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SPAIN

World Ideas in Turmoil

by

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UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

Revised, January 1938

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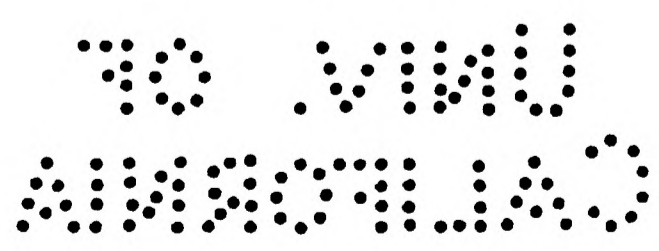
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SPAIN

World Ideas in Turmoil

The mind of man is the world's battleground today never before. Old ideas are struggling either for modification or enlargement, or for mere survival. New ideas are striving for birth, to find room to grow, and to win recognition and respect. At a thousand points the new and the old are contending for supremacy or reconciliation.

This conflict of ideas and ideals in the mind and heart of man, aspiring man has reached a crisis from which all human beings suffer not only discomfiture but tragic pain. The turmoil has extended to disruption without.

At the moment the general disturbance has reached an extraordinarily violent and destructive manifestation in both East and West. China and Spain are going through the fires of the Tribulation of the "latter days," and while both nations are subjected to unspeakable suffering, the case of Spain is undoubtedly the more tragic of the two. Its complication of ills is the more acute, and because of the occidental's greater sensitivity to pain, the sufferings are the more acute.

Only the Russian Revolution of 1917 is comparable in its violence, bitterness, and destructiveness to the social upheaval which Spain is now passing. It is brother against brother, community, and household. Violence is not confined to the battlefield alone but strikes civilians everywhere, women and children. The ruthless bombing of non-strategic Guernica, the sacrifice of the Basques, was a shocking instance of scientifically equipped machinery contemptuously overriding every moral barrier that

man through the centuries has striven to erect against the atrocities of "man's inhumanity to man."

In the first year of the war it is estimated that 500,000 lost their lives, an enormous toll in a nation whose population is more than a score millions. And the number mounts from day to day; the second year having already witnessed more extensive military operations and engagements with more men in action than the first year. The struggle is, moreover, compounded by differences within party ranks. This is especially true on the Communist side, where workers have fought workers in cruel and bitter strife both before and after the outbreak of the present struggle. Among the Anarchists the dictum is to kill for peace and therefore, kill without hate. In accordance with their philosophy such violent action may be justified by lesser provocations such as the Franco revolt.

Added to the evil home brew are the foreign ingredients which continue to embitter the situation and prolong the war. The peace in sight is the peace of exhaustion. So devastating are the forces of past causation.

The Basic Nature of Conflicting Forces

The civil war in Spain is a conflict between rival political philosophies and economic theories; it is a struggle between realism and statecraft; it is a contest between the forces of spirit and materiality. More than that, the Spanish upheaval is, essentially, a struggle between two basic modes of thought and temperament which may be identified by the contrasting, though complementary, qualities of mind and heart, reason and intuition, logic and imagination. These are represented institutionally in the Church and State, and within the narrower limits of modern Christianity they take the form of Catholicism and Protestantism respectively.

The conflict between these two attitudes, qualities, and institutions has been going on in human society ever since time immemorial, but perhaps never before with such intensity as today. The equilibration of inner forces becomes a problem no less urgent than does the balancing of financial budgets. The issues are more clearly defined than they have been in the past, and the rival

being championed at present with a vigor and a determination runs to both fanaticism and violence as is the case in war today.

The two conflicting types represent powers and factors in their essential nature complete and balance one another and are necessary to a fully rounded development of man. It is only on the lower levels of consciousness that they are in opposition to one another. Their development is seldom found in a state of equilibrium. Usually one or the other is dominant. Annually and collectively, we swing from an emphasis on the one to an emphasis on the other, and this we will continue to do until we shall have been brought into perfect balance.

Church and State

In Spain the Church has been the dominant power for the past. It has been the most Catholic of all countries. It embodied the noble vision which found political expression in the Roman Empire. The spiritual was held to be superior to the temporal and the Pope, as the Vicar of Christ, was looked upon as the highest authority on earth not only in spiritual matters but in temporal matters. It was the dream of holy men to bring the political world under the jurisdiction of a spiritual hierarchy. But the weakness of its leaders frustrated the realization of this worthy objective. As a result, both Church and State fell upon evil days. They declined spiritually, and instead of uplifting the secular world, it was dragged down by them.

The Church and the State became more closely allied in Spain than in any other country. Together they held the reins of power and their institutions in their firm grip until dislodged by the present-day forces of world upheaval, whose business it is to destroy, to readjust, to build up. Subjected to the merciless onslaught of these forces the Church is compelled to make modifications in its approach to human needs and in the methods by which it meets them. Its former authoritative position is everywhere being challenged, and its last national strongholds are forsaking it. Mexico disestablished it; and so many centuries of unquestioned obedience and loyalty, disappearing with the moving Spain.

✓ The political authority of the Church in Spain could diminish substantially about a hundred years ago and to have reached the vanishing point when the Monarchy became the Republic in 1931. It is the powers of the State, and not those of the Church that rule Republican Spain. Although it has the Church been robbed of its political influence but its property has been confiscated, its leaders persecuted and the thousands, and its influence in the life of the average citizen greatly diminished.

It should be stated at this point that the transforming force once animated the Church had largely departed long since. It is no longer the living, formative power that it was in earlier times. In its organization it was undone by its own inherent weaknesses. The external forces that destroyed it were merely the agencies that were taken away much that no longer fulfilled the functions for which it came into being. Before the new regime came into power, the Church complained that ninety per cent of its people were pagans who failed to attend Mass. The ecclesiastical forms lingered, but the spiritual modicum of the life that originally flowed through them had departed.

✓ Such a change as that which has overtaken the Church represents both loss and gain. When simple faith is shattered on the way to agnosticism and atheism, the spirit suffers. Materialism and science are in the ascendancy; but when faith is abandoned and the power of reason is exercised the more. Man is thrown back into reliance on his own resources. He develops a greater measure of strength and courage. These are assets. Mind rises in power and balances the preponderantly developed qualities of heart.

Religion runs to theology, and theology to dogmas, and dogmas to superstition, bigotry, and intolerance. When this course continues to a point where little true religion remains, the mind at length to its unintelligent position, throws off beliefs and practices that it can no longer reasonably justify and support, and is creating for itself a more rational mode of life. In this transition is made from the attitude dominated by heart to that dictated by mind.

the tendency is to discard all religion and to turn to positive militant atheism as is the situation in Soviet Russia. This is now happening in Spain. Yet serious as is the loss of the overthrow of false and inadequate religious concepts, a necessary step to progress, even if that involve the passage to atheism.

✓ The tendency of the Church has been to look upon the scientific, inquiring approach to truth as one likely to end in denial, and, therefore, dangerous, and to be deplored. This attitude the sincere seeker protests. This is Protestantism appeals primarily to faith; Catholicism to reason. Catholicism is warm and devotional; the other is cold and sceptical. Catholicism basks in beauty; Protestantism, in its severest expressions, bans it. Catholicism is the more attractive of the two; Protestantism, the more practical. Now and again the protesting spirit and assumes ascendancy. It has done so in Spain. Protestantism spells progress. It will mean education where there is none today; it will mean a spirit of independence where there has been blind allegiance in the past; it will mean the exercise of self-direction instead of helpless subservience to authority. Man must find the Christ within himself if he is to part in the New Dispensation now opening, and Spain's rejection of the old forms both in Church and State marks a liberation of spirit from its long bondage to outer shadows and a courageous quest after the realities within.

What we see in Spain's religious, political, and class struggle is one of its aspects, a manifestation of alchemical processes in the body of humanity which are in the nature of an evolution. It is a further blending of the cosmic principles which we know usually as the elements of fire and water, and functionally as reason and intuition. Progressively, humanity experiences these blendings until at length the two become one, the pull of forces between which we now battle shall have passed, and a new world which comes through their unification shall have been achieved.

Paradoxes and Inconsistencies

With reference to the statement previously made that the Civil War in Spain brought the forces of spirit and of matter into a new meaning, of course, is not that the individuals and the classes on one side are predominantly spiritually minded, whereas the individuals and the classes on the other are avowedly materially disposed. In terms of their motives, are not the insurgents fighting for church and religion? And the Loyalists fighting for a social order of greater justice? If this is considered, do not the privileged classes that support Franco violate the commandment that we love our neighbor as we do ourselves? Do the resisting reforms aimed at securing greater justice for the masses violate the commandment that we love the privileged? And do not substantial sections of the population that support the Government repudiate the commandment that we love the Lord our God with all our heart by denying Him either in word or deed? In short, one side adores God and forgets man; the other side forgets God and lays down its life for man. Each practices but half of the Dispensation's dual commandment that we love and serve God and man.

It is quite obvious that it is not possible to identify the Loyalists in Spain as sheep on the one side and goats on the other. In another figure, the tares and the wheat grow together in the same field. Looking objectively at the human side of the picture, we find the Moors fighting the cause of European Christians. Nazi Germany has shown no friendship for Catholicism, are assisting the Loyalists to restore it to power. Atheistic Anarchists are battling for power against the New World Order in which the Christ ideal is destined to be an ascendency. The Insurgents are the Nationalists, yet the Loyalists are the nationalistic sentiment in Spain is undoubtedly to be found among the Loyalist Basques and Catalonians. Again, the Church of Spain under Franco, yet the Basques whom he opposes, are the staunchest Catholics. Internationally, the Governments of Italy and the United States have permitted the nationalist parties that maintain them in power to conspire the overthrow of the Government of Spain with whom they were in friendly relations. France and England, favoring the Loyalists, urged and fairly observed non-intervention whereby they strengthened the Rebels whom they opposed. The contradictions and inconsistencies run through it all, and to unravel the truth of the state appears at first sight to be a hopeless task. Yet it may

The Superconscious Allegiance

Upon examination we may discover that a certain type of force and cosmic urge characterizes each of the battling sides, even though they both embrace within their ranks all kinds of apparently contradictory personalities and convictions. The destinies of the people, but to the outermost vesture of life, whereas the alignments of today's warfare are determined by the deeper and more profound allegiance of the ego, the unfolding spirit within. Of its position in the conflict, the average personal consciousness has little notion whatever. It is known for what it really is only by a minority of the more spiritually awakened souls.

The immediate objectives for which the average Spaniard fights are usually only the minor issues grasped by the limited consciousness and conditioned by momentary interests, real or imaginary circumstances, and as such are often secondary or even unimportant to that which his better knowing ego gives battle. It is this apparent justification for lampooning men in arms—"soldiers," fighting blindly, vainly for they know not what they do.

But in spite of externalities, and regardless of who may grasp, the soul, in obedience to a law of spiritual gravitation, will gravitate to its own. In the last analysis it is this law that unites the many widely divergent personalities in a common cause as is the case among both the Loyalists and the Insurgents in Spain today. We are in the days of Armageddon when the fiercest fought are not so much between men of flesh and blood but between the powers and principalities of mind and spirit.

It is only as we grasp the underlying principles of the conflict in Spain that it is possible to take sides without holding our hands over our eyes. We can then understand and sympathize with those who have chosen differently than ourselves. We can disassociate ourselves from personal animosities, and we can recognize freely and fully that persons on one side are not necessarily more honest, sincere, noble, aspiring, and true than those of the other side. Furthermore, that when the "tumult and the shouting die away" it will become clearer that it was the divine spark in all that is true and upward, however mixed the motives, and however intermingled with truth and error. In the final analysis the virtues of one side are necessary to the virtues of the other before the ideals vision can be realized.

can be realized in all their beauty and majesty. The countries now operating more or less blindly through undeveloped, are equally the emanations of the one central power. A way of thinking differs from our way of thinking may seem evil and the work of the devil, but when God once called His sons into council in the council recorded in the Prologue to Job, Satan came also, for he was in their number.

Read in the light of this understanding, the past century, as issued by the Spanish Catholic hierarchy, in which it charged the cause of the Insurgents, and the reply to that letter by one hundred and fifty prominent Protestant clergy and laymen, in which the cause of the Loyalists is staunchly upheld, together with the many interesting controversial letters issued by both Catholics and Protestants, need neither seriously disturb nor confuse the earnest seeker after truth. From a perusal of the names appended to the letters on both sides, it is patent that ability and honor and idealism befitting signatories of the one side as they do to the other. Both sides are leaders of our highest culture; in both are to be found loyalists and servers of man. This realized, while each must choose his own cause of justice and truth as he sees it in its application to the events and circumstances, there remains no room for ill-will between those whose approach and convictions do not conform with our own. Goodwill alone will in the end resolve the various innumerable differences, and the misunderstandings and misapprehensions they give rise to in our present undeveloped condition.

Political Upheaval and Civil War

Spain is a backward nation. 'It has been going its slow, sleepy way for so many centuries that it is unprepared for the great changes which it must make if it is to survive as a nation in the new world that is emerging. In the preface to his volume entitled "The History of Spain" the author, Clarton Cooper, recounts a story about a visit to earth of the god Jupiter. The Roman god descended down from heaven to look about and note the progress of the new civilization. A terrestrial guide who attended him pointed out the various kingdoms of this lower world. "That, Sire, is France, and that is England," said the guide, whereupon Jupiter expressed his satisfaction and approval at the progress made. "And please your majesty

Spain" continued the guide. "You need not have told a celestial visitor. "I knew it at once. It remains exactly as I created it."

But even static Spain has finally been caught up in the stream of change. The liberalizing forces that are ever changing the outlook of people and reconstructing their institutions commenced to filter into conservative Spain rather perceptibly in the latter part of the last century and were greatly accelerated by the upheavals commencing with the World War. While still under the Monarchy, a political crisis led to a military dictatorship which presaged the more revolutionary changes that were to occur. It occurred in 1923, and General Primo de Rivera was the ruler of the country. When his regime came to an end in 1930, the monarchy fell, the rule of the Bourbons ended, and King Alfonso XIII went into exile.

Spain then became a republic with Niceto Alcalá Zamora the first President and Manuel Azaña the Premier. A liberal and progressive Constitution was adopted.

The foundation was laid for social and economic transformation. Sweeping reforms were called for. These included the abolition of the large, landed estates; their division among actual tillers of the soil; and the expropriation of properties held by the Church. The Church possessed no less than sixty per cent of the large estates in the country. It had long since become a principal holder of national wealth. The Cortez observed in 1616 that "not one day passed without laymen being deprived of their property for the benefit of the clergy."

Naturally both the Church and the private land owners stubbornly opposed the new decree. Neither established institutions nor individuals are, for the most part, capable of the detachment necessary to pass dispassionately on the virtue of measures in the common good irrespective of their immediate effect on themselves. Human consciousness is still centered primarily in the little self rather than in the human whole, and so long as this is the case, conflicts between the parts are inevitable.

Premier Azaña, being a moderate, sought to put the reforms into effect gradually, thus hoping to lessen con-

keep down the growing class enmities resulting from the curbing of the century-old privileges enjoyed by a few individuals and a strongly entrenched religious institution.

This policy displeased the more radical elements. In their impatience for rapid and uncompromising action they turned against their newly elected leader. Reasonableness and moderation had been a part of their training. They came into self-government without the first essential to its successful maintenance, national control.

As a first consequence of this, Azaña and his political party were defeated in 1933. The reactionaries, under the leadership of Primo de Ribes, came into power, the change of government being due to the vote of the Catholic Right. This was a defeat for the republicans who soon discovered that by forsaking their leader they had entered a situation that left them less than they had before, and that, moreover, threatened to defeat completely their new political cause. The disappointment spurred them on to redouble their efforts. The new coalition forces were less moderate than those that had come into power with the birth of the Republic. It was in February 1935 that the liberals won their way back into power under a coalition known as the Coalition or Popular Front Government. Again Azaña became Premier, and shortly after, President.

Meanwhile, the rivalries had grown more and more bitter. The defeated reactionaries were bent on return to power, if not by the constituted democratic means of the ballot box, then by force, leading to a "plebiscite of arms." The revolution, launched on July 18, 1936, was the result.

As this revolt progressed and plunged the nation into chaos, the Socialistic government which had not hitherto had the approval of the more radical Communists and Anarchists, sought their support against the attack of the Monarchist-Clericalist insurgents. They received it, but at a price. The moderate policies were obliged to yield to the more radical. The Popular Front Premier, Jose Giral Periera, resigned. In his stead, Largo Caballero, extreme Socialist, Labor leader, and the Lenin of Spain, took political control and two communists joined the Cabinet. This was the first time that Communists held such power in any State in western Europe.

Two months after Caballero assumed power a second government was formed under his leadership at which time concessions were made to Leftist pressure by admitting for Syndicalists.

Premier Caballero, having been unable to gain the support of all the elements opposed to Generalissimo Franco, was ousted in May, 1937 by Dr. Juan Negrin, a Moderate Socialist, thus securing again a victory for the moderates. The Anarchists, who had been a source of serious trouble within the Loyalist ranks were ousted. The power of the C. N. T., the chief Anarchist trade union organization, was substantially diminished. They were disarmed. The People's Government of Catalonia within which Province they reside.

Two important gains resulted from the change in leadership from Caballero to Negrin. A more stable element created a sense of unity and secured greater efficiency in the prosecution of the war. Also it gave assurances to the democracies of the world that Loyalist Spain was democratic rather than communist.

The National Defense portfolio went to Indalecio Prieto, a Moderate Socialist, and generally granted to be the soundest and most stable leader in Spain today. The Government could not have been justly charged with being either irresponsible or under the influence of extreme radicalism to whom would go the spoils of the war if event they prove victorious.

When the Republic replaced the Monarchy, one of the first actions of the newly elected president was to establish a list of the military forces. He found that only three per cent of the minor officers were true to the ideals of the new regime. It was but a small percentage in the navy. In the air force ninety per cent were loyal to the new regime. An interesting fact. The military forces of land and sea belong to the past than to the future. Aviation belongs to the new regime. The new element calls to the mental; it appeals to the courageous, daring, exploring, youthful spirit. Its direction is upward, to the aspiration of the race to live in greater freedom and in more ample mediums.

The personnel of officers in the aviation branch was almost completely intact, whereas that of the army and navy was almost completely dismissed. This meant a disgruntled element of

as to constitute a dangerous threat to the new government, he speedily plotted a return to power, aided and abetted by the nobility, and the wealthy.

The revolt against the Government was led by General Franco, Spain's greatest soldier and ablest general, who won fame in the Spanish campaigns in Morocco and had a loyal following. About seventy-five per cent of the military in the country were with him.

This gave the Rebels an initial advantage in the conflict. Their gain was, furthermore, strengthened by the moral and political support of alien confederates, for it is now an established fact that intervention occurred before hostilities had actually commenced. Foreign aid has likewise gone to the Loyalists, but apparently tardily and in lesser measure.

This being true, it is evident that the Loyalists are imbued with deep convictions and with a determined spirit, for shortly after the hastily assembled army made up largely of raw recruits could have offered so stubborn a resistance to their superior and better trained opponents. While they have lost ground to the Rebels from the start until the smaller part, geographically, remains under their control, they still rule the majority of the nation's territory. The Rebels also hold trade advantages, controlling most of the important ports north and south, and are in possession of the greatest natural resources necessary for the prosecution of a long war.

The counterbalancing advantages of the Loyalists are of a more tangible nature. They belong to the consciousness of the masses. That consciousness resides in the independent spirit of the Catalonians. It is the spirit of industrial workers that have suffered from economical degradation for so long that they have firmly determined to break the chains that bind them or die in the attempt. It is the spirit of the awakened, submerged masses that raise their fist and demand a greater measure of social justice.

The Rebels also had from the outset the strong leadership of General Gil Robles, head of the Popular Agrarian Action, a Roman Catholic Party. When the Revolution broke out he fled to Portugal because of neutrality considerations he was not permitted to remain in that country. He then took refuge in Portugal where

pathies of the Government, being with the Rebels, to render assistance to the forces of Franco. The industrialists and financiers of Spain has also been in the disposal of Franco.

The insurgent forces comprise, in brief, the old nobility, both factions of the Monarchist party, and the wealthy privileged classes. On the side of the Republicans, Moderates and Radicals (200,000); right and left wings; the Communists (50,000); the Anarchists (600,000). There are more Anarchists than in any country in the world.

Foreign Intervention

But Spain is not only suffering from a civil war making; it is also the victim of a "foreign invasion." Italy, having 40,000 Blackshirts supporting Franco. This nation reported taking part in the capture of Santander, a feat held out Italy as an Italian victory. The entire nation celebrated the event with an enthusiasm as great as though it were a war that Italy was fighting as a nation. Her prestige is bound up with Franco's success and she has announced in unequivocal terms that the Insurgents must not and

Germany, which is credited with 10,000 men in Spain, is equally determined that Franco shall win. The German Government was no less jubilant than Italy's over Santander's fall. It declared this an event of "the greatest importance for National (German) morale and prestige" and also "an event of great international importance." Germany and Italy both recognize the Insurgents as Dictator-Designate Franco. Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, both governments, moreover, recognized Franco's Government as the only government, and announced that only his government would be recognized in Spain.

Japan, whose nationalistic ambitions and aggressive policies are parallel those of Italy and Germany, has likewise extended its support to Fascist-supported Insurgent Spain. With such a set by countries to whom they are sympathetically inclined, it is not surprising that Austria and Hungary have also fallen in

line by establishing diplomatic relations with the Rebels. The Vatican, too, sees it as the only Spain with which it has not broken relations. It has just announced that it is having sent instructions to Valencia that Catholic services cease in that city and the territory under its jurisdiction until they are conducted in the traditional ritual by a duly authorized priest. A Vatican message informed Spanish prelates that "the Catholic religion in Spain today is honored and defended only by the government of General Francisco Franco." The Valencia government had closed all churches but in an effort to demonstrate religious tolerance it later issued an order permitting the resumption of religious services if held in private buildings.

On the side of the Insurgents are also the Colonial Armies. It was in Spanish Morocco that General Franco developed his strategy of revolt. It soon fell completely under his control and his "shadow-liveried" mercenaries crossed the Straits with him to begin his campaign on the Spanish mainland. This Moorish army was completely wiped out together with first and second replacements. Three hundred per cent casualties they call it.

On the side of the Loyalists, the major foreign assistance comes from Russia. A pro-Franco French estimate placed the number of Russians with the Government forces at 1000, with five or six times that number behind the lines. There can be little evidence to substantiate these figures. In lesser numbers, soldiers of fortune from France, England, and the United States have enlisted with the Loyalists even in the face of threats from their homelands that such action might cost them their citizenship.

While the Non-Intervention Committee has not succeeded in keeping men and materials from flowing into Spain in aid of either side, it has been instrumental in preventing massed armies from marching to the conflict and to confine the battleground to Spanish soil. Whether or not it will be able to restrain the warring interests of several nations whose rival interests in the Spanish conflict the most immediately involved is a question which only future events can answer.

It is a fact that Europe is conditioned for war; rather than for peace. More and more it is taking for granted a general state of war ultimately inevitable, and rearming and realigning accordingly. The prime mover boasts of achievements secured not by "compromise"

tables of diplomacy" but by a glorious conquest of arms. The "surdrity of perpetual peace" is declared as nowise in the temperament." In Germany every able-bodied man carries a revolver in his pocket ready for execution at a moment's notice. He warns his people that they may be on the march any day. In Britain is providing its entire population with gas masks. In France unprecedented peace time resources in men and money are being poured into the disposal of the god of war. Increased armaments is the trend of the world over. Fear, distrust, and suspicion are general. Nations of European nations are like frightened, hunted animals, seeking in vain for sheltered security. They prowl and crouch, and when crowded too far spring at their pursuer like an angry bull. This is the darker side of the picture and were it not for this there is also a brighter side, humanity would have gone to the despair of civilization and the fruits it has brought forth.

The brighter side of the picture shows a powerful and growing will to peace. The fact that the international rivalries between Germany with the Spanish conflict have not long since precipitated a European war in view of the serious provocations that have been heaped one another ever since the beginning of the war in Spain is a demonstration of the growing aversion to war and the determination of governments and peoples that differences shall be settled and must be settled by resort to reason instead of to arms.

Perhaps no circumstance in the modern world has demonstrated this truth as has the situation arising out of the Spanish Crisis after crisis has arisen in European chancelleries during the last few months, the like of any one of which would have plunged the world into war any time prior to 1914, the year that sealed the folded scroll of an Age that had come to a close.

The Non-Intervention Committee has been severely scorned for its failure to keep foreign soldiers and supplies from entering Spain. Yet after deducting from its accomplishments such there have been—its weaknesses and failures, still grant more to its credit than many a momentary triumph. The very fact that such a Committee came into being and that it continued to function despite discouraging internal dissension, and the ridicule leveled at it by a world clamoring for better results, and that it has all the while been pro-

tainly of partial success, is sufficient cause to rejoice and
It affords reasonable grounds for clinging to the hope t
tinued, determined effort the peace loving forces in the
yet be strong enough to collectively hold in check and
international elements of disruption and war.

Water rises no higher than its source. The tw
nations associated for the purpose of enforcing non-i
are not sufficiently free of self interest to produce perfe
results. But collectively they have repeatedly smother
passions and appealed to reasonable judgments. It
Committee has been dilatory and indecisive when positive
wanted and expected. Its mildness, however, has not alw
arily meant weakness. Its soft answers have undoubt
away more than one wrath.

Power Politics

Why have some of the European powers intervene
and why have others resisted it so vigorously? What a
flicting interests at stake?

Italy, whose intervention on behalf of the Rebels h
greater than that of any other country, could greatly e
imperialistic position by gaining an ally in Spain and
territorial foothold in Spanish Morocco or on the Balearic
reward perhaps not too great to expect should she be su
aiding the Insurgents to permanent power. The major
in such a gain would be to displace Great Britain as the
Power in the Mediterranean. When piracy broke out in th
Lake" even the Powers that suffered attack pleaded an
discover the guilty party or parties. They preferred not
not just now.

If Italy gained control, or even access to territory o
Straits of Gibraltar, Great Britain's present control of this
point in her line of Empire would not only be endan
virtually lost. Italy's ambitions in the Middle Sea are s
led to negotiations with Spain several years ago with the
it secured important concessions on the island of Majorc
Great Britain on learning of it served notice to both cou

it could not look with friendly eyes on any such stipulations upon they were withdrawn.

Germany, like Italy, seeks expansion. She seeks with which to bargain when demanding the return of her interests are considered as best served by working with the nations of like ideology, namely Italy and Japan. However, bitter against Communism, and while the Loyalists are liberal and not Communist, and their government democratic rather than authoritarian, yet, since they include in their number the majority of the Spanish workers, a victory for them means a victory for radical labor everywhere. It is because of this fact that the Soviet Union is solidly behind the loyalists. There are Communist elements in the Government of sufficient strength to give them support in the interest of the world proletarian revolution which she is working. Nor can the Soviets be reconciled to the establishment of another Fascist power in league with Germany, her foe to the west, and Japan, her enemy to the east.

There appears to be little likelihood that Spain will become another State patterned after the Soviets. Its present government moderates. They are attempting to steer clear of extremes, both with their people to avoid Fascist dictatorship on the one hand, and class rule on the other. In any event, the latter does not seem possible because Spain does not have any masses in the sense of the term.

Portugal, being quasi-fascist, is as close in her sympathies with Insurgent Spain as she is territorially by her geographical juxtaposition.

France's support naturally goes to democracy. Her Front Government, leftist in tendency, sympathizes with the constituted government in Spain. Nor can she see her North African colonial position endangered by the entrance of foreign troops into Spanish areas. Already fearful of Nazi Germany on her northern border, she does not contemplate with serenity a related development to the south.

France has not forgotten the situation in the sixteenth century when the Spanish Empire embraced these same countries. The Netherlands on the west, the combined territories of the East Indies so completely as to bring her into a position of partial

From that time on it has been the policy of France to keep several countries apart, and the situation today would be such purposes as has none other perhaps since the days of when Spain was at the height of her power.

Great Britain's historic policy is also to favor a powerful Spain. Being neither Communist nor Fascist but both, she resists the attempted establishment of either type of government in Spain. A victory for either of these two political systems constitutes a threat to Britain's power and prestige. Great Britain together with France, therefore, have above all championed the cause of non-intervention. Britain has declared that the integrity of Spanish territory, not excepting Morocco, and the Balearic and Canary Islands, shall be scrupulously maintained as provided by the 1914 treaties. They insist that Spain shall remain for the Spaniards and for the Spaniards only.

Popular sentiment in Great Britain is quite naturally in favor of the Loyalists. In the more exclusive circles it has by no means been unanimous. Among the conservatives there is on the one hand a strong aversion to leftism and on the other the underlying friendliness for an established religion, an aristocracy of wealth, and a titled nobility. As a democratic nation, the government is controlled logically by the legally constituted and democratically elected government of the Loyalists.

Latin America is deeply stirred by the war in Spain. The United States, for that it is, racially and culturally, to eighteen states. Immediately, the Revolution has had the effect of widening the breach between contending groups. Both sides are looking with apprehension the outcome of the European struggle. If the Loyalist side wins, the result will be added hope for further victory on the part of those favoring the successful contender, and a corresponding discouragement of those whose sympathies are with the Revolution. In Democratic methods have succumbed to dictatorships in Guatemala, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, and they are more or less curtailed and seriously threatened in others. The trend in government in the Republics to the south is certainly affected in no small measure by the events now transpiring in Spain.

Alongside the disintegrating forces at work in Spain and in all the world, are corresponding forces of integration.

latter are at work fashioning the forms in which the new will function. Their emergence necessitates in many instances the dissolution of institutions that have served their purpose and must yield to the demand of an ampler life.

Nationalism and Internationalism

Nationalism is such an institution. It is insufficient. When it acts as though it were self-sufficient, it hinders its own progress and hinders the oncoming world order. Nationalism, particularly on continental Europe, has today developed to a point where it is virtually an obsession. It is destroying itself. It is in much the same situation today as it was after the collapse of the Roman Empire. Law and order broke down. For a time, as such scarcely existed. Governments failed and rival powers ruled in turn the several territories. Authority was distributed and re-distributed between cities, provinces, and states, between princes, generals, and lords of estates. It was an anarchy, a condition in which power rested with the strong much as it does today in Spain. The autonomy of Catalonia and the north of the Provinces, for instance, is indicative of the breakdown of central authority before the onslaught of conflicting ambitions and political programs. Both Catalonia and the Basque region have promised complete independence by the Valencia Government.

The chaos following the break-up of the Roman Empire succeeded by the feudal system, which in turn gave way to the modern State. Today that state is shaken, and it is battling against the visibly growing forces of internationalism. The crisis has come when nationalism must find its further development as a part of a larger whole. The disruption of nationalism is a step to such unification. The fevered haste with which European nations are arming themselves today, making "night joint-labor day," can have but one consequence, and that is the ultimate destruction of the very thing the military machine is designed to secure. Security henceforth lies in the common recognition that each is essentially a part of a whole, everything which is inconsistent with the welfare of the whole must give up its place in the order that greater good may be realized.

Retributive Justice

Nations, like individuals, reap as they sow. The time between the sowing and the reaping may be centuries, but time never forgets. It operates infallibly and with invariable justice. The twin law of reincarnation, justice is at the same time done to the individual. While the process in all its infinite ramifications is too complex to be grasped fully by our limited understanding, we nevertheless, lay hold of its guiding principles in their essentials.

The universe constitutes a single whole. Its many parts are consequently interrelated. The whole is maintained in equilibrium and when any part, by virtue of its freedom of action, disturbs that perfect balance, the automatic action of the other parts will sooner or later effect a correction in the disturbance and restore equilibrium. Were this not so, chaos and disorder would rule.

The egos that were in incarnation in Spain when the Inquisition, for instance, were committed are not necessarily in Spain today to reap the savage reactions of the terrible cruelties sown in those days. Some have suffered the consequences in other days, some in Spain and others elsewhere, while yet others will do so, somewhere, sometime in days to come. But unquestionably large numbers who were responsible for the inhumanities of the heresy hunters of medieval fanaticism are today the assembled victims of equally fanatical fanaticism. Their readiness to torture and destroy is as sadistic as was that of the arch inquisitors. When one remembers that Thomas de Torquemada, the Dominican Inquisitor General of Castille and Aragon, was responsible for having burned alive 9,000 fellow human beings—estimates run as high as 114,000—one wonders less at the thousands in the blood-gutted streets of the cities of modern Spain.

The fires that consume today are borrowed from the fires burned yesterday. It is in the crimes of the past that we find the causes for the unspeakable savagery that marks the present in Spain, and before which the civilized world stands ag-

mercy is asked; none given. Hostages are placed in power, and the enemy advance means a ruthless slaying of their vanguard. Innocent women and children are massacred everywhere. He has moved nations to plead with the belligerents to release the thousands of prisoners and non-combatants in accordance with the principles of what we call civilized warfare. Warfare, properly speaking, can not, of course, under any circumstances be truly civil, but it can be less cruel and savage than was that of primitive barbarism.

One shudders when reading the harrowing reports that thousands of priests, monks, and nuns have been slain in the recent wars. The unfortunate victims may be innocents in this life, but they carry over a guilt from lives past. What the gods demand of the representatives of religion, the Church did in the past, and it does to those whom it pronounced heretics. The horrors of the present rebellion are identical with those of the Inquisition. The roles are reversed, is all. It is the law at work; it is judgment being executed. "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord (law), I will repay."

The Church as an institution is reaping a heavy harvest in Spain today. It has itself wielded the sword by which it is being destroyed. Nor does it hesitate to use it today. It has done so when the Insurgents attempted forcible overthrow of the propped-up government in Spain because the latter refused to surrender the power in political affairs that it has long enjoyed. It has done so to resist the rape of Ethiopia. On the contrary, one of the first things it asked divine protection on the departing armies, which were sent for opening a country, Christian though it be, to "Catholicism and Roman civilization."

Forces of disintegration will inevitably gravitate toward any institution, religious or otherwise, that becomes a party to war and destruction. Such forces are laying low both Church and State in Spain today.

Causative Results of New World Crimes

Another major causation of Spain's downfall was committed in the New World during the days of its early expansion. Avaricious adventurers invaded the new-found lands, massacred the natives, dealt treacherously with their leaders, and

treasuries of gold and silver. Prosperity smiled upon the season, and the nation they served rose to great heights. Her empire was preeminent in all the world.

This place among the nations she was soon to forfeit. Her sudden departure of her imperial glories was due more to moral than to material factors. Spain, having violated the law of humaneness at home and abroad, paid the inevitable penalty. No nation can long ignore divine principles of justice and maintain its place and power among the honorable and true. The more advanced and abler egos cease to incarnate in Spain, thus leaving it to the less advanced. Having made itself unworthy of high-principled, idealistic leaders it fell into second or less. A nation is what people make it, and when the population composed of the less developed its position among the nations will be in accordance therewith.

This fact is borne out in Spain by the general lack of education and culture among the common people. Illiteracy is the worst in Europe, excepting in its sister nation, Portugal. In provinces like Andalusia, for instance, it runs as high as ninety per cent. More than half the population can neither read nor write.

Who may be some of the undeveloped egos in Spain? The American Indian egos that suffered at the hands of early Spanish nationals in order to claim certain benefits under the law of justice. But they have not yet outgrown primitive instincts and are therefore, capable of inhumanities which have long since been unthinkable to more advanced egos. We have in this fact an important clue to cruelties characteristic not only of the present strife but of the Spaniards as a people. A single and sufficient evidence of this fact is the national sport of bull fighting. On the anniversary of the outbreak of the present war, news dispatches from Insurgent Spain celebrating its victories with Church sermons and bull fights. Men, women, and children glory in the gory spectacles and cheer the agonized cries of tortured, mutilated animals.

Humaneness to animals has not yet been born in Spain. When the civil war started, the Animal Welfare Society in Madrid had a membership of fifty-four, and they were no doubt mostly foreigners. Those interesting themselves in this movement have been threatened with excommunication from the Church on the grounds of con-

activities not coming directly under its supervision. When for suffering animals has not been awakened, there is a insensibility to the sufferings of one's fellow man. While a discreet degree of demarcation between the life of man and animal, yet the same sacred life flows through both. Because of this divine tie between the kingdoms, the animals have a our compassion that cannot be dismissed without a loss to the impulses of the human heart.

The colonies established by Spain in the New World in many instances been criminally exploited from the very beginning and did not remain her permanent possessions. The provinces one after another, declared their independence, leaving Spain with only a few in the Americas after the first quarter of the 19th century. After the Spanish-American war in 1898, her colonial losses in the Western Hemisphere were complete.

Another crime committed by medieval Spain from which she still suffers today, was the expulsion of the Moors and the Jews. The elements now become agencies for retaliatory destruction against the Spanish State. The Jewish influence is strong in the reform movement everywhere, and seasoned Moorish soldiers, in the severest service by warfare with the barbarian Riffs, have played a part in destroying a nation that once destroyed them.

The gold that Spain stole from the Incas and Aztecs has returned to plague the land that committed the theft. The power behind the Spanish revolt has been attributed in part to Juan March, the "Rockefeller of Spain." The Croesus is one of the world's richest men. His interests include most of the monopolies of the country, its banks, utility corporations and other enterprises. His wealth is supporting the Rebel practices are much the same as were those of the colonial adventurers into the new world. Several times during the war he was called before the civil courts to explain his transactions. Under Primo de Rivera's dictatorship he was accused of corruption in the Mediterranean, and under the Republic he was accused of officials on a number of counts relative to the improper use of money. In 1931 he was expelled from the Chamber of Deputies for "moral incompatibility" and was then arrested and held on charges of bribery. In 1935 he was returned to Parliament.

he is a major power undoing the present government. Pi fraud, theft, and ruthless destruction of government—the days of Spanish invasion in the Americas, so is it today. The wheels of retribution have turned around. birds have come home to roost.

The Spanish nation has been guilty of shedding inordinate degree. It continues to flow. The national not yet been staunched. Observe the law of reaction in aspect. For generations the Spanish royal family has with the dread blood disease known as haemophilia. I since, that Count Covadongo, the former crown prince critically ill in a New York hospital from this hereditary the Spanish Bourbons. Haemophilia is characterized by to profuse and uncontrollable hemorrhage even from wounds. The time comes when that which has been war cannot be normally retained. That this depleting ail affect the rulers is due to the intimate relation that ex a people and their leaders. The latter become the centre of the life of the people they govern. Astrology demonstrates when rightly reading a nation's fate in the horoscope o

In the coming cataclysmic upheavals in Europe reasonable to conclude that the Iberian Peninsula would be the earliest areas to suffer drastic modifications. It belongs to Atlantean soil and is thus among the most ancient of is, moreover, the seat of forces of disintegration of such as would be likely to carry in its train even serious physical in the form of earthquakes and tidal wave.

Racial Karma

In addition to national karma there is also the which Spain, in common with many other countries, is in this time of readjustment and judgment. The Spanish people to a passing race. They are predominantly Celtic. Their racial progression, precede the Anglo-Saxon-Teutonic, the opened of the Aryan subraces. The Celts stressed the imagination and beauty. Their emotional equipment

the intellectual. The Irish are modern representative qualities. In the succeeding Anglo-Saxon race the emphasis is from the imagination to will, from beauty to utility, from heart to head. The concrete mind and the faculty of reason are of special development. Since the Celts have special need to develop up these faculties, situations arise that compel thought to exercise the faculty of discrimination, such as the chaos and confusion of ideas in Spain today. Thus are they forced to do that which will advance them in their racial evolution.

The cosmic requirements for racial promotion are the same for all peoples since all are behind schedule. They are especially true for Spain. Several backward racial strains make up the present Spanish amalgam. These include an admixture of both the Celtic and the Atlantean races. The Iberians, with whom the Celts came when first settling the territory that is now Spain, were of Celtic origin. African blood was also introduced into the race to a considerable degree as a result of the extensive slave trade conducted by both Spain and Portugal from the 16th to the 18th century. The Atlanteans are represented in Spain by the Gypsies, together with that of the Basques. The Basques constitute a curious phenomena. They retain a language which has no relation to any of the surrounding tongues. It is obviously not related to the Aryan speech. This fact, which has puzzled physical ethnologists, finds a simple explanation in the Ancient History wherein we learn that the Basques are a surviving remnant of the Atlanteans. They take pride in being a distinct race, with their own customs, and traditions of their own. This has led them, especially when Regionalism runs high to declare themselves an independent unit.

It would not be fair to omit mention of some of Spain's assets as well as liabilities. To Spain also goes the credit of opening the Western Hemisphere to the world. Columbus, the discoverer (Christopher), planted the cross, symbol of the Christian faith on our shores. Devout Spaniards propagated the faith among the natives in the twenty missions which they planted on the Florida coast. What they did there in the cradle ground of the New World constitutes one of the noblest and most inspiring chapters

history. The spiritual fragrance left by the self-sacrifice of the early peregrinations of the Spanish Franciscians is felt on this day as a beneficent influence and as an active principle in the areas so blest by their presence and selfless service. For the benefit America owes to Spain a debt which in karmic days will liquidate in some substantial manner in days to come. We have already rendered notable assistance to the Spanish in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, but the debt to the Spanish is apparently as yet unsettled. It may be that in the present and world upheaval an opportunity will arise in which we will be able in some manner not yet evident to render commensurate aid in return for magnificent benefits received.

Cultural Contributions

Spain was a center of culture many thousands of years before the Christian era. Paintings are still extant on the walls in the foothills of the Pyrenees that antedate historic times. Medieval Spain fostered learning and cultivated the things of the spirit. The University of Salamanca, founded in 1231, was called the "light not of Spain only, but of all Europe." Masterpieces of art and architecture which it created during this period are among the foremost glories of Europe. The Seville Cathedral and the Alhambra at Granada are noble monuments to the creative enterprise, both Christian and Moorish. So, too, are the immortal paintings of such artists as Murillo and Velasquez. In the field of literature, the works of Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and Calderon. Such cultural creations contributed substantially to building up an atmosphere appropriate to the cultivation of the finer things of the spirit.

There were also notable spiritual treasures in Spain of her highest culture. It was the center of the Ancient Mysteries, Teachings. Famed alchemists made it their home. The orders of knighthood and Temples of Initiation. Legends have served this fact for us in records of the Knights of the Grail. The life of one of the most illustrious of these, Parsifal, was set by great Wagner to incomparable heights of inspiration. The hood to which Parsifal belonged was located on Montserrat, the Visigoth Mountains of Southern Spain from the well-nigh

sible pinnacle of which rose a towering Temple of Initiation. The light which emanated from such spiritual sanctuaries was clear and strong, Spain would not now be suffering the consequences of widespread ignorance and retarded development; that light was dimmed. It faded out before the growth of an over-institutionalized and state-diverted ecclesiastical powers of this world supplanted it, and the nation moved into decline. A state of mind grew up in high places which had no recognition of the Mystery Teachings.

This fact is intimated in that famous esoteric document, "Fama Fraternitatis," cited by Rosicrucians as the true exposition of the origin and founding of the Order of the Temple. In it the story is told of how Frater CRC went to Damascus where he gathered knowledge relating to deeper mysteries of the East, later into Arabia where he studied with the Wise Men. His ambition was to carry the wisdom he had gathered back to Europe. Upon returning, he first visited Spain, where he met with an eager reception from the leaders in education, culture, and religion. He was sorely disappointed in meeting instead of wisdom, ridicule and rejection. Unable to render them the aid which he had hoped, he shook the dust of the land from his feet and went farther to the northward where later he established a Society for the quiet dissemination of the holy truths he had mastered for the benefit of a continent in the darkness of things spiritual. Squandering this opportunity to maintain such Wisdom as had come to it, and to receive it and amplify it, resulted in a loss of educational advantages, secular and sacred, from which Spain long suffered.

Symbols of National Destiny

Spain is governed by Sagittarius, the centaurian man, half beast, with bow and arrow aimed at the stars. Franco is a Sagittarian. His sun sign is fiery, his rising sign is the two elements in alchemical conflict in war-torn Spain. In his nature the dominant qualities and the peculiar conditions prevailing at this time in the nation, he becomes the specialization of the generally distributed forces in

and thereby a national leader of power and significance to
will in the life of his people.

The flag of Insurgent Spain is red and yellow, the colors
under which old Spain rose and fell. The color symbology of
is the same as in the pictorial symbol of the country's astrological sign,
Sagittarius. The red is the centaur—the animal passion, the
martial nature; the yellow is the gold in humankind, the desire
arising from out the animal propensities and aspiring upward
to the celestial home from which it came and to which it still
yearns to return.

Republican Spain has added purple to the red and yellow
under which her people formerly lived. Purple is the highest
color in the spectrum. It is identified with position and power,
and is the energizing red with the blue of authority. In terms of
color, it stimulates activity and strengthens will. The positive
aspects of human life will be enhanced under the purple ray. This accords
with what has already been observed regarding the fundamental
forces manifesting through the liberal, reforming, progressive
elements in republican Spain.

The presence of purple in the Government's flag indicates
that a fresh goal has been set up for New Spain. As a consequence
of its agonized cleansing by blood, the red of war and passion
is being transmuted into higher powers of the blue. Purple appears
as a new consequence in her national colors. As the world purges
itself, we may expect to see the royal purple appear in the flag of
the new nationals also. So say the symbols.

The new flag contains the three primary colors, red, yellow,
and blue, though the blue is but half itself. In this trinity of
colors are the three principles of Will, Wisdom, and Activity. When these
principles shall become manifest on the higher levels of thought
and action, the omnipotent will of the Father, the golden wisdom
of Christ, and the dynamic activity of the Holy Spirit will shine
in the splendor of a new, regenerated race. Such will be the
characteristics of the "elect" who will survive the transition,
and racially, and enter into the New Age that lies ahead.

It doth not yet appear what we shall be, but in symbols we
can discern the glories that future centuries and ages are destined
to unfold in a people and for the human race.

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