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The New Spanish Inquisition

One of man's most fiendish devices is "The Sack." The victim is slugged unconscious, then placed in a burlap sack, his hands and feet bound, his mouth sealed with tape, a slip noose around his neck.

On regaining consciousness the victim's first attempt to stand or to move slowly tightens the noose. Then come hours of torment during which he tries to struggle loose, to slip the ropes cutting his wrists, while every move he makes only draws the loop tighter, finally cutting off his breath entirely.

We read of such sack victims with horror. But these are individual murders usually perpetrated by gangsters upon gangsters.

Today, a band of criminals has gotten control of an entire nation — converted that nation by means of heavily guarded frontiers into an enormous "sack" for its people.

While you read these pages, murder by firing squad, by slow starvation, by torture, is being practiced on a scale which makes the blazing pyres of the old Inquisition shrink to the insignificance of candle flames in the darkness of man's history.

Today, in a country technically at peace, horror stalks by day and by a night a hundred times more terrible than the horror of war itself. Civilization is being drowned in the blood of a people.

In Spain.

Now. While you read this.

The world hears of Spain today through its foreign policy. The Franco-controlled press roars for Gibraltar, for recapture of Western Hemisphere possessions once part of the old Spanish Empire. Fascist power ties are reaffirmed. Spain, which could have been a force for peace, is an accessory to war. France, Britain and the United States, whose governments, through non-intervention and embargo, betrayed the Spanish Republic into fascist hands, reap the fruits of their betrayal.

While the results of Franco's accession to dictatorship make themselves glaringly apparent on the international scene, a powerful gag rule suppresses news of what faseism has brought to the twenty-two million men, women and children who live on Spanish soil today.

"RECONSTRUCTION" — FRANCO STYLE

Neither the hunger nor the bombardments they suffered in 32 months of heroic resistance can be compared in magnitude of misery to the present-day plight of Spain's population.

Bloody vengeance against all who supported their legally-elected democratic government is an official policy of Franco rule, which seeks to stabilize itself among a people who, though disarmed and temporarily defeated, still struggle for freedom.

The murderous arm of Franco, guided by Italian and Nazi advisors, reaches out not only for those who fought for the Republic but also for those millions who merely lived and worked on the government side during hostilities. That arm is stayed only by the unprecedented solidarity of the Spaniards who, despite the terror, protect each other, and by the solidarity of friends abroad who act in their defense.

It is in a merciless struggle to make operative by force a fascist regime which the Spanish people resist in every way that Franco employs a thousand and one varieties of the underworld's "sack."

Such a reign of terror, translated into terms of organizations we know in America, would be comparable to a roundup and persecution of every A. F. of L. and every C. I. O. unionist, every supporter of New Deal reforms, every member of a Masonic lodge, every member of a peace organization, every believer in democracy, whether organized to defend democracy or not.

What is life under Franco? What are the conditions offered to the ordinary man and woman under the "reconstruction" of the dictator? Much of what we know has appeared in the Spanish fascist press itself.

In a country whose production is in chaos, which has lost a tenth of its manpower in war and through reaction's post war assassinations, Franco has announced time and time again that the most important task is to "equip the army." Today, Spanish railroads are falling to pieces from age and wear; two thirds of their equipment need repair and renewal. Yet the "leader's" reconstruction plans consist of building four hattleships, 14 cruisers, 18 destroyers and 14 submarines.

There are not enough men to work the farms, yet Franco has rounded up thousands into compulsory labor battalions to build military airdromes.

Famine holds the working people in its grip. In Madrid, the food allowance per person has been set at 1½ ounces of vegetables, oil and sugar a day — a ration that can be held in the hollow of a child's hand.

Under the Republic, the peasants had land of their own for the first time in centuries. And while the men were at the front, old women and children tilled the terraced fields of Spain and fed their army.

Now the estates have been returned to the big landowners. The fields lie idle while Spain is in the throes of want.

At one fell swoop, Spanish faseists, on coming into power, wiped out every gain made by labor, every agrarian reform, every progressive measure of the Republic.

The Republic opened schools everywhere. Mobile cultural units worked in the front line trenches, taught

illiterate peasant-soldiers to read and write. Franco closed the schools, founded military academies instead.

Why this militarization in a country already ruined by invasion? Spanish fascism needs storm troopers if it is to remain in power. More than that, Spanish fascism needs a military machine which can be sold to the highest bidder in Europe's war. Franco, self-proclaimed "patriot," whose "rebellion" was plotted in and supplied through the British economic colony of Portugal, and whose war was carried out by Italian and Nazi troops and planes, is extending this form of "patriotism."

True enough, the nobility which back him have ample cause to view Franco as a "patriot." Seventy-five titled families of the aristocracy have had restored to them 2,779,875 acres of land through Franco. That land briefly belonged to the Spanish people, under the Republic.

The Church, which watched Franco slay his countrymen with the aid of Mohammedan Moors in the name of Catholicism, has also benefited commercially.

It is again proprietor of one-third of all the tillable land in Spain. In addition, for its support of the Franco cause, it has been granted an annual subsidy of 60,000,000 pesetas.

FASCISM'S GIFT TO SPAIN

But what of the people?

Millions of peasants have no land at all — even to work on shares or as tenants.

Throughout the country wages have fallen to half their figure under the Republic. Building trades workers who formerly received from \$2.40 to \$3.00 a day now get 80 cents to \$1.00. Bus drivers who earned \$2.40 to \$6.00 are paid \$1.40 to \$3.00. Mechanics' wages, which used to range from \$2.40 to \$3.60, are now from \$1.40

to \$3.00. Today (the peseta has an exchange value of 10 cents in U. S. money) a family with an income of 208 pesetas a month, must pay for rent, fuel, "contributions," and special taxes, a total of 83.90 pesetas. This leaves 124.10 (\$12.41) for food and clothing.

On the other hand, food costs have soared. Bread, which cost 10 to 12 cents a kilo (2½ pounds) under the Republic, is now 16 to 18 cents. Meat, obtainable only twice a week, is sold for \$1.60 a kilo instead of 80 cents. Coffee, rare as gold, costs \$5.00 a kilo against \$1.60 for-

merly. A kilo of beans which sold for 15 cents in pre-war days now costs 45 cents. Fish has risen from 20 cents to 70 cents a kilo, and other foodstuffs in proportion, when they can be bought at all.

Starvation, forced labor, ruinous taxes on workingmen, peasants and small husinessmen alike, a headlong drive toward militarization and war — this is what fascism has brought to Spain. And these are burdens which fall alike on those who supported the "nationalist" cause and on those who did not, with the exception of a small group of big industrialists, top church authorities and self-enriching fascist party leaders.

Under such conditions, it is not surprising that Franco faces the turbulent opposition of a people to whom such a way of life is wholly unacceptable. Although the Republican army has been disarmed and many of its leaders have been executed, guerilla warfare continues in the Asturian mountains. Although trade unions have been illegalized, and hundreds of their leaders assassinated, Spanish industry still feels the impact of an unbreakable labor movement. Totalitarian rule provides guns, not butter, but anti-fascist housewives gather in market places and their rumbling discontent shakes the throne of terror from which Franco governs.

"MOST FEARFUL BLOOD BATH"

It is against this background of popular defiance, of unsmashable enmity, that Franco seeks to stabilize fascism with the help of Italian Black Arrow troops and Gestapo advisors.

The New York Times, examining this situation, commented on Jan. 27, 1940, editorially as follows:

TRAGEDY IN SPAIN

The shadow of tragedy still darkens Spain, although ten months have passed since the civil war ended. The Vatican Secretariat of State this week placed the number of political prisoners in Spanish jails and concenlitation camps at 500,000 men and women.

This is a staggering number for a country one-sixth as populous as the United States. We can visualize it better, perhaps, if we imagine three million political prisoners here.

The Spaniards have endured such miseries in the last four years that we can hardly expect them to know the means of forgiveness and reconciliation. The most reliable estimates place Spain's death roll in the war—on the battlefronts or at the hands of firing-squads—at 1,200,000 on both sides. This, again, translated into comparative American figures would be the equivalent of over seven million deaths in this country. So much monrning and bitterness, so many shattered families and orphaned children, are too much for human comprehension. It has been a blood bath more fearful than any other European nation has endured in our time, even in the slaughter of the World War.

As the legal arm for administration of this policy of terror, Franco employs the dreaded "Law of Political Responsibilities," an all-embracing regulation for persecution of enemies of fascism first put into operation in territory yielded by the Loyalists during the war. Now it applies to all of Spain.

Under its broad precepts, "all those who directly or indirectly served 'Red Spain' or have not combatted it"

TRADE UNIONS RUTHLESSLY CRUSHED

Spain's federation of labor, the U. G. T., an affiliate of the International Federation of Trade Unions along with the American Federation of Labor, was a bulwark of the Republic. Under Franco, it is outlawed, its leaders executed or jailed when they are caught.

The Republic's political parties are disbanded, illegalized as a matter of course. Every writer, journalist, teacher or priest, who spoke for the Republic is a target for persecution for "political responsibility."

But Solidaridad Nacional, organ of Franco's party, makes it clear that harassing must extend still further.

"To be or not to be red does not depend on belonging to Left or Right Wing parties — as the old historical classification states," the newspaper explains. "To be or not to be red depends, let us repeat it with due emphasis, on serving or not serving as an instrument of Democracies . . ."

Under the Law of Political Responsibilties, a person can be shot merely for being indifferent to the "glorious nationalist cause."

Franco made known early in the war his determination to destroy all opposition through executions even if he had to stand every second Spaniard again the wall.

In many cities and towns he has done just that. Here fascists employ what they call "collective consent" whereby a town or a union or any organization is held guilty for the action of one or more of its members. In spite of the censorship, news has reached the outside world of the fate of the town of Elche, a community of

leisurely good will and palm-shaded plazas under the Republic which has been completely destroyed. "Collective consent" in operation. Other towns have suffered the same fate.

And the Law of Political Responsibilities extends down to the age of fourteen! Even children are made to suffer the brutal punishments it metes out.

Of this we are certain—the jails are full, the concentration camps are full, military courts function daily condemning a steady stream of Spain's heroic men and women to death and to long terms in prison.

Prisoners, if tried at all, are tried by military tribunals composed of officers of the army and members of Franco's Falange party. There is no counsel for the defense allowed; the accused must defend himself. There is no appeal. And the only witnesses whose testimony is acceptable to the "court" are priests in good standing with the local Falange and Falange members themselves.

In addition to the card-index of "criminals" anyone may be denounced as an enemy of the state. The Franco press prints daily lists of "wanted" persons. People are urged to inform on their neighbors. A personal grudge is enough to bring about denunciation, trial, and execution on "political" grounds.

The conservative Manchester Guardian, British newspaper, printed on July 27, 1939, a significant tabulation of the decrees of one of Franco's tribunals:

		No. of accused	Death sentences	-30 years	Accis 12	Acquittals
May	1	62	40	15	5	2
	$\bar{2}$	45	32	13	0	0
	3	70	51	11	8	0
	4	32	31	1	@ O	0
	5	60	51	9	0	0
	6	78	61	10	7	0

For that same week, however, the number officially shot in the same district were as follows: May 1 — 83; May 2 — 81; May 3 — 35; May 4 — 24; May 5 — 47; May 6 — 31.

This same paper states that for every official execution one can count ten unofficial murders, that to the date of writing there were at least 200,000 persons "missing" in Franco's Spain.

FRANCO "JUSTICE" SICKENING

In every war "atrocity stories" are fabricated by the propagandists of both sides, and hotly denied — usually with truth — by the enemy. But these are no fabrications. They are facts boastfully admitted by the men who performed the deeds and sponsored the acts. Men of the calibre of General Queipo de Llano, the "drunken buffoon," who regularly roared his threats to the Republic over Radio Seville, voicing the Nationalist slogan, "Death to Intelligence!"

The Franco press has published lists of the persons executed day by day as well as lists of persons being tracked down. The London *Times*, which supported Franco during the war, has admitted 800,000 murders by his regime so far.

When the body of Primo de Rivera, former dictator of Spain before the days of the Republic, was moved and elaborate "funeral" ceremonies were organized by Franco's Falange party, the Falangists celebrated by raiding prisons and concentration camps, slaughtering the helpless Republican prisoners wholesale. In La Roda prison, in Albacete, they burned a "red" before the funeral procession as a "symbol."

The administration of Franco's much vaunted "amnesty" for refugees was graphically described by Miss Madge Addy, an English nurse from Manchester, on her return from Nationalist Spain. She told of seeing refugees,

sent back to Spain by the French government, hustled off to concentration camps, their women left without food, shelter or money and driven to beg — not for bread, but for a chance of prostituting themselves for bread.

Examples of Franco "justice" form a sickening roster.
Fernandez Villanucva, sixty-year old head of the
Madrid Post Office, was sentenced to thirty years for

having continued his work under the Republic.

A priest of S. Feliu de Guisols in Catalonia was given thirty years for preaching in the Catalan language — forbidden in Franco's drive on the nationalist movement in Catalonia.

The execution of intellectuals has become a Franco policy and the most politically innocent among them—such as Spain's greatest poet, Garcia Lorca—have been slaughtered with the rest.

Don Carlos Rahola, famous historian, was butchered despite his seventy years. His crime — a chapter dis-

approving of dictators in his book on Napoleon.

Antonio Hoyos, Marquis de Vinent, son of the monarchist ambassador, the old Marquis de Hoyos, was executed for having contributed an article to a syndicalist

paper.

The Franco press constantly reports executions, arrests, with such explanations as this: "Antonio Marin Jemeno, Socialist, went voluntarily to the front where he reached the position of lieutenant." "Antonia Duran Torres, typist at the Bank of Bilbao in Barcelona. Went voluntarily to the front, at the Mobile Park, No. 1 of the U. G. T., stationed at Barbastro. When she came to get her salary at the bank she was always accompanied by armed men. She wore clothing of the militia and carried a pistol."

AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN HELP

Inside Spain heroic struggles are being waged against these conditions. Men and women, who made every sacrifice during the war, continue to risk their lives for freedom. Despite the terror they fight back, organizing solidly, initiating actions for a new day of reckoning.

Here in the United States we can aid those struggles. Our government, which banned arms to the Republic, which gave comfort to Franco through its hasty recognition of his blood-stained flag, today still has the power to help stay the hand of the executioners.

It is for us — the people, who can still speak and make our voices heard in the halls of government, to protest to our government against the terror in Spain. To let our protests ring so long and loud that our State Department will be compelled to demand in the name of humanity that Franco and his Falange grant an amnesty to all political prisoners.

Write to Franco's embassies and consulates in this country. Visit their offices and make known to them the revulsion which sweeps all Americans as they consider the terror which fascism has brought to Spain.

There are other ways that Americans can aid the Spaniards in their struggles. Material aid can be sent to these heroic men and women through the United American Spanish Aid Committee.

Packages are sent and delivered even into the jails where fighters for liberty are interned. Think of the meaning of the arrival of these gifts! The relief that comes from receipt of sorely needed food and clothing and medicine, great as it is, is surpassed by the concrete reminder that outside Spain there are men and women who remember their sacrifices for liberty and whose hearts beat with theirs.

Collect funds for the heroic men, women and children of Spain. Send money to the committee to facilitate the conduct of its work.

There is a further way that Americans can help, Hundreds of thousands of Spanish refugees, who fled France terror as the war concluded, reached a haven in France only to be confined in concentration camps. They and four thousand International Brigade members, most of them from fascist countries to which they cannot return, know of the Law of Political Responsibilities and the executions which characterize life in Spain today.

They have resisted continuous coercion and pressure to force repatriation. They have endured misery in concentration camps, back-breaking labor in labor battalions, slave labor in French factories. Today they have the possibility to emigrate to a new life among Spanish-speaking people in the Americas. The Mexican government has agreed to accept all who reach their shores. Other Latin American countries have also opened their doors.

Only the transportation remains to be provided. The United American Spanish Aid Committee is campaigning for funds for hoats. Every Spaniard who reaches asylum in the Western Hemisphere is a reminder to those in Spain that sacrifices for liberty are dearly prized by defenders of democracy everywhere.

Give - that transportation may be provided!

Let the voice of American labor ring out in defense of our Spanish brothers who cannot speak for themselves.

Get your union local, your fraternal organization, your social or cultural group to pass resolutions condemning Franco terror and petition the President of the United States to demand an end to the orgy of blood and torture in Spain today.

Send letters to the State Department, from yourself, as an individual, or with groups of your neighbors, your shopmates and your friends.

Tell the story of Spain to everyone you meet. Act quickly.

Franco's executioners never sleep. There is so little time.

The President Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

May I respectfully urge you to do all in your power to see that our country takes an active part in demanding of the Franco dictatorship of Spain that it grant a complete and unqualified amnesty to all political prisoners;

That it repeal the barbarous Law of Political Responsibilities with its retroactive, terroristic provisions;

That it abolish the brutal policy of "collective consent" making all members of an organization or community guilty and responsible for the activities of one or more of its members;

That it release the thousands of political prisoners now being used as unpaid labor;

That it grant an amnesty in fact as well as in words, to the refugees still in France, that they may not face death at Franco's hands when they return to their homes.

Yours very truly,

SAMPLE TELEGRAM

STATE DEPARTMENT WASHINGTON D C

URGE U S GOVERNMENT DEMAND COMPLETE AMNESTY POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SPAIN

UNITED AMERICAN SPANISH AID COMMITTEE

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ARGENTINA: Federacion de Organismos de Ayuda a los Refugiados Espanoles.
CHILE: Comite Chileno de Ayuda a Los Refugiados Espanoles.
CUBA: Asociacion Nacional de Ayuda a Las Victimas de la Guerra de Espana.
MEXICO: Federacion de Organismos de Ayuda a La Republica Espanala.
URUGUAY: Comite Pre Defensa de La Republica Democratica Espanala.