

THE CASE FOR SPAIN

The unpopularity of Spain in the comity of nations is a source of deep distress to most Spaniards. They feel that their country has been misunderstood and misrepresented; and, linked as they are with the vast millions of South America and the Phillipines, they believe that a world organization which ostracizes them has a precarious future.

The great cause of resentment against Spain in American, British, and French circles is that Spain wished and worked for an Axis victory in World War II; and therefore, while Franco remains head of the States, Spain will not be admitted into the U. N.

What truth is there in the charge?

It must be admitted that there is a formidable array of documents to substantiate it. The American Army of occupation has discovered the confidential correspondence between Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco; and minutes of interviews between their foreign ministers. These have been published by the State Department, and no one has questioned their authenticity.

These documents are illuminating on Franco's diplomacy. For instance, in August, 1940, we find Franco writing to Mussolini that he is preparing to enter the war at a favorable opportunity. In September of the same year Franco assures Hitler of his gratitude, sympathy, and loyalty, yesterday, today and always. In October, 1940 Franco met Hitler at the Franco-Spanish frontier and assured him that Spain would gladly fight at Germany's side. Throughout this critical period Franco did nothing but talk.

Even when it was clear to everybody by the end of 1943 that Franco had not the slightest intention of entering the war, he continued to assure the German ambassador that there was no change in his policy, and that Allied victory would involve his own annihilation. It is vital to remember that the background of all this is that the German Armies were just across the frontier and that Franco believed that the surest way to provoke Hitler into marching through Spain to Gibraltar was by threats, the only way to prevent him was by cajolery.

This was not very dignified nor splendid: but Spaniards chuckle over it, and claim that at any rate it kept them out of the war. And there is no doubt that that was

the motive behind Franco's every word. He succeeded completely. Spain is one of the few countries on the mainland of Europe where no belligerent army set foot. One may criticize this diplomacy; one may ask whether it is compatible with honor. But before asking those questions it is also permissible to ask what right other countries have to criticize it. When we think of Molotov's record, we cannot be impressed by his strictures on Franco. When we think of the British and American desertion of the Poles, and of the broken promises of the Atlantic Charter, we ought to think twice before lecturing Spain on international ethics.

No; the true reason for the ostracism of Spain is the opposition of Soviet Russia, for Spain has never been forgiven for being the first nation in Europe to face and to smash the Communist menaces. Both American and British statesmen and Commanders have paid tribute to Spain as having helped the Allied cause, especially at the time of the North African expedition in 1942, the turning point of the war.

The Russian record has also been made clear by the American State Department on Nazi-Soviet Relations. The documents show how Stalin had agreed with Hitler to carve up the world; and how Molotov, after the fall in France, expressed to the German ambassador the "warmest congratulations of the Soviet Government on the splendid success of the German armed forces."

Nevertheless, while every word Franco said was used against him, Molotov's were overlooked, and at the Potsdam Conference in 1945, Spain was barred from membership in the United Nations for no other reason than to please Russia. A plea was made for the withdrawal of Franco and the establishment of an 'interim' government. Finally in 1946, U.N. passed a resolution calling for the severance of diplomatic relations. What made the Spaniards laugh was that the resolutions were moved by the delegate of the puppet Polish government; and, to make it doubly ridiculous, the delegate accused Spain of being a police state, of being a menace to world peace, and of manufacturing atom-bombs in secret!

The exclusion of Spain from the U. N. hardly matters, any more than the exclusion of Eire, for the U. N. itself hardly matters, as long as Russia can wield a veto. The excuse for her exclusion is even more fantastic than the

Russian objection to Eire's membership. Eire was excluded because it was not peace-loving! Spain is excluded because it is alleged that it is under a totalitarian 'regime' and is a police-state. Yet Russia, the most tyrannical police-state conceivable, and the most totalitarian in history, is accepted. To that nonsense every voice in Spain cries "Russia, no! Franco, si!"

But it is high time that an end be put to the major stupidity—the exclusion of Spain from the project of a United Europe and from the Marshall Plan (incidentally only in December 1950 did Spain receive 'some' Marshall Plan Aid). Today only the most inveterate prejudice can blind politicians to the plain truth: namely that Spain fought and won over a decade ago exactly the same battle as France, Britain and America are waging now — the battle against Communist domination. It is not from Spain that European democracy need fear obstruction. It is not from Spain that the democracies of Europe are threatened with the same fate as the democracies of Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and the Baltic States.

The country that produced the Roman Emperors, Hadrian and Trajan, that gave Seneca and Quintilian to Latin letters, that gave St. Dominic, St. Theresa, St. John of the Cross and St. Ignatius to the Church; that discovered America and became the mother of the faith and language of twenty nations—this is a country which deserves better from statesmen and journalists than the patronizing sneers or the bitter invectives which have been heaped on it by some politicians and journalists of recent years, who seem to think that Spanish history began with Franco.

In this great struggle Spain was yesterday a protagonist. Today it is a key. Situated in a dominating position in the western Mediterranean, it is a link with Africa and with South America, and its absence from a Western European 'bloc', which General Eisenhower is trying to mold, is a fatal weakness. Its long history has proved that Spain is an indispensable bulwark of western civilization and culture. Two of her greatest sons, Suarez and Vitoria, were the finest exponents of those principles of democratic liberty and international order which the world of today is seeking. Spain, if she is given a chance, will find her own way back to those principles; and may again, as she did more than once before, take the lead in the defence of

the perennial values of the West. Instead of being rudely ostracized she should be welcomed as the nation which, first among the nations of the world, had the foresight to understand the Communist menace, and the courage to conquer it. So, in spite of the criticism leveled at Spain to-day, one feels obliged to join with all sympathizers of Spain in the cry "Arriba Espana," and, as long as the Communist menace remains, ever is the cry "Viva Franco!"

—JOHN E. CASH '51

THE VALLEY OF THE EVENING

Look, my friend, to yonder hill
Where through trees and crevices
The yellow moon come seeping through,
While in the valley darkened shadows
Softly move and fade away
Like life itself.
Look up! God is lighting
His heavenly domains with stars;
Now the meadows seem studded
With priceless stones set into
A majestic pattern
Of beauty.
Come let us retire
And dream under heavenly skies
In the valley of the evening.

—REG. MacLELLAN '55.

One good example is worth a thousand arguments.—
Gladstone.

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Christianity has not failed; it has never been tried.—
G. K. Chesterton.