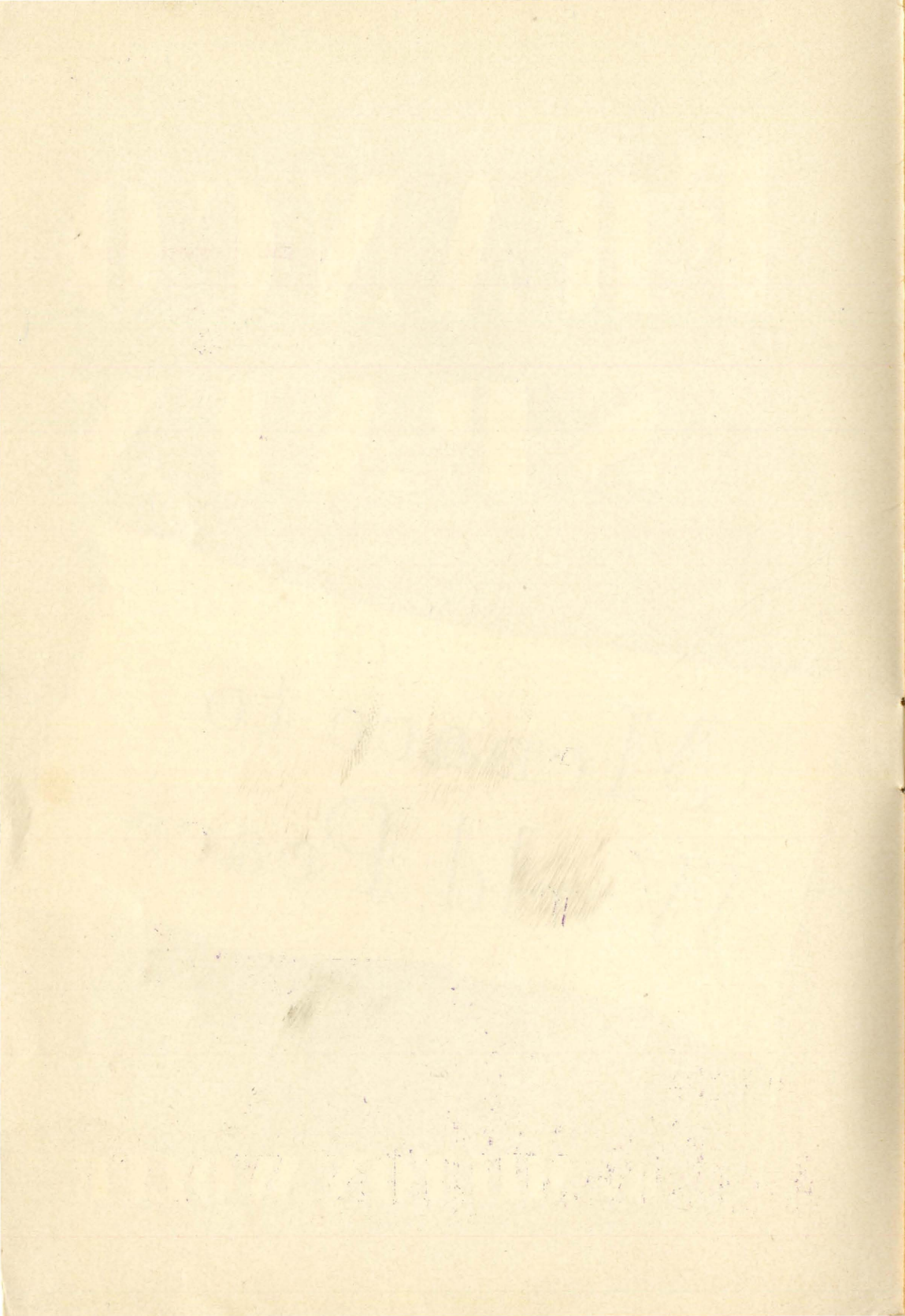


# FRANCO SPAIN

Menace to  
World Peace

By **MILTON WOLFF**



# FASCIST SPAIN

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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Milton Wolff, the author of this pamphlet, is the National Commander of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade whose members fought in 1936-38 with the Republican armies against Franco and the Hitler-Mussolini intervention in Spain. Since the defeat of the Spanish Republic, the Lincoln Brigade has played a vital and leading role in mobilizing public support in the U.S.A. in the continuing struggle to aid the Spanish people overthrow the illegal fascist regime of Franco.

Milton Wolff rose from private to major in the armed fight of the Spanish Loyalist forces, and served for three and a half years in the U.S. Army, first under General Stilwell in Burma, and later in O.S.S. in Italy. He received a field commission as Lieutenant in the fighting in Burma.

He is also Campaign Director of the Action Committee to Free Spain Now.

## INTRODUCTION

Since this pamphlet was written, the General Assembly of the United Nations completed their discussion on Franco Spain and decided to:

1. Condemn the Franco regime, as a fascist regime and a creation of the Axis.
2. Withdraw all ambassadors and representatives plenipotentiary now in Madrid.
3. Instruct the Security Council to take further steps if, within a reasonable time, there is no change in the present situation in Spain.

This decision definitely is a step forward by the United Nations in their attempt to rid the world of the last remnants of the fascist axis. It is important in that it instructed the Security Council to take further steps—which can only mean the breaking off of diplomatic relations and finally the imposing of economic sanctions.

It was the resistance of the United States, Great Britain and Argentina to these last described actions that caused their postponement. It is the hope of these countries to bring about a situation in Spain whereby some provisional form of "Government" will be established with the approval of Franco and further that this Government "will conduct a plebiscite through the machinery of the existing Falange State which can only result in an undemocratic solution that will fail to solve any of the problems of Spain. None of these maneuvers will influence Franco or give to the Spanish people the opportunity to decide for themselves the form of government they want.

We must insist that our Government cease its intervention in the affairs of the Spanish Republicans. This intervention

has already brought about a crisis in the Spanish Government-in-exile. As Americans, we want no part of the shameful responsibility for supporting fascism in Spain. As anti-fascists, we are supremely confident that, given a chance, the Spanish people, who taught us much about the meaning of anti-fascism, will restore democracy to Spain—by themselves.

It is up to us to interpret the spirit of the General Assembly resolution on Franco Spain in its broadest sense, namely as having laid the basis for the complete isolation of Franco by the speedy breaking off of all relations with his regime by our Government. The “reasonable time” for a change in Spain has been exhausted a long time ago.

MILTON WOLFF

*January 8, 1947.*

# FRANCO SPAIN—MENACE TO WORLD PEACE

By MILTON WOLFF

*"It seems to be clear that as long as the Franco regime remains in Spain it will remain a constant cause of mistrust and disagreement between the founders of the United Nations. It is therefore my hope that those who gave us victory and peace may also find ways and means by which liberty and democratic government may be restored in Spain."*

Why did Trygve Lie, General Secretary of the United Nations, open the current session of the General Assembly by pointing to the existence of the fascist regime in Spain as a factor which *threatens the success* of the United Nations? Millions of Americans and more millions of people the world over have pinned their hopes for a peaceful future on the United Nations. The people look to this gathering of nations, great and small, as our hope for a just and durable peace. We have invested millions of lives to make this ageless dream of mankind a reality. We want to *know!*

What is this Spanish problem that so absorbs the attention of the United Nations, that threatens its very existence? Why *Spain*, a small and seemingly insignificant European peninsula? Why *Franco*, the pompous, little man who loves to strut in gaudy uniforms? Why should he loom as the monkey wrench that threatens to destroy the vast machinery of the nations working for peace?

The answers to most big questions are simple. The answer to this question is a simple one. It is as simple and as clear as the division of forces were in the last war. There were the nations that were fighting the Axis, and there was the Axis. The Axis, made up of Germany, Italy, Japan, and numerous satellite nations, set out to dominate the world. The United Nations were fighting for the Four Freedoms, the destruction of nazism and the building of a lasting peace. The Axis was defeated and the victorious nations are struggling to win the peace for which they fought.

BUT they are trying to forge this peace in a world that not only contains remnants of the Axis, but within the family of

nations there is a nation that was an integral and important part of that Axis. That nation is fascist Spain—*undefeated*.

Fascist-Falangist Spain was created by the Axis; it stands undefeated, a haven for the virulent remnants of nazism, the center of authority for the *Nazi world underground movement*. *How can we establish peace in the presence of fascism?*

### "A Creature of the Axis"

In order to understand this fact; in order to understand the "mistrust that the continuance of fascist Spain" occasions in the United Nations, we must go back briefly to the origins of the Franco regime.

In 1936 the Spanish people went to the polls. They overwhelmingly elected a Republican Government. This Government was unacceptable to the minority Right in Spain. A revolt of the military took place led by fascist and monarchist generals. *This revolt failed in its initial stages*. The generals' plan to capture Madrid, Valencia and Barcelona by coup, *flopped*. It succeeded only in establishing power in Spanish Morocco and in small sections of western Spain. The leaders of the revolt, including Franco, were faced with disaster.

At this point, Hitler and Mussolini, who had helped plan and finance the rebellion, rushed to the rescue. The records show that they furnished Franco's army with *planes, tanks, artillery, guns and divisions of troops*. The revolt of the Spanish generals *changed* from an alleged *internal* fascist uprising to an *international* fascist onslaught against democracy in Spain. When, after three years of fighting, the elected Government of Spain fell, *it was not Franco alone* who was installed in power in Madrid but *it was Franco, Hitler and Mussolini*. *From that day onward, Spain was an important part of the so-called "anti-Comintern Axis."*

### "Great Help to His Partners"

From 1939 to the present day, Spain has fulfilled its role in the plans of the General Staff of the Third Reich. These plans included the following:

1. The shipment to the German and Italian armies of food-stuffs, munitions and fuel.
2. The shipment to German industry of vital mineral ores.



3. Becoming the springboard and center of the Axis espionage system for the entire world.
4. Providing a base for Nazi submarines and aircraft in order to prey on Allied shipping in the Mediterranean, and finally,
5. A safe haven for Nazi finances and cadres.

This, in the main, is *the plan of the German General staff* and in every respect of this plan Franco has zealously performed his services. He has proven to be an Axis partner of reliability and stature.

Several of these points are worthy of elaboration.

The German staff, being thorough, have always provided in their war plans for certain contingencies in the event of defeat. The German militarists point to defeat as *but a phase in their drive for world conquest*. It is *important* to understand this fact in order to recognize the significance of the role that fascist Spain plays in the plans of the General Staff. *The General Staff considers as essential, even in defeat, the preservation of staff cadre and German industry.*

### A Home For Tired Nazis

German staff cadre is not necessarily made up of the big names in the Nazi political organization with which we have become familiar. It is made up of the more retiring, tireless political, military, scientific, and financial workers of the Nazi party. It is made up of the international key collaborators, the organizers of the 5th column. These cadre, finance, political, military, scientific, and 5th column, have been safely stored away in Spain and are now, with the lifting of wartime restrictions, being sent to other *safe* countries, the world over.

Thus far, the efforts of the Allies to have Franco turn over to them this cadre has met with insignificant results. A very *small percentage* of the total known Nazis on the wanted list of the Allies have been turned over by Franco. The *greater percentage* of the known and unknown cadres have been successfully protected. These men, finance, political, military, and scientific are not merely in hiding in Spain but *are actively at work* projecting the organizational plans for the rebirth of a fascist Axis and ANOTHER ATTEMPT AT WORLD CONQUEST.

## HQ Moves From Berlin to Madrid

A casual reading of the press today reveals that the fascist movement formerly directed from Berlin remains active even though that city is now occupied by the Allied Forces. The activities of this underground are coordinated and function in a grand pattern that is easily discernible. *It now takes its orders from Madrid*, receiving its instructions *by radio and courier*. The murder of American soldiers in Germany, the bomb attacks against denazification centers, the destruction of factories by fire and sabotage, the rebirth of a fascist party in Italy are all part of this central plan.

The plan itself, of course, is *not restricted*, never was restricted, to Europe *but* has spread its tentacles to the Western hemisphere. From Madrid to Buenos Aires and up and down the two continents of America, the racist theories of the fascist party are spreading like wildfire. As in the past, one of the most important weapons in the arsenal of fascism is its propaganda machine. Fascist propaganda follows a familiar pattern . . . *split* the nations one from another, sow the *seeds of distrust, undermine* and *attack* the democratic movements in all countries, *divide* the people, *destroy* the labor organizations.

Every day, 24 hours a day, the Madrid radio, following to the letter the spirit of Goebbels, spreads the old tales of the Bolshevik bogey-man, the protocols of Zion, the "hate-the-Jew-and-hate-the-Negro" line. The Madrid airwaves are busily re-creating the fable of Aryan supremacy. The Nazi axiom of "divide and conquer" is steadily moving forward once again.

## Fascism Holds the Fort in Spain

This Axis partner, Franco, remains undefeated although half the world cries out for action. *Not only undefeated, BUT aided and abetted* by Argentina, Great Britain and *our own United States of America*. The people of the world and most of their representatives at the United Nations have understood the simple truth that we cannot build peace while fascism remains entrenched in Spain. The continuance in power of any segment of that Axis is the guarantee that still *another* onslaught will be launched against the peace-loving

peoples of the world. How in the name of all that is justice, all that is logic, can our State Department and our delegation to the United Nations cast themselves in the role as Franco's counselors for the defense? How can we build the mutual grounds of trust and belief in the high ideals of the United Nations, *when we are in fact the protectors and supporters of what remains of the Axis?*

## Arguments For the Defense

Although it has been extremely difficult for our officialdom to maintain their position in defense of Franco, and although they have had to condition their defense by many public declarations against the Franco regime, like all good lawyers, they, the diplomats, *have found arguments*. For instance:

1. The Franco dictatorship is an *internal problem*. The Spanish people must solve it.
2. Diplomatic sanctions against Franco will only *strengthen* his national position.
3. Economic sanctions will *hit the already starving* Spanish people.
4. A decisive United Nations action will lead to *civil war* in Spain.
5. If Franco goes, *Bolshevism* will replace him.
6. To take action against Franco will set a *dangerous precedent*, etc., etc.

Let us answer these "arguments" one by one.

1. "*It is an internal problem—let the Spanish people solve it.*"

Since *when has fascism been an internal problem?* Fascism is *ideologically* aimed at *world conquest*. Moreover fascism was *installed in Spain* by the international Axis. AND at the present time harbors the leaders of this international Axis. Fascism in Spain affects the course of events in France, Italy, Germany and in all of Latin America today. If it is an internal question, why are there tens of nations who maintain no relations with Franco Spain? Why have the French closed the border between Spain and France? Why has Franco Spain been condemned by the family of nations at every important meeting and convention of these nations in the past three

years? The answer is simple. Fascist Spain is an international problem, a potential threat to your peace and mine.

"Let the Spanish people do it." This is indeed a noble sentiment. The State Department has admitted that the vast majority of the Spanish people are anti-Franco. Therefore, they naively pose this question. "Why shouldn't the Spanish people remove him?" Of course the Spanish people will do it. But what is the United States going to do? Are we going to help them, or are we going to help maintain Franco?

The Spanish people are starved and exhausted. The Spanish people are unarmed. The Spanish people are not permitted to organize into any political opposition groups. But despite all this the Spanish people fight back. Disciplined and determined, the guerrilla movement of Spain has never ceased the struggle to destroy the Axis in Spain.

The Franco regime maintains itself in power by employing a vast army, police, and gestapo force—a machine that absorbs more than 50 per cent of the national budget, a machine that is committed to unremitting terror against any and all enemies of the Franco State; an armed and mechanized machine that shoots on sight and conducts drumhead courts; a machine, furthermore, that is fed, fueled and mechanized by Great Britain and the United States. Indeed, without this support from Great Britain and the United States, the Spanish people could and would remove Franco, and reestablish the Republic.

2. "Diplomatic sanctions would strengthen Franco nationally."

The State Department supports this contention by pointing to other examples where diplomatic sanctions or the threat of diplomatic sanctions has been used to no avail. However, upon close examination of the political structure of the Franco regime, it becomes clearly apparent that Franco has succeeded in neutralizing an important section of Spanish life by being in a position where he could point with a great deal of cynicism to the flourishing democratic American and British Embassies in Madrid, the capital of fascist Spain.

It is interesting to note that the Franco press rejoiced in the Republican victory in the last election on the theory that now America would never break diplomatic relations with Spain. Certainly this in itself is not a demonstration of indif-

ference towards America's relations with Spain. Every time the UN failed to go beyond the talking stage—Franco grew in strength.

3. *“Economic Sanctions will hurt the Spanish people.”*

Here is another typical “noble” argument such as the State Department is fond of putting forward. But what is the *actual* situation? The misery of the Spanish people today can hardly be worse. *Starvation, TB, typhoid*, and all the diseases of a near famine are *ravaging* the Spanish people. In spite of this, the Franco regime *exports* more than *50 per cent* of the *total food production* of Spain in order to build up credits for the purchase of industrial products.

The Spanish black market has been in existence for eight years. It is the *most prosperous black market in the world today*. This black market is *controlled* by the corrupt Franco regime and is *an integral part of the State apparatus*. The black market abounds in food and other products which are of course priced *out of the reach* of the masses of the Spanish people.

No, an economic sanction on Spain today can only force Franco to use the present out-put of food for the Spanish people and can only contribute to the destruction of the black market. And *we* talk about economic sanctions hurting the Spanish people. *Let us call to mind the fact that the Spanish people themselves have demanded these sanctions and to reinforce their demands the resistance movement has destroyed countless black market food centers all over Spain.*

4. Still more “noble” sounds the argument of the State Department that *“there is a danger of the United Nations provoking another civil war in Spain.”*

This perhaps is the most confusing argument of all. Actually the so-called civil war *has never ended* in Spain. Certainly Franco has not ceased his hostilities towards those millions of Spaniards who fought or were in sympathy with the Republican cause. Thousands of Spaniards in exile *cannot return* to Spain because they are Republicans. Thousands more have *died in jails and before firing squads* because they were *Republicans*. And thousands are either in jail or “enjoying conditional liberty” today because *they are Republicans*. Spain remains divided into two camps, the Republican majority

and the fascist *minority*. And the *antagonism* between these two camps often flare into open *armed combat*. The way to *end* civil war in Spain, the way to *prevent* this war from becoming a *full-scale war* is to CUT OFF FRANCO'S SOURCE OF SUPPLY, to *isolate him diplomatically and economically*. *Only in this way* will the democracies win over those Spaniards who are now either neutral or clinging to Franco because of our apparent support of him. *Only in this way* will the entire Spanish people find the strength to "police-up" *without warfare* the fascist scum now contaminating their country.

5. "*The danger of Bolshevism.*"

This is, of course, the easily recognized red-herring that the fascists have given to the world to gnaw on for more years than we care to remember. This is the *old sucker game* employed by fascists and dictators everywhere. "*You must accept me whether you like it or not because if I go, the Reds will take over the country.*"

Franco is a master of this technique, and our State Department is inclined to swallow this tale whole. The Spanish people are Republicans; anti-fascist, intensely patriotic and, as all the world knows, heroic defenders of democracy. Before the advent of fascism, the people of Spain were represented by twenty-three different political parties, one of which was the Communist Party of Spain. The coalition government of Republican Spain included many parties. This government was not "Bolshevist," it was a Peoples' government, dedicated to bringing to Spain the democratic rights which we in America are guaranteed by our Constitution and Bill of Rights. Land reform, trade union security, jobs, education, health and social security—were and remain the program of the Spanish Republicans.

### The Issue in Spain is Fascism or Democracy

6. Finally the last argument even worthy of consideration is that put forth by the State Department on the question of "*setting a dangerous precedent.*" Here we must confess *total confusion*. Is it to be understood that the destruction of fascist regimes in the last war *were dangerous precedents*, or is it to be understood that, since V-J Day, fighting or acting against fascist States would be to set a precedent *we are unwilling to*

follow? Or, as Sumner Welles put it, "to act against Franco would place upon us the moral obligation of acting similarly towards Tito?" *Why?* Was Tito a member of the Axis or did Tito fight on our side? Is Tito helping Nazis or is he executing them as we did at Nuremberg? Is Tito spreading racist propaganda and attempting to divide the world into warring camps? Where is the similarity?

*We have set a precedent* of dealing harshly with fascist States! We are committed by our blood and our lives to such a policy. The precedent was established in Germany, Italy and Japan, and we are *not* following it.

And finally, there is another argument, not advanced by the State Department but which serves to confuse thousands of well meaning Americans. This argument holds that Franco is the defender of the Christian faith in Spain. But this a specious argument indeed. Why Franco as the defender of the Christian faith? Does Christianity require a terroristic dictator as its defender? Are we not here in America, defenders of the faith? Did not the Spanish Republican Government adequately defend *all faiths*? *No Christian will agree* that Franco's torture cells, that Franco's firing squads *are defending* Christianity. *No Christian will boast* of Franco's unswerving devotion to the Hitler who created *Belsen, Maidenek and Dachau*.

There is no valid argument or reason for any democracy to continue its support of Franco Spain. There are several reasons why our State Department insists on continuing to support the Franco regime. They are:

1. At the present time the Franco regime permits the exploitation of Spain's natural resources and investment in Spain's industries by foreign powers. American finance is expanding its investments in Spain in an attempt to capture that market from the British.
2. The State Department knows that fascist Franco is solidly in the anti-Soviet bloc and that is where the State Department wants to keep Spain. The Spanish Republican Government, of course, has refused to participate in any bloc and has demonstrated friendliness to all anti-fascist, democratic countries.

This is a situation that leaves the American position on all

questions before the United Nations open to suspicion. This is the basis for the "mistrust and disagreement" that Trygve Lie has spoken of. For how can the United Nations, whose birth was a direct result of a war against fascism, trust each other when there are amongst them those who support allies of the recently defeated enemy?

This is the problem. This is the Spanish question about which we have been hearing so much for so many years. This is the basis of Trygve Lie's warning. This is the business that threatens to upset the peace machinery of the United Nations.

It is a question which threatens to divide the United Nations; to split them fundamentally; to cast doubt and suspicion upon the work of the United Nations organization; to make impossible that lasting peace which is its chief objective.

For on the one hand, there are the delegates of at least 27 nations, who are committed to the democratic policy of taking action against Franco. These nations include Norway, Belgium, Chile, Mexico, France, China. On this issue, delegates have refused to follow the leadership of certain Big Powers, whose leadership they have followed on other questions.

On the other hand, there stands the State Department of the United States and the Foreign Office of Great Britain. Piously, these Powers make declarations against Franco, and in support of the democratic people of Spain. Yet, because of their refusal to impose sanctions against Franco, the lives and conditions of the Spanish people are threatened daily, and even worse, the Axis finds safe harbour within Spain to complete its plans for another try at world conquest.

This serious cleavage within the UN threatens its very structure. It is a cleavage which must be breached at once. Economic sanctions against Franco is the first urgent step.

The people have spoken on this issue. Millions of letters, postcards, telegrams swamp the UN delegates, demanding action against Franco Spain. Workers organizations throughout the world have resolved against Franco Spain; have refused to handle imports from Spain; have boycotted Spanish shipping. And not only worker's groups. Church, civic, political and fraternal organizations which have been directly or indirectly effected by the fascist ideology as practiced in



Spain have taken action and issued directives against the Franco regime in Spain. Notable among these are the Freemasons and many Protestant churches. The American people, according to polls and other means of judging public opinion, have indicated that they are overwhelmingly opposed to State Department support of fascism in Spain. It is this fact which has forced the State Department and our delegates to the Security Council and the General Assembly to publicly denounce the present regime in Spain. However, it has not prevented our diplomatic corps from parrying and delaying every move initiated in the United Nations that would have had a decisive effect on the situation inside of Spain.

The State Department in cooperation with the British Foreign Office has been desperately trying to bring about a nominal change in the Spanish Government. A change that would merely remove the names of the leading fascists in the Spanish Government who now are a source of embarrassment to the Department without disturbing the fascist structure of the Government. This, of course; is not a solution.

Can the American people affect the position of their delegates. We say YES!

The American people *can* have their will expressed on this question *if* their demand *is organized and articulate*. The issue of democracy versus fascism, of war versus peace, is so vital to our future, to our lives, that every effort should be made to resolve this question in favor of democracy, in favor of peace. The American people have joined with the peoples of all the world in the United Nations. It is our organization for the extension of democracy and the preservation of the peace. The Secretary of this organization has told us that its very existence is in danger because of the continuance of fascism in Spain. We will not permit the United Nations, our hope for peace, to die still-born because of fascism in Spain or anywhere else.

### **Here Are Some Things to DO RIGHT NOW**

1. Send a letter, card or telegram NOW to Secretary of State Marshall, urging that the U.S. sever diplomatic relations with the fascist Spanish government and support sanctions against Franco NOW.
2. Send a copy of your demand to all your local newspapers.

3. Get on the phone NOW, and ask your friends to send a similar demand to Gen. Marshall, Mr. Vandenberg or Mr. Connally—or to all three.

4. Urge the adoption of anti-Franco resolutions in your trade union, fraternal, social, neighborhood or church organization.

5. Get up delegations to your local City Council, Assembly or Board of Alderman. Demand that they act NOW, in urging UN action against Franco.

6. Organize delegations and petitions to your State Government, insisting that they, too, request U.N. action now against Franco.

7. Deluge your Congressman and Senators with the demand that they speak out for UN action NOW against Franco.

Resolve . . . that for the sake of peace . . . you will start NOW . . . *to do something every day* . . . an action a day . . . against Franco and the Axis.



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