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Organ of the international brigades

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SOVIET EXPERT ANALYZES MILITARY ACTIONS IN THE NORTH AND ON THE ARAGON FRONT

By GOLUBIEV

"The offensive in the north", writes the Soviet military expert Golubiev, in a recent issue of *Izvestia*, "marks a considerable change in the strategic plans of the rebels."

Golubiev analyses the recent military operations in Spain as follows:

"Until now, the rebels have confined themselves to attempts to inflict a decisive defeat on the Republic on the Center Front, and thus to finish the war in the shortest possible time. Their offensive on the Northern Front and their passivity on the Center Front signify the desire of the rebel military command first of all to win successes on the secondary fronts; and then, only after having gathered together all its forces, to attempt to launch an offensive on the principal front."

"As far back as January and February of this year, German fascism considered this strategy to be the only one suitable to Franco. If it was not applied until the end of March, it was only because the Italian generals considered the taking of Madrid to be as easy as that of Malaga. The defeat of Guadalajara, however, weakened the confidence of the Italian generals, and forced them to accept the German plan. The offensive of the rebels and invaders on the Northern Front can now be divided into three periods."

THREE PERIODS

"The first period began with the offensive of March 31st, continuing until April 30th. The second lasted from the last ten days in April until July. The last period began in August. During the first period the rebel Spanish troops



BELCHITE - NOW IN GOVERNMENT HANDS

played the principal part. In the second and third periods the action was carried out almost entirely by regular divisions and regiments of Italian troops, strengthened by German technique.

"As the invaders and rebels had to weaken their activity on the Northern Front because of the activity on the Madrid sector, the Government command took advantage of this to reorganize its units and to strengthen its defenses. But the time which the government command had at its disposal for this work was extremely limited; and a new offensive of Italian and rebel troops was launched before the loyal forces in the north had time to complete the job of putting these measures into effect."

"The total effective force of the

Italians and rebels concentrated for the offensive against Santander was from 50,000 to 60,000 men (among whom, at least 40,000 or 45,000 were Italians), about 100 tanks, and from 250 to 300 cannons. The success of these Italian and rebel troops is certainly of great importance for the Northern Front of Republican Spain. But this does not mean that the war will end in favor of the rebels and invaders—far from it. This success is the result of the unequal effort of the forces of the regular Republican army on the different fronts. The Northern Front, where there was great backwardness in applying the principles of regular military organization and formation, was one of the weak points in this respect."

"Another weak point for the

Republican army for a considerable time was the Eastern Front (Aragon), where the organization of regular troops met with strong opposition on the part of uncontrollable and Trotskyist elements. But the latest events on this front show that these defects are rapidly on the way toward being overcome. At the moment when Republican Santander found itself in a critical situation, the Eastern (Aragon) Front carried out a great offensive action."

GREAT SUCCESSES

"The first days of this action have given the government troops great successes, which compensate in a large measure for the failures in the Santander sector."

"The center of gravity of the Spanish struggle still continues to be the Madrid front, which has so far shown itself to be unconquerable by the rebels and foreign invaders. In the July battles, great capacity was shown in large scale offensive actions. Now the Aragon front, ever more active and disposing of a powerful fighting base, is helping the Central Front. The coordinated actions of the government troops of the Central and Aragon fronts makes it permissible not only to reduce the success obtained by the rebels in the North to zero, but to affirm that Republican Spain will be completely victorious."

"Independently of its final result the offensive of the Republican troops on the eastern front is of very great importance."

"The strength of the Madrid front does not rest only in the fact that the best military units are to

(Continued on page 3)

LETTERS from HOME

Government Unions Still Going Strong.

Dear F: It's hot as hell here in Washington, but working in a coolish apartment is different from digging dirt 200 yards from the fascist lines... News from Spain comes to this city in spasms. China has more of American invested



capital, it appears, and the newspapers are frothing at the mouth over the war in the East. A damned important spot, to be sure, but not so important as to keep ALL Spanish news from us. Of course, we get our reports. And our energy for raising money, etc., stays apace...

People in town are worried about S. and B. Haven't heard from them for weeks. Maybe you can help us with a bit of information on their whereabouts. Also about B. S.

The government unions are still going strong. Over thirty locals have been chartered by the United Federal Workers of America, and more are on the way. Another group — over 5,000 strong — may come in en masse. Which will help a great deal.

As for us here, our Union work continues full force during the summer months. I'm unemployed, but am putting my time to good advantage. It seems everybody hears I'm not working, hence I can help do this, that, and the

other thing. They're running me ragged, but it's the stuff that keeps me going. And there's so much work to be done that one almost gets discouraged and falls all over himself trying to double the pace. But it all works out somehow, and progress is made... Send us a couple of words now and then.

Your pal, L. August, 19, 1937.

Learning to Fight With Other Workers.

Dear L: I have been at home five weeks now, and as a matter of fact have enjoyed this first vacation in a long time immensely. Next week, however, I expect to get some definitive word as to my chances for reinstatement in the W. P. A. I have brought my case before the City Projects Council, of which I am an individual member, and they have appealed it to W. P. A. What a feeling of gratification I felt when, upon walking into the union, I could feel that all these people were for me, that they would help me. Quite a different feeling, I assure you, from the one I experienced when



I ran around to all the big shots of my department and asked them to help me. There I received only kind words and kind wishes, but no tangible aid. This is my first personal experience with unions, and it fills me with a sense of power and pride to realize what working people can accomplish when joined together with others to fight for a common interest...

H. August 20, 1937.

FRIENDS FALL OUT

On August 26th, the British Ambassador to China, Sir Hugh Knatchbull-Hugesson, was motoring from Nanking to Shanghai, when his car was attacked by two Japanese aeroplanes, which raked the car with machine-gun fire and seriously wounded the Ambassador. The British Government subsequently sent a blunt note to the Japanese Government, of which the following is an extract.

"His Majesty's Government feel that they must take this opportunity to emphasise the wider significance of this event. It is an outstanding example of the results to be expected from indiscriminate attack from the air.

"Such events are inseparable from the practice, as illegal as it is inhuman, of failing to draw that clear distinction between combatants and non-combatants in the conduct of hostilities which international law, no less than the conscience of mankind, has always enjoined.

"The fact that in the present case no actual state of war has been declared or expressly recognised by either party to exist emphasises the inexcusable nature of what occurred."

All who read this stern condemnation must have gaped in astonishment.

Could this be the same Government that was so blind to law and justice when thousands of defenceless Abyssinians were slaughtered by the bombs and poison gas of Imperial Italy? Could it be the same Government as that whose official representative defended before the League of Nations the rape of Manchuria by Japan, the bombardment of Shanghai and the slaughter of multitudes of the

Chinese people in 1932? Could this be the Government that in the teeth of the international law and conscience of mankind, of which it now talks so smoothly, allowed Germany and Italy to wage "totalitarian" war on the Spanish people; that left unheard the dying cries of thousands upon thousands of women and children killed by German and Italian bombs at Durango, Guernica and Bilbao and by shells from German warships at Almeria?



Concrete Entrenchments Captured at Belchite.

But the British Government did more than express the excellent, but somewhat late, sentiments above. It presented demands, it wants an apology, it wants the punishment of those responsible, and it wants the assurance of the Japanese Government that nothing of the sort will ever happen again.

Why this sudden change?

First, of course, is the fact that an Ambassador of the British Empire can scarcely be placed in the same classification as those anonymous dead in Abyssinia or China, or the women and children of Spain.

And secondly, British Capital has over 100,000,000 pounds invested in Shanghai alone, and Japan's "crusade against the communist menace" in China has dissolved the hope of any profits on this and the other huge sums invested in China for a number of years, and a distinct possibility of the whole of this investment being lost for good. So perhaps we may be pardoned for doubting the genuineness of the apparent change of heart on the part of the British Government. In the past, its heart has seldom proved as susceptible as its pocket.



Quinto After the Battle.



Fascist Prisoners Captured in Aragon.

O. C. G.

GOLUBIEV ANALYZES MILITARY SITUATION IN SPAIN

(Continued from page 1.)

be found there, but also in that this front, thanks to the efforts of the parties and organisations of the People's Front, has the firmest and best organised hinterland. The condition of the army is determined by the condition of the hinterland. The base of the hinterland of the eastern (Aragonese) front was Catalonia, the most industrial and the most economically developed region of Spain.

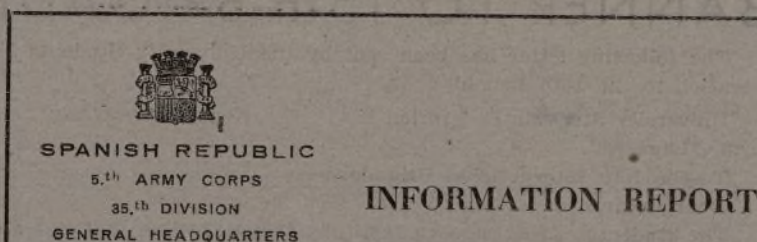
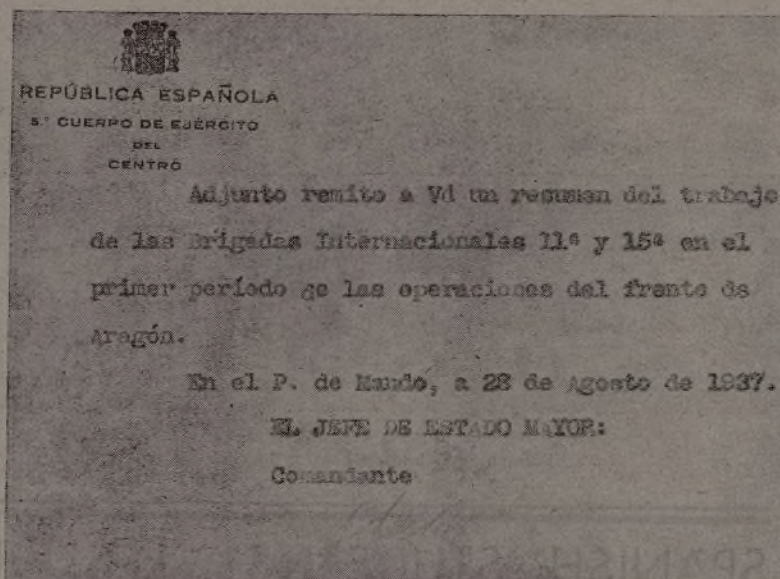
"Catalonia has an industry which is capable, by its organisation and management, not only of providing what is needed on the Aragon front, but also of being a rich source of technical and military materials for other Republican fronts. The reason for the previous passivity on the Aragon fronts was the weakness of organisation in Catalonia, which for a long time did not have a discipline firmly organised and tempered in the anti-fascist struggle.

CATALONIA AS BASE

"The lack of organisation in the Catalonian hinterland obliged the military units on the Aragon front to remain inactive before the numerous rebel forces. But the weakness of Catalonia as the base of the Aragon front and the insufficient organisation of the military units on this front were not only due to the weakness in Catalonia itself. They were also due to the fact that the central Spanish Government, led at that time by Largo Caballero, did not take the necessary steps to help Catalonia to deal with the unhealthy phenomena which existed there. The Catalonian situation underwent a radical change after the Trotskyist-Fascist putsch in May at Barcelona. This putsch revealed to the eyes of the mass of the Catalonian people, in an exceptionally vivid way, the real essence of fascist espionage in the drive of the Trotskyists and the groups of "incontrollables" whom they drew in



On the peaceful Pacific.

5TH ARMY CORPS
DOCUMENTS ON
ARAGON ADVANCE

During the night of the 23-24 of August began our offensive on the Aragon Front.

Two International Brigades received the order to operate jointly and to take QUINTO DE EBRO, an exceptionally important fortified position closing the Saragossa road.

In the fight, which lasted from the 24th to the 26th, both brigades fulfilled their tasks to perfection.

LOSSES OF THE ENEMY: More than 1000 prisoners and about 350 dead.

ARMAMENT CAPTURED: Four 10.5 calibre guns; two damaged 7.5 guns; more than 20 automatic guns and miscellaneous material.

OUR LOSSES: in both Brigades 269 wounded and 50 dead.

The Commanding General
WALTER

August 29th 1937.

Seal of the 5th Army Corps Division B.

with them into the putsch. This created in Catalonia a situation which was favorable for the reorganisation of the whole of the Catalonian hinterland and front.

BREAK NOW MADE

"After the events in May the new Negrin Government concerned itself with this question. The results of its work were not long in making themselves felt. The prolonged absence of Republican activity on the eastern front was utilised by the rebel command to fortify the whole line of front occupied by its troops. The first task of the Republican forces was to break the front fortified by the Fascist units and occupy the most important sectors. This break has been made in the taking of Belchite, which weakens the whole system of rebel fortifications on the eastern front, and to some extent facilitates the development of the Republican operations against Zaragoza and Teruel. From the beginning of the offensive until now, the Republican units have advances 15 to 20 kilometres on a front of 80 to 100 square kilometres. We should shortly expect fresh activity among the Republican forces, directed in the first place against Zaragoza. The taking of this town after the fall of Belchite would mean a wide strategic breach in the whole eastern front of the rebels, and would be a fresh blow to their prestige. This explains why Italian and rebel Spanish troops have been rushed to the eastern front.

"We must expect fighting during the coming days between the Republican troops and these reserves. Whatever the result of this fighting, the present Republican offensive shows that this front, which was one of the weakest in Republican Spain, has moved into action. We must hope that this time the Republican command will take full advantage of all the possibilities."



First Cop: "Don't bother—he's only exercising his rights as a belligerent."

NEGROES IN SPAIN

In July, on the boat with me coming from New York, there was a Negro from the far West on his way to Spain as a member of the 9th Ambulance Corps of the American Medical Bureau. He was one of a dozen in his unit of American doctors, nurses, and ambulance drivers offering their services to Spanish democracy.

When I reached Barcelona a few weeks later, in time for my first air-raid and the sound of bombs falling on a big city, one of the first people I met was a young Porto Rican of color acting as interpreter for the Loyalist troops.

A few days later in Valencia, I came across two intelligent young colored men from the West Indies, aviators, who had come to give their services to the fight against Fascism.

ALL FIGHT FASCISM

And now, in Madrid, Spain's besieged capital, I've met wide-awake Negroes from various parts of the world — New York, our Middle West, the French West Indies, Cuba, Africa — some stationed here, others on leave from their battalions — all of them here because they know that if Fascism creeps across Spain, across Europe, and then across the world, there will be no place left for intelligent young Negroes at all. In fact, no decent place for any Negroes — because Fascism preaches the creed of Nordic supremacy and a world for whites alone.

In Spain, there is no color prejudice. Here in Madrid, heroic and bravest of cities, Madrid where the shells of Franco plow through the roof-tops at night, Madrid where you can take a street car to the trenches, this Madrid to whose defense lovers of freedom and democracy all over the world have sent food and money and men — here to this Madrid have come Negroes from all the world to offer their help.

"DELUDED MOORS"

On the opposite side of the trenches with Franco, in the company of the professional soldiers of Germany, and the illiterate troops of Italy, are the deluded

and driven Moors of North Africa. An oppressed colonial people of color being used by Fascism to make a colony of Spain. And they are being used ruthlessly, without pity. Young boys, men from the desert, old men, and even women,

compose the Moorish hordes brought by the reactionaries from Africa to Europe in their attempt to crush the Spanish people.

I did not know about the Moorish women until, a few days ago I went to visit a prison

hospital here in Madrid filled with wounded prisoners. There were German aviators that bombarded the peaceful village of Colmenar Viejo and machined-gunned helpless women as they fled along the road. One of these aviators spoke English. I asked him why he fired on women and children. He said he was a professional soldier who did what he was told. In another ward, there were Italians who joined the invasion of Spain because they had no jobs at home.

WHAT THEY SAID

But of all the prisoners, I was most interested in the Moors, who are my own color. Some of them, convalescent, in their white wrappings and their bandages, moved silently like dark shadows down the hall. Others lay quietly suffering in their beds. It was difficult to carry on any sort of conversation with them because they spoke little or no Spanish. But finally, we came across a small boy who had been wounded at the battle of Brunete — he looked to be a child of ten or eleven, a bright smiling child who spoke some Spanish.

"Where did you come from?" I said.

He named a town I could not understand in Morocco.

"And how old are you?"

"Thirteen", he said.

"And how did you happen to be fighting in Spain?"

BRING MOORISH WOMEN

Then I learned from this child that Franco had brought Moorish women into Spain as well as men — women to wash and cook for the troops.

"What happened to your mother", I said.

The child closed his eyes. "She was killed at Brunete", he answered slowly.

Thus the Moors die in Spain, men, women, and children, victims of Fascism, fighting not for freedom — but against freedom — under a banner that holds only terror and segregation for all the darker peoples of the earth.

A great many Negroes know better. Someday the Moors will know better, too. All the Franco's in the world cannot blow out the light of human freedom.

LANGSTON HUGHES



Women and Children Leaving Belchite.

SPANISH STUDENTS PRESENT BANNER TO 15th BRIGADE

The following letter has been sent by the University Students Federation to the 15th Brigade:

"University Students Federation (F. U. E.). General Secretariat, Madrid. 'Lagasca'.

To the 15th International Brigade.

Dear Comrades:

The students of the Lagasca Institute, though feeling that this step only represents the smallest part of tribute which your solidarity deserves, have decided to express our people's gratitude to you by undertaking the patronage of your Brigade, and to symbolise this action with the presentation of a banner. Although the fact that you are fighting by our side is a sufficient sign that the justice of our cause has reached the hearts of the peoples of all countries, your generous courage is a living example to those democracies which close their eyes with indifference to the titanic struggle of a people who once again are echoing the historic songs of their fight for independence. But today it is not easy to confine within the frontiers of one nation the political and social consequences of a violent convulsion, even though it has its origin in the treason of a few privileged military cliques. When the struggle ends with the victory of the Spanish Republic, those democracies will realise the beneficial repercussions of this fresh bloodshed in our history. On that day, comrades of the International Brigades, after a proud farewell, you will be able to return to your own countries, offering your example, linked with all the bonds of brotherhood to our heroic fighters, as a damning contrast to the conduct of certain others.

When you accept our simple gift, we ask you to see in its very simplicity an expression of the sincerity and warmth of our friendship.

Our union in true comradeship is the anxious desire of those who send you their admiration and cordial Anti-Fascist greetings.

On behalf of the students of the Section (signed), *Camilo Rodríguez-Cobacho*."

THE CHILDREN FROM NOVELDA

There has been no need to teach them one thing; they have seen it with their eyes and felt it in their hearts: only the "best people" can make a career for themselves. One of them says with a delightful innocence: "We too have got a right to be engineers, and doctors, and all the rest that's wanted. That's why I want to go to Russia."

★

They were brought from Novelda to Valencia. The Ministry of Health and the Council of Social Assistance asked the Red Aid for sixty children to complete the parties which are going to Russia and Mexico, above all for orphans of the Militia, and in any case workers' children who could not benefit by remaining in Spain. The Executive Committee of Red Aid asked the District Committees for children. All the children in Spain would like to go on these expeditions. But it was necessary to choose.

★

The first choice was made. Standards and conditions were decided on. But the children's imaginations tried to adjust themselves to them. Six children from Novelda who were over the required age (from 8 to 13 for the U. S. S. R., and from 5 to 13 for

Mexico) succeeded in getting themselves enrolled. They came to Valencia. They were thinking of nothing but the happy hour when they would be able to write from the land of Socialism: "We are in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics: we are working, studying, and when we come back to Spain we shall be real men."

★

Then it turned out that six of the children were over age. They were told that they would have to go back home. An enquiry was made into their means, and it was found that they were not precisely necessitous cases. Nevertheless they had been inspired with an illusion, with the finest hope in their young lives. Later they would have to be satisfied. In the meanwhile they would have to go home.

★

But the children from Novelda not only brought desires and imaginations. They also brought the spirit of rebellion. All of them workers' children, brought up amid the silent protest of the oppressed, they considered that the hour had come to express it. One day they disappeared from the home they were living with other children. A few minutes later they

were at the Ministry asking for a hearing, with their political commissar at their head: "We've come to see what's happening, to find out why we're not being sent to the Soviet Union. It's true we're thirteen, but we're not fourteen yet."

After they had been to the Ministry they went to Red Aid another day. We saw them arrive in marching order. The leader, who was the tallest, had a very dissatisfied expression and was wearing his red shirt.

"We want to see the responsible person", they said.

"Which responsible person?"

"The president, the secretary, whichever it is. But we want to see someone. Tell them we're the boys from Novelda."

They made a big impression at the Red Aid. Word went round all the offices. The typists crowded into the corridor to see what would happen. The boys came along very serious. They all had intelligent and determined faces. One of them was asked to come forward.

"I am the commissar", he said.

★

The commissar, Francisco Abat, was the one with the red shirt. He was one of the biggest and most resolved among them. He

entered with all the dignity and firmness of a man conscious of his responsibility and of the justice of his mission.

"I'm the Commissar of the Novelda boys", he said, "And we've come to protest because we're not being sent to Russia with the rest. Bigger ones than us are going. And we want to know why we're not going."

★

In the home they constantly resort to this comparison. Actually there are bigger ones than they going, but those are younger. The Novelda boys look at them with scorn and use them as a weapon. They tell us:

"Look at that big ninny. He's about two inches taller than me. He's fat and flabby and no good for anything. What sort of an engineer is he going to make?"

They all want to be engineers. One of them explains:

"I want to be an engineer because I'd like it, and because engineers are needed in Spain, and because it's the career of the future."

"And why not a lawyer?"

"Pah - a lawyer...! No, they'd all laugh at me."

★

We try to find out their vocation. Vocation: that romantic lie of bourgeois society. No - the Novelda boys want to be this or that (engineers, pilots, doctors) because it is work which is going to be useful for the new society. We say to one of them:

"Well, let's see. A doctor's work is useful and humanitarian. We're always going to need doctors. Why would you rather be a pilot?"

And he tells us why. Since he began to realise what the fighting was about, he has seen the pilots carry death and through the air; that the pilots murder our country with impunity, and it is the loyal pilots who are the ones to be shot. He has seen the st... we



SPANISH CHILDREN IN AN INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE CHILDREN'S HOME

CHILDREN FROM NOVELDA

and he would like to fly in one of those little white birds of defence and liberty.

Another boy has been listening to us very intently. His greatest wish is to go to the U. S. S. R. It was a dream which he did not believe until he found himself in the motor coach which brought him to Valencia. In order to get into that coach he had to subtract a few months from his age; now he is thinking of what he can do to get on to the boat as well. He heard us asking about the medical profession and thought:

"If they want doctors!..."

Perhaps it was with this in mind that he told us he wanted to be a doctor. The others laughed. One of them remarked:

"If somebody gets ill, you'll have to look after him."

They have all acquired a great sense of discipline... except when they are told they must go home. The commissar, whom they themselves elected during the journey, takes care that the others behave themselves well, although never so well as the women in charge of the dormitories would like. Very seriously he tells us that he spent sleepless nights because a comrade was ill and he had to stay by his bedside to tell the comrade in charge of the home every time the patient wanted something. He speaks in an almost fatherly tone which contrasts with his size and his mischievous expression. And when Mary tries to make him

understand the necessity of respecting the orders of superiors, of being disciplined and behaving like a real young soldier, he replies in a self possessed, serious way, attempting to refute the arguments which stand in the way of him going to the Soviet Union:

"Why, exactly, do you want to go to the U. S. S. R.?"

"Because the U. S. S. R. is the country of today and tomorrow; because when I come back to Spain I shall be a man and teach my comrades what we don't know now; because there are no possibilities here."

Another of them, Vicente Vaillo, joins in the conversation. He begins by showing us his membership cards of the U. G. T. the United Youth and the S. R. I. We say to him:

"Look, you're already growing up, and in Spain too we are fighting for a society in which all children will have the opportunity of studying and 'becoming men'. But we've got to fight to create this society. And I've seen boys like you at the front. But let's suppose that there's no reason for boys going to the front..."

"No, no", interrupts the boy, "There isn't any reason for them to go to the front, while there are so many men hanging about here wearing ties, and no one knows what they're doing..."

A small boy with a quiet, intelligent face joins in. He is not one

of those who are excluded from the expedition. He puts in his word when he thinks the moment is ripe.

"I'd go to the front", he says, "I'd go to win the war and then come back to settle things with the men around here..."

"Yes", we interrupt, "But the war isn't won only at the front. And what about those who have work to do behind the lines?"

"I'm not talking about them", he explains "I know the war has to be fought behind the lines as well. But there are a lot who do nothing except live on the fat of the land like the gentlemen used to..."

Those children argue like men. Those children want to go to Russia. We tell them:

"Suppose you're sent to another country."

They think of France, England, Mexico. They also think of waiting in the homes of Red Aid until another expedition is organised.

Anything except going home. One of them says:

"It cost my mother tears of blood to let me come. And now..."

Rather than go home, they say, they will run away to the front. They will throw themselves out of the lorry, they will go here, there and anywhere. Already one of them is of stealing along to the quay, creeping into the boat, and being on his way to Russia before they find out..."

LINE NOVAS

11th April, 1937.

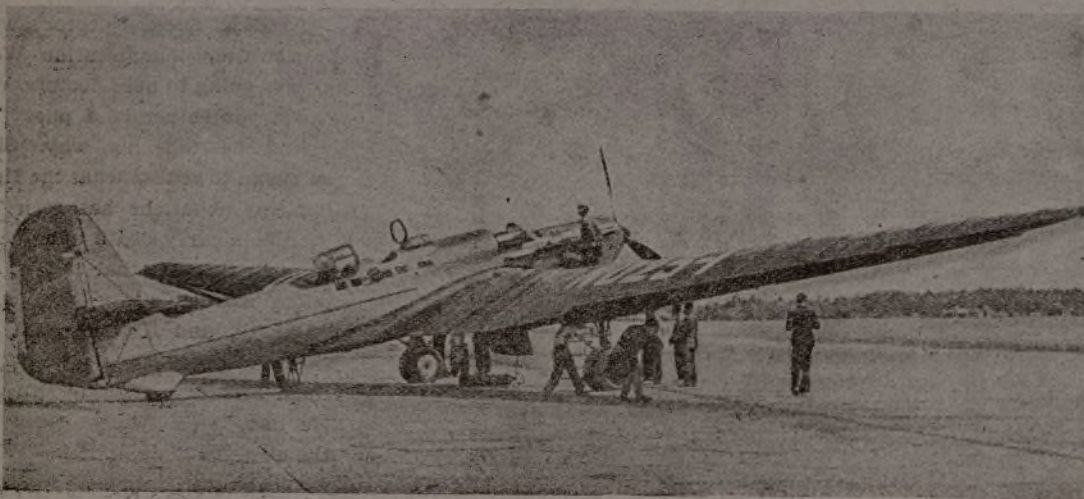
American Press on Events in China

WASHINGTON (Aug. 20). — "The Washington Post" has published a sharp article on Japanese aggression in China. Never in history, according to the article, has there been such open, insolent aggressive action, undertaken in complete defiance of world civilization, as the present attack by the Japanese on Shanghai. Japan, writes this paper, will never succeed in justifying this crime. The majority of Americans, the paper further points out, hope that the Japanese invaders of Shanghai will receive a severe set-back and that the Chinese will show themselves sufficiently strong to put



an end to the present Japanese aggression.

The paper points out that the Department of State has refrained from invoking the neutrality legislation and in this reflects the anti-Japanese sentiments of the American people. The American people don't want the government to take such actions as would facilitate the Japanese efforts to invade and grab China. The American people "know that Japan, six years ago, delivered a crushing blow against the machinery to maintain world peace and attempted to destroy quite consciously the influence of the League of Nations; they know that Japan in this manner cleared the road for the Italian conquest of Ethiopia and for the present Italo-German intervention in Spain; they know that if Japanese aggression proves successful it will lead to other countries now kept in bounds following the example of Japan in other parts of the world until finally even the U. S. A. will be involved in the conflict".



Soviet Plane Which Made the Long Flight Over the North Pole.

TOWARDS A WORLD ANTI-FASCIST FRONT

DE BROUCKERE, PRESIDENT OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, VISITS SPAIN

On Tuesday, August 6th, Louis De Brouckère, President of the Socialist International, spoke to the French troops of the 14th Brigade.

The setting, medieval and redolent of the old regime, reminiscent of the fallen power of the kings and of the clergy, added a peculiar flavor to an event the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. But overwhelming the old monarchical atmosphere, there was a whole repre-

Fascist Government concerning the sinking of Soviet Merchant ships was made public. And in that day, with the Soviet Union openly challenging the piratical government of Mussolini, the speech of De Brouckère took on added importance.

COMMANDER PRESIDES

The meeting was opened with a brief but telling introduction by Commander Dumont, who stated plainly but forcefully that the old rivalries between Communist and Socialist in civilian and pre-civil war time had transformed themselves into competitions between them in the quality of the work performed. Then Bastien, political Commissar for the Franco-Belgian Battalion, took up the slogan originated by De Brouckère-



sentation of a new world, of a world in the making.

In a hotel built for the comfort and delectation of bourgeois tourism attracted to the spot to gaze upon the many and surprisingly well kept relics of the past, were gathered soldiers and officers of the International Brigades, officials of the Spanish Popular Front Government officers of the Spanish Popular Army, representatives of the Communist and of the Socialist Internationals. The date of the meeting, happened to be the day on which the Soviet Union's note to the Italian

re in Belgium, "To Unite or to die", and, expressing admiration for the slogan and for its originator, welcomed him in the name of the Brigade.

The Grand Old Man of the Bel-



Comrade Gallo Showing De Brouckère the Battlefields.

gian Socialist Party stated very plainly that if he did not remain in Spain to fight last year, when he came to Madrid in August, it was because of his advanced age (68), his weight, (over 250 pounds)—De Brouckère is six feet, four inches tall—and chiefly because the present Minister of War, Indalecio Prieto, asked him to return to Belgium and there to take up the fight in behalf of the Spanish Popular Front Government.

DE BROUCKERE'S SPEECH

His subsequent statements follow:

"I am in favor", he said. "Of liberty, of all liberties, by which I mean peace and the emancipation of the proletariat... We in Spain are faced with a war which is both one of invasion and a civil war. The two are being fought simultaneously, and whatever development this war may have, we shall see that this two-fold character of the war will become general, because more and more we shall see that these wars are wars of International Fascism against the International Popular forces... I have followed the

events in Spain and everything which happened elsewhere as a consequence of Spanish events. I have arrived at the conclusion that international aid for Spain can be organized, because besides the class interests which are in danger today, we have also the national interests which must be defended.

"International Fascism, which today is invading Spain, is not only the enemy and the executioner of the Spanish people, but is also the enemy of the French farmers and of the French small busin-



nessmen, and of the British commercial interests... These interests are in danger because the governments of these two nations have allowed international law to be flouted with impunity. Respect for international law must be imposed. A Union of democratic nations must be formed,

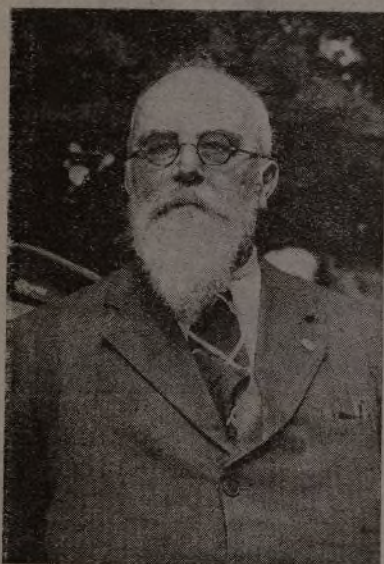


De Brouckère Greeting Members of the 14th International Brigade.

All the progressive parties must see to it that a mobilization of popular opinion takes place for the purpose of convincing the Government to take immediate and energetic action against fascism. And if these governments cannot be convinced to take action, then this same popular opinion, mobilized on an international scale, must become strong enough to compel the Government to take action...

"UNITE OR DIE"

"We must unite or die. But this unification process must be the result of patient and careful



LOUIS DE BROUCKERE.

work, and not limited to the two political parties, which can be called functionalized, that is of the Communist and the Socialist Parties. This unification must include all the popular forces in the fight against fascism. This Union must be of an international character, because the task is an international one."

Two days previously De Brouckere spoke in Albacete. There



in the Casa del Pueblo, De Brouckere addressed a large delegation of the International Brigades and unreservedly expressed admiration for the Soviet Union which alone, through its help, made possible the stemming of the tide which was hurling the Spanish unarmed militias across Spain and to eventual defeat. There in Albacete

he developed at greater length the question of international assistance to Spain and against fascism as a whole. Pointing out the neglect of the League of Nations, he stated that the democratic countries (France, Great Britain, the U. S. S. R. and the United States) will be the powers which will decide the final battle. The other nations although small and therefore of relative importance, can also bring their contribution to the common fight. But because the United States is so far away, the deciding and most important voice will be that of Great Britain and of France, because they are the ones in most immediate danger.

We know full well, said De Brouckere, that the British conservative government has sympathies for Franco, but now with fascism in its insolence sinking the ships of these countries, we see our fondest hopes being realized and a change of attitude of these countries because they cannot afford that there should be built over the corpse of Spain a menace to their independence.

United States Will Not Recognize "Belligerent Rights" of Franco

WASHINGTON, D. C. (Sept. 5).—The Government of the United States has rejected the proposal formulated recently by Uruguay that the U. S. associate itself with the recognition of the belligerent rights of the Spanish rebels.

★

Secretary of State Hull has declared to representatives of the press that on the problem of navigation in the Mediterranean, all that the United States could do at the present is to warn its ships of all classes that the danger on that sea has increased as a result of recently noted incidents.

He also stated that "the United States has called the attention of 'non-intervention' countries to the fact that North America has not recognized Franco's rights as a belligerent, and that the U. S. A., despite the fact that it does not participate in the work of the London Committee, follows with great interest and sympathy the efforts of the European nations to limit the effects of the Spanish Civil War".

INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES HONORED IN MADRID

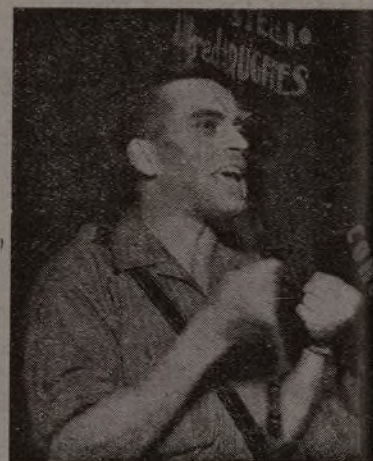
The meeting held in the Monumental Theatre last Sunday, July 5th, took place amidst an enthusiasm which showed the feelings of the Madrilenos towards the International Brigades.

Held under the auspices of the Socorro Rojo Internacional and for the purpose of paying homage to the Brigades who are now in the hottest and incidentally the most victorious fighting this war of liberation has yet seen, the meeting was addressed by Luigi Gallo, Inspector General for the International Brigades; Lieutenant-Colonel Ortega; Arthur, Commissar of Organization for the Brigades; Félix Galán, of the Socialist Party; Osorio Tafall of the Left Republican Party; Isidoro Diéguez of the Communist Party; Bonnet of the International Red Aid of France, and Antón, Political Commissar for the Army of the Center.

Ortega reminded the people of Madrid that those who make light of the help given by the International Brigades should be reminded of the tragic days of last November, when the fascist hordes were rapidly advancing towards Madrid, pushing on the militia who in spite of all their courage could not stem the invading tide because of the lack of discipline and organization in their lines. It was the International Brigades, said Ortega, who taught discipline and organization to the Spanish ar-

my by their example and courage.

Antón, who was not scheduled to speak, but did so at the insistent request of the audience, decided to address the meeting not as a political Commissar but as a Madrileño. And as a Madrileño he opened by thanking the members



Political Commissar ANTÓN.

of the International Brigades for the help they gave in the saving of Madrid. He said that Spain knows and never will forget the men of the Brigades, and concluded with the promise that when Spain is freed of this invasion the Spanish Volunteers for Liberty will be going with all the others to Rome and to Berlin and there put an end to the last remnants of Fascist power.



Quinto, After We Broke Through.

TROTSKYIST TRAITORS

The following letter is from a member of the Independent Labour Party who came to Spain as a volunteer in January and joined the P. O. U. M. militia.

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I was a Socialist, although I had not always followed a clear policy. It was logical, however, that when Fascism made its criminal attack, on the People's Republic of Spain, I, together with other workers, should come to take part in the great struggle.

I arrived in Spain on January II, 1937, with a contingent of volunteers from the British Independent Labour Party, and I intended to go to Madrid. But for reasons which I do not know, we stopped at the Lenin Barracks in Barcelona. These barracks were controlled by the Worker's Party of Marxist Unification (P. O. U. M.).

The only thing we did was to go on a daily march to and from a nearby field, which infuriated the group of Englishmen, who were only a small minority. At last we went with the P. O. U. M. militia to the Alcubierre sector on the Aragon front, under the command of Commander Kopp. In this position I noticed the first signs that something strange was happening.

FOOD SUPPLIES VANISH

Food and other supplies were very scarce, and on investigating we discovered that although the mules left the base at Alcubierre

fully loaded, by the time they reached the front lines the best of everything had disappeared. Although this was proved, nothing was done to prevent it and no enquiry was held. What was done with all that went astray? I think this deserves an explanation.

Every night at about II o'clock, the comrades who were on guard heard the noise of the cart and saw its light. It moved up between our positions on the left and the Fascist lines. We received orders not to fire on this light and we were absolutely forbidden to waylay it or investigate the matter. Our leaders gave us no satisfactory explanation, and no one appeared to know anything about this mysterious cart, except that it used to enter the enemy lines without being fired on.

Once during a skirmish in the daytime we discovered, on the route over which the cart had followed, a hut which showed signs — cigar packets, chocolate wrapping, etc.—of having been occupied regularly by the Fascists and their people.

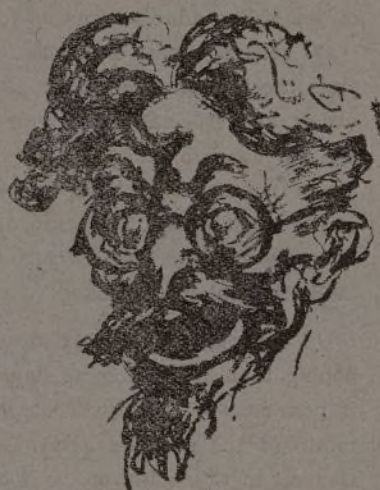
TRANSFERRED TO HUESCA

We planned to trick their watchfulness at the first opportunity and follow the cart, but at night all our plans were brought to nought, as we were transferred to the Huesca sector.

And these things happened in the so-called Anti-Fascist Militia of the P. O. U. M.

In Huesca the shortage of food continued. We were very badly

off for clothes, and one day at the supply depot at Montflorite, which was their base, I saw an order to deliver to us 75 sets of soldiers' clothes, which were called "fishermens' suits" here. During the weeks which followed one or the other of us wandered round the depot to grab them when they arrived, but they never did arrive.



Very soon afterwards I had evidence of the same thing at Barbastro, a town about 25 kilometres further to the rear.

SUSPICIOUS ACTIONS

One would like to believe at least that the Commander was above all suspicion; but Commander Kopp used to say that he had been in Huesca while the Fascists were occupying it.

On another occasion, precisely a night when we were advancing, a patrol saw Kopp barefacedly jumping over the barbed wire and

returning from the Fascist lines.

And from the political aspect as well, the P. O. U. M. was working in favour of Fascism. The political reports which their representatives gave were full of humbug and gave us cause to believe that workers were going to be rapidly crushed in the hinterland, and that a period of terror was being prepared.

Various reports of bloody repression of the workers in the rear reached us from time to time, and the reasons which were given to explain the shortage of arms was that the Government was trying to annihilate the militia of the P. O. U. M.

DISCOVERS THE TRUTH

If I had had a more complete political training, perhaps I should not have allowed myself to be drawn along by all this nonsensical talk; but unfortunately in my political ignorance I let myself be led into the crime of joining in the struggle instigated against the Anti-Fascist Government in the streets of Barcelona.

Then I realised that the many rifles, machine guns and tanks, which we had at our disposal in such vast quantities in Barcelona, were all the arms for which we had longed so much at the front, and that the real reason for the shortage of arms at the front was this illegal arsenal of arms stolen by the P. O. U. M. and other elements. How glad I am that at the end of two days I had sufficient sense to see a little



Peasant from Belchite whose Family was Killed by the Fascists.



Fascist Artillery Captured at Quinto.

more clearly the criminal business which was being perpetrated by the P. O. U. M. and some of their friends, and extricated myself from it without having stained my hands with the blood of the real Anti-Fascist workers.

OPEN FRATERNIZATION

On my return to the front I found open fraternisation reigned between the forces of the P. O. U. M. and the Fascists: writing paper, tobacco, drinks, etc., were being exchanged.

Our position was 150 yards from the Fascist trenches, and in spite of the fact that they were constantly asking us to go over to them, we were ordered not to reply to their fire.

At that time the militia on the Aragon front were relieved by the People's Army, and among the P. O. U. M. forces it was rumoured that when the moment came for our relief the order would be given to resist the People's Army with force.

But every day I realised more and more the part which the P. O. U. M. was playing in favour of Fascism, and together with my friend Arthur I asked for my discharge. It is not necessary to give in detail all their excuses, except that the front was weak and not a single man could leave which were used to explain their refusal. Nevertheless the P. O. U. M. authorities gave permission to an American Trotskyist, H. Milton, to go to Valencia.

REFUSED TO FIGHT FRIENDS

Arthur and myself refused to take up arms under the command of the P. O. U. M. and against the Spanish Government, and we offered to work on fortifications which were very necessary in our sector. The P. O. U. M. answered by threatening us with prison and the firing squad. We fled to Barbastro and hid there for nine days until a friend told us that things had been arranged for us. We returned to the front, and three weeks later we were relieved by the People's Army without any incident. Then the Workers' Party of Marxist Unification seemed to have a great deal of interest in getting rid of us, and gave us our discharge at once.

And that was the end of my experiences in the P. O. U. M. mi-

INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES CITED FOR TAKING QUINTO

Following the storming of Quinto, in the Aragon offensive, the 15th and 11th Brigades received a telegram from General Walter, in Command of the 35th Division, conveying the congratulations of General Pozas, Commander of the Army of the East. The telegram from General Walter, which is here printed in full, is in effect a citation for bravery in action on the part of these two International Brigades:

"The General in Command of the Army of the East, in his telegram of yesterday, addresses us as follows:

"I send my most enthusiastic congratulations to all the Commanders, officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers in that brave Division, and especially to yourself and to the 11th and 15th Brigades, for the heroism and fighting spirit shown in the brilliant action of the taking of Quinto — an episode of great importance for the triumph of our cause which, I am sure, these forces will even surpass with new victories as important as this last. Forward, the 35th Division!—POZAS, General in Command."

"I am very glad to add my own warmest congratulations to these, hoping that in the coming days the 35th Division will surpass itself, if possible — winning brilliant and decisive victories which are the motto of the glorious Army Corps to which we belong.—WALTER, General in Command of the 35th Division."

litia, whose Fascist role is seen clearly in the above. I must admit that I needed a great deal of time to realise the truth, and that it was only external events which made me consider the question more deeply and see it in its true light. But I should never have fallen into these errors if I had given more attention to my political education.

As I said at the beginning, these circumstances weakened my faith in the socialist movement. But now I understand that in spite of

these backward steps and the treachery of certain leaders in whom I had confidence at that time, we workers must carry on the struggle, and now with greater experience, I hope to play a useful part in the fight against Fascism and the fight for Socialism.

Long live the Republic of the Spanish People!

Long live the victory of the workers of the world!

Salud!

J. A. FRANFORD



REFUGEE KIDS GET HELP FROM U. S.

VALENCIA.—The first American-supported home for refugee children in Spain was inaugurated recently when a group of fifty children arrived at the Thomas Jefferson home in Can Toni Gros, Catalonia. The home, a magnificent country villa north of Barcelona in the lower Pyrenees has obtained the full financial support of the American United Youth Committee for a period of at least one year.

As the children arrived at the destination after their day's journey from Madrid in one of the evacuation trucks of the British Evacuation Service, they cheered and sang for the young American-



cans who had made possible the new home, safe from bombardments. The next morning the children wrote to their parents in Madrid describing their new country home.

Most of the children have never lived outside Madrid. They soon scattered in the fields to watch the peasants bring in the harvest of wheat and potatoes. Many of the children were there after almost nine months' siege in Madrid, but gained weight before the month was over.

The first American colony under the control of the Spanish Ministry of Education which has established similar homes for almost fifty thousand children from Madrid, Estremadura, and Malaga since the outbreak of hostilities. There are now almost twenty homes supported from abroad, chiefly from England, Belgium, Holland, France, Norway, Sweden and America. In the United States campaigns have been started to raise money for at least fifty more homes, while Canada has begun to raise money to support five hundred children in a Canadian Children's Colony. There are already two international children's villages, in Can Toni Gros and Puigcerda, and others are planned.

AN INTERVIEW WITH ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Alvarez del Vayo is one of the most beloved men in Spain today as well as one of the most important. As Commissar of War, his is the task of molding the political and moral character of the Popular Army, of keeping its ideal and sentiments geared to those of the people. As former Minister of Foreign Affairs, his opinions are still of great weight in that ministry. As a leading left-wing Socialist, previously identified with Caballero, his eloquent advocacy of the united party of the proletariat, has made him a key figure in the relations of the Socialist and Communist Parties.

We caught him in between interviewing a delegation from the Syndicalist Party and engagement to address the graduates of the School of the War Commissariat. We addressed some questions to him that we knew would interest the comrades in the International Brigades.

UNITY ESSENTIAL

"Unity", he declared, in answer to the query that came promptest to our mind, "must be seen against a perspective of a long struggle before victory is assured. This would not be so if the enemy were not supported by the fascist states and if the democratic powers were not indifferent. With this in mind it becomes imperative to have unity of the nation, and a united proletarian party will aid this. It will be a powerful party and thus be better able to carry through the will of the country. It will suppress the inevitable polarization that occurs when parties, in order to preserve their existence, polemicise against one another.



Another Russian Atrocity! They've Stolen our North pole!

The masses in Spain wanted unity even before the outbreak of the rebellion. The latter has persuaded the Socialist Party executive of the advantages of unity. The United Party will not be used

e. fascist) opinion was that it would endure for two years. But that fascist leaders were banking upon the break-up of the Popular Front and incidents such as the uprising of May.



A Street in Belchite After We Occupied the Town.

against other proletarian groups, but will aid the harmonious working together of all parties and trade unions. I am of course for the unity of the U.G.T. and C.N.T., but realism compels me to state that united action will have to precede the stage that the Communist and Socialist parties have now achieved. I think only through unity can Spain win the war. It is a demand of the war." Comrade del Vayo is a man of feeling and deep conviction, and it required no shewdness on our part to discern that unity for Comrade del Vayo was no opportunistic, political pose, but something in which his whole being was involved.

IMPORTANCE STRESSED

Comrade del Vayo's emphasis on unity as a pre-condition of winning the war is borne out by comments made by H. V. Kaltenborn, the radio commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting System who recently visited rebel Spain. He was told there by leading fascists that if the war was to be decided on a military basis, even their (i.

the thousands who are only waiting for an opportunity to desert. In the rearguard of the fascists we all know what troubles they are having." Our slogan, added the Commissar, that ours is a war of national independence, has begun to have its effect upon the rebel rearguard in the awakening of patriotic sentiment among the Spanish rebels.

BASES FOR UNITY

A corollary of unity on the Loyalist side, said del Vayo, is the broadening of the present base of the Government to include representation of the C.N.T. But there can be no collaboration where anarchist ministers give assurances of one kind and the anarchist masses act otherwise. The only basis for collaboration is the keeping of agreements.

We asked Comrade del Vayo about the indictment of unification as just a measure whereby the Communist Party absorbs the other. He pointed out that the Communist Party in its letter to the Socialist Party, stated that unity should be achieved in such a way that no individual and no tendency in the Socialist Party should be excluded.

The Communist Party appreciates that the Socialist Party in Spain has an enormous tradition behind it, and that it has nurtured many of the trade union leaders. The Communists declare that these trade union militants will form the best cadres for the United Party. We must also remem-



One of Belchite's Strongly Fortified Positions.

ber the example of the united party in Catalonia where the name Socialist was retained and where the two outstanding leaders, Comorera and Vidiella, were members of the Socialist Party before unification.

AID FROM U. S. S. R.

We then broached a delicate subject, namely, those who accuse the present Government of destroying the gains of the July 18 revolutionary upsurge. "I cannot waste any time denying assertions of pressure from the U.S.S.R. They have given us splendid aid. They never have tried and they know they cannot direct Spanish policy. Spain will decide for itself what is best for her. It would be to fall into demagoguery to try now to decide how Spain is going to be to morrow. I believe that the program of the United Party must be very concretely related to the present war and economic situation."

"It is insane to say Spain is not going in a revolutionary direction. Only look at the country and one can see that it is not the capitalist Spain of 1936. But we cannot allow ourselves the luxury of socio-economic experiments. The revolution is there, but the first condition of winning the revolution is winning the war. If we do not win the war we can make a fine revolution on paper sitting around café tables in Paris."

MAY REBELLION CRIMINAL

Concerning the P. O. U. M., Comrade Del Vayo is awaiting the trial. But he asserted emphatically that the May rebellion was criminal, and that there can be no question but that the P. O. U. M. organ, "Batalla", openly incited to rebellion, and that the speeches of Nin before the uprising called for rebellion.

The interview ended with Comrade Del Vayo telling us of his recent visit to the Madrid front. "Although I spoke only of military matters, it was very significant that I was welcomed all over by tremendous shouts of 'Long Live Unity'. The soldiers at the front feel most keenly the needs of war. And they reflect the general atmosphere behind Loyalist lines.—UNITY."

J. P. L.

POPULAR CULTURE

VALENCIA. — Popular Culture, the name of the association that is brightening the days of many wounded in the hospitals and bringing pleasure to thousands of soldiers at the front, is formed from an amalgamation of the cultural sections of more than nine other organisations. The Left Republicans, the Socialist Youth, the C. N. T. (the Anarchist trade union federation), the Spanish Federation of School Teachers — every large anti-fascist organisation is represented in Popular Culture.

When the war began last July,

to the soldiers on the rebel side. This work was often carried out under enemy fire.

CULTURAL TRUCK

The next job was to equip one of the trucks with a machine for printing, a wireless set, and a small film projector, as well as a



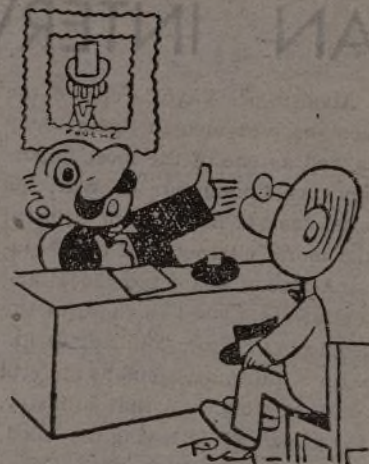
Radio Seville.

Popular Culture instantly established a central office in Madrid, obtained the use of two trucks, and began its work on the fronts. Not the least part of this work has been propaganda directed at the enemy. In the early days of the attacks on Madrid the Popular Culture truck distributed about half a million leaflets giving a true account of the war

comprehensive library. With this equipment the truck of Popular Culture began its tour of the fronts. Since that day its work has grown out of recognition. In the place of the one small library it has collected many thousand books from which it has selected 130,000 considered suitable for the soldiers and wounded. With these it has set up libraries in all parts of the fronts, in the barracks, in hospitals, children's homes. In addition to this it has established "Corners of Culture" in many hospitals where books, gramopho-



nes, and records are kept, lectures and film shows given, meetings held. A dramatic section has also been founded in connection with



"Don't be a dope! Sell bombs, not bonds."

the "Barraca" theatre, an amateur travelling company directed by the famous poet García Lorca until his death at the hands of the Fascists.



SAVES ART TREASURES

Popular Culture has done a great deal of work in saving the national treasures of Spain. It was instrumental in saving the books from the second most valuable library in Spain, that of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at University City, Madrid.

In addition to the 248 libraries they have created, the film shows, and other valuable works Popular Culture distributes about 25,000 newspapers daily; gives regular radio talks for soldiers and patients in the hospitals; and helps the soldiers produce their own newspapers. They organised the



Children's Exhibition of antifascist drawings, which will be shown later in England and the United States. Their work both at the front and in the rear guard has been invaluable, and the spirit in which it is carried out is best expressed by their own slogan: "The rifle of today is the guarantee of the culture of tomorrow."

M. M.

DIANA (U. G. T.).—Larra, 6. Madrid



Tanks Roll Towards Mediann.