

WILLY BRANDT

IN EXILE

ESSAYS REFLECTIONS AND
LETTERS 1933-1947

Translated from the German
by R. W. LAST

Biographical introduction
by TERENCE PRITTIE



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Foreword to the English Edition

I deliberately chose the short title *Draussen* (Outside) for the German edition of this collection of writings from the dark years between 1933 and 1947. It ought to be made clear that I did not for one moment regard my fate as an exile as a blot on my copybook, but rather as a chance to serve that 'other Germany' which did not resign itself submissively to enslavement but kept watch for the hour of liberation, and indeed fought and made great sacrifices in the struggle for freedom. I do not need to justify my actions to anyone, so what I offer here is an objective account of the past. My fellow citizens can fairly claim the right to know in some detail what manner of man it is whom one of the great parties of our young German democracy has entrusted with leadership. The aim has been to show, without sentimentality or empty words, that during my time 'outside' I did not for one moment cease to regard myself as a German, despite my Norwegian passport, despite the happy circumstance that I found in Scandinavia a second home, to which I shall be bound by ties of loyalty and gratitude to the end of my days. During twelve years of Nazi dictatorship I was worlds apart from the commanders of the prison house that called itself 'Greater Germany', but still felt close to the millions who were driven to their deaths on the front line or who were alone with their fears in the air-raid shelters. Why else would I have resolved to return to that tormented country at a time when all hope seemed lost? Why else would I have chosen Berlin, a city slipping into the clutches of another totalitarian power? The Germans understood my reasons. My election as Chancellor was an act of mutual confidence. It gave me the right to assert that the defeat of Hitler was now finally complete.

There is no doubt that the change of administration in Bonn marks a clear dividing line in the postwar history of Germany—a dividing line, but not a break in continuity. For two decades the fate of the Federal Republic was determined by the Christian Democrat party—in itself a coalition of conservative and liberal elements—which bore the stamp of Konrad Adenauer, who became a father figure to a defeated nation which under his leadership was able to

reorganise itself and find its way back to a state of calm and confidence. He gave the Germans on this side of the iron curtain their proper place in the common security system of the western alliance. He opened the door to a close partnership with France, and beyond that, to a reconciliation between the two nations, whose 'traditional enmity' had so often and so unnecessarily shattered the harmony of the continent. His outlook may have been founded on nineteenth-century middle-class attitudes, but at the same time he displayed a keener awareness of the tasks of the future than many younger men. I have no hesitation in naming him as one of the rebuilders of western Europe, and even in times of the most violent disagreement I have never lost my respect for the 'old man of Rhöndorf'. In the early years of the west German state it was not everyone who understood that it was essential for the growing republic to be firmly rooted in the western security system. The fight for the freedom of Berlin had sharpened my awareness of the dangers of a power vacuum in central Europe—and besides, my years 'outside' had taught me to become a European. I became aware before many others that this continent could not be rebuilt on the decayed foundations of the old order of things: the nation state was a thing of the past. None the less I was one of those who took the view at the time that Soviet policy should have been examined in far more depth than was actually the case.

My concept of the new Europe is far more wide-ranging than that of its founding fathers Robert Schumann, de Gasperi and Adenauer. My years in Scandinavia gave me access to the Anglo-Saxon world. I never doubted that Great Britain would draw closer and closer to the continent, the more the basic community of the six stabilised and consolidated itself. But the will towards unity could not be allowed to be blocked by a process of continental isolationism. A political community—whether made up of independent states or a confederation—is unthinkable without Great Britain or our Scandinavian neighbours. That demands of Britain that she should renounce the insularity of her past greatness.

My impassioned attack on Vansittart's plans for Germany which is to be found in these pages is a clear enough demonstration of the significance I gave to Britain's presence on the continent when the time had come to think beyond victory and defeat to the nature of the coming peace. After 1945 many wise men in London stuck rigidly to the view that it was Great Britain's task to remain steadfastly and for all time as a bridge between Europe and the United States. Indeed she has a bridging role to play—and this is underestimated by no one for whom history is a living force in the present (and the

present history in the making)—namely, as one of the strongest pillars of the treaty system which spans the Atlantic, the ocean which Thomas Mann, the most notable son of my home city of Lübeck, had recognised even during the First World War as the new Mediterranean. If you like, Mann had thereby anticipated J. F. Kennedy's formula of the interdependence which holds America and a united Europe together.

The vital forward thrust of Europe seemed to have faded with the passing of Konrad Adenauer from the political scene. The change of power, for which the way had been prepared by the 'grand coalition' of autumn 1966 and the changed situation in Paris did however release new European energies. To all those whose ultimate objective is a political community (which means more than an amalgam of separate national interests), it was essential that the dialogue with Great Britain should be renewed unconditionally. The Hague conference in December 1969 opened the door. I played my part in bringing this about. The revitalisation of the community spirit in western Europe and partnership with the United States encouraged us to enter into discussions with Moscow and eastern Europe, culminating in the signing of the treaty with the Soviet Union and in parallel agreements with Poland and other Warsaw Pact countries; and these agreements move us one stage further towards a secure peace.

That too is a natural consequence of the concept of the new Europe, which was determined by the re-entry of Germany into the councils of the great powers—a consequence which the first Chancellor and his party did not venture to draw. The Anglo-Saxon world, and particularly Great Britain, remained foreign to Adenauer. He found it difficult to free himself from the mental attitudes of his Rhineland Catholic background, although he was able to think more into the future than many of his friends and supporters, even on those lines which under the heading of *Ostpolitik* have come to be taken for granted in international discussion.

I come from a north German Protestant background; my youth was spent under the influence of the Social Democratic socialist movement. This may also explain my broader and less inhibited initiatives towards a European policy.

In conclusion: Konrad Adenauer was a man of the 'inner emigration'. Stripped of his official position by Nazi officials, he withdrew into the protective cocoon of a strictly private existence, in order to await calmly and earnestly the catastrophe which he knew would come. The Terror drove me to leave the country. My only choice was 'external' emigration. I took that choice, and I have never regretted

it, because it offered me not only the chance to learn but also the chance to resist. So it is logical that the office of German Chancellor should be filled first by a representative of the 'inner emigration' and then of the 'external emigration', the latter being a man who saw Germany's years of darkness from 'outside'. Thus the pattern and continuity in the history of the second German republic is revealed: it is in truth the history of the Europeanisation of Germany. And at the same time of the Europeanisation of Europe.

The majority of my fellow countrymen have accepted my view that a nationalist cannot be a good German. I recognise my position as Chancellor as one offering the challenge of reconciling Germany with her neighbours and with herself. At last the time has come for Germans to be at peace with themselves—so that the world at large can be at peace with Germany.

Willy Brandt.

Translator's Note

The present translation follows the German text as edited by Günther Struve, with the exception of some cuts aimed at removing material of limited interest and tightening up the narrative. Struve points out that he offers the reader a relatively small but representative selection of Brandt's voluminous writings over the period 1933–1947. He stresses that it has been his aim to provide an honest picture of Brandt's political development in those years, and that he has strenuously sought to avoid selecting only those passages in which Brandt's evaluation and projection of a given situation have turned out to be correct.

Thus this book offers a unique insight into the growth to political maturity of a man whose impact on the European and international scene is increasing almost daily. Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of the text is the way in which Brandt, despite the ravages of Nazism and the heated passions it aroused, was able to keep a cool head politically and to develop undeterred his conviction that internationalism alone is the key to social justice and world peace for the future.

Brandt himself has provided introductions to each of the chapters, which are divided not chronologically, but according to subject-matter. 'Extracts are marked off by double spaces in the text, and the sources indicated by marginal numbers which refer to the list of sources at the end of the book.'

I wish to express my gratitude to those who have assisted me in the work of translation, and in particular to my publisher, Mrs. Ilse Wolff, for expert research work; to the Director of the Centre for Computer Studies at Hull University for permission to make use of the facilities there in the computer-assisted preparatory work on the index; to Miss Diana Smith, without whose swift and skilful typing the manuscript would have been much delayed; and finally to my wife Pat for checking through the typescript and proofs.

R. W. Last.

IV

Spain

IV

Spain

INTRODUCTION

Writing history at short range can easily get no further than the journalistic or polemical level. But we know that even at a greater distance it is by no means easy to overcome the effects of prejudice and legend. The 'traditional enmity' taught in French and German schools for all too long now is just one example among many.

There is scarcely one event of our age which has given rise to such contradictory assessments as the war in Spain 1936-39. When I write the words 'war in Spain', I am already on the verge of bringing out a contradiction. Many people will ask: Why didn't he put 'civil war'? I write plain 'war' because the events in Spain went far beyond the bounds of an embittered internal dispute.

We in Germany more than most are still largely ignorant of those dramatic and confusing events. That is not so remarkable, since our country was at that time cut off from free reporting of news and it was not possible for us to form an objective opinion. And in contrast to the events at home and to what has happened in the Second World War, people were not particularly concerned to correct their image of Spain at a later stage. So we continue to live on with the distorted picture of a Communist revolt which was crushed by the forces of civilisation and perhaps also of freedom. I take a quite different view. Even thirty years after, it all still seems fundamentally different. It was indeed different. Both the reactionary and the Communist Spanish legends call for critical examination.

The first thing that should be made clear is that there was no Communist uprising in Spain in July 1936. What did take place was a putsch by generals with the support of lawyers against a government which had come to power after free elections and which moreover did not have one single Communist member.

Next it should be made clear that Spain became the setting for an international conflict. Mussolini's Italy and shortly after Hitler's Germany both intervened massively on the side of the rebellious

'nationalists'. The western powers kept strictly to a policy of non-intervention to which other states were content to pay lip-service. Thus the Soviet Union was able to exercise a strong influence on republican Spain by her arms deliveries.

In the third place it was the case that, throughout Europe and far beyond, Spain was the focal point of the hopes and fears of all who saw in the onward march of Nazism and Fascism a deadly threat to progress. This held true not only for the 'left', in the current sense of the term. It was equally valid for the liberals, for conservative moderates who stood a good way right of centre, and for many who were deeply committed to their sense of Christian responsibility. Much was oversimplified at the time. Light and shade could not be so clearly distinguished as was claimed. But that is no wonder. For me the Spain of today has not become an *idée fixe*. I know that there too things have progressed and I can but hope with all my heart that the forces of freedom and a European vision will come out on top. The Spanish people certainly do not want another civil war. Democracy which is still being suppressed in Spain can only gradually emerge victorious. It needs European solidarity. In any event, I do not understand that part of the 'left' which is confident that the Communist dictatorships are capable of bringing about great changes but exclude the possibility of an evolutionary process taking place in Spain.

At that time—February 1937—I was glad to go to Spain. Since my time in Berlin, which had anyway been put out as a stay in Spain, a good month had passed. I wanted to experience for myself what I regarded as the most decisive event since the Nazis seized power. Apart from journalistic work I took on the task of keeping up political contacts in Barcelona for my SAP friends, which was a quarrelsome and thankless enough chore.

The southward journey itself was an adventurous undertaking, although hardly fraught with danger. I made the crossing from Kristiansand on the Norwegian south coast to Jutland together with my friend Per Monsen, who is now Director of the International Press Institute in Zurich. He started off with the false supposition that he would find in me a companion already thoroughly familiar with Spain, and I had to tell him on the way down that I knew as little as he did. We travelled from Esjberg to Le Havre and had to wait days in Paris for the necessary official stamp . . .

If I think back now on that spring and summer nearly thirty years ago, those unedifying squabbles and sordid intrigues which then dominated the scene have now entirely faded into the background. What remains alive in the memory is the beauty of the

countryside, and it was unfortunate that I only got to know Catalonia at close quarters; I have never been to Madrid, for example. The image which remains most clearly of all in my mind is that of the proverbial pride of the Spanish people, their vitality, love for freedom and faith in the future, and the creative power which time and again would fight its way to the surface in the midst of the painful conflicts of wartime.

I remember also the fellow feeling of bitter misery. For this reason I felt particular satisfaction in being able—when back in Oslo again—to work on the Spanish Aid programme which provided food and medical supplies right to the bitter end, that is until the aid given to the republicans, who in 1939 fled to France, exhausted and humbled, and were accommodated in camps under the most wretched conditions.

The party with which my group was linked by membership of the bureau of independent socialist parties bore the name POUM (Partido Obrero Unificada Marxista, that is, the United Marxist Labour Party). The centre of their influence was in Catalonia, but as early as December 1936 they were forced out of the Catalonian government . . .

My first contact with POUM took place when I was participating in an international conference in Paris in May 1936 with its president Joaquin Maurin. Maurin was a persuasive and militant phenomenon. But his formula—'We are for the popular front because we are against it'—left me cold. It was generally believed that Maurin had fallen in the very first days of the civil war, whilst in reality he had survived into Franco's Spain in prison under a false name. I learned this secret through his wife, but not until after I had left Spain. Everyone treated Jeanne Maurin as a widow.

The POUM, in partial agreement with the Anarcho-syndicalists and a section of the Social Democrats, supported the view that revolution was the overriding concern. The Communists, in partial agreement with the 'bourgeois' Democrats, took the opposing view that the demands of war took precedence. In trying to arrive at a view of my own I fell out with the revolutionaries, who seemed to me to have overshot the target by a wide margin, but I disagreed even more violently with those who sought to exploit the discipline which the military situation demanded by establishing a system of one-party rule.

I came to the conclusion that the POUM had 'taken up a false position on virtually every practical issue' and accused them of 'sectarian conduct' and 'ultra-left subjectivism'. This applied particularly to their youth league which summoned its followers to join

battle against Fascism and 'against bourgeois democracy' and with whom I was in fundamental disagreement. I tried, at least up till 1 May 1937, to bring all the youth leagues under one heading, in which I had some success to begin with, but which later brought friction with every single group. My participation in such discussions, which was not restricted to the role of passive observer, was rendered easier for me by the fact that I had acquired some Spanish as a fourth foreign language at the Lübeck Johanneum.

Principal among the leftwing socialist leaders in Barcelona whom I learned to respect for their balanced attitudes was Julian Gorkin. But I naturally regarded it as my duty to intervene on behalf of the POUM leaders when they and others were persecuted, dragged before the courts, or even murdered by the Communists. This sort of thing was at its height after the bloody and tragic May week in Barcelona, which was a civil war within a civil war. I know it is not easy to explain these confusing events. In any case I learned a great deal from them.

As so often happens in life, the ridiculous was always rubbing shoulders with the sublime. Right in the thick of those days in May the Swedish poet Ture Nerman was in Barcelona on a visit. He was one of the founders of the Swedish Communist party and represented the leftwing socialists in the lower chamber. My friend Paul Gauguin, the grandson of the famous painter, who had also made a name for himself as an artist, and myself could hardly stifle our amusement when Nerman came into the hotel one afternoon in a state of considerable disarray. The 'revolutionary socialists' had taken him for a class enemy because he was wearing a hat and he had only been allowed to go free after much deliberation.

These experiences at the age of 23 have exposed me to reproaches from two opposing sides right up until recent years. On the one hand I was taken to task as a 'social Fascist', 'agent of Franco' and 'Gestapo spy' in Communist writings. On the other hand 'rightwing' opponents have tried to brand me as a 'Communist fighter' for the 'Red front'.¹ But it is not always so that opposites cancel one another out. Sometimes one complements the other, or their respective exponents even pass the ball among themselves.

(1) DEMOCRACY AGAINST FASCISM

On 19 July the uprising of militaristic and Fascist forces took place as a preventive measure against the revolution that was steadily advancing towards power. For years rumour had been rife in Spain. The victory of Gil Robles in October 1934 remained a

bloody episode. In 1935 a powerful democratic popular movement rose up under the banner of a popular front. In February 1936 the popular front experienced its great election victory. The democratic popular movement formed the basis for the development of the forces surging towards the socialist revolution. Conditions for the struggle had become more favourable. Bad though the policy of the popular front government was, the masses in the country and the factories were doing well politically. And on the whole the popular front movement made it possible for such a broadly-based resistance against the Franco party to rise up in July.

The working class was bound to become the mainstay of this movement. It was the working class which in association with the broad mass of the anti-Fascist population broke the Fascist insurrection in the key areas of Spain on 19 July and the days following.

Since July 1936 war has been raging in Spain. The fronts are clearly marked. The Franco camp represents the medieval forces of Spain, the nobility, the big estate owners, the reactionary ecclesiastical hierarchy, and a decadent officer cadre. The dark powers of the Middle Ages have fused with those of big finance. This camp also numbers foreign imperialists among its supporters. (2)

Spanish youth knew what the battle was about. They recognised the necessity for driving out the forces of medievalism and for fighting for national freedom. They stood their ground under far from favourable conditions. More than that—they took the initiative. During those days of glory in July they stood at the barricades and helped to bring the Fascist rebels to their knees in the key Spanish centres. The young workers took the lead in the towns. And the young people in the villages also played an important part. They were freer than the older generation. It was the young more than any others who filled the ranks of the first people's and workers' militia. Young men and women took up arms. And in the many places where there were no weapons, they made ready to use their fists. The first period of the war has been called the 'children's war'. And on the Guadalajara front Ludwig Renn said: 'I love the young because they seek to do great things. Here in Spain most of the combatants are young and that is why there is so much verve in their fight against Fascism, both in the front line and to the rear.'

It would of course be wrongheaded to fall into the temptation of idolising the young. But today the young of anti-Fascist Spain are in the people's army. Over half the troops of the people's army

are made up of members of the anti-Fascist youth organisations. The youth leagues also fill over half of the posts of the political commissariat in the army. Young officers stand at their head. There are generals of twenty-eight and thirty.

The young people of Spain also play a vital part in the rear, in the shock brigades in factories, in the process of transformation in the country, and in the cultural revolution. Republican Spain is gaining youthful vigour in the midst of war although thousands of the younger generation have had to sacrifice their lives. In the autumn of 1936 Catalonia gave young people full political and civil rights from the age of eighteen. We come across young Spain not just in the army, but also in the inner councils of economic and political life, in the people's courts, in fact everywhere. The leader of the giant young socialist organisation is just twenty-four. An eighteen-year-old girl is one of the functionaries in the Catalan youth movement. One of the people working on the youth newspaper *La hora*, Azcárate, is a secretary in the Foreign Ministry at twenty.

The heroic epic of the Spanish milizianos is the battle of fists against machine guns, of shotguns against aircraft, of tins of explosives and petrol bombs against tanks. The young drew their strength from the knowledge that they were battling for a better future.

A simple fighting man at the Estremadura front put it in these words: 'The most educated of us know a bit about Karl Marx' teachings, know the odd thing about the French revolution, and perhaps know who Lenin was as well, and that's about it. The others fight without political ideals, just for the right to eat and live. They're fighting so their kids can go to school and get a better education than their parents, so they can live free and happy.'

At the end of August 1936 the republican government recognised the militia as the Spanish government army. At the beginning of October they published their decree on the militarisation of the people's militia. The romantic period came to a close. The internal hold was strengthened. At this time Madrid fell after an heroic defence in which peace-loving young people from all corners of the earth had played a crucial part.

Then the build-up of the new people's army took place. After a few months the first great victory was achieved in Guadalajara. Up until Teruel the new force consistently consolidated its position. Those of the young who showed qualities of leadership became the new officers and commissars. In the autumn of 1937 200,000 of the

300,000 members of the socialist youth movement were in the front line. All together the anti-Fascist youth organisations made up the overwhelming majority of the people's army. The best of them were commissioned or entered specialist brigades. These latter made up the anti-tank units, the dynamiteros and guerilleros who led the battle behind enemy lines.

They went through war training and took with them their pre-military education. With Madrid as starting-point, the Alerta schools were set up. Theirs was the task of implementing the cultural, athletic and pre-military education of the fourteen to twenty-one age group. In Madrid the Alerta movement was organised by the youth front. Antonio Lopez, secretary of the youth front and member of the Youth of the Republican Union, was at the same time chairman of the Alerta movement. As early as the first part of summer 1937 there were 60 schools in Madrid with 10,000 pupils and 500 teachers. By the end of 1937 the number of pupils had risen to 40,000. During the terrible bombing raids on the Spanish capital children are to be seen going round in stretcher parties. They are members of the medical battalion of the Alerta. For the girls special nursing courses are being laid on as part of the Alerta movement.

On all sectors of the front there also grew up the 'soldiers' hostels' of the young people's army. Some of them are right in the front lines, even in the trenches. There the soldiers can learn to read and write. There they study books about the war and other subjects.

Troupes of actors come to the front with all their artistic paraphernalia. In the rear the soldier's hostels are used as resting places. Wall newspapers bear witness to the fighting spirit of the young. The young women come along and repair the soldiers' clothing. Peasants in the neighbourhood frequently come too and take part in the discussions and activities of the soldiers...

THE REPUBLICAN ACHIEVEMENT

Apart from an underdeveloped agrarian economy, Spanish reactionaries left another sad inheritance behind them: a backward culture. Over half the population could neither read nor write.

Young anti-Fascist Spain has made a start on the revolution of the spirit. As schools, hospitals, children's homes, museums and invaluable monuments to their cultural heritage are being bombed the anti-Fascist Spanish people protect the old and are creating new cultural values. It is not just a matter of right against wrong, truth against falsehood, but also culture against barbarism.

It was FETE, the teachers' union, which took up the initiative for the formation of the cultural militia... The tasks which these cultural militia have taken upon themselves are legion. They not only teach reading and writing, but they also deal with the equipping of libraries, establish wall newspapers, give talks and organise the presentation of cultural and social films.

On top of this they have collaborated in and helped to run newspapers at the front, organised lectures for enemy troops, created cultural and soldiers' hostels, worked on educational films, radio transmissions and theatrical performances.

And these labours are even now beginning to bear fruit. There are already formations of the people's army in which a short while ago 80 per cent of the soldiers were illiterate but whose entire complement can now read and write.

In the country as a whole the work goes on of establishing libraries on all sectors of the front and in every village...

The cultural struggle in republican Spain has not been dictated from above, but has been borne along by the enterprise of the broad mass of the population...

In his speech at the Nuremberg party rally in 1937 Propaganda Minister Goebbels expressed his eagerness to destroy the cultural values of 'Red Spain'. He maintained that the school system in republican Spain was in a deplorable state. He prudently refrained from referring to the destruction of Guernica by German bombers and also the terrible bombings of children's homes, schools and hospitals.

The opposite to Goebbels' assertions is the truth. At the outbreak of the civil war there were, according to the figures of the Barcelona civic authorities, 70,000 children receiving no formal education, in other words, 39 per cent of those of school age. For Madrid the number given was 50,000. But even the schools that did exist were in a wretched condition. The buildings were falling apart. At the beginning of 1936 a Spanish primary teacher's salary was only two-thirds that of a policeman at the bottom of the scale.

The Catalan trade unions had been working since 1880 for the establishment of modern school buildings. Francisco Ferrer, the leader of the free school movement, was executed in 1909 on the Montjuio near Barcelona. He had wanted to guide children out of ignorance into knowledge. For this he was regarded as a revolutionary and had to forfeit his life.

The seeds he sowed were only later to germinate. Just over a week after the rebels in Barcelona had been defeated, on 27 July, the CENE was set up, the Council for the New Standard Primary

Schools of Catalonia. Its foundation was the result of collaboration between the teachers' union and the two large union central offices. In the autumn of 1937 they had got as far as reducing the number of children in Barcelona with no schooling from 70,000 to a mere 16,000.

Throughout the whole of republican Spain there are 60,137 schools in existence. From July 1936 up to July 1937, that is to say in the course of one year of bloody war, 7,578 new schools were established. In the second half of 1937 a further 10,000 schools were at the planning stage. These figures bear comparison with those of the old order. The monarchy established 945 schools in 1930, the reactionary government set up a total of 1,399 in 1935...

The Spanish republic's entire budget for state education totalled nearly 497 million pesetas in 1937. That means an increase of 143 million since 1936. In the middle of a war a sum of 40 millions was set aside for the opening of new schools.

Ten million pesetas were used in the fight against illiteracy, 7 millions for teaching materials, 50 millions for building new sports centres, swimming pools, etc. The income of the worst paid teachers, the young and country members of the profession, was raised by a quarter, and a sum of over 42 million pesetas was allocated for this purpose.

At the same time republican Spain has turned its attention to the social welfare of the youngest members of the community. As early as the beginning of August 1936 a 'Committee for the protection of orphans of the defenders of the republic' was brought into being. State aid is guaranteed to those unfortunate children whose fathers have fallen in the fight for freedom.

A decree of the republican government in November 1936 proposed the establishment of secondary schools for those who wanted to matriculate at secondary level in order to be able to continue their studies. These schools have now come into existence.

Special schools for country children and specialised farming schools were set up.

Young Spain has a profound respect for its cultural inheritance. In every province a Junta (council) was established for the protection and state ownership of the cultural heritage. Artists, scholars and technologists offer their services to these preservation councils.

In Madrid alone more than 70 large libraries, which originated from religious foundations and individual palaces, were saved. The archives of the church were also brought into safety. The cultural preservation council in Madrid rescued over 10,000 works of famous painters, among them 32 Goyas, 30 Cranachs, 11 El Grecos as well

as numerous works by Velasquez, Murillo, Titian, Breughel, Reynolds and Gainsborough. They were able to save around 100,000 other *objets d'art*. Most of them were despatched to Valencia where they were put into bomb-proof store. And in Madrid itself steps were taken to protect artistic treasures from bombing...

In the country thousands of farms are without a man in the family. Women and girls have taken over the work on the land. There as in industry they have frequently formed community groups and carry out training courses in order to increase production.

The more men that are called to the front, the more jobs the women have to take over.

Moral support supplements practical collaboration. There is the proud statement of La Pasionara :² 'We would rather be the widows of heroes than the wives of cowards!'

The Spanish reactionaries and their backers set themselves up as the protectors of the church, of religion, of Christianity, of faith. But what is the true position?

In Spain about 30 evangelical priests have been murdered. Without exception they fell victim to the terror in Franco's Spain. Guernica, the holy city of the Basques, was razed to the ground by German bombers. After the victory of 'national' troops in the Basque many priests were executed, others sentenced to up to 30 years' hard labour, because they had held services for government troops. These sentences were published in the *Gaceta del Norte* in Bilbao. That is the real truth: the Fascists are only friends of the church when the church is a friend of the Fascists.

It is also true that a number of monasteries and churches were sent up in flames during the first days of the civil war. Many were turned into fortresses from which shots were fired in anger.

The Spanish people nourished an intense hatred against the old reactionary forces which had held them enslaved for centuries and which at this turning point in history had again thrown in their lot with the enemy. The church was furthermore regarded as an instrument of exploitation. In the February elections of 1936 the Bishop of Barcelona could still be heard preaching that a right-wing vote was a vote for Christ. Numerous church leaders were actively engaged in preparations for the insurgence and entered the provisional Fascist government.

None of this has anything to do with religious faith. This is why not only the Protestants, not only the Basque Catholics, but also a very large number of practising Catholics of high standing and

reputation throughout Spain have come out on the side of the people and against the reactionary forces of the church. The republican government, with the support of the fighting youth, has from the outset pledged itself to freedom of religious belief. Over and above this, forces have come into being among the youth of Spain which are working towards the defeat of dogma and prejudice.

Republican Spain is opening thousands of new schools and leading a crusade against illiteracy. In Franco's Spain the schools are closed. We learn of this not only from the reports of foreign correspondents. The official Burgos newspaper has announced the closure of a whole series of grammar, secondary and elementary schools.

Republican Spain does not have enough teachers. Union and youth officials must be drawn in to make up a full complement of teachers.

In Franco's Spain teachers and academics are shot. In the province of Galicia 80 per cent of all primary teachers were put before the firing squad. In the villages of other provinces the Fascists shot down 60 per cent of teachers, and 20 per cent ended up in prison. The rest have their liberty, but no work, as the schools are closed. Many university professors, teachers in grammar schools, medical men and lawyers were shot. In the province of Granada there was a large contingent of intellectuals among the 23,000 people executed. The number of women shot there was so great that a rightwing professor set up a kind of orphanage specifically for the care of their children.

Republican Spain established generous social provisions for mothers and children.

In Franco's Spain children are given military training from five years upwards. The Falange takes children between five and ten into the 'Flechas' (Arrows) and makes five-year-olds bear wooden weapons and uniforms. The ten to seventeen-year-old 'Infantas' are armed. The 'Requetas' (Monarchists) dress up the members of their children's organisation 'Pelayos' in khaki uniforms with red Basque caps. That is playing at soldiers. But in Franco's Spain even twelve-year-old children are driven to the front as soldiers. In Carabanchel twelve to fourteen-year-old children were made to work in the trenches. At Oviedo fourteen-year-olds were forced on ahead in attacks by Fascist troops. At Oviedo one of the most terrible acts of this war took place: during the storming of a civil guard barricade the dynamiteros suddenly stopped in their tracks. They were unable

to take a step further, and so they withdrew, because the barricade was alive. The Fascists had roped six to ten-year-old children of anti-Fascists to the barricade.

Republican Spain sets up schools for the workers and establishes libraries in every village.

In Franco's Spain, following Hitler's example, the burning of books is organised. This is what happened in August 1937 at the feast of Saint Ignatius in Bilbao and in the province of Biscaya. A pyre was constructed in front of the monument to Ignatius Loyola, into which books were flung for hour after hour, works by Galdes, Zola, Blanco Ibanez, Anatole France, Pi y Margall, Thomas Mann, Valera, Palacio Valdes, Dickens and many others, and of course the works of Marx and Bakunin.

Bombardments of the Fascist air force and artillery against Madrid caused in one single month—February 1937—the destruction of 980 buildings. Among them were 14 schools, 8 churches, 9 old people's homes, 4 hospitals, 2 museums, the Academy of History and the Academy of Languages.

In republican Spain a new youth movement is in the making.

In Franco's Spain by contrast even the Fascist youth have no freedom. Hundreds of rank and file members and leaders of the 'Falange Espanola' are executed. These nationalist young people dreamed of a national socialist movement, of a national syndicalism.

The Franco régime is simply incapable of operating with the language of socialism, it knows no other means than terrorism. The formation of the Fascist unity party, which made Franco the ultimate authority, responsible only to 'God and history', shifted the balance on to the side of the monarchists, those reactionaries who fear even the radicalism of Fascist youth like the plague.

The anti-Fascist youth organisations of Spain have strong traditions. The Socialist Youth fought in October 1934 against the coloured and foreign legion troops in Astruria. They became the motive force behind the mobilisation and unification of the socialist workers . . .

WHO IS THE REAL ENEMY?

In Barcelona far too many wrongheaded discussions are taking place. But that in itself is no proof against the necessity for accounting for the developments of the past eight months of war, and the character of the armed conflict raging all round us.

There are two contrary theories. The first is most actively supported by the Communist party and by the PSUC, the Socialist

party of Catalonia affiliated to the Comintern, and the United Socialist Youth. Large sections of the socialists and of the socialist UGT unions follow this view, which runs like this: 'We are not faced with a war among Spaniards . . . but a war which foreign powers are waging against Spain . . . We are not faced with a class war, but a war of national independence.' This proposition, which is also supported by the popular front parties of the middle-class left, leads to a call for the whole nation to unite against the foreign powers.

On the other hand the Anarcho-syndicalists (CNT and FAI) and especially the POUM (Workers' Party for Marxist Unity) defend the proposition which Andres Nin has recently expressed in these words: 'What is happening in our country is not the defence of the independence of the homeland . . . What is developing is a fight of the Spanish proletariat against the Spanish bourgeoisie.'

The fact is that the revolution stood still, but so too did the war. International circumstances were inhibiting, in particular the weakly and largely treacherous attitude of the democrats towards Spain and the efforts of the Soviet Union to prevent the struggle within Spain from turning into the lighted fuse of the powder keg of Europe.

But in the meantime a tricky situation had developed. The character of the war was shifting more and more into the direction of a war of independence. Every organisation is faced with the necessity for taking due account of the situation, of the fact that public opinion was insufficiently mobilised, that the revolution got bogged down and that nowadays normalisation of life is the order of the day.

Salvation lies in victorious offensives on the front! Only then can the right mood be established for a resurgence of the revolutionary spirit. What must be done is to reinforce the achievements of the revolution to date and to do everything possible to win the war.

AN EPISODE IN THE BATTLE

Barcelona, 15 March 1937 (3)

A few observations on my *Impressions from the Front*: In this work I was not entirely led by what I have seen with my own eyes, I have also made use of reports from various well-informed colleagues.

During the attack on 17 February which we watched from very close quarters, I observed among other things the following: (a) Everyone had known hours beforehand (and, I was told, even days

(1)

in advance) what kind of action was in the offing, and it was the object of much discussion. (b) The transportation of the battalion into the line of trenches took place between 1½ and 2 hours too late, and for this reason the start of the attack was considerably delayed. (c) There was no officer in command during the operation, as he had gone off up the hill with the grenaderos, while the riflemen remained behind without orders. (d) There was no co-ordination with the artillery; in contrast to the enemy, they were firing all over the place, and some of their shells actually landed among us. (e) There was no air support. (f) Our boys were simply far too badly equipped, quite apart from the fact that they completely lacked the effective weapons of the other side, for example, the mortars. (g) There was no fatigue party standing at the ready with sandbags and spades for throwing up trenches. (h) The battalion in the first line of trenches gave up the ghost altogether when it turned tail on seeing the boys driven back from the hill by the Fascists, instead of giving them cover by firing on their pursuers. They had to be stopped at pistol point (and, we were told, by even stronger measures). (i) Afterwards no disciplined analysis of the action took place, instead something of an orgy of mutual recrimination...

VALENCIA

Valencia, April 1937

It is our duty to see things clearly as they are.

The first impression of Valencia is that it is hopelessly overcrowded. And there is no wonder. There used to be a mere 300,000 people living here in the town, and now there are over 900,000. Two things in Valencia immediately leap to the eye after Barcelona: (a) *the atmosphere is far, far more serious* (by way of comparison, a friend described to me the mood in Barcelona as one of light operetta), the town is filled with the military, grim-faced workers and anti-Fascists, there are throngs of heavily armed patrols, and large posters remind the inhabitants that the enemy is a mere 100 miles away (in Teruel). There are many wounded to be seen all over the town. There is war in the air and also the feeling that the forces of war are concentrated here. (b) *The revolution was halted at a much earlier stage here in Valencia*, or had gone to the limit of its possible progress. And that brings out the differences in the situation between Catalonia and the rest of the country. Valencia offers a much more middle-class and 'respectable' impression than Barcelona.

To take just one example: the more or less universal greeting

in Barcelona even today is 'Salud', but this is far from common in Valencia. On the shops there is no sign 'collectivised', but rather 'controlled'. (All undertakings of over five workers are controlled, but my information has it that the extent of the control is highly variable.) But in this context I must add at once that the syndicate signs are already evidence in themselves that close co-operation between the CNT and the UGT has been achieved.

The food supply system in Valencia seems to be better than in Barcelona. The accommodation of vast numbers of refugees has evidently been organised in a masterly fashion by the unity committee. There are fewer posters on the streets than in Barcelona. The Communist party is well to the fore, and in contrast to Barcelona there is scarcely any sign of the POUM. The SP posters relate exclusively to the challenges of war: 'Unity command!' 'Socialist: your duty—to the front!' and the like.

In chasing round for members of the SP and youth movements I did after all meet a few people who gave me some useful pointers. *A young lady in the Social Democrats*, a lawyer, first asked me the question: *What are they doing abroad?* She voiced her disappointment over the attitude of French socialists and spoke with a tremor in her voice of *the Soviet Union which alone comes to our aid*. 'The Soviet Union will help us'—this is surely not just the isolated voice of one comrade.

Anyone seeking to arrive at a picture of the situation in Valencia must realise that the Fascists were once very strong here. Even today they are not to be underestimated. Valencia is a significant stronghold of the fifth column.

Only a few days ago *a complete broadcasting station was captured* which had been sending daily reports to Franco and which even had access to *information in very high quarters indeed*. The police and military authorities comb the town and surrounding district day by day. The resulting atmosphere bears no comparison to that in Barcelona.—A well-informed individual also told me that in the population at large there is no small number of people who try to get Franco or Llano on their radio sets in the evening, or whose prayers end up with a hope for a Franco victory.

WAR, REVOLUTION AND THE FUTURE OF FASCISM

The CP, which has now become the central political force in anti-Fascist Spain, has a period of rapid growth behind it. In the February elections of 1936 it gained fourteen seats thanks to the popular front, whilst previously it only had one. Today it numbers

250,000 members, whilst its membership a few short years ago could have been accommodated in a medium-sized hall. It is true that this growth largely owes itself to lower middle class elements which see the CP as the strongest defender of their interests. But that is just *one* part of the story. What is far more important is that the CP has been more successful than any other party in attracting the proletarian and activist young.

The leftwing Socialist Youth has hitherto formed the main body of the left wing of the Socialist party. The United Socialist Youth which the CP entered with only a few thousand members is now with its 300,000 members—even if that figure is too high—predominantly under the leadership of the CP. And in addition the PSUC in Catalonia which represents the Comintern section there has 50,000 CP members. How is this quite extraordinary growth to be explained?

The first factor is the stream of Unity and Popular Front slogans, as whose supporters after the seventh Comintern congress in Spain the CP members gained the ear of the masses. They were the representatives of a policy of strength through unity which led to the February election victory. And then it is impossible to overestimate the increased weight the CP has gained as the Spanish representative of the USSR, the land of military aid. But we should be blind if we did not see further that in the eyes of large masses of the population the CP has become the staunchest supporter of the exigencies of the military situation. Day in and day out the CP have driven home the message: unified command, unified army, shock brigades at the front and to the rear, pre-military training of the young, etc., etc. And that is not just for the sake of appearances. We should arrive at an entirely false conclusion if we did not recognise the rewards the Communists have reaped for themselves on military questions, if we did not recognise the way in which progressive and reactionary elements in CP policy were intermixed.

The Comintern and its Spanish sections claim to be striving towards a radical democracy with a strong social content. In the early months they were saying quite simply: First win the war and then we will talk about what happens next. And that had some attractions. But it also happened that the selfsame CP in its principal publication was fighting for the democratic republic and in front-line newspapers for socialism. Recently José Diaz has made an attempt to throw out a catchphrase which expresses the double nature of the conflict more clearly when he says: Win the war and save the people's revolution.

What are the realities of the situation? They are that the leaders

of the USSR, to which the Comintern is subject, desire the defeat of Germany and Italy in Spain. The leaders of the USSR regard the danger of world war as extremely serious. They no longer place any hope on international working class solidarity. They seek to achieve the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini and the prevention of a Franco victory by coming to terms with France and England especially. This is why the Comintern is making such an effort to force the Spanish revolution into a middle-class and democratic context.

The Russians really want Franco beaten. And without Russian military aid it would already have long been over. That must be made absolutely clear. But it is at this point once more that the interaction of progressive and reactionary forces makes itself sharply apparent. The active involvement of the Russians last October has clearly resulted in a break in the external policies they had been pursuing for many years. They have started to pursue an active and independent foreign policy line once more. And this is the point at which their interests coincide with those of the Spanish and international working class. The Russian intervention aimed at the destruction of Franco was an extraordinarily progressive move. But this very new activity on the foreign policy front is evolving within the framework of their changed outlook. They have never delivered nor are they delivering now with no strings attached. Now no one in his right mind has requested them to deliver weapons accompanied by the declaration that they are intended for the victory of the proletarian revolution. They were needed for and aimed at nothing more than the support of the Spanish government. But they went further. They tied up political conditions with their deliveries, conditions which grew out of their attitude that on international considerations Spain cannot and must not go beyond a democratic republican system.

But every beginning has its end. Forcing events into the democratic framework has led to the destruction even of those revolutionary achievements which had already been made in the July revolution. This leads to conflicts with the militant sections of the working class. And this turn of events brings about the result that the initiative in the anti-Fascist camp has shifted towards the *petit bourgeois* and the anti-Fascist elements among the middle class and that the influence of the British and French middle class on the leadership of anti-Fascist Spain has been strengthened. The Russians are well aware of this. And what conclusions do they draw from it? Everything points to the fact that they give the battle cry of the new brand of democratic republic—and mean a Spain under its monopoly leadership... It is plain for all to see that they

have not achieved the success in international policies which they have striven for. Despite the fact that the middle class now sets the tone, the British and French governments have not surrendered their non-interventionist policies. On the contrary, they have started to come more boldly out into the open with their compromise plans which operate to the disadvantage of the Spanish working class.

The Communists use every means at their disposal to achieve the creation of the one-party government towards which they are striving. But in a situation where everything hangs on bringing forces together against Franco, the CP methods of defamation of their proletarian opponents, witchhunts and indiscriminate acts of terror against them, taking all others into the fold or destroying them—normalisation after the pattern of the PSUC and the United Youth—all undermine the fighting spirit and have a fatal impact on the conduct of the anti-Fascist war. Such tactics threaten to embitter and set back the whole international socialist movement once again and to reduce the initiatives towards unity to a heap of rubble.

In Spain these tactics have already halted the development of the anarchist mass movement and have to some extent set in train a dangerous retrograde motion.

Today the CP is the decisive political force in anti-Fascist Spain. Although it does not have its hands on the reins of government, it still dominates the greater part of the apparatus of the state at the present time. The officers are largely in the CP organisation, and the overwhelming majority of the police are in their hands. Spain is moving towards a Communist party dictatorship.

The international socialist movement can do a great deal to influence the ultimate outcome of the Spanish conflict. For the international working-class movement, for freedom and socialism throughout the world, the outcome of the war in Spain means a very great deal indeed.

But the international socialist movement must also put its whole weight behind the prevention of a continuation of the fight between political allies and a cessation of the persecution of the POUM and other revolutionaries.

Thus two crucial questions for the further progress of the Spanish civil war arise: will Spain lead to a world war? Or will the Spanish conflict be de-escalated by an accommodation between the great powers? (5)

The socialist movement has a vital interest in the prevention of a worldwide conflagration. But it must also recognise that there is no point in helping those who provoke war to become more daring and powerful just for the sake of peace. Spain is a test case for the great events that are to come. Already international Fascism has suffered great moral defeats. Now of all times the socialist movement must not lose heart. It must go beyond simple expressions of solidarity toward a positive attitude to external policies. In this period of transition the socialist movement must have answers to offer to all the questions the nation will pose. Looking at the position as a whole, the situation in Spain is now favourable to the cause of freedom and socialism.

There is no doubt any more that the conflicts between the various political factions in Franco's Spain are of a pretty serious nature. In many places it has come to the point of hostilities between the Falangists and the monarchists... As long as the war continued and foreign weapons and troops were needed for victory, internal tensions were set aside. After victory the question arose as to which paths should be taken towards the reconstruction of Spain after three years of devastation. Now the forces of Fascism and reaction are clashing. But in contrast to Germany and Italy, Spanish Fascism continues to draw its strongest support from abroad; in Spain itself there is no broadly-based Fascist movement... (6)

The Falangists have taken over the Nazi vocabulary and have turned themselves into 'Spanish socialists' and 'national syndicalists'. Their threats against the capitalists are not taken very seriously, but they clearly want to take over the big estates. They are also challenging the might of the Catholic church. But above all else they are eager supporters of close collaboration with the Rome-Berlin Axis; in the event of war Spain is to go on the side of the Axis powers. The Falangists have therefore worked out a programme—with regard to land reform, for example—which signifies a break with the conditions which led Spain into civil war. They may have gained some support for these points of their programme. None the less the opposition view has a stronger position among the population.

What the Spanish people want more than anything else is peace, and also they want to rid themselves of foreigners. The monarchists say that they seek to secure the independence of Spain. They want to achieve this by not binding themselves too strongly to the Axis, but instead of this by working out a form of collaboration with

Britain. But at the same time they defend the old rotten social conditions... These struggles behind the scenes will continue and we can count on more surprises coming out of 'liberated' Spain.

Notes

1. These accusations may be the result of mistaken identity. A certain Wilhelm Philipp Liborius Brandt (born in 1907, now living near Frankfurt) went in 1936 to Barcelona as a journalist. While he was on a trip to Madrid the civil war broke out, and he placed himself at the disposal of the republican government, taking part in front line fighting. In December 1940 he was abducted off to Germany by the Gestapo. In the course of his imprisonment (which included Dachau) the Gestapo frequently asked him what he had been up to in Sweden and Norway.

2. La Pasionara = Dolores Ibarruri, the most notable Spanish Communist.