

# PEOPLE & FREEDOM

For Christian Democrats of all Countries.

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## WHERE THERE IS NO VISION . . .

"WHERE there is no vision the people perish," say the Scriptures. It is the statement of a plain, sociological fact, which Don Sturzo, indeed, has analysed in his Inner Laws of Society, showing how every form of community, the family as the nation, will be rent asunder by the egoism of its component members unless the tie binding it together is more than material, and unity is cemented by an ideal, a common purpose, in which man's spiritual exigencies find satisfaction.

This fact has now received remarkable recognition from a member of the Cabinet whose special domain might be mistakenly considered as enclosed within the material order. Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, on May 11 preached a sermon in a Birmingham Church in which he affirmed that "what is lacking to-day in the industrial effort of this country is the Christian approach, the Christian background. A merely materialistic concentration on work cannot give high morale."

During a war, awareness of the need for an ideal to spur men to fight and die goes uncontested. Hitler proclaimed his New Order. Churchill and Roosevelt replied by the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. The bare alternative: "Conquer or be conquered," was not enough. Its post-war equivalent: "Work or Want" can be no more efficacious.

That unhappy slogan is one of many signs of a desiccating materialism, shaping the public outlook. The workers still sing: "The International is the human race. . . ." yet see in foreign workers (Poles who shared in the glories of the 8th Army, Italians who brought their traditions back to life in the Allied service under the German terror) merely competitors for jobs. Few of the younger generation know the noble Chartist hymn, still sung a generation ago at Labour Party rallies:

"When wilt thou save the people,  
Lord God of mercy, when?  
The people, Lord, the people,  
Not crowns, not thrones, but men.  
Flowers of Thy heart O Lord are they. . . ."

That Blake's Jerusalem is still sung, indeed, is witness to a craving for a more than material vision in the human heart, but often its singing seems a survival only.

It was from the Christian dynamic that the great progressive conceptions of the last century drew their force, even though their source went unrecognised: the brotherhood of man, a sense of nationhood quickened by Mazzini's dream of the mission of the nations for the regeneration of the world, the raising of the masses to the dignity of man.

Cut from their roots, these conceptions have lost their potency. They need to be reaffirmed, and with them the value of man as man, man's duty to his fellow-man, the Gospel teaching that all are members of one another. It is for those who guide and shape public opinion to cease to suggest that the self-query: "What can I get?" is as honourable as "What can I give?" And this for the nation as well as the individual: there should be pride for those who can help in the rebuilding of a ruined world.

That such an attitude can gain a response, that there is hunger for a positive ideal, is shown by the enthusiasm, crowding the Albert Hall, evoked by that future-seeking hope, "United Europe."

It is well to remember the strength which both Fascism (in its transient heyday) and Nazism drew from exploitation, not of brutal instincts only, but of the generosity of youth, by their reiterated demands for "sacrifice," "dedication," and that the far-reaching range of Communism comes from an appeal that is not made to barren self-interest.

A spirit of renewal is needed, able to kindle the will of men who, by their very nature, cannot live by bread alone. It can come only from that Spirit, of which we are told that it "will renew the face of the earth."

## SPANISH PATIENCE

By MANUEL DE IRUJO

*The Basque strikes, involving 50,000 workers and continuing in the face of harsh repression, are no ordinary strikes, but the work of an organised Resistance Movement, in protest against the Franco regime. In the present article, Senor Manuel de Irujo, head of the Basque Delegation in Paris, and Minister in the Government-in-Exile, stresses the danger of allowing the situation in Spain so to degenerate that violence and revolution, threatening, as did the Civil War, the whole fabric of Europe, become the only solution.*

IT is a common saying that Spain is an impulsive and paradoxical country; Spaniards themselves say so. The well-known Spanish individualism has expressed itself for more than a century in the breeding of anarchists, separatists and revolts. Yet the Spanish question merits calm reflection.

Spain is a mosaic.

The Andalusians are a half-European, half-Arabic people. The Giralda of Seville, the Alhambra of Granada, and the Mosque of Cordoba, show us a world which is much more oriental than European. Its character is like its architecture.

The Catalans are a Mediterranean people like the Italians and Greeks. They are traders and very active. Barcelona is a city which in many ways could be confused with Marseilles, Genoa, Naples or Alexandria.

Castile, the real Spain, is an austere country without trees or laughter. It produces mystics and military leaders. The Visigothic inheritance still lives on in Toledo and Leon.

The Galicians are Celts like the Irish. They are tireless workers. When they leave their country they feel the "morrina," a form of collective sorrow, which makes them sing and weep.

(Continued on page 3, cols. 2 and 3)

## HERE AND THERE

**ABYSSINIA AND ITALY.** The Emperor, Haile Selassie, has, on many occasions, shown that he had a lesson to teach the West. In his humane, Christian vision, there is no room for wholesale condemnation of entire peoples. When after the liberation of Addis Ababa, the Allied Command insisted on the deportation of 10,000 Italian technicians, he protested, and hid a large number. Abyssinia has been represented on a Health Committee of UNO by an Italian, Dr. Giacacinta, the Emperor's personal physician, who has now returned to Addis Ababa taking with him his wife and family.

\* \* \* \*

**PRISONERS IN RUSSIA.** The Russians have announced that the 12,000 Italian prisoners who have been returned are the only survivors of the 60,000 known to have been captured. The rest perished from cold or disease, under the terrible conditions of their transit to camps in the interior. And the Russians like the Italians, in fact many of the survivors speak of much kindness from the local populations,

(Continued on page 3 column 4)

## THE CORRUPTION OF PATRIOTISM

"**QUI a pays n'a que faire de patrie.**" This is how a XVIIth century French writer, Charles Fontaine, expressed his opinion of a new-fangled word which was just then making its first appearance in the writings and in the speech of his contemporaries.

"**THIS IS MY OWN, MY NATIVE LAND. . . .**"

From the way he formulated his objection to this "corruption italique," as he called it, it seems clear that Fontaine disapproved of the word not on literary grounds alone. A man, he says, who has a country does not need a fatherland. His instinct, then, told him that through the introduction of this new expression into the French language a new idea was being fostered in the minds of Frenchmen. That in the place of the visible features, the tangible realities and the daily experienced associations of their native land and its people, something abstract, something artificially conceived and appealing to irrational emotions was being projected into the consciousness of men. Something which did not, like the word *pays*, contain and express the fundamental human relationship from which love, devotion and loyalty receive their natural impulses. That something was the State.

Not, of course, the state which represents the legislative and administrative organisation of a community of peoples that have outgrown the stage of hunters and nomads, and which is the natural and organic evolution of human society advancing in the ways of civilisation. This is the product of the will and the wisdom of the community which it is meant to serve. It needs no special loyalties. It draws its strength and its security from the love and the devotion which men everywhere feel for the land where they were born and grew to manhood, for its people, its rivers and mountains, its forest and its fields, its villages and its towns.

### SUBSTITUTES FOR REALITY

Fontaine, though, is not quite fair to the Italian people. The word *patria* in his days was not in general use even in Italy where "il mio paese" still is the equivalent of "mon pays" in the mouth and the heart of a native of the Auvergne or of Picardy. As a matter of fact, in Italy, the word "*patria*"

never really supplanted "*paese*" in the consciousness of the people and was never written or spoken with the arrogant emphasis and the consequent exaltation, which made *patrie* and *Vaterland* such dangerous words to conjure with, until Mussolini and his Fascists began their patriotic orations and patriotic terrorism. Nor did that word, even then, much to the Duce's distress and anger, carry away the people to which—according to the diary of his son-in-law, Ciano—he referred as sheep, unworthy of so heroic and patriotic a leader. The German equivalent of *pays* and *paese* is *Heimatland* or *Heimat*. In all three languages these words are older than *patrie* or *patria* or *Vaterland*. Nor does it lack significance that the English language never substituted the word *fatherland*—a "Germanic corruption," to apply Fontaine's expression—for country. It has saved the British nation from the corruption of patriotism these substitutes were to bring about in Europe.

Before we turn to this process of corruption let us observe that the older and natural loyalty has also proved stronger and more lasting, so that, in order to uproot it, a corrupted State Patriotism has found it necessary to uproot the peoples themselves from the lands in which they dwelled since Europe settled down to Christian civilisation. And be it marked here, that this barbaric abuse of State power was not an invention of the totalitarian tyrants. It was first accepted and sanctioned in the case of the Greeks of Asia Minor by the League of Nations!

### THE OLDER LOYALTIES

The strength of this natural loyalty explains the diversified map of Europe, a diversity which, until little more than forty years ago, did not stand in the way of a common European consciousness and solidarity. It explains the survival of racial and cultural groups of European peoples even where they were submerged, for hundreds of years sometimes, in bigger political units. This survival proves that until the era of Nationalism, these older loyalties, rooted in the nature of Man, were accepted and respected, even by conquerors and by those who ruled over states not homogeneous in either race, language or

"Our aim must be to humanize the State, not to nationalize humanity."  
—PESTALOZZI

custom. It was expressed in the habit of such princes of adding to their original "tribal" title, other titles connoting their rule over other lands and peoples with natural rights and loyalties of their own. In those titles the separate identity and the separate communal existence of lands and peoples was acknowledged and preserved.

All this began to change when the conception of the State as a thing *per se* took hold of the minds and the imaginations of men. Mind and imagination cannot alter the fundamental features of a *pays*, but they can fashion the image of the idol State until it conforms to whatever ideology or ambitions they want it to serve. If they further succeed in making this State the symbol of the *patrie* or the *patria* or the *Vaterland*, demanding and enforcing for it the loyalties naturally due to the *pays*, then the corruption of patriotism is achieved. Then the times have become ripe for the totalitarian Patriotic State.

When Charles Fontaine wrote those words of warning Europe was entering upon the epoch of ideological and national schisms which have led to the present spiritual, cultural and material bankruptcy of our Continent. Europe will not recover, our civilisation will not recover and live, unless we hark back to that warning of a patriotic Frenchman and free man four hundred years ago. Unless we restore, and all of us help to restore, Man's natural rights to his natural loyalties: the loyalty to himself as a personality, to his family, his people and the soil from which he and his people came. A democratic Europe, a democratic world can have no other foundation for the common loyalty of all its peoples with which to build the future.

ALBRECHT MONTGELAS.

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by Hilda Clausen

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by Winifred Russell

### THE AUSTRIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY

J. O. von Laemmel

### ANNUAL REPORT.

## VISITORS FROM GERMANY

**A**N evening party at the headquarters of the Group on April 8, enabled some of the German-speaking members and friends of PEOPLE & FREEDOM to meet three Germans who are at present taking part in one of the training courses arranged by the British Government, at Wilton Park (Bucks.). The aim of this admirable institution is to show selected groups both of Germans from the British Zone of Occupation and of Prisoners of War, how democracy works in this country—not only by what seems an almost overwhelming number of lectures and discussions but also by giving them opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the British way of life, by visits to newspaper offices, schools, factories, welfare organisations, etc.

Two of the guests, both from the Land (former province) of Schleswig-Holstein, with distinguished anti-Nazi records—one with terms of hard labour and confinement in a concentration camp to his credit—reported their experiences in their present fields of activity.

### A YOUTH WELFARE OFFICER

Herr D. is a youth welfare officer in an almost entirely rural district. It was clear that he by no means underestimates the difficulties of such work; nor does he shut his eyes to the dangers both spiritual and material that still threaten Germany's young generation. It requires a good deal of optimism and a firm belief in the sound core of these future citizens of Europe to come to them: to the homeless, the unattached vagrants many of whom are balanced on a perilously narrow ledge between criminality and a moderately ordered life; to the boys and girls who, having been brought up in the Nazi doctrine, with their minds a blank, easily fall a prey to a hopeless cynicism. Here one of the greatest dangers is often the attitude of the older people who, themselves bitterly disappointed, see in the young ones only the "lost generation," tarred with the brush of Nazism and incapable of redemption. And those who come to help come almost empty-handed. There are no homes for youth groups, practically no teachers—owing to the sluggish process of denazification—no books, no writing or drawing material of any kind, no toys for the younger children. And this, in addition to under-nourishment and lack of clothing.

There is only one way, Herr D. told us, to approach these boys and girls and to inspire them with confidence and hope: to make them feel that what matters is not whether they have been Nazis, members of one of the Hitler youth organisations or not—but whether they are decent human beings willing to co-operate for the common good. And the problem thus tackled proves capable of solution. Groups of boys and girls are forming, perhaps a little luckier in their own resources, who go out to aid and entertain the inmates of overcrowded refugee-camps living in such rags and such wretchedness that they have no heart to go beyond the camp limits. Here is the beginning of a new community life.

### DENAZIFICATION

The same ideas that are the guiding principles in youth welfare are predominant in Herr W's special domain: denazification. The ruling laid down by the occupying power is contained in eight short paragraphs which allow for a very flexible application. The present apparatus consists of a district court with a ramification of local sub-committees down to the villages where the accused men's records are actually known. In the first time after the collapse of National Socialism the judgments may often have been harsh and not altogether free from elements of personal vindictiveness, but private vengeance is not something that can be kept in cold storage for ever, and characterised only the early phase.

The main criterion in reaching the verdict is not how long has the man been a member of the Nazi Party, but was he an active or merely a more or less nominal member. And, above all: how did he behave towards his fellow human beings? How did he treat Prisoners of War and foreign workers?

The verdict of these courts are, however, subject to confirmation by the Control Council—and such confirmation may take anything up to nine months. The accused is suspended from office, he cannot carry on his business as long as he is not completely cleared, and the disruption thus created is hampering the work of reconstruction everywhere, in education, administration, commerce and industry.

It is to be hoped that a new ruling with a gradation of the suspects in five classes, making the verdicts of the German courts final for the lesser fry, will speed up the work of denazification which, important as it is, two years after the breakdown of the Hitler regime seems, in its clumsiness, an obstacle on the way to recovery. It may even lead some of the suspects

### TWO URGENT APPEALS have reached us from Germany:

(1) *For English newspapers and periodicals to alleviate an intellectual famine as serious as the physical starvation. Will readers who are prepared to send out literature please communicate with the Hon. Secretary, 32, Chepstow Villas, W. 11, who will gladly supply addresses.*

(2) *From Herr Egon Formanns (Wipperfurth, Nr. Cologne, Markt 17, Karl-Josef-Haus), whom the French honour as "Resistant et Collaborateur au Temoignage Chretien", and who is continuing the apostolic work which cost him 11 years in different concentration camps with physical tortures that have broken his health. He appeals on behalf of a number of friends who wish to enter into correspondence with like-minded Englishmen. They belong, he writes, to a variety of categories: "Workers and intellectuals, teachers, priests, politicians, economists, etc. In this way we hope to help international understanding. . . . The more international relationships are established the riper will mutual understanding of people and peoples become. It is because the peoples know each other so little that they are so easily taught to hate." For the most part these friends are progressive Catholics who take their stand on Christian Democracy.*

*Will those prepared to correspond with them write either to Herr Formanns direct, or to the Hon. Secretary.*

who find themselves confined in a kind of spiritual and economic no-man's land, to dangerous underground movements.

### A STUDENT'S PROBLEMS

Finally, from Herr M., a young student, we gained a vivid picture of the acuteness of the shortage of books and, indeed, of any kind of literature in the British Zone of Germany. It is not only the lack of textbooks, works of reference, sorely needed dictionaries, etc., that makes itself felt in the most disturbing manner, but what is wanted first and foremost are books—new and old—that could give the young generation a truthful picture of the world in which they live and from which they have been cut off for so long, works on history, on current affairs, briefly works suitable to disperse the thick Hitler-Rosenberg fog that still may hover over many young minds.

The present-day German student finds himself almost without any means of information except the spoken word. Second-hand books are few and expensive. Even libraries, owing first to Hitler's book-purge and then to bombing, possess only one or two copies of the most fundamental works (in the case of the speaker, f.i. on child psychology), and when the student is lucky enough to secure one of them for a short time, he lacks even the paper to jot down his excerpts.

### A SPIRIT OF RESOLUTION

It was materially a terrifying picture that took shape from the accumulation of details. But what was striking was that none of the three speakers indulged in hopelessness. On the contrary they gave the impression of sturdy resolve to help, by their own work and example, to lead Germany back to moral health.

HILDA CLAUSEN.

## FROM OUR BOOKSHELF

### LIVING COMMUNITIES

**I**N a recent broadcast, Professor Joad remarked on the extraordinarily few people who, judging from his observation of fellow travellers on train journeys, spend their spare moments reading books. I feel sure that Mr. L. C. T. Rolt would be loth to interrupt the meditations of those engaged in watching the passing scene of English town and village, but I should dearly love to persuade each reader of magazine or newspaper to fold away such literary fungus and read instead his book, "High Horse Riderless." (i)

Mr. Rolt, like so many of those who were children during the First World War, grew up in an atmosphere of Wellsian optimism in the future of material "progress" and of revolt against religious moralism and pietism. However, the scene of his childhood was the valley of the Wye, that part of the Welsh Marches which was the inspiration of Traherne and Vaughan, and he had the good fortune to be aware always in his later experience of the mechanical and urban world to which his profession as an engineer led him, of the co-existence of the world of nature, "the world of immutable reality."

Unlike many who set out to diagnose the causes of the frustration and disappointment, the instability and deep discontent, which haunt modern man, Mr. Rolt is not satisfied to blame this or that political system. Once a believer in the Socialist solution of economic adjustment he has found in his experience of modern civilisation a much deeper source for these evils. He traces the gradual submersion of the individual in the abstraction of the State, and the stunting of that organic growth of the creative instinct in which man finds such happiness, to the divorce between religion and life which resulted from the breakup of Western Christendom in the early sixteenth century.

### THE POWER TO THINK

This book is of a kind which, outside the world of scholarship to which Mr. Rolt makes no claim to belong, is becoming increasingly rare. Here are words and phrases which are the result of direct thought and experience, not the dusty or glib symbols of the second-hand verbiage of pamphlet and propaganda sheet; for too long has the ability to read and write been accepted as evidence of a man's superiority. It is the power to think which distinguishes man from the animal world; reading, writing, talking, are simply the mechanical aids to communication, which without the basis of thought, are not only useless, but highly dangerous tools.

On every page of Mr. Rolt's book there is the fruit of hard thinking. He is not content with labels but examines the past in the light of contemporary records and documents, the village histories salvaged by the painstaking antiquary. And while avoiding the errors of the medieval romanticist, in these early village and religious communities he finds clear evidence of a delicate and highly organised system of "government, of the people, by the people, for the people," which makes our modern conception of democracy a gross mockery.

### HERITAGE OF THE "AGE OF FAITH"

The Renaissance is so often regarded as a golden age in its own right that it is worth while recording Mr. Rolt's perceptive observation that the glories of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are the final achievements of the Middle Ages—"the flower of generations of slowly accumulated learning, tradition and creative power." The voice of the new age of scepticism and "freedom" is that of Machiavelli.

As a consequence of the Reformation the harmony of the natural order "the Jus Naturale," was lost and man's attitude towards nature as a hostile force led to the false philosophy of the later industrial age and the purely mechanistic view of the universe. The Christian conception of man's place in an ordered and harmonious creation was supplanted by the slavery of materialism and man became the mere puppet or automaton in a world where good and evil were shifting

and relative abstraction. Against this philosophical background, Mr. Rolt traces the social and economic developments in England from the early medieval village community to the sprawling dormitory towns of the twentieth century.

### GROUP OR HERD?

He has no sentimental hankerings after "arty-craftyness," but like Cobbett and William Morris he knows that there is no happiness for mankind in a herd-civilisation. When I read, in the chapter headed "A Plea for the Individual"—"A community cannot be stable unless the individuals of which it is composed are leading full and contented lives, and no material amenities or social justice can compensate for lost content," I was reminded of the theory advanced by Miss Follett, an American writer, that the future evolution of society must be founded on the idea of the group and not, as at present, on the idea of the herd. In the group each man plays his individual part in the harmony of the whole like an instrument in an orchestra instead of being deformed and maimed on the Procrustean bed of modern standardisation and mass production.

### IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Most people felt, in a bewildered way, that somehow they have been double-crossed in the fight for democracy; they realise that "counting the nobs" is not a sure way of finding the will of the people; this is the reason for the apathy at local and national elections. Mr. Rolt suggests truly that democratic government must have its roots in the parish council:

"In this country we already possess machinery of local government; we have parish, rural, urban, and county councils, and at the head a national government consisting of the elected representatives of the people. However, we compare this political structure with a tree we perceive its true function is inverted. Instead of the roots nourishing and supporting the trunk, local government represents branches of that central trunk. Therefore, instead of representing the corporate voice of the region, our local government bodies have become to an increasing extent the instruments of centralised control."

The suggested solution is the election of parish councillors by the village; of district and urban councillors by the parish councillors; of regional councillors by the urban or district councillors; and "through such a progressively widening electorate, national and eventually continental and world groups could be elected and formed."

The great value of Mr. Rolt's book lies in its constant recognition that there is only misery and destruction in the materialistic plan for civilisation. He finds that the evidence for a religious and purposive view of the universe is overwhelming and mankind will only find happiness leading "an organic life in accordance with natural law."

In his final chapter there is a paragraph beginning "The Christian philosophy was simply an eloquent affirmation of the organic relationship between God and nature, and the story of the decay of western Christendom is the story of the severance of that relationship."

Mr. Rolt, throughout his book, shows such intellectual honesty that I feel he may be persuaded to re-examine this conclusion and make his conclusion valid by changing from past to present tense in the first sentence and learning that the decay has been far from complete.

WINIFRED RUSSELL.

(i) L. T. C. ROLT, Allen and Unwin. 10/6.

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## IN THE MARGIN

At the great "United Europe" rally in the Albert Hall on the second Wednesday in May one was reminded of a truth forgotten by too many in the emotional cyclone of war.

Winston Churchill was quoting:

"The real demarcation between Europe and Asia is no chain of mountains, no natural frontier, but a system of beliefs and ideas which we call Western civilisation."

And:

"Europe is a spiritual conception, but if men cease to hold that conception in their minds, cease to feel its worth in their hearts, it will die."

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A great, yes, an obvious truth. It applies not only to "natural" frontiers. It is as true of the "political" frontiers as they evolved from the centuries of Europe's political history.

Behind the frontiers of the totalitarian states whose evil ideologies denied, and sought to eradicate, the ideas and beliefs which are the essence of Western civilisation, there lived before the war and are living to-day millions and millions of men and women who have held on to those beliefs and ideas in spite of terror or bribes.

To-day—after the war to liberate Europe and its cultural structure—the visible demarcation line between Europe and Asia runs once more where it ran eleven centuries ago at the death of Charlemagne.

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How could this happen?

Did it happen because during the war "Europe as a spiritual conception" was lost sight of? Because people became blinded and no longer saw or wanted to see the "real demarcation"?

Because the aim to defend, re-establish and secure "what you and we hold dear" was forgotten?

Because at some moment in the life and death struggle for the survival of Western civilisation the civil war in Europe "ceased to be an ideological war"?

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Listening to the speeches at the Albert Hall these questions must have been in the minds of all Europeans present.

—And, among the thousands that packed the vast building every European nation and race was represented.

If they in their hearts confessed that they had allowed the conception of Europe as the common continent and the common spiritual home of all its people, to lose its hold on their minds, that they had ceased to feel its worth in their hearts,

then the outlook for Europe is not as dark and as desperate as it appears to-day.

For, from the sense of the collective guilt for the catastrophe that has befallen Europe, and from that sense alone, can rise the collective will to re-build Europe by the spiritual forces that survive among its ruins.

They are the identical forces which have created Western civilisation.

They can recreate it.

Not, of course, in the material mould and the sociological forms of irrevocable epochs.

For Christian Europe cannot hope nor should it strive for the resurrection of its old body, but for a new incarnation of its spirit.

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Another thought comes to mind. What about "unconditional surrender"?

Is that part of the beliefs and ideas which we call Western civilisation?

Or is it not rather taken from the ideological arsenal of the totalitarian anti-Western heresy?

Is it not tinged with the heretical belief that Man is like unto God?

That a State, any State, is a Deity? Man can unconditionally surrender himself only to God. That, indeed, is a tenet of the Christian Faith.

Thy Will be done!

It is based on the belief that God, and God alone, is all-just, all-wise, all-good, all-knowing.

None of these attributes are intrinsic in Man or in a man-made State. Not even in the greatest of statesmen. Not even in the most democratic of states.

Yet, all these attributes were implied in the demand for "unconditional surrender," as condition of a happier future for Europe.

Europe pays heavily for borrowing the ideas and the methods of its totalitarian enemies.

MONTICOLA.

## SPANISH PATIENCE

(Continued from page 1)

The Basques are a northern race, wedged between Latin peoples. They are punctual for appointments, scrupulous in their dealings, and possess a much more highly developed team spirit than the rest. Their balanced domestic economy is produced by a system of traditional freedom, and by the distribution of wealth throughout the population. As distinct from the Castilians and Andalusians the Basques form one great middle class.

### A "COCKTAIL OF PEOPLES"

This cocktail of peoples exists in the peninsular in uncomfortable proximity. Traditionally they constituted various states. While they were different kingdoms they got on better together, because each spoke its own language, ruled with its own institutions, sang and lived as it thought fit.

But the Austrian dynasty came and began the work of assimilation. This work was carried forward by the Bourbons, and when the XIXth century came there was a state in Spain, the monarchy, which was completely cut off from the nation (or nations) which lived in Spain. So it was that when Charles IV and Ferdinand VII surrendered Spain to Napoleon the Spaniards smiled, and helped by the British, began their fight against him. This struggle the Spanish call the War of Independence. And this war is proof that "Spain" did not exist! There existed different races which, geographically and politically, were known to foreigners by the name of Spain.

This war also proved that the Spanish state did not act as representative of these races, for whom it meant absolutely nothing that the Spanish crown should pass to a brother of Napoleon. Those Spaniards who fought against Napoleon regarded as traitors those who accepted the new order. And here the paradox begins, because the Spaniards who went with Napoleon were actually Liberals. The constitutional monarchy was no better than the absolute monarchy. As the Spanish constitutionalists had been educated on French lines, they thought they could do in Spain what had been done in France down the centuries; because France is a uniform country with different provinces. But Spain is made up of a series of distinct regions which nobody has been able to unify in twenty centuries.

So it can be understood that the Spaniards might be impossible to govern. Because if the same law is applied to the Moorish Spain of Andalusia as to the Basques of the north it is not possible for both to be satisfied. They differ as much as the English and the Egyptians. This fact makes study of the problem difficult even for the Spaniards themselves, so that the difficulty increases when a foreigner wishes to clarify Spain's affairs.

### LOST AUTONOMIES

The Spanish Republic, proclaimed in 1931, was the first step made in Spain to accommodate the state to the national circumstances. The new regime proposed to govern the various races, each according to its own laws. The Statutes of Autonomy of Catalonia and of the Basque Provinces were approved. The Statute of Autonomy for Galicia was being voted for, when General Franco, helped by Hitler and Mussolini, rose against the Republic. After three years of struggle, the Spanish Republic fell, abandoned by Democracies, Franco installed himself as the Caudillo of Spain "by the Grace of God."

War eventually spread over the world and ended in victory for the Democracies. But Franco continued in Spain.

In England the General Election was held, in which the Labour Party used a slogan "A vote for Churchill is a vote for Franco." Attlee and other Labour leaders were honorary colonels of the Spanish Republican Army. Naturally, Spanish democrats hoped that a Labour triumph would mean the liquidation of the Franco regime.

After many vacillations the Republican Government-in-exile was formed in Mexico as a continuation of the Government which existed when Franco began his war. This Government was presided over by Dr. Giral.

But the British Socialist leaders let it be known to their Spanish friends that they did not like Dr. Giral, as he seemed to them to be too strictly Republican. The position of Giral stopped union within the same council of all the opponents of Franco. So the Spanish Socialists, guided by the advice of their British friends, provoked a crisis and formed a new Republican Government, headed by Sr. Llopias, who came to England a few weeks ago to visit the British Labour Ministers.

### U.N.O. RECOMMENDATIONS

Meanwhile U.N.O., the Security Council, and the meeting of the Big Four, recommended to the Spaniards that they throw out Franco, but advised them at the same time that they should not count on outside help and that they should not remove Franco by violence either. In a word, the Spanish Democrats ought to convince Franco that he should go voluntarily.

Franco did not go; and the Spanish Democrats began to lose hope.

Sheltered by the pro-monarchic atmosphere of the British Conservative elements, Don Juan de Bourbon, son of the last King of Spain, presented his candidature for the throne. Don Juan was a soldier of Franco but he now comes forward as a pacifier. Franco rejected him and the farce continues.

In the last U.N.O. conference the Security Council was told that if Franco had not abandoned power within a reasonable space of time, the Security Council should take the necessary steps to finish his rule. These steps could not at the moment consist of anything but economic sanctions. In the first ten days of June this year the Security Council will meet. It is in such a situation that one day Spaniards learn that the British Government and Franco have signed an Anglo-Spanish agreement by which Franco is strengthened and which stops Great Britain from voting any kind of economic sanctions against the Franco regime.

### A THREAT TO EUROPE

Nobody fails to realise the situation between the Big Four, obvious in the discussions which took place in Moscow. Nobody fails to realise the difficulties which Great Britain has in Palestine and India; France in Indo-China, Madagascar and North Africa; and Holland in Indonesia. Nobody fails to realise the meaning of Mr. Truman's aid to Greece and Turkey. Nobody will have failed to note the meaning of the Sultan of Morocco's visit to Tangiers, nor the significance of his speech. We all know of the difficult times through which France is passing and the opposing factions represented by General de Gaulle on one side and the Communists on the other, which seem to be both agreed to impede the normal development of their country. The condition of Germany is quite evident with all the varied problems which such a situation involves. If in such world-wide conditions of instability there were unloosed in Spain a revolution against the Franco regime we all know where it would begin, but nobody can say what might be its extent and repercussions.

The Republican Government has thought about all this, and because it has thought of these things, it has tried to avoid violence. But Dr. Giral and Sr. Llopias have stated quite clearly on behalf of their respective Governments that they are not prepared to accept a fascist regime as a permanent solution in Spain, even if all the Governments of the world agree to exclude Spain from the benefits of democracy won by the rest of humanity (in greater or less measure).

The British leaders insist that the Spanish Republicans persuade Franco to go. But Franco does not want to go. Instead of helping these democratic Spaniards to remove the Franco regime in favour of a peaceful one, what they do is to proclaim emphatically that they detest Franco and in practice give him a hand to strengthen his position.

The question arises: How long can Spanish patience last?

MANUEL DE IRUJO.

## HERE AND THERE

(Continued from page 1)

and the absence of the active hate shown towards the Germans!

The figure of 800,000 German prisoners in Russia, instead of the 2-3,000,000 estimated, is therefore only too probably correct.

FRANCE AND FEDERALISM. The National Congress of the M.R.P. in Paris, last March, passed a Resolution in favour of European Federation. In April, the party organ, *POLITIQUE*, contained an article by Maurice Vaussard, questioning the wisdom of continuing the De Gaulle policy of claiming the last place among the Big Four, when France could have assumed the leadership of the other Powers. Meanwhile Francisque Gay, ex-Vice Premier, has visited Rome, where he had long talks with Don Sturzo and De Gasperi. It would seem that the "spirit of the too long forgotten Franco-Italian agreements of May, 1944, when the Resistance Movements of both countries pledged themselves to work together "in a spirit of full understanding, on a plane of European reconstruction," is coming back.

Domenico Russo. The cause of European Federation as well as of Franco-Italian friendship, has lost one of its most ardent exponents, Christian Democracy, a veteran militant, and "People & Freedom" a faithful friend, in Domenico Russo, the Editor of the international review "Res Publica" (founded by Don Sturzo in 1931), who died suddenly in Paris, on May 10th, at the age of 71. During the war he took a leading part in the National Liberation Committee of Italians in France, who co-operated so effectively in the French Resistance.

A few days before his death he wrote to us that he was about to see Mr. Winston Churchill, to discuss how his review could best serve the cause of European federation, and also to effect a reconciliation between Churchill and Count Sforza, who has always had the cause of united Europe so deeply at heart. An echo of this conversation was heard in Mr. Churchill's speech of May 14, when he spoke of having "been assured" that in Italy the desire for a United Europe was intense. R.I.P.

## THE AUSTRIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY

THE Austrian People's Party held its first party rally in Vienna, from April 18-21. In every respect, it was a great success. There were 1,200 delegates, from all over Austria, and there were also many fraternal delegates from other countries—France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia—while from Great Britain, Mr. J. O. von Laemmel, Chairman of the Austrian People's Party group in this country was the bearer of greetings and good wishes from the People & Freedom Group. Switzerland was represented by an observer, Father Kuenz. The Smallholders' Party of Hungary, and the Christian Democratic Party of Italy had to content themselves with telegrams of good-wishes, owing to difficulties in obtaining transit permits.

### THE CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS

The rally, which was held in the fine rooms of the Konzerthaus, was opened by the Chairman of the Party, Chancellor Leopold Figl. In a remarkable speech he outlined the aims of the People's Party: "Solidarismus," beginning with the family and culminating in an association of all peoples; the territorial and economic integrity of Austria and the restoration of her sovereignty; democratic freedom and personal security for all.

This speech, which evoked an enthusiastic response was followed by speeches from the French delegate, Senator Ott, Mgr. Plojhar and the present writer, all of which were warmly cheered. The Chancellor then, expressing his satisfaction in being able to welcome so many delegates from abroad, emphasised the need for closer collaboration with all Christian-Democratic Parties, for the achievement of peace for all the peoples of the world.

### ABSENCE OF SECTARIANISM

What was remarkable in all the speeches in the course of the rally was

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# The People and Freedom Group

## TENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

THE 10th Annual General meeting was held on Saturday, May 10, at Duckett's Bookshop, Mr. Conrad Bonacina presiding.

### ANNUAL REPORT : DR. FAIRFIELD

The adoption of the Annual Report was moved by Dr. Letitia Fairfield, C.B.E. The importance of the Group, she said, was out of all proportion to its numbers. When it arose, in 1936, it found a different situation from to-day. Its task then was to stem the fashionable totalitarian Nazi-Fascist movement, which was receiving appalling support in influential Catholic circles, so much so that to start such a Group needed exceptional courage.

To-day the course of events called for another orientation. Other things had to be fought, but this fight called for the same qualities as the other.

### Defence of the Individual

Behind the whole Christian-Democratic movement, she said, was an outlook, national and international, focussed on the individual—his rights, dignity, and responsibility for right-doing towards his neighbour, and this was one of the easiest things to lose. The essential difference between our outlook and that of the Russians—whom, she said, in parenthesis, she refused to consider as a fundamentally impossible people, placed in the world simply to annoy us—was illustrated by the attitude of the Soviet delegates to the Russian brides. How, they asked, could Britain be so deeply concerned over a question involving merely fifteen people? In contrast stood the British agitation, in the most perilous moment of the war, over what was deemed an injustice in the case of the birching of one small boy in Hereford. The essential thing that mattered most in politics was whether the machinery of the State was there to protect the individual against injustice or whether arbitrary injustice had the sanction of law.

This conception was hard to cling to without the Christian vision of each man as a child of God, and all men brothers not in a sentimental sense but as children of a common Father.

### Housing and the Family

In the Resolutions passed at the last Annual Meeting, Dr. Fairfield applauded particularly that in support of the Government's housing policy. We were, she said, on the verge of the results of important changes, carried out by the Government with the mandate of the country. Though the frost and labour troubles had brought delays, in England housing had first priority whereas in France it came third or fourth. It was essential that the Government should be supported in this matter. The 450,000 children in institutions, shown in the Curtis Report, the 7-800 children under two, coming under her own department in the L.C.C., in a vast number of instances owed their plight to the break-up of families due to housing shortages. There would not be one-tenth so many divorces if young couples could find decent homes.

### Displaced Persons and Germany

Dr. Fairfield wished to urge the Group to take up the cause of the Displaced Persons—the most tragically situated people in Europe. The best impression was made by those from the Baltic countries, 2,000 of whom were now being employed in hospitals, where they were giving the highest satisfaction. They should be given a real welcome.

One criticism, Dr. Fairfield said, she felt impelled to make of the attitude adopted by the Group towards Germany. Religious sympathy with the defeated should not ignore what she personally saw as the responsibility of the German people for the war. But this did not wipe out our duty as Christians and rational human beings to set the Germans on their feet again as a self-supporting, self-respecting nation; where the future was concerned, she was in no disagreement, and held it of the utmost importance to support the efforts the

Government was making in this sense.

The adoption of the Report was seconded by Mr. Paul Derrick, and carried unanimously.

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT : MR. ROBERT BARTON

Moving the adoption of the Financial Statement, presented by the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Robert Barton. Illustrating his speech by a story from Confucius, told to prove how bad government is worse than a man-eating tiger, he defined good government as that which allows the citizens freely to develop their way of life, to talk, read, criticize, engage in art and business. This was most easy in a democracy, as Herodotus had shown in the famous passage where he contrasted the valour of free men accepting the rule of law with that of the subjects of a despot.

The People & Freedom Group, he said, had an especially important task in the defence of freedom against curtailments of civic liberties, whether by bureaucracy or by the encroachments of a single party representing a single class. It must encourage people to preserve their freedom, teaching the meaning of the vote as a means of defending individual integrity and the right to justice. We must beware of a reduction of citizens to

### NOTICE TO MEMBERS

Members are reminded that all subscriptions fell due on April 1. Prompt renewal will greatly ease the present financial situation of the Group.

**ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION NOW 10/-**

Cheques and P.O.'s should be made out to the Hon. Treasurer, People & Freedom Group, 32, Chepstow Villas, London, W.11.

the state of bees in a hive, and be vigilant to preserve those essential principles, liberty and equality.

The adoption of the Financial Statement was seconded by Mr. Noel Purgold.

### CHAIRMAN'S REMARKS

Mr. Bonacina, as Chairman, underlined the importance for the future of the Group of its admission of non-Catholics to full membership. We stood, he said, for democracy, and specifically, for the principles of Christian-Democracy.

### True Democracy

Democracy, the Venerable Frederic Ozanam had seen as "the logical term of political progress," that is, any society left free to develop will tend towards the ideal of democracy, towards more and more liberty. It was possible to imagine an ideal State that was not a democracy, but such a State would be static.

For a true democracy, Christianity gave the only ultimate sanction. Maritain had noted that the tragedy of modern democracies lay in the fact that they had failed to achieve democracy because the XIXth century exponents did not realise that only with the Christian philosophy could real democracy be attained and at the same time, the vices peculiar to democracy (for every regime has its peculiar vices) be avoided.

That there were thousands accepting this Christian basis was proved by the support received by the Commonwealth Party when it was founded: it was to be hoped that PEOPLE AND FREEDOM would attract many former commonwealth members.

### The Financial Position

Commenting on the financial position of the Group, Mr. Bonacina warned the meeting that it was very serious. Not only was there nothing in hand, but, now that printing costs had gone up

50 per cent, subscriptions, on the present membership basis, must fall far short of the annual deficit on the paper—and this although editors and contributors gave their labour unpaid, the small office rent had been remitted, and the Assistant Secretary received only a nominal salary.

It was the hope of the Committee that eventually the paper could be transformed, put on a broader basis, and made to appeal to a public far beyond actual members of the Group. But if this was to be possible, and till this was possible, it was more essential than ever to increase the number of members.

To obtain this increase, the Group must show activity. He was not, he said, satisfied that a drop in corporate vitality in the past year could be explained by post-war fatigue, and was a natural phenomenon such as many other societies were experiencing. We should feel a supernatural power and vigour and destiny behind us.

This year, it was hoped to resume the regular monthly meetings. But if the paper was to be kept alive, all members must do their utmost to help—financially in so far as they could, but in any case by prompt payment of subscriptions and by real activity in bringing the Group to wider notice.

Mr. Bonacina concluded on this note of urgent appeal.

### NEW SUBSCRIPTION

In view of increased expenses (particularly the 50% rise in printing costs), on a motion from the Chair it was unanimously agreed that the Annual Subscription should be raised to 10s., with, however, special provision for students or others who might find the new rate beyond their means, for whom activity on behalf of the movement would count as part payment.

A collection taken gathered £12 8s. 9d. with one generous promise of a donation of £5 monthly till the end of the year.

### ELECTION OF COMMITTEE

Miss Scott Stokes, one of the Founder Members of the Group, had been regretfully obliged to resign through pressure of work. Captain John Richards, who had resigned during the year, had now been renominated for election. The Committee wished also to nominate Mrs. Clausen, who had been acting as Hon. Circulation Manager and Assistant Secretary. Otherwise, there had been no nominations.

The Chairman moved that as an interim measure, the Committee might during the current year be permitted to add to its numbers by co-option (subject to confirmation at the monthly meetings) or by election, even beyond that statutory number of nine. This was agreed.

The new Committee consists of Mr. Bonacina (Chairman), Miss Brandt (Hon. Treasurer), Miss Barclay Carter (Hon. Secretary and Editor), Mr. Clifford, Miss Hugh, Captain Richards, Captain Topliss, with Mrs. Clausen and Count Montgelas as Hon. Circulation Manager and Joint Editor respectively.

### AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION

In order to make the position of the Group clearer, the Committee proposed the incorporation in its Constitution of certain points of that of the International Christian-Democratic Union, promoted by the Group during the war. Points iii, v, vi, the concluding sentence of point vii, and point ix, of the Constitution printed in column 4, were accordingly put to the meeting and carried.

**Orders for PEOPLE & FREEDOM should be sent to the Circulation Manager, 32, Chepstow Villas, London, W.11. Annual Subscription 4/- post free. (For U.S.A. 90 cents.)**

Motto: *Fiat justitia!*

Membership is open to those who agree on the following issues:

- (i) The primacy of morality in political life and in economic and social relations.
- (ii) This morality to be that founded on the Christian tradition and on respect for human personality and its right.
- (iii) Respect for and encouragement of natural groups and associations as organic expressions of human personality — family, township, trade-union, etc.
- (iv) The necessity for civil and political liberty, with a just balance between liberty and authority, as well as between the individual and society, in every type of modern State.
- (v) The conviction that "democracy is the logical term of political progress" (Ozanam) and that a democratic regime founded on free parliamentary government with universal suffrage for both sexes and the formation of political elites from every class, is that which provides the surest defence of human rights.
- (vi) The right of all nations, whether great or small, to life and liberty, and the right of minorities, national, ethnic, linguistic or religious, to free development in accordance with their own genius and traditions.
- (vii) The necessity for permanent union and co-operation between States on a basis of morality, with the progressive formation of international law, and for the strengthening or creation of institutions designed to promote such co-operation.
- (viii) The conviction that war should be no longer recognised as a legitimate means of settling international disputes, and must be replaced by a system of voluntary or compulsory arbitration or by the decisions of an international court of justice, as the case may be.
- (ix) The interdependence of all peoples, with the consequent need for the progressive removal of barriers to the free interchange of goods and labour, so that all may enjoy the fruits of the earth.

Members may be active members or corresponding members. The annual subscription of 10/- includes the monthly newspaper.

For particulars apply to the Hon. Secretary, 32, Chepstow Villas, London, W. 11.

### THE AUSTRIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY

(Continued from page 3)

the moderation shown in the attitude towards other political parties, the absence of any provocative or factious spirit. It would be well indeed if all parties showed such moderation where other political ideologies are concerned.

In this party there are, it is true, elements which we should call conservative, among them men who cling to the old idea of a confessional Catholic party, but they are a small minority. The vast majority is unequivocally progressive and opposed to confessional ties, while the ideas behind the Party's programme are far more similar to those of the British Labour Party than to British Conservatism.

It should be stressed that one of the main points established was a recognition of the importance of international collaboration on the basis of Christian Democracy.

J. O. VON LAEMMEL.