



# The VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY

*Organ of the international brigades* ★

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## AFTER THE SIERRA - WHAT?

When the "Nationalist" Army of Legionaires and Moors, supported by German and Italian artillery, aviation, and tanks; firing an abundance of machine-guns and bullets from the same countries and from reserve stocks of Portugal, elected to march on Madrid, it was obeying political rather than military impulses. It was more important to procure an unshakeable political position in Spain as a whole than to take the points of most military value. Madrid was the key, Madrid is the key, to life or death for Fascism.

It is not to be wondered that the Fascists fell into a panic when the People's Army, having come a long year's road from the pistol-armed groups of July 1936 launched an offensive designed to clear the Madrid front. They poured planes and guns, bombs and munitions out of their war reserves, into the Madrid front, on an unparalleled scale. A conservative foreign correspondent recently told the writer that, in his opinion, there were four hundred and fifty rebel planes in the center area alone, and not less than one thousand in Spain!

The concentration of planes and artillery, by far the greatest seen in this war, must surely have been calculated to produce a Brihuega in reverse, a rout of the Government forces that would let the rebels through the Sierra line prevail-

ing at the beginning of the offensive. It failed completely; the second phase of the Sierra campaign ended with the Government still in possession of most of the territory captured in the first phase.

On July 18 the Fascists took over the initiative from the Government with violent counterattacks at Villanueva del Pardillo, and on the 18th, Quijorna and Brunete. A whole

day of fighting along the line extending from above Quijorna to below Brunete, netted them nothing but one hill position. From July 17 to 24, however, the People's troops in unfortified positions endured the most intensive, unceasing artillery and air bombardment they had ever experienced. Government artillery, overworked in the first days of the campaign, could reply but fee-

bly to rebel batteries which were in good condition, because, more numerous, they could alternate and thus avoid overheating. The government planes, superior but outnumbered, devoted almost full time to bombardment of aerodromes and supply centers, thus contributing much to the earlier exhaustion of rebel air and artillery munitions. Every base in Spain that could possibly serve as a rebel support to attacks on the Sierra was bombed once or more. The terrorist nature of Fascist air activities, on the other hand, was crudely underlined during this period by attacks on sleeping villages far outside the war area.

### ATTACK AND COUNTER-THRUST

At last terrific bombardment told on tired, thirsty, and poorly entrenched troops. On July 24 the rebels recaptured Brunete and it was necessary, once they were there, to withdraw the 18th Army Corps to the west bank of the Guadarrama River. The retreat answered to normal mechanisms. Here, a unit suffered losses so heavy that it was bound to retire. There a unit scarcely under fire yielded to panic. But on the whole it was simply a logical and minimum withdrawal from difficult positions, with food and water troubles, after nearly three weeks of exhausting

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MODESTO, Commander of the 5th Army Corps.



## AFTER THE SIERRA-WHAT?

campaigning, under fire comparable to that of the major battles of the Great War. Not only did the Government forces withdraw in good order to form a new line, but they had strength to counterattack.

The 11th and 14th Divisions reentered Brunete and fought for it street by street. They were eventually forced to retire, but had gained valuable time for the general withdrawal. The People's Army dug in on a line roughly east and west about half-way between Brunete and Villanueva de la Canada, keeping all the towns they had taken with the exception of Brunete.

On the night of July 25 Carlos Castejón brought down the first plane ever destroyed in night combat. It was a Junkers with American motors. Antiair guns blew up another, and two Fiats were shot down in a fight. On the night of July 26, Rodriguez Mateu of the same night-flying squadron, duplicated the feat of Castejón. On July 27 the rebel counteroffensive had apparently burned out.

### A COSTLY EFFORT

The tremendous concentration of Fascist war-materials on the Madrid front had enabled the rebels to halt the Government offensive and to counterattack. How costly an effort it was, we can begin to estimate once we realize that German-Italian war materials are not inexhaustible. The British military writer, Captain Liddell Hart, breaking through the haze of fantasy, measures air strength "in terms of first line aircraft—which represents the number of machines actually in service with formed units". He gives Germany 1,200 such craft at the beginning of 1937 and perhaps 1,500 by the spring of the year. Italy, with another 1,500 needs about a third of her strength in Eritrea, Soma-

lia, Abyssinia, Libya and the Dodecanese. Thus two countries whose whole political line is that of preparation for and provocation of war, in a world situation where war is not too remote a possibility, placed very nearly a fifth of their best air forces on a single Spanish front to prevent disaster! When we reflect that trained personnel is a major time consumer for the building of front line air forces, we see that international Fascism is wasting away on the Madrid front.

### REBELS LACK MEN

All observers agree that the Fascists had no infantry to follow up their terrific air and artillery preparation.—Here is the key to the second phase of the Sierra campaign, the rebel counterattack from July 18 to 26. In the first phase, the Government offensive (July 6-17) a number of strategic errors were made and various weaknesses of the People's Army revealed. However, in addition to demonstrating that the Army had attained a mobility and organization sufficient for all purposes, the offensive proved that the new recruits, incorporated in sound, well-officered units with good political guidance were good soldiers. It proved that the People's Army can, if need be, be built up to one million men. The counterattack revealed that the rebels have a chronic shortage of men.

The two phases and the two key factors combined to provide an epilogue to the campaign. A series of armed clashes broke out in rebel territory.

On the morning of July 29 a regular battle took place in Granada, during which the Clinical Hospital where Moors are barracked was heavily shelled. In Motril, thirty minutes of fighting took place on the beach. Rifles, machine-guns and hand-grenades were



employed. At Aguilar de Campo on the Santander front fifteen planes and a convoy of troops had to be sent to quiet a rebellion. A Ministry of Defense note reveals that at Motril and at Malaga, organized groups, "apparently formed by Communists" initiated attacks in the expectation of a Government drive in that direction.

### RESERVES OF LOYAL ARMY

Not only have the rebels no manpower, but their only source is importation which aggravates the hostility of the population toward the Fascist regime. Eden may continue to abet the warmaking criminals, the Subcommittee may stay on vacation until autumn permitting Japan to make progress with her invasion of China, and Hitler and Mussolini to pour new troops and supplies into Spain. But the Spanish people with the aid

and solidarity of 180,000,000 Soviet citizens and of the workers and democrats of the whole world, has drawn the moral of the Sierra campaign and will know how to counter the new aggression.

The People's Front has reserves of power consisting of Spaniards IN REBEL AS WELL AS LOYAL TERRITORY. In loyal Spain, reserves of men must become reserves of soldiers by intensive training and technical equipment. The tremendous growth of Spanish war industry will speed this process. In rebel Spain, intensified guerrilla warfare, invented in Spain to drive out the Napoleonic invaders, will help drive out today's Fascist ones. To mobilize the people's reserves of manpower behind the rebel lines, the Government has the weapon of agitation and propaganda. There is the gun Hitler and Mussolini — and Eden — cannot match.

G. M.



## EXCHANGED LOYAL AVIATORS DESCRIBE TORTURES IN THE FASCIST PRISONS

Recently, through the medium of the International Red Cross, seven fascist flyers who were brought down in loyal territory were exchanged for seven loyal aviators in rebel prisons. The latter were captured after having been brought down on rebel ground. The seven fascist aviators were all foreigners.

Two of the loyal aviators held prisoners upon arrival at Hendaya recounted to the Spanish consul of that town an extraordinary story giving eloquent proof of barefaced Italian and German intervention in Spain. Italy and Germany not only promote the organizations of their secret police, but also keep contact with fascist prisoners, to the extent of assisting them to escape loyal territory, they revealed.

These two pilots fell into the hands of the enemy on November 2, in the province of Segovia. First they were locked up in the Jesuit Convent of Salamanca until December 16, and were victims of unusually cruel treatment. Frequently they were beaten with a bull's pizzle lined with wire, in attempts to obtain from them statements concerning airdromes, materials of aviation, and other information that the fascists desired.

On March 16, escorted by agents of the Gestapo, they were transferred to Astorga, from where, always under the custody of the Nazi police, they continued to Vigo. In this port they were embarked several days later on the ship "Rolandse", of the Bremen shipping list. They arrived at Hamburg on March 31.

While crossing the canal of Mancha, the aviators threw sealed bottles in the water in which they had enclosed scribbled notes giving their names, relating some of the tortures to which they were subjected, and stating that they were being taken from Spain as prisoners.

In Hamburg they were incarcerated in the cellar of one

of the Gestapo prisons and were kept there for six days on a diet of only one chunk of black bread and a herring. Several of the others had simply one potato each.

From Hamburg they were taken by railroad to Berlin. Two or three kilometres before arriving at the Berlin station, one of the prisoners took advantage of the train slowing up and jumped it; but the police agents immediately stopped the train and recaptured him. All were all placed in a dungeon headed by the Berlin Gestapo, where they were held for three months, being subjected to atrocious cruelty, exceeding that inflicted on them in the Spanish prisons.

On June 15, they were taken from Berlin to Rome in a German trimotor. On this trip they flew over Vienna, observing how the German trimo-

tor pilots were taking many movie films of Austrian territory. In Rome they were placed in the prison of the Port of Gaeta, which is full of Italian soldiers who refuse to come to Spain to fight against the Republic.

At the end of a month, on July 16, they were removed from Rome, also by air, to Pollensa in the island of Mallorca. Passing over Corcega, the Italians that piloted the ship took many photos, and in their conversations they expressed the desire and ultimate ambition of Italy to wrest this island from France. From Pollensa, also by air, they were taken to Ceuta; from Ceuta to Cadiz, continuing the trip then to the Franco Spanish frontier.

Another of the exchanged aviators who was taken prisoner to Mallorca on May 31, has

stated before the Spanish consul at Hendaya that when he was brought down from the air he was suffering from an explosive bullet wound, and made his way over the hills to the edge of the sea where he intended to swim to Menorca; but 16 Italian soldiers pursued and captured him.

Those in charge of him at Palma were the heads of fascist aviation of Baleares, under the command of an Italian Lieutenant Colonel, three other Italian officers and a German.

On June 26, he was removed to the Castle of Bellver, where there are 160 political prisoners, among whom figure the director of the hospital at Palma, Dr. Penaranda; the heads of the Police and Telegraph of the same capital, and five officials of the Carabineros. In another prison nearby are 600 political prisoners and 1,500 in a concentration camp. The figures of those who have already been executed in Mallorca are estimated at more than 5,000.

Among other information they revealed is that each week there arrive at Palma two or three Italian cistern boats loaded with gasoline; that the principal Mallorcan exports, such as oranges and almond kernel, are all sent to Italy. In Mallorca bread, potatoes and other food necessities are scarce.

On July 16, in a sea-plane, this comrade was taken by air to Ceuta, then to Cadiz, then to Seville by automobile; from Seville to the jail at San Sebastian.

A private offer was made to each exchanged aviator to the effect that when they were liberated and restored to loyalist forces, that if they came over to the fascist side with a loyalist airplane they would be rewarded 200,000 francs.

In view of all this testimony, given by our exchanged aviators regarding the maltreatment, the torture and the suffering they were compelled to undergo, it can proudly be said that none of the fascist aviators returned by us can honestly make similar accusations against the Republic.

### REMEMBER THIS

I've heard you sobbing in the night  
And know your tears are not for fright  
But for the dead. Those Comrades lost  
Who through this day have fought beside you all this  
[way

Beneath the sun's half blinding heat,  
Until they fell upon this wheat, beside these olive trees.  
In all this hell sound and thirst,  
The whining steel and blinding burst of bomb and shell;  
They still came on.

With blistered feet and shoulders bent,  
With vagrant thoughts that often went to home and  
[peace  
And we must weep. For Oliver and Jack we could not  
[keep,

Nor can we get them back.  
I cannot say that they've been torn  
To some far place and there reborn to live again;  
But mark you this — they still live on — as men.  
For we must take the strength they leave  
And to the goal they set must cleave  
With ever greater unity —  
"All men shall now be FREE".

I hear you sobbing in the night,  
But in the day remember this  
That we are they.

WILLIAM P. SMITH Jr.  
Lincoln Battalion.



# WITH PICKS AND SHOVELS

## The New Valencia to Madrid Railroad

Last winter, when the fascist forces, taking advantage of the then weak Spanish Popular Army, succeeded in pushing across all of Western Spain as far as the gates of Madrid, and also in cutting the last



railroad line connecting Madrid with the Mediterranean Coast, they thought that their game was won. It was then that, quite hurriedly, the fascist governments of Berlin, Rome and Lisbon recognized Franco and the Burgos crowd as the official government of Spain.

Among the fascist well-wishers there was certainty that the fall of the whole Madrid zone into the hands of Franco was only a matter of time, of a very short time.

When in February and March last the fascist offensives in the Guadalajara and Jarama regions took place, their expectation was that the two attacking armies would meet somewhere south east of Madrid, causing, of course, the capitulation of the city.

Somehow their plans fell through.

Guadalajara, which was to be their speediest advancing area, turned into a major defeat. The Jarama was crossed at one point, but the advancing armies were stopped at the edge of the ridge which runs from a point south of Vaciámadrid to San Martín de las Vegas. Since then the fascists have not advanced one inch.

### HIGHWAY UNDER FIRE

But Madrid had lost its rail communications with the sea coast, and the Valencia highway, while not in fascist hands, was under their fire. A long detour for all traffic was and still is necessary. Quick communications with Valencia and other Eastern points had to be

established. On April 24, that is, a little more than three months ago, a group of engineers met to discuss the possibilities of building a new railroad to Valencia. Today the railroad is almost ready for operation. If it is not yet ready it is not because of lack of ability or of organization. It is because the comparatively primitive economy under which monarchical Spain was living never produced, or even thought of producing, the means by which life can be made efficient and comfortable. The building of a railroad in Spain is a job comparable, without exaggeration, with that of building a railroad in

the 15th century. And within a fifteenth century economy not only a railroad is being built, but it is being built in record time.

Many problems will be solved through the construction of the line. Madrid, a city of a million people before the war, although a large number of inhabitants left during the tragic days of last November, is still a city of over a million. Refugees flocked in from many other points and took the place of those who had left. The feeding of the city, because of poor transportation facilities, was always a serious problem. And often during the worse days of shor-

tage, enemy agents of the fifth column worked hard, trying to create dissatisfaction. That the Madrilenos refused to listen to such suggestions and quite smilingly lived through the worse hardships imposed on them is a proof of their loyalty.

### ROAD TO EASE TENSION

The railroad will ease the tension and satisfy many urgent needs. Another result will be that of transporting not only troops and food where they are needed, but also to carry men on leave. How many times men on leave, after





many months at the front, came to Madrid with permission for one or two weeks, and found it impossible to leave because of lack of transportation. There is also the problem of the evacuation of Madrid. How many times the authorities have urged the civilian population, especially the refugees from other parts of Spain, to leave this city for other centers less exposed to the



fascist rage? Until now, however this problem of evacuation remained a problem chiefly because of the lack of transportation. Now with the trains soon to arrive in Madrid they will be able to take their full load of refugees away from the ever present danger of bombardment.

#### "WORKING ON THE RAILROAD"

The railroad was started within a few days of the initial meeting of last April. Hurdling all the red tape often paralysing the best enterprises because of the ever-present bureaucracy, men were hired, tools and materials secured and the ground was broken.

We are used in the United States or in any industrial country to visualise a railroad construction as a long series of steamshovels, excavators, dinghy locomotives, trucks, tractors, machinery of all kinds working quite effortlessly under the guidance of comparatively few men. Nothing of the kind here. All along the long, long line, ten thousand men work from morning till night under the broiling sun, using as tools only picks and shovels. A few mechanical drills are the only mechanical help they have. And these drills are so few and precious that their care is a work of affection.

#### 4,000 MEN HIRED

At the beginning of the work four thousand men were

hired. The work however, given the complete lack of mechanical equipment, called for a much greater number of workers. At least twenty thousand more were needed. To speed the work of construction the management conducted a recruiting campaign in Madrid and along the whole railroad zone, much more than 100 kilometers long, asking for volunteers for the road. The response was immediate and large. More than 30,000 workers answered the call and

would all have been taken immediately had not a great shortage of picks and shovels presented itself. No matter how urgent and important the railway is, there are fortification and trench and highway works which cannot be made to wait. So that while ties and rails are ready to be put to work, lack of tools, often lack of water, are delaying the work.

Nevertheless the work proceeds. The plans were for a completion of the whole gi-

## RADIO SEVILLE

Are you listening? Radio Seville!  
This is Quiapo de Llano barking,  
bellowing, spitting,  
braying on four legs.  
Radio Seville! — "Ladies and gentlemen!  
At the microphone: a savior of Spain.  
Long live wine! Long live vomit!  
Tonight I take Malaga;  
Monday I took Jerez;  
Tuesday, Montilla and Cazalla;  
Wednesday, Chinchon, and Thursday  
drunk. And in the morning  
all the stables of Madrid, all the stalls  
made soft by the over-piling of horseshit  
shall give me a soft bed.  
Oh, what a delight to sleep,  
to have for a pillow  
(in hiccuping distance)  
two piles of alfalfa!  
What an honor to go to the blacksmith  
at the sign of the halter!  
What a unique pleasure  
to receive on my hoofs,  
nailed with spikes,  
the horseshoes that Franco  
won by his venture in Africa!  
Already my loins are straining,  
already my rump is lifting,  
already my cars are growing,  
already my teeth are getting larger.  
The cinch grows short for me,  
the reins get out of control.  
I gallop, gallop... on my way:  
I shall be in Madrid tomorrow.  
Let the colleges close,  
let the taverns open.  
Down with universities  
and institutes — down, down!  
Let wine flow to meet  
a liberator of Spain."  
— Are you listening? Radio Seville!  
The general of this military base,  
a bleating fool,  
Quiapo de Llano,  
is signing off.

RAFAEL ALBERTI

## LINCOLN BATTALION COMMISSAR

"Don't let 'em get Steve!"

This is the word that travels like a flash of lightning through the Lincoln - Washington Battalion lines before and during attack. Steve Nelson, Political Commissar of the Lincoln-Washington Battalion, tireless worker. At any minute of the night or day you can see him moving from trench to trench, always on the look-out for bad peepholes, poor sandbags, dangerous machine gun positions. Patiently explaining to groups of comrades news of the outside world and other fronts. Concerned with the opinion of every comrade in the battalion, whether it be a question of winning a battle or of buying a toothbrush. Steve epitomizes all that the Spanish Peoples' Army demands of a political commissar. In the attacks of July 6 to 9, when the Lincoln Battalion suffered a terrific loss of military leadership, Comrade Nelson without hesitation assumed command. Seventeen hours a day could be called a short day for Steve. Not a day passed without a visit from this indefatigable leader of men to brigade, machine-gun company, infantry, kitchen and armory, in addition to many bedside discussions with weary determined comrades. Now is not the time to tell in full the story of this comrade who is loved by his men. Suffice at this time to say of him: soldier, strategist, political leader and comrade.

gantic project in less than two months. If tools had not been diverted to other channels because of great emergencies, the 10,000 at work would have been joined by the 20,000 which are on the Union lists and ready to go to work.

The road will soon be finished. No date for its inauguration is set, but strenuous efforts are being made to rush it through. The road is called the Railroad of Victory. It is no exaggeration.

H. A.



# THE PROBLEM IS "UNDER DISCUSSION"

A basis for discussion; the representatives must consult their Governments; the Sub-Committees will probably meet on Thursday; the Summer holidays—in short the labors of the Non-Intervention Committee, which would be ludicrous if there were not another side to the picture—the battlefield of Brunete and the hospitals of Madrid.

When Italy and Germany withdrew from the naval control they put forward certain demands: the recognition of Franco as a belligerent, the maintenance of control on land, and the suppression of the naval patrols. On July 9 this plan was rejected, though Grandi explained at some length that the soldiers of the Royal Italian Army could not be withdrawn from Spain because they were under the command of Franco. The British Government was entrusted with finding a compromise, and in due course Mr. Eden who has already produced so many questionable objects from his immaculate hat, presented the British proposals. In essence they granted the Fascist demands with two additions or amendments. The British Government suggested that the naval control should be replaced by observers in Spanish ports, and that the volunteers should be withdrawn.

This plan was proposed as a "basis for discussion", but those who made it could scarcely have imagined that it would provide more than a basis for disagreement.

It is a little difficult to steer a Non-Intervention Committee smoothly, when two of its members have seized the Canary Islands and are in effective control of Ceuta, Melilla and Mallorca, even though Mr. Eden can convince himself, in public at least, that they are neutral, in spite of Mussolini's declaration: "Italy is not neutral".

There are also one or two other discrepancies. Guns have been moved up to vantage points in the Pyrenees, and it is significant that they have some French towns within their range; and as that noto-

rious Bolshevik propagandist, Winston Churchill, pointed out on July 19, there are also guns in the neighbourhood of Algiers which seem to have some sort of relationship with Gibraltar. Germany has made a trade agreement with Franco to arrange for a supply of iron ore. Of course, we know that Germany needs iron badly to make boilers, tram-lines, etc.; nevertheless it is a little compromising. But Mr. Eden has proved equal to the task. The main object has been achieved. Everyone seems agreed that the discussion on the British proposals is likely to last a month or two. A "basis for discussion" is a fine thing for gaining time, and that is what the Fascists want.

The present position of the various Governments, according to a note published by the Sub-Committee, is as follows.

The Belgian, Czechoslovakian and Swedish Governments agree in principle to the British proposals, and consider that a substantial withdrawal of volunteers is an indispensable condition for granting belligerent rights.

The French Government accepts the plan and announces

that after control has been re-established and a substantial withdrawal of volunteers has taken place, the French Government will consent "to both sides being authorised to use the rights which international usage allows to belligerents".

The German reply insists on the granting of belligerent rights being linked with the withdrawal of volunteers. It also considers that control should be exercised on land, sea and air. The Italian Government accepts the plan as a whole. It nevertheless considers that the recognition of belligerent rights should be granted immediately.

"The Portuguese Government formulates many suggestions, the chief of which coincide with the observations of the German and Italian Governments."

The Soviet Government in its reply expresses itself very strongly on the subject of the rebels and doubts if the withdrawal of volunteers will ever be successfully carried out. Above all the Soviet Government rejects the suggestion that immediate negotiations be begun between the British Government and both the oppos-

ing sides in Spain on the question of granting belligerent rights.

With the exception of Maitland's splendid defence of the Republic, we have no reason to be pleased with the recent deliberations of the Non-Intervention Committee. France's gesture on July 13 has remained only a gesture, and the fact that French police have taken the place of international observers is not enough to fundamentally change the world situation.

There are other dangerous signs. Franco's agents are trying to raise a loan in London. In the House of Commons Eden has refused to give an undertaking that Parliament will be summoned in the event of the present discussions breaking down or of the question of recognising Franco as a belligerent arising.

In view of the close connections between Germany and Japan there seems little doubt that the Japanese attack on China has as one of its objects to attract the attention of the world away from the Spanish struggle, on the principle that it is more difficult to put out two fires than one.

Now, more than ever, is it possible to defeat fascism by the united action of the two great working-class internationals; by the action of workers of all democratic countries in solidarity with democratic Spain; by the aid of the people of the U. R. S. R., without which, as Martínez Barrios, President of the Spanish Cortes, has said, "there would no longer be a Spanish Republic".

The Fascist insistence on the granting of belligerent rights to Franco is prompted by desperation, by the fact that internal difficulties beset Italy and Germany as a result of their enormous expenditure of arms, supplies and conscripted men for Franco's army. Realizing this, we can turn more than ever before to the Spanish people and to the international working class for the salvation of liberty.

A. M. E.

## AMERICAN DELEGATION NOW TOURING SPAIN

Accompanying a thirty-two-ton shipment of supplies from the United States and Canada, a delegation of four American working class leaders and representatives has arrived in Spain and is now touring the different fronts and training camps where volunteers are stationed. The members of the delegation are: Max Bedacht, national secretary of the International Workers Order; Phil Bard, of the Friends of the Lincoln Battalion; Frank Mertens, of the National Maritime Union, and John P. Hautala, of the Finnish Workers Federation.

Although its primary purpose was to bring the large shipment, which contains soap,

cigarettes, chewing-gum, books etc., the delegation has other plans now. Chief among them are: (1) to find out what is most needed by American and Canadian volunteers in Spain, and (2) to acquire first-hand facts about the situation here. Findings will be brought back to the many organizations, both in the United States and Canada, and used as the basis for further and increased appeals for aid to Spain.

Of the 32 tons of material, four tons were raised by the Canadian Friends of the MacKenzie-Papineau Battalion, an organization which has been growing rapidly in Canada since the formation of the battalion in Spain.

Ayuntamiento de Madrid



## To the Youth of America

The following address, by Joseph P. Lash, national secretary of the American Student Union and a member of the National Council of the American Youth Congress, was delivered over Station EAR2, Madrid, on July 4, 1937.

★

Youth of America, friends of the American Youth Congress, my fellow-countrymen: One could aspire to no greater honor than this of bringing to you the salute of the heroic young Americans who are serving so valiantly, here in Spain the same cause for which many of you are met in Milwaukee — that of democracy, equality and peace. It is not false modesty which prompts me at the outset to declare that there are scores of young men in the American Battalions of the Spanish Peoples Army who have a better warrant for standing here at the microphone... We to whom democracy, equality, freedom are more than catchwords, but realities of human relations, to whom July 4th represents a day of significant progress for human society, are eternally indebted to these youthful compatriots. With their lives they are vindicating in Spain the United States of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. Unquestionably, the victory of the Spanish Peoples Army will help to make those immortal documents more of realities in the United States. The young people of America already have a cause for pride in the number of young Americans who are here, fighting on the Spanish battlefields, which are

the battlefields of humanity.

But if you salute, as is appropriate on July 4th, your fellow-Americans here, you should at the same time salute the youth of Spain. What miracles of valor they have accomplished! It is true that practically the whole Spanish people have risen against the effort of international fascism to enslave them, but the young men and women of Spain have performed special prodigies of organization, discipline and bravery.

In the early days of the fascist insurrection, when bravery and bare fists alone slowed down the advance of the traitorous fascist generals, it was the young men, at the initiative of the Unified Socialist Youth organization, that organized the first disciplined regiment of soldiers — the famous Fifth Regiment — which was fit for something more than barricade defense. Their example of discipline and loyal subordination to the Peoples Front Government was one of the seeds which now is flowering into the magnificent Spanish Peoples Army.

In the little village where we have been training it is time to harvest the wheat and lentil fields. But all the able-bodied men are at the front. The young people, therefore, have organized shockbrigades: of boys who are not old enough to enter the army, and girls who every morning at 5:30 pile into trucks and go out into the fields to help the peasants bring in their harvests. It is no wonder that under the Peoples Front, the ties bet-

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LINA ODENA, Youthful political commissar killed on the Granada front.

### ON THE NEW U. G. T. - C. N. T. PACT

The Executive Committee of the U. G. T. and the National Committee of the C. N. T. this week announced the signing of a unity pact between the two trade union federations. The agreement is largely concerned with creating a better feeling between members of the two organizations.

To this end provision is made for eliminating all types of coercion in recruiting members for either organization; it is forbidden to admit a member to one trade union center who has been expelled from the other; trade unions dropped from the U. G. T. cannot be admitted to the C. N. T. without consulting the latter, and vice versa.

A large part of the press including many organs of the U. G. T. criticize the agreement as incomplete or even empty. "Mundo Obrero" offers the most succinct argument. Unity of action between the two trade unions, says the Communist organ, is primarily needed "to achieve increased production; a system of intensive work in factories, shops and fields; an improvement in the principle 'a better wage for more and better work'; and always, of course, to collaborate with the Government in the latter's function of directing and coordinating industry. The Executive of the U.

G. T. and the National Committee of the C. N. T. in the pact they have just signed, completely omit the problems of war and production. For the pact there is no war, nor production, nor betterment for the workers... The pact does not say one word on these problems which are the fundamental ones for the people and the workers".

A second feature of the unity pact as drawn up by the U. G. T. Executive and the C. N. T. National Committee, is that it denies trade union legitimacy to any organization not affiliated to the C. N. T. or U. G. T. Thus while eliminating coercion as between the two bodies, a joint coercion against unaffiliated bodies is established as a very principle of unity. It is not at all difficult to discover that this point is aimed at Provincial Peasant Federations such as that of Valencia, whose 80,000 members are organized to increase production while protecting themselves against "revolutionary" experimenters. Press criticism objects to this method of "outlawing" as delaying the merger of the Peasant Federations with other unions of farmworkers.

It is further pointed out that the Executive Committee of the U. G. T. must submit the pact to the National Committee before the U. G. T. can be said to have authorized it. It will be recalled that the National Committee completely disavowed the political line of the Executive in connection with the last crisis.

The pros and the cons agree that the pact has a positive aspect opening the way to closer cooperation on a sound basis. It calls for the creation of local trade union liaison committees, or joint committees, which shall bring their problems to the National Liaison Committee. By rapidly creating such committees everywhere, and at once raising problems related with increased production, central direction, and economic improvement of the workers' conditions, workers who find the present pact a mere skeleton of unity of action, can fill it with the desired content.

### NOTICE

*Americans who are transferred from one hospital to another are urged, immediately after the change, to send word of their new addresses to the American Commissar, at the Service de Cadres of the International Brigades, Albacete, Spain.*



## TO THE YOUTH OF AMERICA

ween peasant and urban worker have become so cordial.

The Federal Union of Spanish Students, which is the equivalent of our National Student Federation of America, has mobilized those of its members who cannot go to the front into shock troops that work in the trenches, eradicating illiteracy. Indeed, wherever there is a particularly important task — volunteers for anti-tank units, helping organize the war industries, the setting of examples of disciplined subordination of political interests — it is the youth of Spain which comes forward. They are the most loyal supporters of the Peoples Front Government. They were the most ardent advocates of the unified military command. They have carried on an intensive propaganda for the development of an effective rear-guard war industry.

And if the young people of Spain have thus been among the promptest to mobilize for the war against international fascism, if they were among the first large groups to realize the immensity of the tasks confronting the government in winning this war, it was because they were united. Being united, they spoke for the masses of youth who knew from personal experience the situation in their country.

My friends, we know the value of unity, of working together in the United States. We know what it has enabled us to accomplish in our campaign for the American Youth Act, and what the United Student Peace Committee has done to mobilize the schools against war. But one never quite appreciates the full significance of unity until one faces an enemy machine-gun nest. One does not delay to argue political differences at such a moment. Teamwork is the essence of success at such a time. Here in Spain the unity of the younger generation has been a decisive factor in the barring of the road to Hitler and Mussolini. That unity is symbolized first of all by the Spanish Youth Front which is like our American Youth Congress, and

secondly by the Unified Socialist Youth which unites Socialists, Communists and all young people who recognize that socialism is the road to peace and progress. This organization was the first to declare that the major task at the present moment was unity against fascism and for democracy.

These two organizations are the spokesmen of Spain's younger generation, a generation which knows that the victory of Hitler and Mussolini means for them a continuance and intensification of degrading ignorance and illiteracy, means unemployment, mass oppression and world war. Sometimes at noon I have sat outside a wealthy villa which is now a school, and have listened to the youthful tots, children of peasants, being taught to read and write in the first school that this village has seen. I have heard them sing NO PASARAN! And these words, uttered by these children, have brought to my mind, not soldiers being stopped at the trenches of Madrid, but ignorance, disease, poverty, crime, which up to now have been the lot of Spanish youth. All the youth of every age are here united against fascism. We Americans need no other inspiration than the SALUD of a three-year-old youngster whom this Peoples Front Government now gives a chance to grow up as a decent human being, enjoying the fruits of his toil and developing his individual talents.

Side by side with the youth of Spain march the young foreign volunteers who form a splendid section of the Spanish Peoples Army. The poets of the future will sing their deeds. The future constitutions of nations will embody the ideals they symbolize. Not a body of freebooters, nor brutalized, but a body of highly-informed and determined men, who have realized that on the battlefields of Spain will the future of world peace and progress be determined.

No one outside of themselves will ever appreciate the hardships these men have uncomplainingly overcome along

side of the Spanish masses, or the tremendous readjustment they have had to make. I asked some young Americans what they wanted to say to you. Their first declaration was: "Tell them our army will lick Franco." Secondly, they said: "We hope our example has helped to strengthen the unity of American youth in behalf of the Spanish people." And thirdly: "We don't like to talk. The job of a good anti-fascist here is to be a good soldier."

Don't get the impression, however, that the life of the follows here is circumscribed by their military objectives. I wish you could see our wall-papers in which steel workers write poetry and machinegunners analyze international political developments. Every scrap of literature is voraciously gobbled up. I wish you could hear our songs, which are not bloody diatribes, but full of longing for our homeland, full of determination that — I shall quote the exact words — "Every inch will we recapture, every inch of Spanish soil."

No one complains about the hard work. We only hope that you too will work for what is a common cause, even though at the moment fascist bombers are not above your heads. Here we keep vigil 24 hours of the day, standing in mud, in the blazing sun, in the rain. Surely you can give an hour of your day in defense of Spanish democracy which — I hope I need not repeat it — is the defense of world democracy.

You cannot realize what your support and your solidarity

mean to us. At the back of our heads the question is always simmering: Will Germany provoke another Almeria? Will Mussolini continue to land thousands of more troops? Will the fascists, infuriated by their check, turn gas loose on us? And we know that only the united forces of the common people throughout the world can prevent these things.

It has been good talking to you and making this appeal to you, especially on July 4th. It was in the struggle to overthrow English oppression that our declaration of Independence was forged. In this war of the Spanish people against enslavement by German and Italian fascism, a new charter of human rights is being molded.

Youth of America! We of the Lincoln and Washington Battalions — and now we can add the name of the MacKenzie-Papineau Battalion which is made up of both Canadians and Americans — love our country, love it in a way that is possible only to one who is far away from it. We came to Spain because we realized that to preserve the noble things of our country, the people of Spain must triumph over international fascism. We want to return, but we will only do so with victory. You can help that, and help speed our return. Protest the farce of Non Intervention. Send aid for the children of Spain. Send medical aid. Show us that our home-land realizes its kinship with a sorely-oppressed sister democracy. Salud!

J. P. L.

## OUR WAR INDUSTRIES

The complete nationalization of all war industries was demanded by the Syndicate of Metal Workers at a 3-day session held in Madrid last week. Newly-elected President of the Syndicate, Comrade Miguel Gonzales Alonso, stated:

"Our firm insistence on nationalization of war industries must not weaken. Nationalization must not be delayed. The Republic, though a central organism, must have control of

these factories and be able to supply them with raw materials to be used to make the tools of war, so that we can send guns and ammunition in sufficient quantities to our comrades at the front.

"Today, more than ever, it is necessary to strengthen and increase the production of the Catalonian war factories. The nationalization of our industry constitutes our greatest aim and desire."