



I accuse France

<https://hdl.handle.net/1874/278715>

299. A. 15¹⁴

30

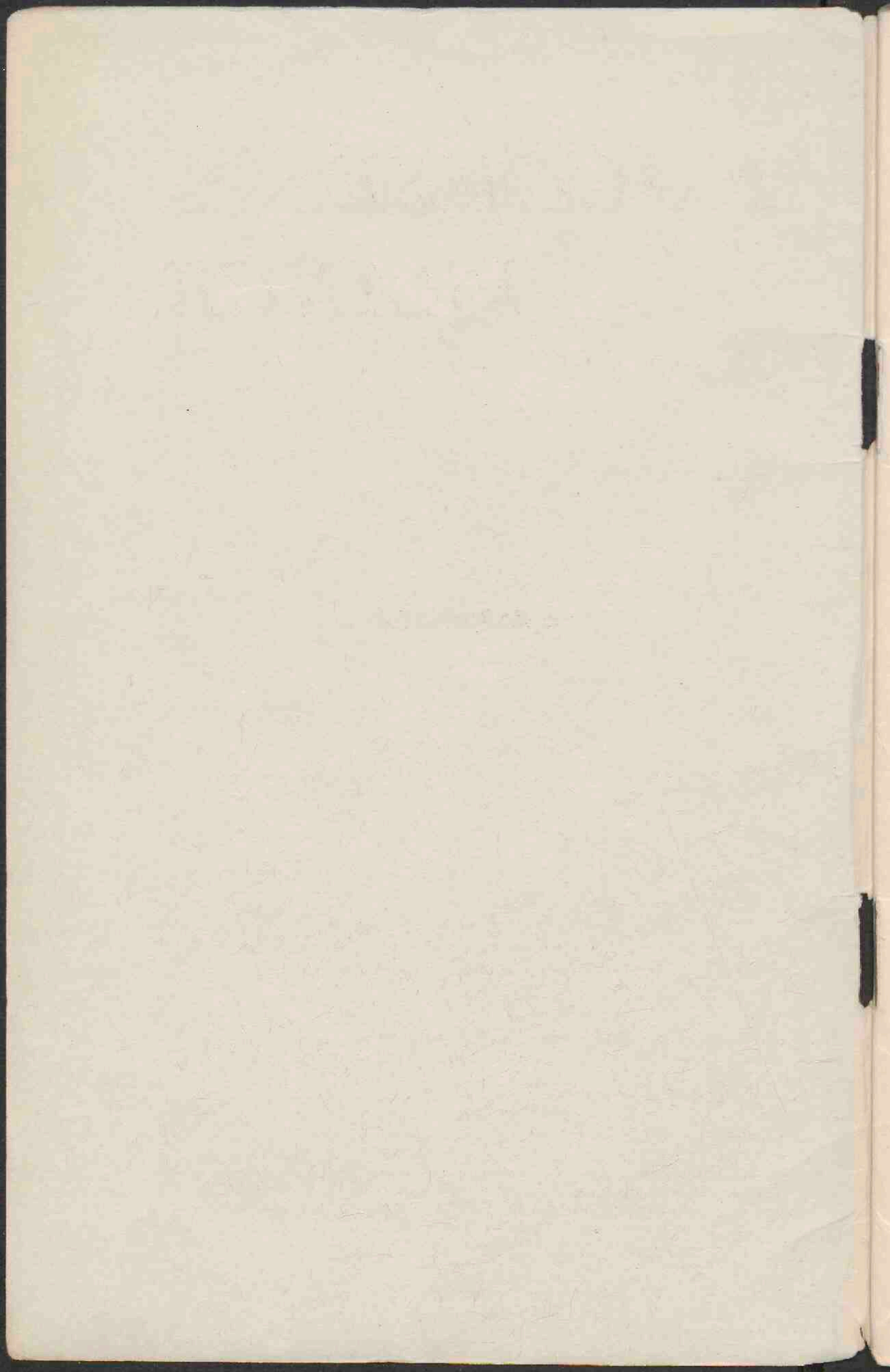
I ACCUSE *FRANCE*

By a **BARRISTER**

BIBLIOTHEEK DER
RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT
UTRECHT.

SIXPENCE

Published by the Spanish Press Services Limited., 99 Regent Street, London, W.1 and printed in Great Britain by the "Bedfordshire Standard" Limited at 8 Howard Street, Bedford.



I ACCUSE FRANCE

BY A BARRISTER

CHAPTER I

FOR the last few months Europe has been kept in turmoil and its peace gravely threatened by the repercussions of the Spanish Civil War. From the beginning it was clear that in the self-control of the Popular Front Government of France lay the one hope of localising the conflict. A neutrality agreement, honourably kept, could alone promise a speedy issue of this tragic struggle and, at the same time, safeguard the peace of Europe. It is time to cast up the account.

THE FRENCH PLEDGE

Through the initiative of M. Blum, Prime Minister of France, the European Powers made a collective declaration of neutrality. The French Government published its engagement on August 8 and 9. On the 15th M. Yvon Delbos, Minister for Foreign Affairs paraphrased it in a note to Sir George Clerk, the British Ambassador, stating the Government's decision to abstain strictly from all intervention, direct or indirect, in the internal affairs of Spain. More recently, again through the initiative of France, the signatories of the non-intervention pact have been approached with a view to making the engagement really effective by putting a stop to the constant flow of volunteers to both fronts in Spain.

Now at the very time these declarations were being made, Ministers and other important servants of the French Republic, the Popular Front and of the various Communist organisations composing it, in some cases with the open approval of the French authorities, in others with their complacent connivance, were supporting the communist and anarchist savagery, by the direct or indirect export, the re-export and the transport to Spain of arms, munitions, war material, of airplanes either assembled or in parts, of money and men.

France, through the duplicity of the Popular Front Government, has shamelessly broken the non-intervention pact and stands convicted before Europe as a nation that has broken her word.

This unusual behaviour cannot be passed over in silence: it must be held up to the scorn of all nations by a disclosure of the actual facts. The double-dealing of the Popular Front Government, under the orders of the Komintern, is prolonging the resistance of the armed gangs who with unheard of cynicism call themselves



“ the legitimate and democratic Government of Spain ” and are still, in the towns of the East Coast, decimating without pity the inert mass of non-combatants.

In possession of irrefutable proofs, I feel bound to protest in the cause of truth.

THE CHARGES

I ACCUSE the French Popular Front Government of maintaining the closest relations with the Spanish anarchists and Communists, of supplying them directly and indirectly with all sorts of war material, money and men before the declaration of August 15, after that date and even now as I write.

I ACCUSE the French Popular Front Government of permitting and even making it easy for the Spanish Ambassador in Paris to act as the “ recruiting sergeant ” of his Government with the connivance of the communist mayors of various towns.

I ACCUSE the French Popular Front Government of allowing the armed bands (militia) from Red Spain to occupy (in the military sense) French territory with a view to controlling the frontier towns between France and Nationalist Spain, to seize Spanish ships and carry out military operations.

I ACCUSE the French Popular Front Government of having placed the subsidised transport service “ Air France ” at the disposal of the Madrid Government on various occasions.

I ACCUSE the French Popular Front Government of having treacherously handed over to the Popular Front censorship all the correspondence addressed to the Spanish Nationalists with the result of further assassinations of defenceless people.

I ACCUSE the French Popular Front Government through voluntary omission, of allowing French employees to work overtime in factories and workshops to make war material for the Madrid Government.

I ACCUSE the French Popular Front Government of placing public platforms at the disposal of the Spanish Communists.

I ACCUSE the French Popular Front Government of giving or allowing to be given every possible moral support to the anarchists and communists who are destroying Spain.

I ACCUSE the French Popular Front Government of allowing the gold which has been stolen from the Bank of Spain by the Madrid Government to be accepted in France and placed in danger of being finally lost by its rightful owners.

PROOFS

I. The Supply of Arms, Munitions and War Material. List of French Aeroplanes.

On July 20, 1936, the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, by the express order of the Spanish Foreign Minister, visited the French Prime Minister, M. Blum, and asked him to send them at once abundant supplies of war material including 13 bombing planes, to be delivered that afternoon in the aerodrome of Prat del Llobregat (Barcelona); 50 light machine guns; 2 million machine gun cartridges; 1 million Lebel cartridges; 8 75 cm. guns with appropriate shells and 20,000 gas bombs.

The French Government, at a Cabinet meeting, agreed to the demands of the Spanish Government but stipulated that the method of obtaining and despatch of this material be in accordance with the administrative provisions of French law.

It was on this occasion that the military attaché to the Spanish Embassy, Don Antonio Barroso, rather than assist in this matter, refused to sign the necessary papers and sent in his resignation. The Counsellor of the Embassy, Don Cristobal del Castillo, also immediately resigned, refusing to sign papers and the cheque, carefully prepared beforehand by the Embassy. Don Cristobal sent a note to the press explaining his motives for leaving the diplomatic service.

When the facts became known so great was the public outcry that the French Government thought it better to suspend the despatch of the war material for the moment. But already the Madrid Government had sent two air officers to Paris, Major Aboal and Captain Barleta; and they were even then in touch with the French Ministers for Air and for War.

As a result of their attitude, Messrs. Barroso and Castillo were closely watched by the French police and a few days later were compelled to leave French territory as were also the Spanish consul at Bayonne, Mr. Bermejo, and the vice-consul, Mr. Erice, who had both refused to sign the papers of the Spanish merchant vessel, *Arar Mendi*, which had come to Bayonne solely to load war material.

FRANCE ACTS

On August 6, 1936, according to *Action Française*, the French Minister for War, M. Deladier, sent an order for the immediate delivery to the Popular Front Government of the following :

8 75 cm. guns; 1,600 cm. shells.

2,000 rifles, 50 machine guns, 6 million cartridges, and 10,000

airplane bombs of 10 kilos each. There were loaded in the *Ciudad de Cadiz*.

The French Government, in its note of August 9, admitted having exported arms to the Spanish Government but added that these exports would cease. The order for the cessation of such exports was from the beginning a dead letter.

On August 30, a train from Toulouse left on the Hendaye, No. 10 siding, a truck P.L.M., mark F.V. 37661, loaded with munitions and 20 machine guns. Thereupon an engine, drawing a Spanish mail van, came on the scene. Six red militia men jumped out of the van and at once loaded it from the truck. Then the engine, loaded van and men returned to Irun.

On September 2, there was another truck at Hendaye, again from Toulouse, bearing the mark K.V.W. 245882 and labelled "Cerbère, Pascual Ibañez, 1st September, Munitions, Cartouches." On the upper part of the label was the number 3161 and below 418,820. More than 136,000 cartridges reached the Spanish Reds by these means.

It was also on September 2, that the Norwegian vessel, *Tourcoing*, of the Wilhelm Wilhelmsen Line of Oslo, unloaded 47 cases of machine guns and parts in the port of Le Verdon. This war material was sent by Huetz and Co. from Hamburg to Hodeidah via Port Sudan. It was then loaded in two P.L.M. trucks 185081 and 181833 and sent to Bordeaux-Saint Louis and thence to Hendaye.

On September 4, the trucks came back from Hendaye to Bayonne because the Irun-Hendaye railway was by then in the hands of the Nationalists. Now as these machine guns, according to French law could not become the property of private individuals nor even be taken into the Government arsenal they left Bayonne for an unknown destination and could possibly be traced to one of the Red fronts.

October 9, the Danish vessel, *The Bess*, reached Trompeloup (Gironde) with a cargo of arms which was transferred to a Spanish steamer going to Bilbao.

M. BLUM INFORMED

These incidents were brought to the knowledge of the Prime Minister of France through the denunciation of the deputy M. Jacques Doriot.

On October 8, four trucks from Belgium arrived at St. Nazaire loaded with 59 tons of "agricultural machinery, ordered by the Spanish Embassy in Paris." They had crossed the frontier at Jeumont and the Belgium customs seals were still intact. These

trucks which had been passed by the French Customs without proper inspection were at once sent on again to Marseilles by the order of one José Caparros.

Since the beginning of the Spanish Civil War trucks loaded with arms have been leaving Perpignan for Spain via Monthonos, two or three times a week. The authorities are perfectly aware of this traffic and orders have been given that the trucks pass without hindrance.

For example, on October 14, at 4 p.m., one of these trucks appeared, labelled from Dordogne and loaded with 1,400 rifles hidden under a heap of cabbages. It was stopped in front of the *gendarmerie* at Olette; but orders came from the Prefecture of Police that it was to be allowed to pass and naturally the orders were obeyed.

These facts and others of a similar character were all known to the Ministers of the Popular Front who nevertheless took no steps to prevent breaches of the solemn pledge that France would abstain from all intervention direct or indirect in the Civil War.

In the trenches and on the battlefields abandoned by the Reds in Castille the Nationalists have found French rifles and machine guns model 1936.

AVIATION

This needs a section to itself. Since the beginning of the war the French Popular Front has supplied the Madrid Government with hundreds of airplanes and to do so it was essential to have the complicity of Ministers, Civil and Military authorities and of aerodrome Commanders.

There are proofs extant of the delivery of 129 planes to the Spanish Reds, and of these 83 are war planes either already belonging to the French Government or ordered by it.

On July 20, two days after the beginning of the war, four "Potez 54" and 17 "Potez 25" planes, all belonging to the French Air Force, were sold by the French Popular Front to the Madrid Government by contract. It was the question of signing this contract that brought about the resignations of members of the diplomatic and consular service already mentioned. The attacks on the Blum Government which followed prevented it from fulfilling the contract.

Immediately afterwards, the French Air Minister, M. Pierre Cot, had recourse to a clever strategem to override all objections to the sale of French planes. The French firm Bloch were ordered to supply the French Government with 8 bombing planes, type 130,

with the stipulation that payment would be made by exchanging against them 17 French army planes, mark "Potez 25" which would be bought from Bloch et Cie by the Madrid Government.

The official order, dated July 28, and signed by M. Volpert, director of the Technical Department of the Air Ministry, was published complete in the Paris press.

On August 5 and 6, 13 Dewoitine planes, No. 375, arrived at Toulouse on their way to Spain. The Air France line undertook to carry the airmen who were afterwards to take charge of the machines. About the same date another 6 "Potez 54" left Toulouse and landed in Barcelona. On August 8 there was an article in *The Times* denouncing this traffic in aeroplanes. The French newspaper *L'Intransigeant* acknowledged the truth of the accusation but pointed out that they had left Toulouse before Saturday, August 9 (date of the declaration). This fact can hardly be considered an excuse since on Friday, August 8, the French Government had announced its decision to take no part in the Spanish struggle.

A few days later, however, one of the French Ministers pointed out the necessity for supplying the Madrid Government with new planes. In fact on August 27, at 10.55 a.m. a Bloch 210 plane, fully equipped and carrying 2,000 litres of petrol, left Villacoublay for Spain piloted by M. Lionel de Marmier. The plane was destined never to return, for it was destroyed on its arrival. The *Intransigeant* was obliged to make this admission in its issue of September 7.

Not many days later 4 Potez planes, brought from Air France by the Madrid Government, left France for Bilbao. On October 12, 27 French airplanes arrived at Barcelona. Three days later Maurice Pujo could say in *Action Francaise* that "nearly the whole of the air strength of the Madrid Government, material and men, is French."

The entire staff of the Potez airplane factory at Meaulte worked feverishly at the construction of 14 bombing planes, type 542, twin motor Hispano-Suiza. On Sunday, October 18, seven of them, camouflaged to conceal their military character, left Meaulte for an unknown destination; but they landed in Spain.

List of French Aeroplanes.

At the end of October the following list of French aeroplanes supplied to the Spanish Popular Front was published in the French press :

16 Dewoitine
6 Potez 540

- 1 Bloch 210 with 2 Hispano-Suiza engines
- 1 Potez Hispano (type a secret)
- 6 Loire
- 7 Potez 542 with Oetrel-Lorraine
- 2 Dewoitine 371.

One *Lockheed-Orion* (bought by Detroyat in America and resold to the Air Ministry before the revolution as a model. It was flown to Spain by Pilot Corniglion-Molinié).

7 *Latécoère*, the property of Air France Line, which, it is common knowledge, is subsidised and controlled by the French Government. These planes were sold to the Madrid Government by the director, M. Serre, under orders from the Air Minister, M. Pierre Cot.

25 *Potez type*, part of the reserve of the French Air Force. They were included in the first contract drawn up between M. Cot and the Spanish Government, and after some delay were finally handed over.

10 *Hanriot 182*, ordered for the French Air Force and put aside to be delivered to Spain.

45 *Cauldron-Renault* apparently ordered by Air France, armanent Châtellerault.

FINANCIAL AID

In France many funds have been opened for the Spanish Popular Front with the approval of the Government. The responsibility of the Government is even greater, for Government officials take part in and even organise these funds. Most of the money thus procured is used in the purchase of war material and its transport to Red Spain. The organs of the French Popular Front have publicly announced the fact.

Amongst other writers :

Professor Langevin, André Malraux, J. R. Bloch, André Chamson, G. Cudenet, Denise Moran, Elie Faure, Francis Jourdain, and Henri Wallon, all people of note in the Front Populaire, have made no secret of their attitude. In *L'Humanité* of August 20 they made an appeal to "all friends of Peace and Liberty to subscribe immediately for *aeroplanes* and *munitions* to be sent to the Spanish Red militia."

It is quite obvious, therefore, that the French Government, in spite of its spontaneous declaration of neutrality, tolerated and even approved of the collections made by the Front Populaire being used for the purchase of war material and sent, more or less openly, to the Frente Popular.

Four months after the Civil War started the subscriptions of

the C.G.T., the Committee of Solidarity and the Communist Party amounted to eight million francs, i.e., an average of two millions a month.

II. Recruiting of Volunteers for the Communists.

The French Government which contracted the grave responsibility of allowing the first groups of volunteers for the Madrid Government to be recruited from French territory and also allowed volunteers from all parts to enter Spain through France, is suddenly horrified at the news that Italian and German volunteers are going to help the Spaniards to save their country from Red barbarity. But the same government has tolerated something even more serious in permitting the various Spanish Ambassadors in Paris since July to act as the recruiting sergeants for the Frente Popular.

Now for a government to allow the diplomatic representative of another country in the throes of civil war to recruit men without let or hindrance for one of the sides taking part in the struggle, is in itself an evident act of *indirect intervention*, and yet France did this before and *after* signing the non-intervention pact.

On August 7 the French journalist, M. Pierre Jacquier, published a sensational note which we translate literally.

“On July 26, Le Bureau du Profitern (an organisation really depending on the Komintern, but under the mantle of the Internationale des Syndicats Rouges) decided on the immediate subvention of a million francs for Madrid and also an International Brigade of Workmen Volunteers. The first battalion was to consist of about 5,000 men; and the meeting places fixed were by a peculiar coincidence, all three in France: Toulouse, Bordeaux and Perpignan.

“We may add and certify that the first group of volunteers is already on its way to France and the Communist Party has already found lodgings in the Red Suburbs for these soldiers of the International.

“The French Communists have undertaken to find comfortable lodgings and good food for the men. They are Vade, Cristofol and Amelot and are working under the orders of Comrade Monmousseau, President of the European Committee of the Profitern, by the arrangement of the bureau who called him from Prague on July 21 by a code telegram.

“Thus France has the sad privilege of becoming merely a financial and military dependency of Moscow. For can one give any other name to this recruiting in France of reinforcements on behalf of the Soviet for the Spanish Communist Government?”

But that is not all; another French journalist, M. Maurice Pujo, added that in August the Spanish Ambassador, Don Alvaro de Albornoz, was signing contracts with French airmen who passed over to the Spanish Government forces on payment of 25,000 francs a month and an All-in Policy of 200,000 francs.

He went on to say: "To recruit mercenaries, above all for a civil war, is generally forbidden by the government of any country because of the responsibility involved. But this recruiting is a grave infraction of international law (of the laws of diplomatic relations) when the recruiting sergeant is the very Ambassador of the country at war. . . . The least that ought to be done is to call the Ambassador to order. If the government fails to do this, it will prove once more that it counts as nothing the dignity of France."

And the French Government not only failed to call to order Alvaro Albornoz, but also Don Luis Araquistain, when he took the former's place as Ambassador. On October 28, *Le Jour* said of him: "The Spanish Ambassador in Paris is a mere recruiting sergeant in agreement with our Communist mayors."

For example, on October 20, 200 volunteers, recruited in France, were concentrated in Perpignan and thence were taken to Barcelona in motor 'buses.

The recruiting centres in the north are Lille, La Madeleine, Marquette, Marquen, Baroeul, and Saint André.

The same paper, *Le Jour*, reported that from this northern district alone 1,500 volunteers had been recruited up to November 2.

This slow but steady stream of men from France, Belgium, Russia, etc., which passes into Spain by the Catalonian frontier or is shipped from Marseilles, has already reached a high figure.

III. French Territory and French Ports have been occupied on different occasions by the Red Militia.

The Spanish anarchists and communists have always enjoyed the favour of the French authorities. Before Irun and San Sebastian fell into the hands of the Nationalists, the Red troops were allowed to cross and recross the French frontier quite freely, whereas this was absolutely forbidden to the Nationalists. The Socialist member for Jacn, Señor Alvarez Angulo, had established military headquarters in Hendaye with the willing co-operation of the Commissioner of Police, M. Picard, and even of the French Ambassador to Spain, M. Herbette, who was also in the town.

But towards the middle of August, in order to prevent the capture of Irun, the French authorities allowed Red militiamen, armed and in full uniform, to pass freely from Por Bou to Bayonne,

via Toulouse. These militiamen were sent by the Anarchist Iberian Federation to fight by the side of the Madrid Government troops. They crossed the river Bidasoa and attacked the Nationalists in the rear. On August 17, a complete train loaded with war material arrived at Hendaye from Barcelona and went on to Irun. The consignor of this war material was the "Civil Governor" of Puigcerda, and the consignee the Governor of San Sebastian. There is documentary evidence of this incident.

On August 19, a "government" torpedo boat hidden in the mouth of the Bidasoa, in front of Fuenterrabia, bombarded the Nationalist positions; but the waters of the Bidasoa are *international* and France may not allow the river to be used for any act of war. Nevertheless the French Government made no protest whatever.

Has a government which acts in this way the right to ask the help of England and to demand that other Powers shall strictly observe the non-intervention pact?

But this is not all. After the fall of Irun when the entire West Pyreneen frontier was in the hands of the Nationalists, the French authorities on occasion allowed the Red militia to establish military outposts on the bridges of Irun and Behobia, where all who arrived at the French frontier on their way to Spain were stopped and examined. *L'Action Française*, on October 19, in an article headed "An intolerable scandal," formally accuses the French Government of these acts of unneutral behaviour.

In the ports of France and French Morocco the vessels of the Spanish Reds were given every kind of facility for loading contraband war material under a thin disguise.

As a proof of this partiality many cases might be cited in Marscilles and Bayonne. One will suffice, that occurred in Casablanca in connection with the *Campero*. When the Civil War began this ship entered Casablanca from Port Arthur with 8,000 tons of mazout. It belongs to the C.A.M.P.S.A. (Compania Arrendataria del Monopolio de Petroleos S.A.); and the captain tried in vain to get into touch with the directors of the company. On August 6, the Spanish Consul in Casablanca informed him that the Government of Madrid by verbal order, had decided to seize the *Campero* and the cargo. The captain, officers and 30 of the crew refused to hand over the ship to anyone without a written order to that effect from the owners. Only 14 of the crew showed themselves willing to carry out the orders of the Consul.

Thereupon the Civil Governor of Alicante commandeered an aeroplane of the French line, Air France, and ordered its officers to take ten Red armed militiamen to Casablanca. This they did without a protest being raised either by the French company, the French Consul or the Foreign Minister. These ten militiamen, with

a note from the Alicante governor requesting the French authorities to help them, seized the *Campero*. Its captain appealed to the French Court of Justice but received no redress. The French authorities sanctioned the departure of the *Campero* on August 22, without papers and without officers, and in spite of the reiterated protests of the captain.

IV. Conduct of the Subsidised Line Air France.

We have just seen how the Air France Line allowed one of its machines to be taken and used by the Civil Governor of Alicante. There is more in this incident, however. That same day on its arrival at Alicante there alighted the Chief Secretary of the C.G.T., M. Léon Jouhaux, and M. Serre, director of the company. It was the latter who personally gave the order to the French pilots to carry out the instructions of the Spanish authorities. *Le Jour*, commenting on this incident on August 17, said :

“Such complicity could never have existed without the formal orders of M. Pierre Cot.”

Throughout the struggle Air France has protected the interests of the Spanish Popular Front as far as possible. It is a well-known fact that in the company's workshops at Toulouse-Montaudran there are as many Spanish machines as French machines undergoing repair. The landing ground has become an air base for aeroplanes destined for the Communists. The company has kept up a regular service between Madrid and Alicante. The planes are constantly carrying enormous cases for the Governments of Barcelona and Valencia. At the beginning of October, for example, one carried 14 large cases which the French papers stated contained the parts of guns.

To sum up, the Air France Line ever since the beginning of the war has acted on the side of the Spanish anarchists and communists. And this is no secret to the French Air Minister, M. Pierre Cot.

V. “A Crying Scandal and a Treacherous Act.”

These words are used by an important Paris newspaper in qualifying the unpardonable behaviour of the Government of the Front Populaire with regard to correspondence confided to France and addressed to residents in Nationalist Spain.

It is difficult to imagine that any government could descend to such depths, that any civilised state should have recourse to such treachery. Here are simple honest folk who trustingly hand over their correspondence to the French postal authorities. The letters are addressdd to Pamplona, Burgos, Salamanca, Seville, etc. But

the postal authorities despatch them to some town in the power of the Communist Government. It is easy to guess the tragic consequences of this treachery.

The letters are opened by the anarchist censorship, at Barcelona. But we shall let the *Écho de Paris* of November 12, speak :

“Very often these letters contain indications which make it easy for these assassins, decorated with the name of ‘Gouvernementaux,’ to carry out atrocious reprisals.”

Thus, trusting people, writing from France, have involuntarily handed over beloved relatives and friends to the tender mercies of the *Popular Front*.

That is bad enough; but there is worse to come. Some letters sent from French frontier towns *to other towns also in French territory* go strangely astray and are known to reach Spanish territory where they are opened by the Communist censor. These facts have been publicly denounced by the member for Haute Loire, M. Augustin Michel.

The Front Populaire Government had gone too far this time and had to order its minions to put a stop to the treacherous co-operation with the Spanish Popular Front.

VI. Overtime for Spanish War Work.

The French Government has also violated the non-intervention pact in allowing the express orders of the C.G.T. to work *without wages* in order to supply the Red militia with aeroplanes and war material. *Candide*, a French weekly, in its number, November 5, definitely accuses the Air Minister, M. Pierre Cot, of allowing this violation of the pact.

One could cite the names of many factories in the provinces where they are working for Red Spain, but it will be enough to mention the really important companies.

Bloch factory. The employees of this company have been working overtime in the building of aeroplanes. At the end of August there were day and night shifts in order to hurry up the 2 Bloch 200. The man arranging the matter was M. Moulin, one of the Air Minister's trusted assistants.

Establishments *Brandt*. Following in the footsteps of the Bloch factory, the Executive Committee of the Brandt Syndicate Section adopted this resolution at its meeting of August 29 : “The Executive Committee have decided to work intensely in order to give efficient help to our Spanish comrades who are fighting the rebels for the defence of the Republic, and of peace. Following the example of our comrades of the factories Bloch, Nieuport, Gnome and Rhône, we agree to start working hard on the turning out of ten 81 m.m. guns and 50,000 shells.”

Factory *Lioré Oliver*. The workmen's delegates asked the managers for permission to imitate their comrades of the factories already mentioned and to make for the Spanish Popular Front an aeroplane type Leo 257 Bis. The managers answered: "If the Minister (of Air) gives his consent we do not see any objection."

And there is no news to the effect that at this time, or any other, the French Minister made any difficulty.

VII. Demonstrations.

The French Government has, with evident pleasure, allowed the platforms of the various parties and organisations which give it their support, to be used by members of the Spanish Popular Front for their propaganda, and also to insult the National Government of Burgos. On September 3, 1936, there was a large meeting in the Winter Velodrome in which took part two Spanish ex-ministers of the Frente Popular, Marcelino Domingo and Antonio Lara, and the Communist member known commonly as "La Pasionaria." From the platform they were allowed to heap insults on the Junta of Burgos and to cry out with pathetic voices: "Help us! You alone can save us."

On September 28, in the great hall of the Mutualité (C.G.T.), M. Léon Jouhaux, Chief Secretary of the Union, declared that Republican Spain (Red Spain, Communist Spain) *had to be assisted by word and by deed*; and Tomás Pascual, Secretary to the Spanish U.G.T., speaking in Spanish, asked for the direct help of France and begged M. Blum's Government to give to the Frente Popular Government all the aid *to which it had a right to ask*.

M. Blum and M. Yvon Delbos had solemnly declared on August 15 that France would refrain from any intervention, direct or indirect, in Spanish affairs. Is it not, then, intervention to allow Ministers and propagandists of the Spanish Popular Front to take part in public demonstrations organised by the government followers, there to insult the Burgos Government, and to appeal publicly for definite help in the form of guns and 'planes? What would the French Press have to say, what would the public opinion of Europe say if Germany or Italy were to organise spectacular meetings at which Spanish Nationalists insulted the Communist Government of Largo Caballero, and appealed for arms and munitions?

VIII. Propaganda.

The propaganda organised by the French Popular Front in favour of the Communist Government has been open and shameless. Here are some of the slogans used: *Des armes pour la République espagnole!* (arms for the Spanish Republic!), *Des Canons!* (guns),

Des avions pour l'Espagne! (aeroplanes for Spain!), *Blum, des canons!* (we want guns, Blum!), *Blum, des avions!* (aeroplanes! Blum!). At mass meetings at Wagram, St. Cloud, Buffalo, and at demonstrations and meetings of all kinds of the parties constituting the Popular Front.

IX. The Robbery of the Bank of Spain's Gold.

On July 25, the Spanish Communists began a robbery on the largest scale ever known. The Communists and anarchists have been gradually and methodically taking the gold from the vaults of the Bank of Spain and sending it abroad. Now, actually this gold does not belong to the State, or to any government but to the actual company called the Bank of Spain.

The National Junta of Burgos and the Board of Administration of the Bank have published a protest to the various European governments and, of course, to France, giving a detailed account of the robbery.

All the gold which has left Spain has been accepted by the Banque de France in Toulouse or in Paris. Is France, is her national bank, with its credit stainless up to the present, to allow this criminal coup, "cette escroquerie gigantesque," as the French Press calls it, to be carried off successfully? In spite of everything, I cannot believe it.

The following statement was made by Señor Chapaprieta, Chancellor of the Exchequer in Spain in 1935, to a reporter from the *Journal de Genève* relating to the export of gold from the Bank of Spain, on October 10, 1936:

The gold of the Bank of Spain belongs to the holders of the bank notes. When the latter accepted these bank notes they knew that these were guaranteed by solid gold, in a certain percentage of the total amount they represent.

By the diversion of this gold from the natural end for which it is deposited in the safes of the bank, the bank note holders have been deprived of a guarantee which belongs to them. The Spanish Government has no right to take the gold from the Bank of Spain.

With regard to this problem we can establish the following conclusions:

The gold which the bank holds, according to the law of its constitution, is destined to guarantee the issue of bank notes.

Second, only in special circumstances can part of this gold be used to control the international exchange, and even in this case the State must also contribute in gold an amount equivalent to that given by the bank.

Third, it is illegal, therefore, to take this gold from the Bank of Spain and employ it abroad, or obtain loans on it, as according

to the 8th Chapter of the constitution of the State, this can only be done by special authorisation of the "Cortes."

Fourth, the disappearance of the gold would cause repercussions in the foreign commerce of Spain, and in the fulfilment of her foreign contractual obligations.

Fifth, the regime of the Bank of Spain, in its relations with the State and the bank note holders, is determined by laws voted in the "Cortes" which cannot be modified by the Government.

The gold of the Banks of Issue is fundamentally in the nature of a national patrimony just as much as the territory occupied by the nation.

Gold, from Madrid, has been arriving at Franczal, the airport of Toulouse, since August 26, 1936, transported by Douglas planes and has been received by a representative of the Bank of Spain in this city, and taken to the Bank of France for its deposit in the following order :

Date	Arrival	Amount	Unit	* equiv. in gold
26th August	arrival	24,000,000	French francs	"
29th "	"	24,000,000	"	"
31st "	"	24,000,000	"	"
2nd September	"	24,000,000	"	"
4th "	"	24,000,000	"	"
7th "	"	18,000,000	"	"
16th "	"	24,000,000	"	"
17th "	"	21,000,000	"	"
21st "	"	24,000,000	"	"
22nd "	"	24,000,000	"	"
24th "	"	24,000,000	"	"
25th "	"	24,000,000	"	"
29th "	"	21,000,000	"	"
30th "	"	21,400,000	"	"
1st October	"	22,680,000	"	"
3rd "	"	24,000,000	"	"
3rd "	"	24,000,000	"	"
4th "	"	24,000,000	"	"
7th "	"	24,000,000	"	"
7th "	"	10,000,000	"	"
8th "	"	24,000,000	"	"

Gold proceeding from Barcelona and taken to Le Bourget :

This does not include shipments of French Bank Notes as follows :—

2nd October, 1936.	10,000,000 French francs in bank notes, in five gripsacks.
14th October, 1936.	540,000 French francs in bank notes.

The following quantities of gold were also sent on to Le Bourget by plane :

8th	September	arrival	24,000,000	French francs	equiv. in	gold
8th	"	"	24,000,000	"	"	"
9th	"	"	24,000,000	"	"	"
11th	"	"	17,000,000	"	"	"
12th	"	"	24,000,000	"	"	"
15th	"	"	24,000,000	"	"	"
16th	"	"	24,000,000	"	"	"

* Calculating 1 kilogram gold—20,000 French francs.

Apart from all this gold, which arrived under official conduct, millions of gold, in objects and bank notes, is arriving daily in France from the Catalonian frontier, and taken to the Communist and Anarchist organisations of Marseilles, Toulouse, Perpignan, Cette, etc. This is perfectly well-known to the French police and customs officials, but they do not seem very alarmed at these interior revolutionary preparations.

The Bank can verify the exactitude of this information.

My accusation is near its end. But first I want to copy a signed letter which I have had in my hands, and is now in safe custody. It was written and signed by the Socialist ex-minister Fernando de Los Rios, at present Ambassador to the U.S.A. for the Red Government of Spain. It is addressed to José Giral, then Prime Minister of the Popular Front Government, and is dated July 25. The letter shows, more forcibly than I could describe the double-dealing and hypocrisy with which the Ministers were prepared to act.

Here it is :

To His Excellency Don José Giral, President of the Council of Ministers.

Paris, July 25, 1936.

Dear friend,—I refrain from entering into details because the advanced hour at which I start to write this letter, after a last conversation with the Government, or rather, with some of its most prominent members, would make it impossible that it should leave by the Douglas airplane which is to carry it to Madrid so that it may be delivered personally to you. The fight that the Paris Press, with the sole exception, perhaps, of three newspapers, had started against a possible delivery of armaments, from the moment in which, owing to infidelities, it had knowledge of the coded telegram you sent to the Government last Monday to Tuesday night, became more acute when the aviators arrived, was stirred up by news of my own presence here and as soon as the papers learnt, with details so minute as to reveal the existence of widespread treachery,

Cuatro ministros que mas convenientemente que podian ser, en lo que
á nosotros afectaba, por la parte de los departamentos que originan la
convencion, fue la parte esencialmente politica y á instancias de ellos
hubo de hacer algunas consideraciones sobre el carácter que servia á la guerra
Española, la cual no puede ser considerada estrictamente como nacional
por una serie de razones que estarian muy fáciles de probar en las
Pirineas, Melilla, Gibraltar, Canarias, y Tiptera de la union politica
de la Europa Occidental. Deber por consiguiente, el futuro tratado de paz ser
debe ser, como le llamamos nuestras negociaciones y en la actitud de uno de los ministros
de España que habia reparado. Sergio una cuestión nueva; la de que los
avisos Españoles transcurran por los aparatos á Paris, mostré en como
prohibición toda la acción que teniamos y nuestro propósito de retener á
los pilotos franceses. Se me dijo, por quien sabia bastante, que todo el ma-
terial de aviones y bombas estaba dispuesto y que en la mañana se
podrian partir. Me fui á descansar y á la hora me llamaron con
urgencia: El jefe del Ministerio del Aire queria venir á verme; me habia en-
trado en la embajada y al no hallarme en ella, amigos comunes me
dijeron que para no retardar sus inspecciones debia ir yo á su casa fin que
comunicó de la posibilidad de comunicar al Sr. de Noy Estrangero de Lon-
dres de que un aviones franceses llevarán á España los aviones, la funda-
cion, los aviones á Peñíscola etc; en lo que les comunicó averde de. Al ir co-
ta mañana al Minist^o del Aire. Todo iba bien; al llegar á la Casa Partida
las dificultades y oposiciones insuperables de la Comandante de la fuerza, ^{de la fuerza} ~~de la fuerza~~
Ministerio del Ministro Consejero representando ha adquirido caracteres tales
que al ir á despachar esta mañana. Habia con el Presidente de la R.

¿cómo lo halla conveniente y es una negociación tal de capitales que hubo
de serle... que se mira una... ^{la guerra o la revolución de Francia}
y hubo para las 12 de la tarde un Consejo ^{ordinario} la posición del PPE
de la Diputación es compartida por varios ministros; el Consejo estaba dividido
y el mismo presidente de la Cámara, Borist, ha ido a ver a Bolívar y le ha pe-
do que... porque... que me se ha hecho jamás y que puede por
esperar una... el Tratado que hagan el ^{acuerdo}. de hecho se sabe
que se... de ^{los} ^{mano} ^{de} ^{España}
fines a las que puede... la posición es enorme de 2 y $\frac{1}{2}$ a lo menos
de arte... ^{en} ^{el} ¹⁸ ^{de} ^{Julio}, un ministro cara se una... por-
ta... ^{de} ^{la} ^{unión} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central} como... ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central}
de... de la... ^{de} ^{la} ^{guerra} ^{de} ¹⁸¹² ^{que} ^{se} ^{pelea} ^{en} ^{España} ^{de} ^{hoy}
bien, lo se... ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central} ^{de} ^{hoy} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central}
Entre... ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central} ^{de} ^{hoy} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central}
ya... ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central} ^{de} ^{hoy} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central}
fura... en el... ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central} ^{de} ^{hoy} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central}
que... ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central} ^{de} ^{hoy} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central}
Provincias... ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central} ^{de} ^{hoy} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central}
a... ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central} ^{de} ^{hoy} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central}
para... ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central} ^{de} ^{hoy} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central}
... ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central} ^{de} ^{hoy} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central}
no... ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central} ^{de} ^{hoy} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central}
... ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central} ^{de} ^{hoy} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central}
... ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central} ^{de} ^{hoy} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central}
... ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central} ^{de} ^{hoy} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{Europa} ^{central}

all and every one of the points embraced by our requests. Last night, on my return from London, I was urgently summoned by the Leader of the Government to his house, where I found the four Ministers who, as far as we are concerned possess more influence within the Cabinet, owing to the nature of the Departments they direct. The conversation was essentially political, and at their request I made a few considerations upon the character of the Spanish struggle, which cannot be looked upon as being strictly national owing to a series of reasons which we analysed; military frontier in the Pyrenees, Balearic Isles, Straits of Gibraltar, Canaries, and breakage of the political unity of Western Europe.

Night-Meeting with M. Cot.

Duty, therefore, and direct interest on the part of France to help us. How? We examined our demands and, from the attitude of the Ministers, I gathered that there existed a divergency of opinions. A new question arose; that Spanish aviators should come to Paris to fetch the machines; I pointed out the semi-impossibility of this owing to our scarcity of personnel and to our intention of retaining the French pilots. I was told, by one in a position to say this, that the whole consignment of airplanes and bombs was ready and could leave in the morning of to-day. . . . I retired to sleep and one hour later I was urgently aroused; the Air Minister, P. Cot, wished to visit me; he had inquired for me at the Embassy, and not finding me there, I was advised by mutual friends that in order not to awaken more suspicion, I should go to his house; I went there, and he told me it was impossible to convince the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the legality of French pilots in taking aeroplanes to Spain; the formula was to take them to Perpignan, etc.; this is what I communicated last night, the 24th.

When I went this morning to the Air Ministry everything was going well; when I arrived at the Potez firm the difficulties seemed unsurmountable. The Press campaign and the publication of the documents in which the Counsellor (of the Spanish Embassy) resigns loom so big, that when Blum went this morning to see the President of the Republic he found him perturbed and in such a state of mind that he said: "What is being planned, this delivery of armaments to Spain may mean war or revolution in France," and he asked that an extraordinary Cabinet meeting should be summoned at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

Cabinet Divided.

The position of the President of the Republic is shared by several Ministers; the Cabinet was divided in its views and the

President of the Chamber, Herriot, has seen Blum and begged him to reflect, for he considers that this has never been done before, and that it may justify a *de facto* recognition by Germany and Italy of any semblance of government set up in a Spanish city and provide it with arms and ammunition in greater quantities than those France can supply. From half-past two until a quarter to four I have been with the Prime Minister and another Minister at the house of a third party; "my soul is torn," said Blum, who is as convinced as we ourselves are of the European significance of the struggle that is being fought in Spain. Never have I seen him so profoundly moved; "I shall maintain my position at all costs and in spite of all risks," he said; "we must help Spain that is friendly to us. How? We shall see."

At 3.30 I again met some of them; the fight had been stern, and a great role has been played in the discussion by a secret clause which fate revealed to me; in the Commercial Treaty or Commercial Agreement signed in December, 1935, by Martinez de Velasco, there exists under the form of a confidential note an undertaking on the part of Spain to purchase from France armaments and munitions to the value of twenty million francs. The Minister of War had inquired last night about this, and asked if I knew something with reference to this clause, to which I answered "yes," replying thus because, speaking in Embassy circles to Señor Castillo (the Counsellor) he had said something to me in half words which made me not a little suspicious; I asked for the dossier of the Treaty and found the confidential note in question, a note which none of the present French Ministers was aware of, which our Constitution forbids and which has not been submitted to our Foreign Affairs Committee.

The resolution of the Cabinet has been to avoid delivery from Government to Government, but to grant us the necessary permits so that private industry may deliver to us and circulate such material as we may purchase. The method of executing this and facilitating it will be decided by a Committee of Ministers, on which we have some of our most faithful friends; to-morrow they will hold their most important and decisive meeting, and they anticipate that it is almost absolutely certain that we shall be able to take the aeroplanes out of the country after the 25th on Monday or Tuesday, and we shall organise, or rather I shall organise, aided by Cruz Marin and some other Spanish as well as some excellent French friends, the safe passage of the bombs, a difficult matter, especially for one who, like myself, is not an astute fox, but we shall see what necessity makes one capable of. The Potez 54 machines will be constructed, and we shall endeavour to shorten the terms. As regards all the armaments I think we can only deal with Hotchkiss.

"Our Conversations are Overheard."

Our conversations are overheard and everything that you say is published with slight alterations; for the good of Spain and the efficiency of the negotiations, it is advisable to speak with the utmost reserve, and to resort to pre-arranged words and make only occasional references to the necessity of employing such or such means for the struggle.

When you use words such as indispensable, urgent, essential, etc., you pave the way, given the secret organisation which exists, for the sabotage of things that matter.

I want to tell you that to-night, acting on a request made to me by the Prefect of Police, I have taken up residence at a room at the Embassy; I regret it, but I do not think you will consider this indiscreet. I think it indispensable that the Ambassador should arrive quickly and assume the direction of this with full personality and responsibility.

To all the Cabinet my greetings and my best words of encouragement and faith in our Spain; for you besides the sincere embrace of your old friend.

Yours,

(Signed) FERNANDO DE LOS RIOS.

After that I cannot but feel that it is not France, it is not the gallant French nation whose destiny has fallen into the unworthy hands of the Popular Front Government that I accuse. I ought to accuse and I do accuse the Government of the French Popular Front.

[*This Chapter was first published in "The Catholic Herald."*]

CHAPTER II

HELP FROM FRANCE HAS NEVER CEASED

THE preceding chapter deals with the earlier phases of French intervention on the side of the Spanish Government. It is clear that on July 25, 1936, with the full complicity of the French Government, the envoy of the Madrid Government in Paris was making arrangements, not only for immediate delivery of arms and munitions *but for future deliveries* ("the Potez machines will be constructed,") with arrangements to prevent any implication of the French Government, which was within a fortnight to suggest a pact of non-intervention.

On July 26, 1936—six days after the Civil War began—the "International Brigade of Workmen Volunteers" was formed, and on August 7, the first group of volunteers was already on its way to France en route for Spain.

The Spanish Government in March, 1937, submitted to the League of Nations a statement, supported by documents, on the subject of Italian volunteers in Spain. The *earliest* document is dated December 28, 1936—it is an order of the day to the 530th Battalion of Blackshirts (not troops) on the occasion of their embarkation for Spain. Thus the *earliest* evidence discovered by the Spanish Government is no less than four months subsequent to the mobilising of the International Brigade on the side of the Spanish Government.

The letter, dated July 25, 1936, quoted on page 16 *supra* written by the Socialist ex-Minister Fernando de Los Rios to Jose Giral, the then Prime Minister of the Popular Front Government, shows that, in his efforts to get delivery of armaments and aeroplanes into Red Spain, Señor Los Rios had tried London before he tried Paris. The letter also expresses the fear that French action might *justify* German and Italian action in providing the Anti-Reds with arms and ammunition "in greater quantities than those France can supply."

Mr. Fenner Brockway, the British Socialist leader, at the I.L.P. Conference in Glasgow on March 29, 1937, said

"he could not tell publicly all he knew, but when the story of the Spanish War came to be written, it would be found that the assistance that the French Revolutionary Left Party had

given to the Spanish Workers in the way of supplies and enabling volunteers to go through, would be equal to that of any party in the world."

All this took place a year ago. Since then the world has heard a great deal of Italian and German help given to General Franco. What of France and Russia?

In the pages that follow, details are given of the recent intervention on the Red side. The supply of men and war material from France has never ceased.

M. HERICOURT'S DISCLOSURES

In an illuminating series of articles in the French paper *L'Action Française* (July 14 to September 1, 1937) M. Pierre Hericourt describes with great wealth of detail the help which has reached Red Spain through France, or by French agency.

M. Hericourt personally inspected some of the war material captured by General Franco's forces, and says that to obtain a reasonable estimate of the total his figures should be multiplied by at least ten. He writes (September 1, 1937):

"Of the war material captured in the course of military operations by General Franco's troops, I have personally counted:

- 318 French machine guns.
- 938 Russian machine guns.
- 565 machine guns, various nationalities.
- 1,358 French automatic rifles.
- 120,000 charges for the above.
- 2,600,000 cartridges for the French Lebel rifle.
- 2,800 French rifles.
- 12,575 Russian rifles.
- 886 Czech rifles.
- 3,852 Mexican rifles.
- 24 French mortars.
- 32 French .75 field guns.
- 16 Heavy 6 in. French guns.
- 48 4.2 Russian guns.
- 110 Russian tanks.
- 52,000 French and Russian shells.
- 4,875,000 cartridges for Russian rifles."

In introducing the series, M. Hericourt says (July 14) that the traffic in war material over the Franco-Spanish frontier at Cerbère "has never slowed down since January and February last." He mentions by name M. Julien Cruzol, Mayor of Cerbère, as a man who plays a leading part locally in this traffic.

Between June 1 and June 4, says M. Hericourt, the Mayor sent across the frontier into Spain 174 lorries and carts, 25 motors,

35 tons of spare parts, 22 tons of steel and steel tubes, 56 tons of footwear, 26 tons of nickel, 13 tons of heavy oil, 11 tons of chemicals.

When the control inspectors were about, the cartridge-cases and the bullets were sent through separately as scrap and put together again in Barcelona. "When the controllers are patrolling the Perpignan-Port Bou route, the lorries take the Perthus or Bourg-Madame route, and what cannot get through by day gets through by night, often taken by volunteers and by irregular smugglers' paths over which no control is exercised.

"Never since the month of February has the passage of volunteers ceased on the Red frontier in the Pyrenees." M. Hericourt gives the answers of Red prisoners captured by the Nationalist forces. They all say that the douaniers and the police were miraculously "absent" as they were brought across the frontier.

At Bourg-Madame the Salvat Hotel is the refuge used by those who await a convenient hour to get across.

M. Hericourt gives maps of the two routes chiefly followed by those who supply the Spanish Popular Front *via* the Pyrenees. "These two routes are well known to the specialists of Perpignan, Marseilles and Toulouse and are especially well known to the Soviet Agent Roger Tolera, who for a long time has 'held court' at the Continental Bar at Perpignan."

"At the beginning of April, Gaston Silla (described as the Soviet political delegate to the "Libertad" military column) declared that since international control had been put into force, i.e. during a period of about seven weeks—he had passed over the Catalan frontier more than 2,800 volunteers."

TRAFFIC BY AIR

M. Hericourt's third article in the series states that, in direct contravention of Article 8 of a decree published in the French Journal Officiel of February 19, 1937, Red aeroplanes have flown over the forbidden zones in the French Pyrenees region and have refuelled at Toulouse and Pau. Before Bilbao fell, the liaison aeroplanes from there to Barcelona, and vice versa, flew every day over French territory.

"I am not referring," he says, "to the special part played by the 'Air-Pyrénées' Company, which was founded under Basque influence."

Going on to deal with the heavier armament that has been passed into Red Spain *via* France, M. Hericourt states that General Franco's salvage service has set up its own workshops to adapt the captured arms to the available ammunition and the captured ammunition to the available arms.

One of these workshops he visited and saw a hundred Russian machine-guns being repaired.

On the same occasion he saw English 4.5 inch guns with the following marks on the breach :

—8—2—20—
—O.F.—4.5 inch—Howr—Mark—
—R.G.F.—1914—
—No. 167—

These guns were captured on the Bilbao front.

In the case of some machine guns, the guns were Russian and the tripods French. "This implies," says M. Hericourt, "a previous understanding of a somewhat close character to ensure that the guns and the tripods should meet on the Madrid front."

"By far the greatest part of the captured material," says M. Hericourt, "is Russian so far as concerns rifles and machine guns. After this comes French material—rifles and mitrailleuses."

Next comes material of Czecho-Slovak or Mexican origin. On board one ship alone, the *Sylvia* (captured in the Straits of Gibraltar) there were 250 Maxim machine guns and 10 Schneider guns.

The Nationalist workshops have a busy time reconditioning the rifles of every type that have been captured. In one case he saw 1,800 French rifles, and 1,600,000 rounds of the same calibre. These bore French official stamps. The Soviet rifles were even more numerous, and nearly all this material was in new condition. So with the Czech rifles, which bore marks showing Brno as their place of manufacture.

In another artillery park, M. Hericourt saw French Lewis guns of 1917-18 types, and was told he would see similar captures at Seville and Valladolid. At this park, 558 Lewis guns and 38,000 refills had been repaired. In another park he saw 45 mm. Russian shells, one type for anti-tank work. Elsewhere he saw big shells for Russian guns and for French 75's.

Captured Russian tanks were seen by M. Hericourt in another workshop. Very few had sustained severe artillery damage. Experts told him that from three captured tanks they could put one effective tank together. In all 110 Russian tanks were taken, from which 28 had been assembled.

DUTCH MINISTER'S NOTE

On July 17, 1937, 320 aviator pupils arrived from Barcelona at the Orly Aerodrome. On July 15, 100 volunteers of various nationalities coming from Marseilles entered Red Spain *via* Perthus. "Almost daily lists," says M. Hericourt, "could be given," and he states that on July 10 the Netherlands Minister in Paris delivered a Note at the French Foreign Office referring to the passage of Dutch subjects through France into Red Spain. The procedure,

said the Minister, is that they leave Holland in groups of four or five, meet in Antwerp, and with the aid of local Reds cross the French frontier at Jeumont, for Roubaix. In Paris they are lodged at the International Red Assistance House in the Rue Mathurin-Moreau, and they travel by stages (all named) to the Mediterranean coast where they take passage to Barcelona and Valencia.

The complaint of the Netherlands Minister, dated July 10, was taken so seriously at the Foreign Ministry that the Foreign Minister at once requested the Minister of the Interior for an immediate enquiry. The Minister of the Interior ordered the Surété Nationale and the Prefecture of Police to go into the matter both in Paris and in the provinces. The enquiry was made, the Minister was informed, nothing happened, and M. Hericourt concludes that the Minister's inaction "amounts to complicity."

In the course of his examination of this frontier question, M. Hericourt gives details of day-by-day consignments from France to Spain thus :

July 17-19.	240,000 litres of motor spirit.
" "	2 8-cylinder Ford cars.
" "	64 Ford chassis.
" "	87 light lorries.
" "	56 6-cylinder chassis.
" "	1 ambulance.
" "	3 lorries with radio and loud-speaker.
" "	4 armoured repair-cars.
" "	157 tons of foodstuffs.

Via Cerbère :

July 18.	54 trucks of explosives and war material.
July 20.	60,000 uniforms for the Red Army, made in France.
	20,000 gas masks.

Via the sea :

The Lithuanian ship *Marijanpole* carried from Havre 14,000 shell cartridges (75 mm., 1900-1915), of normal charge, from the general reserve of munitions of Leymont (Ain), 578 cases of shell cylinders, 278 cases of big gun ammunition. Most of this was from the Schneider factory, which is as much nationalised as Woolwich Arsenal is.

On July 20 the Spanish vessel *Betis* left Marseilles for Barcelona and Valencia and the French ship *France* had an identical cargo.

In Franco's "aeroplane cemeteries," M. Hericourt saw the following types : Portez, Dewoitine, Caudron, Nieuport-Loire, Farman, Breguet, Koolhoven, Fokker, Curtiss, Vickers, Lockheed and Valtec, not to mention the Russian planes.

M. Hericourt publishes a photographic facsimile of a page from the log of a French pilot, whose war flights are detailed and countersigned by Chief of Squadron Abel Guidez, formerly military pilot of the 2nd Regt. d'Aviation at Strasbourg.

M. COT'S "COMPLICITY"

M. Hericourt refers to the activity of the Air Minister, M. Pierre Cot, and his friends, in organising courses of pilot instruction for Spanish pilots. M. Hericourt adds that every effort is being made to recruit French personnel, quoting the actual instance of a young French mechanic who became a pilot and took part in several bombing raids until finally crashed on February 11 by one of General Franco's chaser planes. He returned to France to convalesce and to be trained as first pilot. Every facility, says M. Hericourt, "has been granted him . . . and notably by the Popular Federation of Aeronautic Sports, whose offices are in Paris, at 65-67 Avenue des Champs-Élysées." This is the pilot, a page from whose log book is referred to above.

The sea-borne traffic was found by M. Hericourt to be just as extensive as that across the Pyrenees frontier. "Nearly every day ships with contraband of war leave Marseilles for one of the ports in Red Spain."

Here is a list taken in March and April last :

- Mar. 1. *Franc*, from Port-de-Bouc for Barcelona.
- „ 2. *Legazpi*, from Marseilles for Barcelona.
- „ 5. *Douce-France*, from Marseilles for Red Spain.
- „ 7. *Ampurdan* and *Cala-Pi*, from Marseilles for Red Spain.
- „ 7. *Briquetas-Zorrota*, from Bassens for Bilbao.
- „ 8. *La Corse*, from Marseilles for Red Spain.
- „ 11. *Sac-7*, from Marseilles for Barcelona.
- „ 12. *Bolivar*, from Marseilles for Red Spain.
- „ 12. *Condé*, *Villa-de-Madrid* and *Ciudad-de-Barcelona*, from Marseilles for Barcelona.
- „ 13. *Frutero* and *Trinidad*, from Marseilles for Valencia.
- „ 13. *Sil*, from Bassens for Red Spain.
- „ 13. *Josina*, from Bassens for Bordeaux.
- „ 16. *Franc*, *Genoveva* and *Nogin*, from Marseilles for Red Spain.
- „ 19. *Auducmendi*, from Sète for Red Spain.
- „ 19. *Vicente-la-Roda*, from Marseilles for Barcelona.
- „ 22. *Cabo-San-Agustin*, from Bone for Red Spain.
- „ 23. *Betis*, *Francisca-Casonovas* and *Julio-Casciarro*, from Marseilles for Red Spain.
- „ 25. *Dover Abbey*, from Saint-Louis-du-Rhône for Barcelona.

- „ 29. *Antonio, Cala-Morlanda, Ines and Piedad*, from Marseilles for Red Spain.
- „ 31. *La Corse, Cervera and Ampurdan*, from Marseilles for Red Spain.
- Apr. 2. *Legazpi*, from Marseilles for Red Spain.
- „ 5. *Genoveva and Le Gaulois* from Marseilles for Valencia.
- „ 6. *Espana 2*, from Marseilles for Barcelona.
- „ 8. *Aceima*, from Marseilles for Barcelona.
- „ 9. *MacGregor*, from Bordeaux for Red Spain.
- „ 10. *Vicente*, from Marseilles for Barcelona.
- „ 11. *Cala-Portals and Capitan-Segarra*, from Marseilles for Barcelona.
- „ 13. *Leonia*, from Marseilles for Barcelona.
- „ 17. *Ciudad-de-Reus and Dover Abbey*, from Marseilles for Barcelona.

From Marseilles for Red Spain

- „ 24. *La Murtra and Inez*.
- „ 25. *Teresa*.
- „ 26. *Ramon-Canada*.
- „ 28. *Cervera*.
- „ 29. *Aceima, Augusto, Carmencita and Ampurdan*.

(All these ships named were carrying war material.)

General Franco's vessels have made in all about fifty important captures at sea. Among the materials on board these ships there were about 100 aeroplanes, 100 cannon, 3,000 machine guns, 150,000 rifles, 80,000,000 cartridges, 120,000 shells, 19,000 air bombs, with war material of all sorts. This does not include ships sunk.

The s.s. *Galdames* was captured on April 19, i.e. after the Non-Intervention agreement, by the cruiser *Canarias*. On board were found, among other arms and ammunition, several hundreds of cases of gasmasks, of French manufacture. The boxes bore in French a label stating: "This apparatus can be sold only if stamped by the Control of the Ministry of War. It cannot be taken back or changed." The Control stamp was dated February 5, 1937.

Here is the list given by M. Hericourt of the materials captured in the s.s. *Sylvia*, in the Straits of Gibraltar:

- Maxim machine guns, 250.
- Cartridges for Maxim machine guns, 6,392,850.
- Machines for charging the belts, 42.
- Schneider 75 guns, 10.
- Schneider tractors, 10.
- " 75 " percussion shells, 25,088.
- " 75 " fuse shells, 9,945.
- " 75 " fuses, 8,757.

Mortars of 81 mm., 99.
 Bombs of 81 mm., 40,731.
 Fuses, 81 mm., with multiplier, 24,330.
 Projection cartridges, 34,392. Other cartridges for mortars,
 32,485.
 Platforms for mortars, 86.
 Supplementary charges, 34,460.
 Tripods for mortars, 90.
 Sub-machine guns, Bergmann, 1,260.
 Machines for loading belts, 124.
 Spare parts for Bergmann, 25.
 Browning sub-machine guns, 100.
 Mauser rifles, 7.92 mm., 3,010.
 Muskets, 7.92 mm., 1,971.
 French sub-machine guns, 4,541.
 Cartridges for the same, 13,713,720.
 Chargers for the same, 36,078.
 Charge carrying bags, 2,160.
 Cartridges P. bullets 7.92 mm., 7,298,000.

In the s.s. *Rona*, captured off Bilbao, the following was seized :

"Western type" gunpowder, 2,100 kms.
 Small filling type gunpowder, 14,150 kms.
 "Trilita" type gunpowder, 88,000 kms.
 Shells "75" with GM fuse, 19,755.
 " " with M fuse, 120.
 " " (yellow, with 2 large black crosses), 30,422.
 " " (yellow, with 1 large black cross), 5,290.
 " " (yellow, with 2 small black crosses), 1,827.
 " " (yellow, with 1 small black cross), 195.
 " " (yellow, with 2 black crosses and 1 white), 1,473.
 " " (yellow, with 2 black crosses and 1 white in a
 green circle), 760.
 Fuses for the same, French type, 40,319.

(Similar lists are given in respect of several other ships.)

The s.s. *Mar Cantabrico* was a particularly rich prize. Among the materials which she carried were 50 cases of ammunition for big-game hunting—explosive and dum-dum bullets. She also carried 30 aeroplanes.

The material reaching Red Spain by the sea routes is mostly from Russia and Czecho-Slovakia: liaison between ports in Red Spain and the Black Sea has been constant since the beginning of the war. On August 19, 1937, the s.s. *Ciudad-de-Cadix* (4,600 tons) was torpedoed off the Dardanelles by one of General Franco's submarines. "Yet," comments M. Hericourt, "the Soviet Ambassador continues at the Non-Intervention Committee to protest against this or that initiative of the Italians and Germans in the Mediterranean."

M. Hericourt's details of the participation of the French Air Ministry in this intervention are remarkably full and well-documented. He mentions, for instance, the fact that on the day when the Control was established, in March last, all the Spanish pilots being trained at Bourges, were suddenly sent back to Catalonia. Later, other centres were organised, and on July 30 six of the Bourges machines were sent to Barcelona.

The Air Company known as Lejeune-Aviation is referred to as one which founded the Pilot School of Villeneuve-sur-Lot, from which airmen fly solo to Madrid, and M. Hericourt also describes the Royan School of Flying for the use of the Valencia Government. They persuaded the Royan Municipal Council, says M. Hericourt, so as to obtain a subvention, that it was a school for civil aviation and "aerial tourism." But the Spanish pupils not only pay no fees, they are paid 105 francs a week.

In the Municipal Council of Royan, one member, Dr. Moulinas, protested, before the Council agreed by one vote to support the school. He asked who paid the "pupils'" salaries, why all the trainees were Spanish, and "had aerial tourism in Spain developed to such an extent during recent months that this training was necessary?"

M. Hericourt concludes his survey: "Had I not seen all this with my own good eyes as witness, and by the indisputable proof afforded by the capture of material, I could never have believed that we had sent to Spain to assist in the triumph of disorder and anarchy so much war material that we must have drawn on our own safety reserves to some extent."

CONSTANT RAILWAY TRAFFIC

Mr. Raymond Burns has been contributing to the *Northern Daily Mail*, Hartlepool, his impressions of the visit he has just paid to Catalonia.

He describes how he climbed out of the train at Cerbère, the French frontier station, and got into a train that was to take him into Spain. Here is what he says:

"... I think there must have been two score of lorries, brand new French lorries, standing lashed to trucks in the sidings, awaiting dispatch into Spain. Our train was pushing approximately twenty trucks, each laden with one lorry. These vehicles, as we were soon to learn, are crossing the frontier by night and by day from France not in scores but in hundreds."

"... Well... these supplies are rushing in, and that is all there is to it. A student of international law might offer the defence that lorries are not specific armaments, and hence permissible, but nobody who has seen—as we were to see—the military uses to which these vehicles are put throughout

Catalonia could possibly regard the supplies as anything but part of the Spanish Government ' war potential.'

" . . . But for the continued support of France and the Soviet," declared one earnest young American, " we should now be beaten. I don't care if you print that, either."

A COMMUNIST ADMISSION

The *New Leader* of September 10 gives the text of the charges brought against the Communist leaders in Valencia by the " Red " Government. These charges include " that they exported money and valuables to France."

The *official* reply of the P.O.U.M. (Partido Obrero de Unificacion Marxista—the party to which the accused Communists belong), states, among many other details :

" The obtaining of arms by political parties was not illicit, and the only way of obtaining such arms was by purchasing them from abroad by exporting money and valuables to *France* and elsewhere."

Here is an admission by the Communists themselves.

11388