

21 WASHINGTON SQUARE NORTH

New York, N.Y.  
March 22, 1939



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Mr. George Messersmith  
State Department  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Messersmith:

I am sending you a copy of a letter from my friend Constanca de la Mora whose husband Ignacio Hidalgo de Cisneros was Chief of the Spanish Republican Air Force until a few days ago. He came out of Catalonia when the collapse occurred there and went to the Central Zone with Negrin. He is now in Paris. Constanca de la Mora is now in this country on a relief mission. I think that her letter states clearly and effectively the two problems now facing those of us who take these things to heart -- that of the 440,000 Spanish refugees suffering in France and the hundreds of thousands of Republicans who face execution and imprisonment at the hands of the victorious Generalissimo who, as you doubtless know, has turned down all appeals for clemency. He insists on unconditional surrender. A United Press dispatch from Burgos on February 27th said that official circles would interpret "any gesture for amnesty as interference in internal Spanish affairs."

"The great democracies can keep their humanitarian maneuvers to themselves," said a Franco spokesman on March 7th to the International News Service. "We find ourselves in the presence of final maneuvers of mediation. The great democracies, with hypocritical friendliness, wish to clip the wings of Franco's victory and leave it incomplete. The treacherous word amnesty is again heard in the democratic press. This is the usual expedient of those who fear a winged victory. We wish to tell all that they cannot clip these wings, nor clog them with the lead of amnesty." These sentiments were confirmed in declarations to Mr. William P. Carney in the New York Times of March 8th.

Mr. Chamberlain on February 28th. found himself able to "note with satisfaction" the "assurances" of General Franco. "National Spain has won the war and it is therefore incumbent on the vanquished to surrender unconditionally. The patriotism, chivalry, and generosity of the Caudillo of which he has given so many examples in the liberated regions, and likewise the spirit of equity and justice which inspires all the national government's actions constitute a firm guarantee for all Spaniards who are not criminals."

It is interesting to recall in this respect that on two occasions when Spanish reactionaries were practicing the well-known vae victis phil-

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osophy there was foreign intervention of a very effective sort. In 1823 even the Czar and Louis XVIII of France found themselves forced to protest against the repressive measures of the reactionary Ferdinand VII whom they themselves had restored to his throne. Again in 1838 Lord Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, asked the Holy Alliance powers to protest against the atrocities perpetrated by their protege, Don Carlos, in his rebellion against the Queen of Spain.

I am bewildered by the apparent determination of the democracies to continue with the second Munich in Spain at the very time when the consequences of the first essay in this genre of peace is giving such remarkable results.

Sincerely,



Jay Allen