I have read with interest the communication dated the 26th instant, addressed to you by H.E.M. Julio Alvarez del Vayo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain, concerning a passage in my speech in which I referred to M. de Madariaga.*

Although it is true that M. de Madariaga sent the letter quoted by the representative of Spain to "The Times", and that M. de Madariaga stated that he had not been obliged to take refuge abroad, I have been informed of the reasons which compelled him to leave his country.

Briefly, the information I have received is as follows. A few days before July 18th, M. de Madariaga published in the newspaper "Ahora" an article surveying the points of resemblance and of difference between Fascism and Communism; whereupon another newspaper, "Claridad", which was in very close touch with certain members of the Spanish Government and was at that time edited by M. Araquistain, published a series of articles, beginning on July 22nd, in which M. de Madariaga was accused of being a Fascist and the people were recommended to proceed against him as he deserved. M. de Madariaga asked for Government protection, but the Government merely recommended him to go abroad and gave him the necessary safe-conduct from the Revolutionary Workers' Associations, without which his diplomatic passport was valueless.

Furthermore, it appears from M. de Madariaga's letter that his statements refer to the Madrid Government, whereas my remarks were confined to groups and authorities over which the Government has no control, as is made very clear by the text of my speech.

Apart, however, from M. de Madariaga's case, which I quoted merely to illustrate the situation existing in Madrid and certain other parts of Spain, there are other equally striking cases. The day I left Geneva, I received a letter from Dr. Gregorio Marañón, who is well known as one of the most distinguished men in Spain and has been a republican and a democrat all his life. I enclose an extract from Dr. Marañón's letter and a French translation of the paragraphs dealing with the question of the refugees.

in the Embassies and Legations at Madrid; for it affords
the most conclusive evidence of the truth of all the
statements that I had the honour to make to the Council at
its meeting on January 25th.

I would ask you to be good enough to circulate
my communication and the annex thereto to the Members of
the Council. The letter from H.E. M. Julio Alvarez del Vayo,
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain, was circulated on
the very evening on which the Ninety-sixth Session of the
Council ended, but it is only to-day that I have seen that
letter and can send you my reply.

I have the honour etc.

(Signed) AGUSTÍN EDWARDS.
"Mi distinguido amigo; Le hablo al margen de toda posición política. Pero por mi condición de médico he entrado constantemente en casi todas las Embajadas de Madrid para ver a los asilados enfermos y puedo hablar del asunto con un perfecto conocimiento de causa. Hace solo un mes que he salido de Madrid. Además, esto mismo que le digo a Usted se lo he dicho personalmente a algún ministro del Gobierno del Frente Popular, antes de su marcha a Valencia.

Es absolutamente exacto que, en contra de lo que, sin duda de buena fe, cree el Gobierno, el número de asilados que pueden considerarse como gentes de derecha, es escasísimo. La mayoría son personas aterradas por el espectáculo diario de las persecuciones que alcanzan a los medios de los liberales de siempre, incluso republicanos. Disimular esto es faltar a la verdad, y a una verdad que constituye el hecho capital de la revolución española. Yo no puedo darle a usted los nombres de las personas de izquierda o absolutamente neutras que han tenido que esconderse por el justificado temor de perder la vida; ya por haber sido directamente perseguidos, ya por haber visto de cerca la persecución de susyos, pero sé que basta que yo se lo diga para que usted me crea. Es muy posible que yo no vuelva a España nunca, precisamente porque acaso me sería difícil vivir, aunque quisiera, sin abdicar cada día del derecho a decir la verdad. Ponde esté la diré mientras viva. Y ahora digo que salvo un pequeño número, los asilados en las Embajadas extranjeras, están dentro del más elemental derecho de asilo; y claro es que para mí, ese otro pequeño número, también; porque solo una mentalidad inhumana puede considerar como condenables a muerte a los que pliegan de un modo distinto al nuestro. Como esta tolerancia era el ideal fundamental de muchos de nosotros, ahora nos duele con dolor de tragedia, el ver que el negarlo se considera como una cosa natural. Por eso están asilados o voluntariamente desterrados, los casi totalidad de los hombres de izquierda española, cuyo izquierdismo no iban hasta cruzarse de brazos hasta el crimen.

No conozco exactamente el caso de Madariaga, pero tiene usted donde escoger entre las docenas y docenas de profesores de la Universidad españoles-casi el 80 por ciento- en su mayoría liberales, republicanos que viven ahora en Francia y en otros países; y, al as, a los ex ministros republicanos; todavía más: a los propios ex ministros del Frente Popular que con distintos pretextos están ausentes de la República democrática y parlamentaria, a la que no quieren volver. De varios de esos refugiados y ausentes, es absolutamente cierto que han tenido que buscar el auxilio extranjero por denuncias aparecidas en los periódicos oficiales.

Piense Usted que no le habla un renegado de sus ideas de siempre; sino bien, por ser ahora como siempre, fiel a ellas no puede convertirlas en tapaderas de la violencia, de la arbitrariedad y del fanaticismo; de todo aquello que he combatido siempre y que combatiré mientras viva.

Lo que haga usted para ayudar a los asilados de Madrid, será una obra digna de la que están haciendo los benéficos representantes de los países extranjeros; casi todos ellos, por lo menos, y muy especialmente los de las Repúblicas Americanas, a las que ahora han aprendido los españoles aprar; porque no han olvidado que el respeto a la vida humana es tan sagrado, que junto a él todo eso de las ideas apenas serviría, como dijo nuestro Galdós (que hoy también estaría escondido), "para abonar los campos".

Muy suyo amigo, (firmado) GREGORIO MARAÑÓN.

"In speaking to you I am uninfluenced by any political considerations. As a doctor, however, I have been continually visiting nearly all the Embassies in Madrid to see the sick refugees, and I know precisely what I am talking about. I left Madrid only a month ago. Moreover, what I am saying to you I said personally to one of the Ministers of the Popular Front Government before it left for Valencia.

"It is absolutely true - although the Government, doubtless in all good faith, believes otherwise - that very few of the refugees can be regarded as belonging to the Right. The majority of them are persons appalled by the daily spectacle of persecutions extending to lifelong liberal and even republican circles. To conceal this would be a crime against the truth, and against a truth that constitutes the essential fact in the Spanish revolution. I cannot give you the names of the persons of the Left, and absolute neutrals, who have had to go into hiding in the reasonable fear of losing their lives, either because they have been personally persecuted or because they have witnessed at first hand the persecution of their relatives; but I know that I have only to tell you the facts and you will believe me. It is quite possible that I may never return to Spain, precisely because I might find it difficult to live there, even if I wished, without daily surrendering the right to tell the truth. Wherever I may be, I shall tell it as long as I live. I tell you now that, except for a small number, the refugees in the foreign Embassies are there under the most elementary right of asylum; and in my view those few others are likewise entitled to it, because only an inhuman mentality can hold that those who think differently from ourselves deserve to be condemned to death. Since this tolerance was the fundamental ideal of many of us, we feel it as a tragedy that the denial of that ideal is now regarded as natural. For that reason, nearly all those Spaniards of the Left, whose left-wing views did not stretch to witnessing crime with folded arms, are now refugees or voluntary exiles.

"I do not know the exact facts of the Madariaga case, but you have plenty of choice among the dozens and dozens of professors of the Spanish Universities - nearly eighty per cent - most of them liberals and republicans, who are now living in France or elsewhere abroad, and even more among the republican ex-Ministers and the ex-Ministers of the Popular Front itself, who, on various pretexts, are absent from the democratic and parliamentary Republic, and do not wish to return. It is absolutely certain that many of those refugees and absentees have had to seek foreign aid on account of denunciations in the official newspapers.

"Remember that I am not speaking as one who has abandoned his lifelong ideas, but, being faithful to them now as ever, I cannot convert them to the service of violence."
arbitrary rule, and fanaticism - of all that I have always fought and shall fight to my dying day.

"Whatever you can do to help the refugees in Madrid will be a work worthy of what the representatives of foreign countries are doing - nearly all of them, at any rate, and more especially those of the American republics, which Spaniards have now learnt to love, because they have not forgotten that the respect for human life is so sacred that without it all our ideas would serve only, as our friend Galdós (who also would be in hiding to-day) put it, "To manure the fields".