

question, stating that once the German people had been re-educated they must be given their place within the new League of Nations. The other speeches showed that the Party doctrine remains unchanged but that the question of the purge is a main preoccupation.

Georges Suarez was refused a reprieve and shot on the 9th November. Mgr. Dutoit, Bishop of Arras, has been placed in "administrative internment" by order of the Prefect of the Pas-de-Calais. He is charged with having published articles in the diocesan *Semaine Religieuse* derogatory to France's Allies, the French troops and Resistance organisations. This is the first instance of civil action against a prince of the Church for collaboration. Recent arrests include that of Jérôme Carcopino, a former Vichy Minister of Public Instruction.

(For France's attitude to Civil Aviation, see "United Nations.")

#### SWITZERLAND.

Further comment on the Russian refusal to attend the Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago indicates the trend of Swiss opinion to be that Russia is still unwilling to co-operate sincerely with other nations. This attitude is contrasted with the results claimed for the Moscow Conference.

The reason given by Russia for her rejection of the Swiss proposals for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries—namely, that the Swiss Government "has hitherto not dissociated itself in any form from its former policy of hostility to the Soviet Union"—was not considered by Switzerland to be justified by the true facts. Switzerland had a politically clear conscience and rejected the accusation brought against her. She would await events calmly, but she would in no circumstances allow herself to be intimidated by a gesture, the meaning of which was as yet unaffirmed. For this reason, the Federal Council would not deviate from the view which led to the negotiations, and which was in accordance with its genuine desire to maintain good and peaceful relations with all foreign States. It would take the view that the negotiations were merely interrupted.

The public reaction was one of deep resentment, not only at the disregard shown by a major Power for a small State, but also at the method chosen to administer the rebuff; for it was contrary to usage for one country to reply to another by a public broadcast on a delicate subject requiring a certain measure of discretion. Resentment was also expressed at the use of the word "Fascist" to describe Swiss sentiments, and it was recalled that for many years the German press has complained about Switzerland's failure to take part in the crusade against Moscow.

On the 10th November, the Federal Council accepted with regret the resignation of M. Pilet-Golaz, chief of the Political Department. It was stated that the Minister had already notified the National Council of his intention in a letter on the 7th, but that the decision had in fact been taken before that date. The President of the Confederation at a banquet held by the Radical Party on the 13th November stated that M. Pilet-Golaz's decision was entirely due to considerations of internal policy, and bore no relation to Switzerland's foreign policy, which would not be affected by the resignation. M. Pilet-Golaz had thought it his duty to sacrifice his high place for the maintenance of internal peace. The President then paid a high tribute to the retiring Minister's work.

#### SPAIN.

General Franco's statement to the United Press mentioned in last week's *Summary* has not been well received either by the Allies or by the enemy. We on our side cannot accept the sincerity of a man who in his claim to Spanish neutrality conveniently forgets the much longer period when Spain was non-belligerent, and the Germans, forgetting what they owe to Franco, object to his currying favour now with the victorious democracies. In Spain much has been made of the prominence given in the Allied press and wireless programmes to the Caudillo's pronouncement, but careful editing gives only a favourable picture, headlines such as "Franco speaks; the world listens" being quoted by *Radio Nacional*, which added that the B.B.C. news bulletins gave four minutes to Franco's statement, "which is longer than the B.B.C. generally devotes to declarations from English or foreign statesmen." Public satisfaction, however,

masked official disappointment, and the Under-Secretary of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs has complained that the B.B.C. confined itself to giving hostile commentaries. The truth is that there were none others available, for even those papers which were General Franco's friends in the Civil War cannot now approve his oily conversion.

However, this interview does clarify the situation, especially as it has been followed by the Spanish Ambassador's request to the Permanent Under-Secretary of State to arrange an early interview at which he could make an important communication from General Franco to the Secretary of State. We now know what to expect. Spain takes her stand on her alleged neutrality in this war which is based on abstention from stabbing France in the back (such treachery seemingly being the only breach of neutrality Franco's mind could grasp). The claim is that she could not be either our ally or Germany's ally because "she could never ally herself ideologically with nations not guided by the principles of Catholicism" (an argument hardly applicable to Fascist Italy), but (since the Allies are winning the war) she is now to be considered a democracy of a rather special, Spanish kind, to be known as organic. The episode of the Blue Division is squared with "honourable and complete neutrality" because no hostility against Russia as a nation was involved; it was a crusade for the idea of anti-communism, which has wider implications than merely Soviet ones. And so, on its record, the Franco régime self-righteously claims to participate in any European settlement. That is the Franco line; it is not a very good one.

First, the claim to neutrality is patently absurd. It was not valid even in 1939, for the Germans received plenty of favours from Franco before the fall of France. And with the declaration of non-belligerency on the 12th June, 1940, Spain, during the Suñer period, showed herself in everything but open war to be an associate of the Axis Powers. And, although Count Jordana did make an effort to behave neutrally, the Spanish Government maintained non-belligerency until February 1944. As to the refusal to "ally herself ideologically with nations not guided by the principles of Catholicism," the Caudillo must have forgotten his words to von Stohrer, German Ambassador to Spain, in September 1940. Stohrer had talked of Spanish-German collaboration as creating "with the definite triumph of a strong and sound ideology," a new Europe. Franco replied that "Spain had contributed to the rule of this new order . . . the strength of her faith in the triumph of our common ideals." He went on to describe the warmth of Spanish friendship for Germany "in the battle for the consolidation of this politico-social revolution for which we fought so hard which is now being waged on the seas and in the air of Europe." This commitment to precisely the ideological association which he is now repudiating will not be forgotten. Great Britain and the United States are not less likely to forget Franco's attacks on the "plutocratic democracies" (which are bad) and to accept him at his own valuation as head of an Organic Democracy (which is good) than M. Stalin is to accept the Spanish fairy tale of the Blue Division. In short, General Franco's attempt at self-rehabilitation may look good in the Spanish press, whose ambiguous columns are usually decorated with equivocations of this kind. But when it comes to dealing with the Allies, the little Caudillo will find that his legs are too short for the pier-head jump to "work a passage" which no one has yet offered him. His ambitions are, however, probably more modest. On the business principle that you never get more than 25 per cent. of what you ask for, he claims a seat at the peace table, and will be only too happy if we leave him with his seat in the Pardo—and, of course, his bunny rabbits.

Along the Pyrenees things seem quiet, but none of the punitive or restrictive measures taken by the Spanish authorities have yet been relaxed. In the Basque province of Guipúzcoa it is credibly reported that there have been over 2,000 arrests, mainly of Basque Nationalists, and at one moment the bull ring at San Sebastián was crowded with prisoners. At the end of October the alleged discovery of a plot by the Perpignan "Reds" (see *Summary* No. 265) led to a fresh wave of arrests in Barcelona too, where the Catalan Nationalists are being active in their propaganda. One agreeable piece of political publicity was the draping of the Catalan flag on the cables which join two large steel towers in the harbour. It took the Barcelona Fire Brigade three hours of dangerous acrobatics and a lot of courage to remove the horrid emblem. Another commemorative practice is to place wreaths on the empty places from which the Falange had removed statues of Catalan patriots. This sort of game is not likely to decrease in Barcelona during the winter.

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