

PSF

Spain

1933-34

PSF Spain

August 15, 1933

Dear Mr President:-

This is merely a report on Franklin Jr. He was with us at the Embassy with Paul for four days and left Sunday afternoon for Granada and the South. He came unannounced, arriving in Madrid at 2 A.M. and going to the Palace hotel. When the boys--Paul is with him--awoke they found they just had time to make a bull fight, and after the fight they came to the embassy. They were in their motoring clothes and Franklins once white linen coat was like a black shirt. They announced they were leaving the next morning, but I strenuously objected on the ground that having called on the President of France it would be bad to visit Madrid and ~~not~~ see the President of Spain. Franklin readily agreed. When I asked them to dinner they were clearly embarrassed and I guessed the cause and explained that no dressing would be permitted and that they would eat as they were. They stayed.

Finding them interested in bull fights the happy idea came to me to get hold of Sydney Franklin if possible and get him around to the embassy to tell the boys all about it. This man is a great talker, graphic in his descriptions. When I suggested it to the boys they were in the highest heaven. So I located him through Rex Smith of the A.P. and the two appeared after dinner and we sat on the terrace facing the cool garden while Sydney Franklin gave us the most memorable of evenings, the boys literally entranced, until 4:15 in the morning. The next day Franklin Jr. said wonderingly: "Gosh that's the first time I ever listened to a man for six hours". I will wager that night was

er will be the high light of the trip.

The next morning the boys moved into the Embassy where they were given all the seclusion they wished .We have the finest garden in Madrid, said to be, with one exception, the finest in a town house in Europe, and this is the coolest spot in town;so we had our dinners on the terrace facing the garden .

On Friday I arranged the meeting with Zamora at the palace .You would have been very proud of your boy had you seen the manner in which he handled himself on that occasion. Zamora who is charming was at his best and the two talked of the two countries, their political institutions, bull fights, historic sights etc.

That night after dinner, Menendez , foreign editor of El Sol came in .He is writing the book about you .He is a brilliant talker and it was amazing to me to note the penetrating intelligence of Franklins comments and questions. Schoellkoff, who had been to dinner and stayed , was also astonished.

Saturday morning the representative of a Madrid paper asked permission to see the boy. I agreed on condition that no political questions should be asked. I am inclosing a translation of the story which I am sure will please you. Note the cleverness with which he instinctively moved away from two danger points. After lunch I sent the boys to the Prada and drove them to the Escorial which impressed them enormously.

That night, the boys having expressed a wish for a "real Spanish dinner", we took them to the Buena Vista , with Rex Smith to do the ordering. The real test came when they brought on the great Spanish delicacy--the baby octopus ~~it~~ stewed in its own inky juice .Young Paul looked at his plate with undisguised disgust, especially when Rex Smith said we were eating little black babies. Finally he fell to, reluctantly, despite the fact that the food was good. But Franklin had a second helping .At an adjoining table sat Unamuno with a party .After the dinner I took them to The

Gong, a fashionable night club to see some Spanish dancing .  
Sunday morning we let the boys sleep until almost lunch at 2 oclock.  
They left for Granda at four, leaving a suit case and their soiled  
linen--which was all their linen since they had had no chance at a  
laundry .On Friday I meet them at Toledo, and shall bring them back  
for the night, and I hope, send them on their way rejoicing .

Franklins visit here , and the manner in whichh he has handled himself  
has had a good effect in Spain .The people here appreciate his visit,  
and his evident liking for Spain and its people.He is so utterly  
unspoiled, so natural, and yet so tactful that everyone , including the  
American newspaper men , have fallen in love with him.  
I shall be much surprised if it is not Franklin who will carry on  
"the Roosevelt tradition". He has more intuitive political sense  
than any young man I have ever known.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

*Clarence G. Bowler*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.



Madrid, August 14, 1933.

- HERALDO DE MADRID -

of

August 12, 1933.

A chat in the Embassy of the United States with  
the Son of the North American President.

\* \* \* \* \*

A thousand dollars for a European trip. First  
Bull Fight, in France - North American Interest in  
Spanish history and culture. Contrast between Town  
and Country - Franklin.D. Roosevelt, Spanish Student.

An overgrown boy, frank, jolly, and responsive  
like a "boy" of the Cinema. Nineteen years of age,  
and nearly 6 feet tall. The longish face of his father  
and his sea-blue eyes. No perfunctory handshake,  
but a grip effusive and resolute.

We had no intention of interviewing him. We  
only wanted to greet the lad in the name of the HERALDO.  
He has just finished his course at college which is not  
like a Spanish "college," but something like a primary  
university of general culture preparatory to the more  
profound and more circumscribed studies of a really

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university character.

And his father, to reward his application gave him some money and said: "Here, take a little trip through Europe," - the money being about a thousand dollars.

The boy, in correct French, told us with hearty laughter, "A thousand dollars; not a cent more. My father wants me to learn by hard experience the real value of the dollar. But, the really interesting thing is that I am seeing the world and am spending some never-to-be-forgotten days in Spain."

Franklin D. Roosevelt landed at Havre on July 12 - with only a friend as a companion - eyes, brain and heart eager to see countries and form impressions. A few days in Paris - a week in London. Return to Paris. And from there, by motor - which he will use for his Spanish tour - to Biarritz, San Sebastián, Madrid.

I could not fail to ask him about the bull fights. And the boy pointed out the paradox in the fact that he had seen his first typical Spanish fiesta in France.

"I was very curious to see one," he said, and while I was at Biarritz I heard there was to be a bull-fight at Bayonne. I went there at once, and saw an unforgettable

"Were you surprised at its cruelty?"

*great  
stuff!*

"No - I knew what I was going to see. I was  
delighted. I will go again as often as I can. Tomorrow  
I am going to Toledo, and I wouldn't miss the bull  
fight. I don't mean to say I am going to Toledo to see  
a bull-fight, but I don't want to miss the chance."

"Is this the first time you have been to Europe?"

"The second. Six years ago, I came with my mother  
and we visited France, Belgium and England. Now, I am  
specially doing the southern countries. I shall spend  
about two weeks in Andalusia, coming back to Madrid,  
and then going again to France to sail on the 31st of this  
month from Havre. I would like to go to Italy - but "

"But? -

"There were only a thousand dollars."

"Are you interested in politics?"

"At present I only feel interested in being a man,  
In October, I will begin my university course."

"What career?"

"What career?"

"Law."

"In what does the life in Spain seem fundamentally different to you from life in North America?"

He thought a moment and then answered confidently and intelligently:

"The extraordinary contrast between the progress and modernity of the city and the old customs of the rural districts. I never get tired of seeing these little Spanish towns untouched by centuries. In North America, everything is recent, up to date. Here, a student begins to realize that history does not consist only of text books."

"Is it true that your father speaks Spanish?"

"No. My grandmother - my father's mother speaks it perfectly; and not only Spanish, but all the Latin languages. I am going to begin studying it in October. An enormous interest in everything Spanish exists at present in North America."

"With an eye on the South American market?"

*This is perfect.*  
He caught the intimation at once, and replied:

"It is not all economic interest. Many,

many

Many, many students there are devoting themselves to  
a profound study of the history and culture of Spain.  
Nor is it a fad. It is a real recognition of Hispanic  
values."

That was all. In the first place, we had no desire to subject the ingenuous and cordial youth to an importunate and unopportune interview. Besides, the boy wanted to go to the Prado and while we were there he had been told that visiting hours were from 10 to 2.

And it was then a quarter past one.

\* \* \* \* \*



# UN RATO DE CHARLA EN LA EMBAJADA DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS

43-150:199

Mil dólares para un viaje a Europa.--La primera corrida de toros... en Francia.--El interés de Norteamérica por la historia y la cultura españolas.--El contraste entre la ciudad y el agro.--Franklin D. Roosevelt, estudiante de Español

Un zagalón, franco, jovial y simpático como un «boy» de cine. Diecinueve años y muy cerca de los dos metros de altura. La cara alargada del padre y sus ojos claros de mar. No un apretón de manos; una manotada efusiva y resuelta.

No hemos tenido, claro está, pretensiones de interviú. Sólo queríamos saludar al mose en nombre del HERALDO. Acaba de terminar sus estudios en el «College» que no es el colegio español, sino algo así como una universidad primaria, de la cultura general preparatoria de los profundos y más circunscritos estudios verdaderamente universitarios. Y su padre, para recompensarle de su aplicación, le ha dado unos dólares y le ha dicho: «Vete a dar una vueltita por Europa». Unos dólares que no son más que mil.

El muchacho, en correcto francés, nos explica entre risotadas:

—Mil dólares y ni un centavo más. Mi padre quiere que me vaya iniciando en esa cosa tan árida, que es el valor del dinero. Pero, en fin, lo interesante es que estoy viendo mundo y que estoy pasando en España unos días inolvidables.

Franklin D. Roosevelt des-



embarcó en El Havre el día 12 de julio—sin más compañía que un buen amigo—, los ojos, el cerebro y el corazón ávidos de paisajes e impresiones. Unos días en París. Una semana en Londres. Vuelta a París, y desde Lutecia, en auto —en el auto en que proseguirá su correría por tierras de España—, a Biarritz, San Sebastián y Madrid.

No podía faltar la interrogación sobre las corridas de toros. Y el zagal señala la paradoja de que la primera corrida, la primera fiesta típicamente española, la haya visto en Francia.

—Tenía una gran curiosidad —nos dice—. Estaba en Biarritz y me enteré de que había corrida en Bayona. Allá me fui en el auto. ¡Espectáculo inolvidable!

—¿Le sorprendió su crudeza?  
—No. Ya sabía lo que iba a ver. Quedé encantado. Volveré a ver cuantas pueda. Mañana voy a Toledo y no me perderé la corrida. No quiero decir que vaya a Toledo para asistir a una corrida de toros. Pero sí que no quiero perder la oportunidad.

—¿Es la primera vez que viene usted a Europa?

—La segunda. Hace seis años vine con mi madre y visitamos Francia, Bélgica, Inglaterra. Ahora dedico el viaje especialme... a tierras del Sur. Estaré unas dos semanas en Andalucía, regresaré a Madrid, y desde aquí otra vez a Francia para embarcar el 31 de este mes en El Havre para mi país. Quisiera ir a Italia; pero...

—¿Pero!...  
—No son más que mil dólares!  
—¿Le interesa la política?  
—De momento no tengo más preocupación que la de hacerme un hombre. En octubre empiezo mis estudios universitarios.

—¿Qué carrera?  
—Derecho y Letras.  
—¿Qué le ha impresionado más de la vida española como fundamentalmente distinto de la vida norteamericana?

Medita un instante y contesta con palabras seguras y concepto firme:

—El contraste extraordinario entre el progreso y modernidad de las ciudades y las viejas costumbres del campo. No me canso de ver estos pueblecitos españoles por los que no pasan los siglos. En Norteamérica todo es «recién», todo de última hora. Aquí el estudiante empieza a darse cuenta de que la Historia no supone exclusivamente libros de textos.

—¿Es cierto que su padre habla español?

—No. Quien lo habla perfectamente es mi abuela, la madre de mi padre. Y no sólo el español, todas las lenguas latinas. Yo empezaré a estudiarlo en octubre. Hoy existe un enorme interés en Norteamérica por todo lo español.

—¿Con vistas al mercado suramericano?

Capta en el acto la intención y replica:

—No es todo interés económico. Son muchos, muchos, los estudiantes que allá se dedican a profundizar en la historia y la cultura de España. Tampoco es una moda. Es un reconocimiento leal de los valores hispánicos.

Y no fué más allá la charla. En primer término, lejos de nuestro ánimo someter al muchacho ingenuo y cordial a un interrogatorio impropio e inoportuno. Por lo demás, el chico quería ir al Museo del Prado y ante nosotros acaban de comunicarle que las horas de visita eran de diez a dos.

Y era la una y cuarto...

*Heraldo de Madrid agosto 12*

PSE  
Spain

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 24, 1934.

MEMORANDUM FROM THE PRESIDENT  
FOR THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE.

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What can I say to Claude  
Bowers in regard to the Spanish Wine  
quota? The Ambassador is much con-  
cerned.

*Minegusta  
12.*

*Lerrea  
personal*

*Mr. Phillips  
will  
see  
Mr. Phillips  
will  
see*

Madrid, January 10, 1934

Dear Mr President:-

I called on Lerrea personally to express appreciation of his message to you on your Wilson Day speech. He was plainly pleased and expressed the hope that better trade relations may soon be established between the two countries.

Some important developments regarding our trade relations with Spain come within the category of things concerning which you requested that I write you personally. During the last eight months the people here have been keenly interested in the readjustment of these relations. Concerning all of this I have kept the State Department fully informed. On September 27, No. 150, I reported that unless some disposition should be shown to consider these proposed readjustments we would ultimately be confronted with a policy frankly aimed at the great advantages we now have in the trade of the two nations.

We are now face to face with that situation; for Spain has announced her adoption of the contingent system, with a battle cry-"We trade with those who trade with us". I have just learned on good official authority that within six weeks or two months we shall be up against the operation of this system.

I also learn that despite their inability to agree on many things, 90% of the Cortes will support the Government in this policy as it relates to us. This does not mean an anti-American sentiment. The Spaniard wants nothing so much as better and closer relations with us. This week in a two day speech in the Cortes, Badia of Catalonia, discussed the trade relations of the two nations, without manifesting the slightest animosity. His purpose was to show that we have a tremendous advantage and to persuade the Cortes that unless some concessions are made to Spain to improve her position in the trade of the two nations, Spain will have to take steps to protect herself.

You may be interested in the reason for the concentration of this attention upon us at this time. Spain has suffered a great loss in her exportations and 50% of this loss comes from the United States. The feeling, as I find it here, is that we have a great advantage, and are entirely unsympathetic and cold toward any suggestions that we increase our trade with Spain.

There is no doubt that the first reaction to the wine quota was very bad. I refer not so much to the government here as to the public generally. The basis for the quota was not understood, nor its temporary nature, and the great advantage given France and Italy was resented. They had pinned their hope of doing something worth while toward reducing the unfavorable trade balance through wine. They had sold a great amount on faith; the purchase money was in Spanish banks; and they were unable to deliver. This misunderstanding has been cleared, but unless we show a generous disposition in the negotiations now on in Washington I expect a flare-up.

We are selling \$26,000,000 worth of American goods to Spain and are buying \$11,000,000 worth -- an unfavorable balance of \$15,000,000.

I am reliably informed that in the determination of our advantages later it is the intention to make full use of the vast sums of money annually sent from here to the United States from the Telephone

Company, the film companies, the General Electric etc. *A large confidentially*  
*Plot the Tap. Tel. to*  
*sending Louis \$5,000,000 a*  
*year.*

We are all convinced here that unless we manifest a disposition to consider the trade desires of Spain which I sent you some time ago, we are in for rough weather within two months. If nothing is done until the contingent system is applied to us it will be difficult to change the quotas fixed. If we show a disposition to discuss these matters in Washington soon we may be spared more serious trouble in the future.

We are all agreed that the problem now is to hold the trade we have.

Your Wilson Day address made a profound and favorable impression here which is not reflected in the Spanish press for reasons I have indicated before. Everything I hear from home, from Republicans as much as Democrats, indicates that the popularity of your policies has not waned.

It must annoy our friends, the enemy, to have Mr Hoover giving them advice publicly.

With regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

*Claude G. Ross*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

Apropos of American sentiment in Spain. The other day there was a two day festival in honor of Washington Irving in Granada and I was asked to attend and make a short speech at the dedication of the finest road in the Granada woods to him. A committee of leading citizens went out thirty miles to meet us and to conduct us in; it accompanied me thirty miles out on the return. The town was aflutter with our flag. At the theatre when we reached our box, draped with the flag, the players who were spouting their lines left the stage, the orchestra played "America", the 3000 people rose and gave us an ovation. When the play was over, the orchestra played "The Star Spangled Banner", and the ovation was repeated. Spain is pro-American -- no doubt of that.



PSF. Spain  
Spain  
(S)

Madrid, November 27, 1934

Dear Mr President:-

I thought you might be interested in the inclosed statements by two former Prime Ministers published in the Libertad apropos of the series of interpretative articles running in it still on the DNew Deal. Samper represents the party in power and was until recently Prime Minister. Barrios is ,after Azana, the ablest man of the Lefts ,not socialists, a former Prime Minister, for years the first lieutenant of Lerreux who was wont to call him his "spiritual child" until Barrios broke from him and formed the Radical-Democratic Party of which he is the leader. Long ago Fernando de los Rios ,moderate socialist and former Minister of State expressed to me the opinion that the success of your policies will be to force a readjustment of economic forces in Europe in harmony with your plan. I am bothering you with these because of your suggestion that I keep you personally informed of any press comments touching upon the Administrations work. ...Just heard from Jim Farley who for some inexplicable reason seems boyishly happy over something.

Sincerely,

*Claude G. Bowles*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House ,  
Washington.

## A Political Interview

Talking with Don Diego Martínez Barrio.

Barrio was asked by newspaper reporters to answer some questions - the first being:

What do you think about the policy that the President of the United States is developing in his country and which is catching the interest of Spanish opinion so much. and who doubt thoroughly know about a directed economic policy until la libertad began to describe the promising results which it offered to Capital and Labor?

Do you think that a directed economic Policy (that is carefully planned) will find itself reconciled in the social and political conditions of Spain?

"Roosevelt's project heartily endorsed by his country will without doubt have an effect on the economic policy of Europe. It is trying to show that the possibilities of Capital are not exhausted - Contriving means that will reduce the difficult state of affairs in which the owner and the laborer are today doing business.

We must follow with great interest the project undertaken and profit by the results of their experiments.

# EL REGICIDA DE MARSELLA

## En un barco han sido detenidos en Vancouver siete sospechosos yugoslavos

Londres, 22. — Comunican de Vancouver que las autoridades policíacas de esta ciudad han descubierto la presencia en un vapor de nacionalidad inglesa, que había fondeado en este puerto, procedente de Argel, de siete súbditos yugoslavos, de los que se sospecha estén complicados en el atentado de Marsella.

Cinco de ellos han podido ser detenidos; pero los dos restantes han conseguido huir de la persecución de los agentes.

## El delegado de Hungría protesta contra los actos de terrorismo internacional

Ginebra, 22.—El doctor Ekhardt, delegado de Hungría, ha llegado esta tarde a Ginebra. Después de enterarse de la nota del Gobierno yugoslavo presentada a la Sociedad de Naciones ha convocado a los representantes de la Prensa Internacional haciéndoles la declaración siguiente:

«Me entero con satisfacción de que el asunto del atentado de Marsella ha sido llevado ante la jurisdicción imparcial de la Sociedad de Naciones. Deseamos que la cuestión sea tratada urgentemente, y por nuestra parte haremos lo posible para que el asunto se esclarezca con toda objetividad ante la Sociedad de Naciones.

Pero después de la campaña de calumnias realizada durante las últimas semanas con gran inten-

tado la atención y de perjudicar la integridad moral de Hungría, país a quien, por estar desarmado, considera una presa fácil.»

El doctor Ekhardt terminó haciendo protestas energicas contra esas tendencias, que no vacila en calificar de actos de terrorismo internacional.

## El documento presentado por Yugoslavia a la Secretaría de la Sociedad de Naciones

Ginebra, 22.—La nota que la representación yugoslava ha presentado en la Secretaría general de la Sociedad de Naciones, sobre las responsabilidades políticas que puedan derivarse del atentado de Marsella, es de bastante extensión, y declara, entre otras cosas, que el crimen perpetrado obliga al Gobierno de Yugoslavia a poner en conocimiento de la Sociedad de Naciones varios aspectos particularmente graves de ese asunto, que pueden ser susceptibles de turbar la paz y buenas relaciones entre Yugoslavia y Hungría.

Se recuerda en dicha nota que en Junio último el Gobierno yugoslavo llamó la atención del Consejo sobre los manejos criminales de ciertos elementos terroristas establecidos en Hungría y sobre el concurso que encontraban cerca de algunas autoridades húngaras.

«El Gobierno yugoslavo—declara la nota—estaba dispuesto a reglamentar, por medio de negociaciones de conjunto, la situación en la frontera húngaroyugoslava, y con este objeto fué firmado un Acuerdo en Belgrado en 21 de Junio;

BHG

ENTREACTO POLITICO

Hablando con el ex presidente del Consejo don Diego Martínez Barrio

Don Diego Martínez Barrio sale del salón de sesiones con una sutil sonrisa en los labios. Acaba de hacer un gran discurso y está contento. Felicitaciones y plácemes. Don Diego, que es la cordialidad misma, tiene en su porte y ademán el señorío auténtico de la inteligencia.

Observa que queremos hablarle y él mismo nos facilita el camino.

—¿Quieren algo de mí?

—Unas preguntas, tres nada más.

—Las que usted quiera.

—¿Qué opina usted de la política que Roosevelt, presidente de los Estados Unidos, está desarrollando en su país y que tanto está interesando a la opinión española, que no conocía a fondo la orientación de la economía dirigida hasta que LA LIBERTAD comenzó a poner de relieve los prometedores resultados que ofrece para el capital y el trabajo?

—¿Cree usted que esta orientación económica podrá tener repercusión en el estado social y político de España?

—El ensayo de Roosevelt, calurosamente acogido por su país, tendrá indudable repercusión en la economía europea. Se trata de demostrar que las posibilidades del capitalismo no están agota-

das, arbitrando fórmulas que reduzcan las difíciles condiciones en que empresarios y trabajadores desarrollan hoy sus actividades.

Hay que seguir con interés el proceso iniciado y aprovechar oportunamente el resultado de las experiencias.

—¿Está usted enterado de una reunión celebrada por los distintos jefes de la mayoría con motivo de la alta combinación política que afecta a la Cámara?

—Sí. Contradanza presidencial que empieza en una sencilla provisión de vacantes y desemboca... ¡Vaya usted a imaginar dónde!... Gran jugada. Resolución y tenacidad. De audaces es la fortuna...

—¿Qué opina usted del trato que la mayoría parlamentaria ha dado con ocasión de la última crisis al partido autonomista valenciano, de tan gloriosa tradición republicana?

—Responde al desarrollo de una táctica inteligente, de la que no debemos sorprendernos.

No nos atrevemos a detenerle más tiempo. Los amigos esperan y los diputados aguardan que termine con nosotros.

Don Diego es comprensivo, vuelve a sonreír y nos tiende la mano de la despedida.

Presi- Diego  
Tico

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SABADO 24 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1934

Toda la correspondencia debe dirigirse al **Director**

Apartado de Correos 981

Casa de LA LIBERTAD } Redacción y Administración:  
Madera, 8

Número suelto, **10 céntimos**

**DEL MOMENTO**

**Don Ricardo Samper, ex presidente del Consejo de ministros anterior a los sucesos revolucionarios y de cuyo Gobierno formaban parte radicales, agrarios y liberales demócratas, dice...**

Hemos interesado del ex presidente del Consejo de ministros don Ricardo Samper que expusiera su opinión acerca de la política económica que viene realizando Roosevelt en los Estados Unidos.

El Sr. Samper ha contestado a nuestro requerimiento en esta forma:

•Más que una opinión a fondo, que no me considero autorizado a formular sin una documentación completa del problema, he de limitarme a exponer sencillas impresiones.



D. Ricardo Samper

Se ha querido establecer una pugna irreductible entre el viejo concepto clásico de la libertad económica y los diferentes sistemas de socialización. Aunque yo no propendo al socialismo, cosa natural si se tiene en cuenta que me he educado políticamente en esa costa del Mediterráneo donde se suele rendir culto a la individualidad, es lo cierto que siempre he creído que hay en el fondo de ambas doctrinas antagónicas principios vitales de verdad dignos de ser reconocidos y coordinados.

No existe doctrina política alguna que contenga el privilegio de la verdad. Ante la consideración de este enunciado es fácil caer en el desaliento del escepticismo, pensando que si ninguna doctrina es

dueña de la verdad, resulta lo más cuerdo desconfiar de todas. Sin embargo, existe otro modo de reaccionar, consistente en perseguir la captación de la verdad allí donde se ofrezca. Muéstrase la verdad dispersa y fragmentada entre los partidos y los programas políticos, y debe ser función de los grandes gestores de los destinos públicos recoger la porción de verdad que cada doctrina encierre, sin exclusivismos ni parcialidades, para constituir la norma circunstancial de conducta que mejor se acomode a las exigencias del momento histórico.

¿No es éste, en el fondo, el pensamiento que anima la política de Roosevelt? Frente a los onerosos privilegios políticos que dominaban la vida de los pueblos hasta el siglo XVIII sobrevino el reconocimiento de los derechos políticos del hombre y con ellos la democratización de la política. Frente a los privilegios económicos exaltados por la



ducta que mejor se acomode a las exigencias del momento histórico. No es éste, en el fondo, el pensamiento que anima la política de Roosevelt. Frente a los onerosos privilegios políticos que dominaban la vida de los pueblos hasta el siglo XVIII sobrevino el reconocimiento de los derechos políticos del hombre y con ellos la democratización de la política. Frente a los privilegios económicos exaltados por la lucha sin freno bajo el numen fisiocrático debe producirse el reconocimiento de los derechos económicos del hombre y con ellos la democratización de la riqueza. Un mínimo de derechos en la participación de los destinos políticos de un pueblo es insuficiente para el equilibrio social si no va acompañado de un mínimo de derechos en la participación de la riqueza colectiva.

El desequilibrio entre la producción y el consumo, el derrumbamiento de todo el tinglado bancario, la tragedia y la amenaza consistentes a la existencia de catorce millones de obreros parados, la crisis económica, en una palabra, pesaban sobre los Estados Unidos cuando Roosevelt asumió la presidencia. Este estadista se propuso desarrollar el programa que había anunciado durante su campaña electoral de hace un año, al que el auditorio no acertó a dar la verdadera importancia que tenía. La medida fundamental consistió en la ley de 16 de Junio; la N. I. R. A. (National Industrial Recovery Administration). La revolución económica entraba en vías de hecho.

Por el interés que puede tener para España, es significativo el hecho alocador de que Roosevelt se valiera, por una parte, de un órgano especial, cuya dirección fué confiada al general Johnson, recientemente substituido por Mr. Richberg, y por otro lado de la asistencia de los propios productores. Cuando la Administración de N. I. R. A. redactó un Código general de trabajo se procuró que su adaptación, aun apelando a prestaciones de orden moral, fuese voluntaria. Prohibición del empleo de niños; establecimiento de una semana de trabajo de treinta y cinco horas para los obreros industriales y de cuarenta horas para los trabajadores de «cuello blanco»; fijación de jornales mínimos. Estos fueron los principios cardinales del Código, encaminado a extender el poder adquisitivo de las masas y la disminución de los obreros excedentes. Se hizo una distribución de copias de este Código por todo el país y se dió comienzo a la campaña de conseguir adhesiones entre los patronos. El primero de Agosto contaba ya el nuevo régimen de trabajo con 700.000 firmas patronales, llegándose a crear la insignia del «águila azul», que servía de identificación a los industriales que colaboraban con el Gobierno.

Esta medida fué acompañada de la elaboración de otros Códigos especiales correspondientes a cada grupo de industria. El primer Código, llamado de competencia justa, que se adoptó fué el de la industria de tejidos de algodón. Siguieron los del acero, del petróleo y otros.

El control del Estado actúa bajo el principio de una absoluta imparcialidad. Ni el patrono ni el obrero deben usar la N. I. R. A. para sus fines individuales. Los trabajadores no pueden ser distinguidos porque sean miembros de alguna de las organizaciones existentes o porque dejen de pertenecer a ellas; de todas suertes, tienen garantizado el derecho a los pactos colectivos.

La labor reñizada por la Administración bajo el impulso de Roosevelt ha sido formidable. Prueba de ella son las actas aprobadas por el Congreso referentes a las regulaciones de las Bolsas y mercados internos y de comercio exterior, préstamos de los Bancos de la Reserva Federal a industriales y comerciantes, programa de resurgimiento industrial, competencia mercantil y construcción de obras públicas, sistemas de préstamos, hipoteca y seguros oficiales para estimular la construcción y renovación de viviendas.

Entre las preocupaciones principales han destacado la de la ejecución de un amplio programa de obras públicas, con medidas previas para evitar las prácticas ilícitas de ganancia; la coordinación de los ferrocarriles mediante la formación de tres grandes grupos, eliminando prácticas antieconómicas y duplicidad de gastos y servicios, y la reducción de los cultivos antieconómicos o de producción superabundante.

Con razón ha podido decirse que no sólo está pendiente del éxito o del fracaso de estas actividades el porvenir económico, social y político de Norteamérica, sino que su repercusión en el Mundo ha de ser decisiva.

No debe desconocerse la enseñanza que ofrece para España este rumbo acometido por Roosevelt para la restauración económica de su país. Todos los problemas sociales modernos no son en el fondo más que problemas de orden económico, y mientras no se resuelvan éstos sobre principios justos y ordenados no puede haber paz social. Atentos los Gobiernos a las agitaciones constantes de nuestra vida política y a la labor que exige la marcha ordinaria de los negocios públicos, no les es permitido prestar la actividad necesaria a esta función de planear el resurgimiento de la economía nacional. Es

In Spain, the very same situation of the opinion of  
the Board of Directors is just what of the monetary policy the  
economic policy that is possible in Spain in the U.S.A.

The main cause of the situation in Spain is the  
lack of any real proof of the use of the gold standard  
by England and reference to the other countries. The  
situation is not, however, one of total loss  
of confidence.

EX. Minister Sanper's discussion in  
la Libertad of Saturday November 24. 1934  
on Roosevelt's Economic Policy and its  
application to affairs here in Spain -

The American Government has taken a bold step  
towards the gold standard and it is the duty of every Spanish  
citizen to be acquainted with it. At the present day Social  
Problems are so acute that nothing more than economic  
policy can solve them. There is a general opinion that  
the gold standard will reduce prices and there can be no  
Social Peace.

The idea that Government has taken should be  
accepted and in Spain it is the duty of every Spanish  
citizen to be acquainted with it. At the present day Social  
Problems are so acute that nothing more than economic  
policy can solve them. There is a general opinion that  
the gold standard will reduce prices and there can be no  
Social Peace.

While the opinion is common that it is steadily  
improved by the interest of our political life - and the  
only way to remedy the situation of Spain is that  
the Government is made to look the necessary and to  
improve Economic Recovery.

Spain needs a policy that will improve the  
situation and will help the political life - a policy  
of Social Justice - a policy of Social Justice - a policy  
of Social Justice. Budgetary Policy (and more)

We have been very much interested by the opinion of Sr Ricardo Samper ex-president of the Ministry about the Economic policy that Roosevelt is using in the U. S. A.

The work done by the Administration under Roosevelt has been very great. Proof of this are the laws approved by Congress with reference to the Stock Exchange - the Internal Market - Foreign Trade - loans by Federal Reserve Banks to Industry and Business - Program of Industrial Recovery - Construction of Public works - etc. ...

Rightfully I can say (says Samper). That not only does the economic - social - and political future of North America depend on the success and failure of these policies for Recovery but it will also have a decisive effect on the entire world.

This step that Roosevelt has taken should furnish useful aid to Spain and it is the duty of every Spaniard to be acquainted with it. All the present day Social Problems are at their base nothing more than Economic ones - and while these economic problems are not founded on just and well-ordered principles there can be no Social Peace.

While the Spanish Government is constantly distracted by the unrest of our political life - and the work that the ordinary run of Public Affairs entails. The Government is unable to lend the necessary aid to a national Economic Recovery.

Spain needs a body that will remain always unchanged and unaffected by Political Storms - a body possessed of positive powers concerning itself with Economic problems - Protection Labor (and like).

2

Then Spain can have a state of Normalcy which she needs to further Economic Recovery. Nothing: order in external and Internal Business - labor laws - laws protecting our National Industries - coordination of Transport Services - More cultivation - Reforestation - Regulation of Water Power - Credits for Farmers - Laws to aid the Producer - and even a longer list than could occupy the time and attention of such a body. - Then creating a Unity which is unknown and impossible in the separate Departments of the Ministry.

There are in the Ministries of Industry and Commerce people of outstanding ability to draw up such laws and then create their own Economic Council with its base an association between the Economic Experts who discuss it allied with Capitalists - Employers and workmen.

Their project depends on the approbation of the center more accustomed to the ordinary party political debates than to a discussion of labor - but the center is well able to arrange for the country the laws necessary to aid our Economic Situation.

Langer advocates a following of the American Economic Recovery laws in every way that they may be applied to help Spain -

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  

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THE SECRETARY

December 24, 1934.

*Printed  
Diplomate  
P.S.F.  
Spain  
(5) (2)*

Memorandum for the President,  
from Secretary Hull.

I have read the attached file  
with a great deal of interest. Thank  
you very much for bringing it to my  
attention.

C. H.

CH



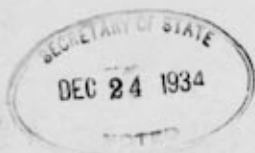
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Warm Springs, Ga.,  
December 3, 1934.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Will you read and return?

F. D. R.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
RECEIVED  
DEC 5 - 1934  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Warm Springs, Ga.,  
December 3, 1934.

Dear Claude:-

That is an extraordinarily interesting letter of yours and I am asking Cordell to read it because both he and I continue to be concerned about the stories sent out of the United States by the foreign correspondents, especially the French.

I am, of course, delighted that the Spanish papers are discussing American news with some intelligence. The ravens over here all said we could not do half as well in the election as things actually turned out. Since November sixth they have been talking about the dire disaster which will follow from a top-heavy majority in the Congress. I still continue to be unworried.

You are doing a grand job.

As ever yours,

Hon. Claude G. Bowers,  
American Embassy,  
Madrid,  
Spain,

2-P  
1-N

Madrid, November 21, 1934

Dear Mr President:-

Some time ago you asked me to send to you any discussion appearing in Spanish papers regarding the policies of the Administration. There have been references to these policies, sifted through France, but no discussions until very recently when the Libertad began a series of articles which are sympathetic and more understanding than usual here. One I have had translated. We are temporarily crippled in the office or I would have had all put into English. The Libertad was once owned by the notorious Juan March who passed it on to Alba, president of the Cortes, and it is now owned by the group that supports the robustly democratic and republican party of Barrios, former premier. I am sending a full set to the State Department.

How does it feel to smash all records in an election? One must go back to the Administration of Jefferson to find anything like it in our history. It attracted great attention here. I was amazed two days after the result was known to have a letter of congratulations from Count de Romanones, the old periodic prime minister of the King who ushered him in to kingship and then advised him to get out -- a brilliant old man devoted to the monarchist principle, but more the type of English than Spanish monarchist, who boasts to me that he is "the only liberal left in Spain". The night of that day I was at a small dinner with Fernando de los Rios, academically a socialist, former Minister of State, -- the sort of man who in America would be a Democrat, and with Madariaga. Both were much excited about the elections. de los

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de los Rios was positively exuberant ,rubbing his hands together and exclaiming, "Well we had a set back here but we have won in the United States and England". Madariaga was infinitely pleased .He has come to be almost an admirer of the United States after a long grouch due to our failure to enter the League. Yesterday I saw Herbette the French Ambassador who was clearly astounded at the results .

The effect appears to have been good in the U.S.,convincing the "wise and the good" that they may as well adjust themselves to the sentiment of a new nation ;it unquestionably is good in Europe. It is strange but true that correspondents in the United States of European papers are either anti-Democratic or anti-American and reading the papers here one would gather that the tide was running clamorously against you. Most of the news published here comes via France and that invariably is hostile to the United States. Then distinguished relics of the old dead social and economic system ,having wealth and heading great corporations, come to Europe and conduct a whispering campaign against your policies. The result has been that the average American here has had an erroneous impression of public sentiment at home. On one or two occasions when some rich visitor from home, with a superiority complex , has been a bit nasty before the American Luncheon club I have smashed all precedent in good manners by replying with a meat ax. So the result has changed opinion here also ,and I suspect, throughout Europe.

The defeat of Reed has created the greatest sensation, since he was the ablest of the critics and backed with a normal majority of unholy size and by the money of the U.S. Steel, the Penn. R.R. and the Mellons .Two days before the election I had a letter from Joe Guffy and it made me heart sick to find him confident. I was sure he would get up the morning after the election completely crushed in spirit. But what a fine

thing to find Pennsylvania back in the Democratic column. It was always there in the days of Jefferson and in the days of Jackson and now it is back home.

We are still under military law here .The truth is that there is a reaction against the extreme Rights now in power and I doubt if they could stand an election. By maintaining a "state of war" the Government is able to prevent the opposition from discussing the use of Moors and the Foreign Legion in Asturia where the "atrocities" of the revolutionists can hardly approach that of the others. During the centuries when the Moors overran and dominated Spain there was one spot they never could touch--Asturia. That has been a proud boast for centuries. And now these same Moors have been there shooting Spaniards and forced in there under the protective gun fire of Government war ships. The reaction is bound to be bad.

Meanwhile they have Azana, the one great man produced by the republic, imprisoned with no charge that can stand. It is admitted now that he was bitterly against an armed revolt and that he fought hard to prevent Companys from venturing on his seperation movement in Barcelona. But the Church hates him because he seperated church and state and began preparations for a public school system; and the monarchists hate him because he is the ablest man in Spain, and against them; and the high men in the army hate him because he reorganized the army brilliantly and cut 30,000 sons, brothers and sweethearts of the nobility from the list of officers when in many units there were many times more officers than men. Though once provisional President of the Republic and three years prime minister, they have had him in a miserable tiny second class cabin on a boat ,with Bello, who rendered distinguished service to education here by his books ,and who is now an old man in the last stages of consumption. There has been some reaction against this too.



Lerreux and Rocha, the new Minister of State, are both exceedingly friendly to me and I have no complaint on that score. Whatever government may be in it will want the commercial treaty.

I was closer to the happenings in the Revolution I think than any other person in the corps, so much so that the British came over each day to get the news, and Sir George Grahame twice came over and sat on my terrace and read me his despatch to London to check up on his news. It was due in a measure to the American correspondents here and to the very partiality of some of them. Carney of the Times is almost a "professional Catholic", and utterly unfair for the Rights; Jay Allen of the Chicago News is a parlor sociologist and utterly unfair to the Rights; and Rex Smith of the A.P. is rampant for the extreme Rights because Gil Robles paper, El Debate, is the only one in Madrid that takes the A.P. service. Ziffern of the United Press is just a fair newspaper man looking for actual news. So is Gervosi of the Hearst paper. Each of these called me constantly on every development during the Revolution so I was never without reports for more than fifteen minutes. By y ballancing Carney and Smith against Allen, and checking ~~it~~ up with Ziffern and Capt. Rock of the telephone company I was able to get the truth. Allen, intimate with the socialist leaders, was very valuable since through him I knew what was going to happen before it happened. He was so good I had to get him out of jail--merely by calling the Foreign Office on the telephone--and within an hour. It may be useful to know which of the correspondents have their prejudices and partialities so as to make allowances on their articles.

But I started out merely to sending you the clippings

With warm personal regards,  
Sincerely,

*Clarence G. Rowles*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House  
Washington.

Article in LA LIBERTAD, Madrid, November 13, 1934.

Roosevelt against chaotic individualism.

A MANAGED ECONOMY FOR ALL.

"Subordination of private interest to public interest; need of facility to recruit the necessary talent."

How to resolve the disastrous situation to which the United States had arrived, as we have described it in a former article? In order that the reader may judge the lightness of those publicists who talk of the arbitrariness of Roosevelt we will say, before proceeding farther, that at the beginning of 1933, the Investigation Committee which was to deal with the new social tendencies in the United States, named (important fact!) by the then President Hoover, directed by Professor Wesley C. Mitchell, formed of fifty authorized engineers, who had five hundred collaborators in the whole country, and who spent three years working, dictated the opinion that there was need of a readjustment of the general economy of the nation, on the basis of the revision of the conditions of work of the workers and the betterment of the workers, by means of the increase of the capacity of consuming power and buying power of the citizen. And it proposed, among other measures, "The reduction of the daily wage in these terms: a day of six hours and a week of five days in order to distribute more equally the jobs to be had: elevation of the buying power of the masses, or rather a change in the distribution of earning which might augment the buying power of wage earners, and at the same time, augment the market. And the Committee of Investigation arrived at the conclusion that of the 140 million inhabitants which in 1940 the United States will have, the producer will be able to count on only 132 million consumers. That is to say, that 8 million Northamerican inhabitants will be condemned to permanent hunger.

How to remedy this anarchic chaos with regard to the right of the individual? To this question Roosevelt, and with him many select sectors of his country, by means of his managed economy has an answer. We say his economy, because his system, the reverse of those of Hitler and of Mussolini-- because it has nothing to do with fascism--is founded on the will of the majority and on the general good. In one word, by means of the intervention of the State in the economy, the finance and the work, with a democratic end. This is his profound difference with the fascist ideal. While fascism tries above all to save with imperialist ends the nation and its privileged classes, the New Deal tries to save all its citizens and all their interests--including those of the proprietors and private interests-- with the end of recuperating the general well-being, without excluding anyone and without thinking even remotely of imperialist ideals.

#### Passing to the Democratic Economy.

Roosevelt, then, says: We must pull down the old system of laissez faire, which leads nowhere, is out of date, and notoriously inadequate for these times. We must go contrary to Hoover's system. One more year of politics on the laissez faire basis and the country goes to the hecatomb, and Roosevelt begins to act along lines analogous to those advised by the Investigation Committee, presided by the experienced Professor Mitchell of Columbia University. The Rooseveltian New Deal is based on this: On the increase of buying power of the masses by the efficient and rapid intervention of the State, which investigates all the gaps, all the breaches of society in order to close them and remedy them with the supreme purpose of securing the prosperity of all. This is the New Deal, or Roosevelt plan, marked out in the famous N.I.R.A. and also the N.A.A.

Pulling down the useless Laissez Faire.

It was natural that Roosevelt should triumph against the classic individualism of Hoover, which folds its arms in the face of ruin. Roosevelt does away with this individualism based on Laissez Faire and begins, once in power, his essay of democratic managed economy. From this the enormous interest of the New Deal as a new experience, diametrically opposed to fascism and which reduces fascism to nothingness as far as its pretended value as a system of efficacy.

In agreement with the urgency of the situation and his program, Roosevelt has his Industrial Recovery Act passed on June 16, 1933. In this law, the activity or working arrangements in industry are regulated by means of Codes whose essential characteristics are: collective contracts between the proprietor organizations and the workers' Syndicates which fix the condition of work (working standards), minimum salaries and minimum duration of the working day.

This law foresees a plan of public works to the extent of 3,300 million dollars.

The law in reference includes the genuinely social aspect of the problem, or that which by affecting the working conditions creates the means of increasing the buying power and consuming power, therefore, of the masses. It is the grain of the question, to put it thus. Since the number of Codes is as high as 500, which takes in two and a half million proprietors and commercial firms and twenty-four million workers, the great importance of the plan can be seen.

This article treats of the first of the trilogy which makes up Roosevelt's plan: Assistance, Recovery and Reconstruction. We will leave for the next article a careful study of the second point. It deals with the positive solution, the

concrete solution, which Roosevelt intends to give to the social problem democratically, and which here, in Spain, as a contrast, not even the Rights can see, precisely the Rights, who cannot deduce any solution which is not arrived at after a good deal of wrangling.

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Saturday

November 17, 1934

La Libertad

Madrid

ROOSEVELT ATAJA EL CAOS. LEGISLACION EN MANO

## Leyes y soluciones para todos y para todo

«BIENESTAR PARA TODOS, ANTES QUE ENRIQUECIMIENTO DE UNOS POCOS», ROOSEVELT

Quisiéramos, en la modesta labor de vulgarización que nos hemos propuesto, concretar muy breve y concisamente el examen de la política Roosevelt, para huir de la monotonía; pero el *New Deal* no es asunto que pueda exponerse en un dos por tres, sino una de las experiencias más considerables realizadas en orden a resolver la espantosa crisis económica que sufren todos los países, y resolvería en el más poderoso de ellos: los Estados Unidos.

Por otra parte, el material de que nos servimos es de primera mano y tan considerable que—permítasenos la satisfacción de decirlo—lo reputamos como de los más completos y escogidos de que se pueda disponer en España. A la vista tenemos al escribir, entre otros documentos, los trabajos de la Academia Americana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales. Bien quisiéramos tratar rápidamente de los diversos aspectos de la N. I. R. A., como el agrícola, el bancario, el político, etc. Un poco de paciencia. Vale la pena. Y para no apartarnos del plan que nos hemos propuesto, citaremos hoy las principales leyes, además de las examinadas; del plan Roosevelt para hacer en días sucesivos su análisis concreto y poner punto final a este ensayo de vulgarización, del cual no creemos tenga nada que arrepentirse la cultura económico-político-social de nuestro país.

### MÁS LEYES DEL «NEW DEAL»

La *National Employment exchange system*, promulgada el 14 de Junio de 1933, es la tercera cronológicamente de las leyes cuyo conjunto forma el *New Deal*. Coordina las relaciones de los diversos Estados en materia de paro forzoso y organiza el sistema nacional de colocación. Es un esfuerzo para unificar la cuestión y resolver problemas creados por las dificultades propias del régimen autónomo de los diversos Estados.

Otra ley es la *Tennessee Rivers Authority* (T. C. A.). Se trata de un gigantesco plan de obras hidráulicas para captar energía eléctrica con destino a siete Estados del Valle de Tennessee, que afecta a muchos millones de habitantes. La *Reconstruction Finance Corporation* garantiza una emisión de acciones por valor de cien millones de dólares. La envergadura de este plan, por sus proporciones colosales, sólo tiene par en algunas obras del plan quinquenal ruso. Comprende el proyecto, ya en ejecución, naturalmente, la construcción de una gran presa que regularice el caudal del Tennessee y suministre energía eléctrica a una extensa zona de la nación, formada por siete Estados, como hemos dicho. Para no pecar de profusos, añadiremos que generalmente en Norteamérica la energía eléctrica es cara e insuficiente para las enormes necesidades industriales y domésticas del país. Lo es de modo concreto en la zona del Tennessee y Alabama, que es donde la ley citada, de 18 de Mayo de 1933, tiene efecto. Puede decirse que, con fines y modalidades diferentes—y salvada la proporción—, esa ley se asemeja al sistema de Confederaciones Hidrográficas español.

Acercos de este problema dice David Lilliensthal, director de la *Tennessee Valley Authority*: «No sólo el elevado coste de la electricidad, sino también el relativamente alto coste de la energía eléctrica industrial, ha constituido un serio obstáculo para el aumento del uso de la electricidad.» El análisis minucioso de resolución tan importante como la citada, requeriría un espacio notoriamente inadecuado a la labor someramente expositiva que nos proponemos.

El 12 de Mayo de 1933 se aprobó el *Agricultural Relief Act* para acudir en ayuda a la desesperada situación de los agricultores, a la cual hemos aludido de pasada en anteriores artículos. Su interés es punzante en relación a nuestro país, esencialmente agrícola, y lo examinaremos próximamente, al tratar de la agricultura en el *New Deal*. Diremos ahora nada más que por esa ley el Estado concede préstamos a los agricultores por valor de 2.000 millones de dólares para financiar la cosecha y la ganadería.

Con el *Home Owners' Loan* (13 de Junio de 1933) ayuda el Estado a los caseros que habían perdido el producto de los alquileres a causa del paro de sus inquilinos.

La *Emergency Railroad Transportation Act* (15 de Junio de 1933) establece las bases para organizar la coordinación entre las Compañías de ferrocarriles en tres grandes sectores (Este, Sur y Oeste).

La *Banking Act* (16 de Junio del mismo año) regulariza el funcionamiento de la Banca, de cuya situación desastrosa hablaremos más adelante. Separa esta ley los Bancos comerciales de los de inversión (*Investment Banks*) y establece un sistema de seguridad y depósitos.

El *Federal Economy Act* (20 de Marzo) fija las condiciones en que se disminuirán los sueldos de los funcionarios y la supresión de ciertas gratificaciones a los pensionados de guerra. La disminución de sueldos—exorbitantes a la sazón—se fija en 15 por 100.

La *Securities Act* (27 de Mayo 1933) anticipa 500 millones de dólares a los Estados para ayudarles a socorrer a los parados forzosos.

### LEGISLACION ATENTA AL INTERES GENERAL

Legislación heroica, que pasa por encima de prejuicios y convencionalismos, ni colectivista ni individualista; atenta al bien de todos, a la prosperidad del país, que salva al capital a pesar de sí mismo, de sus abusos y sus miserias. Economía dirigida democrática, en fin, cuyos aspectos seguiremos examinando sucesivamente.

Lidaj

November 16. 1934

La Libertad

Madrid.

## CONTRASTES: EL "NEW DEAL" Y LA JUVENTUD

### La ley C. C. C. en el plan Roosevelt

Otra de las leyes importantes en el New Deal es la del 31 de Marzo de 1933 sobre los jóvenes trabajadores y llamada Civilian Conservation Corps (que puede traducirse por Cuerpo de Conservación Civil), vulgarmente conocida por C. C. C., o las tres ces, en los Estados Unidos.

Digamos antes qué caracteriza el New Deal rooseveltiano su acción desembarazada a través de la compleja y vetusta maquinaria económico-político-social del país, porque, como plan de conjunto que es aquí, ha puesto al descubierto de modo clarividente que la economía (fetichismo de los hombres doctorales y financieros) se entrelaza y confunde con la sociología, con lo social, y la política con las dos. Roosevelt procede desde el Poder sin reparar en obstáculos, por tradicionales que sean. De ahí que algunos críticos extranjeros hayan tomado a su economía dirigida como una variedad fascista. Nada de eso. Roosevelt procede siempre mediante leyes. Actúa en nombre de la ley y exhibe sus poderes otorgados y ratificados por el pueblo. ¡No es floja diferencia la que hay entre su democracia y el fascismo! Ahora bien: una vez en el Gobierno, actúa con energía perentoria, rectilínea, sin vacilaciones. El New Deal, como sistema, es un conjunto de soluciones metódicas, convertidas en leyes, que dejan sentir su influjo en mil direcciones distintas.

#### LA C. C. C. O LEY SOBRE LOS JOVENES; CAMPAMENTOS CIVILES QUE CONTRASTAN CON EL FASCISMO

Examinemos hoy el aspecto del New Deal que se refiere a la juventud y plasmado en la ley llamada, en términos populares, C. C. C. Se considera como una de las iniciativas mejores de Roosevelt. Afecta al paro entre los jóvenes, a su moral y a su porvenir. A causa del paro, enormes contingentes de muchachos, en la ciudad más que en el campo, derivaban hacia el bandolerismo, como equivalente de la delincuencia juvenil producida por la miseria, y que en otros países se manifiesta por el apachismo y el pistolismo. El contraste entre la solución democrática de Roosevelt y la militarista y cuasilegítima de un Hitler o un Mussolini, es notable. Con arreglo a la citada ley se recluta a los jóvenes por alistamiento voluntario (dato de gran interés), se les organiza y disciplina por suboficiales y maestros y se les envía al Oeste a trabajar en la repoblación forestal y actividades análogas. En los primeros momentos, y hace de esto año y medio largo, se reclutaron 275.000 jóvenes. Viven en el campo como los Scouts, y durante tres horas asisten a clases suplementarias dadas por los preceptores. Al principio fueron enviados a los Estados fríos del Norte, y en invierno se les trasladó al Sur del país. Cada año, un contingente nuevo marcha a los bosques a recobrar la salud moral y física.

#### UN VIAJERO SORPRENDIDO; CAMPAMENTOS CIVILES

El francés M. H. Dubreuil, viajero ecuaníme de los Estados Unidos durante la época, ha tenido la curiosidad de visitar uno de estos campamentos de la juventud norteamericana, el de Sperryville, en las Blue Ridge Mountains (o las Montañas Azules de la Cima), a 85 millas al oeste de Washington. Fue acogido cordialísimamente por el joven suboficial director y obtuvo todo género de facilidades para sus informaciones. Inspeccionó a su guisa el campamento y se enteró de los pormenores más insignificantes de su funcionamiento. Almorzó con el suboficial y el funcionario administrador del bosque, que es el agente de enlace entre el desahucamiento y la Administración. A eso se reduce el estado mayor del campamento. sencillez y democracia en todo.

Al columbrar a lo lejos el núcleo juvenil instalado en el bosque, el viajero se sobrecalló. ¡Estaba ante una nueva parada militarista y fascista! En campo de guerra? Pero no. Nada de eso. ¡Lejos del New Deal esa deformación! Los muchachos trabajan en obras de prevención contra incendios, abriendo calles entre los bosques lo suficientemente anchas para aislar el fuego. Viven en tiendas de campaña. La cocina y los comedores están instalados en barracónes de madera. Ni un fusil. La armería se compone de otro barracón, donde se guarda toda la herramienta: picos, palas, hachas, rastillos, etc. La duración del trabajo es de ocho horas, incluido el tiempo que se tarda en recorrer del lugar de trabajo al de la refacción. Cada muchacho cobra 30 dólares mensuales, de los cuales sólo recibe cinco, y los 25 restantes se envían directamente a la familia. El campamento está instalado en lo fondo de un valle, donde corre un arroyo. Con el fin de construir una piscina se han formado diques a base de tierra y piedras. En el campamento hay un depósito permanente de libros escolares, una biblioteca circulante, cuyas existencias cambian cada semana por medio de dos cajas que pasan de un campamento a otro. Las cajas son de anaquelaría. Al abrirse forman la biblioteca.

Hará un año había cerca de 1.500 campamentos. Las tiendas son de campaña y tienen piso aislado del suelo. Son de tipo hospital. El orden es perfecto. Los castigos consisten en la aplicación de trabajos suplementarios. Dos veces por semana los camiones conducen al cine de la ciudad más próxima a los muchachos que lo desean.

#### VENTAJA DEL NUEVO SISTEMA FRENTE AL VIEJO INDIVIDUALISMO

El tradicional sistema individualista haría de esos cientos de miles de jóvenes vagos invertebrados, malhechores, delincuentes, bandidos. El sistema de coordinación y armonía que es el New Deal los substrahe al vicio y al mal, y convierte en hombres útiles. Ni siquiera los transforma, como en los países fascistas, en feroces guerreros en embrión, con todo lo de ancestral y de instintivo que tiene la guerra.

El New Deal ofrece, en su grandiosa experiencia, con sus aciertos y sus tanteos, otros aspectos tanto o más interesantes, de los que trataremos próximamente.

Wednesday

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## UNA DE LAS VERDADES DE ROOSEVELT

# El bienestar obrero, base de la prosperidad nacional

Al llegar al Poder Roosevelt por el mandato de la opinión pública había en los Estados Unidos 14 millones de parados. El desequilibrio que esa cifra traducía como efecto, se agravaba por el que representaba, a su vez, como causa. Y para mayor calamidad, hay que decir que los Estados Unidos jamás habían conocido el paro. ¡Catorce millones de parados con ocasión de una crisis económica, hija de un sistema que encierra tales quebrantos que le gasta a la sociedad, éticamente—es el lenguaje de sus economistas—, bromas tan pesadas

Pero lo malo—con serio mucho—no era ya que el sistema hubiera producido 14 millones de parados, sino los que podría seguir produciendo como efecto de la existencia de esa enorme masa de seres que, perdida la capacidad de compra, gravitaban sobre la economía social como parásitos, sin producir ni consumir. ¡Oh, excelencias de la economía fundada en el archipampanense laissez faire! Fácil es advertir que si los métodos conservadores habían producido la incongruencia, la perseverancia en ellos hubiera llevado a los Estados Unidos al caos irremediable.

### LOS CODIGOS DE TRABAJO

Y surgen los Códigos—lo que en España llamaríamos legislación social—. Esa legislación social que irrita a los derechistas indigenas, partidarios de una economía angosta. Por contra, la misma Cámara de Comercio estadounidense había solicitado la mejora de las condiciones de vida de los trabajadores como medio de volver a circunstancias normales de producción y consumo. Esto es, a la época de prosperidad. Se pedía la reglamentación de la industria y la Banca.

Los Códigos establecen las nuevas bases de trabajo en la industria. Son contratos, pactos, que se inscriben en el aumento de los salarios y disminución de la jornada. Esta se reduce a seis horas, de duración y cinco días por semana. Los salarios se aumentan en proporciones que aseguran al trabajador, al empleado, un mínimo de bienestar y decoro. Para probar la necesidad de esto, digamos algo, aunque parezca digresión, de las condiciones de vida del asalariado antes de ponerse en práctica el New Deal. (La N. I. R. A. o ley de Recuperación administrativa no prevé la uniformidad en horas y trabajos, como dice John Lewis, sino que da las normas a que debe ajustarse el régimen de trabajo.)

La encuesta Mitchell, de la que ya hemos hablado y a la que haremos de referirnos reiteradamente, contiene luminosas observaciones sobre la situación de los obreros norteamericanos y datos generales valiosos para los otros países. En el período agudo de la crisis económica se nota una debilitación de los Sindicatos obreros. Estos habían perdido terreno. Prácticamente, no existían en algunas industrias. Su participación social se hallaba concentrada en algunos oficios, como el transporte, el vestido, el teatro, la imprenta, la construcción, los servicios públicos, que representaban un 74 por 100 de los obreros sindicados. Existían las Company Unions en gran proporción, o Sindicatos organizados por los patronos. Estos Sindicatos trataban del mejoramiento de las condiciones del trabajo; pero está fuera de duda que animaba a los patronos el impedir el desarrollo de los Sindicatos libres, o sea los Sindicatos genuinamente obreros, independientes de los patronos.

### LA MISERIA DEL OBRERO EMPORRECE A LA NACION

Reconocida como una verdad incuestionable el papel que el salario representa para el consumo, se descubre que los salarios habían aumentado insuficientemente en el último tercio del siglo XIX. El índice establecido por Paul H. Douglas respecto a 13 clases de obreros, con un total de 22 millones de individuos, los salarios en ese lapso de tiempo sólo aumentaron en un 25 por 100. En la industria del carbón, la ganancia media anual del minero pasaba, en 1917, de 127 dólares, y en las manufacturas era inferior a 26 dólares en 1923.

En embargo, ese aumento del 25 por 100 se considera insuficiente para un nivel de vida que cubra las necesidades del obrero y su familia. Los autores de la encuesta del profesor Mitchell llegan a esta conclusión: «Aunque las ganancias medias de los obreros en los Estados Unidos se hayan elevado substancialmente en los últimos cuarenta años, el aumento de las ganancias individuales apenas al permitía a los obreros comprar los numerosos artículos y servicios existentes en el mercado del país y mantener el nivel de consumo de los artículos esenciales, como los de la alimentación, el vestido, etc.»

Aumentó la inseguridad de la vida obrera en el período citado. Continuamente los nuevos ritmos de cambio de industria imponen al obrero el cambio de oficio, la readaptación a otros oficios. En estas épocas, las transformaciones rápidas y continuas de las industrias revisten caracteres revolucionarios. En general, desde 1920 tiende a aumentar el paro. Hasta 1930 hay una disminución de 225.000 obreros en las minas, de 50.000 en ferrocarriles, de 325.000 en las manufacturas. El aumento del maquinismo contribuye al paro; Otro mal grave es la tendencia de los patronos a eliminar a los obreros de más de cuarenta años. De 61 establecimientos estudiados, el 46 por 100 de éstos se negaban a emplear obreros de más de cuarenta años. El exceso de competencia, además de ser causa de muchos de los males citados, conduce al agotamiento de ciertos recursos naturales, como los del subsuelo. Las tasas de la mortalidad nos dicen, por otra parte, que son más elevadas en los grupos de ganancias más bajas.

### BENEDIOS INMEDIATOS

Remedio inmediato de estos males: La reducción de la duración del trabajo (cinco días a la semana y seis horas diarias); elevación del poder de compra de las masas (cambio de distribución de la ganancia que facilite a los asalariados mayor capacidad adquisitiva, aumento del mercado para muchos artículos y proporciones colación al mayor número posible de parados); desarrollo de los seguros sociales y las pensiones a la vejez, entre otras medidas urgentes; aumento de jornales, en relación a los que existían en 1920, en proporciones que signifiquen la misma retribución de entonces por menos días y horas de trabajo semanales (John L. Lewis).

Lo que concreta Sidney Hillman, presidente del Amalgamated Bene of New York, entre otras entidades, en los siguientes términos: «La lógica conclusión de la N. R. A. consiste en conseguir regularizar el proceso económico de nuestra industria sobre bases que establezcan la armonía entre la capacidad de producción del país, su riqueza y sus necesidades crecientes.»

«Tiene nada de particular que los Sindicatos obreros florezcan y que su vitalidad esté ahora al servicio de la política de Roosevelt! Pero nos hemos extendido más de lo prudente. Dejemos para otro artículo otros aspectos del New Deal. Conclusión: La miseria del trabajador empobrece al país; el bienestar del trabajador es la base de la riqueza nacional.»

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## LA POLITICA NORTEAMERICANA

# Consecuencias del triunfo de Roosevelt

Serenados los espíritus, al volver a su cauce las aguas, se advierte con claridad que el triunfo aplastante de los demócratas en los Estados Unidos ha sido, sobre todo, un triunfo personal de Roosevelt y, más que nada, de la N. I. R. A. o «New Deal», de la política del presidente. El dato es significativo porque indica, contra escamoteos y cubileteos, hechos a distancia, de técnicos extranjeros más o menos autorizados, que la N. I. R. A., a los dos años, cuenta con la devoción acrecentada de la opinión pública. Si alguna duda existía acerca del colosal ensayo de economía dirigida de Roosevelt, desde que éste la puso en práctica, el dato prestado es suficientemente significativo para inclinar a la esperanza.

### DESCONCIERTO ENTRE LOS ENEMIGOS DE ROOSEVELT Y RECONOCIMIENTO DE SU EFICACIA

El resultado de las elecciones ha anonadado al partido republicano o derecha norteamericana, al punto que dentro de éste se observan encontradas tendencias reveladoras de un gran desconcierto. Por de pronto parece que los republicanos eligen nuevo jefe, y que éste será el senador Borah. El dilema del partido republicano yanqui es: o renovarse o morir. Acerca del alcance de la renovación surge la discrepancia. Una parte considerable quiere evolucionar hacia la izquierda, rivalizando en radicalismo con los demócratas y disputándoles el favor de la opinión pública en este terreno. Otro sector, formado por la derecha, y en el que figuran los elementos plutocráticos y de dinero, propugna por mantenerse en el terreno conservador, recogiendo a aquellas fuerzas disconformes con la política de Roosevelt, de capitalismo controlado por el Estado. Pero ya se ha visto cuáles son las perspectivas de éxito que aguardan, a tales alturas, a esos contumaces conservadores. Por último, existe la tendencia entre el conservadurismo republicano de hacer las paces con Roosevelt, aceptar lo fundamental de su política y ejercer la crítica en lo accesorio en ciertos aspectos de su programa. Sea de ello lo que quiera, el hecho es sintomático y prueba a qué grado insospechado de adhesión pública han llegado en Norteamérica Roosevelt y la N. I. R. A.

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**Mañana publicaremos: EL "NEW DEAL" Y LA JUVENTUD**

# La situación caótica de los Estados Unidos cuando Roosevelt llegó al Poder

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Es importante, para lo que nos proponemos, decir algo de la situación caótica en que se encontraban los Estados Unidos cuando llegó Roosevelt al Poder. Precisamente ese estado de aguda crisis y descorazonamiento fue el que determinó que la opinión rechazara a Hoover y pusiera su esperanza en la nueva política que le brindaban los demócratas. Este dato tiene una decisiva importancia, y, sin embargo, atacados de amnesia, lo olvidan los desparatados comentaristas de por aquí cuando se lanzan a dictaminar doctrinalmente sobre los resultados del New Deal o política de recuperación, como dicen los yanquis (reconstrucción, o reconstitución diríamos en España).

—Estaba el país en el momento en que triunfó Roosevelt al borde de la ruina. El que fue paraíso individualista o, dicho en términos marxistas, burgués, se debatía entre la ruina de la clase rica y la miseria de la clase trabajadora. Los Bancos, uno tras otro, se declaraban en quiebra. La parálisis industrial era tan extensa, que 14 millones de parados se encontraban en la calle sin recursos, viviendo a la intemperie o en los bosques o en cuevas (y no hay exageración, como veremos enseguida). Las Instituciones de Asistencia social, los Municipios, habían agotado toda suerte de recursos al acudir en auxilio de los parados.

Sobre todos los males, existía uno mayor por su carácter de imponderable: el pánico, que se había adueñado de los espíritus. Incoherencia y caos, ésta era la característica del momento. Indudablemente, las excelencias del *laissez faire, laissez passer*, complicadas con el desbarajuste internacional y la política de restricciones y barreras arancelarias que caracteriza nuestra época, habían conducido a esa desastrosa situación al que fue el país más floreciente del Mundo.

Y para que se vea que no argumentamos con literatura a secas, vamos a dar algunos datos y aportar también algún testimonio.

## RUINA, MISERIA, DESCONFIANZA, DESPERACION

La agricultura, una de las bases de la riqueza norteamericana, según dice el propio Roosevelt en una obra suya, se encontraba en esta situación: «Los agricultores americanos—sólo millones y medio de familias—representan el 22 por 100 de la población del país. En 1929, su parte de ganancia nacional se elevaba al 15 por 100; en 1932, al 11 por 100; en 1933, al 9 por 100 aproximadamente; según cálculos recientes, fundados en los del departamento de la Agricultura (se refiere al comienzo del New Deal), las ganancias de los agricultores han descendido al 7 por 100.»

La situación en 1933 de los 50 millones de hombres, mujeres y niños que dependen de la agricultura en los Estados Unidos, lo resume Harold Butler en su estudio «La obra del restablecimiento económico en los Estados Unidos»: «Los precios de los productos agrícolas habían dejado de ser remuneradores, las deudas excedían de la facultad de pago. La lamentable situación de los agricultores constituía el tercer peligro de hundimiento social y económico. Los precios de la mayoría de los productos agrícolas habían disminuido hasta tal punto que el agricultor no podía ganar y se hallaba en la imposibilidad de pagar sus impuestos. El 46 por 100 de los agricultores, por lo menos, tenían sus bienes hipotecados, y una proporción mayor todavía estaban agobiados por otras deudas contraídas en los períodos de prosperidad.»

Los agricultores no tenían ninguna esperanza de remediar su situación. Estaban empobrecidos como los parados. Empobrecidos también los financieros, valga la paradoja. Existían 14 millones de desocupados forzosos. El sistema bancario se había hundido. «La quiebra de muchos Bancos pequeños—dice el mismo Harold Butler—había hecho nacer un sentimiento general de inseguridad, que se desarrolló hasta tal punto que no se consideraba ningún Banco seguro.» Las Sociedades de Seguros, colectoras del ahorro de millones de personas, se resistieron de la inseguridad general y su situación llegó a ser grave. (Se salvó la situación con el cierre general de Bancos y una revisión del mecanismo de crédito bajo el control del Gobierno.) Se había perdido la fe en la competencia y la honestidad de los banqueros. Estos, en ciertos casos, habían dado pábulo a grandes escándalos y abusaron de la confianza del público. Habían dilapidado en especulaciones personales los fondos confiados a su custodia. Consecuencias eran éstas del individualismo clásico, irresponsable e incontraído. Era preciso también en este momento una intervención enérgica del Estado. ¡Hacia nadie, por cierto, que sea—lo que no es lo mismo que preventivo—que lo dude! Las grandes ciudades habían agotado sus finanzas; la industria era imposible para remediar una situación angustiosa; los salarios habían bajado a un nivel insoportable años antes, facilitado por la falta de fuerzas obreras organizadas. Reinaba el pánico y se había perdido en absoluto la confianza, que nadie creía posible volviera a restablecerse.

## CUADRO DE LA REALIDAD

A un observador imparcial de la situación, que ha viajado por Estados Unidos en la época de agudización de esta crisis, H. Dubreuil, debemos este cuadro de la miseria del pueblo: «Si recorre usted las calles de Nueva York y va al teatro o al restaurante, se inclina a creer que esto no va del todo mal. Pero recordemos que en los momentos más terribles de la guerra, ciertos aspectos de París nos tradicionalaban sobre la verdadera situación. Por eso hay que ver algo más que Nueva York y Washington e ir, por así decirlo, allí donde el mar arroja los cadáveres. Tuve esta impresión de naufragos arrojados a la costa al visitar en Cleveland las construcciones provisionales, construidas a toda prisa para albergar y alimentar a los millones de hombres a quienes los acontecimientos han privado de recursos. En mi vida vi espectáculo más trágico que esos millares de hombres sentados, embrutecidos, en largas filas, exhalando un horroroso hedor a miseria y con aire de atontamiento. Los más ingeniosos se han construido al borde del lago Erie refugios, al lado de los cuales las cabañas de la zona parisienne resultan confortables. Son literalmente nichos para perros o perreras, en los que se desfilan y arrastran estos hombres. ¿A qué continuar? ¿Para qué más?»

## ¿SE PUEDE NEGAR LA NECESIDAD DE LA INTERVENCIÓN DEL ESTADO?

En estas condiciones sombrías emprende Roosevelt la ejecución del New Deal o plan de economía dirigida democrática. La N. I. R. A. es una palabra. ¿Se atreve alguien a negar la necesidad de la nueva experiencia? Con sensatez, no. Próximamente examinaremos cómo se inició, optando un orden al caso progresivo, la nueva política democrática, el New Deal.



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LAS NUEVAS TENDENCIAS POLITICAS EN LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS

EL "NEW DEAL"

Mientras los elementos estornamente retardatarios a todo intento renovador y constructivo—y responsables de las catástrofes seculares de España—hacen esfuerzos por retrotraer la vida española a tiempos pasados, en Inglaterra, Francia, Estados Unidos y otras naciones obtienen triunfos resonantes las izquierdas. El reciente de los demócratas norteamericanos (la izquierda de ese país), tan arrollador como el de los laboristas ingleses, presenta rasgos singulares para nosotros españoles. Diríase que estamos en España, a juzgar por la nube de comentaristas despistados que discurren sobre la política de Roosevelt, en la más copiosa cerrazón mental respecto a la significación y alcance del gigantesco esfuerzo de reconstrucción que de poco más de un año a esta parte realiza el presidente Roosevelt.

Economistas españoles que pasan por lumbreras, a juzgar por el empaque con que dictaminan a propósito de la N. I. R. A. (ley de Recuperación Nacional Industrial), han hablado con evidente desorientación del fracaso del plan Roosevelt, demostrando un deficiente conocimiento de él, cuando no su ignorancia. Ayer mismo, un flamante colega se permitía decir muy serio que la N. I. R. A. (sistema de economía dirigida de Roosevelt) no había satisfecho a nadie, y lo afirmaba en el preciso instante en que la política democrática conseguía reforzar su posición con el resonante triunfo que le permite disponer, en una Cámara de 435 miembros, de una mayoría de 283 representantes o más. La victoria de los demócratas es, pues, aplastante y supera en mucho a la que obtuvieron en las elecciones presidenciales que dieron el Poder a Roosevelt.

Sin jactancia, permítasenos decir que hace quince días escasamente LA LIBERTAD hizo notar la influencia que el elemento trabajador fuertemente agrupado en Sindicatos, tendría en la balanza electoral, inclinándola hacia la izquierda.

LAS ECONOMIAS DIRIGIDAS Y LOS ECONOMISTAS MAL DIRIGIDOS

Lo comprendemos. El triunfo clamoroso de Roosevelt habrá sorprendido, con rasgos de perplejidad, a los economistas y financieros despistados de casa y boca. Precisamente esa victoria que a nosotros no nos ha sorprendido, como lo demuestran nuestros comentarios prelectorales, nos brinda ocasión de examinar, para que sepamos en qué consiste, el *New Deal* o plan de reconstrucción nacional industrial de los Estados Unidos, o la economía dirigida de Roosevelt. Interesa al público y sobre todo a la opinión democrática española, comprendida bajo el denominador común de izquierdas.

LAS CUATRO ECONOMIAS DIRIGIDAS

Existen hoy cuatro sistemas de economía dirigida: la de Mussolini, la de Stalin, la de Hitler y la de Roosevelt. En España se ha hablado de las tres primeras desde el punto de vista crítico razonable y serio; pero nadie, desde las columnas de la Prensa diaria, como arriba decimos, ha explicado en qué consiste el plan Roosevelt. Es lícito opinar en pro o en contra; pero lo que no puede hacerse es opinar sin estar enterado. En lo que se refiere a la N. I. R. A., se ha dado en algunos críticos un exceso de precipitación, que les conduca a condenarla sin conocerla y contrastando esa ligereza con su simpatía por los sistemas de economía dirigida de Mussolini o de Hitler.

Un renombrado profesor, por ejemplo, que pasa por una lumbrera nacional, no sabemos si con justicia, en la materia, se ha permitido decir que Roosevelt es un fonógrafo que tocaba los discos que le colocaban los profesores de cuarta clase que le asesoran. Francamente, ese modo de juzgar un problema de la trascendencia que tiene el ensayo Roosevelt de economía dirigida, de base democrática, no honra a quien lo practica ni al país donde se publica. El formidable plebiscito nacional que acaba de pronunciarse por el *New Deal*, las consecuencias incalculables que se desprenden de la nueva política norteamericana, nos autorizan para hablar así: Nadie, por muy poseído que esté de su ciencia—y menos en vísperas de ser desmentida por los hechos—, tiene derecho a poner en ridículo a su país, tratando de imbéciles a los millones de ciudadanos de la nación más generosa de la Tierra, en el momento en que ésta intensifica su esfuerzo en resolver generosamente el problema de la reconstrucción económica, el más grave que aflige a la humanidad.

Por todas esas consideraciones, y con ocasión del nuevo triunfo democrata, creemos de interés explicar modestamente en qué consiste el *New Deal* o política de Roosevelt para la reconstitución económica y social de los Estados Unidos. ¿Qué es la N. I. R. A.? Sobre este tema versará nuestro próximo artículo.

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ROOSEVELT CONTRA EL INDIVIDUALISMO GAITICO

## Una economía dirigida para todos

«SUBORDINACIÓN DEL INTERÉS PRIVADO AL INTERÉS PÚBLICO; FACILIDAD PARA RECLUTAR LOS TALENTOS NECESARIOS.»

¿Cómo resolver la situación decaída, que hemos descrito en nuestro anterior artículo, a que habían llegado los Estados Unidos?

Para que juzgue el lector la ligereza de aquellos publicistas que le hablan del arbitrio de Roosevelt, diremos, antes de proseguir, que a principios de 1933, la Comisión de encuesta sobre las nuevas tendencias sociales en los Estados Unidos, nombrada (dato importantísimo) por el entonces presidente Hoover, dirigida por el profesor Wesley C. Mitchell, formada por cincuenta técnicos autorizados, que tenía quinientos colaboradores en todo el país y que llevaba trabajando tres años, dictaminó que era preciso un reajuste de la economía general de la nación, a base de la revisión de las condiciones de trabajo de los obreros y del mejoramiento de éstas, mediante el aumento de la capacidad de consumo y el poder de compra del ciudadano norteamericano. Y proponía, entre otras medidas: *La reducción de la jornada del trabajo en estos términos: jornada de seis horas y semana de cinco días para distribuir más equitativamente las colocaciones; elevación del poder de compra de las masas, o sea un cambio de distribución de la ganancia que aumente el poder de compra de los asalariados y, a la vez, el mercado.* Y llegaba la Comisión de encuesta a la conclusión de que los 140 millones de habitantes que serán en 1940 los Estados Unidos, el productor sólo podrá contar por esa fecha con 132 millones de consumidores. Es decir, que ocho millones de norteamericanos se verán condenados al hambre perpetua.

¿Cómo poner remedio en ese caos anárquico a fuer de individualista? A esta interrogante contesta Roosevelt, y con él copiosos y selectos sectores de su país, por medio de su economía dirigida. Dejemos su economía, porque su sistema, al revés de los de Hitler y Mussolini—véase, porque nada tiene que ver con el fascismo esa política económica social—, se funda en la voluntad de la mayoría y en el bien general. Por medio, en una palabra, de la intervención del Estado en la economía, las finanzas y el trabajo, con un fin democrático. Esta es su diferencia profunda con el ideal fascista. Mientras éste trata de salvar, ante todo, la nación con fines imperialistas y a las clases privilegiadas, el New Deal intenta salvar a todos los ciudadanos y todos los intereses—incluso los patronales y privados—, con el fin de recuperar el bienestar general, sin exclusión de nadie y sin pensar ni remotamente en ideales imperialistas.

### PASO A LA ECONOMÍA DEMOCRÁTICA

Roosevelt, pues, se dice: Hay que hacer tabla rasa con el antiguo sistema del *laissez faire*, que no conduce a parte alguna, pasado de moda, notoriamente inadecuado para estos tiempos. Hay que hacer lo contrario de Hoover. Un año más de política a base del *laissez faire* y el país va a la hecatomba, y comienza Roosevelt a actuar en direcciones análogas a las preconizadas por la Comisión de encuesta, ante citada, presidida por el sabio profesor Mitchell, de la Universidad de Columbia. El New Deal rooseveltiano se funda en *este*: En el aumento del poder de compra de las masas por la expeditiva y rápida intervención del Estado, que ayude a todos los porfiños, a todas las brechas de la sociedad, para taparlos y remediarlos con el fin supremo de lograr la prosperidad general. Eso es el New Deal, o plan Roosevelt, pactado en la ley famosa la N. I. R. A. y también la N. A. R. por abreviación (ley para la recuperación económica nacional, o National Industrial Recovery Act, dicho en inglés).

### TABLA RASA DEL «LAISSEZ FAIRE» INSERVIBLE.

Era natural el triunfo de Roosevelt contra el individualismo clásico de Hoover, que se cruzó de brazos ante la ruina. Roosevelt hace tabla rasa de ese individualismo basado en el *laissez faire* y comienza, una vez en el Poder, su ensayo de economía democrática dirigida. De ahí el enorme interés del New Deal—la expresión popular en los Estados Unidos—como una nueva experiencia, diametralmente opuesta al fascismo y que lo reduce a la nada en cuanto a su pretendido valor como sistema de adoctrina.

De acuerdo con la urgencia de la situación y su programa, Roosevelt hace aprobar el *Industrial Recovery Act* (ley de recuperación industrial) en 16 de Junio de 1933. En esta ley se regula la actividad o el trabajo en las industrias por medio de Códigos cuyas características esenciales son: contratos colectivos entre las organizaciones patronales y los Sindicatos obreros que fijan las condiciones del trabajo (working standards), salarios mínimos y duración mínima de la jornada.

Esta ley prevé un plan de obras públicas por valor de 3.300 millones de dólares (uno de los puntos de ese plan comprende la construcción de una carretera entre Nueva York y Boston).

La ley de referencia incluye el aspecto genuinamente social del problema, o sea el que por afectar a las condiciones de trabajo crea el medio de aumentar la capacidad de compra y consumo, por tanto, de las masas. Es la médula de la cuestión, por decirlo así. Con señalar que el número de Códigos se eleva a 600, que comprenden a dos millones y medio de patronos y firmas comerciales y 54 millones de trabajadores, está dicho su importancia.

Como se trata del punto neurálgico del plan Roosevelt, del primero de su trípode: *Atención, Recuperación y Reconstrucción*, dejémoslo para el próximo artículo en examen detenido. Se trata de la solución positiva, concreta, que intenta dar al problema social democráticamente Roosevelt, y que aquí, en España, por contra, no atisban siquiera las derechos, las *derechas* precisamente, las cuales no discurren solución alguna que no se salga de la castaña brava. Esto es, del palo y el lente íseo. Y así va ello.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*File  
Claude  
Bowers*

January 26, 1935.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Can you let me know about  
this enclosure from our friend, Claude  
Bowers? I also enclose his letter  
which I think will amuse you.

F. D. R.

*file  
"personal"*

EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Madrid, January 16, 1935

Dear Mr President:-

It occurs to me that you may have some slight curiosity concerning Jimmy Walkers trip to Madrid .He spent two days here on his way to southern Spain for the sunshine for his wife who was recently ill .He called at the Embassy and I treated him with every courtesy. He is much changed. He goes to bed at eleven,smokes cigars moderately and no more cigarettes,and passes up far more drinks than he takes .The result is he looks better and while he still has the snap he is far more serious minded.

He was interviewed here and you mayb be interested in one part of the interview:

"Former Mayor James J.Walker is confident that the 'new deal' will bring the desired results .He was optomistic regarding the Rooseveltian program of economic reconstruction .Commenting on Roosevelts plan to spend four billion dollars for public works ,the former mayor ,carefully picking his words ,said,"If Roosevelt decides he must spend four billion dollars ,then he must be confident that that is what is necessary and certain that it will bring results .In any case,even with this sum,if I recall correctly,the public debt of the United States will not be as large as that of England .A lot of people forget that".

In conversation with me ,confidentially,he said that our mutual friend Al is "the most supremely selfish man I have ever known,who never does anything except for himself .He has a gift for government but his qualities are such that he never will be a great success in private business. If I had time I would like to anaylyse that for you,.Frank Roosevelt is better in team work than Smith ever was. He was fiercer than Al. He has a great political mind .A lot of people underestimated him at one time. There is no underestimating him now".

I thought this might be of some interest .

With warm regards,  
Sincerely,

*Claude G. Bowler*

Hon. Franklin D.Roosevelt  
The White House.

*I am enclosing copy of despatch to Hue. The readjustment facts almost entirely on the service here and it is crushing. I am quite positive that your order of Dec 24 1934 not intended to be retroactive and apply to Decemr, salaries. I too been desastrov to many here.*



*file* *Spain*

THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

February 12, 1935.

My dear Mr. President:

I have given very careful consideration to the enclosed despatch from Ambassador Bowers and I am sending him a full discussion of the subject by way of reply, a copy of which is herewith enclosed, together with graphs showing variations of foreign currency values.

I sympathize thoroughly with the position in which Ambassador Bowers finds himself as a result of the new Executive Order. However, a careful examination of the facts shows that in comparison to his predecessors, Mr. Bowers now receives in Spanish pesetas more than any American Ambassador to Spain ever received before the dollar was revalued, with the exception of the years 1931 and 1932 when Spanish currency was abnormally depreciated.

It is true that the uniform change made by the new Executive Order in all exchange rates from a three year average to a five year average affected adversely  
exchange

The President,  
The White House.



exchange losses computed in all those countries whose currencies were abnormally depreciated in the three years prior to April 1933. But there was no discrimination as to Spain, and I am told by my technical people that our officers there were less hard hit by the readjustment than were the officers in Ethiopia, China and Uruguay.

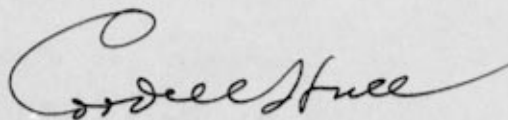
Since I am told that there are serious administrative difficulties in the way and that it would not be in the interest of the Government, I do not feel that I can recommend the amendment of the present Executive Order to provide for a different rule for compensation of exchange losses in Spain than is applicable to other countries of the world.

I do, however, feel that Ambassador Bowers presents a strong equitable case for the payment of exchange losses for December salaries and allowances which is impossible under the present Executive Order. I am, therefore, bringing the matter to the attention of the Director of the Budget, who, under the authorizing act, has exclusive jurisdiction in the matter of recommending to you an amendatory Executive order permitting the payment of exchange losses for December 1934.

Whether

Whether he would agree with me that Mr. Bowers' contention is reasonable, I do not know.

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Cordell Hull". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name "Cordell Hull".

Enclosures:  
Despatch from Ambassador Bowers;  
Reply to despatch;  
Graphs.

February 12, 1935.

No.

The Honorable

Claude G. Bowers,  
American Ambassador,  
Madrid.

Sir:

Reference is made to your despatch No. 644 dated January 16, 1935, stating that there is in effect a flagrant discrimination against the diplomatic and consular service in Spain resulting from the Executive Order of December 24, 1934.

The authorizing act and the reported hearings on the bill to pay exchange losses indicate that the Director of the Budget was obliged under the law either to recommend a single formula which would be applied to fix the exchange rate by a uniform average in each of the fifty odd countries of the world or to recommend a plan of arbitrarily fixing fifty different basic rates computed, not on a uniform formula, but on world exchange conditions over a period of years, as influenced by Federal Reserve exchange quotations, necessarily incomplete. The decision of the Director of the Budget to recommend a single formula applicable to every country cannot be said to be unreasonable or discriminatory as to Spain or any other one country. The Director of the Budget then recommended to the

President

President that average which it was believed would meet the requirements of the law and at the same time as nearly as possible approach an equalization of treatment when applied.

In the endeavor to avoid discrimination, all interested Departments and all geographic divisions in this Department were consulted; after comparing the fluctuations of currencies over a period beginning as far back as 1914, studies were made of the applications of various formulae to those fluctuations.

You will note from Chart I, showing the fluctuations in certain typical currencies, the impossibility of determining what is a normal exchange rate except by striking an average. This is confirmed by Chart II with percentage fluctuations over fourteen years and indicating a basic rate stabilization among three typical abnormally depreciated currencies; this, on a five year average, applies to Spain a more favorable rate than at any time since the War, with the exception of the years 1931, 1932 and 1933. The difference in effect of the application of the three year and the five year average results as between Spain and a gold country obviously not from arbitrary discrimination but from the fundamental fact that the gold currencies maintained a stable par level while Spanish currency was depreciating abnormally.

Exchange relief legislation cannot, in the nature of things, abolish differences in living among various countries abroad. It was not so intended by Congress. These differences existed before the value of the dollar was reduced and will be inevitable as long as local living costs,  
living

living standards and local currencies are not identical. It is doubtless true that exchange legislation has reduced some of these inequities, assisted by the cost of living appropriations.

The dating of the pay checks by the Disbursing Officer as of the first of January rather than December 31 is in accordance with regulations, most of which were written by the Comptroller General. Disbursing officers are required to account for checks within ten days after the end of the month in which they are issued. Since it is not possible for disbursing officers in District Accounting and Disbursing Offices to issue checks on the last day of a month and forward their accounts to Washington within ten days after the end of that month, the regulations provide that such disbursing officers shall date pay checks issued by them the first day of the month following the services rendered thus giving these officers sufficient time in which to obtain pay rolls and accounts from the several offices in their districts and to prepare the accounts and returns before the expiration of the legal period.

The foregoing paragraph is by way of an explanation of the legal necessity for requiring a refund for the payment made of exchange losses for December salaries and allowances. Since I am of the opinion that you have presented a strong, equitable case for the payment of exchange losses for December and since such payment is impossible under the present Executive Order, I am submitting your despatch to the Director of the Budget, who,



16 18 5  
STATE

- 4 -

who, under the authorizing act, has exclusive jurisdiction in the matter of recommending to the President an amendatory Executive order permitting such action.

Very truly yours,

*Cordell Hull*

120.7/417

A true copy of  
the signed original  
*R*

A-C:EM:HOK:MK:SS  
S CH:HR



PSF: Spain (4)  
EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Hendeye, August 26, 1936

Dear Mr President:-

Probably you have seen the telegrams I have sent the Department regularly, but you may be interested in something on the background and real significance of the struggle in progress here. Nine tenths of the press reports are false. I have never seen, not even during the World War such persistent and outrageous propoganda.

There is no possible justification for the rebellion in anything done by the legal, legitimate Government, voted in overwhelmingly a few months ago. Azana is probably the only great statesman in Spain. He is a republican, and a democrat, with no sympathy with doctrines we call "subversive". He is a real patriot and his purpose has been to change Spain from a 16th Century state into a modern European State and to end feudalism which has persisted here. Knowing that without drastic reforms as to labor and the peasants communism or worse would ultimately come he has sponsored plans for placing peasants on the lands on small farms, and for giving labor a living wage and civilized conditions under which to work. He has no desire to interfere with the Catholic religion as a religion, and church services have never been interfered with, but he stands for a separation of the church and state and the creation of a public school system.

In mentality, in genius, I think him one of the outstanding statesmen of Europe and certainly he is the most enlightened and constructive statesman Spain has produced in fifty years.

But he has been hated with a fierce hate by the Church because of his public school policy, his expulsion of the Jesuits. And hated by the aristocracy because he proposes to make the huge absentee landlords part with a portion of their lands to create a small farm system.

And hated by the nobility because he is recognized as the sustaining pillar of the republic.

He lead the liberal forces in the late elections and won. He served for a time as Prime Minister and then went to the Presidency to the applause of both Rights and Lefts. He was the one man all the Lefts could accept, and the more intelligent of the Rights thought him a barricade against extremes.

All he has done since returning to power is this:-  
He has put about 70,000 peasant families on the land, has returned to the enforcement of the church laws laid down in the Constitution, and has started the construction of 7000 school buildings. That is all he has done.

In his Government there is not even a socialist. All Ministers are stout Republicans of his party and that of Barrio.

So there is no provocation for the rebellion. Count Romanones, with whom you may be acquainted, seven times Prime Minister of the King, and nine times Minister of State, had an estate next to the place I had in Feunte-rrebia and I saw him daily in the first days of the Rebellion. On the second day he told me that the organizing for the rebellion began the day after the election when it became clear that the people are against reaction. There is no doubt of that. On that day he told me the organization was so perfect the fight would "speedily be ended". I asked him how long. He replied "in four days or five days at the utmost". Ten days later I reminded him of what he had said and he made this very significant reply:

"We counted on the Navy and were disappointed. We thought the Basques would be with us and they are against us. But the most serious thing of all is we did not count on the general rising of the people".

The fact is the people of all classes, under the nobility and moneyed



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aristocracy are fighting with a superhuman courage and heroism never equalled in the history of Spain. This is true in every village. These people are convinced they are fighting for liberty and life, and they would rather die fighting than give up.

Romanones did not add another miscalculation of the rebels. They counted on the army. That was stupid. Most of the privates are from the peasants and the workers. Many of the army are republicans. In barracks after barracks it was found at the last moment the rebel officers could not count on the soldiers and rather than permit them to support the Government they were locked in the barracks. Many escaped. Many were shot by officers, trying to escape. Many are in the armed forces of the republic.

Because of this, the rebels have been driven to the appalling device of bringing over from Africa the Moors and the Foreign Legion. The latter is an organization of criminals of all nations. In Spain criminals for long have been given their choice between prison and the Foreign Legion. Both these and the Moors are as savages and nine tenths of the atrocities committed in the Asturian revolt of October 1934 were committed by these and not by the miners as the world press would have you think.

But the effect of bringing these people in has been to intensify the ardor of the republicans.

The rebel armies then are composed as follows:

First a small part of the regular army.

Second, the Moors and the Foreign Legion.

Third the facists.

Fourth the Carlists--religionists.

And there is no harmony among them. I have this from all the war correspondents who have been with Molas army. They hate each other and are operating in most instances seperately.

Should the rebels win there will be, according to the plan accribed to Franco and Mola, a military dictatorship with a advisory council. The program is to end parliamentary government, to suspend all constitutional guarantees ending freedom of speech and liberty of the press, to end the public school program, to restore all the old privileges to the Church, to recall the Jesuits, to repeal all labor laws passed by the Azana regime, to make it a crime for workers to strike, to end all agrarian reforms, to expell the small peasant farmers and restore the land to the absentee landlords. And they add "possibly a prebecite on the restoration of the monarchy".

Now the military men have no wish for the monarchy, but this is given out as a bait to the religious fanatics of Navarre.

Bluntly it is to put Spain back again into the 16th century and hold her there by bayonets. The final result would be communism.

The average person, viewing things superficially and with little knowledge of history or of peoples, tell you the military will win. They have not been winning. And others are convinced that an army composed in large part of foreigners and Moors cannot put down a people. I am sure of it. Will Duranty who is here shares this view with me.

That the rebel chiefs are not so sure is shown by the fact that while all the political leaders of the Left are in Spain and hard at work, most of the Rightists are out of Spain, and all the nobility is trying to get out. Azana is working day and night at the palace. Barrio is the Lloyd George of the time, going constantly from town to town, animating the people, and turning factories into munition plants. Fernando de los Rios is on a mission to Paris. Prieto is writing and speaking. Largo Cabellero is supporting the Government strenuously.



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It is a ruthless war, a life and death struggle, but the Government is acting within the law. The court martials have been held weeks after rebel generals and officers have been taken, and these trials have been conducted with scrupulous regard to the rights of the accused. In cases of conviction and execution, they have been treated with every consideration. Priests of their choice are summoned. Most of the executions by the Government have been of officers of the army caught in rebellion. The rebels execute Civil Governors when they take a town and leaders of Left parties are shot without trial. Packard of the United Press tells me of an incident near Tolosa, which he witnessed. Twelve loyalists in a motor truck who had lost their way drove into the rebel camp. Fifteen minutes later Packard heard a volley. They had been stood up and shot without any pretence at a trial.

There have been some outrageous things ascribed to the "Government" or the communists. Now here is the strange thing:--  
The communists, under rigid discipline, are supporting the Government loyally. They are not looting or shooting in the streets. They are under drastic orders not to molest private property and to do nothing except on direct orders from the Government. They are living up to these orders. Their organ in Madrid is proposing shooting for thieves. The people who are killing and stealing and breaking in, are the Syndicalists and Anarchists. These were bitter enemies of the Government before the rebellion began. And these constitute Azansa problem.

> These are my PRIVATE views. <

The possibilities of this crisis precipitating a European war are really grave. Germany and Italy have been openly, brazenly, against the Government and I refer to the Italian and German Ambassadors. France and the French Ambassador are as openly with the Government and against the rebels.

I have found the diplomatic corps generally with the rebels. It is not due to instructions from their Governments. Most of these gentlemen are weak sisters, bridge and golf players, snobs

, enemies of

democracy, toadies to rank and fortune. Their personal friends, and mine, are among the nobility and aristocracy of Spain and many of these are in jail. They see no further than that. They are constantly seeking an opportunity, under the lead of the Argentine Ambassador, for nine years Ambassador to the Vatican, to deal a blow to the Government. My own staff is right--with one exception. Johnson, the Counsellor, I have had to brush aside because of his hysteria and blatant advocacy of the rebel cause. Eddie Flynn may have told you about him. I shall discuss him bluntly on my return with the Department. Flynn heard him propose to me that we have a joint office in Irun with the German and Italian Embassies!!

The Argentine who is dean called a meeting to consider offering mediation. That would have been a public proclamation of the equal status of the Government and the rebels and was intended as such. I was surprised to find Sir Henry Chilton, the British Ambassador, a nice fellow who strikes his predecessor Sir George Grahame about the ankles intellectually, in favor of it. I called his attention to the implications of such action and his First Secretary who was present agreed with me and Chilton then telephoned his Government. He was told he might attend but was to say nothing. I thought it unwise to attend since the press might get the story and publish the names of those attending. I wired my impressions to Hull and asked for instructions to stay away and got them. Chilton attended as an observer only and yesterday the London Times had the story and had him present as as one of the sponsors. So many took my view that nothing was actually done.

Then the Argentine called another meeting to offer services in arranging an exchange of prisoners. This without a suggestion from either side. The trick here is, that nobles, and members of the aristocracy who are





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open rebels and have financed the rebellion are in jail, and the purpose really is, according to admissions in private, to get them out. But there are none of the Government people of any consequence in jail. I thought it probable that the Government would decline a one sided proposition which would turn active enemies loose within their lines and again did not attend, notifying Hull who sends his approval.

My firm conviction is this:  
We must not become involved by any kind of meddling with the domestic quarrel of Spain.  
We must confine ourselves rigidly to getting Americans out and looking after American interests exclusively.

I am asking for instructions where I have the slightest doubt.

I had gone to Feunterrebia to rest three weeks before sailing for home the first of August and while there put the finishing touches on my preparations for the campaign. I am ready for the campaign now. But it would be exceedingly bad to leave my post for politics so long as the situation here remains as it is. It would be used against the Administration. I really think the thing will be over soon.

My relations with all elements here have been of the best, and I am sure that the best way to keep on good terms with all is to attend to our business and stand aloof from all suggestions of interference by the corps.

This letter is choppy but I am writing to the music of cannon and bomb explosions and of machine guns in a battle now on just across the border.

Sincerely,  
Claude G. Bower

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
Washington, D.C.

*I have written you with a frankness in which I do not usually write others. Of course my sympathy is with the Government. The rebels are of the same element as that opposing your Administration. But do not be alarmed lest I talk as freely as I write you in confidence.*

*And please do not mention the Johnson matter until I return. He is notoriously impossible and I could have had him transferred two years ago but I wrote Wood & laid the patience of job and did not want to hurt the record, especially because to lose a lovely wife who carries a cross. He makes heroic efforts to please me but usually every one else, and under the strain of fight usually he becomes impossible with me. Eddie Flynn will tell you all about him. I shall ask only that he be transferred soon, since to me you have saved the period that is usual.*



*file  
revised*

Madrid, September 6, 1935

Dear Mr President:-

I have your note with the enclosure from Daniels. I shall try to figure it out to do the work. Within a few days I shall send you a list of things I shall require which you can have the proper people get in shape for me.

I am writing stuff now for Farley . But for almost three months and until two weeks ago my wife was so desperately ill that for weeks her life was despaired of. I had to conceal the seriousness of her condition from my young daughter and appear cheerful in her presence and the strain was terrible. The result is that now that the crisis is past I am feeling the effect--just in a heap. But now I think I shall pull out of it. Work gets my mind off ~~my~~ troubles and will probably help. I had written a long sequel to "Jefferson and Hamilton" covering the Jefferson administrations that have been lied about by the Henry Adams, the McMasters and the Channings--all anti-Jeffersonians, but was going to rewrite it after consulting the newspapers of the period. With the aid of a stenographer, I went through the papers when home, not intending to give any thought to the re-writing until cool weather. But to get my mind off my worries I sat down in the midst of my troubles and in two months actually rewrote the whole thing . I have no thought of publishing it just now or for more than a year. But that convinces me that work on this other would probably help me.

I should like at once some indication of the length you think would be most effective .It can be offered for publication or just published in cheap form by our people .I am not interested in profits on a thing of this sort. It ought to be rather ~~concise~~ compact and so written with dramatic effect as to catch the eye.

Labor came across magnificently on Labor Day and even the Paris Herald, the supreme snob sheet of the earth, published it in the first column of the first page. I have no doubt of the result of the election.

With warm regards ,

Sincerely,

*Claude G. Bowles*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
the White House  
Washington.



EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Hendeye September 9, 1936

Dear Mr President:-

I am inclosing a copy of a despatch that may be of interest to you. Since it was written del Vayo has formally informed the diplomats still in Madrid that the present Government will do precisely what I indicate in this note, and for the very reason I assign. There is no doubt now that the plane that tried to bomb the "Kane" was a rebel plane. The statement of the Government in prompt reply to our protest is most convincing to me, and the Captain of the "Kane" tells me today that he is convinced the plane was of Italian make. That settles it. I do not think it was deliberately the intent to aim at us; the "Kane" has a little of the appearance of a Government boat. However while we have received every possible courtesy and consideration from the Government, we have had some little difficulty occasionally from the facists who cultivate the best facist manner.

My course in reference to the meddling of the Diplomatic Corps has been entirely vindicated by events. Of course the Government turned down the proposition regarding prisoners since it was clearly proposed to furnish the rebels with propoganda. Most of the diplomatic corps have been outrageously pro-rebel. This is due, first to the aggressive bullying tactics of the three facist states, Germany, Italy especially and Portugal. Second to the inevitable snobbery of diplomats of the professional variety who are always against the masses of the people. Third to the fact that the nobility here and the moneyed aristocracy are cultivated by most of the corps to the point of sycophancy.

In the beginning I was amazed ~~at~~ with the intense pro-rebel proclivities of Sir Henry Chilton, the British Ambassador, since the fight is glaringly one against political democracy. He measures up to his predecessor, Sir George ~~Cranham~~ Grahame intellectually and in political sagacity about to the ankles. He is a nice, colorless, drawing room diplomat and rather weak. He was first astounded and then frightened when I told ~~h~~ him I would not attend a meeting t for the purpose of making a public offer of mediation because it naturally would be resented by the Government as a public proclamation



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that the corps places Government and the rebels on an equal legal footing. Becoming alarmed, over his whole-hearted acquiescence in a purely pro-rebel propoganda plan, he hastily telephoned Whitehall for instructions and was told to keep out. But recently there has been a decided change in the British slant. There can be no doubt, I think, that there is a bargain between General Franco and Italy for the former in case of victory to give Italy all sorts of advantages on the Medeterrenian.

By staying entirely out, by refusing to convert our Embassy into an asylum for rebels and enemies of the regime as practically all the others have, we stand better, I am sure, than any other country and we have had no trouble at all. The British at first admitted numerous titled Spaniards on the ground that they were remotely related to the British Royal family. but soon after this was done London sent instructions to stop it.

The fight at Irun was epic. Never such astonishing heroism. The fishermen, miners, peasants, untrained in arms, repulsed with deadly losses the trained Foreign Legion for six days and on the day before the fall they wiped out columns of the Foreign Legion. They failed on the last day because of the exhaustion of their amunition, and even then they stood with antique heroism at their posts to await certain death rather than surrender.

This failure of amunition indicates one of two things;--either that France has not been sending them amunition, or that at the critical moment France deserted her ally. The France of the Spanish fight is the France of the Abyssinian war.

I think the fall of Irun in its effect on the war has been much exaggerated. It took a week for trained soldiers of the most desperate character, with all the instrumentalities of war, tanks, machine guns, cannon, war ships and planes to take a little town of 12,000 people. To reason that because they finally took Irun they can now take Madrid with its million people and huge defending force seems far fetched. Meanwhile the rebels are about to lose Cordoba, Granada, Zaragoza; and they really are making no progress in the mountains about Madrid. The trouble is that they do not have enough men, since the moment they take a town and move the soldiers on to the next,

EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



*gas towns*  
~~the men~~ they had taken rises and becomes Government territory again.  
It seems to me that they can only win by having enough soldiers to keep  
a regiment or so in the towns they take. Floyd Gibbons and the Herald-  
Tribune man who have been in Seville tell me that Francos army cannot  
number more than 17,000 men. I have heard that of Mola variously estimated  
at between 20,000 and forty thousand. I think the latter figure much  
exaggerated. Gibbons does not think that they have been able to bring more  
than 5000 Moors and Foreign Legion soldiers over from Africa, and it is  
said that because of the increasing uneasiness in Morrocco it is thought  
impossible to further decrease the army there.

You probably see our despatches but I am sending you personally such  
observations as occur to me.

Gibbons says your reelection is as certain as the rising of the sun  
tomorrow morning.

Sincerely,  
*Edward G. Bowes*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House.



No. 1217

Hendaye, France, September 7, 1936.

Subject:

Observations on the Government of Caballero.

For the special attention  
of the Secretary.

The Honorable,

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that in my opinion the bald announcement of the appointment of Largo Caballero as Prime Minister has a sinister sound, but from another point of view it may be the solution of the problem of ending the outrages of the syndicalists and anarchists in Madrid and elsewhere. For weeks before the rebellion, conservatives looked forward with satisfaction to a Government presided over by Prieto. This seemingly strange infatuation of the most reactionary for the socialist orator was due to the conviction that no moderate of the type of Azana or Barrio could safely resort to drastic methods

methods in putting these people down. It was thought that the immediate effect of an attempt by Azana, or any moderate, would be to rally all the proletariat against the Government, but that the strong arm could be used by a socialist like Prieto with safety, without creating the fear that the repression was aimed at the working classes or the peasants.

I have frequently heard this point of view expressed by ultra-conservatives of the old regime in my own house.

However, in view of the split between Caballero and Prieto, the extremists following the former and the moderate socialists the latter, it became apparent that the creation of a Prieto Government would probably be most obnoxious to the followers of Caballero in the Socialist Party. In fact, when on assuming the Presidency, Azana offered the Premiership to Prieto, it was declined on that very ground.

No one on the side of the Republic is in a stronger position to put down the lawlessness of the syndicalists and anarchists, and to bring the popular militia under strict discipline than Caballero.

Does he wish to do it?

For a long while he sought to bring the syndicalists into his organization in a unification of all the proletarian elements. It was on this proposition, along with a few others, that Caballero and Prieto split. But Caballero made no progress, and he is said to have looked with increasing alarm on the utter lawlessness of the syndicalists because, as he said, it tended to discredit the whole proletarian program. Perhaps the climax came when he attended

tended a national syndicalist convention at Zaragosa, in a final effort to coax them in. Here he was constantly interrupted with insults and all but mobbed. There is no doubt that he has had no sympathy with the anarchistic proceedings of the syndicalists in Madrid since the beginning of the rebellion. If he is convinced, as he easily may be, that the excesses of these people are discrediting the cause he represents, he would probably take pleasure in applying the lash of authority. And he alone perhaps is in a position where he can do so and retain the support of the greater part of the workers.

CHARACTER OF CABALLERO

It would be a mistake in anticipating probable events to put Largo Caballero down as a lawless, anarchistic demagogue. I never have heard his personal honesty questioned. No amount of money could buy him, and no honors could bribe him. His personal habits are beyond reproach. He lives simply and is not found about the cafes. He works constantly and in his own home. For years a follower of Pablo Iglesias, an evolutionary socialist, at one time a servant of the King, and Minister of Labor in the Ministry of Azana from 1931 to 1933, he became embittered by the savagery of the methods in the suppression of the Asturian revolt of October 1934. Imprisoned for a year and a half, an ingrowing resentment drove him more and more to the extreme Left, and the evolutionary socialist gave way to the revolutionary socialist. For months before the rebellion he gave me the impression of being  
entirely

entirely communistic, though his speeches in the elections of February were singularly free from demagogy or extreme statements.

Some weeks before the rebellion an acquaintance of mine, who enjoys intimate relations with the extremists, told me that these were having trouble with Caballero, and would like to brush him aside but for the fact that he had become a "legend," a personification of the cause of the workers in the minds of the masses, and consequently was beyond their capacity to ignore. These extremists, according to my informant, would mention some plan in his presence without a comment from him, and then they would work out all the details of the plan and finally present it to him for his approval. He would look up at them with an amazed expression and quietly reply: "I would not think of such a thing. The Spanish people are not Russians." After the removal of President Alcala Zamora, these extremists determined to make Caballero President. He treated their suggestions with indifference, showing no interest. At length, when they thought they had mustered sufficient votes, they went to him: "It is all arranged," they told him. "But no time can be wasted. You can be elected but you must instantly give us permission to go ahead."

He looked up at them with an annoyed expression: "I never have thought of such a thing. I would not think of considering it. My election would be the signal for a civil war. No." I submit this to show the contradictory and strange character of this man.

Prieto.

PRIETO

The fact that Prieto has consented to enter a Government under Largo Caballero is rather promising. His influence will be on the side of moderation. The most brilliant orator of his party, good-natured, humane, and possessed of a comfortable fortune measured by Spanish standards, he is an evolutionary socialist. His inclusion in the Ministry of Caballero means a unification of the Frente Popular which for a time seriously was threatened.

MINISTER OF STATE

The new Minister of State, Alvarez del Vayo, I know personally. Before the revolution of April, 1931, he was the most brilliant political journalist in Spain, and at the time of that revolution was President of the Press Association. He was made Ambassador to Mexico, where he was very acceptable, and while there was known intimately by Josephus Daniels, who formed a very high opinion of him and who can, if desired, give you his impressions. On his return from Mexico he called upon me with a note from Daniels. He is a man of most pleasing appearance, and his manners are those of a cultured gentleman, and a man of the world. He speaks English perfectly. Although he belongs to the left-wing of the socialists, he did not impress me as a fanatic. His brother-in-law, however, Luis Araquistain, whom I have also met, and former Ambassador to Germany, makes a very <sup>un</sup>favorable impression upon me, though this may be due in part to a rather pompous  
and



and supercilious personality. These two who married sisters, who are Swiss, are in the Cortes, and have been accepted as the two closest advisors of Caballero. Sr. del Vayo appeared to me to be friendly to the United States and rather familiar with our politics, but some years ago Araquistain wrote an anti-American book called "The Yankee Peril." From my one conversation with him I gathered that he had greatly moderated his views because of our new South American policy. I may add, for I have always found this important in the case of a radical, that Sr. del Vayo has a sense of humor.

#### MINISTER OF FINANCE

I also know personally the new Minister of Finance, Juan Negrin, also a socialist, who is the Secretary of the University of Madrid. He is a man of broad culture, very pleasing personality, and no mean ability. He can be described as one of Spain's "intellectuals." I do not know that he has any special qualifications for the post he has taken over, though he probably is an economist.

#### THE COMMUNIST MEMBERS

Perhaps the most disturbing feature of the new Government is the assignment of the two communists in it to the posts of Minister of Agriculture and of Public Instruction. It is not probable that either will have much to do during the period of the rebellion, and in the event that the Government prevails, this Government will no doubt make way for another, since the purpose of this is  
to

to include every party in the Frente Popular. To maintain a communist in the Department of Public Instruction would mean the conversion of the schools into an agency of communistic propaganda.

Quite as interesting is the assignment of the post of Minister of Agriculture to a communist.

Apropos of this, some time ago Louis Fischer, who writes for the "New Statesman" in London, and "The Nation" in New York, and who is beyond all doubt a communist, called on me while in Madrid. It was at the time Azana was pushing his land reforms with great speed, resulting in the placing of 70,000 peasant families on small farms in four months. Fischer asked me what I thought of the Azana plan, and he asked the question in a manner indicating disapproval. I replied that since the great problem in Spain is to solve the living problem of the peasants, I supposed that he, Fischer, would approve. "But," he said, "the trouble is that Azana will thus form a middle class of small property owners and won't this hold back the Revolution?" The remark was illuminating, but I made no reply.

The real significance of the change in Government remains to be judged by events. I think it means at this time a more vigorous prosecution of the war against the rebels. The method adopted may throw light on the real meaning of the change. In the sense that Azana, who is a man of great intellect and powers of persuasion, will now have frequent opportunities of dealing directly with men like Caballero, it may have a moderating effect upon

the

the extremists and may make for a more vigorous suppression of syndicalist lawlessness in Madrid and elsewhere.

Respectfully yours,

Claude G. Bowers.

CGB:LR  
Copy to E.I.C., Paris.  
800

*Handwritten:*  
L  
f  
Bowers  
E.I.C.

PS F Spain

Spain

September 16, 1936.

Dear Claude:-

I need not tell you that during the past months you have been much in my thoughts and I am delighted to have your letter of August twenty-sixth. What an unfortunate and terrible catastrophe in Spain!

You are right about the distortion of the news -- another example of the lack of freedom of the press similar to that which confronted Jefferson in the early days. Over here the Hearst papers and most of the conservative editors are playing up all kinds of atrocities on the part of what they call the Communist government in Madrid -- nothing about atrocities on the part of the rebels.

You are absolutely right about not coming home at this juncture; also, about what you say of our complete neutrality in regard to Spain's own internal affairs. I am glad that practically every American who wants to get out is out. Those who remain have had plenty of opportunity and we can do no more. I am only worried about what might happen to a Consulate in the possible sacking of a city.

We miss you, of course, in this drag-down knock-out fight of the campaign but you must stick to your post.

The new book has just come and I have begun it to my delight.

Take care of yourself and do write me some more marvelous letters like that last one.

As ever yours,

Honorable Claude G. Bowers,





*fill private*

EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

*Spain* PSF  
San Juan de Luz, September 16, 1936

Dear Mr President:-

I am enclosing a copy of my despatch to the Department on Fernando de los Rios whose name, I understand, has been submitted as a possible Ambassador. He is one of the finest figures in Spain, a personal friend of mine, and, what is more significant, a great admirer of yours.

The press reports are still packed with propoganda, and the international phase in the Spanish situation continues to stand out like a flaming torch in the Diplomatic Corps. We are wise in standing aloof from these many meetings, most of which unquestionably are called and engineered under the guidance of the facist states. Last night I listened to the daily "news" announcements from the rebel station brazenly maintained in portugal, and I heard the lowest propoganda I have heard yet--the ridiculous story that the "reds" in leaving San Sebastian, had forced "the daughters of leading families to go with them." Portugal has done everything but declare war. The Italian Ambassador is working to bring about international complications. The whole thing would be ghastly but for the absurdity of the scenes at these meetings. Now that Sur. George Grhame has gone, there is not a man in the corps who in political matters, is not a mere child, and it is pitiful to observe how these very ordinary men sit with mouths open drinking in, as from an inspired source, the crude propoganda of the Italian. When one reflects on the possibility that European Governments may determine policies in this very



EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

elemental conflict on the advice of such men one wonders how old Europe can escape war, pestilence and famine long. By staying out we are protecting our ~~v~~ neutrality in the best manner.

The neutrality of France is peculiar. The rebel forces have propoganda headquarters here ,with our friend ~~Ymx~~ Yrujo in charge, and v everyone knows it. Just how France's consent to this can be justified is a puzzle. I am absolutely positive that for some time France has refused to permit war material to enter Spain. But there is abundant evidence that Italy is sending material all the time. The Big Bad Man with a Gun and an Inflated Chest and Loud Voice appears to be the master of Europe in all these controverxies from Abyssia to Spain. England which began with decided pro-rebel leanings finally has shifted ,no doubt on the conviction that Italys support has been purchased by the rebels with the promise of land and war advantages in the Medeterranian --all aimed at depriving England of her old mastery of that sea. Meanwhile Blums shift has aroused the ire of the masses behind the Frente Popular in France and there <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ grave possibilities of serious trouble in France if the war goes againzt the Government here.

I have not heard from Farley for weeks and have only the papers to go on regarding the campaign at home.

Sincerely,

*Claude G. Bowers*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The wWhite House.

COPY FOR THE PRESIDENT

No. 1218            Saint-Jean-de- Luz, France, Sept. 15, 1936.  
Subject:            The New Spanish Ambassador.

The Honorable  
The Secretary of State,  
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that in my opinion the proposed naming of Fernando de los Rios as Ambassador to the United States is complimentary to us, since he is, perhaps, one of the half dozen most cultured men in Spain. He is the nephew and protege of his famous uncle, Francisco Giner de los Rios who began the fight, single-handed, forty years ago, for the establishment of training schools for teachers and public high schools. For this crime he served more than once in jail, but at the time of his death his fine service was generally recognized, and he was accorded honors in the Spanish Pantheon

under

under the monarchy. He was no doubt one of the two or three greatest educators in Spanish history.

The nephew was for some years a professor in the University of Granada, and for years since, in the University of Madrid. As such, he has delivered series of lectures in various leading American Universities — Columbia, the University of Chicago, the University of California, etc.

Having actually lived for weeks in all sections of the United States, he has a more intelligent conception of America than any other Spaniard, and a broader insight into our life than any European statesman of whom I can think. I have been in the library of his modest scholars' apartment, and I was astonished at the number of American books, all well worn with use, dealing with history, politics, economics and sociology. Incidentally I found two of my own.

Like his uncle, profoundly interested in the lifting of the status of the masses, he has been concerned with politics since youth. He is a republican, an evolutionary socialist, which means that he is as moderate as was Ramsay MacDonald in the days of the latter's leadership of the Labor Party in England.

He was one of the founders of the Republic and one of the few signers of the Pact of San Sebastian, which launched the revolution of 1931. He was, among these, the one man who recognized at a glance the political genius of Azana, and it was he who brought Azana into public life, taking him with him to San Sebastian for the signing of the Pact and later taking him into the

Ministry

Ministry of the Interior for the formation of the provisional government.

Fernando de los Rios was first made Minister of Justice, and then of Public Instruction, and then he became Minister of State, in which capacity I had dealings with him of an official character. He was Minister at the time of our trouble with the Americans of Palma, and he was most active and sympathetic in helping to solve the problem.

In that capacity, and in social intercourse (for I suppose he is among Spanish statesmen my best friend, unless it is Madariaga,) I found him amazingly familiar with our political history and philosophy, and most sympathetic toward both.

It was he who engineered the recognition of Russia. I asked him at the time why the same governmental regime that had refused recognition in the first two and a half years of the Republic had finally reversed itself. He replied that at first the Russians thought the conditions ripe in Spain for the spreading of Communism here, and that they were most active in trying to bring this about. He said that the Spanish temperament is incompatible with Communism, and that so long as the Russians were seeking to prevent the establishment of a democratic republic they had to be considered as enemies. "Now," he continued, "they recognize their failure, and we no longer look upon them as dangerous. We need their trade and so we have reversed our original policy."

I have found him from the beginning intensely interested in the policies of Roosevelt, about which he has

talked



talked with me many times. He once said to me that he thought Roosevelt is making the most significant experiment being made anywhere in the world — that of trying to make democracy so serve the mass of the people as to destroy the appeal of both communism and fascism. He said then that if Roosevelt succeeds, his work will have a tremendous effect on Europe. He reads everything he can find on the Rooseveltian policies.

Personally he is a man of great charm, a thorough gentleman, so recognized by his political enemies of the Right. These regret his radicalism but such is their admiration for the motives and intellect of the man that they are able to set aside their political prejudices in passing upon his character as a man. This is very rare in Spain.

To illustrate: During the last Cortes, dominated entirely by the extreme Rights, when party feeling was running hot, de los Rios spoke in the Cortes on the general subject of education in Spain, and not only was he heard for more than an hour with the closest attention, but at the conclusion he was given an ovation, and the common comment was that few such speeches had been heard in the Cortes in many years. He is an orator of the thoughtful sort. He has art in expression, but the thought predominates. He may best be described perhaps as the greatest of the academic orators of Spain.

I doubt if Spain has sent to the United States in our time any envoy so intelligently familiar with our institutions and purposes or one so sympathetic toward our people as a whole.

Respectfully yours,

Claude G. Bowers.

701.1  
CGB:LR

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  

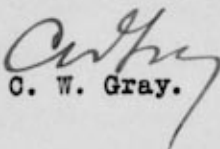
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THE SECRETARY

October 9, 1936.

Honorable Rudolph Forster,  
The White House.

Copy of Ambassador Bowers' letter  
to Secretary Hull of September 23, 1936,  
respectfully referred to the White  
House in accord with the postscript  
on page nine.

  
C. W. Gray.

S CWG:LJL

EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Hotel Miramar, Saint-Jean-de-Luz, France,  
September 23, 1936.

Personal

Dear Mr. Secretary:

It occurs to me that some personal observations on the Spanish situation in regard to the international phase may not be unwelcome. I notice that Del Vayo, Spanish Minister of State, now in Geneva, may demand that the League of Nations take action to stop the supplying of the rebels with arms, ammunitions, and men by Portugal, especially, and Italy and Germany. It is my deliberate opinion that all the decenties are on the side of this demand.

For some weeks now there has been nothing to indicate that France is not rigidly enforcing its neutrality. There is every indication that the fascist Powers are violating their pledge and furnishing arms, ammunition and men. More and more the controversy here is taking the form of an international fascist conspiracy to destroy the democracy of Spain under the pretext of saving it from communism. This is being carried forward quite openly and with true fascist

fascist arrogance.

I am informed by Knickerbocker of the Hearst press, John Whittaker of the New York Herald-Tribune, and Floyd Gibbons, who recently returned from a survey of the military situation in the south, that when in Seville they saw night after night in a cafe, German aviators who are accompanied by German mechanics. They admit they are not giving this important news to the public, and explain their silence by saying that the publication of this fact would result in their expulsion, if not in their arrest. They tell me that the rebels are using German bombing planes and Italian pursuit planes.

The offence of Portugal is especially glaring. Night after night I listen in on the radio, and the rebel radio station in Lisbon nightly pours the most poisonous propaganda into Spain and Europe. It is more unscrupulous in its lying than the Spanish rebel station in Seville. Thus, when the Basques, who are moderates, not socialistic and certainly not communistic, acted on orders from Madrid and removed the prisoners in San Sebastian to Bilbao to save them from a

rules governing the relations of nations are possible

Under

possible massacre by the anarchistic minority, the Lisbon radio announced that "the reds when they left San Sebastian forced the young women of the best families to go with them." The implication is both false and infamous. Naturally, in Portugal which is under the iron hand of a dictator, this station could not operate thus without the consent, if not under the orders of the military dictator there.

In this connection the correspondent of the London News-Observers who has been in Lisbon says that the principal hotel there is the headquarters of the rebel junta, and in charge of a brother of General Franco and Gil Robles. These assume the airs of properly accredited diplomats to Portugal. They not only give out information to the press, but they issue passports and visas which are recognized by the Portuguese officials on the frontier. Meanwhile, Albernoz, the Spanish Ambassador there, former Minister of State, an Azana Republican, and the greatest living authority on medieval Spain, is utterly ignored, is almost a prisoner in his house and surrounded by spies. I cite this as an illustration of how all the established rules governing the relations of nations are ignored.

Under



Under normal conditions the action of Portugal would be tantamount to a declaration of war. On top of all this the Portuguese dictator has announced the formation of a new army legion purporting to be for the purpose of protecting the country against communism. It is my impression, shared by many others, that this legion is organized for the service of the Spanish rebels if conditions require later on.

The radio announcements from Milan and Rome are quite as much rebel propaganda as those from Portugal. In brief, the fascist States are pooling their interest and making common cause against the constitutional Government of Spain, and the democratic States are rigidly observing their neutrality. This means that the rebels are getting arms, ammunition, etc., and that the legal Government is being refused this material.

In the early stages of the struggle here there is no doubt that France furnished or sold planes and war material to the Government. But more than three weeks ago it cut off these supplies, and I have not heard

heard of a single instance since of such material crossing the border. This week two cars filled with arms and ammunition, and headed for Spain, were stopped by French soldiers, and the material confiscated. It seems, therefore, that the present attitude of France is entirely in the interest of the rebels.

Another illustration of the strange change in French attitude: Here in Saint-Jean-de-Luz the rebels quite openly maintain headquarters in the Villa Nacha Enea on the Avenue Larrequy, where rebel agents, including Irujo, erstwhile Counselor in Washington, are in charge, receiving the press and issuing passes into Spain. This is winked at by neutral France. In the early stages of the war the French Government forced Gil Robles to leave Biarritz, on the ground that he was using French territory as a propaganda base.

I have been astonished by the shift of Herbette, the French Ambassador. He is a socialist, a member of Blum's party, and was formerly Ambassador to Russia. He has been rather open in his partiality for the Lefts for three years, and in the first weeks of the war, he was so openly hostile to the rebels that he became the pet aversion of the rebel sympathizers.

He

He gave out a statement to the press denouncing the rebel shelling of San Sebastian. He was denounced in the rebel papers, and people here boasted that when the rebels took Fuenterrabia they would destroy his house there. Two weeks ago he called on me and I was amazed to hear his cynical comments about the Government and his not unfriendly attitude toward the rebels.

There can be no doubt that the French Government is not a little alarmed by the situation in France. It seems possible if not probable that it fears that a triumph for the Government here will encourage the extreme elements of the Popular Front in France, which is far more numerous than the same element of the Popular Front in Spain, to attempt to take over the Government in France. This fear is predicated on the theory, not without foundation, that the rebellion has weakened the authority of democrats like Azana and increased the power of the extremists. The shift in the French Government is causing uneasiness and unrest among the French Popular Front and anything may happen here in the event that the fortunes of war go against the Spanish Government.

One hears here among the members of the Spanish nobility and aristocracy that Rosenberg, the new Russian Ambassador in Madrid, is running things in the capital. I know of nothing tangible with which to sustain this theory. Rosenberg received much popular acclaim when he presented his credentials in Madrid but this is natural and to some extent any diplomat presenting credentials in the time of trouble for the Government would get acclaim. But unless Rosenberg lied to Wendelin, his influence is being thrown against the anarchists and syndicalists who have been breaking into houses and indulging in private executions. The communists in fact have been under rigid discipline and they have been supporting the constituted authorities. It was the communist paper that ran editorials demanding the death penalty for looting, and breaking into houses. This week it ran an editorial leader denouncing all who support these criminal practices as traitors. But should the coalition of the fascist States against the legal Government of Spain become more flagrant and open, it is not beyond the possibilities that Russia may be drawn into the fight, and this would

open

open the way for the feared European war to determine whether Europe shall be all fascist or all communist.

Meanwhile, the British, who in the beginning were not very considerate of the Government and its troubles, have moved toward an honest neutrality. In the first stages the Embassy in Madrid gave refuge to Spanish rebels on the ground that these were remotely connected with the British royal family. But these have since been expelled and orders issued from London that no more be admitted. This has led to some ugly comments against the British by the refugees in these parts. When Ogilvie Forbes, the British Chargé d'Affaires in Madrid, ordered some of these Spaniards out of the Embassy, the wife of Merry del Val, former monarchist Ambassador in London, made the welkin ring, I am told, at social functions, declaring Forbes' action "infamous" and saying that "when we come in we will take care of him." For some time Merry del Val was here acting as a sort of diplomat, and seeing some of the diplomats here, but I did not see him. He has now gone to London where he is carrying on.

No one has questioned the absolute neutrality of  
the

P.S. If you think the President would be interested, pass this on to him.



the United States. It is appreciated in Madrid and the rebels do not complain. We are about the only Mission that has not given refuge to the rebels. Those of South America have been especially obnoxious in this respect, and I ascribe it to the fact that the average South American is very partial to the nobility and aristocracy. Mexico has been more favorable to the Government. Our non-participation in the all-too-many conferences of the Diplomatic Corps here, for reasons I gave the Department, has without exception proven wise. This meddling has met with rebuffs and the consequent humiliation of the Corps. As a result of these rebuffs and humiliations, the diplomats here are now less prone to meddle without previous instructions from their home Governments.

I think we should continue our present policy without deviation. This is a serious European quarrel in which we have no proper part.

With regards and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

CLAUDE G. BOWERS

P.S. If you think the President would be interested, pass this on to him.

PS F: Spain

P K  
San Jean de Luz,  
Villa Ainhara,  
October 29, 1936

Dear Mr President:-

I am inclosing  
a copy of my despatch to Hull since  
the reference to Japan, and the further  
proof--if any were necessary--of the active  
participation of Italy in the war here may  
be worth your knowing.

By the time this reaches you, you will have  
received the vindication of the American  
people. There has never been any doubt of  
it since the first of September. I have  
suffered quite a lot from the bitter dis-  
appointment of not being able to personally  
participate, but have consoled myself with  
the knowledge that it was unnecessary, and  
with the fact that I had been of weekly  
service from September of last year until  
in April through my material to Jim.

I see that the enemy did not want to miss  
one of the old Federalist tricks against  
Jefferson which I have set forth in the  
latest book, and that in the last days you,  
like Tom, were accused of aiming at the  
overthrow of religion. Of course you have  
been a communist just as he was a jacobin

all along. I certainly should have sent you a copy of the book but I had none over here. I hope you like it.

I think I have rendered a real service to clear thinking in smashing the Liberty League attempt to have Jefferson, Hamilton and John Marshall marching, arm in arm, behind the banner of reaction. Jefferson and Marshall were as remote from one another as Brandeis and Cardozo from McReynolds and Sutherland. I hope you liked the book.

Let me anticipate the telegram I expect to send ~~by~~ congratulating you on a victory which is as significant in our times as was Jeffersons in 1800, and Jacksons in 1832. — *and considering the times and the magnitude of the problems, more significant than either.*

Sincerely,

Edward G. Bowen

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House.

Since writing the despatch the Government has assumed the offensive successfully this week and no doubt the planes and tanks are Russian rigs. But for only after notice was given that if Germany and Italy are permitted to continue in their policy, Russia would act on her rights under international law to sell to the legal government

*Paris*

No. 1228

Saint-Jean-de-Luz, France, Oct. 30, 1936.

Subject:

Confidential for the Secretary  
and Under Secretary.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the Japanese Minister called upon me yesterday afternoon to say that after his arrival here six weeks ago, and after talking with all the members of the diplomatic corps, he became convinced that the United States is probably the only nation that is strictly adhering to an honest neutrality. Learning in his talk with me that we were refusing to convert our Embassy into a refuge for Spaniards engaged in the war, he had instructed his Chargé d'Affaires in Madrid to follow

a like course. The purpose of his call yesterday was to say that after he had informed his Government that the United States is strictly neutral, and that scarcely any country is, he was instructed by Tokyo to follow in every instance whatever course that should be taken by us.

I have observed with some curiosity for six weeks that the Japanese Minister has shown an unusual interest in our course and that he has acted precisely as we have in every instance, or I might have suspected some ulterior motive, though he did not appear to be prying into our future intentions. He said that the United States and Japan are similarly situated in that we are both remote from the scene of the conflict, and are in a position to be absolutely neutral.

I am giving you this information on the chance that you may have your own opinion as to the significance of this unusual expression of solidarity with us. Personally I am positive that the Minister was entirely sincere.

## II.

The rebellion which was to have triumphed in "four days or five at the utmost" is now in progress after three and a half months. Caught unprepared in the beginning, with the professional soldiery seizing the barracks and the instrumentalities of war, the Government would have gone down as speedily as Franco expected but for the very remarkable rising of the people.



people. This has necessitated the bringing of armies of the Foreign Legion and the Moors from Africa and these constitute the greater part of the so-called "nationalist army." These are rough but effective soldiers, and they are perfectly equipped with tanks and airplanes from Germany and Italy. In addition, the rebels have the most able generals and the greater discipline that goes with a professional army. But such has been and is the stubborn resistance of the people that I am not at all persuaded that the fall of Madrid will mean the termination of the war. That Madrid will fall seems inevitable from information received from Colonel Fuqua and from the observations made to me by reputable correspondents who have just come from the capital, but they cannot believe that without these, and despite the fact that the defenders will greatly outnumber the rebels, the Government can hold the town. The highest figure I can get from correspondents who have been with the attacking forces is that they do not number more than 20,000.

### III.

The non-intervention pact is nothing more than a device conceived by France to excuse herself from selling arms to the legal Government. The violations of this pact by Portugal, Germany, and Italy are notorious. The denials made by these Powers are grotesquely false. A dozen press correspondents have told me of the German and Italian planes. Webb Miller,  
European

European head of the United Press, told me of meeting numbers of Italian officers in Seville with whom he had been associated in Abyssinia. And yesterday three correspondents, Minifie of the Herald-Tribune, Correll of the United Press, and the correspondent of the London News-Chronicle, arrested and then released by the insurgents, all told me that when they were captured they saw an astonishing number of small Italian tanks in operation, and that all were operated by Italian soldiers who could not speak Spanish.

The counter-charge that Russia has been supplying arms to the Government I cannot verify from any source thus far. I have invariably asked the war correspondents if they have seen anything of the sort and they all give a negative answer. But it is possible that the insurgents really believe this story. There is some justification for this assumption in the fact that Minifie and Correll were interrogated at the insurgent headquarters on that very point and they had to reply that they had seen nothing of the sort.

It is reasonable assumption that now that Russia has denounced the utterly dishonest pact, that she may make an effort to send arms and planes, but up to the time of the denunciation of the pact she apparently had observed it herself as far as arms and ammunition or war material are concerned.

#### IV.

The Eden proposition to the Government for an

"exchange

"exchange of hostages" requires some clarification. There are some thousands of prisoners in Madrid. These I think are undoubtedly enemies of the regime, and are held as potential enemies and not as hostages. General Mola made the blunder recently of publicly announcing that there are thousands of rebels in Madrid, and these he called "my fifth column." He said publicly that when the attack on Madrid begins these will come out and fight. I personally have no doubt of it.

Under these circumstances the Government has been feverishly seeking these enemies of the regime bent on the overthrow of the Government and putting them under lock and key. No Government in the world, I suppose, would do less.

But I have yet to learn where the prisoners of the rebels are held. It has been my information from war correspondents that the rebels take no prisoners. They shoot them. Minifie, Correll and Weaver (the British correspondent) told me of the fate of guards assigned by the war department as their escort. These threw up their hands and surrendered as prisoners of war. With their hands up they were shot down with a pistol and after they fell their bodies were riddled with musket balls.

I asked Sir Henry Chilton, British Ambassador, at my house the other day what prisoners held by the rebels Eden wished to exchange for those held in Madrid. He did not know. I asked him if he knew of any such  
prisoners

prisoners in any numbers. He said he did not.

I am sure the Government's promise to give every protection to the Madrid prisoners was made in good faith, but if there is a prolonged fight for Madrid there is a danger that the anarchists and the syndicalists, indifferent to Government orders, should attempt to storm the prisons and kill the prisoners. Much may depend upon the rapidity with which the insurgents take complete possession of the town, after it becomes clear that they actually will take it.

V.

In view of the problematical aftermath of the fall of Madrid, I would call your attention to the fact that the Government, the real Government, voted in, has been constantly harassed by the syndicalists and anarchists since the elections in February. Up until the beginning of the rebellion there were not enough anarchists in Madrid to make any impression. The syndicalists were decidedly in the minority among the workers. The socialist union, which was conservative within bounds, vastly outnumbered the syndicalist union. And yet strikes were called and enforced over the protest of the socialists by the syndicalists, and the socialists were threatened with assassination by the syndicalist members if they did not conform. Thus there was at least one strike forced by a majority.

At that time it is my understanding that the Government, composed entirely of democratic republicans, contemplated putting the syndicalists down by force. This, however, would mean the shooting of workers and  
the

the political effect was feared. It was a question whether the moderate socialists might not in the hysteria of the shooting be driven further to the left.

These are the people who have made it impossible for the Government of Azana to conduct the war on a strictly democratic basis. When Largo Caballero was made premier it was with the thought that he might be able to discipline and control this syndicalist and anarchist element. He has brought some little semblance of order out of chaos. But I have received some significant information from Minifie, Gorrell and Weaver, who have been in Madrid for almost two months.

They tell me that the syndicalists and anarchists assume all power; that they are all armed but that they refuse to go to the front; and that not long ago it was under serious consideration to disarm these people if it meant, as seemed probable, fighting in the streets. This project was finally abandoned on the ground that it would throw the city into turmoil in the face of the approaching enemy.

With the fall of Madrid, it is possible that these extremists who have made a mess of things may be eliminated, and that the Government, established elsewhere, may continue the war along democratic or moderately socialistic lines. If not, I look for anarchy in spots, and for different cities and sections, recognizing no central authority, to prepare for independent defences.

Should the Azana Government succeed in regaining authority, the fight of the legal Government can continue.



tinue. Otherwise the prevention of anarchy and the preservation of Spain will rest with force — the form of Franco's soldiers.

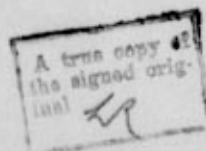
In view of the fact which looms like a mountain above a plain that the primary purpose of the rebellion was to destroy democracy in this country, and that this would have failed without the assistance of foreign troops and other nations, I would suggest — thinking of terms of history — that we jump to no precipitate conclusions, and especially, since on yesterday the Government forces took the offensive in several places and succeeded in their objective.

Respectfully yours,

Claude G. Bowers

CGB:LR

800



PSF:  
File Spain

November 10, 1936.

Memorandum for Pres.  
From R. Walton Moore  
Attached Map of Spain

Subject-Spain and Ethiopia.

SEE--R. Walton Moore-(S) Drawer 1--1936



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

*PZ*  
*File*  
*R. Walton Moore*  
*Drawn 1-36*

November 10, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

The enclosed memoranda give the information I requested yesterday of our Western European Division and Near Eastern Division.

The one that deals with Spain you will probably wish to look at before the Spanish Ambassador calls this morning. The other pertains to the Ethiopian matter.

I have had it suggested to the Spanish Ambassador that he may wish to be very reticent in talking to the press after he sees you.

I think you will like to know that we have taken pretty effective steps to protect the secrecy of our codes, so far as concerns the Department itself, by guarding the distribution and safekeeping of confidential communications, and we are starting a similar effort to insure the same thing in our foreign offices.

Yours very sincerely,

Enclosures:  
Memoranda.

The President,

*R. Walton Moore*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

MEMORANDUM

November 10, 1936.

Mr. Moore.

For many years the summer capital of Spain has been at San Sebastian on the North coast. The Foreign Office and other Ministries send delegations to San Sebastian and the Diplomatic Corps moves as a body to that city leaving only skeleton staffs in Madrid. Ambassador Bowers was at San Sebastian when the revolt broke out and remained there for some days until the situation became untenable and he was evacuated aboard the coast guard cutter CAYUGA. For some two weeks Ambassador Bowers traveled up and down the North coast aboard the CAYUGA picking up Americans who wished to leave Spain. When this task was completed Ambassador Bowers set up his office at St. Jean de Luz since conditions remained impossible in San Sebastian. In the meantime all the other Ambassadors who had been at San Sebastian had established themselves either in San Jean or the neighboring town of Hendaye. None of these Ambassadors have since returned to Madrid except the Mexican Ambassador whose Government has been an ardent supporter of the Madrid Government and has sent that Government very large stores of munitions and other supplies. Like the Embassies of the other principal powers our Embassy

in

official

in Madrid has been conducted during the rebellion by a Charge d'Affaires. The conduct of our Embassy has been competent and our relations friendly. It is not believed, therefore, that anything will have been gained by directing Ambassador Bowers to leave the Diplomatic Corps in St. Jean and proceed to Madrid. ~~ineffectual bombardment of the consular~~

3. In addition to the American Embassy at Madrid we had in continental Spain a Consulate General at Barcelona, a Consular Agency in Tarragona and Consulates at Valencia, Malaga, Seville, Vigo and Bilbao. Outside continental Spain we had Consulates in the Canary Islands at Las Palmas and Tenerife. All these offices are still open with the exception of the Consulates at Bilbao and Malaga and the Consular Agency at Tarragona. The insurgents are firmly in control and conditions are quiet in the Canary Islands and also in the Vigo and Seville districts. In both Bilbao and Malaga internal conditions appear to be chaotic. These cities are subject to fairly frequent bombardment from the air and from the sea but pending the termination of the campaign against Madrid no serious attempt has been made by the insurgents to capture them. Conditions are now ~~other~~ reasonably quiet in Tarragona but as our agent, a private business man seemed to be in danger as the result of his efforts to protect American property he was ~~authorized~~ authorized to leave Spain. There have been no military operations in the vicinity of Valencia which is now the official



official seat of the Spanish Government. The July revolt of the insurgents was put down in Barcelona within 24 hours and the city has remained quiet from the military point of view since then, except for an unsuccessful expedition from the city against the Island of Mallorca which is held by the insurgents, and an ineffectual bombardment of the coast north of the city by a rebel cruiser about ten days ago.

3. It is estimated that there may be still in Spain about 250 American nationals. Those remaining are either persons having close family ties in Spain or persons who feel that they must remain to watch over their interests at all costs or who have no source of income outside of Spain and do not therefore wish to leave the country.

4. The efforts of our officers in Spain were primarily devoted to evacuating our nationals to points of safety. At the same time they took all possible steps to protect American property by notifying the Spanish authorities of the whereabouts and nature of property belonging to the American nationals and provided these nationals with certificates and seals to be pasted on windows and doors, as a notice to persons who might otherwise be disposed to molest the property. Our Embassy at Madrid and our Consuls in their several jurisdictions also notified the appropriate authorities that this Government could not admit that American ~~privately~~ private property, whether actually in the hands of American nationals or  
abandoned

abandoned/<sup>by</sup>them temporarily because of conditions over which they had no control, might be interfered with with impunity. Our officers further informed these authorities that the American Government would, of course, look to the Government of Spain for indemnification for any delinquency in this respect and that in the event of requisition of American property for the necessities of war or otherwise the American Government would insist that provision be made for prompt and full compensation to the owners. In response to these representations our offices received both from the national and local governments assurances that American property would be respected and full payment made for such property as it might prove necessary to requisition.

Due to the almost complete disruption of the usual commercial means of communication resulting from the civil war, our consular and diplomatic officers have for the last four months, provided practically the sole dependable means of contact between the American owners of commercial and industrial property in Spain and their managers and representatives in that country. Our officers have not only followed with the closest attention, for the guidance of the Department and the information of American business, the measures taken by the Spanish Government in regard to commerce and industry, but have also under most difficult and in many cases dangerous conditions located the representatives.

representatives of American companies, reported on their welfare, assisted certain of them to leave Spain, transmitted their reports to their principals and conveyed to them the latter's instructions, advised them as to the procedure to be followed in the event of requisition of their property by the constituted authorities, and taken steps to prevent irresponsible and unauthorized seizures.

5. The total value of American property in Spain is roughly estimated at about 80 million dollars of which about 64 million dollars is accounted for by the property of the National Telephone Company of Spain which is owned by the International Telephone and Telegraph Company of New York. Aside from real estate the remaining 16 million dollars is accounted for by stocks of merchandise in warehouses or shops, the most important being cotton stocks worth about 800 ~~mi~~ thousand dollars, the assets of banking organizations and plants for the manufacture of motor cars, shoe machinery, ~~automobile~~ automobile tires, cork products, sulphur products, olive oil and a number of miscellaneous products.

6. Our Chargé d'Affaires in Madrid and our consular officers in those cities under the control of the Government have been ~~uniformly~~ uniformly successful in ~~maintaining~~ maintaining cordial relations with the successive Cabinet officers

officers and civil and military governments. The cordiality of our relations with these officials has been of great value to us in the protection of American lives and property. Similarly our Consuls in rebel territory have maintained friendly relations on an informal basis with the insurgent authorities in control in their districts. When contact with the Commander of the insurgent forces has been necessary for the protection of American nationals we have made our approach informally through the American Consul at Seville which in the early stages of the revolt was the headquarters of the rebel forces. Although Seville has ceased to be the headquarters of the insurgents the local Commander has continued to cooperate informally with our Consul and has forwarded our representations immediately to General Franco. It appears from the information available to us that the British have endeavored in their relations both with the insurgents and with the Madrid Government to follow a policy of neutrality parallel to our own.

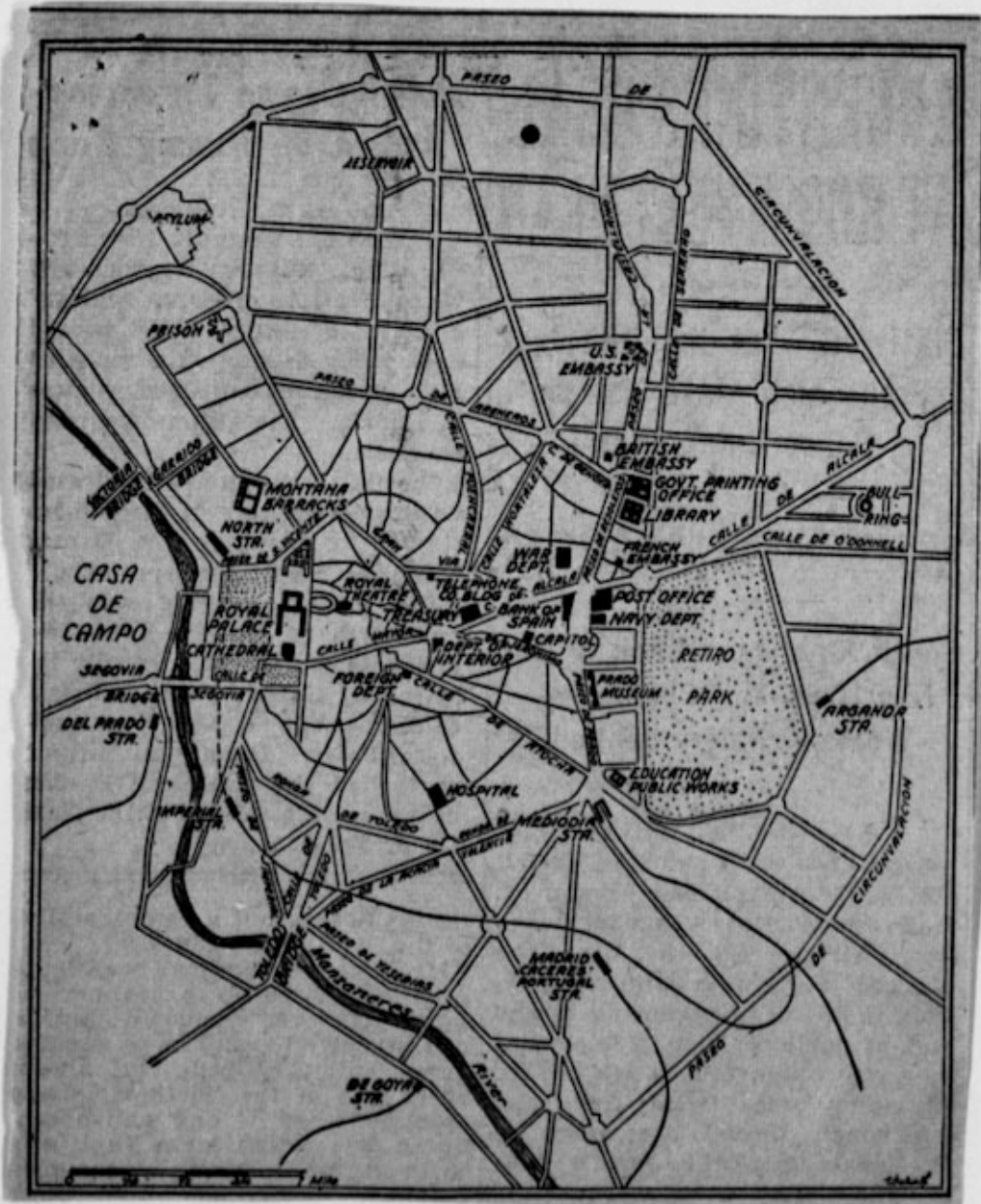
7. The information received from our Embassy in the case that in the event of Franco's success the first European countries to recognize his government will be Germany, Italy and Portugal. San Sebastian and Guatemala have already recognized Franco and it is not improbable that such countries as Brazil, Chile and Argentina will recognize  
Franco

Franco at about the same time as they are recognized by Germany and Italy. Mexico will probably withhold recognition as long as possible.

8. Our latest information indicates that both Great Britain and France are following a cautious policy and will not reach a decision with regard to the possibility of recognizing Franco until the situation becomes more clear.

A handwritten mark or signature, possibly initials, consisting of a vertical line with a loop at the top and a small flourish.





0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 METERS

CHALF

# SPAIN



AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR OFFICES  
(Situation, November 9, 1936)

Closed Open

- Embassy
- ⊙ Consulate general
- Consulate
- △ Consular agency

Territory claimed by Government  
shaded in blue.

Territory claimed by Insurgents  
shaded in red. (The Canary Islands  
and the Spanish possessions in  
Africa not shown on this map are  
also in the hands of the Insurgents)

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Office of the Geographer  
AUG 11 1936  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

San Juan de Luz, Villa Ainhara.  
December 16, 1936

Dear Mr President:

I have not written you since the election because you were leaving immediately afterwards. I was not at all surprised with the result. I am a pretty fair prophet. I was the only member of the diplomatic corps here who did not think the Rights would sweep here last February. In truth since Sir George Grahame, my very good friend retired, there is not a member of the corps who has a rudimentary concept of politics. I am the only member too that did not entertain the grotesque notion that the fascists would win in a week or ten days. And the only one who did not think they would take Madrid in a few days.

You will recall that in my last letter to you I said that the Spanish people were overwhelmingly for the Government. That has now been proved with Franco's thousands of Moors, with his thousands of the mercenaries of the Foreign Legion, with the active assistance of Germany and Italy from the very beginning with their scores of planes and tanks and operators of both, if anything like half the Spanish people had been with Franco he would have won within ten days. Now he can win only with the aid of great numbers of the armies of Germany and Italy--if he can win with these. Madrid was to have been taken the last of October. You know the realities.

I am ashamed of the press. It is as misrepresentative of sentiment in this war as it was of American sentiment in the campaign. Because that which you read in the papers is mostly false it may not be amiss for me to give you my views of the situation.

The war correspondents, those with Franco mostly, emerging for a breath of air, invariably come to see me and talk frankly, admitting that they dare not write what they tell me. I have talked with at least a dozen for four months. From all of these I learned four months ago that at

and tanks by the score. They all told me that they had met scores of German and Italian officers. The greater part of the tanks are operated by Italians who cannot speak Spanish. Most of the rebel aviators are German and Italian. Webb Miller, European correspondent of the U.P., told me that on arriving in Seville he was astonished to be greeted by scores of Italian officers with whom he had been associated in Abyssinia. Last week John Whittaker told me that in Seville and Salamanca he could scarcely find Spanish officers in the crowd of Germans. The correspondent of the Manchester Guardian told me last night that in Seville all the fine hotels have been taken over exclusively for the Germans and that at Salamanca, when he remonstrated at the delay in serving him his lunch, he was told that the Germans had to be waited on first, since they insisted upon it. The other day 6000 Germans of the German army arrived. Three days later 2,500 of the Italian army came. The Balearic Islands have been converted into an Italian colony completely under the domination of Italian officers and with a Colonel Rossi calling himself "dictator," and the waters thereabout are thick with Italian and German war ships.

For four months I asked each and every one of these correspondents this question: "Did you see any Russian war material or any Russians?". And for three months I received always a negative answer.

My firm conviction is this: that the Russians respected their signature to the Nonintervention Pact. Then Spain protested to the Committee and the League against the complacency with which both viewed the flagrant, defiant violations of the pact by Germany, Italy and Portugal. When this was brushed aside, despite the proof submitted, Russia served notice openly that she would not be bound to any greater degree than the other signatories of the Pact. Since then she has sent in much war material. She has also sent some officers who are training the raw recruits and acting as advisors. She has not sent in any of her army. There are some Russians fighting with the loyalists--just as there are Englishmen, Americans, French and Belgians. But the story that Madrid is now defended by Russians is just plain lie. There are thirty thousand defending Madrid and if there are two thousand Russians all told I shall be much surprised.



The Nonintervention Pact, if not actually designed for the purpose, was entirely in the interest of the rebels. It gave the Democracies of England and France an excuse for selling nothing to the constitutional Government of Spain, which, while a violation of all precedent, would have been defensible had these countries insisted that the Pact should be respected by Italy and Germany. They did nothing of the sort. They deliberately and dishonestly closed their eyes to what was going on. Eden made statements in the Commons that no honest statesman has any right to make. The Pact, then, in reality, shut off supplies from the Government while supplies <sup>for</sup> the rebels came in by the shipload.

Now that the German and the Italian armies actually are here, now that the Italians have taken over the Balearics and the Germans are in force in the <sup>Cantabria</sup> ~~Balearics~~, now that Franco on the orders of the Italians and Germans <sup>has</sup> ~~has~~ served notice on British shipping, now that only the moron fails to see that the purpose is to make Spain a base for the international fascist fight on democracy in Europe, now that England realizes that the success of Franco endangers Britian's status in the Medeterrenian, and France sees that she is being surrounded by fascist enemies, these two countries have made a mediation offer. This offer is absurd. It places the constitutional Government on a par with the few rebels supported by three fascist states. Its proposal of a plebescite is ridiculous. An honest election would greatly increase the majority of the Lefts over last February. And who would supervise the election? England and France that have played with Franco? The Nonintervention Committee and the League that have resorted to every subterfuge against the Government? Of course not. The Government will conduct and call any election in conformity with the Constitution, and it will call none because Spain had one less than a year ago which went overwhelmingly for the Lefts despite the fact that all the election machinery was in the hands of the Rights. The line up as far as Spaniards are concerned is this; the workers, the peasants, the intellectuals, constituting 95% of the people are with the Government; the nobility, the aristocracy, Big Business and High Finance are with the rebels.

II.

You read much about the dreadful "reds" who hold innocent "hostages" in Madrid and about the wickedness of the government in not sending



these innocent souls of the country to safety. My dear Mr President, of course you know of the boasts of Franco and Molo about their "Fifth Column" in Madrid, who, when the time is ripe, will join the rebels and shoot the defenders of Madrid in the back. There may have been some innocents arrested; but nine tenths of those held in prison and disgracefully concealed in Embassies and Legations are bitter enemies of the regime.

The conduct of the greater part of the Diplomatic Corps has been criminal. To illustrate: The Finnish Legation at the beginning of the war was in a flat. I know the Minister, an honest man I am sure, who told me he could not afford a house. He left Madrid when all of us left for the summer and the Legation was entrusted to a Spaniard. There are probably not thirty Finns in Spain. But lo and behold!--the Spaniard has taken four houses, count'em, four-- and packed a thousand rebels in them, ~~and~~ charging several hundreds of dollars per head admission.

The Chilean Ambassador has a thousand hidden. When his Embassy was packed, he ordered his staff to fill their houses. The Cubans have made a fortune at the same work and in selling fraudulent passports. The Turk has taken two houses for the war and filled them. And even little Haite, which has never had its Legation in Madrid, hurried upon the scene to take a house and get its part of the graft. The Argentine has done the same -- that is, specialized in fraudulent passports.

The British and ourselves are alone in having refused to convert our Embassies to these purposes.

Now the Chilean, Morgano, fearing injury to himself, is anxious to leave Madrid, but he cannot because of the thousand rebels he is protecting. And so he raises a hue and cry about the wickedness of the Government in not giving these people safe conduct across the border. Were they just sent across the border they would return at once by way of Pamplona and San Sebastian and join the rebel army at Salamanca. If the humanitarian nations are in earnest they will propose to intern these rebels for the period of the war.

You have also heard of the withdrawal of consular privileges in Bilbao. Have you heard the reason? Two of them, in Bilbao, were caught red-handed sending detailed descriptions of the defences of the city to the rebel military headquarters in S

belligerent rights. But it did not happen; and the reason I had from  
Herbette. France would not join, and France and England have an agree-  
ment to act together in the Spanish crisis.

IV.

I am proud of our record. We alone among the Powers have not had a  
single incident. We have the absolute confidence and respect of the  
Government because we have not been crooked. We have observed absolute-  
ly all the proprieties in dealing with the rebels and they have no  
reason to complain. We have had no trouble with them. Among the dowagers  
in Biarritz I am told there is some gossip about the wickedness of the  
Americans and British in refusing to sell passports, <sup>and</sup> furnish hiding  
places for Franco's "Fifth Column", but these mostly are women of the  
type who refused to drink Eddie Flynn's toast to "The President of  
the United States" at Southampton. Our position of strict neutrality has been rigidly observed, though I  
have had some trouble preventing some of our consuls from joining the  
"Fifth Column"--some but not many.

If Germany and Italy persist in sending troops, the danger of a Euro-  
pean upheaval will grow, and England at last is becoming restive. One  
thing I know--Franco cannot possibly win without very heavy military  
support from Germany and Italy. We may soon know what is to happen in  
Madrid. If Franco fails utterly there, he is through. His prestige has  
gone down enormously because he has been unable to take Madrid after  
five weeks of fighting. But the dangerous thing is that the prestige  
of Germany and Italy are now involved. Their original plan was to  
recognize Franco with a flourish of trumpets the moment he took Madrid.  
But when two weeks went by and he had failed, something had to be done to  
bolster his fading prestige and so they accorded recognition --because  
he had failed.

V.

I have given you the facts for background purposes. Of course I do not  
broadcast these views here. In truth I say nothing and see but a few  
people other than Americans. Your speech in Buenos Aires made a  
profound impression over here. The Government papers in Spain were all  
highly complimentary. The rebel papers had less to say, but they said  
nothing critical. Make no mistake about it--this is not a fascist war  
on communism, it is a fascist war on democracy in Europe. Every one who  
believes in democracy here is a "red" just as everyone who believed in

democracy in America in the days of Jefferson was a "Jacobin". And just as you and your supporters in the late campaign were "communists". I know my history too well to be impressed with the propoganda.

My justification for such a long letter is that I bother you but seldom.

Jim Farley called me up from Paris. I am happy over the election on his account. How in Gods name did you find him? He is the most perfect chairman ever, and during the last four years I have formed a great personal affection for him. Even Jacksons "Kitchen Cabinet" did not produce his equal.

My book played its part in the campaign after all, since I have a score of editorials similar to the one inclosed. It continues a "best seller" but with the exception of Horner, Daniels and Harry Hawes, I have not had a line from a single Democrat leader even to the extent of saying "it is a good book". How-hum.

With renewed congratulations,

Sincerely,

*Edward G. Bowser*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House.

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

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NAME OF PAPER RECORD

ADDRESS PHILADELPHIA PA

DATE OCT 27 1936

IS IT TRUE WHAT THEY SAID  
ABOUT JEFFERSON?

The ghost of the late Thomas Jefferson has served, for some weeks now, as a ventriloquist's dummy for the National Jeffersonian Democrats.

These Jeffersonian Democrats have taken great pains to inform the country as to precisely what Thomas Jefferson would have done had he been in power in the United States during the past four years. Above all, they emphasize, he would not have done what Mr. Roosevelt has done. Instead, he would have "defended the Constitution," "saved the American way of life," and, above all, he would have been the first "to denounce alien doctrines and foreign 'isms.'"

This in mind, let's glance at just a few of the things they said about Jefferson in his own day, culled from Claude Bowers' brilliant new book, "Jefferson in Power."

Aliens? Jefferson was denounced for "trickery" in appointing Gallatin as Secretary of the Treasury. Here was a "mere foreigner!" The Federalist press roared that Gallatin's appointment was "a violent outrage on the virtue and respectability of the country."

In Jefferson's day, the "foreign menace" was that of Jacobinism. The bogey men were Robespierre and Marat. President Dwight, of Yale, denounced Jefferson, so did others, for "rearing Robespierres and Marats among the people." And that scholarly president of Yale screamed:

*"We have a country governed by block-heads and knaves! The next thing will be, as in France, anarchy, then Jacobinism, organized with energy enough to plunder and shed blood."*

Jefferson was denounced as a "Jacobin" for making the Louisiana Purchase.

And the Constitution? Jefferson apparently had even less regard for it than Roosevelt. An editorial, supposedly written by Alexander Hamilton, declared that "Jefferson would have been capable of piling together the bodies of Hamilton, Morris, Bayard, Adams . . . to the amount of one or two hundred, burning them all on the altar of democracy and lighting the funeral pyre with the defaced leaves of the Constitution."

The Federalist press demanded the gibbet for Gallatin, charged Jefferson with every manner of infamous crime, political, moral and immoral.

As for wasting money, the Boston Gazette declared that under Jefferson, "the people's money is taken by the friends of reform and economy and squandered. . . ."

We commend these extracts from Bowers' book to the leaders of the National Jeffersonian Democrats. They speak for themselves.



*Judge Moore*  
*Pres. reply*  
*P*

San Jean de Luz, December 22, '36

Dear Mr President:-

I am inclosing herewith a copy of a despatch I have felt it necessary to send to the Department .At the time when it was currently and constantly reported in the press that I was returning to participate in your campaign ,I was not surprised at the tone of some of the articles in partisan papers like the Chicago Tribune and the Chicago News ,regarding my absence from Madrid. I dismissed it as tripe intended for use against me in places where I might speak .But now that this sort of lying abuse continues ,reflecting on me personally ,I am asking the State Department to do me and the ranking members of the staff with me the elementary justice vthat Prime Minister Baldwin immediately rendered to Sir Henry Chilton when similarly attacked ,in the House of Commons. Iam quite capable of defending myself with the facts but I prefer the more dignified procedure similar to the action so promptly taken by Mr Baldwin.

It is a matter of amazement to me, and to all here with me, that while notes and press statements



commendatory of numerous men in the service in Spain have been given out over a period of five months, not one of us has had a complimentary reference from the Department. This too notwithstanding the fact that we alone among the Powers have had no incident and no trouble. My work here among the heads of missions, all of them partisan and intriguing, has not been so easy, but I have maintained an absolute neutrality in accordance with our policy.

I ask nothing in the way of commendation for myself --I can later take care of that myself-- but I do feel that my secretary who risked his life three or four times, going through fighting to rescue Americans, is entitled to a word from some quarter by way of the appreciation of the Government.

The clippings from the Chicago Tribune and one or two other papers that reached me today are of such a character that I cannot in self respect refrain from calling attention to the fact that I am being slandered for following the orders of my Government and without anything from the Government to indicate as much. Since all other nations have their Embassies and Legations here there is no reason why the Government should not say as much under these circumstances.

If you can spare a minute to dictate a brief note to my secretary, Biddle Garrison, a Princeton man of two years ago, expressing appreciation for his heroism it will not be published, but will be treasured by him against the \$96 a month that he receives. But of course you will use your own judgement about that.

With warmest regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

*Claude L. Bowers*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House  
Washington.

TSF Spain

*Spain*

LMS

GRAY

(Madrid)  
St. Jean de Luz

Dated December 29, 1936

Rec'd 3:50 p. m.

Secretary of State,  
Washington.

187, December 29, 6 p. m.

Today's issue of LA PETITE GIRONDE of Bordeaux carries a despatch dated Washington December 29 which states "the Government announces that a first license for the exportation of arms and ammunition to Spain has been granted the 'Vim Alert' Company of Jersey City which will ship to Bilbao air planes with a value of \$2,770,000."

BOWERS

CSB

PSF  
*[Signature]*

U

GRAY

(Madrid)  
St, Jean de Luz

Dated December 30, 1936

Rec'd 10:17 a.m.

Secretary of State  
Washington

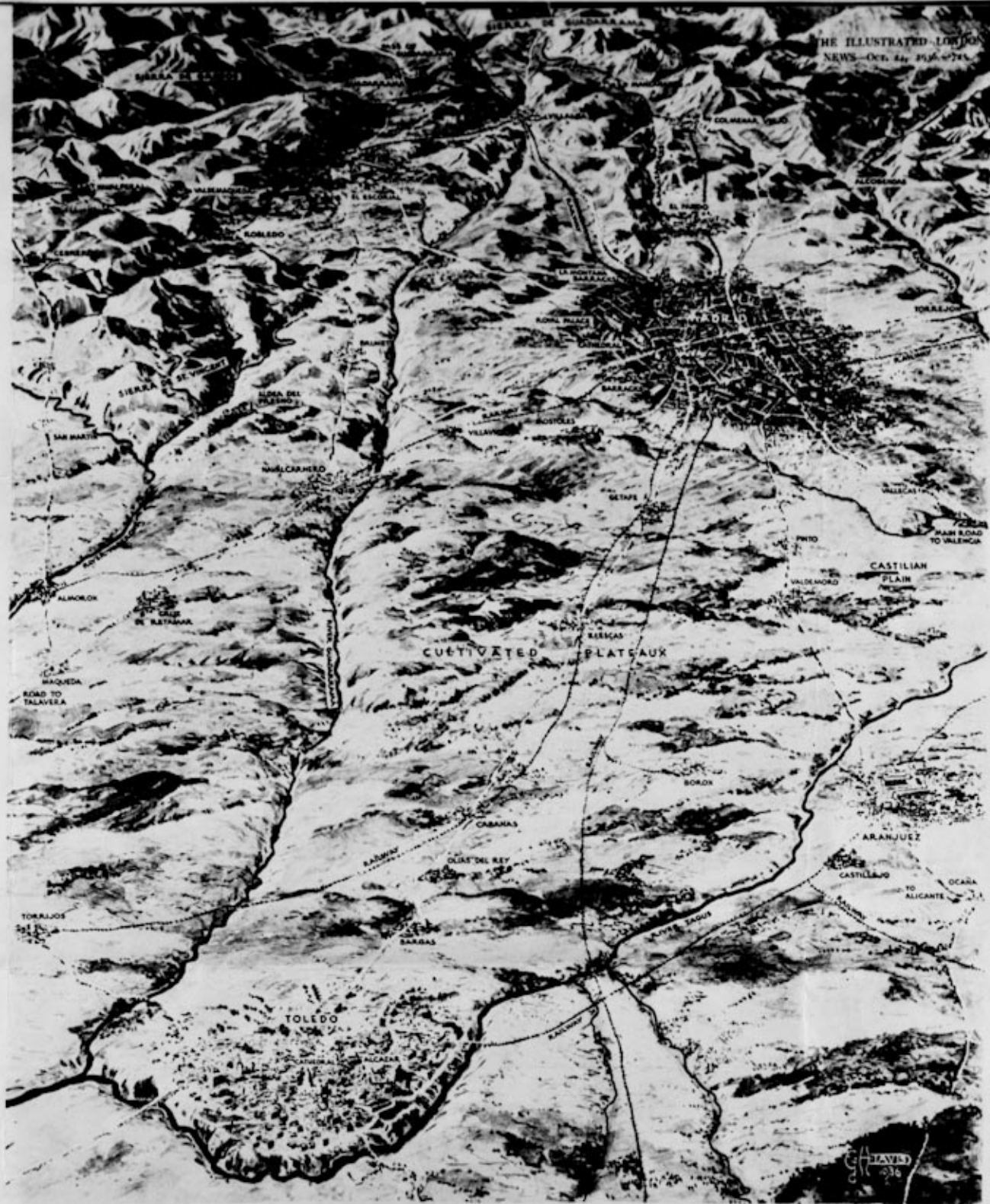
189, December 30, 1 p.m.

Press reports indicate possible legislation extending prohibition of exportation of war material to Spain. The danger lies in the precipitation of debate on the merits of the controversy here which may greatly weaken our position of neutrality with both sides. May I suggest that in the consideration of such legislation it would seem wise to impress on congressional leaders the importance of discouraging such discussions in these critical times.

BOWERS

CSB





THE REBEL ADVANCE ON THE SPANISH CAPITAL: A PICTORIAL MAP SHOWING THE "PINCER" MOVEMENT ON MADRID. LOCALITIES WHERE IMPORTANT ACTIONS WERE FOUGHT, AND GENERAL FEATURES OF THE REGION.

This pictorial map is designed to assist our readers in following the recent movements of the rebel forces as they advanced towards Madrid, by indicating the general features of the surrounding country and the positions of places where important actions were fought. As the military situation changes from day to day, it is of course impossible to say what it may be by the time these lines appear. At the moment of writing, however, we may recall that the insurgents advanced on Madrid mainly from Toledo in the south, along the Alberche river in the south-west, and from the Guadarrama line in the north-west. On October 17, it was stated, a rebel column moving north from Toledo crushed the Government's first line of defences, and on the 18th captured Illescas, the only large town between Toledo and Madrid and 22 miles from the latter. The Government troops were then driven past their second line of

defences (which ran in a semi-circle round Madrid through Navalcarnero and Aranjuez) to a point only 16 miles from the capital. On the Alberche line the Moorish troops serving with the rebels had the advantage of operating in mountainous country like their own in Morocco, and carried out successful outflanking movements at Maqueda and Aldea del Fresno, where they turned a Government position near San Martin. Meanwhile, in the north-west, rebel troops on October 17 captured the stronghold of Robledo de Chavela, about 30 miles from Madrid, after a fierce three-days' battle. Robledo was described as practically the last defensive Government position on that front, and the only barrier to an advance on the Escorial, the ancient royal palace in the hills. As its fall would have a great moral effect, observers expected that the fighting there would prove decisive.