

AUTHORS TAKE SIDES

ON THE SPANISH WAR

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LEFT REVIEW
2 Parton Street
London
W.C.1

Dv 1633p

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
Bibliothek

S THE QUESTION

To the Writers and Poets of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales

It is clear to many of us throughout the whole world that now, as certainly never before, we are determined or compelled, to take sides. The equivocal attitude, the Ivory Tower, the paradoxical, the ironic detachment, will no longer do.

P

We have seen murder and destruction by Fascism in Italy, in Germany—the organisation there of social injustice and cultural death—and how revived, imperial Rome, abetted by international treachery, has conquered her place in the Abyssinian sun. The dark millions in the colonies are unavenged.

A

To-day, the struggle is in Spain. To-morrow it may be in other countries—our own. But there are some who, despite the martyrdom of Durango and Guernica, the enduring agony of Madrid, of Bilbao, and Germany's shelling of Almeria, are still in doubt, or who aver that it is possible that Fascism may be what it proclaims it is: "the saviour of civilisation".

I

This is the question we are asking you:
Are you for, or against, the legal Government
and the People of Republican Spain?
Are you for, or against, Franco and Fascism?
For it is impossible any longer to take no side.

N

Writers and Poets, we wish to print your answers. We wish the world to know what you, writers and poets, who are amongst the most sensitive instruments of a nation, feel.

Signed:

Aragon
W. H. Auden
José Bergamín
Jean Richard Bloch

Nancy Cunard
Brian Howard
Heinrich Mann
Ivor Montagu

Paris - June 1937

Pablo Neruda
Ramón Sender
Stephen Spender
Tristan Tzara

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

It has proved impossible to include all the answers received, in response to the hundreds of "Questions" sent out, within the limits of a sixpenny pamphlet. In the task of selection, the editor has depended entirely on the most complete guide available—the 'Reference Catalogue of Current Literature,' so that in no instance has an Answer been omitted on grounds of "policy." (As the reader will see at the first glance, the overwhelming majority of authors are 'FOR THE GOVERNMENT,' and it so happens that all the answers omitted fall under the same head.) This publication is, therefore, both representative and important, since it reflects faithfully the frame of mind of British authors to-day.

'Left Review' will be glad to receive, with a view to publication, statements from any established authors whom the original question did not reach.

THE ANSWERS

FOR

THE GOVERNMENT

Lascelles Abercrombie

THE WAR IN SPAIN is crucial for Europe and civilisation. I am for the legal Government and true nationalism inspired by social justice and free culture. I am against Franco and the forces of international Fascism which, masquerading as patriotism, intend a ruthless domination of property and privilege—in an alliance of obscurantist religion, conscienceless finance, and brutish militarism.

Valentine Ackland

FASCISM IS SYMPTOMATIC of the sick man's will to self-destruction: artists live to resist this will, they express the fight of the living people for life, against death.

I stand with the People and Government of Spain. Against Fascism always. Against confused thinking and cowardice. For the artist's most important qualities of reason and tenacious courage.

Mulk Raj Anand

ALL THE TRUTH OF MY BEING, all the intensity of passion of which I am capable urges me to tell you that I stand for the People of Republican Spain against Franco and Fascism; that I feel that in this tragic hour of Spain's destiny, in the moment of her utmost suffering, it is the duty of all of us to look into our consciences and inquire whether we can sit still and see the flower of Spain's manhood sacrificed before the greed of a few who dream of power and feed their insatiable lust for glory and wealth on the blood of men, women and children.

Martin Armstrong

I AM ON THE SIDE of the legal Government and the People of Republican Spain. I am against Franco because I am against the Spanish priesthood, Spanish landlords and Fascism, and I am against Fascism because I am against any form of tyranny, persecution and narrow nationalism.

W. H. Auden

I SUPPORT THE VALENCIA GOVERNMENT in Spain because its defeat by the forces of International Fascism would be a major disaster for Europe. It would make a European war more probable; and the spread of Fascist Ideology and practice to countries as yet comparatively free from them, which would inevitably follow upon a Fascist victory in Spain, would create an atmosphere in which the creative artist and all who care for justice, liberty and culture would find it impossible to work or even exist.

Jenny Ballou

I AM FOR THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT and the People of Republic Spain and against Franco and Fascism, against the cultural night these names spell. The struggle in Spain has X-rayed the lies upon which our civilisation is built. Those writers who pretend not to see are, at the risk of their personal destruction as artists, betrayers of their own kind.

George Barker

I AM FOR THE PEOPLE of Republican Spain, for the people of China, for the people of England, for the people of Germany, etc. I am against Fascism, Franco, Mussolini, Japanese Generals, Hitler, Walter Chrysler, the Archbishop of Canterbury, etc.

Leonard Barnes

CERTAINLY I AM wholly for the Spanish Government and wholly against Franco and his allies. But I remember that Fascism in Italy and Germany is largely the outcome of policies pursued by capitalist interests and Governments in Britain, France and America. Moreover, British rule in India and Africa is a form of Fascism just as barbarous as the German or Italian. For Britons, therefore, the enemy is not merely the ambition of a Mussolini or a Hitler, but also the general structure and functioning of the British Empire itself, as now organised.

Samuel Beckett

! UPTHEREPUBLIC !

J. D. Beresford

WHILE I HAVE no particular admiration or sympathy for the methods of Spain's legal Government, I oppose with all the forces of which I am capable any spread of Fascism.

Pearl Binder

TO-DAY THE FUTURE of European Culture is being decided on Spanish soil. All sincere writers must support the legal Spanish Government in its heroic struggle for learning and liberty against the dark forces of General Franco.

Ralph Fox was one of us.

Oswell Blakeston

FASCISM IS WHAT MEN used to call "original sin." It is the essential core of evil in each of us. If we can rid the world of Fascism, we may know what men used to call heaven. If we do not, we will get our Hell as others have already found theirs.

Kay Boyle

I AM AGAINST FASCISM and its exponents as symbols of a material and not a spiritual triumph; I am against Franco and for the people of Spain. I am for the people of every country who have, because of a tradition of ignorance (or because of colour), been exploited and betrayed.

Lionel Britton

THE WORLD IS FACED with disruption because men do not realise that privileges cannot be retained for ever. In a last attempt to save their privileges against the rising tide of men, the privileged classes are giving up the only thing that makes life worth while—freedom. Some freedom must be given up for the sake of order, because without order civilisation is impossible; but this is not intelligent unless we receive from the collective order more freedom than we individually give up.

The Spanish Government was a legal government, elected by majority opinion; and though majorities are not always right, to suppress this by force where it cannot be done by argument, is to revert to the practices of ages we now consider uncivilised.

Fenner Brockway

FASCISM IS THE CLIMAX of the cruelty and the tyranny of Capitalism. This is shewn by the infamies of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. I wholeheartedly support the struggle of the Spanish workers and peasants to defeat Franco, and hope that they will make a permanent job of it by carrying through the social revolution, and so destroy the Capitalism which is the parent of Fascism.

Alec Brown

I AM FOR THE GOVERNMENT of Republican Spain, because it is clearly the Government elected by a nation striving towards greater freedom and activity of thought, hence improved human life; I am opposed to all forms

of Fascism and conservative forms of government, because invariably they trammel thought, hence hamper mankind's struggle for improved life.

George Buchanan

YOUR QUESTION appears to call on writers to step down from their Ivory Towers. Not being resident in one, I cannot make the appropriate gesture.

I do not regard Fascism as the "saviour of civilisation", and desire to see the Spanish people free from civil war and oppression.

Gerald Bullett

AS ONE WHO HAS NO POLITICAL AXE to grind, is attached to no political party, and detests all tyrannical government whether it be of the Right or of the Left, I believe that the subjugation of the People of Republican Spain by Franco and his foreign confederates will, if it is effected, mark the end of freedom and civilisation in Europe. Fascism—which in practice is merely gangsterism on a national scale—involves the enslavement of peoples, the destruction of culture, and the persecution of all real religion. And it depends for its continued existence on the perpetual fomentation of new wars. In the light of recent history, and of history now in the making, I am astonished that any man or woman of good will can remain blind to these plain facts.

Thomas Burke

I KNOW nothing of the rights and wrongs of the struggle in Spain; but I am for social justice, a fair standard of life, and freedom of opinion, for the People of all countries. I am against the regimentation of the People, under whatever name it operates.

Arthur Calder-Marshall

AS WRITER, I oppose Fascism as the enemy of the arts. As politician, I work against Fascism because it tries to keep by tyranny a class system now as obsolete as it was always unjust. As man, I hate Fascism because it destroys all the best in life and the lives of all the best.

Their free spirit now articulate after centuries of oppression, the Spanish People fight not for themselves only, but for all who prize freedom.

Sir Peter Chalmers-Mitchell

FASCISM IS A PATHOLOGICAL CONDITION, a disease of Society. Unfortunately it is contagious. Its leading symptoms are exaggerated selfishness and moral atrophy. In its more virulent phase, as in Germany, Italy and Spain, it glorifies and justifies crime. In its weaker forms, as in the British Government and the majorities of the two Houses of Parliament, it appears as a complacent and selfish cowardice. But it is the same disease, and I fear that a very slight change in economic conditions would produce the virulent phase even in England.

Norman Cliff

Foreign Editor, News Chronicle

I AM WITH THE COMMON PEOPLE of Spain in their almost unaided struggle through blood and tears for liberty, decency and civilisation against Fascist tyranny, military insanity and imported savagery.

Margaret Cole

THE CAUSE OF THE WAR in Spain, and the actions of Fascist Powers with regard to it, have made it clear to everyone who cares for democracy, liberalism, or culture, that Fascism is determined to wipe these out by every possible means, both of brutal violence and lying propaganda. Those who doubt should read or listen to the speeches of the rebel generals and their foreign supporters: this should be enough for anyone who cares at all for civilisation.

Norman Collins

I ABHOR WITH ALL MY HEART the terrible action of Franco and his supporters, who by their merciless campaign against men, women and children are daily adding new horrors to the world's history, and are threatening to submerge Western Europe in the barbarism of the Middle Ages.

Cyril Connolly

FASCISM IS THE FIRST PROCESS by which the cynical few exploit the idealism of the many, by violence and propaganda through the use of a dictator. Its aim is to maintain the status of the rich by using the poor to fight battles. This cannot be done until the whole nation is rendered both warlike and servile. Those who will not make soldiers are not required; those who are not required are eliminated. What we can learn from Spain is the order and extent of that elimination before the stultifying of the human race can proceed. Intellectuals come first, almost before women and children. It is impossible therefore to remain an intellectual and admire Fascism, for that is to admire the intellect's destruction, nor can one remain careless and indifferent. To ignore the present is to condone the future.

A. E. Coppard

I AM FOR THE REPUBLIC of Spain and its rightful government.

I AM AGAINST the invasion by Italy and Germany, and AGAINST the massacres by their flunkey Franco.

Most of all I am against the cold-blooded Tartuffe that watches the murder from the fence, and under the plea of keeping the ring dainty for democracy devotes the upholders of its "honour" to the perils of a Tattoo and the blasphemy of "Abide with Me."

Alastair Crowley

DO WHAT THOU WILT shall be the whole of the Law.

Franco is a common murderer and pirate: should swing in chains at Execution Dock.

Mussolini, the secret assassin, possibly worse.

Hitler may prove a "prophet"; time will judge.

Love is the law, love under will.

The late Brigadier-General Crozier

THERE IS ONLY ONE THING that can save civilisation and that is civilisation. Rating, as I do, Fascism as an anti-social evil I am accordingly opposed thereto. On the other hand, in Communism I detect the hand of Christ.

W. P. Crozier

Editor, Manchester Guardian

I HAVE TO MAKE IT A RULE to express my opinion on political questions through the paper. I am afraid I must keep to my rule in this case also, although I imagine that from the paper my opinions are well known.

A. J. Cummings

Political Editor, News Chronicle

EMPHATICALLY I AM FOR the Government and People of Spain and against Franco and Fascism. If Fascism wins in Europe all that is worth while in modern civilisation must perish.

Nancy Cunard

IT IS AS UNTHINKABLE for any honest intellectual to be pro-Fascist as it is degenerate to be for Franco, the assassin of the Spanish and Arab people.

Spain is not "politics" but life; its immediate future will affect every human who has a sense of what life and its facts mean, who has respect for himself and humanity. Above all others the writer, the intellectual, must take sides. His place is with the people against Fascism; his duty, to protest against the present degeneration of the democracies.

C. Day Lewis

THE STRUGGLE IN SPAIN is part of a conflict going on now all over the world. I look upon it quite simply as a battle between light and darkness, of which only a blind man could be unaware. Both as a writer and as a member of the Communist Party I am bound to help in the fight against Fascism, which means certain destruction or living death for humanity.

Cedric Dover

THE SUCCESS OF REPUBLICAN SPAIN would make another revolutionary advance in human progress. It would cripple European Fascism even if it did not kill it. It would encourage those suffering millions who

know the yoke of colonial Fascism. It would inspire the proletariat, the depressed peoples and the true intellectuals of the world. To support the Spanish Republic, to share its struggle as intimately as we can, is therefore an honour and a duty.

Havelock Ellis

IN REPLY—While I recognise that there are good men on both sides, I am myself decisively on the side of the legal Government and against Franco and the Fascists.

Liam O' Flaherty

I AM FOR THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT and the people of Republican Spain against Franco and Fascism. As an Irishman I realise that the toiling masses of Spain are waging the same struggle which we have waged for centuries in Ireland against landlordism and foreign Imperialism.

Long live the Republic in Spain and all over the earth.

Ford Madox Ford

I AM UNHESITATINGLY FOR the existing Spanish Government and against Franco's attempt—on every ground of feeling and reason. In addition, as the merest commonsense, the Government of the Spanish, as of any other nation, should be settled and defined by the inhabitants of that nation. Mr. Franco seeks to establish a government resting on the arms of Moors, Germans, Italians. Its success *must* be contrary to world conscience.

William Forrest

I AM A LABOURER'S SON. I am a trade unionist. I am a writer. The labourers of Spain, *los pobres y humildes*, the trade unionists of Spain, the writers of Spain—all these are my comrades, my brothers. And you ask me where I stand, with them or against them? In the name of God!

Suffering, struggling, stoic
People of Spain,
All your split blood heroic
Is not in vain,
No, spilt not in vain.

Hamilton Fyfe

THAT THE FIGHT IN SPAIN is between the forces of freedom, democracy, justice, and the forces of reaction, tyranny, obscurantism, admits of no doubt. It would be a disaster for all who believe in the right of People to decide for themselves their own destinies, if Fascism were to win.

It must not win!

William Gallacher, M.P.

I AM FOR the People's Government of Spain and for the Spanish People.

The Fascist hordes around Franco, representing all the evil forces of Europe, must be driven out of Spain—out of Europe.

All lovers of Peace and Progress should support the legal Spanish Government in their great task.

This is the first step towards the complete defeat of Fascism.

Douglas Garman

OF COURSE I have "taken sides". I hate Fascism as I hate all barbarism, because it sets out to destroy everything which I love, admire and enjoy. I believe in the cause for which the Spanish Government is fighting because it is the cause of all who subscribe to the principles of Socialism.

David Garnett

THE QUESTION whether I am for or against a military adventurer who calls in the weapons of foreign despots against his own people appears to me to have been settled a century or two before I was born. I am an Englishman and a liberal who has always enjoyed personal liberty and been free to think and speak as he likes. I cannot conceive a tolerable world without such freedom.

The question for Englishmen and Frenchmen to-day is not whether they are for or against Fascism, but when they will have to fight in defence of their liberty against the German and Italian dictatorships and with what weapons. What we have to consider is the strategy necessary to defeat the disciplined but rather top-heavy enemies of liberty.

Marcus Garvey

FASCISM IS THE CULT of organised murder, invented by the arch-enemies of society. It tends to destroy civilisation and revert man to his most barbarous state. Mussolini and Hitler might well be called the devils of an age, for they are playing hell with civilisation.

David Gascoyne

ONE WOULD HAVE TO BE devoid of the most elementary feelings for decency and justice in order to preserve an attitude of indifference towards the inhuman gangster warfare being waged by Fascism against the people of Spain and their elected Government.

Louis Golding

I AM FOR THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT and the People of Republican Spain, which means I am against Franco and Fascism. I would be against Franco if I were the most dyed-in-the-wool jingo flag-wagger. But that is not my reason. I am against him because he is a fist of Hitler; or at least, a little finger. *Ecrasez l'infâme !*

Douglas Goldring

I WAS PERHAPS THE FIRST ENGLISH WRITER to see Fascism in action, in Ireland, 1919–1921. The Black and Tans invented "Shot while trying to escape", and many other familiar horrors subsequently copied by Hitler and Mussolini. I have spent nearly twenty years of my life, as a writer, trying to warn the younger generation against what is in store for them if they persist in pursuing the "good time" or trying to live in (with apologies to my old friend the late Mary Butts) "Crystal Cabinets" or "Ivory Towers".

As my convictions have remained unchanged since, in 1919, I was the English secretary of Henri Barbusse's "Clarté" movement, you can be certain that I am against Fascism wherever it appears, against Franco and for the legal Government and the people of Republican Spain. Fourteen years ago I spent a spring in a Mallorcan "anarchist" or co-operative fishing village. It was a paradise; without crime, distress, repression or "Loranorder". Spain will, no doubt, be crushed by the dead weight of Fascist bombs. But in the end Spain is unconquerable, superb, humanity's chief hope. *No pasarán.*

Victor Gollancz

OF COURSE I am for the legal Government and the people of Republican Spain.

Of course I am against Franco and Fascism.

Fascism is culturally and intellectually a species of dementia præcox—a refusal any longer to carry the burden of being human, and a slipping back, happy sometimes but always disgusting, into the primeval slime. The writer, poet or artist who says the whole thing is no concern of his is either a knave or a fool, or more probably both.

Geoffrey Gorer

AS A WRITER, as an anthropologist, as an Englishman and as a human being, I am convinced that the triumph of Franco—or rather of the powers that are backing him—would be an overwhelming disaster for the human race as a whole; it would render the position of Englishmen even more perilous than it is to-day; the explicit anti-scientific attitude would render anthropology impossible; and the atmosphere fostered in Fascist countries makes creative art almost an impossibility.

Geoffrey Grigson

Editor, New Verse

FOR POTTED SHRIMPS in the club, for reading the *Manchester Guardian*, for holding hands in the cinema, we are paying willingly with the lies, the insolence and the cynicism hung between us and intervention in Spain.

I am equivocal enough to be *against* politically, and not *for*, to fear and distrust any mass in its own control; but for me Hitler, Mussolini

and Franco are man-eating mass-giants issuing from mediocrity and obscenity. I believe it better to risk "destroying civilisation" than to live and profit in a civilisation of Baldwinian lies by throwing them victims.

Carmel Haden Guest

(1) I AM FOR THE PEOPLE of Republican Spain because they are the real patriots who are defending the independence of their country.

(2) I am for the legal Government because it stands for liberty and democracy.

(3) I am against Fascism because it means international war, slavery of the workers, suppression of art and culture and the degradation of women.

James Hanley

(1) I AM AGAINST the Franco Insurgents for I believe it to be a *very real* danger to the constitution of an organised democracy.

(2) I am against all forms of Fascist dictatorship as they constitute a *real* threat not only to the freedom of man and men, but also to the intellect and the culture we value as one of the great fruits of human life and endeavour.

Tom Harrisson

THE EQUIVOCAL ATTITUDE, the Ivory Tower, the paradoxical, the ironic detachment, are words your letter uses to sway with superstitious feeling our immediate judgment. But even without them we must feel horror and terror and hate at that Franco, saviour of civilisation, who uses the weapons of science to prosper the principles of confounded superstition. Science is seldom evocative, starts always from doubt. It does not end in doubt. There is no doubt about Guernica. Science can only work with detachment; that is not equivocal or ivory, but its effects are more than ironic. You, who are interested in man's future states, must realise this: the iron age is over.

Robert Herring

Editor, Life and Letters To-day

AS JOURNALISTS and human beings, we consider it to be taken for granted that we are against Franco and Fascism.

Harold Heslop

THE *only* ANSWER to the Fascist attack on culture and on Spain which a writer ought to give is: Down with the Fascist Monsters. With the blood of the people of Spain is being written a chapter of human history which will remain imperishable through time. I join with my comrades of the pen with the Spanish people in the war on Mussolini, Hitler, Franco and their allies.

R. P. Hewett

WRITERS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN more progressive than their society. The non-political writer is a modern myth, born of fear and obscurantism. But Addis Ababa, Guernica, and Tientsin have opened the eyes of even the most escapist writers, and the immediate menace of Fascism forces every one of us to take up an uncompromising attitude against Fascism and in defence of Spain, which must be expressed in our work.

Jack Hilton

FOR THE PEOPLE of Republican Spain.

Against Franco and Fascism.

Yes. Yes. Yes.

J. L. Hodson

I AM OPPOSED TO FASCISM as I am opposed to any dictatorship either of the Right or Left. I oppose any system of government which deprives the individual of liberty of speech or writing. In so far as the Government of Spain is one of liberal or socialistic principles, I support it. I am against Franco.

Lancelot Hogben

THE BRUTAL ATTACK upon the constituted authority of Spain's democratic Government by Franco's Moorish legionaries is a challenge to democracy, to decency and to constructive social effort in all countries where Fascism has not yet trampled on intellectual freedom.

Laurence Housman

I AM WHOLLY OPPOSED TO FASCISM, as a negation of religious and civil liberty, but I do not think that legal governments are sacred things. The Spanish Government was provocative, and threatened to secure its reforms by unconstitutional methods before rebellion started. Had it been constructively pacifist from the beginning, I do not think that the present disastrous position of affairs would have come about.

I think it is a mistake to pretend that legal government is so sacred. I would advocate a national strike against our own Government if I thought it would succeed, even though a national strike has been made illegal.

Brian Howard

A PEOPLE, NEARLY HALF of whom has been denied the opportunity to learn to read, is struggling for bread, liberty and life against the most unscrupulous and reactionary plutocracy left in existence. Utterly unable to crush this people alone, their enemies have hired foreign mercenaries, whose governments self-confessedly covet Spain's raw materials, to butcher whole civilian communities. With all my anger and love, I am for the People of Republican Spain.

Aldous Huxley

MY SYMPATHIES are, of course, with the Government side, especially the Anarchists; for Anarchism seems to me much more likely to lead to desirable social change than highly centralised, dictatorial Communism. As for "taking sides"—the choice, it seems to me, is no longer between two users of violence, two systems of dictatorship. Violence and dictatorship cannot produce peace and liberty; they can only produce the results of violence and dictatorship, results with which history has made us only too sickeningly familiar.

The choice now is between militarism and pacifism. To me, the necessity of pacifism seems absolutely clear.

E. Ibbetson James

I AM FOR the legal Government and the People of Republican Spain.

I am against Franco and Fascism.

To take any other view is, in my opinion, to be false to the 800 year traditions of the English people, and to the present vital interests of the British Empire.

C. L. R. James

AGAINST FASCISM, against Franco, but against bourgeois democracy too. For the independent action of the workers in the struggle for a Soviet Spain, the defence of the U.S.S.R., and international Socialism.

Norah C. James

I AM FOR THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT and the People of Republican Spain and against Franco and Fascism. What other attitude can anybody who cares about humanity adopt? Nationalism, hatred and war are the inevitable growths of Fascism.

Storm Jameson

IT OUGHT TO BE IMPOSSIBLE to find any writer willing to admit that he is for Franco and Fascism. This hideous war, which is murdering Spain and may let war loose again over the whole of Europe, is the deliberate act of the two Fascist dictators, and avowed by them as such. It is an act they will not hesitate to repeat. Civilisation, the civilisation of the mind and the heart, is threatened with utter ruin by this doctrine which exalts violence and uses incendiary bombs to fight ideas. For any writer to support it is plain treachery and worse, if there is anything worse.

C. E. M. Joad

I AGREE that it is the duty of every writer, of every artist and of every thinker to regard Fascism as the arch-enemy. The success of Fascism is the collapse of civilisation and the relapse into barbarism.

It is by virtue of his reason and his spirit that man is separated from the beasts: truth is the specific good of reason; beauty, of the spirit. Fascism suppresses truth and oppresses the spirit. Those who care for these goods must use all their powers to repel that which threatens them.

Arthur Koestler

OTHER WARS consist of a succession of battles; this war is a succession of tragedies, with the Spanish folk as the victim. Both Hitler and Mussolini have publicly admitted that they wish Franco to win, and help him to win; that means that the fact of foreign aggression in the territory of an independent country is plainly established.

John Langdon-Davies

TWO THINGS MAKE THE FUTURE REAL, the artist's imagination and the worker's hope. Fascism destroys both. Therefore the artist and the worker must unite to destroy Fascism. The Fascist artist is a traitor, the neutral is already dead. Art and anti-Fascism are synonymous.

Professor Harold J. Laski

I REGARD THE DEFEAT of General Franco as vital to the interest of democratic freedom over the whole world. He symbolises a combination of feudal privilege, ecclesiastical obscurantism, and economic reaction, the victory of which would encourage all the dark forces against which civilisation is contending.

F. Le Gros Clark

(Committee Against Malnutrition)

ALL MY SENSE OF LOGIC and belief in progress throws me utterly upon the side of the Spanish Government. Life is to-day a struggle between progress, which is an absolute good, and reaction, superstition and tyranny, which are absolute evils. There can be no neutrality or quarter. We had better settle down to a realisation that *our* life-times are going to be ones of intense struggle; and realising this, we had better choose our sides and plunge into the battle.

John Lehmann

Editor, New Writing

OF COURSE I AM FOR the legal Government and the People of Spain. No writer who is trying to create for the future, and not merely dabbling in outworn forms and sentiments, can be on any other side.

Rosamund Lehmann

WITH ALL MY MIND AND HEART I am against Franco and Fascism, and for the legal Government and the people of Republican Spain. As a mother, I am convinced that upon the outcome of the struggle in Spain depends

the future, the very life of my children. Up till now a pacifist in the fullest sense, I have come to feel that non-resistance can be—in this case, is—a negative, a sterile, even a destructive thing.

Fascism, whose main principle is the sacrifice of the People to the State, must in the last analysis attack what are called the humanities. Culture, which has been violently destroyed in Italy and Germany, is in mortal danger even here, even in England. Not only as an internationalist, but as an English writer, I must choose to bear my part in the defence of culture against Fascism.

Professor H. Levy

THE BURNING of the Books,

The Crucifixion of Abyssinia,

The Destruction of Guernica,

all bear witness to the barbaric onslaught of Fascism on Culture and Civilisation.

As a scientist seeking to harness knowledge to human progress, I take my stand with those who fight against the savagery symbolised by Hitler, Mussolini and Franco.

Jack Lindsay

I BELIEVE FASCISM to be utterly evil and destructive. I stand with every fibre of my being for the People of Spain against the murderous attack of the feudalist remnants backed by Hitler and Mussolini for their imperialist world-war purposes; I believe this is an epic conflict in which ideas like Freedom and Culture leap out with a new tremendous urgency, an irresistible demand on our loyalty. To be above the battle, when such a cause is concerned, is to be sub-human.

Eric Linklater

MY SYMPATHY is with the people and government of Republican Spain. I am against Fascism and Franco and all who set the mythical value of an imaginary totality above the intellect and freedom of the individual. To European civilisation Fascism is as dreary and dreadful a peril as another Flood—and the Ark of the Covenant has unhappily been scuttled.

F. L. Lucas

CIVILISATION WAS BUILT by the free individual, shaking off the tribe and the tribal god; now, losing nerve, he flees back to their shadow. Fascism, Cæsarism, are the cocaine of a Petite Bourgeoisie afraid of social justice, of science, of progress, of itself. Together Rome and "Nordic" barbarism are thrusting back the new Spain into the dungeon of the Middle Age and making of Madrid a new *auto-da-fé*.

Rose Macaulay

AGAINST FRANCO.

Hugh Macdiarmid

I AM A MEMBER of the Communist Party and wholly on the side of the legal Government and the People of Republican Spain—as are the vast majority of the people of Scotland, where at successive General Elections a majority of the total poll has been cast for Socialism, and where—if we had had national independence—we too would have had a Socialist Republican Government long ago. Practically all the Scottish writers of any distinction to-day are of the same way of thinking. But for the connection with England, Fascism would never be able to raise its head in Scotland itself. If we are subjected to a Fascist terror in Scotland, the London Government will be to blame, as it is mainly to blame for the horrible tragedy inflicted on our Spanish comrades—a tragedy which must, and will, be turned yet into a glorious victory over the Principalities and Powers of Darkness, and end with the liquidation of Franco and all his fellow-murderers.

A. G. Macdonell

QUESTION 1. You bet your life I'm for the legal Government and People of Republican Spain in their struggle against Reaction, Prussia, the Moors and the heroes of Capretto and Guadalajara.

QUESTION 2. You bet your life I'm against Franco and all Fascists in whatever country they may be found.

Louis MacNeice

I SUPPORT THE VALENCIA GOVERNMENT in Spain. Normally I would only support a cause because I hoped to get something out of it. Here the reason is stronger; if this cause is lost, nobody with civilised values may be able to get anything out of anything.

Charles Madge

I WHOLEHEARTEDLY SUPPORT the Government and the People of Spain in their struggle against Fascist repression and terror.

Tom Mann

I AM ENTIRELY FOR the legal Government and the People of Republican Spain; I am determinedly against Fascism, and also against Franco, its Spanish champion. I am with you one hundred per cent and thank you heartily for taking the present action.

Ethel Mannin

I AM FOR THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT of Spain inasmuch as I am against Franco and Fascism, and that passionately, but with the defeat of Franco I hope for very much more than a mere Republican Spain (with the old bourgeois capitalist Government still in power)—for the establishmen

of a Workers' State, not on Communist (U.S.S.R.) lines, but C.N.T.-F.A.I. (Anarcho-Syndicalist).

Francis Meynell

THERE CAN BE NO HONOUR without freedom of choice. There can be no art without freedom of expression. There can be no life without freedom of growth. There can be no love without freedom of opportunity. There can be no spiritual adventure without the freedom of expectation. The Fascist philosophy forbids all these. And most Fascists have proved themselves to be not philosophers but sadists.

You say, "It may be our turn next." *It is our turn now*—if "us" and "our" mean the fellowship of those who prefer poetry to bayonet practice.

Naomi Mitchison

THERE IS NO QUESTION for any decent, kindly man or woman, let alone a poet or writer, who *must* be more sensitive. We have to be against Franco and Fascism and for the people of Spain, and the future of gentleness and brotherhood which ordinary men and women want all over the world.

Ivor Montagu

FOX-HUNTERS, people who shoot down birds, dukes, bankers, like Franco.

Cocktail parties are given for him.

If there were no other good reason—with the Republic you find better company.

Should we sleep while others are raving and winning the world, who will bother to wake us?

Elinor Mordaunt

OF COURSE I OBJECT most strongly to any form of despotism—and I think that no possible hell could be bad enough for Franco and his kind who have launched such horrors on their own people. As for Fascism I believe it would be the worst terror Europe has ever known if it once cuts right across it.

In Kingslake's *History of the Crimea* you will find the words: "When England is weak there is no peace in Europe."

Louise Morgan

I AM OF MY TIME. Not, like some, an anachronism. Deep in my heart as well as my brain is a sense of exultation at the struggle upwards of the human mass. That is why, if I were free, I would be giving all my time to help the People of Spain against Franco and Fascism.

Raymond Mortimer

SINCE I BELIEVE in the supreme importance and value of minorities; since I believe that the scientist and the artist have the right and the duty to

make public their work, whether or not this meets with the approval of the Government; since I believe that the future of civilisation depends upon the extension of individual liberty; I necessarily regard Fascism as the self-declared enemy of the human race.

Willa Muir

I AM AGAINST FRANCO and on the side of Republican Spain, because I desire to see individuals growing up undistorted by economic or other pressure, free to develop creatively in a creative environment that fosters new life. For that reason I am against capitalism in general.

John Middleton Murry

I AM WHOLLY FOR the Spanish Government, and against Franco. But that does not mean that I am for British intervention on behalf of the Government: I am opposed to that in any form. But I believe that the present system of "non-intervention" is very unjust to the Spanish Government.
(June 17, 1937)

Henry W. Nevinson

LL.D., D.Litt., Ex War Correspondent

I AM OPPOSED TO DICTATORSHIPS and Tyranny in any form. I detest the cruel systems of persecution and suppression now existing under Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, and Stalin in Russia. Consequently I detest the tyrannical system which Franco, with the hardly concealed assistance of Germany and Italy, is endeavouring to establish in Spain. I also regard it as a most serious danger to British interests in the Mediterranean.

Robert Nichols

IN MY OPINION both Fascism and Communism make for spiritual and intellectual bondage. Therefore insofar as the Spanish Republican Government is non-Communist I am in its favour and opposed to Franco and the more so as Franco's party appears to be narrowly nationalistic.

Sean O'Casey

I AM, OF COURSE, FOR a phalanx unbreakable round those who think and work for all men, and I am with the determined faces firing at the steel-clad slug of Fascism from the smoke and flame of the barricades.

George Padmore

THE SYMPATHY OF AFRICANS and other colonial peoples naturally goes out to the toiling masses of Spain in their heroic struggle against Fascist-barbarism, for they have not forgotten Abyssinia. And precisely because of this, it is so regrettable that democratic Spain, by failing to make an anti-imperialist gesture to the Moors, played into the hands of Franco. This should be a reminder to the European workers that: "No people who oppress another people can themselves be free."

Herbert Palmer

I THINK THE STRUGGLE in Spain is as much between Mithraism (revived) and Socialist Christianity as it is between Fascism and Liberalism. Mithraism is now called Fascism, but they differ in very few essentials. However much we may suspect disintegrating and anarchical elements on the Spanish Government and Communist side it is very clear that Franco's party is not on the side of the angels.

Sylvia Pankhurst

OF COURSE I AM WITH YOU in the struggle against the Fascist war on Spain. It is an attack on a people, the majority of whom had repeatedly declared their aversion to dictatorship and their determination to throw off feudalism and to advance to a freer, more equalitarian and more enlightened organisation of society.

The Spanish war is in fact a war by two foreign Powers upon Spain, aided by the reactionaries of Spain herself. The Spanish war is one sector of the international struggle between Fascism and Democracy.

The author and the journalist are the first to whom the choice comes, either to stand for Fascism or against it. Upon them rests the heaviest of all responsibilities. They can defend the public mind and conscience against the specious propaganda of this base reaction, or they can assist the betrayal of the people to this greatest of all enemies.

Harry Pollitt

I AM FOR THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT and people of Republican Spain, believing this Government to be the best custodian of the interests of the Spanish people; of their democratic rights; for the carrying out of their programme for social advance.

I am against Franco and Fascism as representing a bestial creed which only exists on the basis of terror and violence which it directs against all progressive organisations and people.

Raymond Postgate

I AM WHOLLY AGAINST FRANCO and in favour of the Spanish workers; but not for the reasons suggested in your manifesto, such as the horrors of Durango, Guernica, Madrid or Bilbao. War means such atrocities, and whoever begins the conflict they are soon committed on both sides. Judgements given under the influence of such stories are unstable and emotional decisions; I wish that every supporter of the Spanish Government who relies on them would look into his mind and find a surer basis for his opinion.

The fight between Franco and the Spanish workers is a fight between the capitalist, clerical and feudal owners and the exploited workers. It is the class struggle between the rich and the poor, the exploiters and the exploited, which has surely been sufficiently explained to everybody

by now. For that reason, even if all the atrocities were disproved, I would still be on the side of Socialism.

Llewelyn Powys

I AM UNEQUIVOCALLY IN FAVOUR of the legal Spanish Government and opposed to Fascism and any other form of Government that seeks by means of coercion to impose its arbitrary will upon its own or other peoples.

V. S. Pritchett

I AM HEART AND SOUL FOR the People of Spain in their brave and stoical resistance to Franco and Fascism. The lesson of Spain for the rest of western Europe, even before this struggle, lay in the innate simplicity and nobility of the uncorrupted common people. They have now burned this lesson upon the imagination of us all.

D. N. Pritt, K.C., M.P.

THE SPANISH STRUGGLE is an international war, a struggle of the forces of progress against the forces of reaction, and in that struggle none can be neutral. All who value freedom and peace must make clear to the world where their allegiance lies. I am against Franco and the dark forces of Fascism which he represents. I am for the Spanish people and their legal Government.

Herbert Read

IN SPAIN, and almost only in Spain, there still lives a spirit to resist the bureaucratic tyranny of the State and the intellectual intolerance of all doctrinaires. For that reason all poets must follow the course of this struggle with open and passionate partisanship.

Edgell Rickword

FASCISM HAS UNMASKED its ugly face in Spain as if to convince the waverers that it is indeed a force of destruction and human degradation. Support for the people of Spain and their legal Republican Government means the triumph of life over death. It means the doom of the gangster, the bully and the hypocrite, the birth of a free and happy world. And because Fascism is all the power of the past striving to throttle the future, no struggle ever called for greater courage and determination.

J. W. Robertson Scott, J.P.

Editor of The Countryman

FROM THE BEGINNING my sympathies have been warmly with the Government of Spain in an unparalleled aggression of Italy and Germany and from Africa, which, twenty years ago, no one would have believed Great Britain and France would have endured; and I have gladly subscribed to three of the funds.

Paul Rotha

I ACCUSE Franco and other European Fascist Dictators as the enemies of modern civilisation, its culture and its comradeship. I accuse all Governments friendly to the Fascist cause as assassins of common sense and decency. I protest my contempt for those who sit in apathy when the very fundamental requisites of human existence are being massacred for the sake of profit in the name of fear.

Militia of Bilbao, the International Column of Madrid, the steel-workers of Chicago, the miners of Harworth, the workers of Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union—I salute you all for your bravery! We shall win!

Edward Sackville West

AS A WRITER of Liberal opinions, I am ready to declare my abhorrence of General Franco's willingness to lay waste Spain in an attempt to destroy the legal Republican Government of that country—and of Fascism in general, as being retrograde and thus inimical to the best interests of civilisation.

David Scott

I HAVE JUST RESIGNED the post of Paris Correspondent of *The Times* in order to devote myself more effectively to the struggle against Fascism. Whatever the faults, whatever the mistakes of the Spanish Republicans, I am, as all who care for the progress of humanity must be, wholeheartedly with them in their struggle to free their countrymen from tyranny and superstition. Fascism means a return to the Dark Ages. It must be resisted at all costs if our civilisation is to survive.

Naomi Royde Smith

I AM AGAINST FASCISM in any form and think the Spanish people should decide on their own form of Government without interference from any other nation.

Stephen Spender

I AM OPPOSED TO FRANCO firstly because Franco and his supporters represent the attempt of the aristocracy and clergy of Spain to prevent the history of Spain developing beyond the Middle Ages. In opposing their reaction, so far from being an extremist, I support the Protestantism of intellectuals like the great Catholic writer Bergamin against the materialism of the Catholic Church in Spain; and I support in Spain exactly such a movement of liberal and liberating nationalism as the English liberals supported in many countries still groaning under feudalism in the nineteenth century.

Secondly, I am opposed to Franco, because, supported by Hitler and Mussolini, he represents international Fascism. If Franco wins in Spain

Fascism will have gained the third great victory in an international war which began in Manchuria, continued in Abyssinia, and may end in Spain. If Franco wins, the principle of democracy will have received a severe blow and the prospect of a new imperialist war, which is also a "war of ideologies" will have been brought far nearer.

Olaf Stapledon

I SUPPORT THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT because, whatever its faults, it is defending the oppressed and preserving culture. I believe that a British Government sincerely sympathetic to Spain, or sincerely neutral, could end Fascist aggression by firm diplomacy without causing a general war. But firmness over Spain must be combined with readiness to internationalize our own ill-gotten gains.

Christina Stead

FRANCO, THE TRAITOR, image of his caste, with eighty per cent of the army and desperate foreign allies expected to win back Spain for the landlords in three days. The resistance of Spain's Republican Government is a guarantee of the eventual victory of the common peoples against these sterile powers: but to shorten their struggle, we must expose the Fascists' allies at home and abroad.

James Stephens

I AM FOR SPAIN, and hope, with all my heart, for the defeat of her rebellious military men and their Italian and Germanic abettors.

John Strachey

I AM FOR THE GOVERNMENT and people of Republican Spain and against Franco and Fascism. I believe that the struggle being waged by the Spanish people is part of a world-wide struggle, which can only be ended by the abolition of the present economic and social system and the rebuilding of human society on the basis of Socialism.

Thomas Sturge Moore

I AM FOR the legal Republican Government in Spain. I am against all bullies whether Fascist or Communist. I am against Franco.

Hannen Swaffer

BEING AN ENGLISHMAN proud of the liberties won in the past by his own race from people who were Fascists without knowing it, I am naturally on the side of the legally elected Government of Spain and, therefore, opposed to the cut-throats and murderers who forced civil war upon Spanish people in the interests of runaway Royalty, rapacious landowners and a discredited Church.

The Spanish Government, being human, has faults inseparable from all human systems. Anyway, it is the beginning of an attempt to build up for the Spanish people a new order of society. Therefore, it shines resplendently in the eyes of all people who have sight with which to see.

Randall Swingler

I BELIEVE THAT CULTURE has always been the directive force of man's progress towards freedom: that Fascism is destructive alike to culture and to human progress; therefore that everyone who is for life and enlightenment must be wholeheartedly implicated on the side of the Spanish People's Government, who struggle to save us from Fascism and war.

H. M. Tomlinson

AS WE HAVE nothing but the free use of the mind to bring order into chaos and to give a meaning to life, then scientists and artists who support dictatorships and absolutism are traitors to their own gifts. They would nullify intelligence and knowledge. Better to be shot by such as Franco than submit to anarchy and unreason.

Sylvia Townsend Warner

I AM FOR THE PEOPLE of Spain, and for their Government, chosen by them and true to them.

And I am against Fascism, because Fascism is based upon mistrust of human potentialities. Its tyranny is an expression of envy, its terrorism is an expression of fear.

Lawrence Vail

I AM AGAINST FASCISM, whatever the tune or hue. I might understand it, while resisting it, in countries where great numbers have the illusion they must herd and submit in order to bolster the frailty of a maudlin pride. Not so in Spain. The Fascist whip cuts across the grain of a proud race. Franco's victory would mean a dictatorship of a particularly blind, ruthless brand and should be resisted at any cost.

Helen Waddell

I DETEST FASCISM, in Spain or elsewhere, in any of its disguises. I still believe in a God who is the father of mankind: and I abhor the Moloch of the Sovereign State. Any creed, religious or political, that will torture a man's body to coerce his mind is gangrenous: but the torturer and the tortured have shirts of many colours.

I endorse every word of your letter but one: "unavenged". That the signatories should still, in 1937, be speaking of vengeance is a nightmare: a return to Carthage, or Versailles.

Rex Warner

I AM ON THE SIDE of the Republican Government in Spain not only because it is a legal and democratic Government, but because it represents the

forward movement of humanity and civilisation. I believe that Fascism, so far from "saving" civilisation, attempts to arrest this forward movement and consequently must drag humanity backwards towards a kind of self-conscious barbarism.

Alick West

I AM FOR the People of Republican Spain, and against Franco and Fascism, because I am for freedom and culture against the tyranny of barbarism.

Rebecca West

I AM FOR the legal Government of Republican Spain against Franco, since Spain herself, at a properly conducted election, chose that Government and rejected the party which now supports Franco.

I am also against Fascism: the reforms of Diocletian were a work of genius and made many people temporarily happy, but failed in the end and added greatly to human misery. I see no reason why this inferior modern copy of them should succeed.

Antonia White

I AM AGAINST FASCISM and any form of government or society which is based on fear, violence, and the suppression of free enquiry.

Amabel Williams-Ellis

I AM FOR the Republican Government of Spain, and against Franco and all other Fascist leaders.

Clough Williams-Ellis

LAST SPRING I spent my summer holiday near Malaga, for love of Spain and the Spanish people.

I have only this moment returned from Moscow whither I have been (not for the first time) because I needed reassurance in a mad and menacing world.

These two facts should indicate my attitude to Franco and Fascism.

Leonard Woolf

I AM FOR the legal Government and people of Republican Spain and civilisation; I am against Franco, Fascism, and barbarism.

NEUTRAL?

Ruby M. Ayres

UNINFORMED INTERFERENCE in international politics is more to be dreaded than any anticipated danger resulting from the conflict in Spain.

As a professional writer I dread amateurs.

Vera Brittain

AS AN UNCOMPROMISING PACIFIST, I hold war to be a crime against humanity, whoever fights it and against whomever it is fought. I believe in liberty, democracy, free thought and free speech. I detest Fascism and all that it stands for, but I do not believe that we shall destroy it by fighting it. And I do not feel that we serve either the Spanish people or the cause of civilisation by continuing to make Spain the battle-ground for a new series of Wars of Religion.

Robert Byron

YOU CONDEMN THE IMPARTIAL VIEW of politics. Perhaps you will allow me an impartial view of myself. Had I been a Spaniard when the rebellion broke out, I cannot say for certain that I would not have favoured it. Now that it means Fascism I hope for its defeat. But my sympathies are with those Spaniards on both sides, whose honesty, which you despise, brings their loyalty and their reason into conflict. That is the fate of Falkland, and there are many such in Spain to-day.

Rhys J. Davies, M.P.

YOU MAY COLLECT THE STRONGEST WORDS to be found in all the dictionaries of every language extant to denounce Dictatorships and use them in my name, provided you at the same time make it clear that the same words shall apply to all Dictatorships alike, including those of the Right, the Centre and the Left. I detest them all!

Norman Douglas

I DON'T KNOW WHAT TO SAY about your questionnaire. I cannot excite myself over nations and causes and creeds—my contempt for humanity in general is too great. Individuals are the only things that interest me. If Spaniards like to cut each other's throats and get Germans and Russians to help them—why not let them? It's not my affair. If they eat each other up to the last man, like Kilkenny cats, let them! This will sound unsatisfactory to you. But if you want the truth, there it is. Nobody is going to

compel me to "take sides". To hell with sides. If Fascists annoy me, I hop it. If Communists annoy me, I hop it. Everything that ends in "ism" is just b . . . s, so far as I am concerned.

T. S. Eliot

WHILE I AM NATURALLY SYMPATHETIC, I still feel convinced that it is best that at least a few men of letters should remain isolated, and take no part in these collective activities.

Vyvyan Holland

I AM OPPOSED to any system of government that denies freedom of speech to the individual, and I am opposed to all forms of tyranny and oppression, whether from Communism, Fascism or Religious Persecution. There is little to choose between these, but probably Communism is the most objectionable, as offering even less individual freedom than the others. There is more real freedom to-day in England, the last of the great constitutional monarchies, than anywhere else in the world.

Charles Morgan

IN POLITICS, I care chiefly that a man's thought be not regimented or his art censored, and that he may live as he pleases so long as, within a rule of law he has shared in making, he offer no violence to the health or integrity of others. Neither contestant in Spain aims at this, and between them I will not choose, thinking it better to preserve the surviving liberties of England and France within the peace of Europe than to persecute in the false belief that the only alternative to a tyranny of the Right is a tyranny of the Left.

Sean O' Faolain

DON'T BE A LOT OF SAPS. If X and Y want to cut one another's throats over Z, why on earth must people who do not believe in the ideas propounded by either X, Y, or Z have "to choose between them"? If you want to know, I do think Fascism is lousy. So is your Communism, only more so. But there are other ideas in the world besides either of them—thank God (whom neither of you believe in).

For the love of Mike cut loose from this fixation that the artist no longer can have the guts to be what every artist worth his salt has always been—an individualist. . . .

(May I say how much I like your postal address?)

Yours contemptuously

Ezra Pound

QUESTIONNAIRE AN ESCAPE MECHANISM for young fools who are too cowardly to think; too lazy to investigate the nature of money, its mode of issue, the control of such issue by the Banque de France and the stank of England. You are all had. Spain is an emotional luxury to a gang of sap-headed dilettantes.

W. J. Turner

I AM NOT A SUPPORTER of Fascism or of anti-Fascism and I disagree with every word of your questionnaire.

I await with interest to see if you believe sufficiently in intellectual liberty to print this among the collection of answers.

Derek Verschoye

I DETEST VIOLENCE, particularly the violence of politicians, above all the violence which politicians export from their own into other countries. But my knowledge of Spain and of Spanish politics is fragmentary. It would in the circumstances be presumption for me to judge which of the two sides might best serve the true interests of Spain.

Alec Waugh

I DO NOT AGREE that it is essential for an Englishman to take sides in the Spanish Civil War because I do not accept the argument, "It's Spain's turn now. It will be ours to-morrow." Things *are* different here. The extent of a writer's capacity to detach himself from immediate issues is determined by his individual temperament. But there is an essential difference between the "Ivory Tower" and a stand-point "above the battle".

H. G. Wells

I AM NOT AN "ANTI" of any sort unless it is anti-gangster or anti-nationalist. My sympathies were all with the new liberal republic in Madrid. It has been destroyed between the Anarchist-Syndicalists on the one hand and the Franco pronunciamiento on the other. The intervention of Italy and Germany is on traditional nationalist lines; it was to be expected and it has been greatly facilitated by the stupid confusion in the British mind and will.

The real enemy of mankind is not the Fascist but the Ignorant Fool.

Vita Sackville West

THE REASON I did not respond to your previous questionnaire still holds good. It is that I dislike Communism and Fascism equally; and, in fact, cannot see any difference between them, except in their names. It seems to me that they each bully and oppress the individual; and, through the individual, Society at large. That is chiefly why I cannot make up my mind to take either side in the Spanish quarrel, which is really a quarrel between Communism and Fascism in Europe, not only in Spain.

One point in your questionnaire strikes me as ambiguous. You stress "the *legal* Government" of Spain, as the Government you wish to support. Is this because it is the *legal* Government, or because it is a Communist Government? If because it is the *legal* Government, then you ought also to be prepared to support Hitler or Mussolini in the event of a rebellion against them. Yet I do not think you would do so?

Therefore what you really mean is that you want to see Communism established in Spain as well as in Russia, and you do not care a snap of the fingers whether a Government is "legal" or not. If so, why not have said so frankly? I hate these subterranean forms of propaganda—and wish you could have avoided them if your convictions are sincere and therefore respect-worthy.

Malachi Whitaker

FASCISM AND COMMUNISM are equally repulsive to me. I would resist the encroachment of either, physically and mentally. My sympathy is for the non-combatants in Spain.

AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT

Edmund Blunden

I KNOW TOO LITTLE about affairs in Spain to make a confident answer. To my mind (subject to that first reservation), it was necessary that somebody like Franco should arise—and although England may not profit by his victory I think Spain will. The ideas of Germany, Italy, etc., in your document do not square with those I have formed *upon the whole* of the recent history of those countries. Memories of 1914–18 perhaps do not allow me to see some incidents you mention in the isolated and flamboyant way the manifesto has them.

Arthur Machen

MR. ARTHUR MACHEN presents his compliments and begs to inform that he is, and always has been, entirely for General Franco.

Geoffrey Moss

Major Geoffrey McNeil Moss, late Grenadier Guards.

(1) I AM FOR the Government of General Franco.

(2) I am not for Fascism, but I am for Nationalism, as opposed to Internationalism.

(3) I am an officer by profession, I was three months with General Franco's armies, I had my own motor car and perfect freedom to go where I liked and to see what I liked. I have never seen braver soldiers nor men more filled with high ideals.

I dare you, my brother writers, to print this letter! *Voilà!*

Eleanor Smith

I WAS DELIGHTED to receive your unprejudiced brochure.

Naturally, I am a warm adherent of General Franco's, being, like all of us, a humanitarian.

The destruction of so many beautiful objects, and the massacre of so many innocent persons, makes one pity profoundly the ignorant red masses—subsidized by Russia—in Spain.

Do you not agree?

Evelyn Waugh

I KNOW SPAIN ONLY AS A TOURIST and a reader of the newspapers. I am no more impressed by the "legality" of the Valencia Government than are English Communists by the legality of the Crown, Lords and Commons. I believe it was a bad Government, rapidly deteriorating. If I were a Spaniard I should be fighting for General Franco. As an Englishman I am not in the predicament of choosing between two evils. I am not a Fascist nor shall I become one unless it were the only alternative to Marxism. It is mischievous to suggest that such a choice is imminent.

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