The primitive simplicity of their minds renders them a more easy prey to a big lie than a small one. (Page 252-3.)

Are we to be drawn into this Nazi system through lack of vision on the part of our Government? Hitler will make any move to gain our temporary favour to serve his purpose. He says so in his book. He wants to isolate France. It is France, and not Russia, who gives him the biggest problem at the present juncture in Europe. He will use our good faith as a tool to destroy her:

There must be full clarity on one thing: the deadly enemy of the German people now is and remains France. (Page 766.)

We have the audacious request from this German dictator that our Government should tamper with the freedom of our press, in order, I presume, that our peoples should know as little of the truth as the peoples in the dictatorship countries. In Vienna we have seen the legitimate attempt of Schuschnigg to take a plebiscite destroyed by the use of force. One moment Hitler tells the world that there is no unusual movement of his troops; the next they are in Austria and even at the Brenner Pass, ominous for the people of the Italian Tyrol, with its German population. We are told that Schuschnigg wanted to «work» the voting in his favour by allowing only those over 24 to vote; but since the Constitution of Austria, May 1, 1934, this has been set down as the age of voting in the case of a referendum. The very fact that Hitler wants to get his Nazi machinery working before he takes a «real plebiscite» should be enough for Europe. Was he afraid of the result?

It is ironical to hear Hitler speaking of racial oppression. He has forgotten his Jewish «clean-up». So, as Mr. Hoover pointed out last week, this man is going full-steam ahead to destroy all that is good in Europe if we allow him to think that we fear his war machine. The dictatorship is merely sustained by sensationalism; within, the body-politic is frail. We have no right to keep these systems alive by granting credits. We must bring pressure on our present Government to stop any concessions either to Italy or Germany.—Yours, &c.,

Harold DAVIES

83, Whitehouse Road, Abbey  
Hulton, Stoke-on-Trent,  
March, 12.

(From «The Manchester Guardian».)

worked for the benefit of production in general.

*Work and social justice.* The peasants find a stimulus to work in their new freedom. They identify themselves with the economic policy of the state and work with enthusiasm for the Republic. The peasants are prospering under the new conditions. They have already been able to repay 60 per cent of the loan made to them by the Institute of Agrarian Reform.

Ministry of Education. Moreover, it has established agricultural schools and experimental farms in practically every district.

Outstanding among the latter is the «Acequión» Agricultural School, in the province of Albacete. This school was created by the Ministry of Agriculture of the Government of the Republic to train technicians in farming, cattle raising, and industries related to these. Don Leopoldo Manso Diaz is head of the school.

It is sufficient to be able to read and write to be eligible to enter the school. The Institute

of Agrarian Reform of the Ministry of Agriculture selects the most capable of the applicants presented by the various cooperatives, agricultural trade unions, etc., of the district. Tuition is free.

General courses last three months, and the following subjects are covered: elements of arithmetic, geometry, and surveying; elementary agricultural science; elementary rural construction; the theory of the cultivation of grass plants, trees, etc.; the employment of agricultural machinery; the methods of fighting the principal plagues that threaten crops; the scientific raising of cattle; the administration of farms; the organisation of agricultural cooperatives, etc. Students who make good in these courses receive a certificate of capability from the Institute of Agrarian Reform of the Ministry of Agriculture. If they so desire, students who obtain this certificate may go on to more advanced courses.

Students admitted to the school have all their expenses paid by the Government, and if they have to support their families they get an extra sum.

## Agrarian Reform in the Province of Albacete

Recently we visited the agricultural region of Albacete where we saw the wonderful work that is being accomplished. Many peasants seem hardly able as yet to realise the sudden transformation of their lives.

Can it be true, they ask, that peasants and shepherds are at last to have the same rights and privileges as other people and to enjoy the fruits of our labour?

We have only to examine the facts to find the answer. Under the Republic they are invested with the human rights so long denied them and are living in a state of well being and optimism which they have never before experienced. Obedience, starvation, and suffering was the order of their lives under the old regime, and they were reduced to a state of mental inertia which made them fall an easy prey to the political designs of the landlords. Today they are leading a new life. It is little wonder that these peasants who were formerly exploited, would now give fighting for democracy they are fighting for a new life of dignity and honour for the worker.

In spite of the war production has increased. We were not surprised to learn from the provincial Delegate of Agricultural Reform, don Victor Ripoli, of the tremendous activity displayed by the agricultural workers of Albacete. The results are amazing to outside observers. In the

province of Albacete, as in all other regions of the Republic, production in agriculture and stock has reached a higher figure than in the normal pre-war period.

This year Albacete produced 1,014,000 metric quintals of wheat and over a million of barley, which represents an increase of 20 per cent as compared with production in the years preceding 1936.

*New method of wine production. The olive harvest.* Referring to the cultivation of grapes, the provincial Delegate spoke of the means adopted to meet the necessities of the moment. Instead of converting all the grapes into wine, a certain part of the harvest is used for another purpose. The juice of the grape is prepared with sulphur, which acts as a preservative and makes it more suitable for exportation. This raw material can later be converted into wine, spirits, or syrup which makes an excellent substitute for sugar. This method has resulted in raising the value of the vineyards as the raw grape juice thus prepared is sold for 5 pesetas more per arroba than wine. Two hundred thousand and arrobas was the quantity obtained from the last grape harvest. (An arroba is 11 1/2 kilos.)

The production of olives, which was 20,000 metric quintals before the war, has risen to 30,000 metric quintals.

*Eliminating waste in produc-*



# How the Work of the Republic Was Sabotaged

**Summary.** General survey. Reformists, politicians, and usurers. The movement against the Republic. Convincing proofs. The «dead hand». Agrarian reform. Counter reform. Re-establishment of the reforms of the Republic.

**General survey.** After the overthrow of the monarchy in 1936, the liberators of Spain dealt moderately with agricultural problems. It was a vast job. Spain had sunk to a state of ignorance and wretchedness; it was the victim of petty officials, usurers, and landowners.

The distribution of land was as follows:

Land under cultivation, 18,353,546 hectares; pasture land and mountains, 25,281,100 hectares; non-productive land, 3,814,628 hectares.

Experts estimate that 10 per cent of the land consisted of bare rock, 35 per cent yielded very little, and 10 per cent was land owned by a fortunate few. The figures for mountain and pasture land are misleading, for at least half of this land had been appropriated by the monarchy.

According to the official report, land subject to the Land Tax was distributed as follows:

Cultivated land, 10,479,198 hectares; uncultivated land, 9,169,299 hectares.

These figures show that the monarchy regarded agriculture as an unimportant source of wealth. The following figures indicate the social aspect of the distribution of land:

Large land holdings, 7,968,029 hectares; medium-sized land holdings, 2,339,957 hectares; small land-holdings, 8,014,715 hectares.

**Reformists, politicians, usurers.** Faithful to its principles, which were reformist rather than revolutionary, the Republic wished to raise agricultural life to the level existing in other civilized countries. Needless to say, the efforts made in this direction aroused the opposition of the reactionaries. In attempting to effect reforms from the top down, by means of legislation, the Government encountered the traditional obstacles, that is, the obstructionist policy of the privileged classes and the usurious dealings of the clergy.

The income of these multimillionaires amounted to 10,745 millions of pesetas after the World War, and in 1930 was increased by 25,000 million pesetas, owing to the accumulation in profits.

Before the establishment of the Republic, the income from agricultural production amounted to 5,485 million pesetas, the income of the proprietors amounted to 2,340 million pesetas, and the wages of agricultural labourers to 1,960 million pesetas. These figures, which are fairly accurate, contain the germ of revolution. The existence of 100,000 proprietors, owning 12,000 hectares of land, was indefensible, as the Minister Uribe pointed out. It meant that two million peasants were unable to obtain land for cultivation and that two million agricultural labourers lived in extreme misery and want, «...that 59 per cent of the land was not cultivated, 79 per

cent of what was cultivated was inadequately cultivated, and 79 per cent of the land which could be cultivated had no trees.» (Carrion at the Engineers' Congress, 1921.)

## MOVEMENT AGAINST THE REPUBLIC

Those opposed to the social changes initiated by the Republic claimed to be on the side of order. By order they understood the protection of their traditional privileges. Rather than lose these, they preferred to see all Spain destroyed.

That there were strikes, attacks on property, and similar outbreaks on the part of disillusioned workers is not to be wondered at. But in many country districts the rebellion was deliberately fomented by the landlords' agents so that they might be justified in imposing «order» and crushing the «reds».

The vicious effects of this movement are to be seen in the following statistics for 1920 in the Andalusian provinces:

Offenses against public order, 924; Offenses against persons, 5,124; Offenses against property, 7,585; Suicides, 331.

## CONVINCING PROOF

If anyone doubts that the feudal system really existed in Spain at the coming of the Republic, the following examples provide sufficient proof. At Lachar, estate of the ex-Duke of San Pedro de Galatina, situated 30 km. from Granada, 870 peasants lived in complete servitude. The money of the country did not circulate on this estate. Justice was administered by the Duke's representatives.

The estate «El Gotoso», which belonged to a duke of royal blood, covered an area of 958 hectares. The ex-duke of Romanones owned practically the whole province of Guadalajara.

## «THE DEAD HAND»

Another aspect of the work of the Republic was the freeing of the small landowners from usury and exploitation by the clergy, which had taken the place of the «dead hand». This was the name given to a contribution in produce which was exacted by the owners of certain estates in former times.

The small proprietors found themselves no better off in the hands of the clergy. The «Acción Social Católica» was a powerful organisation under the authority of the Pope, whose object it was to throw dust in the eyes of these small farmers. Its propaganda replaced the «eternal hell» of former times with a more up-to-date «bolshvist hell». Through the «Sindicatos Católicos Agrarios» it sought to reinstate all the old abuses of the «dead hand». The «Acción Social Católica» included numerous catholic organisations of Spain under the direction of two cardinals, Segura and Ilundain; the deputy Lazaro; and the director of «El Debate», Oriá.

The exploitation of the small farmers by these organisations is demonstrated by the following figures:

Rent per hectare 1913: minimum, 15 pesetas; maximum, 35 pesetas. Rent per hectare 1930: minimum, 50 pesetas; maximum, 100 pesetas. Increase in 17 years: minimum, 35 pesetas; maximum, 65 pesetas.

At this rate, rent would have reached a minimum of 120 pesetas and a maximum of 230 pesetas by the year 1947.

This policy, which aimed at altering the price of products and the overthrow of the «bolshvist» government, reached its height during the years 1931-1932.

The daily scale of wages for agricultural labourers in 1935, when the Right Wing was in power, is no less interesting:

Farm labourers in the fields of Seville:

Men: maximum, 3 pesetas; minimum, 0.25 pesetas.

Gleaners: 1.50 pesetas.

Children: maximum, 0.75 pesetas; minimum, 0.50.

Farm labourers in the fields of Jerez de la Frontera:

Men: maximum, 2.50 pesetas; minimum, 2 pesetas.

Women: 1.25 pesetas.

Children: 0.25 pesetas.

Farm labourers in the fields of Cordoba:

Men: 3 and 2 pesetas.

Women: 2 pesetas.

Children: 0.60 and 0.25 pesetas.

Legally there was an eight hour working day, but the real day was twelve or even fourteen hours of hard work.

## AGRARIAN REFORMS

On the 5th of September, 1932, the «Cortes Constituyentes» passed the law of Agrarian Reform and on the 22nd of October a decree for the intensification of cultivation in Badajoz, Salamanca, and other areas under the dominion of the priests and big landowners. The Law of Agrarian Reform was extremely moderate. The decree was a result of the anti-social policy of the Rights. It was not intended that the Agrarian Reform Law should be based on the principle of «expropriation without indemnification». But while it was under discussion, the plot of the 10th of August for an uprising was discovered, and the law was changed. It ordered the «expropriation without indemnification» of the «grandees».

The results of the law after almost three years were as follows: Estates with an area of 89,133 hectares were expropriated, states with an area of 27,704 hectares occupied, and 12,260 peasants settled on the land. Four million peasants lived in the greatest misery, while only 12,260 had been settled on the land. This shows how very little was actually done to improve the lot of the peasants.

On September 8th, 1933, the Government resigned. Once more the policy of the clerics and landowners had triumphed over the will of ninety per cent of the population.

## COUNTER-REFORM

With the coming into power of the Rights the modest social advance made by the Republic was

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quickly annulled. An order of February 12th, 1934, deprived the peasants of Extremadura of the lands they had received under the Republic. The Decree of May 4, 1934, returned lands confiscated from those involved in the plot of August 10th. Rents were also revised. A law granting the enormous sum of pesetas 239,413,750 to 14 landowners further revealed the true aim of counter-reform. A scandalous maldistribution of land was once more made certain.

In the province of Granada there were 777 estates covering 566,241 hectares and representing 46 per cent of the total area of the province:

## RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMS OF THE REPUBLIC

With the triumph of the Popular Front the agrarian reforms were reestablished and fundamental advances made within the

legal possibilities of the constitution. The following land taken over by the «Instituto Reforma Agraria» from May 1936 to May, 1937:

Albacete, 445,605 hectares; Avila, 3,761; Alicante, 80,425; Badajoz, 253,558; Almería, 25,165; Cáceres, 83,823; Castellón, 35,673; Ciudad Libre, 973,274; Córdoba, 62,423; Cuenca, 446,900; Guadalajara, 12,468; Huelva, 1,760; Jaén, 640,207; Madrid, 136,287; Murcia, 155,020; Salamanca, 59,711; Sevilla, 4,471; Teruel, 4,471; Toledo, 240,100; Valencia, 103,377. Total, 3,856,020.

The area of cultivated land taken over by the legal Government of Spain is 15.07 per cent of the cultivated land registered. This shows that in spite of intense activity of the Popular Front in this respect has been moderate.

## FINANCE

# Tobacco Production

Following is an abstract of a statement concerning tobacco consumption in Spain issued to the press by Arturo Fernández Noguera, of the Ministry of Finance.

Tobacco is scarce in loyal territory. The normal consumption of tobacco in loyal Spain is over 1,500,000 kilograms a month. Barcelona alone normally consumes 150 tons a week.

## PRODUCTION OF TOBACCO IN SPAIN

Tobacco production in territory under Republican control amounts to 700,000 kilograms a year. Therefore, in order to be able to meet the demand, it would be necessary to import 10,000,000 kilograms. Production could have been much greater, but since the company that monopolised the tobacco industry found it more fruitful to speculate with tobacco imported from abroad, and since many counsellors obtained high commissions from foreign tobacco firms, national production was hindered and discouraged.

Unfortunately, now that it is difficult to import tobacco from abroad, most of the tobacco-producing country in Spain, i.e., the valleys of Granada, Cáceres, and the Asturias, is in rebel hands. Only the Valencia, Tarragona, and Lerida tobacco country remained. The 1937 crop was rather small as a result of a severe thunderstorm which destroyed many of the planta-

tions in the province of Valencia. This year it is expected that the crops will be much better. Nevertheless, the maximum that can be expected is 800,000 kilograms, which is by no means sufficient.

Another difficulty in meeting the demands of the public, besides the lack of sufficient material, is the problem of manufacturing the final product. In loyalist Spain there are present four factories: One in Madrid, one in Tarragona, one in Valencia, and one in Alicante. If supplied with sufficient material these factories can to some extent meet the heavy demand. The output of these factories, if properly organised, could amount to 200,000 kilograms a month.

The fundamental problem, present, therefore, is the organisation of the proper distribution of the available supply of tobacco. Some work in connection with this has been done already. It has been decided to distribute tobacco first among workers of factories, offices and the countryside. What is over will be placed on sale. In addition to this, 350 million 400 million cigarettes are distributed among the soldiers fighting at the front and those who lie wounded in the hospitals. Besides this tobacco, all of which is produced in loyalist Spain, the armed forces from time to time get some of the higher grade English and American cigarettes. Military hospitals obtain tobacco free of charge.