

SUPPLEMENT NO. 4



Volunteer for Liberty

ISSUED BY THE VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

We are issuing this special supplement to the Volunteer for Liberty in order to bring to you the main speeches and editorial comment of the giant Anti-Franco Rally held in Madison Square Garden on Jan. 2nd under the auspices of the Nation Associates.

PM

P.M. WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 3, 1945

Negrin Denounces Recognition of Franco

He Explains His Long Silence to Anti-Franco Rally in Madison Square Garden

Tonight I am breaking my long silence on the Spanish cause. For I am not one of those who feel that this cause should be allowed to die with the shameful episode that precipitated the occupation of all our national territory and the utter subjection of our people, helpless and manacled, to those confederates of Hitler and Mussolini who won for themselves the distinction of being the first Quislings.

I speak now because we are now entering the decisive period in which the attitudes of our friends will determine the very future of Spain.

From March to September, 1939, I never ceased admonishing that the present conflict was imminent. And even more, only a very few days before the outbreak, I offered the French Government my services as mediator to see if there was not some solution to the fatal differences between those powers who two years later were at last to be brought together into an alliance by a still more tragic necessity. What might not have been accomplished if this alliance had come into existence in 1939 instead of in 1941?

From the very beginning, my policy, which is to say the policy of the Government of the Spanish Republic, has been to try to convince all concerned of the absolute necessity of building the widest possible front against Germany: a front which would include even the country to which today I am speaking, the United States of America, because we knew all along that if this war was ever to be won the United States would have to bring in her immense power and limitless resources.

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The Fight Against Franco

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN in New York echoed again and again on Tuesday night with America's warm appreciation for the heroic men and women of unconquerable Spain. It was a fine rally in that respect: it was a tribute to a brother people, a clear recognition of Franco's complicity with the Axis, and it showed a deep comprehension that a democratic Europe demands the victory of a democratic Spain.

In addition to the "Left," which understood the importance of Spain from way back, the meeting was distinguished by the presence of important middle class figures, by a fighting Congressman like John Coffee of Washington, by Bishop Bromley Oxnam, and by several American Catholic laymen. Apart from expressing the stand of the CIO's last convention on Spain, James Carey's presence, alongside Dr. Francis McMahon and Quentin Reynolds all demonstrated the growing unity of many faiths on behalf of the Spanish people. And the overwhelming applause for the Lincoln Brigade was not only a moving tribute to its sacrifice eight years ago, but showed how much the American people as a whole have learned to distinguish the tested fighters against fascism.

Coffee's Speech

Perhaps the single most important speech was made by Rep. Coffee. He is not only an old friend of the Spanish people, but has one of the clearest views on the future of Spain and American policy. He very properly linked the German domination of Spain to the postwar danger confronting our own country, the menace of a fascist revival. He emphasized clearly how much the Spanish Falange hampers our national interest in a united hemisphere. And he made it plain that the rupture of relations with Franco would represent support—not simply to groups of

Until this moment came, I thought it better to keep silent. My silence was self-imposed and not the result of any suggestions whatsoever, much less of any pressure which I would never for a moment have tolerated. This silence has lasted more than five years.

I will tell you why in all this time I have said nothing. I did not want to add fuel to the political bickering within the Spanish emigration. For to have agitated, or tried to ventilate, outside of Spain certain questions which the Spanish people alone are competent to decide, would have stimulated the misunderstandings that are unhappily a feature of exile and easily degenerate into personalities and back-fence squabbling.

Spain's Destiny Depends on Defeat of Axis

I have kept silent so as to center attention on the struggle against the Axis, on the outcome of which the destiny of Spain depends as much as that of any other country. For without a clear-cut victory over the Axis there would be no Spanish cause nor would there be a Spain either, for long.



Juan Negrín

I have kept silent so as to be able the better to labor for the day when we Spaniards may share with the victors in the victory for which we have sacrificed as greatly as any others. And my silence, far from signifying inactivity, was rather, by the force of circumstances, a prerequisite to any kind of effective action in placing Spain in the international scene in such a way that, when the Allied triumph comes, we can have our rightful participation in it.

Alone we fought. For three long years we stood alone, completely alone, save for the glorious participation of the volunteers of the Brigades. During those years it fell to Spain to lead the fight against the Axis and their acolytes.

In September, 1939, the direction of the war fell to other hands. We were prevented from mixing into it because the true character of the Spanish conflict was still ignored. Whether we liked the course events were taking, or not, we were obliged not to interfere. This was the only way that we could hope to be heard when we had to be heard or to render service when service was required.

Today things have changed. The war is nearing its end. The death agony of the enemy may drag on, but final defeat is unavoidable.

Spanish Problem No Longer Untouchable

The Spanish problem is no longer the *noli me tangere*—the great untouchable, unmentionable of Allied diplomacy. Those who a few months ago were playing up to various little chieftains of Spanish factions today cast them off disdainfully.

For this reason it is urgent that the situation of Spain be clarified so that after the final destruction of the Axis, we can avoid being relegated to the corner of the vanquished by the very people who brought about our defeat, and so that we may avoid interference by remote control and the disguised efforts of supposed friends, acting unofficially, to handcuff the will of our people and to block the peaceful transition that we hope for from the praetorian tyranny that now rules in Spain to the legal regime of liberty, tolerance, and democracy which was established by the constitution which the Spanish people voted into being in 1931.

Ever since July, 1936, the Government of the Spanish Republic has considered itself, without interruption, in a state of war with the Axis powers and has been in fact at war with Germany and Italy from the moment when they provoked the military rebellion, made us the first victims of what was later to be called "internal aggression," and then topped off their crime by invading our country with regular units of their respective armies and air forces. But it was the Madrid coup d'état—or, if you like, *putsch*—which was the most fitting epilogue to the crude and tragic policy that was nonintervention.

On abandoning Spanish soil, as the result of this *putsch*, the Government of the Republic proclaimed its legitimacy; and, on arriving a few hours later in France, reaffirmed it together with its determination to fight on endlessly until it could bring about the reestablishment of the Republic.

Never did we capitulate. Never did we surrender. Never did we for one second entertain the thought that we had been defeated.

Conflagration Came Anyway

But the conflagration came anyway. Our position I made clear at once—by personal overtures to the Allied governments and also to world opinion by a public statement. I called upon our fellow Spaniards to rally to the war and to enlist as volunteers wherever their services would be accepted. By tens of thousands they came forward. They offered their lives, these Spanish Republicans, and won undying glory at Narvik, in Syria, at Bir Hacheim, in Tunisia, in Normandy, in Paris, with the guerrillas of the French Maquis, on the steppes of Russia, in a hundred other places.

Here and now let me tell you that the Spaniards of the Republican emigration who volunteered to fight in Allied ranks outnumber many times—and I repeat, many times—the mercenaries recruited in Spain by the gunmen of the Falange for the Blue Division that was sent to fight against the Russians.

On the day of Petain's capitulation I left France for Great Britain. I went to England because I wanted my physical presence to symbolize my loyalty and our loyalty to the country that then was the only champion of the common cause, and to demonstrate the faith we had in her when not too many shared it.

In relating this, it is simply to record the fact that Spain is not, and never has been, neutral—for Spain has never let up for one second in this war; and to record the fact that Spain is a belligerent: the first belligerent. If I may remind you, this war for us is now going into its ninth year!

Of course, when I say Spain, I mean the real Spain: the Spain of the Spanish people, represented by the institutions of their Republic, and not the Spain that is a mere geographical reference and is today an occupied country.

It is in the name of this true Spain that I am speaking to you here, its American friends, so as to assure you that the Spanish people are ready and able to handle their own affairs, on condition that we are left alone, on condition that our hands are not tied, on condition that we are not subjected to pressures and maneuvers from without. We do not ask for—and please get this—we do not ask for, and we do not want, intervention by other governments or armies. We have had two centuries of experience with foreign interventions and a bitter memory, so costly have they been for us. For the last of these interventions—the one that by supreme irony was so hypocritically labeled nonintervention—we are still paying. Nor do we draw any comfort from certain recent examples of the same kind.

We would welcome, and we would be grateful for, the sympathy, the help, the collaboration of friends. But the intervention of Powers? Not Emphatically, no! We only ask that no obstacles be placed in our way and that no aid be extended surreptitiously to the enemies of the Republic with arms so subtle that they cannot be matched by the meager means at our disposal. No, no intervention, please! All we ask is that the screws not be put on us to hold us down and that our future not be denied us.

But, if there exists a disposition to repay the grave insult that was done to justice and to the rights of people in the recognition of Franco six years ago, then the thing to do is to break with this regime on the simple ground that it violates the expressed will of our people and is an outrage to human dignity.

Oh, I know that the bickering among Spanish Republicans has been a source of concern to many among you.

Let Them Calm Their Fears

But, as for our friends, let them calm their fears. Disagreement is a phenomenon common to every democracy. And it is a phenomenon which is aggravated among exiles by the sting of misery and failure which all of us carry.

But let our friends rest assured that when the moment comes we shall all of us prove capable of dominating our animosities and our discords as we did in 1936 when the war broke over us. And rest assured also that there will be in Spain a stable, tolerant, and progressive Republic—a Republic without vengeance, grounded in a generous amnesty. It will be an amnesty like the one pledged by our Government during the war with the unanimous approval of the Parliament and the people, not an amnesty full of tricks and traps like those proclaimed by Franco. For our Republic will be strong. It will be strong because it will be built upon, and cemented by, the will of the Spanish people. Because it will be strong it will be generous. It will be generous because it will find its inspiration in the humane traditions of people. It will bring about a nationwide reconciliation. For without reconciliation there can be no future possible for the new Spain that is to play her part in the creation of the new world of peace, liberty, and progress.

Franco would represent support—not simply to groups of the Spanish emigration—but to the Spanish resistance movement itself, which must be the inspiration for help from the United Nations.

But we also think that the Madison Square Garden rally had at least three major weaknesses. Many speakers, among them the initiators of the meeting, tended to make the fight against Franco a fight against President Roosevelt. There were even suggestions that this fine movement for Spain needs to be connected with a totally mistaken and irrelevant battle which a few liberals conducted over the State Department's reorganization.

The Administration has its shortcomings; we do not agree with its delay in clarifying our policy toward Spain. But we insist that the fight against Franco must be conducted in the spirit of the President's entire foreign policy.

Bad Undertones

In a negative way, and often directly, some speakers allowed anti-Soviet undertones to creep in, which inevitably become overtones against the United Nations. Dr. McMahon's fears of a "left totalitarianism," or Mr. Gerbasi's ridiculous efforts to ward off the "red scare" hardly befitted the occasion. Even Dr. Juan Negrín's emphasis on how the Republic stood alone in the 30's is uncharitable and inaccurate; after all, Mexico and the Soviet Union did champion Spain's battle. Why be ashamed of this historic fact, which aided, and still aids, the Spanish nation?

As a whole, the meeting served to rebuke that fragment of emigre politicians, centered around Martinez Barrio and Indalecio Prieto, who are obstacles to Spanish unity, and base themselves openly on United Nations disunity. Except for one or two friendly references from Dr. McMahon, the rally was a setback to such professional splitters. Yet, it must also be said that the meeting did not fully focus attention on the fight of the Spanish people itself, organized around the Supreme Junta of National Unity. Exiles—the best of them—have a great part to play. But liberation will come from within Spain, as has been true of every other occupied nation. And the Resistance within Spain is not narrowly confined to partisans of the defeated Republic; it embraces all those who wish to overthrow Franco's tyranny now—irrespective of the past. It is for a new fight, and not an old one, which the Spanish people are now marshalling their forces.

So also with the American movement to help Spain. Let it be organized to include every class and political force which has learned the importance of a democratic Spain to our own national interest. Not the "liberals" or the "Left" alone (not even the entire Left), but men of all classes and parties, including those who have learned the tragic mistake of the 30's, ought to be mobilized now. Together with the President and through the United Nations, everyone should press forward with support to the Spanish Resistance, withdrawal of help from Franco, passage of Rep. Coffee's resolution.

Rally Demands Break With Franco

15,000 Adopt Resolution in the Garden

Close to 15,000 persons gathered in Madison Square Garden last night to present a clear-cut demand to the Administration: break at once with Franco's fascist Spain.

The first mass demonstration in this country against Franco's Axis-aiding Government was sponsored by the Nation Associates and 15 other organizations. These, it was announced last night, have formed a committee, The Friends of the Spanish Republic, to carry forward the demands voiced at the rally.

The Demands

The demands were embodied in a five-point resolution unanimously adopted by the cheering crowd:

¶ Immediate severance of U. S.-Franco relations.

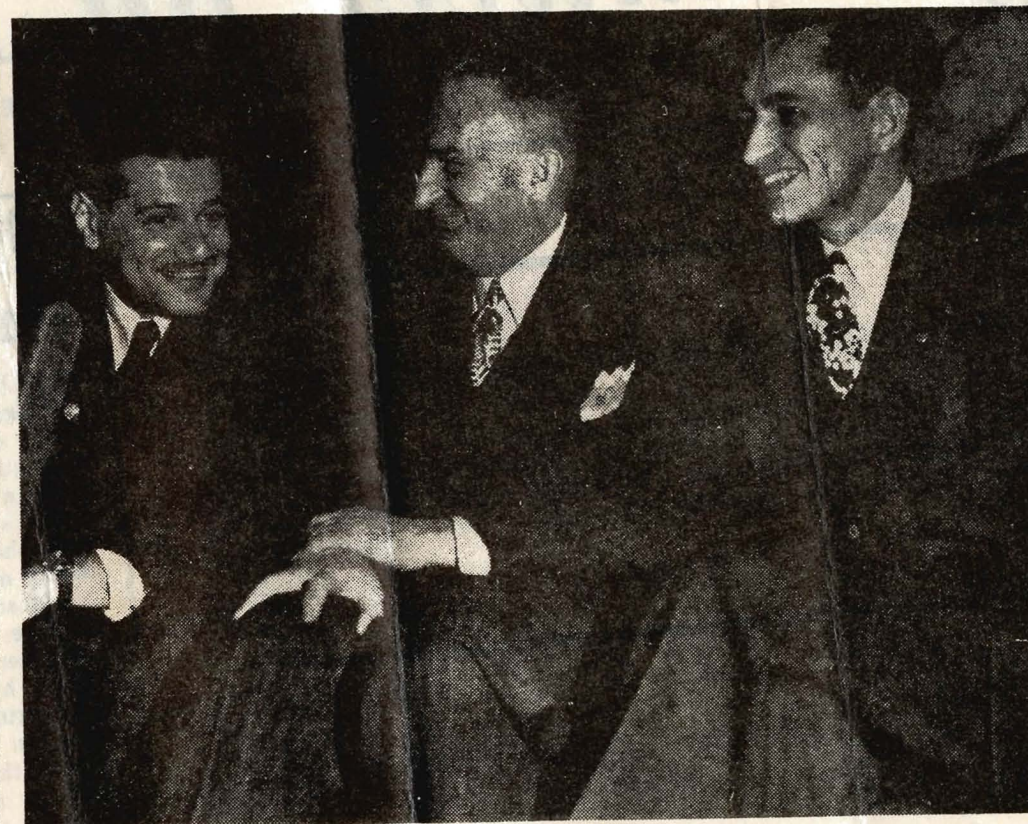
¶ Complete stoppage of shipments of any kind to Spain.

¶ A guarantee of complete freedom to the people of Spain to establish their own democratic regime; refusal to countenance the imposition of a royalist or similar puppet regime.

¶ Financial and moral support to Republican Spanish forces inside and outside Spain; admission of Republican Spain to the United Nations.

¶ Freedom of communication and movement for Republican Spanish leaders all over the world.

Juan Negrin, last Premier of Republican Spain, in a message cabled from London broke his silence of more than five years to present the case of his people to the rally. Negrin originally was scheduled to broadcast his address direct to the Garden, but he was refused facilities by the British Foreign Office. (For text of his address see Page 13. Excerpts of other speeches on Page 14.)



Pictured on the platform at last night's anti-Franco rally in Madison Square Garden are Allan Chase, journalist and author, Rep. John M. Coffee (D., Wash.), and James B. Carey, national secretary-treasurer of the CIO.
Photos by Arthur Leipzig, PM

a heavy share of the guilt for that betrayal, so it carries also a responsibility for ending the intolerable tyranny which grew out of it."

Dr. Frank Kingdon urged America to face forthrightly the Spanish question and to "rise as the champion in deed as well as word of the freedom for which we fight."

"I join with all Americans and all free men who are sick of our appeasement of tyrants everywhere," he said. "The hour has

Daily Worker

Plea for Aid to Spanish Underground

Rep. John F. Coffee, Washington State Democrat, called for support for his Congressional resolution for aid to the Spanish people in a stirring address at the anti-Franco demonstration.

make your will felt. Through the Congress, you can determine your own foreign policy. Don't just take my word for it. Try it and see for

Well, this resolution is now before your Congress. Does it express your sentiments?

presented the case against Franco were Alexander H. Uhl, PM's Foreign Editor; Quentin Reynolds, William Shirer, Frank Gervasi, Dr. Francis McMahon, leading Catholic educator at the University of Chicago.

Also: Rep. John M. Coffey, Jay Allan, Allan Chase, James B. Carey, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Freda Kirchwey, president of Nation Associates, and Dr. Frank Kingdon, who presided and presented the resolution.

Puppet Regime

Miss Kirchwey, who also is editor of *The Nation*, told the crowd that Spain was the greatest political defeat the democracies have suffered in the past eight years.

"And the results of that political defeat," she asserted, "evident throughout the war, will go on accumulating as long as fascism is supported and tolerated in Spain."

Referring to the "history of the mistakes and betrayals which permitted Hitler and Mussolini to establish a puppet regime in Spain," Miss Kirchwey said that "since our own Government carries

he said. "The hour has struck for democracy to inherit the earth. Hitler must go. Hirohito must go. Franco must go."

Ill-Gotten Gains

Allan Chase, author of *Falange*, charged that Spanish shipping and Spanish diplomatic service were making possible transferral to Latin America of "the ill-gotten gains of a decade of Axis plunder in Europe."

These funds, he said, are becoming part of a general war fund—"a fund which is earmarked for the financing of World War III." The funds, Chase said, were being used to finance native fascist movements in the Americas, to strengthen political reaction in these countries, and to establish munitions factories in Argentina and elsewhere.

"Fascists," he said, "don't build munitions factories as a hobby; they build them in preparation for wars of aggression."

Chase pointed out that a diplomatic break with Franco Spain was the sole way to keep Spanish ships on the other side, thus hamstringing Axis plans to gain a foothold in the Americas.



Dr. Channing Tobias, Negro leader, chats with Leonard Lamb, executive secretary of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, at last night's anti-Franco rally in the Garden.

people in a stirring address at the anti-Franco demonstration in Madison Square Garden Tuesday night.

Excerpts of his address follow:

There is, of course, no honor high enough for those few thousand gallant American men and boys (they call them premature anti-fascists in some nasty Wash-

ington circles today!) who made their way to Spain and fought and suffered in the ranks of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. They more than did their best to stop the third world war before it hit their native land.

Never in the history of our nation has a group of Americans fought so heroically and received so little recognition from our own people as have the men of the Lincoln Brigade. I am indeed moved tonight to know that among the organizations sponsoring this meeting is included the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. They, of all Americans, did their share.

I have talked about Spain with many Congressmen, and, believe me, they feel just the way you and I do about it. Let the people in their districts back home offer to back up their Congressmen, and you'll see how quickly even the most timid Representatives and Senators will stand up and aim a shaft at Hitler's weak Spanish under-belly. Let there be one hundred meetings like this one all over the country during the next six weeks, and, out of these meetings, let there come a flood of letters and post cards asking members of Congress to fight for a break with Franco—and the appeasers will run for cover quicker than you can say "premature anti-fascist."

The Congress is your servant. Through the Congress, you can

see for yourself. If you don't try it, don't blame the State Department or the British Foreign Office or the Sultan of Sulu if the appeasement of Franco continues.

WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMAN

There is one thing you can do tonight, while this meeting is still fresh in your mind. You can write a letter to your own Congressman and ask him whether he intends to support the Coffee Resolution for a break with Franco.

Last June, in the 78th session of Congress, I introduced this resolution. And, before this week is over, I give you my pledge that I will again put it before the brand new 79th Congress. Some of you may have read the complete text of the resolution; if you haven't, drop me a line in Washington, and I'll send it to you. The resolution makes two proposals, and these I would like to read to you now. They read:

"RESOLVED, that the House of Representatives of the United States urge it upon the President of the United States that it is the will of the American people, expressed through their elected representatives, that the government of the United States can speed our victory and guarantee a lasting peace by immediately breaking all diplomatic relations with the Nazi-Falangist government of Spain; and be it further

"RESOLVED, that the House of Representatives of the United States urge it upon the President of the United States that it is the will of the American people, expressed through their elected representatives, that the breaking of diplomatic relations with the Axis government of Spain should be followed by the appointment of a military commission, which will be charged with the act of getting arms, ammunition and medical supplies to the heroic Republican guerilla armies of Spain when their revolt, timed to weaken the Nazi armies in their moment of greatest crisis, creates in Spain one of the active and decisive battlefields of this global war."



JOHN COFFEY

up?

The Germans fear the Spanish people; they will seek at all costs to avoid a free election of the people. The Spanish underground has given the Germans good cause for grave alarm.

The Spanish underground, with its guerilla armies, its saboteurs, its newspapers, its radios and its intelligence services, is a very real thing.

Many a British flier, whose plane was shot down over Spanish ports while he was chasing a Nazi submarine into a Spanish base, owes his life and his freedom today to those units of the Spanish underground who found him and healed his wounds and smuggled him back to the British lines.

The widow of many a German sentry, killed while guarding a Nazi radio station along the Spanish coast, knows that the Spanish underground is not the myth certain exiles have tried to say it was.

If this war has taught us anything, it is that the peoples' movements of resistance in all the occupied lands of Europe and Asia can neither be denied nor ignored. The Spanish resistance groups are no exception.

OUR BATTLE

During the Spanish phase of this World War the armies of the Spanish Republic were fighting our battle. Instead of selling them arms, we weakened them by an arms embargo that denied them arms. One of the results of our mistake was the spread of the war to Pearl Harbor.

Today, the same armies of the Spanish Republic, formed as guerilla units of the Spanish underground, are still fighting our battle. We must not repeat our former and fatal mistake. We must send them arms when they beseech our help. If we fail them again, one of the results of our new mistakes will be a third world war fought primarily in the Western Hemisphere.