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U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

June 19, 2008

Subject: SUMMARY MEMORANDUM ON THE VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE (1937-1948)

FOIPA No. 1110916- 000

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SUMMARY MEMORANDUM ON

THE VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

1937 - 1948

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[redacted]
May 12, 1948
LOUISVILLE FIELD OFFICE
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PREFACE

This is a summary memorandum on the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade which has its Headquarters at 23 West 26th Street, New York City, New York. This organization was chartered in New York City on January 10, 1940 and was placed on a list compiled by the Attorney General of the United States under Executive Order No. 9835, covering organizations determined to be "totalitarian, fascist, communist or subversive. ..." This list was made public under the date of December 5, 1947. It is an active organization with a working membership of somewhat less than 1000 persons. The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade has representation scattered throughout the nation with the largest and most important Post being located in New York.

The membership of this organization is comprised mainly of members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade who fought on the side of the Loyalist Government during the Spanish Civil War which raged from July, 1937 to March, 1939. It is estimated that 2800 individuals from the United States and related areas served in this Brigade. Not all, of course, were Communists and by the same token membership in the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is not to be regarded as conclusive evidence that a person is a Communist. It is to be noted, however, that the majority of soldiers in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade were Communists; it's policy was identical with that of the Communist Party of the United States and, ipso facto, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade today accurately reflects the character of the movement which gave it birth.

The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, while in Spain, became a part of the International Brigades and received its orders from the foreign Commanders of the International Brigades. The latter eventually merged with the Spanish Army serving the Loyalist Government of Spain. In view of this fact it is not possible to give a clear, well-rounded account of the development of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and its security character unless reference is made to the Spanish Civil War, the International Brigades and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade itself, from which emerged the Veteran's organization. It is around this central fact of activities, connected on an international level, that this material has been organized.

This summary memorandum seeks to establish, eight (8) distinct but related propositions.

1. The Communist force in Spain, backed by Soviet Russia, became a very important factor in the Spanish Civil War.

2. The international Communist movement, viewing the Spanish Civil War, not as an isolated event but as a part of a world-wide conflict, urged all Communist Parties and individual Communists throughout the world to support the Loyalist Government of Spain, believing the interests of Communism could be most effectively served by this course of action. Communist Parties and individuals responded, en masse, without hesitation.

3. The International Brigades were a Communist creation. Today the men of these Brigades are busy promoting Communism in various sections of the world.

4. The Abraham Lincoln Brigade was created by the Communist Party of the United States, acting in strict accord with the policy of international Communism.

5. The Abraham Lincoln Brigade with the support and approval of, and under the guidance and inspiration of the Communist Party of the United States was sent to Spain where it engaged in force and violence in order to promote Communist objectives.

6. Those soldiers who fought for Communist objectives in Spain stated that on returning to the United States they would continue to fight for the same convictions which brought them to Spain. On returning to the United States they formed the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and have, in a militant manner, consistently endeavored to promote Communism in this country.

7. The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, in promoting Communism, has linked itself very closely to the Communist Party of the United States and, for all practical purposes, has become a willing instrument of the Communist Party, embracing its policies, advancing its programs and pursuing its ends.

8. With this background and relationship to the Communist Party, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade does constitute both an actual menace and a potential menace to the security of the United States. This organization is an actual menace at the present time because it has indicated a willingness and capacity for engaging in espionage in behalf of Communism. This organization is a potential menace because the men of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, by virtue of their training in the Spanish Civil War and in World War II, are well equipped to carry on sabotage on a wide and devastating scale were this country to become involved in a war with Soviet Russia.

The sources used in establishing these eight (8) propositions are for the most part public Communist sources with some non-Communist public sources and confidential sources added for the sake of greater clarity. The more important Communist sources used are as follows: Daily Worker, The Communist, New Masses, The Communist International, International Press Correspondence, World News and Views and different pamphlets and books by Communist authors. On considering this material taken from Communist sources it should be kept in mind that this is not an exhaustive study but simply a summary memorandum; that much more material supporting the eight propositions could be furnished if the subject were to be treated in detail.

In addition to the menacing security factors of espionage and sabotage to which this memorandum directs serious attention, there is a third factor, less specific but possibly none the less significant to national security, which may also be given some thought. This third factor relates to the over-all pattern of operations followed by the world-wide revolutionary Communist movement; to its short range tactics and long range strategy. It will be seen that this pattern of operations used by the Communist movement during the Spanish Civil War is fundamentally the same (with time and geographical modifications and adaptations) as the pattern of operations which has been recently used so successfully in Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. It is this same pattern of operations which is today being vigorously pursued, with the outcome still uncertain, in such key countries as France and Italy. It is this same pattern of operations which is at work on a much smaller scale but with equal hope and tenacity in Great

Britain and the United States. Will the lesson it teaches be heeded?

Inflexible in basic ideas and flexible in method, this pattern of operations, relentlessly applied by the world-wide Communist movement, is at once transparent and opaque. It is transparent in its ultimate objective of systematic world domination; it is opaque in its conspiracy of organized force and violence as the final means of reaching the objective.

It is, therefore, the menace of espionage and sabotage plus the over-all pattern of operations, embraced by the Communist Party of the United States in its relationship to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which appear to give increased value to this subject at this particular time.

SECTION I

SPAIN AND THE CIVIL WAR

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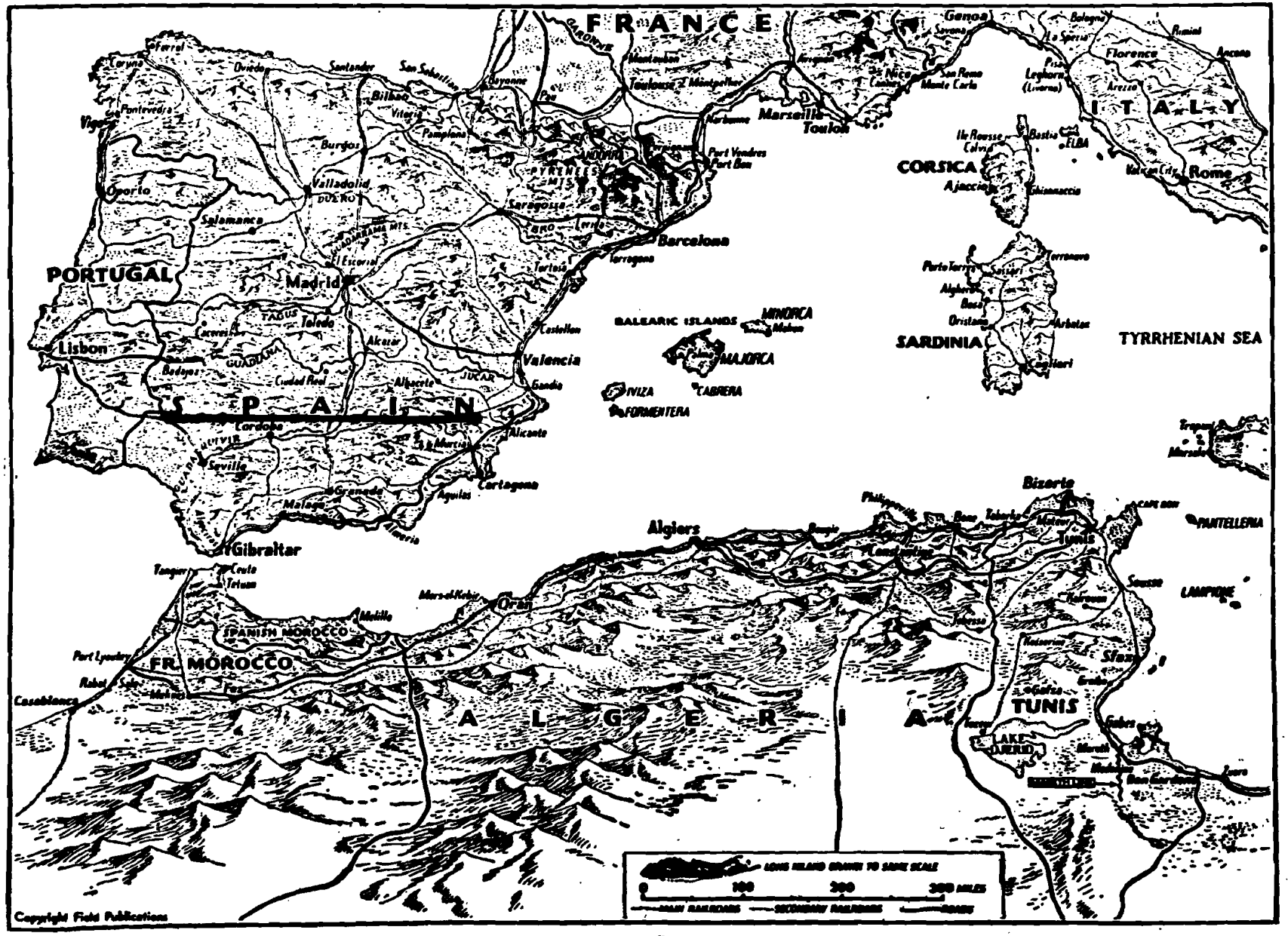
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SPAIN AND THE CIVIL WAR

BACKGROUND:

As the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade fought in Spain and are today still concerned with that country and seek to overthrow the Spanish Government, it seems only logical to devote a few descriptive pages to Spain before concentrating on the more restrictive aspects of this memorandum.

Spain is a mountainous country consisting of an area of 190,607 miles which is approximately one fourth larger than the state of California. It is bounded by Portugal and France with the Pyrenees Mountains separating it from the latter country. Spain is largely a plateau marked by the highest average elevation in Europe with the exception of Switzerland. The land at the present time is generally infertile outside the valley regions. The coastlines are long.

The country is often referred to by the inhabitants as "The Spains" because of the regional and racial differences existing within the total population which is estimated at 26,000,000. Some writers maintain that the country was originally made up of differing tribes of people. Today there are five major divisions of the Spanish people: the Galicians, the Catalonians, the Basques, the Andalusians, and the Castilians. Added to these major divisions are some minor ones including the Aragonese, Navarrese, Loonese, and the Astarians.

These various divisions are said to contribute to the severe civil wars which Spain has experienced at intervals from 1836 to 1939.

Approximately 21 per cent of the total population is devoted to industry and 56 per cent to agriculture. Being rich in mineral resources, Spanish industries concentrate on copper, pyrites, quicksilver, lead, zinc, iron ore, steel, and coal. In agriculture wheat, corn, barley, rice, olive oil, salted cod, and wines are important.

Compared with United States standards, Spain is not a prosperous country. Wages are low and wealth tends to accumulate in the hands of too few people.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR:

During July, 1936, General Franco led a rebellion from Spanish Morocco. Immediately thereafter, Army groups rebelled throughout Spain

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in behalf of the Franco Movement and Civil War commenced. The Civil War continued until March, 1939, at which time the resistance to Franco surrendered.

The two contending forces in the Civil War were the Loyalists and the Rebels. The Loyalists represented the defending government forces made up of Left Republicans, Liberals, Socialists, Communists, Syndicalists, and Anarchists. The government was the "Left Popular Front Government" which came into power in the election of February, 1936. The Loyalists claimed this election was legal and representative of the people, the Rebels claimed it was not. The Loyalist Government was at first only moderately to the left but became progressively so as the Civil War developed. The Rebel Movement consisted of Right Republicans, some Liberals, Conservatives, Monarchists, and Fascists. Both sides, then, represented a mixture of differing social viewpoints temporarily banded together for a common objective. One writer has expressed the immediate background to the conflict in this manner:

> "The present uprising is the climax of a revolutionary process which has been underway ever since the proclamation of the Spanish Republic on April 14, 1931."
>
> "Red Revolutionists — Anarcho-Syndicalists, Socialists, and various brands of Marxists — have made common cause with the government..."
>
> "Back of the Spanish Rebellion" by Laurence A. Fernsworth, in Foreign Affairs, October, 1936, pp. 87, 89.

It is not within the scope of this memorandum to treat the basic causes of the Spanish Civil War but for the sake of clarity and to round out the subject of the Section, it is believed desirable to quote the summary findings of some scholars familiar with the subject:

> "Among the elements contributing to inevitable revolution were: (1) political supervision of ecclesiastical appointments and of education, in regard to which the Church was less free in England than in the United States of America; (2) support given by the aristocracy (military, clerical, lay) to a way of life irreconcilable with the social principles laid down by the Holy See; (3) governmental indifference to the 'home rule' demands of the Basques and the Catalans; (4) Jewish resentment at Spain's immemorial anti-Semitic policy; (5) intensive

"propaganda by Communistic agents trained in Russia, where Spain had been named as the next country to be 'Sovietized'; (6) the activity of Marxists from Germany, Syndicalists from France, fomenting trouble wherever possible. Prime Ministers went in and out of office in quick succession. Members of the Cabinet attended the sessions armed with revolvers. Mutinies in the army, recurrent industrial disturbances, uprisings in Morocco gave plain warning of approaching trouble."

"Outine History of the Church by Centuries" by Joseph McSorley, Foreword by John B. Peterson, Fourth Revised Edition, 1945, page 905.

These findings on the causes of the Spanish Civil War are reinforced by a similar analysis from another scholar:

"...false liberalism is a partial cause, Russian agitation is a partial cause, ignorance is a partial cause. But were millions of the Spanish proletariat not sunk in social misery, these causes would not plunge Spain into blood and tears. Living in slums, exploited in mine and factory, the proletariat have become sheep without a shepherd. With honorable exceptions the ruling class in Spain ignored the social gospel of Leo XIII and Pius XI. The absentee noble left his peasantry to the tender mercy of bailiffs, and industrialists exploited labor without restraint. ...

"The stupid conservative, the ruthless reactionary, the absentee landlord, privileged and greedy vested interests, these must be crushed, as well as Syndicalism and Communism, if Spain is to have true security and lasting peace. Spain cries out to the world: 'Neglect, exploitation, and oppression of the poor pave the road to revolution and chaos.'

"Unless society be reorganized on a truly Christian...basis, the Bolshevist threat can never be finally ended. The real Spanish tragedy is the alienation of the toiling masses... That is the real lesson for us from Spain."

"Right and Left Battle For Spain" by Laurence K. Patterson, S. J., America, August 8, 1936.
See also: The Catholic Mind Vol. 35, No. 2, January 22, 1937, pp. 21-25.

SECTION II

SOME COMMUNIST ASPECTS TO THE BACKGROUND OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

SOME COMMUNIST ASPECTS TO THE BACKGROUND OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

Communism A Minor Force In Spain Before the Civil War

The main foreign aspects of the Spanish Civil War were Nazism, Fascism and Communism. As this analysis is concerned only with the Communist aspect any attention devoted to the other two forces would be extraneous to the main theme and they are therefore excluded. This is not to be misconstrued, however, as meaning that Nazism and Fascism were any less evil to the welfare of Spain than was Communism.

Up to the time of the Spanish Civil War, Communism in Spain was never strong. True from the time the Spanish Republic was established in 1931, Communism did try to use the freedom granted by the new Republic to strengthen its position but without too much success. The strength of the Communist movement in Spain was weakened by the existence of other socialistic movements such as Syndicalism and Anarchy. These groups were stronger and their thinking seemingly more indigenous and suitable to the Spanish temperament than was the straight line rigidity of foreign Communist thought.

Though Communism before 1936 was not at all powerful in Spain it was active, tenacious and optimistic. Communists worked hard at their Party tasks, took advantage of the quarrelling and divisions among other socialist groups, disciplined themselves as an organization and waited patiently for the right opportunity to present itself. This situation becomes further clarified by considering the thought of some writers on the subject two of whom were at one time important members of the Communist movement:

> "The secretary-general of the Comintern in Moscow, Dimitrov...was also in charge of the Spanish Communist Party. But five years of costly propaganda, aided by all the turmoil of the revolution, had produced in Spain a total of only 3000 Communists. (This is the same Dimitrov who is now Communist Dictator of Bulgaria)
>
> "The Spanish trade-unions and all the strong revolutionary parties remained obstinately anti-Communist. The Spanish republic, after five years of existence, still refused to recognize the Soviet government and had no diplomatic relations with Moscow.

"...the republican Spain that was fighting Franco was by no means united in political beliefs or policies. It was made up of many factions -- democrats, anarchists, syndicalists and socialists. Communists were very much in the minority."

"Stalin's Hand in Spain" by General W. G. Krivitsky, Saturday Evening Post April 15, 1939, Volume 211, No. 42, p. 6, 115. General Krivitsky served in the Soviet Military Intelligence Department for 14 years. He was Chief of Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe until 1937 at which time he broke with Stalin during the "purges" and eventually came to the United States. Krivitsky was found shot to death in a Washington, D. C. hotel in 1941.

"The Communist gained no ground in Spain with a working class thoroughly anarchist...The party was so insignificant that Primo de Rivera, the military dictator who ruled Spain from 1923 to 1929, did not find it worth his while to prohibit it, and the Communist press appeared during the whole period of his dictatorship..."

World Communism by Franz Borkenau, W. W. Norton and Company, New York, 1939, pp. 401-402. The author was formerly a member of the Communist Party in Germany.

"The cabinet which was in office when the Franco revolution began did not have a Communist member, but there is no doubt of the fact that Communist influence increased steadily during the war and that the clenched-fist salute became the standard greeting in the Republican zone..."

Appeasement's Child - Thomas J. Hamilton, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1943, p. 15.

The year 1936 saw the strong and rapid rise of a Communist Party in Spain. As previously indicated many splits occurred among the other Socialist groups in Spain, however, all this did not alone account for the rise of Communism. Other factors in the rise of Communism in Spain have been stated as follows:

> "They had a dynamism that no other party in Government Spain possessed. In their discipline, their organizing capacity, their drive and above all in their understanding of modern military and political technique, they represented something new in Spanish history...They built up out of nothing a splendid army and staff which won victories against great odds. Their propaganda was skillful...But it was not easy for other parties to get on with them. They suffered from a fixed belief in their own superior knowledge and capacity. They were incapable of rational discussion. From every pore they exuded a rigid totalitarian spirit. Their appetite for power was insatiable and they were completely unscrupulous. To them winning the war meant winning it for the Communist Party...But perhaps more serious than this in the long run was their lack of moral or political integrity. Their opportunism extended to everything. They seemed to have no program that could not be reversed if its reversal promised them any advantage, and they were just as ready to use the middle classes against the proletariat as the proletariat against the middle classes."
>
> The Spanish Labyrinth, by Gerald Brenan, MacMillan Company, New York, 1943, pp. 325-326.

The Communists themselves admitted the rapid growth of their Party following the outbreak of the Civil War. Andre Marty writing in September 1937 said:

> "The Spanish people will be victorious because our Communist Party has grown considerably in strength and prestige in the fire of the struggle...

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"Our glorious brother Party has increased from 35,000 members in February, 1936, to 249,000 members today..."

Heroic Spain by Andre Marty member of Communist Party of France and member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Published by Workers Library, Publishers New York, September 1937, p.29.

"The Communist Party initiator and organizer of the People's Front, numbered 20,000 members in October, 1934."

International Press Correspondence Special Edition, Vol. 18, No. 24, May 17, 1938, p. 532.

"The membership of the Spanish Communist Party has grown from 800 in 1931 to 300,000 in 1939."

World News and Views Vol. 19, No. 11, March 15, 1939, p. 222.

Granting the unity, energy and tenacity of purpose of the Communist Party, and the weakness of the Loyalist Government because of conflicting social views and bitter divisional strife, a final question arises, expressly, were there any fundamental background conditions which facilitated the rapid growth of Communism which eventually resulted in the infiltration of the Loyalist Government and the subsequent domination of large sections of Spain under its jurisdiction? For this is what Communism did manage to do as the Civil War progressed even when still represented by a small minority group. With amazing speed, precision and effectiveness the Communist Party of Spain reduced Syndicalism and Anarchism to secondary positions while at the same time pretending that good will, friendliness and cooperation prevailed among all branches of Socialistic and non-Socialistic forces as well, who were fighting against the army of General Franco. On finally gaining the upper hand over Syndicalists, Anarchists, other "left-wing" units and the liberals, the Communist ruthlessly killed troublesome members of the opposition and continued on to increase their hold on the Loyalist Government. What were the conditions which made possible this unusual success of the Communist

Party of Spain? Two conditions have been named as being largely responsible for this Communist success, first, a false liberalism and second, Russian intervention. These two factors will be considered next in that order.

False Liberalism Strengthened Communism In Spain

By false liberalism is meant a certain blindness among Spanish leaders on the Loyalist side to the dangers of Communism; a confused attitude which propelled them into cooperating with Communists naively believing that a common ground could be maintained; the totally erroneous view that Communists were fundamentally in accord with the liberal outlook.

This false liberalism which greatly contributed to the rapid growth of Communism in Spain is interestingly analyzed by the Spanish liberal Dr. M. G. Maranon. He writes in part:

> "...a short time ago...the number of Communists in Spain was very small. ... Only two Communist Deputies were elected during the first elections (a fact which we later used to calm ourselves)! Communism was, and continues to be, a minority, even among those fighting in the Red trenches, and among the Red rear guard.
>
> "Our mistake, and the mistake of other countries, is to judge the social importance of an idea by the number of its affiliates. If human beings were not prone to forget the lessons of History, they would remember that the Russian Revolution succeeded thanks to an insignificant group of Bolshevists. But as individual conduct is invariably based on individual experience, historical experience will probably never succeed in shaping collective destinies. Spain's tragedy parallels Russia's. A few men of action, representing a minority, well organized and ready for anything, imposed their will on the majority. ... Even when the Revolution was already well advanced, Spanish Communism controlled relatively few organizations, compared to those controlled by the Socialists, Anarchists, Unionists and Left-Republicans. Only two or three Ministers represented the Communists in the Government and there were only a few Communist deputies in the Parliament. However, Communism has

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not only managed to impose its will on Red Spain, but it has reduced the Socialist groups to impotence, in spite of the fact that several of them, especially the one led by Largo Caballero, were the early heroes of the Revolution and with the Unionists and Anarchists supplied the largest number of troops to the Army.

"Taking advantage of chaotic inter-party strife, Communism soon dominated them with the severity of its discipline, and, when it suited these Communist 'friends of the people' they proceeded to 'liquidate' the Anarchists and Unionists according to their ideas, although the Anarchists and Unionists were the true revolutionary expression of the national psychology.

"Such an extraordinary victory could not have been won, however, without the support of liberal opinion, which had been exploited and gained in advance. ... Liberal opinion has given its stamp of approval to all the social movements of our day. It tyrannized over European and American thought throughout the nineteenth century...That is why Communistic propaganda has specialized in converting the liberal intellectuals of the world during the last few years.

"If the present great upheaval of humanity could be theoretically reduced to one cause I would not hesitate to lay the blame on the terrible error of the liberals of the world. They have always stood for true humanism, and today the great majority, by its approval of Communism, is supporting the most anti-liberal, anti-humanist political ideology that has ever existed. ..."

Dr. Maranon points out that originally the true liberal was "fundamentally a man of tolerance and understanding" who firmly and reasonably believed that the world cannot improve itself without adequate liberty. He was a man who was willing to make sacrifices for this belief and to oppose any person or group who would refuse to permit adequate liberty in human relations. There later developed, Dr. Maranon explains, a new and false type of "liberal" - "one incapable of recognizing Red despotism. Glorifying revolutionary cruelty, his has been the responsibility for all subsequent revolutions." Dr. Maranon continues:

"The false liberal is characterized by his fear of not being recognized as a liberal. ... But liberty has no rigid standards, and it is a question, not of ideas, but of conduct.

"With great ability and sharp intuition Communism has exploited the weak points in the vanity of liberalism and has it at its mercy. It is true that the negation of all freedom, presupposed by Communism, is difficult to reconcile with the fervor of liberalism. But contradictions do not halt the Communist. He knows that the coefficient of human credulity is infinite. The liberal is cursed with certain blind spots which have had an incredible effect on the present world scene. While Russia continues to exterminate everyone not in accord with its rigid governmental creed, the liberals still believe Russia is the paradise of moral progress and liberty, and the Mecca of liberalism. Spain's example brings that belief into the realms of pure fantasy. ... Red Spain is completely under Soviet control, and...it is no place for a liberal man.

"The Communist formula is unique and is being used to conquer the world. The anti-Communist formula is multiple and not necessarily Fascist. ...

"The problem would be very clear if it were not for the disturbing influence of the liberals, whose immense prestige and political maladroitness have added considerably to the confusion of world affairs. The failure to recognize Red anti-liberalism has caused the liberal to sell his soul to the devil. But his punishment will be in proportion to his crime, for, in time to come, liberalism will exercise less and less influence as a political power."

"Surveying The Spanish War - Liberalism and Communism," by Dr. M. G. Maranon member of the Spanish Academy, doctor, biologist, essayist, liberal and co-worker with the Spanish philosopher Ortega Y. Gasset in promoting

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Republicanism in Spain. This article was published in the Paris Review December 15, 1937. Reprinted by Peninsular News Service, Inc., 2 East 34th Street, P. O. Box 34, Trinity Station, New York, pp. 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16.

Russian Intervention Strengthened Communism In Spain

With the highway cleared and the gates left open by false liberalism, and with the dynamic, industrious, well led and highly disciplined Spanish Communist Party cleverly taking advantage of all other competing and quarrelling groups, the way was prepared for the entrance of Russia into the Spanish Civil War. At first Russia's participation was indirect and carefully concealed. The Soviet Government denied to the world it was participating. The truth is, at first it was rather hesitant because it did not wish to become involved on a losing side, thereby, suffering loss of prestige. As time went on, however, Soviet Russia concluded the risk was worth taking and it threw its full weight behind the Loyalist Government of Spain.

The Russian General H. G. Krivitsky who at this time was Chief of Soviet Intelligence in Western Europe discloses that Soviet Russia intended to control Spain making it a satellite of Soviet foreign policy directed against Europe as a whole. Of Joseph Stalin, Krivitsky writes:

> "His idea was -- and this was common knowledge among us who served him -- to include Spain in the sphere of the Kremlin's influence. Such domination would secure his ties with Paris and London, and thus strengthen, on the other hand, his bargaining position with Berlin. Once he was master of the Spanish government--of vital strategic importance to France and Great Britain--he would find what he was seeking. He would be a force to be reckoned with, an ally to be coveted.
>
> "In 1935 he brought the Comintern into play by launching the new policy of the 'popular front.' In every democratic country, the obedient members of the Communist Party dropped their opposition to the ruling government, and, in the name of 'democracy' joined forces with other

political parties. The technique was to elect, with the aid of their 'fellow-travellers' and their dupes, national administrations friendly to the Soviet Union.

"...the Comintern organized mass meetings and collected funds all over the world for the Spanish Republic. From the Soviet Union it dispatched as soldiers to Spain scores of foreign Communists who, outlawed in their own countries, had been living as refugees in Russia. Stalin was glad to get rid of them.

"At the same time...war supplies, including tanks and artillery arrived from the Soviet Union. All Loyalist Spain saw that tangible aid was actually coming from Russia. The republicans, socialists, anarchists and syndicalists had only theories and ideals to offer. The Communists were producing guns and planes to use against Franco. Soviet prestige soared. The jubilant Communists made the most of it.

"The saving of Madrid enormously enhanced Soviet prestige... The business of Stalinizing Spain was now promoted in grim earnest. The Ogpu was in charge. The Comintern had been relegated to the rear.

"The successful defense of Madrid with Soviet arms also gave the Ogpu new opportunities to extend its powers. Thousands were arrested, including many foreign volunteers who had come to fight Franco. Any criticism of methods, any unflattering opinion of the Stalin dictatorship in Soviet Russia, any association with men of heretical political beliefs, was regarded as treason. The Ogpu employed all the familiar means of extorting confessions and of summary executions.

"The Ogpu had established its own special prisons. It had its own tribunals and its squads of executioners. Its units carried out assassinations and kidnapings. It filled hidden dungeons and made flying raids. It was, of course, functioning independently of the Loyalist

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government; the Ministry of Justice had no authority over the Ogpu. The Ogpu was an empire within an empire; it was a power before which even some of the highest figures in the Caballero government trembled. The Soviet Union seemed to have encompassed Loyalist Spain, as if it were already a Soviet possession."

In Stalin's Secret Service by W. G. Krivitsky, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1939, pp. 76, 79.

See also

"Stalin's Hand In Spain" by the same author in the Saturday Evening Post, Vol. 211, No. 42, April 15, 1939, pp. 6, 120, 119.

Other men familiar with the Russian intervention in Spain have written:

"The Soviet aid has been real effective. It includes good planes superior in speed to the rebel Junkers, Capronis and Fiats. The pilots are Russian lads...

"The help given by Russia is not limited to planes... Today, Madrid is protected by a ring of artillery. It is the artillery of Russia."

Spain Calling by Pierre Robert, International Publishing Co., London, 1937, p. 15.

"...Russia interfered, sending pilots, instructors, aeroplanes, guns, but most of all, the international brigades, a well-disciplined force not consisting of Russians but of foreign communists.

"Through Russian help...the communists won definite military superiority...

"The Russians...sent numerous administrative advisors and even more G.P.U. agents. Generally they managed

to lay their hands upon a considerable part of the Spanish police work, and besides the regular police created independent G.P.U. agencies which arrested, investigated, and executed on their own account, backed by the military forces of the communists...

"In the end communist policy was aiming at a democracy controlled by only one party, defended by an army, a police, and a civil service under the control of Moscow."

World Communism by Franz Borkenau, W. W. Norton Co., New York, 1939 pp. 408-410. Borkenau was formerly a member of the German Communist Party.

The validity of the above information is supported by the statements from Communist sources which are as follows:

"The toilers of the Soviet Union only do their duty when they give all the aid within their power to the revolutionary masses in Spain.

"They realize that the liberation of Spain...is not a private affair of Spaniards. It is the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind."

Statement of Joseph Stalin in a wire to Jose Diaz, Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, October 16, 1936. See: How the Soviet Union Helps Spain by Harry Gannes, Workers Library Publishers, New York, November 1936, p.6.

"Pravda, central organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union spoke out: 'The working people of the world cannot remain indifferent and keep silent when the fate of the Spanish people is being decided...

Ibid., p. 15

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"By October 2, the toilers in the Soviet Union had collected $10,000,000 for Spain... The Soviet Union never lost a single moment, a single opportunity, a single possibility of giving the maximum aid to the Spanish people."

Ibid., pp. 20, 22

"How was it that the Spanish Republic performed the miracle of holding out so long on its comparatively small peninsula, contending against blockade and the vast superiority of its adversary in armaments? This miracle was made possible by...the fact that this front was cemented by the Communist Party, which had grown into a great political force...and above all... by the political support given them by the nations of the Soviet Union and by the father of all working people--Comrade Stalin."

Report given by Comrade D. Manuilsky Before The Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) in World News and Views, Vol. 19, No. 19, April 6, 1939, pp. 376-377. Manuilsky is now a Ukrainian representative at the United Nations Security Council.

"...the Soviet Union,...has given the Spanish people every possible aid in their struggle."

"Trotskyism In The United States" by C. Z. Hathaway, in The Communist, Vol. 16, No. 3, March, 1937, p. 271.

"We shall win because the Soviet Union...is on our side."

"Organizing For the Victory of the Spanish People" by Jose Diaz in The Communist International, Vol. 14, No. 5, May, 1937, p. 331.

"The Soviet Union alone has a clean record and a clear conscience with regard to Spain. All other states and governments (save Mexico) have disclosed their democratic and humanitarian bankruptcy... The Soviet Union aided Spain with generous help without which the republic would quickly have collapsed...the Communist Party alone fights on mobilizing and uniting the Spanish people for great and successful struggles to come."

See: Critical review of Ernest Hemingway's book "For Whom The Bell Tolls" in The Communist, Vol. 19, No. 12, December, 1940, p. 1138.

"Major-General Alexander Rodimtsev is one of the living proofs of the help the Soviet Union gave the Republic of Spain to beat back the Fascists. The Soviet Union sent guns, planes, and food. ...it sent a limited number of experts to instruct in the use of the Soviet methods. Rodimtsev was one of these experts--now the defender of Stalingrad. Rodimtsev learned the art of street fighting six years ago to this month in Madrid."

The Volunteer For Liberty British Edition, Vol. 3, No. 7, 1942, p. 6. (Volunteer For Liberty is strictly speaking, not a Communist source, however, its policies coincide with those of Communism.)

"We all remember Soviet M. A. S., the Maxim-Tokarev, and the matchless Dekterev. We shall always be proud of the excellent performance of the 37 mm. Soviet anti-tank guns at Brunete, Belchite, and the Ebro. Soviet tanks turned the scales in many a battle."

The Volunteer For Liberty, British Edition, Vol. 3, No. 7, 1942, p.7.

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"'Already at this early stage the U.S.S.R. quite clearly showed where it stood and its policy has been consistent ever since...' This was the message sent to Manchester by I. Maisky, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. in Great Britain, for the International Brigade Anniversary meeting..."

The Volunteer For Liberty
British Edition, Vol. 3, No. 8,
No date listed but it appears to
be of January, 1943, p. 12.

It was within this Communist and Soviet Russia pattern of operations that the International Brigades played their important part in the Spanish Civil War.

SECTION III

THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES

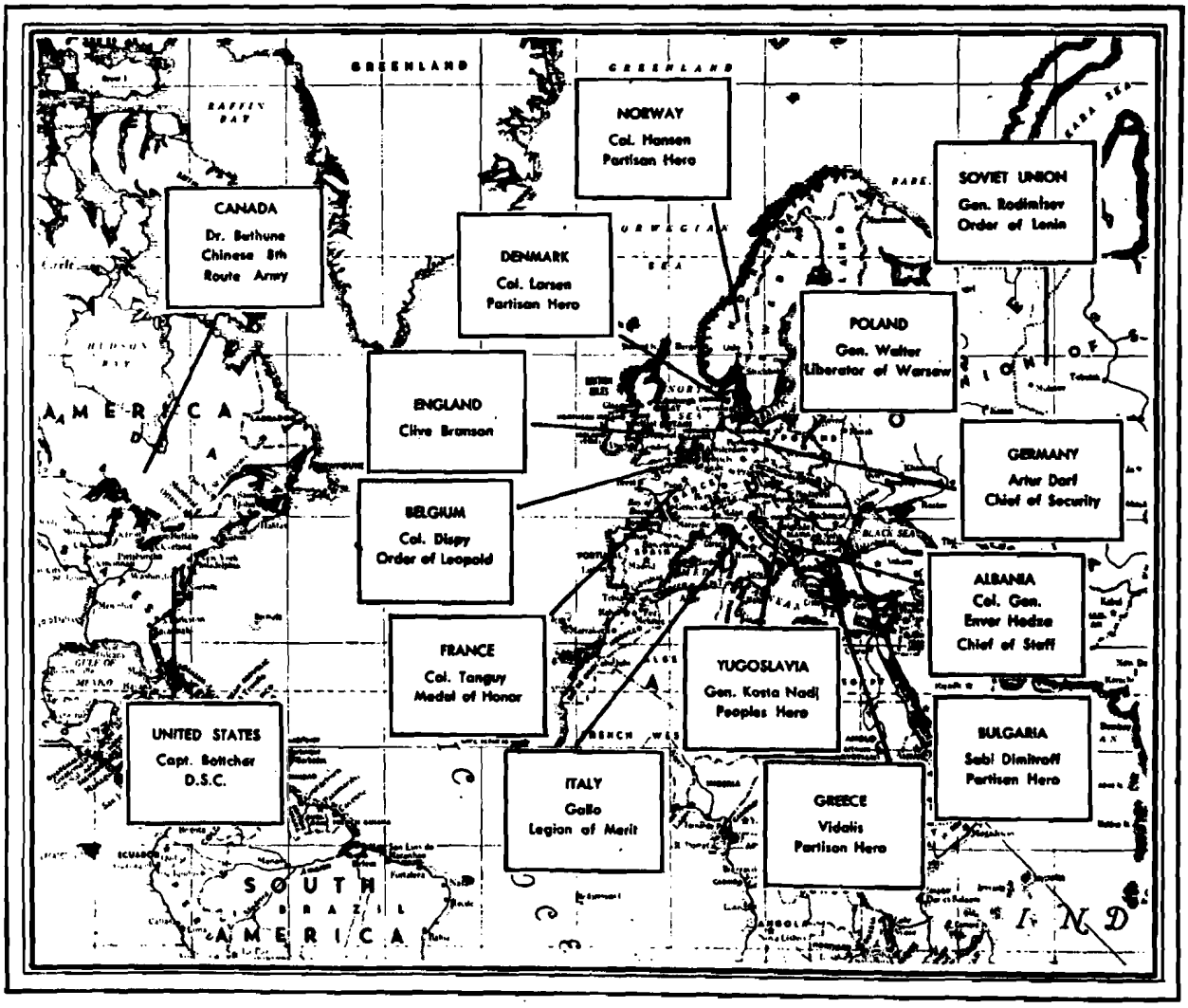
ARCHIVO HISTORICO de la Provincia de Buenos Aires

Volunteer for Liberty

ISSUED BY THE VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

VOL. VIII, NO. 1 — NOVEMBER, 1946

I. B. VETS CARRY ON



Fighting Madrid Celebrates Nov. 7th

Communique; (Madrid) Nov. 7th, 1946. Fourteen bombs were exploded in Madrid on November 4th; four more on the fifth and four on the sixth. The Franco police have begun an intensive roundup of hundreds of persons in an attempt to forestall further activities by the Underground. The bombs destroyed numerous Falange Black Market food centers.

Thus, the people of Madrid expressed their hatred and defiance of the corrupt Fascist regime. Ten years of terror have failed to blunt the anti-fascist fighting spirit of the people of Madrid. These heroic fighters continue to give leadership to all the people of Spain and to the freedom loving peoples of the world.

INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES

Origin and Purpose

The International Brigades were created by the International Communist movement for the purpose of engaging in the Spanish Civil War on the side of the Loyalists, first arriving in Spain during the late summer of 1936, a few months after the outbreak of the Civil War. The International Brigades had for their ultimate purpose the establishment of Communism in Spain and the creation thereby of a Russian satellite state; a Soviet Spain.

In a decree issued at Valencia, Spain, September 23, 1937, by Defense Minister Prieto, the International Brigades became "an integral part of the Spanish People's Army," obeying "the orders of the Spanish Government." L. Calle, Commissar Inspector of the International Brigades and now a leading Italian Communist said on this point:

> "The Brigades are the World People's Front... The International Brigades should be organised on the basis of the services of the Regular Spanish Army."
>
> "Our Rights and Our Duties" by L. Calle. The Volunteer For Liberty - organ of the International Brigade, Vol. 1, No. 21, Madrid, November 1, 1937, pp. 12-13.

The leading publicly known organizer of the International Brigades was Andre Marty, an honorary member of the Moscow Soviet since 1923 who at that time was an important figure in the Communist Party of France and also at that time a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Marty has been and is still active in Communist circles in France. The Communist, which was an organ of the Communist Party of the United States confirms this statement:

> "Who was the most prominent leader of the International Brigades? Of course, Andre Marty, one of the most widely known and revered figures of the French Communist Party and of the Communist International, the great organizer and guiding spirit of the International Brigades."
>
> The Communist, Vol. 19, No. 12, December, 1940, pp. 1134-1135.

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Other Communist sources refer to Andre Marty as:

"Comrade Marty, the organiser of the International Brigades..."

World News and Views, Vol. 18, No. 53, November 5, 1938, pp. 1209

See also:

World News and Views, Vol. 19, No. 37, July 22, 1939, p.812.

The Communist International, Vol. 16, No. 3, March 1939, p.205

Andre Marty, reflecting the Communist character of the Brigades speaks of "the International Brigades made up of Communists, Socialists and anti-fascists of all countries..."

The Communist International, Vol. 14, No. 7, July 1937, p.459

On another occasion when speaking of the International Brigades Andre Marty said:

"The International Brigades have never been non-political.

"Communists can be proud that in these tragic moments, they have constituted the majority of the working class group in each unit... In these twelve months of heroism they have been worthy members of that revolutionary workers' Party of a new type, the world Party of the Bolsheviks. They are worthy sons of that Party, which formed and led by the greatest minds of our times, Lenin and Stalin, have overthrown the old world..."

"The International Fighters..." A speech by Andre Marty given October 10, 1937. The Volunteer For Liberty - Organ of the International Brigades, Vol. 1, No. 21, Madrid, November 1, 1937, pp. 10-11.

This is the same Andre Marty who stated:

"Long live the firm and tried pilot who led the Soviet Union to Socialism and who is guiding the proletariat and the oppressed of the entire world in the same way towards their final emancipation, Comrade Stalin!"

"Declaration of Comrade Marty on the Report of Comrade Manuilsky" International Press Correspondence, Vol. 16, No. 5, January 22, 1936, p.134.

Jose Diaz, who during the Civil War was head of the Spanish Communist Party states:

"The Communist Party, true to proletarian internationalism, appealed to the masses to defend Spanish people. They formed International Brigades..."

"The Lessons of the War of the Spanish People" by Jose Diaz. The Communist International, No. 3, March, 1940, p.182.

"The International Brigades are selected units formed of anti-fascist volunteers from all over the world in reply to the call of the Communist International..."

The Communist International, Vol. 15, No. 5, May, 1938, p.445.

"Friends of Spain in this audience who are not members of the Communist Party will pardon me if I refer with pride to the achievements that have been carried out by all Sections of the Communist International in support of the Spanish government. Without the existence of this International of steeled and disciplined revolutionary fighters, the material and moral forms of aid sent to Spain would have been impossible of accomplishment. The

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"dream of Marx and Engels has been realized--that dream which dominated them when they formed the First International--that one day there would arise a really single world party, that could mobilize the best of the people in every country to come to the assistance of comrades in other lands fighting a deadly enemy."

"In Memory of the British Comrades Who Have Fallen in Spain" by Harry Pollitt in The Communist International, Vol. 14, No. 2, February, 1937, p. 142.

See also:

International Press Correspondence, Vol. 17, No. 4, January 23, 1937, p. 71.

Most significant of all is the declaration of D. Z. Manuilsky, Soviet apologist, from the Ukraine Republic, who has been assigned, as their representative to the United Nations. Manuilsky said in a report to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that it was through the initiative of the Communists that the International Brigades were formed. He clearly pointed out:

"The formation of the International Brigades was an indication of the maturity of the world Communist movement, an expression of the Bolshevik schooling of the Sections of the Comintern a test under fire of the Communist cadres.

"The Spanish people will never forget the help the world Communist movement rendered them by the forming of the International Brigades.

"The Communist Parties of fifty-three countries were represented in the International Brigades, having sent in addition to the others who were eager to join, quite a number of Central Committee members and leading Party workers.

"Who are these people? They are the men and women of the Stalin era... They are men and women of the same Stalin breed who went into the attack at Lake Khasan with the war cry: 'For the fatherland, Communism and Stalin.'"

"Report of the Delegation of the C.P.S.U. (B). In the Executive Committee of the Communist International" by D. Z. Manuilsky at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party, of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) in The Communist International, Vol. 14, Special Number, March, 1939, p. 570.

Numerical Strength and Composition

Various figures are given for the numerical strength of the International Brigades. However the most reliable figure appears to be 18,000 men from many different nations.

The Lincoln Battalion by Edwin Rolfe. Also see Bureau files 100-7060-39 and 61-7854.

The nucleus for these 18,000 men seems to have been a group of approximately 500 foreign Communists who were residing in Soviet Russia, having been exiled from their native countries for subversive activities. To this group was added men recruited by Communist Parties all over the world. Some were sincere anti-Fascists, some were soldiers of fortune or adventurers but the main bulk were Communists and the policy and control of the International Brigades were in Communist hands serving Communist objectives.

An American Communist member of the International Brigades writes:

"...the great majority in fact--were young Communists."

The Lincoln Battalion by Edwin Rolfe, Random House New York, 1939, p. 15.

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The Political Commissars

The Communist policy and control of the International Brigades was facilitated by a system of political commissars who held equal rank and power with the military commanders. The commissars indoctrinated all members of the Brigades with Communist ideology, assisted in the formation of policy and carried on some intelligence work within the organization. A commissar is described as follows:

> "The political commissar is the guide, philosopher and friend of the men... The establishment of this type of political commissar is the great merit of the central political department of the International Brigades headed by such comrades as Andre Marty...Political work in the International Brigades was indissolubly connected with military training and education of the men... 'Commissars are the political soul of our army...'"
>
> "The Military Political Work of The Eleventh International Brigade" by F. Dahlem, The Communist International, Vol. 15, No. 5, May, 1938, pp. 449-450

> "Political commissars are attached with full military rank and authority to divisions, brigades, regiments, companies, battalions and even platoons. Their function is to organize and develop political conviction...
>
> "On the Central front...80 per cent of the political commissars are Communist."
>
> "The Political Commissars in the People's Army" by Hugh Slater Madrid in International Press Correspondence, Vol. 16, No. 58, December 24, 1936, p.1517.

This political complexion and development of the International Brigades is even better clarified on considering the fact that not only were these Brigades organized by Communists but they were led in some decisive battles by the Russian, General Kleber. A pro-Russian source writes:

"Then, under the leadership of Andre Marti and the military generalship of General Kleber, the inflow of volunteers took organized form in the now famous International Brigades."

Spain in Arms 1937 by Anna Louise Strong, Henry Holt and Company, Publishers, 1937, pp. 64-65

As previously indicated, in the beginning Russia tried to conceal the part it was playing in the Spanish Revolution. That its attempt was rather successful is borne out by the indignant protests on the part of large numbers of American citizens to the charge that Communism and Russian intervention comprised a factor in the Spanish Civil War. In the United States prevailing opinion regarded this conflict as a clear cut one between the forces of freedom and tyranny, light and darkness, democracy and dictatorship with the Loyalists being on the side of the angels. This somewhat naive attitude is reflected in the following statement about the Russian General Kleber:

"'It's Kleber,' he said in an important voice...

"No one had heard much about him then. He was the commander of the whole brigade; no one knew his nationality or where he had come from; there were only rumors and stories, and a feeling that he would do great things."

"Volunteer in Spain" by John Sommerfield. The New Republic, July 7, 1937, p. 240

The Importance of The International Brigades

The Communist created, maintained and controlled International Brigades truly played a most vital part in the Spanish Civil War. This fact can be well established from Communist sources.

"A correct and complete picture of the struggle of the Spanish people...cannot be drawn unless one marks the role played by the International Brigades.

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"In all the decisive battles...we find the International Brigades in the forefront of the Republican People's Army. ...

"The International Brigades exerted quite a considerable influence over the growth of the military and moral strength of the Spanish People's Army."

"The Military-Political Work of the Eleventh International Brigade" by F. Dahlem, The Communist International, Vol. 15, No. 5, May, 1938, pp. 445-446

"The days of Madrid will ever remain closely linked up with the appearance of the International Brigade, which as a symbol of the world anti-fascist front, came onto the scene for the first time...the Madrid of November 6 and 7, 1936, marked the beginning of the activity of the International Brigades..."

World News and Views, Vol. 18, No. 53, November 5, 1938, p.1209-

"Madrid had barely been saved by the timely appearance of the International Brigade."

Next Steps To Win the War in Spain by Earl Browder, Workers Library Publishers, 1938, p.7

"The International Brigades had saved international solidarity, at the cost of three-quarters of its members."

The Civil War In Spain by Frank Jellinek, Victor Gollancz, Ltd., London, 1938, p.14

"The International Legion (meaning Brigade) is by its composition and by its aim, to a certain extent,

the Legion of the People's Front of Europe."

"The Victorious Action of The International Legion in Defense of Madrid" by Mario Nicoletti, Political Commissar of the International Legion in International Press Correspondence, Vol. 16, No. 53, November 28, 1936, p. 1406.

"The example set by the International Brigades, their deeds and their anti-fascist character, their non-partizan, People's Front character was one of the most decisive factors, convincing people of the necessity and the possibility of organizing a great popular army in Spain.

"Thus the International Brigades constitute an immense anti-fascist school."

"The International Brigades" by Andre Marty. International Press Correspondence, English Edition, Special Issue, Vol. 18, No. 24, May 17, 1938, p. 586.

The Future Plans Of The International Brigades

When the International Brigades left Spain on October 28, 1938 they gave clear indication that they would not completely dissolve or cease fighting for Communist objectives. Their spokesmen were rather challenging on this point. They wrote:

"We are leaving! But we are not going to sit down and do nothing; we are leaving in order to fight.

"Yes, we are going away from here in order to fight, as is everyone's duty during this tragic period, during which the fate of humanity for years ahead is being decided. We are not leaving in order to sleep, we are only going to another front!

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"We go forward to these new struggles armed with the tremendous experience gained in Spain."

"United As In Spain" by Andre Marty "organizer of the International Brigades at the farewell celebrations organized by the Ebro Army on 25th October, 1938." World News and Views, Vol. 18, No. 53, November 5, 1938, p. 1210.

"The experience of the International Brigades is above all of tremendously positive significance on the wide field of the anti-fascist struggle in all countries.

"The example of the International Brigades must be an important step toward the unification of all anti-fascist forces for a similar struggle in other countries."

"The International Brigades Yesterday And Today" by Francesco Leone, Commander of the Garibaldi Brigade in The Communist International, Vol. 14, No. 6, June, 1937, p. 418.

"The International Brigade was withdrawn from the front line before the last offensive launched by the interventionist powers...

"Now they have left Spain, the land fertilized by their immortal blood, the blood of eight thousand International Brigaders. They have taken an oath to fight on... They will hold to this oath in all countries and under all conditions.

"Every class-conscious worker must understand that the oath taken by his brothers who have returned from Spain also places on him a serious obligation."

"The International Brigade" author not given. The Communist International, Vol. 16, No. 3, March, 1939, pp. 205-207.

Non-Communist Sources

Communist sources and non-Communist sources usually disagree on relating the facts of controversial issues. However, on the subject of the International Brigades there is a remarkable uniformity and agreement between these sources. To make this point clear and to further portray the nature and importance of the International Brigades reference will be made to some of these non-Communist sources. General W. G. Krivitsky Chief of Soviet Russia Intelligence in Europe at that time is particularly well qualified to speak on the matter:

> "The nucleus of this Brigade was 500 to 600 foreign Communists sent from Russia. Not a single Russian was among them. Later when the Brigade swelled to nearly 15,000 fighters, no Russian was permitted to join its ranks. An impenetrable wall was deliberately erected between this force and the units of the Red Army detailed for service in Spain.
>
> "In every foreign country, including the United States, the recruiting agencies of the International Brigades were the local Communist Parties and their auxiliaries.
>
> "Practically all political commissars with the International Brigade, and later even with the greater part of the Republican Army, were stalwart Communists.
>
> "Stalin was now pouring supplies into Spain... It was most important for Moscow to seize control of the International Brigade.
>
> "All the volunteers' passports were taken up when they arrived in Spain, and very rarely was a passport returned. Even when a man was discharged, he was told his passport had been lost. From the United States alone about 2000 volunteers came over, and genuine American passports are highly prized at Ogpu headquarters in Moscow. Nearly every diplomatic pouch from Spain that arrived at the Lubianka contained a batch of passports from members of the

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International Brigade. Several times while I was in Moscow in the spring of 1937, I saw this mail in the offices of the Foreign Division of the Ogpu.

"While this International Brigade--the army of the Comintern--was taking shape in the foreground, purely Russian units of the Red Army were quietly arriving and taking up their posts behind the Spanish front... These Red Army men were segregated from the Spanish civilians as much as possible, housed apart and never permitted to associate in any way with Spanish political groups or figures. They were ceaselessly watched by the Ogpu, both to keep their presence in Spain a secret and to prevent any political heresy from corrupting the Red Army.

"General Berzin had served for fifteen years as chief of the Military Intelligence of the Red Army... Berzin was selected by Stalin to organize and direct the Loyalist army."

General Krivitsky explains that another leading figure in the Spanish Civil War was Arthur Stashevsky who "nominally was the Soviet trade envoy in Barcelona." Actually this man was "Stalin's chief political commissar in Spain..."

"While Berzin and Stashevsky were operating backstage the International Brigade was holding the spotlight of the spectacular Loyalist campaign. To foreign war correspondents on the Spanish front, the mystery man seemed to be Emil Kleber, leader of the International Brigade. Millions of readers will remember Kleber as the most dramatized figure of the heroic defense of Madrid.

"Kleber was presented to the world, in interviews and sketches, as the strong man of the hour, fated to play a momentous role in the history of Spain and the world... Kleber was introduced to the world as a soldier of fortune, a naturalized Canadian, a native of Austria, who as an Austrian war prisoner in Russia had joined the White Guards in their fight against the Bolsheviks, only to become converted to communism.

"This picture was compounded at the Ogpu headquarters in Moscow which supplied Kleber with his false Canadian passport. Kleber played his part under Ogpu dictation.

"I had known Kleber and his wife and children and brother for many years. His real name was Stern. He was a native of Bukovina... For awhile we worked together in the Intelligence Section of the General Staff.

"Kleber had never been to Canada and never associated with the White Guards. This bit of fiction was used to cover up the fact of his being a staff officer of the Red Army. It made his role as leader of the International Brigade more plausible. In reality, despite the dramatic part assigned to him, he was without power in the Soviet machine... On February 4, 1937, General Kleber was removed from the command of the International Brigade. He was never heard from again.

"Berzin had assembled a group of Russian staff officers and was making them the backbone of the Loyalist command. .. He took a leading part in organising the defense of Madrid during the desperate weeks of November and December. Yet so thoroughly was Berzin masked that even his identity let alone his presence in Spain was known to only a dozen of the highest Loyalists.

"The splendid feats of the International Brigade, and the material help received from the Soviet Union, so promoted the growth of the Communist Party of Spain that by January, 1937, its membership was more than 200,000. The saving of Madrid enormously enhanced Soviet prestige."

In Stalin's Secret Service by General W. G. Krivitsky former Chief of Soviet Intelligence for Western Europe, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1939, pp. 92-103.

See also:

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"Stalin's Hand In Spain" by W. G. Krivitsky in Saturday Evening Post, Vol. 211, No. 42, April 15, 1939.

Frank Borkenau formerly an active member of the Communist Party of Germany has this to say about the International Brigades:

"...Russia interfered, sending pilots, instructors, aeroplanes, guns, but most of all, the International Brigades, a well disciplined force not consisting of Russians but of foreign Communists. On November 8th the International Brigades saved Madrid.

"Through Russian help and through the International Brigades the Communists won definitely military superiority over the anarchists. The International Brigades formed out of foreign Communists and sympathizers, under rigid ideological control, ruthlessly exterminating many members who did not agree with Communist policy, became for a time the paramount military force."

World Communism by Franz Borkenau, formerly a member of the Communist Party of Germany, W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. New York, 1939, p. 408.

"Since the departure of outsiders is the only key to an early peace in Spain, the official data on the government's International Brigade are of interest. Volunteers from abroad commenced trickling into government territory in September, 1936. From that time to this, 23,000 of them, in round figures, have joined the Loyalist ranks.

"In the last three months Frenchmen, who formerly constituted the bulk of the International Brigade, have ceased to come altogether. The vast majority of fresh recruits hail from the United States and Latin America... The majority of the battalion are Communists...

"The men were firing from rifles and one light machine-gun. I asked what kind of a machine-gun

it was. The reply was 'Mexican,' but the characters on the gun were Russian. 'Mexican' is a formula and the word is never pronounced without a wink. I prefer my facts straight."

"Madrid's Foreign Defenders" by Louis Fischer who had served as an official in the Soviet Propaganda Bureau. The Nation, Vol. 145, No. 10, September 4, 1937, pp. 235-236.

"Stalin...saw to it that the arms which he supplied and the International Brigades which he organized should secure the predominance of the Communist Party. They alone could be trusted to look after Soviet interests."

The Spanish Labyrinth by Gerald Brenan, a long time resident of Spain, University Press, New York, MacMillan Company, 1944, p. 323.

It appears that the above material indicates the origin, nature, purpose and accomplishments of the International Brigades of which the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade of the United States was an integral part; accepting the policy and orders of a foreign army, fighting on foreign soil for foreign objectives. One more question, perhaps, should be answered under this caption, namely, have the members of the International Brigades kept the oath they took to carry on the fight for Communist objectives; what is their status today.

The Significance of the International Brigades Today

It appears evident thus far that the International Brigades were a creation of the world wide Communist movement which engaged in the Spanish Civil War primarily for establishing Communism in Spain, making that nation a satellite of Soviet Russia for further Soviet expansion in Europe. These men were for the most part well disciplined and well trained in the art of warfare, sabotage, rioting tactics and espionage. Today a goodly number of these men are active in their respective countries and could serve as a nucleus around which the International Brigades might be re-formed, and assigned as a mobile force to any trouble spot designated by the Communist movement. Apart from this these men are well able to carry on subversive activities within their own nations in the behalf of Communism and in fact are doing this today as information furnished later on will indicate.

Unconfirmed reports advise that recruiting is already going on in Europe for the purpose of re-forming the International Brigades; that the Communist world movement has in mind using the Brigades in Greece, Spain and elsewhere when the right time for Civil War and further Communist action arrives. In addition to military action and other forms of force and violence, according to sources, the program of the reforming International Brigades includes carefully selecting persons who will be able to secure positions of leadership in the government service as well as obtaining the highest possible Commissions in the armed forces; particularly in confidential, strategic places.

It will be recalled that the men of the International Brigades took a solemn oath on leaving Spain that they would carry on their fight. This appears to mean, they would continue their efforts to establish Communism wherever they go. Evidence indicating they are now endeavoring to fulfill this oath is available from different sources.

In the Volunteer For Liberty of November 1946 an official organ of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade which formed a part of the International Brigades there was printed a map on which was listed Brigaders who were making outstanding accomplishments. These men were set forth as follows:

"I. B. Vets Carry On"

1. "Capt. Bottcher - United States
2. _____ Gallo - Italy
3. Colonel Dispy - Belgium
4. Colonel Larsen - Denmark
5. _____ Vidalis - Greece
6. General Walter - Poland
7. Artur Dorf - Germany
8. Dr. Bethune - Canada
9. Colonel Tanguy - France
10. Clive Branson - England
11. Colonel Hansen - Norway
12. General Kosta Nadj - Yugoslavia
13. General Rodimtsev - Soviet Russia
14. Colonel General Enver Hodsa - Albania
15. Sabi Dimitroff - Bulgaria"

Volunteer For Liberty, Vol. 8, No. 1, November, 1946, p. 1.

In order to illustrate by concrete example what is meant when it is written "I. B. Vets Carry On" there is another caption below this map listing the above names, which reads in part:

"Fighting Madrid Celebrates November 7th.

"Communique; (Madrid) November 7th, 1946. Fourteen bombs were exploded in Madrid on November 4th; four more on the fifth and four on the sixth. The Franco police have begun an extensive roundup of hundreds of persons in an attempt to forestall further activities by the Underground."

Ibid., p. 1.

From an unconfirmed source it was learned that the following men, formerly associated in one form or the other with the International Brigades are now prominent in their respective countries:

1. Georgi Dimitrov, an organizer of the International Brigades and formerly Secretary-General of the Comintern, is today Dictator of Bulgaria.

2. Andre Marty leading publicly recognized organizer of the International Brigades is active in the Communist Party of France.

3. Klement Gottwald, a Political Commissar of the Brigades is now Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia.

4. Karol Swierczewski, alias, 'General Walter' a Brigade Commander, recently killed, was Minister of National Defense in the Polish Provisional Government.

5. Luigi Longo, alias, 'Luigi Gallo,' an active Communist, was General Commissar of the Brigades. Today he is a leader of the Communist Partisans in Italy, Vice-Secretary of the Italian Communist Party and a deputy in the Italian Constituent Assembly. He is also Italian delegate to the Cominform.

6. Auguste Lecoeur, formerly an assistant to Andre Marty is now active in French Communist circles.

7. Francois Vittori, General Vincent, Colonel Roy-Tanguy, Barthelemy Chaintron and Charles Tillon, all active in the

Brigades, are now equally active in important positions in present day France, promoting Communism.

8. In Italy former Brigaders Nenni, Pacciardi, Vittorio, Scotti, Borontini, Pesce, Maglietta, Spano, and d'Onofrio are all active promotors of Communism.

9. Marshall Josep Broz, 'Tito,' reportedly a Moscow contact man with the Brigades under alias Tomanek is now Dictator of Yugoslavia. Other Yugoslav Brigaders such as Rukasinov, Slatitch, Branko, Ribkar, and Dusani are now high ranking officers in the Army.

10. Bohumil Lastovicek a battery commander with the Brigades is now Director of the Czech broadcasting system. Laco Holdos a former Political Commissar is Vice-Chairman of the Slovakian National Council. Milos Nekvasil a former commander is now chief of the Czech censorship. Ilya Bart is an official of the Czech Writers Union. Leopold Hoffman, former captain in the Dimitrov Brigade, is chief of the Czech Security Services.

11. In Poland former International Brigaders are also in key positions. Colonel Szyr is Vice-Minister of Industry. Mietkowski is Vice-Minister of Security. Colonel Torunczyk is Vice-Minister for Liberated Territories. Oppman is deputy to the Military Attache at the Polish Embassy in Paris and is said to head the recruiting bureau for the re-forming of new International Brigades.

According to this source the men listed are only the more prominent ones; there are many other International Brigaders holding important positions and promoting Communism, violently and otherwise, in different European countries.

The following statement written by a member of both the International Brigades and the Communist Party of the United States seems to add some weight to the above information:

"Everywhere former members of the International Brigade are making the records to be expected of such men— Colonel 'Roll' Tanguy, under whose leadership the French Forces of the Interior liberated Paris; Francois Vittori,

the head of the Corsican partisans who freed four-fifths of the island before the arrival of the Allied; General Pavel Swirczewski ('General Walter'), second in command of the Corps of Polish Patriots fighting on the Eastern Front; Marshal Tito and many of the highest officers of the Jugoslav Army of Liberation, including two corps commanders; our own Captain Herman Bottcher and Sergeant Bob Thompson, two of the outstanding heroes of the Pacific, both awarded the D.S.C., the Purple Heart with clusters, and other decorations; thousands of other men with similar distinctions are serving in more humble capacities."

Franco Spain-America's Enemy by David McKelvy White, (now deceased) published by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, New York, 1945. McKelvy was an active Communist leader in good standing with the Party up to the time he died in July, 1945, p. 6.

Additional confirmation is given to the information on current activities of the men who served in the International Brigade by the publication Volunteer For Liberty which is the official organ of men who served in the Brigades. This publication not only reflects the activities of the Veterans of the Brigades but as previously indicated it also steadfastly follows the Communist Party line and has been loud in its adulation for the Soviet Union.

"...a number of former International Brigaders are among the leaders of the guerrilla detachments..."

The Volunteer For Liberty, British Edition, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1942, p. 6.

"The day Montgomery's Eighth Army began to hammer Rommel's Afrika Korps at El Alamein a horde of Yugoslav patriots called the 'Partisans of Bosanska Krajina' under the command of Kosta Nadj, former commander of the Matija Gubec Battalion of the International Brigade, began moving northwards down the jagged valleys of the Dinaric Alps to the outskirts of Zagreb...

"Yugoslav patriots who under the leadership of former Interbrigaders Petko Dapcevich, Milan Blagojevic, Kosta Nadj, and others, are now obtaining world recognition as the real leaders of the struggle of Yugoslavia's people..."

The Volunteer for Liberty, British Edition, Vol. 3, No. 8. No date listed on this issue but it appears to be of January 1943, pp. 6-7

"Commander of the Yugoslav forces which side by side with the Red Army, liberated Belgrade, was General Petka Dapcevic, veteran of the Spanish War...

"More news of the Yugoslav comrades comes in a cable from Colonel Dura Mesterovic, now on a mission in Moscow. He received a letter from the I. B. A. (International Brigade Association) which he forwarded to Supreme H. W. of the Yugoslav Army so that all former International Brigaders in Marshall Tito's forces could receive our greetings.

"'I can say with pride,' cables Colonel Mesterovic, 'that fifty Yugoslavs who fought in the International Brigades remained true fighters against Fascism and excelled in our national liberation struggle..'"

The Volunteer for Liberty, British Edition, Defense of Madrid Anniversary Number, 1944, p. 19.

"When the Yugoslav unit formed in Russia were preparing to leave for the front they received their colours from M. Vlakovic, veteran of the Spanish war and three times wounded."

The Volunteer for Liberty, British Edition, April, 1944, p. 18.

"Young General Goyko Nikolich had his first taste of war in Spain, where he served in the International

Brigades. Now is chief of medical section of Marshal Tito's general staff..."

The Volunteer For Liberty, British Edition, July, 1944, p. 18.

"The whole world thrilled to the news of the liberation of Paris. But to the International Brigaders... the news was especially satisfying. ... General Leclerc's French Armoured Division had entered Paris with the flag of the Spanish Republic proudly displayed on their tanks and armoured cars..."

The Volunteer For Liberty, British Edition, October, 1944, p. 3.

General Ljubo Ilitch of Marshal Tito's Yugoslav Army tells about the intense activities of some members of the International Brigades in France and elsewhere. Among those mentioned were Franz Dahlem and Karl Raedel former Reichstag Deputies, Heiner Rau, a Communist Deputy and the Yugoslav, Major Stepanovick.

"Summing up the experience of those years, General Ilitch said: 'The great majority of International Brigaders were true to their splendid tradition and played the same part as they played in Spain..."

The Volunteer For Liberty, British Edition, February - March, 1945, p. 20.

"Two Italians with distinguished records in Spain are playing leading parts in the affairs of their country. As Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party Pietro Nenni is doing magnificent work for anti-Fascist unity. Guiseppe di Vittorio (Nicoletti) is one of the three general secretaries of the Italian Confederation of Labour (T.U.C.)..."

The Volunteer For Liberty, British Edition, October, 1944, p. 20.

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"There is not one single underground movement in Europe that did not include Veterans of the International Brigade. Whether it was Tito in Yugoslavia, the Spanish patriots in France, the partisans of Holland, Norway, Bulgaria, Germany, etc. They were all soldiers in Spain ten years ago."

Volunteer For Liberty, Issued by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 8, No. 1, November, 1946, pp. 2-12.

Speaking of a group made up of members of the International Brigades, Volunteer For Liberty says:

"Of 300 Brigaders released, 37 Poles, 2 Austrians, 1 Czechoslovak, and 1 German were given Soviet citizenship, and with 79 others of Soviet nationalities, have gone to the Soviet Union."

Volunteer For Liberty American Edition, Vol. 4, No. 10, November, 1943, p. 6.

Another example of the close link existing between members of the International Brigades and Soviet Russia is to be found in the case of Julius Huebner Polish soldier, of whom it is written:

"In 1936 a young student of mathematics left his work at Lvov Polytechnic and went to Spain to fight in the ranks of the International Brigades. Seven years later that same Polish student—now wearing the gold star of a Hero of the Soviet Union—was fighting his way back to his own country as a major in the Polish Kosciuszpo Division.

"In recognition of his heroism the Soviet Government awarded him the Order of Lenin and Gold Star Medal of the Hero of the Soviet Union."

The Volunteer For Liberty, British Edition, February-March, 1945, pp. 10-11.

Exiled Brigaders have also returned to their native countries presumably to again carry on activities which caused their exile

"Wearing French partisan uniforms, 21 Bulgarian volunteers of the Spanish War recently arrived in Sofia, after spending many years in exile."

The Volunteer For Liberty, British Edition, Vol. 6, No. 2, June, 1945, p. 14

"German International Brigaders and Free German Soldiers...are now returning home from many parts of Europe. They are eager and determined to play their part..."

The Volunteer For Liberty, British Edition, Vol. 6, No. 5, November - December, 1945, p. 7.

"The Executive Committee of the International Brigade Association has issued the following statement:

"Almost daily, requests are reaching the office of the International Brigade Association from men anxious to join the International Brigade 'in the event of their returning to Spain...'

"The International Brigaders, when they left Spain took a pledge to 'continue the struggle against Fascism whatever the fronts and whatever the weapons.'

"With the return of International Brigaders from the Forces there is a revival of activity in a number of towns from which we had little or nothing for a long time. Well established branches of the International Brigade Association have also received reinforcements and are undertaking more ambitious campaigns."

The Volunteer For Liberty, British Edition, Vol. 6, No. 7, April, 1946, pp. 12-13.

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In view of the above enumerated current activities of the members of the International Brigades their often repeated slogan takes on added security significance.

> "The slogan of the International Brigades the world over—'We Fight On...'"
>
> The Volunteer For Liberty, British Edition, Vol. 6, No. 2, June, 1945, p. 10.

As indicated above that the International Brigades were a Communist creation serving the ends of world-wide Communism, which includes among its major methods, force and violence in all forms, without any regard whatsoever to civil or moral law. It is further indicated that a reformation of the International Brigades would be a potential threat to the security of any nation, against which they directed their illegal activities. With this in mind we will next consider the Abraham Lincoln Brigade of the United States, created by the Communist Party of the United States which was an integral section of the International Brigades, serving the Communist policy of its foreign commanders, as part of a foreign army on foreign soil and for the primary purpose of promoting a foreign ideology, namely Communism in opposition to the democracy of its own country.

SECTION IV

THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

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THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

Background

The Abraham Lincoln Brigade (also referred to as a Battalion) was formed, given direction and maintained through the efforts of the Communist Party of the United States following the wishes of the Communist International which in turn, came under the influence of Soviet Russia. The Abraham Lincoln Brigade had for its purpose participation in the Spanish Civil War in order to promote the objectives of the international Communist movement.

The Abraham Lincoln Brigade became the Fifteenth Brigade of the International Brigades. There was also for a short time the George Washington Brigade but due to heavy casualties suffered in the Brunte operations during July of 1937 the remainder of the Washington Brigade merged with the Lincoln. Some Canadians were included among the Americans though for a time they had their own unit which was known as the MacKenzie-Papineau Battalion.

The Americans first arrived in Spain during January, 1937 and went into action the following month. They remained in Spain until the International Brigades, of which they were a part, withdrew during October, 1938. The first contingent of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade soldiers were assisted in their transportation problem from the United States to France and thence to the International Brigade Headquarters at Albacete, Spain by World Tourist, Inc., a Communist controlled organization. All Lincoln Brigade soldiers who followed were similarly assisted.

It is estimated that 2,800 men served in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. These men experienced heavy fighting, participating in all engagements fought by the 15th Brigade. Information taken from the following official Communist and Brigade sources illuminates this particular point.

> "Quinto, Belchite, Fuentes de Ebro, Teruel, Seguros de los Banos, the defense of Aragon and the Ebro offensive are forever linked with the name of the XV Brigade and the Lincoln-Washington Battalion."
>
> The Volunteer For Liberty, Organ of the International Brigades, Vol. 2, No. 35, Barcelona, Spain, November 7, 1938, p. 9.

"The Americans had the honor and glory of participating in all the important air work of 1937."

"American Fliers in Spain" by James Hawthorne in New Masses, June 8, 1937, p. 18.

"For twenty-three months the Abraham Lincoln Battalion was part of the Spanish People's Army..."

See review of "The Lincoln Battalion" by Edwin Rolfe, Random House, in New Masses, November 28, 1939, p. 24.

"More than twelve hundred of America's finest and most devoted sons laid down their lives in the noble struggle..."

"Lincoln Brigade Boys," by David McKelvy White, New Masses, August 22, 1939, p. 22.

"...I hope many thousands more of our best American boys will go to Spain to help the Lincoln Battalion..."

Fighting For Peace by Earl Browder, International Publishers, New York, 1939, p. 22.

"Twelve hundred American boys died in these battles. Fifteen hundred are now in America..."

See review of "The Lincoln Battalion" by Edwin Rolfe, Random House, in New Masses, November 28, 1939, p. 25.

A confidential source who fought with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain has advised that among other things, the Communist Party of the United States recruited Americans to engage in the Spanish Civil War in order:

1. To train them for street fighting in the United States on their return from Spain.

2. To help win the war in Spain for the Loyalists so as to raise the morale of Communists and to win further support from the liberals. The

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propagandizing idea behind all this would be that the Communists were fighting for "democracy" and were "liberating the world."

The Communist International And
The Abraham Lincoln Brigade

We have seen in the Section on the International Brigades that these Brigades originally grew out of the ideas and efforts of the Communist International, or more broadly speaking the international Communist movement. It was a Communist creation. The significance of this fact for a consideration of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade rests in the truth that it was an integral part of the International Brigades, adopted its policy, took orders from its commanders and promoted its objectives. This situation is brought more clearly into focus on considering a few representative directives sent forth to all Communist Parties of the world.

"From the beginning the Communist International has called for joint action of all workers' organizations of the world for the Spanish people."

"United World Action For The Spanish People Urgently Demanded" by Klement Gottwald in International Press Correspondence, Vol. 17, No. 26, June 19, 1937, p. 593.

"Today when the Spanish people is engaged in a deadly struggle...it is the duty of Communists to do everything necessary, taking into consideration the conditions in their own countries, to help the working class to fulfill this, its historic task."

"The People's Front of Struggle Against Fascism and War" by Georgi Dimitroff, The Communist International, Vol. 13, No. 12, December, 1936, p. 1566.

The Communists of the United States lost no time in answering the call of the international Communist movement. The Abraham Lincoln Brigade was formed. Munitions of war were shipped to Spain. One of the leading American Communists, Gil Green, repeating the line of the Communist International, wrote:

"A mass movement must be created to permit the shipment of arms to the Spanish government."

"Spain At Gettysburg" by Gil Green in New Masses, October 27, 1936, p. 8. Green is presently a member of the National Board of the Communist Party of the United States.

In response to this line a mass movement was started by the American Communists which sent both men and munitions to Spain in violation of the provisions of the Neutrality Act of the United States relative to the Spanish Civil War. This aid, of course was given in the name of the Spanish "people." This was a mere subterfuge for it is customary with Communists writers to use the word "people" when what is actually meant is the word "Communists." When they speak of helping the Spanish "people" they, therefore, mean helping Spanish Communists. The end result was, all the efforts of the Communist Party of the United States were directed to assisting the Spanish Communists not per se but as part of the international Communist movement.

The questions which naturally arise at this point are, what is the true nature of the Communist Party of the United States? Is there definite evidence to indicate that this Party actually did conform to the policy established by the Communist International? Did the Communist Party of the United States take such extreme measures as to organize a fighting unit, send it to Spain, and maintained it there so that this unit could engage in force and violence to further Communists objectives? The answers to these questions can be found in Communist sources.

The Communist Party of The United States

The Communist Party of the United States clearly states that it bases "itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism."

The Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States of America published by the Communist Party, U.S.N., National Office, N. Y., September, 1945, p. 3.

This brings us to the question: what is Marxism-Leninism and just how does it tie in with the Communist Party's relationship to the

Spanish Civil War? Authoritative Communist sources furnish us with the answer to this question.

> "Marxism-Leninism is no abstract theory, no contemplative science which only explains the world. Marxism-Leninism considers its task to be to change the world."
>
> Communist International, Vol. 15, No. 5, May, 1938, p. 441.

This statement gives meaning and substance to the following remark of William Z. Foster who in the position of National Chairman, is the head of the Communist Party of the United States.

> "We must remember that the Communist Party is not only a Party of progressive immediate demands, but also the Party of the proletarian revolution."
>
> "Political Leadership and Party Building" by William Z. Foster, in The Communist, Vol. 16, No. 7, July, 1937, p. 641.

The Communist Party of the United States admits being a party of "proletarian revolution." It goes beyond this point, however, and links its revolution to proletarian internationalism--to the world-wide front as can be seen by these declarations:

> "We are proud to bear the high title of member of the Communist Party of the United States of America. ... We are proud to be associated in the ranks of proletarian internationalism with the greatest thinker, leader and builder of our time, who carried the work of Marx, Engels, and Lenin to new heights, to the victorious establishment of socialism, to the period of transition to communism, to the safeguarding of the Soviet Union and its achievements against the furious dying struggles of a hostile capitalist world--the great Stalin."
>
> "Resolutions Adopted by the Eleventh National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America, in session May 30-June 2, 1940," The Communist, Vol. 19, No. 7, July, 1940, p. 618.

"We will carry forward the banner of Communism, the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin with increased strength, with the knowledge that we have the growing confidence of the masses."

"The Communist Party On The Results Of The Elections, Statement of the Central Committee, C.P.U.S.A., issued November 7, 1936, William Z. Foster, Chairman, Earl Browder, General Secretary," The Communist, Vol. 15, No. 12, December, 1936, p. 1111.

This position of the Communist Party of the United States, and the banners it follows, appears to fit in rather well with the plans of the international Communist movement.

"The victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union, a victory of world historical importance has released a powerful movement in favour of Socialism in all capitalist countries. ... It also consolidates the Soviet Union as the basis of the proletarian world revolution and sets millions into the movement throughout the world..."

"The Victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union, A Victory of World Historical Importance" a speech by Georgi Dimitrov at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. International Press Correspondence, Vol. 17, No. 48, November 6, 1937, p. 1161.

Now this great show of loyalty to Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and internationalism does not appear to be original with the Communist Party of the United States, for some time before D. Manuilsky of the Soviet Union stated:

"...Communist Parties light their path of progress with the torch of the immortal doctrine of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

"Long live the great leader of world Communism,

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Comrade Stalin!"

"Report of Comrade D. Manuilsky, at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B)," World News And Views, Vol. 19, No. 19, April 6, 1939, p. 384.

Manuilsky does not stop at this point. He continues on to indicate what it actually means for any Communist Party to be based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and marching under the banners of Marx-Engels-Lenin and Stalin. What he says is quite revealing:

"At the time of the Seventeenth Party Congress the membership of the Communist International in the capitalist countries numbered 860,000. Today the membership is 1,200,000. The number of Y. C. L. members and young revolutionaries affiliated to the Young Communist International has increased from 110,000 to 746,000. Altogether this constitutes an army of nearly two million.

"However, these figures do not give a picture of the real organized strength of the Communist Parties. There are tens of thousands of Communists working devotedly in enforced secrecy who are not covered by any statistics.

"Considerable progress has been made in the U.S.A. ...

"How do the Communists work in these countries? ... They form a ramified network of groups consisting of people who have known each other for a long time and are bound by ties of mutual trust. There are hundreds of such groups. They are kept profoundly secret, are mobile and flexible. It is hard for the police to discover them. These groups are strenuously active in their houses, streets and districts. The Communists are further active in the factories."

Report of D. Z. Manuilsky at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) in The Communist International, Vol. 14, Special Number, March, 1939, pp. 564, 566, 567.

All this relates quite logically, granting the Communist premise, to the Spanish Civil War. It explains why the call of the international Communist movement went forth to Communist Parties in all nations requesting them to assist in a practical fashion their fellow Communists in Spain, fighting on the side of the Loyalists. It explains why the Communist Party of the United States among others paid immediate attention to this call. This was to be no isolated localized conflict, on the contrary, it was to be part of a world-wide front. Stalin, under whose banners the Communist Party of the United States claims to march, had spoken quite clearly in this matter:

> "The present mass movement in aid of the people of Spain, which has spontaneously embraced very wide masses of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie, a movement at the service of which the Communist Parties in all countries have placed their forces, is receiving a powerful stimulus by the position and action of the people of the Soviet Union. It was in their name that Comrade Stalin said that:
>
> > 'The liberation of Spain from the yoke of the fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of the Spaniards, but is the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind. ...'
>
> "The heroic struggle of the Spanish people has once again placed on the order of the day all the questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics which were solved at various periods of the Russian revolution. ...
>
> "The Spanish experience is therefore of tremendous and direct importance for all countries..."
>
> "The Nineteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution," an Editorial. The Communist International, Vol. 13, No. 11, November, 1936, pp. 1414, 1415, 1417.

From the above we get a glimpse at the nature of the Communist Party of the United States and its theoretical place in the field of world-wide Communism. On next considering the manner in which it conformed to the policy of international Communism relative to participation in the Spanish Civil War and its relationship to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, we get even a more detailed glimpse at its practices.

The Communist Party of The United States
And The Abraham Lincoln Brigade

Earl Browder, at that time head of the Communist Party of the United States in the position of General Secretary and now a registered agent of the Soviet Publishing House, Moscow, in a report delivered to a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, U.S.A., held November 18-19, 1937, said:

> "One of the greatest achievements that our Party has ever made is the building of the Lincoln and Washington Battalions of the International Brigade. ... The American movement has gained enormously in its international role, in its international recognition, by the work of our comrades in Spain, and I want especially to mention the role of comrade Steve Nelson..." (Nelson is now a co-worker on the National Board of the Communist Party of the United States.)
>
> "The People's Front Moves Forward" by Earl Browder, The Communist, Vol. 16, No. 12, December, 1937, p. 1082.

Earl Browder also stated before a meeting of the Communist Party functionaries on December 9, 1937:

> "Comrades: the purpose of this meeting tonight is to launch a campaign for 50,000 members of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion to provide the necessary minimum of support to our boys in Spain...the war in Spain is a part of the world-wide offensive..."
>
> Next Steps To Win The War In Spain, a speech given by Earl Browder before a meeting of Communist Party functionaries on December 9, 1937, p. 3.

In further establishing the relationship between the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the Communist Party of the United States, Earl Browder wrote:

"Since our December Plenum the labor and progressive movement in the United States has proved its solidarity with Spanish Democracy by sending 2,000 of its best representatives to Spain in the famous Lincoln Battalion to take their place in the front lines. Several hundred of our Comrades have given their lives or suffered major casualties. The Lincoln Battalion has stood in the most serious battle, has held trenches for four months without relief, has been transformed into a unit of seasoned veterans, has been a model of discipline and political morale...and not the least source of our pride is the fact that over 60 per cent of the Lincoln Battalion members are members of the Communist Party."

"The Communists In The People's Front" by Earl Browder in The Communist, Vol. 16, No. 7, July, 1937, p. 613.

See also:

The People's Front by Earl Browder, International Publishers, New York, 1938, p. 182.

Phil Frankfeld and Otis Hood members of the Communist Party, U.S.A. and active in the New England area stated:

"...the Communist Party has done everything possible to mobilize public opinion to support the Loyalist Government.

"The Communists have raised thousands of dollars. For the April 24th banquet for the Lincoln Battalion Communists and their sympathizers raised all of $1,050 that came in. ... Out of 100 in Spain, 75 are members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League."

Americans In Spain by Phil Frankfeld and Otis Hood, published by the Communist Party, pp. 31-32.

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From a Spanish source it appears that the soldiers which the Communists sent from the United States to fight in the Spanish Civil War were better organized, trained and equipped than some others.

> "With the North American fighters something different occurred. In the first weeks of 1937 there entered Spain an international unit, which offered the strange case of coming armed and equipped completely from its point of origin. This unit was called the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Its creation was a demonstration of power of the Communist Party of the United States and its sections in Chicago and Los Angeles. Its armament was excellent... Its recruiting cost Marxism many dollars."

Brigadas Internacionales En Espana
by Adolfo Lizon Gadea, 1940, p. 73.
Los Talleres Tipograficos Saez Buen
Suceso, Madrid, Spain.

Communist Party of the United States Supports the Abraham Lincoln Brigade In Spain

We have seen that under the inspiration of Soviet Russia the international Communist movement injected itself into the Spanish Civil War in an endeavor to capture Spain for Communism; that it sent out a call to all Communist Parties in the world to support this objective; that the Communist Party of the United States responded at once by recruiting and forming the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, sending it to Spain to engage in warfare. Did it stop here or did it continue on to raise funds and supplies to maintain the Abraham Lincoln Brigade as it fought for Communist objectives? Did it successfully mobilize public opinion in the United States and raise large sums of money from innocent people deceived by Communist propaganda?

The answer is, the Communist Party of the United States adroitly and successfully led a relentless and vigorous campaign which resulted in influencing American public opinion in behalf of the Loyalist side in Spain. Huge sums of money were raised and vast quantities of supplies were sent to the Loyalists by American people who naively thought they were helping the cause of democracy when actually they were helping to promote Communism in Spain, thereby contributing to the strength of the over-all international Communist movement.

Public Opinion in the United States
On The Spanish Civil War

Before proceeding with the material showing the extent of Communist and Communist inspired aid to the Loyalist cause in Spain there will be a brief digression at this point to reflect public opinion in the United States which helped to make this aid to the Communist cause in Spain possible. It is understood, of course, that measuring public opinion is a most difficult task and perhaps no means has as yet been devised which is wholly reliable. Granting this fact, if the statistics established by the Gallop Poll, referred to below, are only fifty per cent correct they would still reflect that the American people were unknowingly supporting, to a considerable degree, a position which ultimately became Communistic and Russian. The extent to which the skilful propaganda campaign of the Communist Party of the United States was responsible for confusing and influencing the American people is as difficult to determine accurately as is public opinion, however, its success in this direction appears to have been substantial.

The American people were misled into thinking that the Spanish Civil War was only between the forces of darkness and light, ignorance and enlightenment, retrogression and progression, tyranny and freedom, Fascism and Democracy. This was precisely what the Communists wanted the American people to believe. As was indicated earlier in this memorandum the truth is; there was no clear cut, black and white issue in the Spanish Civil War. Each side was made up of differing factions, and of men with varying social viewpoints. No one side had a monopoly on any virtues or vices pertaining to human relations. As the war progressed Communists under the guidance of Russia came to infiltrate and influence the Loyalist Government. And the one thing which did have the sound ring of certainty to it was: Communists were not attempting to establish democracy in Spain. On the contrary they were opposed to democracy and sought to establish Communism; a dictatorship of the proletariat as a satellite of Soviet Russia. Judging from the evaluation made of public opinion in the United States the American people did not seem to fully understand or appreciate this fact, remaining confused about it all as so many Americans today appear to be confused and misled about the so-called "new democracies" of Europe, namely the harsh Communist dictatorships existing in such countries as Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and other similar nations.

Dr. George Horace Gallop of the American Institute of Public Opinion announced that even at the end of the Spanish Civil War American public opinion and sympathy remained with the Loyalist forces in Spain. This is an interesting finding particularly in view of the fact that Communist power steadily increased during the Civil War and toward the end the Communist Party of Spain backed by Soviet Russia, was an influential force.

According to Dr. George Horace Gallop, he measured American public opinion on the Spanish Civil War for two years and though he found it to be always on the side of the Loyalists it was greater at the end that at the beginning. The Institute asked this question: "Which side do you sympathize with in the Spanish Civil War—the Loyalists or Franco?" The replies received to this national survey were as follows:

	Loyalists	Franco
"Feb., 1937	65 per cent	35 per cent
Feb., 1938	75 per cent	25 per cent
Today	76 per cent	24 per cent." (December, 1938)

Approximately one half at first favored neither side pointing out "'neither side would give the country a democratic government.'" This percentage however, oddly enough, dwindled to one third as the Civil War in which undemocratic Communism rose to a position of power, progressed.

"American Institute of Public Opinion" founded by Dr. George Horace Gallop, 1935, New York Times, December 30, 1938, p. 6.

The Communist publication New Masses quite naturally wrote with considerable elation that General Franco's "war against democracy" had met with:

> "...increasing opposition on the part of the American people... The increase in pro-Loyalist sentiment in the past year,...is actually greater than is indicated..."

New Masses, Vol. 30, No. 3, January 10, 1939, pp. 13-14.

A few samples of thinking, representative of a cross-section of the American people who made the results of the Gallop Poll possible and who indirectly contributed to the effectiveness of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain, are set forth below:

> "Loyalist Spain is a democracy even in civil war time. I am for it. ... A one-party dictatorship in Republican

Spain does not exist and has no prospect of coming into existence."

Louis Fischer, contributing Editor of "The Nation." Writers Take Sides, Published by the League of American Writers, New York, p. 24.

"My whole-hearted sympathies are with the democratic Spanish Government in its struggle against Franco and fascism."

H. V. Kaltenborn, Radio Commentator, Ibid, p. 34.

"Of course, I am against Franco and all the things that Franco stands for..."

Dr. Karl A. Menninger
Ibid, p. 41.

"...I support the Loyalist Government of Spain without qualification, and I believe its struggle with a dying and desperate feudalism is the most significant and important conflict in temporary history."

Reinhold Niebuhr Professor of Applied Christianity Union Theological Seminary, Ibid, p. 43.

"My sympathies are entirely with the Loyalists who are defending a legitimately established government in Spain."

Kathleen Norris, author
Ibid, p. 44.

"Personally, I am against fascism and Franco and whole-heartedly in back of Loyalist Spain. I know the Loyalist Government is not a communist government. ..."

Michael Quin, Director, C.I.O. Dramatic Program of the Air, in the West, Ibid, p. 48.

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"Franco and fascism are almost diametrically opposed to our heritage of liberty, equality and fraternity. ... The legal government and the people of Republican Spain are in reality fighting the battle of democracy for us. ..."

Jerome Davis, "President, American Federation of Teachers, A.F.L.," Ibid, p. 18.

"...I send all the money I can to the organizations supporting the Spanish Government. ... I am against Franco."

Vida D. Scudder, Professor Emeritus of English, Wellesley College, Ibid, p. 52.

"...I am against Franco and fascism."

William Allen White, Editor, Ibid, p. 63.

"I am unalterably opposed to Franco and fascism..."

Wythe Williams, Editor, Ibid, p. 64.

It will be seen from the above statements which could be multiplied by thousands, that Americans believed the issue was a clear cut one between Fascism and Democracy. As a result of skilful propaganda the issue appeared to be one of black vs. white, evil vs. goodness. As indicated before this is exactly what the Communists wanted the American people to believe. For, believing this, the American people would make material sacrifices which the Communists could utilize, not to do away with dictatorship but rather to supplant it with their own form of dictatorship. To this end direct and indirect aid flowed to Spain from the United States, as the result of the contributions of many Americans who were not all in sympathy with Communism yet were being deceived into promoting its international program.

Direct Communist Aid

"...the New York district of the Communist Party immediately earmarked $1,000 for the fight in Spain, and devoted all proceeds, collection and box office

receipts of a meeting in Madison Square Garden, largest hall in the centre of New York, to the struggle in Spain. Some 17,000 paid admission to that meeting and the amount after all expenses that was available for the Spanish unions was over $7,000."

"American People Help In Fight Against Spanish Fascism" by Vern Smith in International Press Correspondence, Vol. 16, No. 42, September 12, 1936, p. 1152.

"The Communist Party of the U.S.A. held 900 demonstrations in one single evening in New York, and collected signatures for a petition to Congress for the raising of the embargo."

"Increased Solidarity of Action For Spain" by G. Gregor in World News And Views, Vol. 19, No. 7, February, 1939, p. 135.

"All the more must we who remain on the American front redouble our efforts for Spain... The Friends of the Lincoln Battalion must provide more of those little necessities and comforts for our boys in Spain and popularize much wider the knowledge of their heroic deeds."

The Communist, Vol. 16, No. 7, July, 1937, p. 613.

Indirect Aid Under Communist Inspiration

The Communist Party not only gave direct aid to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain and the Loyalist cause but it also operated through "Communist front organizations" and likewise tended to influence other organizations in giving aid to Loyalist Spain. Some of these organizations furnishing aid to Loyalist Spain which thereby advanced the designs of the international Communist movement, knowingly or unknowingly, are as follows:

American Friends of Spanish Democracy
American Relief Ship for Spain
American Rescue Ship Mission
American Society For Technical Aid To Spanish Democracy
Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo

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Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
Joint Lift the Embargo Committee
Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain
Medical Bureau American Friends of Spanish Democracy
Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
North American Spanish Aid Committee
Refugee Scholarship and Peace Campaign
Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign
United American Spanish Aid Committee
Washington Committee to Lift the Embargo
Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy
Writers and Artists Committee for Medical Aid To Spain

Some idea of the extent of these operations may be derived from a few statements taken from the Report of the Medical Bureau and the North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy.

"The Medical Bureau and North American Committees to Aid Spanish Democracy were formed. On January 16, 1937 the first group of doctors, and nurses left for Spain. ...

"Today, 117 American doctors, nurses and ambulance drivers are in service. ...

"Sixty-nine American ambulances are now in action in Spain, the largest from any country in the world."

<u>One Year In Spain</u> published by Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, New York, pp. 1-2.

"From its organization in October, 1936, to the first of June, 1938, the Committee has collected in cash the sum of $633,504.01. ... In addition to the cash income, the Committee has collected and sent to Spain, contributions in kind valued at $330,400.

"In addition to the Medical Bureau and North American Committee with its affiliated and cooperating organizations, the following committees have solicited funds

on behalf of Government Spain: the Confederated Spanish Societies ($187,148), the Trade Union Relief for Spain ($24,328), the Emergency Ambulance Committee ($21,923), the Central Spanish Relief Committee for Republican Spain ($62,928), the International Anti-Fascist Solidarity ($22,307).

"Attention should also be called to the work of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion which, to June 1, has raised $153,243. This money is being used for aiding American volunteers in Spain."

"Report To The Paris Conference On Aid To Republican Spain July 1938" by the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York.

Gene Dennis, who is now a member of the National Board of the Communist Party, U.S.A. in summing up the work which the Communist Party did in the United States relative to the Spanish Civil War and in maintaining the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in this struggle, had this to say:

"The campaign in defense of democratic Spain, in which the Communist Party has displayed great initiative and activity, has involved scores of the most important trade unions (national and local), the bulk of the Protestant church organizations, important sections of the democratic youth movement of America, as well as many farm organizations. More than a million dollars have been raised for Spain through the efforts of these organizations and the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. Two thousand seven hundred volunteers have gone to Spain to fight in the ranks of the International Brigade. Also the personnel and medical supplies for eight field hospitals have been sent to Republican Spain. On August 2, 40,000 maritime workers on the West Coast conducted a thirty-minute solidarity strike in support of the Spanish people."

"Problems of the People's Front in the United States" by Gene Dennis in The Communist International, Vol. 14, No. 11, November, 1937, pp. 800-801.

Aid From Other Nations

The American people were not alone in being unknowingly maneuvered into supporting international Communist objectives. People from all over the world were similarly deceived. A glimpse at some of the efforts, made on a world-wide front, which aided the cause of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and other like forces can be derived from the following:

> "The German refugees living in all democratic countries, too, have joined their efforts in order to render aid to the Spanish people. They have collected 115,000 francs, and goods to the value of about 18,000 francs. ...
>
> "In Argentina, the National Committee for Spanish Aid embraces 12 large organisations, which in the course of two years have formed about 1,000 local committees all over the country. ...
>
> "The Australian Spain Aid Committee is supported by the greater part of the big labour organisations. ...
>
> "The Canadian collaborates with the North American Committee. ...
>
> "The Chilian and Cuban Aid Committees concentrate their efforts chiefly on collecting funds in aid of the Spanish children. ...
>
> "The Finnish Aid Committee is working in close co-operation with the Social Democratic women's organisation. ...
>
> "The Dutch Aid Committee has twenty affiliated local organisations and two special committees (medical committee and children's aid committee). ...
>
> "The Luxemburg Committee concentrates chiefly on raising means to buy food and tobacco for the Spain fighters. ...
>
> "The Arabian-Jewish Committee 'Antifa' in Palestine has collected 800,000 francs; besides this the Palestine Trade Unions have organised collections.

"In Switzerland there are two national committees, one for German Switzerland, the other for French Switzerland. ...

"The Czechoslovakian Aid Committee has 184 affiliated organisations, which have formed 84 local groups. ...

"The Uruguay Aid Committee has formed 130 local committees within a very short time in the rural districts, and 20 in the capital. ..."

World News And Views, Vol. 18, No. 39, August 13, 1938, pp. 913-914.

"A meeting of over 2,000 people took place yesterday in Geneva, organised by the Friends of Republican Spain. A resolution was adopted calling for the withdrawal of the blockade against the Spanish Government, and for the restoration of full international rights for the lawful Government.

"A Committee in Support of Republican Spain has been formed in Brussels along the lines of the similar committee which exists in Paris.

"The fortieth congress of the Belgian Freethinkers' Association has just taken place in Jemappes. In a resolution adopted by the congress against fascism, special congratulations were expressed to the heroic Spanish People's Army, and all Freethinkers were called upon to support the Spanish Republic, both morally and materially.

"Over a thousand people attended a meeting in Johannesburg, South Africa, last week, organised by the Friends of the Spanish Republic. Speakers from the Communist Party, the Labour Party and the trade unions addressed the meeting, amongst them being the secretary of the South African Labor Party and the leader of the South African Parliamentary Labour Party."

International Press Correspondence, Vol. 17, No. 33, August 7, 1937, p. 747.

"The Communist Parties of Great Britain and other countries are likewise doing everything to mobilise the people for the defence of the Spanish Republic. ..."

"Food And Arms For Spain" by Harry Olten, World News And Views, Vol. 19, No. 3, January 21, 1939, p. 42.

"In all countries of the world, committees have been formed to aid Republican Spain. On these committees the representatives of all anti-fascist organisations are united. They were later amalgamated into the International Committee for the Co-ordination of Aid for Spain.

"The best writers of the world, scholars of world-wide reputation, academicians, members of Parliament, lawyers, doctors, teachers—Upton Sinclair, Jean-Richard Bloch, Andre Malraux, Professor Langevin, Victor Basch, William Dodd, Senator Branting, Norman Angell, the Duchess of Atholl, Leon Jouhaux, Jean Zyromski, Isabella Blum, Marcel Cachin and many others—were the directors of this committee, whose task it is to render aid to Spain in all spheres.

"These are a few of the facts of international solidarity, whose protagonists and organisers are the workers of the whole world, and their advance guard the Communist Party. There is no country in the world where aid is not being given to Republican Spain in some form or other."

"The Cause of Spain Is The Cause of Progressive Mankind" by T. Mayo, International Press Correspondence, English Edition, Special Edition, Vol. 18, No. 24, May 17, 1938, p. 580-581.

"From Toronto and New York, to Calcutta and Sydney, from Oslo to Johannesburg, millions of men and women have been mobilized..."

"International Action in Defense of Republican Spain" by Paul Rex, International Press Correspondence, Vol. 16, No. 57, December 19, 1936, p. 1501.

In the light of these ardent international efforts which caused supplies to flow to Spain from a world-wide front it is not at all suprising that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain in a plenum held November 15-18, 1937 in Valencia in recognizing the assistance Loyalist Spain was receiving from the United States alone, wrote:

> "The United States Spanish Aid Committee collected 84,473 dollars in cash between May 1 and October 31, 1937. In this same period food and clothing to the value of 205,880 dollars were sent to Spain."
>
> International Press Correspondence, Vol. 17, No. 57, December 31, 1937, p. 1403.

The Communist Party of Spain

In view of the recognition which the Communist Party of Spain gave to the aid the Loyalists were receiving from America and other nations it may be well at this point to lay bare the objectives of this Party as declared by its own leaders. The leader of the Communist Party of Spain at that time who was representing in his country the interests of international Communism under the guidance of Soviet Russia, was Jose Diaz. The United States Marxist publication The Communist had this to say about Jose Diaz:

> "Jose Diaz was, above all things else, a model Bolshevik, molded in the spirit of Stalin. He it was who chiefly forged, inspired and guided the present Communist Party of Spain... Jose Diaz was elevated to the General Secretaryship of our party in 1932... He knew that the unity of the U.S.S.R. is one that no force can shatter... He died in the U.S.S.R., which he loved..."
>
> "Comrade Diaz: His Exemplary Life And Work" by I. Urizar in The Communist, Vol. 21, No. 4, May, 1942, pp. 349, 358, 359.

Jose Diaz had this to say about the objectives of the Communist Party in Spain to which the Communist Party in the United States contributed heavily and also to which innumerable American people were persuaded to contribute as the result of slick, seductive Communist propaganda.

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"The Communist Party was the only party that was active in every sphere of life connected in any way with the war. ... This was possible because it was the only party that rested on the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and trained its members in the Stalinist spirit of ruthless struggle against the class enemy..."

"The Lessons of the War of the Spanish People, 1936-1939" by Jose Diaz, in The Communist International, No. 3, March, 1940, pp. 189-190.

"Who are the enemies of the people? The enemies of the people are the fascists, Trotskyites and the 'uncontrolled elements.'"

"Organizing For The Victory of the Spanish People" by Jose Diaz, in The Communist International, Vol. 14, No. 5, May, 1937, p. 327.

It is obvious that the phrase 'uncontrolled elements' is a very broad one which in that section of Spain under the domination of Communists included liberals, republicans and democrats and in fact all people who were not supporters of Communism.

"Our army is a political army...our army is an army of the people and must be trained in the spirit of hatred... Incompetent people and traitors must be driven out of the army and mercilessly punished. And this must not be done negligently and when some disaster or other looms ahead, but systematically."

"Organizing For the Victory of the Spanish People" by Jose Diaz in The Communist International, Vol. 14, No. 5, May, 1937, pp. 321-322.

"In order to inflict defeat on the enemy in a popular revolution, the old government apparatus, which serves the interests of reaction, must be shattered..."

"The Lessons of the War of the Spanish People, 1936-1939" by Jose Diaz, The Communist International, No. 3, March, 1940, pp. 190-191.

"The Communist Party did everything in its power to destroy the old state apparatus..."

"Stalin's Teachings—A Lodestar to The Spanish Communists" by Jose Diaz, The Communist International, No. 2, February, 1940, p. 118.

Another leader of the Communist Party of Spain who spoke with the voice of authority, was the much publicized Dolores Ibarruri. Her background and high rank in the Communist Party is made evident on considering the positions held by her such as: Secretary General of the Communist Party of Spain, Deputy to the Republican Cortes, one of the vice-presidents of the Cortes, Honorary President of the Communist influenced Union de Mujeres Espanolas and Vice President of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

"It is an honor for every proletarian, for every revolutionary who desires to be a loyal defender of the interests of his class, to be a pupil of Stalin and to carry out Stalin's policy. Yes, we are Stalinists and proud of it, because Stalin's policy is the road which leads to the consolidation of socialism and the overthrow of capitalism."

"Report of Dolores Ibarruri at the June Plenum of the Communist Party of Spain" in The Communist International, Vol. 14, No. 9, September, 1937, p. 654.

"Our struggle is for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Soviets. ... We must concentrate all our forces against the present anti-popular government, overthrow it, as quickly as possible... I repeat, the government will not leave by itself. We, the proletariat, we, anti-fascists, all of us together, must by our united struggle, overthrow it. And we will do so!"

"Leaders of the Spanish Proletariat" by L. Sylvia in The Communist International, Vol. 13, No. 7, July, 1936, p. 881.

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"Brothers in Latin America, France, Belgium, England and all countries! Working people throughout the world! Intellectuals!

"In these historic hours the Communist Party, is true to its revolutionary principles..."

"What Is Happening In Spain?" by Dolores Ibarruri in The Communist International, Vol. 13, No. 10, October, 1936, p. 1309.

"We are supporters of liberty in the broad sense of the word, liberty for those who fight along with us... But as Communists, we do not renounce our desire to attain in our day the victory of socialism, and not only in Spain but throughout the world. We are Marxists-Leninists-Stalinists and hence we apply our theory to the revolutionary possibilities of each moment, without renouncing our final aims. ... The Communist Party is a consistently revolutionary party which knows where it is going, what it wants and how it can be achieved."

Report of Dolores Ibarruri at the June Plenum of the Communist Party of Spain in The Communist International, Vol. 14, No. 9, September, 1937, pp. 650-651.

The real significance of these statements becomes apparent on realizing that as the Civil War in Spain progressed the Communist Party of Spain with the assistance of the International Brigades and Russian intervention came to influence the Loyalist government and for all practical purposes was in control of some sections of the country. Even representatives of the Communist Party of the United States, in their elation over the power of Communism in Spain could not refrain from concealing this fact.

"It is no exaggeration to say that the Communist

Party now plays a decisive part in the national life of democratic Spain."

"The C.P. of Spain and The Fifth Regiment" by Hugh Slater, Madrid, in International Press Correspondence, Vol. 17, No. 6, February 6, 1937, p. 121.

"From the very beginning the Communists had been the most active carriers of discipline and the most decisive creative force in the building of the military units. The Fifth Regiment, which at the beginning of the Civil War was picked by the Communist Party as the center of its concentration task in building a regular army, became so popular because of its model character that it had grown to 74,000 and constituted almost one-half of the entire republican army..."

"The Change In Spain" by Robert Miner based on a report made by him on his return from Spain at the Plenary Meeting of the Communist Party of the United States held June 17-20, 1937, The Communist, Vol. 16, No. 8, August, 1937, p. 702.

"From the beginning the Fifth Regiment was recruited and politically influenced by the Communist Party."

"The C.P. of Spain and the Fifth Regiment" by Hugh Slater, Madrid, in International Press Correspondence, Vol. 17, No. 6, February 6, 1937, p. 122.

"The Communist Party of Spain was a small party, but today it is a factor of great political importance..."

"Spain Calls For Unity" no author listed. The Communist International, Vol. 14, No. 8, August, 1937, p. 517.

ARCHIVO HISTORICO de la Provincia de Buenos Aires

Numerically as well as strategically the Communist Party of Spain rapidly increased its strength during the Civil War.

Speaking of the Communist Party of Spain, Robert Minor, representing the Communist Party of the United States in Spain wrote on his return from that war torn nation:

> "It has grown from 35,000 in February, 1936, to more than 250,000."
>
> "The Change In Spain" by Robert Minor, based upon a report at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A., held June 17-20, 1937, The Communist, Vol. 16, No. 8, August, 1937, p. 708.

The authoritative statement of Jose Diaz confirms this growth:

> "At the present time the Communist Party, which has 131,600 members fighting at the front in the ranks of the people's army, has 249,140 members..."
>
> "Organizing For The Victory of The Spanish People" by Jose Diaz in The Communist International, Vol. 14, No. 5, May, 1937, p. 328.

Even Soviet Russia's D. Z. Manuilsky now a Ukraine representative at the United Nations considered the growth of the Communist Party of Spain to be worthy of mention in his Report to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

> "Since 1931 the Spanish Communist Party has grown from a membership of eight hundred into a mighty party of three hundred thousand, a party that has been through a schooling of illegal existence, revolution, civil war..."
>
> Report of D. Z. Manuilsky at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) in The Communist International, Vol. 14, Special Number, March, 1939, p. 565.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this growth of the Communist Party of Spain is the use of its power once it was in a position to dominate and control the situation. It will be seen that this Party lost no time in applying not democracy which American citizens heard so much about but rather Communism--the doctrines not of Washington-Jefferson-Lincoln-Wilson but of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

Different Communist publications tell us this story:

"...Spanish Communists always strove to follow the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and to apply to the concrete conditions of Spain, the tactical principles of Leninism which were developed and supplemented by Stalin. ..."

"Spain's Lessons" by Sam Russell
World News And Views, Vol. 20,
No. 32, August 10, 1940, p. 436.

"The villages are the scene of the seizure of the land...the Party supports this movement and does everything possible to ensure that it is carried through in an organized fashion."

"The Development of the Democratic Revolution In Spain" by J. Hernandez
in The Communist International, Vol.
13, No. 8, August, 1936, p. 958.

"The struggle in Spain does not aim at forming a democratic republic of the French type or like the republics of other capitalist countries. No, the democratic republic for which we are fighting is a different republic.

"We must liquidate the class of big landowners... we must nationalize their estates... To this end the property of the church must be confiscated and nationalized. ... We must put an end to the financial oligarchy, to the bankers and manufacturers... We must proceed to the nationalization of the Bank of Spain and the chief industries of the country. ...

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Such is the new type of democratic and parliamentary republic being fought for by our Party..."

"Organizing For The Victory of The Spanish People" by Jose Diaz in The Communist International, Vol. 14, No. 5, May, 1937, pp. 319-320.

It became increasingly clear that when the Communists spoke of winning the war in Spain it meant something altogether different than what the average American meant by speaking of the Loyalist winning the war. By winning the war the Communist meant establishing Communism in Spain. They summed up this objective neatly with the slogan:

"To win the war is to win the revolution!"

"The Change In Spain" by Robert Minor, based on a report made by him on his return from Spain at the Plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States June 17-20, 1937. The Communist, Vol. 16, No. 8, August, 1937, p. 700.

To win the revolution meant establishing a "dictatorship of the proletariat" and this is what Communists had in mind when they spoke of "democracy" as the following data will indicate.

The Question of Democracy

The above statements from Communist sources leads us quite logically to a discussion of what was meant by democracy. Communists the world over shouted loudly that the issue in Spain was between fascism and democracy. It was a monstrous falsehood and they made the falsehood pay dividends—for the cause of international Communism. It was belief in this issue of Fascism vs. Democracy which won large numbers of the American people to support generously the cause of the Loyalist. We have stated at the beginning of this memorandum that Fascism was definitely a threat to Spain but so was Communism and mixed with these forces were various factions representing liberalism, republicanism, monarchy and differing socialist views. There was no clear cut issue between Fascism and Democracy as

Americans understand the term democracy (e.g. freedom, a government by the people, a people oriented social order maintaining adequate living standards etc.) This statement becomes clear on considering what the Communists had in mind when they were shouting so loudly for democracy in Spain.

Earl Browder, speaking on Spain condemns the democratic "middle-of-the-road" form of government enjoyed by the United States, indicating this type would not be established in Spain if the Communists were victorious.

> "Socialism is inevitable...Capitalism is doomed... The fight for democracy, peace, and progress will go forward to new victories in Spain, and in the United States as throughout the world, because it has on its side that solid bulwark established by Lenin, the Soviet Union, because that bulwark has been completed and made impregnable by the genius of Stalin...
>
> "The Peoples Front is growing everywhere. And everywhere the most energetic and loyal builders of this front are the Communists, trained in the school and on the model of Lenin and Stalin...
>
> "But, as we Communists warned the masses from the beginning of the election campaign, the Roosevelt middle-of-the-road administration cannot be trusted to carry out this mandate."
>
> "Lenin and Spain" by Earl Browder an address delivered at Lenin Memorial meeting held January 20, 1937 at Madison Square Garden, New York, pp. 8-9.

> "The Communists knew that the ideal form of such a government was a dictatorship of the proletariat."
>
> "The Lessons of the War of the Spanish People, 1936-1939" by Jose Diaz, The Communist International, No. 3, March, 1940, p. 185.

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"The Party clearly realizes that the democratic republic for which the Spanish people are fighting will not be like a bourgeois-democratic republic of the usual type (U.S.A., France). Its social content is different."

"Spain In The Struggle Against Fascism," an Editorial, The Communist International, Vol. 13, No. 11, November, 1936, p. 1434.

"The democratic republic which is being established in Spain is not like a bourgeois-democratic republic of the usual type."

"Specific Features of the Spanish Revolution" by M. Ercoli in The Communist, Vol. 15, No. 12, December, 1936, p. 1178.

Dolores Ibarruri sneering at what she conceives to be democratic methods wrote:

"...a revolutionary party that has no desire to bind itself hand and foot in action cannot be a debating club."

Report of Dolores Ibarruri at the June Plenum of the Communist Party of Spain in The Communist International, Vol. 14, No. 9, September, 1937, p. 651.

George Cantos, in The Communist speaks in a hostile manner of:

"...the treacherous governments of the 'democracies.'"

"The Spanish People Fight On" by George Cantos. The Communist, Vol. 19, No. 7, July, 1940, p. 659.

The British Marxist John Strachey, sums up this entire issue rather well in commenting upon a statement by Winston Churchill.

"It is true that another group of commentators on the Spanish Civil War take a very different view. Mr. Winston Churchill, the ablest spokesman of the British governing class, tells us, for example, that all this talk about the Spanish government standing for the democratic principle is nonsense. The Spanish Civil War is an open and direct outbreak of the class struggle. On the one side are the Spanish workers fighting for communism, and on the other side are the Spanish capitalists fighting for fascism.

"Those of us who believe that the Marxist analysis of contemporary society is the only valid one will feel no impulse to deny the general truth of Mr. Churchill's view. We, and we alone, have been preaching that the issue between capitalism and socialism was inescapably and always an issue of class power.

"We have an immense responsibility both in the Spanish struggle and in the world struggle of which it is a part."

"Spain and History" by John Strachey writing as an English Marxist and supporter of Communism in New Masses, October 13, 1936, pp. 4, 6.

Churchill apparently was not the only Englishman who perceived the falsity of the clear cut Fascism vs. Democracy issue in Spain for the Communists complained most bitterly that:

"Ernest Bevin and Sir Walter Citrine still believe that Public Enemy No. 1 is Communism and the U.S.S.R."

"They Did Not Hear The Cry of Spain" by Gabriel Peri, International Press Correspondence, Vol. 17, No. 13, March 20, 1937, p. 315.

No less an authority on Communism than Gene Dennis, member of the National Board of the Communist Party of the United States says very clearly:

"It is an axiom for revolutionary Marxists that formal democracy, bourgeois democracy, is not proletarian

democracy—which can only be realized in a socialist society as today in the Soviet Union."

"The Socialist Party Convention" by Gene Dennis in The Communist, Vol. 16, No. 5, May, 1937, p. 408.

Dennis in this same article does not hesitate to say that the Communists are perfectly willing to revert to warfare to establish their own peculiar form of "democracy" or what is known in the western world as dictatorship.

"Revolutionary Marxists from Marx and Engels to Lenin and Stalin, have never taken a neutral stand on any war, nor have they rejected in principle support of all wars. ... Marxists have supported those wars which have been historically progressive, and have promoted the interests of progress and the world labor movement."

Ibid, pp. 405-406.

Dennis in support of his position in this matter quotes Lenin:

"'It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure, or overshadow it, etc.'"

Ibid, p. 408.

This willingness to engage in force and violence, in open warfare to destroy our form of democracy in order to establish Communism has been consistently and repeatedly reflected by various Communist leaders. Earl Browder said the same thing:

"...today as always in past history, the road to peace is not the road of pacifism or non-resistance."

"Next Steps To Win The War In Spain" an address by Earl Browder before a meeting of the functionaries of the Communist Party, U.S.A., December 9, 1937, p. 13.

Dennis' and Browder's statements are further clarified by Georgi Dimitroff, now Communist Dictator of Bulgaria:

> "When we carry on a resolute struggle for the defense of democratic rights and liberties, against reaction and fascism, we do so as Marxists, as consistent proletarian revolutionaries and not as bourgeois democrats and reformists.
>
> "...the Communists do not lose sight of the historic need for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism...
>
> "One cannot be a Socialist or even an honest democrat if one is not resolutely and entirely on the side of the Soviet Union...
>
> "The attitude toward the Soviet Union is in essence the touchstone testing the devotion of every individual active in the working class movement, and of every working class organization to the interest of the working class, and their loyalty to socialism."
>
> "Communists And The United Front" by Georgi Dimitroff in The Communist, Vol. 16, No. 6, June, 1937, pp. 513, 515.

When Communists, therefore use the word "democracy" they mean by it Communism plus unqualified support and unflinching loyalty to Soviet Russia alone.

The Issue of Fascism

Fascism, like democracy, also carried for the Communists a meaning somewhat different than was understood by Americans. To Americans, Fascism meant tyranny, dictatorship and a totalitarian way of life wholly repugnant to the freedom and dignity of man. Communists were not opposed to dictatorship and in fact recommended a "dictatorship of the proletariat." Communists meant by Fascism in general anything or any person which opposed Communism. Communists, meant by Fascism in particular the following:

> "Fascism--that is the power of finance capital itself.

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"Fascism in power, is the open...imperialist elements of finance capital... American fascism tries to portray itself as the custodian of the Constitution and 'American Democracy.'"

Statement by Georgi Dimitroff in International Press Correspondence, Vol. 18, No. 19, April 9, 1938, p. 419.

See also:

United Front Against Fascism by Georgi Dimitroff, New Century Publishers, 1935, pp. 7, 39.

Dimitroff in relating Fascism to imperialism and "finance capital" bases his position on that established by Lenin who wrote:

"Imperialism is the epoch of finance capital... The result...is reaction all along the line, whatever the political system..."

Imperialism by V. I. Lenin, International Publishers, New York, 1939, p. 120.

In view of the bogus issue of Fascism vs. Democracy and the subsequent confusion of terms it becomes rather evident that untold numbers of American citizens were cleverly deceived by Communist propaganda on the Spanish Civil War as they are today being deceived by Communist propaganda on the "new democracies" in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and other nations which have come under the harsh yoke of Communist dictatorship.

This confusion of terms is no accidental development of little significance. On the contrary it is a deliberate device in the hands of the Communists to obscure the real issue, namely, world wide Communism... While Communists were talking about the Spanish Civil War in terms of "Fascism" and "Democracy" and while Americans were helping to support the Communist version of it, the Communists themselves were looking far beyond the boundaries of Spain and coldly calculating on the place of the Spanish conflict in the world-wide picture. They thought of the Spanish front as being a part of the world Communist front, and this too Americans were being duped into supporting. In authentic Communist sources there is to be found information which points in this direction.

The Spanish Civil War In the Focus of the World-Wide Revolutionary Communist Movement

"The tremendous world significance of the present struggle in Spain arises from its position as focus point for the whole world struggle.

"It is on this world stage...that we must evaluate... and must mark out the next steps in the struggle..."

"The Result of the Elections And The People's Front" by Earl Browder in The Communist, Vol. 16, No. 1, January, 1937, pp. 16-17. This was a speech delivered by Browder to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States held December 4-6, 1936.

"The Communists are everywhere steadfastly in the forefront in the defense of Spain... The war in Spain is part of a world-wide offensive."

Next Steps To Win The War In Spain by Earl Browder. A speech delivered before functionaries of the Communist Party USA on December 9, 1937, pp. 3, 11.

"Spain is one of the most decisive positions so far as the control of the Mediterranean is concerned. ... Beyond the great strategic value of its coast and the Balearic Islands, Spain with its possessions in Morocco and Tangier is the western gateway of the Mediterranean."

"Spain And The Second Front" by I. Urizar in The Communist, Vol. 21, No. 6, July, 1942, p. 554.

"Victory for the People's Front Government will have the widest repercussions all over the world.

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"At the same time we must learn from the Spanish situation the vital lessons it has to teach us in the American class struggle, chief among which is the importance of the united front. The success of the Spanish and French united fronts are a glowing justification of the whole line of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern. They are a glowing signal for all branches of the toiling masses in the United States to join in one broad united front, a Farmer-Labor Party, against the fascist menace here."

Statement by William Z. Foster now National Chairman of the Communist Party, USA in New Masses, August 18, 1936, p. 13.

"The advanced workers of all countries proved their acumen when they saw in the Madrid front the most important sector of the world front..."

"May First--Fighting Day Against Fascist Intervention In Spain" by G. Cogniot, International Press Correspondence, Vol. 17, No. 19, May 1, 1937, p. 451.

"For me, the People's Front of Spain, as I have already said, has represented the first draft of that architectonic vision... Such was the vision of the Russian Bolshevik Party."

"The People's Front In Spain" by Ramon Sender, New Masses, April 20, 1937, p. 4.

"Our aim must be to link up this struggle within the country with the struggle outside..."

"Under The Heel of Franco" by Jesus Hernandez, The Communist International, No. 7, July, 1940, p. 457.

To the Communists, then, the Spanish Civil War was not simply an internal conflict of one nation. On the contrary they conceived it as being

a part of the world-wide Communist Revolution based on force and violence which would spread and take place in still other nations, depending on local conditions for the propitious time. Therefore it was necessary as a part of the world-wide Communist Revolutionary movement that the Communist Party of the United States organize and maintain the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. It was a part of this world-wide Communist revolutionary movement that leading representatives of the Communist Party of the United States went to Spain to lend their presence and efforts to such revolutionary designs. It is not surprising therefore that the Spanish scholar Dr. M. G. Maranon wrote:

> "There is no Spaniard who does not realize that his war is not civil, but international."
>
> "Liberalism and Communism" by Dr. M. G. Maranon in Paris Revue, December 15, 1937, p. 14.

Communist Party Functionaries Who Went To Spain

The world-wide significance of the Spanish Civil War to Communism brought the leaders of the Communist Party to Spain as well as Communist soldiers.

Evidence of the presence and purpose in Spain of American Communist leaders may be found in the following statements taken from Communist sources:

> "Bringing with him the greetings and solidarity of thousands of young Americans, John Little, New York State Executive Secretary of the Y.C.L. (Young Communist League) arrived in Spain last week for an extended visit during which he hopes to spend as much time with the men of the Fifteenth Brigade as his many self-imposed jobs will permit."
>
> "John Little Brings Greetings of U.S. Youth," The Volunteer For Liberty, Organ of the International Brigades, Vol. 11, No. 16, Barcelona, April 13, 1938, p. 1.

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"During May, 1937, it was my privilege to go to Spain and pay a visit to the volunteers of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion on the front. It was thrilling to find Negro fighters together with their white brothers, making a splendid record for America in Spain. ... Upon their return to our shores, these soldiers are going to take their place...as valuable leaders of the Negro people and of the entire working-class movement."

The Negro And The Democratic Front by James W. Ford, International Publishers, New York, 1938, pp. 92-93.

"Bob Minor is back in the country again--he rushed up to the front as soon as he got here. He was accompanied by Jim Ford...Jim spoke over the broadcasting system in Madrid while here..."

Letters from Spain by Joe Dallet with introduction articles by William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, Tim Buck, Steve Nelson, John Williamson. Published by Workers Library, New York, 1938, pp. 38-39. Dallet was a member of the Communist Party USA, killed in Spain.

Hawthorne, correspondent for the Communist publication New Masses gives full approval to the demands of the Communist Party of Spain.

"The Communist Party demanded...that the government ruthlessly exterminate the fascists, Trotskyists and 'uncontrollables'...and establish revolutionary order..."

"Spain's Government Girds For War" by James Hawthorne, New Masses, June 22, 1937, p. 8.

As indicated previously 'uncontrollables' is a broad term which easily included all who opposed Communism. These were to be ruthlessly exterminated along with all other members of the opposition--and this with

the full approval and support of American Communist correspondents and Party functionaries in Spain.

According to Robert Minor, Earl Browder spoke to the men of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain during February, 1938 saying:

> "'It was the proudest moment of my life to meet our American boys on the field of Teruel and to know those we have sent have sealed the solidarity of the people...'"
>
> "The Birthday of Earl Browder" by Robert Minor in The Communist, Vol. 21, No. 4, May, 1942, p. 299.

We might pause at this point to give further consideration to Earl Browder. We have seen that as General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States he was acknowledged as the outstanding leader of Communism in America. He set the pace for the other Communists to follow. He pointed the way as it came to him from the high policy making circles of the international Communist movement. In view of Browder's position at that time (and without overlooking the fact that Browder is today a registered agent of the Soviet Publishing House, Moscow, Russia) the following statement of the noted Communist Hans Berger is of some interest. It will be recalled that Hans Berger's true name is Gerhart Eisler who on July 2, 1947 was convicted of contempt of the United States Congress and was sentenced to one year and one thousand dollar fine. On August 16, 1947 he was convicted of passport fraud.

> "No one in the United States has assisted the underground movement...as much as Earl Browder has.
>
> "Earl Browder, as an American and a Communist, enjoys the highest respect, the greatest appreciation, among the heroes of the underground struggle..."
>
> "Earl Browder and Ernest Thaelmann" by Hans Berger. The Communist, Vol. 21, No. 4, May, 1942, p. 307.

This, then, is the type of man who directed the destiny of the Communist Party of the United States during the Spanish Civil War and who today appears to be not in the disfavor of Soviet Russia. This is the

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Earl Browder who spearheaded the drive to organize and maintain the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain. It seems pertinent therefore to mention in passing the character of the American Brigade while in Spain. For it will be recalled that the Communist Party of the United States considered the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to be a model of Communist principles and practices. No less an authority than the American publication The Communist wrote:

> "Let the brave Lincoln Battalion be our example and shining light for more and greater efforts..."
>
> Editorial - "Review of the Month" in The Communist, Vol. 14, No. 5, May, 1937, p. 399.

The Character of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade As Reflected By Its Methods In Spain

As previously indicated recruitment for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was conducted by Communist Party, USA often under the front of the American Society For Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy. William G. Ryan a former member of the Communist Party who was also a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade testified before a congressional committee to this effect.

> "I called at the offices of the American Society For Technical Aid in the Manhattan Building on Second Street, in Milwaukee. There I saw a gentleman, a Mr. Brown. That is, he was Mr. Brown in the offices of the American Society for Technical Aid. Across the hall, in the offices of the American League for Peace and Democracy, he was Mr. Secat. A few blocks away, in the offices of the Communist Party, he was Comrade Secat. ... Our passport applications...were given to us by Mr. Secat. Also the funds to pay for the passport applications... Mr. Secat then took care of the passports.
>
> "In a few days...our passports were mailed to us... The next morning we were put in charge of Mr. Thayer... The next morning we went to a Young Communist League headquarters in the vicinity of Gimbels (New York)... Mr. Thayer then took us to another party headquarters in the neighborhood of Union Square. He took our passports...

"The next evening...we were given a brief pep talk and told we should not mention Spain on the boat; we should not say where we were going, to act as tourists..."

Testimony Before The Dies Committee

John G. Honeycombe and Maxwell M. Wallach have also testified before the Special Committee on un-American Activities as former members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade whose experiences were similar to those of William G. Ryan.

Another source has confidentially advised that the money for his passport and other expenses were furnished by the Communist Party. He was told to recruit ten other men for fighting in Spain. This he did. Like Ryan, Honeycombe and Wallach he had been warned not to mention aboard ship or elsewhere why they were going to Europe. While enroute to Europe he encountered a woman who moved among the men going to Spain plying them with questions about their journey, apparently testing to see if she could get information from them on any pertinent topic. This source became friendly with the woman and while in France she showed him her passport reflecting that she was a Russian citizen. While in France the men were looked after by the Communist Party of France who also furnished them transportation to Spain. Soon after his arrival in Spain this confidential source was appointed to an administrative position by one Irving Keith, a Russian and a member of the Control Commission of the International Brigades. The man in command of the military unit in this section was also a Russian, who adopted the Spanish name of General Gomez.

This source states that all American soldiers of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade were screened and trained at Tarozana, Spain; that 2500 of these men passed through Tarozana while he was there. Very little training was given the men, some received none at all. According to his estimate about 3000 Americans arrived in Spain. The Communist Commissars and Commanders selected from this number the men who should serve in the front lines. If a man was disliked because of his politics or some similar reason he would be certain to be sent to the front while a friend or a man with "right politics" would be held back in the safe zone. For some time this source worked as an "undercover agent" in Spain seeking out men who might be disloyal to the Communist Party. He says that at the time he was so imbued with the ruthless spirit of Communism that: "I would turn in my own mother."

He indicates that the disciplinary measures taken against the men of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, particularly non-Communists, were often

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brutal. Some were shot. However, at Aragon a mass desertion took place which included so many Communists that it was ignored and these men on returning to the United States were accepted as heroes by the Communist Party.

While stationed in one town in Spain this source states Earl Browder visited with Abraham Lincoln Brigade leaders from time to time. Paul Robeson and Congressman Emanuel Celler also visited. While he was stationed at Tarozana he learned that a Mr. Porter would visit the soldiers. When Mr. Porter arrived he turned out to be Earl Browder, head of the Communist Party of the United States. That night a secret meeting was held at which Earl Browder addressed the soldiers. During the meeting some Spanish fliers offered to bomb a Spanish town in Browder's honor. This was greeted with applause to Browder's satisfaction.

On the following morning this source on reporting to the Commander's headquarters observed a pile of American passports issued to deceased soldiers on the Commanders desk. When Browder arrived to converse with the Commander this source left the room. On returning to the room shortly thereafter he observed Browder closing a travelling bag preparing to depart and he was saying "'I'll take good care of these.'" The source noticed that the pile of passports which had been on the Commanders' desk only a few minutes before, had disappeared. The source believes the passports were taken by Browder.

The prominence of Russians in strategic positions relating to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is supported by Captain William Aalto and Lieutenant Irving Goff both of whom served with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain. These men have written:

> "In our guerrilla schools, lessons from the Red Army's experience were taught to us, verbally and through Spanish translations of Red Army manuals. The mines, and the trick apparatus we used in Spain were constructed from patterns given to us by our Soviet advisers. They brought also with them quantities of the Russian toll, an explosive that was almost perfect for our work. ... They also brought us their famed rifles with their superior sights, the automatic Dektiarov rifle of which we spoke, Maxim machine guns, etc. The whole Spanish Army and especially the guerrillas were reminded of the support of the Soviet Union every time they

loaded a gun--for the bullets so often were Soviet."

"Guerrilla Warfare: Lessons In Spain"
by William Aalto and Irving Goff in
Soviet Russia Today, Vol. 10, No. 6,
October, 1941, p. 22.

Another confidential source who served with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain has advised as follows:

"Before you go to Spain somebody has got to recommend you. They look you up to see how many arrests you have had, how many times you have picketed...they look you up and you must be recommended by a Communist. ... The whole apparatus is operated under the Communist Party.

"I joined the Communist Party in 1934 and worked as an organizer...I wasn't a Red Hot Bolshevik - I opposed a lot of their programs and because of that I was sentenced to be shot. Americans are misled by their propaganda.

"After you get to Spain, things start to change-you find out the score...After you get there you find that you have all Communists in control...they have a spy system that can't be beat anywhere in the world.

"The Communist Party get the American passports. A fellow named Bill Lawrence had charge of this work... They take these passports from you in Spain, Elba City, and put them in an office and thats the last you see of them.

"There are not so many Americans coming back. The ones who want to talk are not coming back because they are 'liquidated.' The only ones repatriated from Spain are the ones who won't testify to the State Department on conditions. If they go against the Communist Party then they don't come back.

"They tell you when you are going over, it's only for six months but at the end of six months if you say you want to come back, they tell you: 'You're a Communist

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now, fighting for the cause.' ... I have been told there is $80,000,000 spent for propaganda in this country for the Loyalists.

"The Americans didn't start wholesale desertion until last March. ... After March the men were sick of fighting but if you turned around and said we want to go home, you would have been shot. The Spanish Government did not want you to get out of the country with this information. Even in New York City they warned me to keep my mouth shut or 'you might be found in the East River.' This is not an ordinary racket... The ones coming back without anything wrong with them are the ones paid good money by the Communist Party. They are coming back here to try the same thing they did in Spain. The Communist Party with 75,000 members, claim they are not going out for little things. ... They have open meetings for the members and talk about Jefferson and Lincoln and the Constitution of the United States - they use that as an American - they emphasize that you can change the government by armed force, if necessary. This is a good way to bring them into the movement - then the propaganda of Lenin and Stalin. They put their pointers over wherever they want. It's only a camouflage - the open meetings. They only do that to fool the people."

This information seems to portray rather clearly the character of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade during its operations in Spain. Yet, it is this very Brigade and others similar to it which the Communists have in mind when they speak:

"...with pride to the achievements that have been carried out by all Sections of the Communist International in support of the Spanish government."

"In Memory of the British Comrades Who Have Fallen In Spain" by Harry Pollitt, The Communist International, Vol. 14, No. 2, February, 1937, p. 142.

The Communists saw in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and other similar Brigades, the potential power and promise they held for the future

in violently overthrowing existing governments in preparation for world-wide Communism. They express this fact in these words:

> "The dream of Marx and Engels has been realized—that dream which dominated them when they formed the First International—that one day there would arise a really single world party, that could mobilize the best of the people in every country to come to the assistance of comrades in other lands fighting a deadly enemy."
>
> Ibid, p. 142.

We have seen who this "deadly enemy" is, namely, all who oppose Communism.

This, then, is the origin, purpose and character of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. These men were well trained not only for regular warfare but also in guerrilla tactics which includes rioting, street fighting, espionage and sabotage. On returning from Spain they formed the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade as a vehicle for carrying on their work; as a means of advancing Communist objectives. It may be well to recall at this point that when these Lincoln Brigade men left Spain they took a solemn oath to continue their efforts. Their attitude and intentions are well depicted by these words spoken at a farewell celebration.

> "We are leaving! But we are not going to sit down and do nothing; we are leaving to fight.
>
> "Yes, we are going away from here in order to fight. ... We are not leaving in order to go to sleep, we are only going to another front.
>
> "We go forward to these new struggles armed with the tremendous experience gained in Spain."
>
> "United As In Spain" by Andre Marty, World News And Views, Vol. 18, No. 53, November 5, 1938, p. 1210.

It was armed with this experience that these men who fought in Spain organized the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade which will be next considered.

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SECTION V

THE VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

THE VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

Background

As early as 1937 when men of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade began to return to the United States from Spain because of wounds received or for some other purpose, consideration was given to the formation of a veterans organization.

The Spanish Civil War ended in 1939 and in the following year, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade filed a certificate of incorporation at the County Clerk's office, Supreme Court Building, New York City on January 10, 1940, and thereby became a New York Corporation, pursuant to the Membership Corporation Law. The incorporation certificate included the following information:

> "We, the undersigned, for the purpose of forming a membership corporation pursuant to the Membership Corporation Law of the State of New York, hereby certify---
>
> 1. The name of the corporation is Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Inc.
>
> 2. The purposes for which said corporation is to be formed are as follows: to foster and protect the principles of justice, liberty and democracy; to honor and perpetuate the memory of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and to render voluntary aid and assistance in the rehabilitation of the members thereof, to render voluntary aid and assistance to victims of oppression and injustice; to solicit, collect and otherwise raise money for the aforementioned purposes; to expend, contribute, disburse and otherwise handle and dispense all said monies for the aforementioned purposes, either directly or by contributions to other agencies, organizations or institutions organized for the same or similar purposes; to assist in harmonizing and to make more efficient the work of charitable, philanthropic and benevolent organizations by cooperating

with and assisting such organizations, to receive by way of gift, will or otherwise, money or other property and distributing it as may be deemed best for the promotion of the purposes aforesaid; and to do any and all other things necessary or proper in connection with or incidental to any of the foregoing purposes..."

Certificate of Incorporation filed by Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, New York City, January 10, 1940.

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade admitted to membership in this organization all soldiers:

"...who served in Spain in the International Brigade and who left Spain with the permission of the International Brigade.

"Applicants for membership who served in other sections of the Spanish Loyalist Army may be admitted by a two-thirds vote..."

Taken from the Constitution of the Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

It is of interest to note, in view of the record of these men, that one of the objects of their organization is:

"To affiliate and cooperate with organizations formed in other countries by Veterans of the International Brigades."

Ibid

As a commentary on this particular object the "Resolution on Organization" reads in part:

"Whereas, for the first time in history, there was formed an international army of volunteer soldiers...

"Whereas, the International Brigades represent a service on behalf of all progressive mankind throughout the world... (It will be recalled that Joseph Stalin in his message to Jose Diaz, head of the Communist Party of Spain used a similar phrase "the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind.")

"Whereas,... 3,000 Lafayettes of today left America to join this army...

"Be it resolved, that we the Veterans of the International Brigades who have served in the Abranam Lincoln Brigade, and who have returned to the United States, establish ourselves as an American Chapter of the Veterans of the International Brigade...

"We will affiliate with all groups of a similar nature and purpose formed in other countries."

Ibid

According to the Constitution as first drafted the organization has two general committees, the Executive Committee and the National Committee. The former is made up of the Commander, an Adjutant-Commander, an Executive Secretary, a Publicity Director and a Treasurer. The latter is composed of members selected at large. The main authority rests in these two Committees. Other secondary Committees are Finance Committee, Publicity Committee, Educational Committee and the Rehabilitation Committee. Conventions are held once a year. Chapters may be established in all cities where there are at least ten veterans residing.

Among the men prominent in the early days of this organization were Paul Burns, Steve Nelson, Cy Stone, Douglas Roach, Dennis Jordon, Steve Daduk, Bill Wheeler, Bob Klonsky, Walter Garland and William Harvey, all of whom had been associated with the Communist movement. Steve Nelson is now a co-worker on the National Board of the Communist Party, USA. From the day of its first Convention the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade have supported the policies and practices of the Communist Party of the United States.

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade claim they have in the United States 1500 returned soldiers of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The true number appears to be nearer 1200 persons with an active membership of less than 1000. The bulk of their membership centers around three

main branches, namely, the Chicago branch, the Los Angeles branch and the New York branch. The latter is by far the largest and most active. The headquarters of this organization are located in New York at 23 West 26th Street, New York City. It is to be noted that the Communist utilized American Committee for Spanish Freedom is also located at this same address. The Headquarters and branches mentioned, also have ladies auxilary units attached made up chiefly of the wives of the Veterans and other women who are active in the Communist dominated Spanish Aid groups.

In reference to the American Committee For Spanish Freedom a confidential source advises that this organization was established at the request of Leonard Lamb of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade acting in behalf of the Communist Political Association existent at that time. On this same topic another confidential source has explained that according to Milton Wolf, National Commander of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigad the American Committee For Spanish Freedom is practically identical with the Action Committee to Free Spain; that their activities would coincide with the Committee to Win The Peace. Wolf went on to say that these two duplicate organizations are set up in order to carry out the work assigned to them in spite of the efforts of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Wolf illuminated this point by remarking:

> "If they stop one, the other will carry on. All these committees have a central committee kept secret."

From a confidential source a report was made available which was presumably prepared by a member of this organization for use at the Third National Convention of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade held in Chicago, Illinois in 1941. This report read in part:

> "All the reports and discussions, the very purpose and heart of our Convention today, is centered around the fact that as veterans, though limited in number, we occupy a most advantageous position in progressive American life; a position from which we can play a powerful role...
>
> "We have today approximately 1200 veterans through the country. The largest post of 500 is at New York; 80 in Chicago; 50 in Los Angeles; 25 in Cleveland; 20 in Detroit; 20 in Philadelphia; 20 in Milwaukee; 20 in Minneapolis; 20 in San Francisco; 10 in San Pedro; 10 in Baltimore; 10 in Washington, D. C.; 5 in Jersey; 5 in St. Louis; 5 in Boston; 5 in Connecticut; about 200 seamen who are constantly passing in and out of various posts. The remainder are scattered in 1's and 2's in Kansas, Colorado, Texas, Birmingham, Seattle, and Maine.

"Though this is not a large number, the critical situation, our...proximity to war, makes it imperative that we close our ranks tightly to double and triple our effectiveness by working together in an organized fashion."

Received by Buffalo Field Office from Inspector in Charge, C. A. Foltz of the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, Niagara Falls. See report of Herman O. Bly dated 9-16-42 at New York City, entitled Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, p. 5,

As can be seen members of this organization are not confined to any one area of the country nor limited to any one class of employment. On the contrary they are distributed rather widely and engaged in various occupations, hence, they are able to exert more influence as an organized body of men than would otherwise be possible.

It is reported that 600 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade served in the U.S. Merchant Marine during World War II and over 200 in the armed services. From confidential sources it was disclosed that some of the more trusted Veterans were asked to infiltrate to the strategic positions in the armed forces in order that they could render greater service to the Communist Party.

These expanded activities of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade were predicted when they first established their headquarters in this country at New York City. They wrote:

"Our headquarters must be more than a meeting hall, lecture forum or club room. It must be a rallying point for aid to Spain, and for everything progressive. Our job did not stop when we came back from Spain. The fight against Fascism here is different from the way we fought it in the trenches. At times it may be a harder fight, but whatever the difficulties, our slogan and pledge rings out as ever: Abajo el Fascismo." (Down with Fascism.)

The Volunteer For Liberty, issued by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 1, No. 4, May, 1938, p. 1.

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and World War II

The position taken by the Veterans relative to World War II coincided exactly with the position taken by the Communist Party of the United States. They declared up to the time Russia entered the war that it was an imperialistic conflict in which the United States must not participate. When Russia entered the war the Veterans at once declared it was a war for freedom and the United States should participate at once. Before Russia entered the Veterans were bitterly opposed to all defense measures being taken by this nation.

> "We, the members of the New York Post of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade...feel that the present European War is not an anti-Fascist war but an Imperialist war, and that as long as it remains so we not only will not take part in it but we will emphatically oppose our country's entering it or giving assistance to either side. ...
>
> "Today the same press which falsified the character of the Spanish war is printing reams of Chamberlain's propaganda in which the British Prime Minister attempts to hide his real aims... At the same time he misrepresents the true intent and service of the Soviet Union. But we remember that the Soviet Union was the only country which remained true to its word...we remember that the arms we used in Spain were Russian 'chatos' and 'Moscas' ...We therefore support the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R.
>
> "We appeal to the hundreds of thousands of Americans who supported us and the cause for which we fought...to maintain a genuine neutrality.
>
> "The posts in other cities, and every individual yet, are urged to give this statement or similar ones the widest possible circulation."
>
> The Volunteer For Liberty, issued by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 1, No. 5, October, 1939, pp. 1-4.

> "We will build an organization. We will strengthen our ranks. We will prepare not only to defend ourselves... but to launch such a counter-offensive as will silence the big guns of fascism and reaction in America...
>
> "From now on all other activities are second to your responsibilities to the Veterans. From now on our meetings are for the sole purpose of planning and

carrying out action. ... The Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade must reassume their traditional position in the front lines as shock troops..."

The Volunteer For Liberty, issued by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 1, No. 6, December, 1939, pp. 1-4.

It will be recalled that the American Peace Mobilization was declared to be a Communist front organization by the United States Department of Justice. In view of this fact the affiliation which the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade had with this organization becomes significant.

"The December membership meeting of the New York Post instructed the executive to go all out in support of the American Peace Mobilization. It decided that Veterans of a truly anti-fascist war should cooperate fully with the A.P.M. against America's participation in today's stream-lined follow up of 1917 and the attempt to fascize America under the slogan of anti-fascism.

"With this as the No. 1 job on the Vets' 1941 program, the Executive drew up a plan which not only should, but can involve our entire membership:

"1. In each borough the Executive has selected a Vet who is responsible for the activity of the other Vets in his borough. He sees that they join their neighborhood A.P.M. group. Also, one Veteran is in charge of the Post members who are in trade unions.

"2. The Vets are represented and participate in the work of the City Executive of the A.P.M....

"All Veterans are urged to join their local A.P.M. Volunteer for Peace groups."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 3, No. 1, February, 1941, p. 1.

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"...All out for A.P.M., was the slogan accepted by the pre-Convention Conference held by the N. Y. Post on May 4th. ...

"A.P.M. as the mass movement gathering all the peace forces of America, must be the major concentration point of the V.A.L.B." (Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.)

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by the Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 3, No. 5, May, 1941, p. 1. Pre-Convention Issue.

"1500 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade who fought in the Spanish Republican Army have joined the American Peace Mobilization to further the ideals which carried them to Spain." (It may be well to repeat at this point that American Peace Mobilization was a Communist front organization promoting Communist policies and objectives.)

"The Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade is affiliated to the A.P.M. and support its program 100 per cent."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 3, No. 2, February, 1941, Special Edition, p. 1. This issue was marked "Join American Peace Mobilization (A.P.M.)."

The Veterans Condemn All Defense Preparations

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade did everything possible to turn American citizens against building up national defenses to protect the nation against the Nazi threat under a misleading slogan 'Keep America Out of The War.' They wrote:

> "Our statement in this issue, 'This Is Not Our War,' is not only our stand on World War II but is a call to action. In response to numerous inquiries from both Lincoln boys and 'Friends,' we have organized the American Peace Committee having as its object to 'Keep America Out of The War...'"
>
> The Western Volunteer, issued by the San Francisco Post of the Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 1, No. 3, December, 1939, pp. 1-2.

> "Defeat Militarism and Regimentation, repeal conscription, no M day for the American people.
>
> "Restore the Bill of Rights, Restore free speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of thought."
>
> Volunteer For Liberty, issued by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 3, No. 2, February, 1941, Special Edition, p. 1.

> "Twenty-eight veterans under the leadership of Irv Goff went down in convoy for the A.P.M. rally on the February 1st week-end. The week-end of February 8th, 30 veterans were at the Town Hall Meeting of the American Youth Congress. They came from all over the country as elected representatives from different organizations. Ten were there as representatives of Veterans' Posts." (It is to be noted that the American Youth Congress was declared

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to be a subversive Communist front organization by the U. S. Department of Justice, Executive order No. 9300, dated February 5, 1943.)

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by the Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 3, No. 3, March, 1941, p. 1.

"Conscription--Support all movements for its repeal. ... No A.E.F. Draft committees to keep close contact with our members who are drafted.

"All is not rosy among the 'selectees' in the various training camps, we learn... Pay insufficient. ... Want travel allowance when they are given furloughs. Thorough discontent over the current proposals to extend the period of service beyond a year. Complete general opposition to going overseas to fight."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 3, No. 5, May, 1941, pp. 3-4, Pre-Convention Issue.

The Veterans Condemn President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Defense Efforts

"It was pointed out that the Lincoln Veterans can best expose the war aims of British and American imperialism by explaining to the American people the chicanery of Churchill and Roosevelt..."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 3, No. 5, May, 1941, p. 1, Pre-convention Issue.

"The Lend-Lease should be numbered 1917 not 1776. Roosevelt needs its dictatorial powers to further his aim of carving out of a warring world, the American Empire... To achieve this end the suave Mr. Roosevelt has already committed America to undeclared belligerency in this 2nd World War. ... We want no part of an American Empire. ... Imperialist war and repression at home are Siamese Twins. F.D.R. is revealing an even more open love for both.

"To accomplish this aim, the Roosevelts, Knudsens and Hillmans, who team up with the greedy Lion, as well as the Lindberghs and Fords,... must be exposed and defeated. Both groups imply ever more openly that democracy must be limited if America is to be strong. Both are evident liars."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 3, No. 2, February, 1941, Special Edition, p. 1.

The Veterans Picket the White House

"Vets Storm Capital.

"The Veterans have played a leading role in two of the biggest demonstrations of the People's protest against the passage of the infamous Lend-Lease Bill.

"The Veterans' participation in A.P.M.'s Washington rally was high-lighted by a 15,000 copy special edition of the Volunteer For Liberty; the Vets' leadership in a picket-line of more than a thousand around the White House; and an hour and a half interview with the State Department.

"The leading committee of A.P.M. asked the Lincoln Brigadiers to organize the White House picket-line. According to eye-witness accounts, the effect was

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colossal, especially with the Lincoln Veterans' colorful banner right at the front of the line."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 3, No. 3, March, 1941, p. 1.

From the above it appears apparent that the Veterans took every step feasible to oppose defense measures and to disrupt the moral of those men conscripted into the armed forces. The extremes they went to in this matter are matched only by the extremes of their reverse position taken at once when Russia became engaged in World War II.

The Effect of Soviet Russia's Entrance Into World War II On The Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade

As we have seen, the Veterans did everything they could do to oppose and interfere with the defense measures being taken by the United States against the threat of Nazi Germany with which Soviet Russia had a Pact. As soon as this Pact was broken, however, and Soviet Russia entered the war the attitude of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade changed immediately. Samples of this extreme reversal are as follows:

"America is in the war—even though as yet we have no troops in the field. ... We call for the opening of a Western Front immediately by Britain and the United States. We call upon our government to declare war now on Nazi Germany! ...

"The Soviet Union, China, and the 'V' armies in the occupied countries are sacrificing without stint in the defense of their national freedom and democratic liberties...

"Our job as Veterans is to see that this is expressed in clear and powerful terms...

"The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade pledge all their efforts to this single aim."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 3, No. 6, December, 1941, pp. 2-3.

As indicated the Veterans wasted no time in changing their position on World War II when Soviet Russia entered the conflict in June of 1941. In that very same month when the Veterans had been hurling charges of imperialism, condemning Lend-Lease and opposing out defense measures they switched their line so as it now read:

> "Let the American people insist that the President offer immediate concrete aid to the Soviet Union. Under the powers given to him under the Lend-Lease Act, the President should be urged to marshall every possible resource and material assistance to be forwarded to the people of the Soviet Union in their fight against Hitlerism."
>
> From an article prepared as a press release by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, June 29, 1941.

> "Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade are starting a wide campaign in aid of the Soviet Union's fight against the Nazi invaders. ...
>
> "Open air meetings, radio time, pamphlets will be used in the drive to awaken every American to his danger in this crisis."
>
> "Vets of Spain War Launch Drive for Full Aid to USSR", Daily Worker, July 7, 1941, p. 3.

> "We maritime workers, veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, would like nothing better than to go to the USSR or Britain to help finish the job we started in Spain."
>
> "Hudson Speaks At Spain Vet Rally For Press Drive", Daily Worker, August 18, 1941, p. 3.

John Gates, a member of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade who served in Spain with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, is now a member of the National Board of the Communist Party of the United States as well as Editor of the Communist publication Daily Worker. He is quoted by this publication on the Veteran's reversal of position the very next month following

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Russia's entrance into the war. Hastening to justify this over-night switch Gates says:

> "'The invasion of the Soviet Union...has transformed the character of the war from a reactionary, imperialist war into a just war, a kind of war that we found in Spain...
>
> "'Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade stand four-square as they did in Spain... We in America, and in the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, must subordinate everything—our lives, our interests, towards this great crusade against Hitler fascism.'"
>
> "Vets of Spain War Launch Drive For Full Aid To USSR", Daily Worker, July 7, 1941, p. 3.

> "We Vets are in it up to our ears. Let the people around you learn from you the necessity of united action against the common foe..."
>
> Volunteer For Liberty, issued by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 4, No. 4, October, 1942, p. 2.

> "When war was declared on the United States on December 7, 1941, we, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade...were proud to rededicate ourselves in the armed forces and on the production line. In a letter to President Roosevelt, we offered the full support and services of our organization..."
>
> Volunteer For Liberty, issued by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Vol. 8, No. 1, November, 1946, p. 4.

The Veterans and Soviet Russia

> "But we remember that the Soviet Union was the only country which remained true to its word...we remember that the arms we used in Spain were Russian 'chatos' and 'moscas...' We therefore support the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. ..."
>
> Volunteer For Liberty, issued by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 1, No. 5, October, 1939, pp. 1-4.

"The only country which helped Spain in its struggle for freedom was Soviet Russia. From the U.S.S.R. came arms, planes, wheat for the people of Spain."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 2, No. 1, January, 1940, pp. 3-20, Convention Issue.

See also:

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 2, No. 4, December, 1940, pp. 1-4.

"It is the duty of the American Government to seek co-operation abroad with the truly neutral Soviet Union, not the belligerent Great Britain.

"We who fought in Spain, know the validity of the Soviet Union's word."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 3, No. 2, February, 1941, Special Edition, p. 1.

"Today, the Red Army of the Soviet Union whose Dichterovas and Maxims were our weapons in Spain, fights the greatest battles of History against the enemies of the world. They still fight that battle alone..."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by Veterans of the International Brigade, Vol. 4, No. 4, October, 1942, p. 2.

"The Soviet Union does not threaten the people of the world."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of The Abraham Linceln Brigade, Vol. 8, No. 1, November, 1946, p. 2.

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"But we will not forget the friends of Spain--the Soviet Union. We recall that it was the Soviet Union who first gave the slogan to the world: 'The cause of Republican Spain is the cause of all progressive and advanced humanity.' We know how they backed their words with deeds. Soviet tanks, planes, guns, food, medical supplies made it possible for the Spanish people and the International Brigades to beat back the superior forces of fascism for almost three years."

Ibid., p. 4.

"1942 was the decisive year. The most glorious chapters were written on the eastern front in the blood and heroism of the Red Army."

Ibid., p. 4.

"General Alexander Rodimtzev, Commander of Stalingrad's Guards, has replied to the message sent from the London meeting on the anniversary of the formation of the International Brigades:

"'I am glad to express my sincere gratitude for your message,' cabled the Hero of the Soviet Union...

"The greetings to Major-General Rodimtzev were signed by Sam Wild (British Battalion), F. Biheller (Masaryk Battalion), Hans Kahle (XIth Thaelmann Brigade), Fredl. Hrejsemnou (XIIth Feb. Battalion), Rene Guilmin (Marseillaise Brigade), Amadeo Fillicetti (Garibaldi Brigade), Milan Stefanovitch (Diacovich Battalion), Michael Feller (Abraham Lincoln Battalion), Edmund Szymansky (Dombrowski Brigade), B. Olynyk (Macpap Battalion.")

Volunteer For Liberty, British Edition, Vol. 3, No. 8, Special New Year Number, p. 7. No date listed but it appears to be of January, 1943.

The Veterans And Spain

The Veterans have repeatedly stated that one of their main objectives is to continue interfering in the government of Spain until the administration of General Francisco Franco is overthrown. The Veterans have in the past and continue in the present to do whatever they can in this direction. A brief cross-section of their activities in this sphere is set forth below:

> "That the conflict is over, that the American survivors have returned home, does not spell 'finis' to the situation for us."
>
> Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 2, No. 1, January, 1940, pp. 3-20, Convention Issue.

> "The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee sponsored a Garden meeting a few weeks ago in which we became involved up to our necks. ...the Garden meeting on Spain was a hugh success, 17,000 people attended... a lot of money was collected. Franco was hit hard verbally by Novikoff of the Russian Embassy, by Laski of England, and of course by our own people. (It is to be noted that the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was declared to be a subversive Communist front organization by the U. S. Department of Justice, Executive Order No. 9835.)

> "...two underground leaders who filtered back into Spain to do work against Franco were captured. One is Santiago Alvarez, the other is Sebastian Zaparain... They were captured and awaiting trial when we received word from General Lister and Modesto, who are in Toulouse, France, requesting that we do everything possible to save them. Many actions were carried out. Among them; picketing of the Spanish Consulate, letters, wires, and a leaflet campaign. In Cuba, they held a general stoppage for five minutes. Argentina made an unofficial protest. The Lawyers Guild brought charges against Franco to be presented to the War Crimes Commission. In addition, Congressmen were contacted--also

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the Embassy in Spain. The World Trade Union Conference meeting in Paris sent an official delegation into Spain to see Alvarez and Zapirain and we hear that Franco will release them soon.

"Our program is to speed up at all cost, the overthrow of Franco, working thru a new political committee, the American Committee for Spanish Freedom. We are organizing a petition drive, picket lines, delegations and whatever else will help." (It is to be noted that the American Committee for Spanish Freedom supports Communist policies.)

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 6, No. 10, October, 1945, p. 10.

"Every Vet should consider it his urgent task to join this offensive."

Ibid., p. 11.

"We, with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, are determined that this organization will continue its humanitarian and relief work. The Spanish Republicans in France must be kept alive until they can return to a Free Spain."

Special Bulletin, issued by The Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, January 4, 1946.

"We must be in the forefront of the fight for the destruction of fascism wherever it exists and particularly in Spain. I say particularly in Spain because Spain is one of the keys to all international developments at the present time."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by the Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 8, No. 1, November, 1946, p. 10.

"Our first major effort was to throw ourselves into the job of making the anti-Franco Madison Square Garden rally organized by the National Committee, a success. That the Garden was full in January 1945 was due in a large part to our efforts. ...

"During this period we were cooperating in political activity with the American Committee for Spanish Freedom...

"In the early part of 1946 it was decided to set up the Action Committee to Free Spain Now, under the joint auspices of the American Committee and the Vets. This Action Committee was launched by a series of demonstrations which included a 2000 strong picket line at the Consulate replete with such trimmings as burning Franco in effigy—a night march with placards through Times Square and culminating in a great mass rally at Madison Square with top figures from various organizations. To the present time we are continuing this pattern of activity, operating within the framework of independent activity of our own and cooperation with all other truly anti-Franco organizations and especially the Action Committee. We are prepared at all times to do whatever we can to broaden and strengthen the movement for a free Spain. (It is to be noted that the policies of the Action Committee coincides with those of the Communist Party.)

"One particular independent job we have right now is helping Ibers in foreign lands." (Ibers is the abbreviation used for International Brigaders.)

Ibid., p. 5.

Veteran's Policy As Reflected In The Reports Given At The National Convention 1946

"...America and Great Britain cling to the same policy which blockaded the people of Spain in 1938...our Munich men are again making our foreign policy. ...

"The aim of our State Department and the British Foreign Office is to do business with fascists and reactionaries and to appease them in every way. ...

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"In Yugoslavia, 5 of our airmen were killed because of the provocative arrogance of the State Department...

"As we see it, Truman and Byrnes, representing the cartels and monopolies of America have been moving step by step toward allying the U. S. with the most reactionary war forces...

"In Japan and Korea, unchecked and uncensored, General MacArthur is insidiously restoring to power the technically defeated fascists, industrialists and war makers...

"In Indonesia, we uphold the rights of the Dutch repressionists...

"In Italy, we have thrown our support behind the new fascist party—the 'Uomo Qualquono...'

"And so it goes. There is not a single case in the past months where our representatives have supported any moves against war or against fascism. ...

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 8, No. 1, November, 1946, p. 2.

Veteran's Policy As Reflected By The Report of Jack Bjoze, Executive Secretary

"We are committed to the single purpose of helping to fight fascism wherever it may exist. This one thought persists among the Vets who came back."

Ibid., p. 4.

"...the Veterans of the International Brigades, in America, as well as in Europe, continue to be loyal to those principles which brought them to Spain during the war."

Ibid., p. 6.

"We also must in this task, extend our efforts to embrace the help and cooperation of the World Federation of Trade Unions."

Ibid., p. 6.

"Comrades of the Lincoln Brigade, if we are able to do these things, united with the struggle of the Spanish people and that of the democratic masses of the world, I promise you that our next convention will not be held either in New York, or in San Francisco, or in London...but in Madrid..."

Ibid., p. 10.

It is of some interest to note that Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. one of the 12 members of the National Board of the Communist Party, USA delivered one of the main speeches at this 1946 Convention of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

The Veterans And Earl Browder

The relationship as we have already seen, between Earl Browder former head of the Communist Party, USA and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade has always been close. At this time the Veterans felt they could come out in the open and make a flat declaration concerning their relationship. They wrote:

"We are proud of the fact that Earl Browder wears the tri-cornered pin of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. If any man in America is entitled to that honor, he is. His unselfish and tireless work for the people of Spain earned for him the respect of all the parties which fought for the Loyalist cause. That is why he was vilified and attacked by all enemies of Spain here in America. These same people under the leadership of the Roosevelt Administration have finally succeeded in railroading Browder to prison for four years on a paper-thin technicality...

"The Veterans consider his conviction as a direct attack against our organization and all organizations of the

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people. We will give our fullest support to every effort to obtain his release. We say for all to hear that the Frame-up of this leader of the anti-war struggle will not deter but increase our efforts to GET AMERICA OUT OF THIS WAR AND KEEP IT OUT."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 3, No. 3, March, 1941, p. 2.

"Support 'Free Browder' Campaign."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 3, No. 5, May, 1941, p. 4, Pre-Convention Issue.

Decorations Received From A Foreign Official

It is of interest to observe that General Swierczewski of the Communist movement in Poland who fought with the International Brigades in Spain as General Walter and who was decorated by Russian Soviet Government was present at the 1946 Convention of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Swierczewski, who became Vice-Minister of National Defense in Poland and was later killed is quoted as saying at this Convention:

"He said that he knew that the American Ibers would play as honorable a role now as in the past. And then he told us that he wanted to present the Dombrowski Medal of the Polish IB (meaning International Brigade) to those six men whom our Brigade had selected for special distinction..."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 8, No. 1, November, 1946, p. 7.

The men who received this Medal from General Swierczewski for their relentless efforts to advance the objectives of their political program were:

Alvah Bessie - (It will be recalled that Bessie was recently charged with contempt for Congress relative to his appearance before the Un-American Affairs Committee.)

Jack Bjoze

Milton Wolff

Herman Bottcher - (posthumous-accepted by "Irving Goff...Director of Veteran Activities for the New York Committee of the Communist Party.")

Dr. Edward Barsky

Paul Robeson - ("honorary member of the Lincoln Brigade.")

Relative to this sixth person to receive the Dombrowski Medal it was said:

> "Robeson sang for us and there was no separation between what he sang and what he said when he spoke... He said he for one honored all anti-fascists and the more consistent they were in their anti-fascism the more he would speak up for them. He wasn't going to knuckle down before red-baiting because he knew and we knew that the most consistent anti-fascists were the Communists and he was going to continue to say so at every opportunity."

Ibid., p. 7.

Veterans Activities In 1947 and 1948

Throughout the year 1947 and up to the present in 1948 the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade have formulated and advanced policies which coincide with similar policies promulgated by the Communist Party, USA. They distributed pamphlets, paraded, conducted picket lines, issued protests and called for action against the government of General Francisco Franco of Spain.

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The January 1947 issue of Volunteer For Liberty featured a report by Nan Greene on Spain condemning Franco, which was viewed with full approval by the Veterans. The March issue of this same publication strongly denounced the Truman Doctrine. There was also set forth a statement by the Veterans entitled "Free Gerhard Eisler." They pointed out the United States should honor this German Communist. Vigorous criticism was directed against the House Un-American Activities Committee for its attitude manifested toward Eisler and in all other matters. The Veterans also throughout 1947 criticized what was termed our "hostile" attitude toward Soviet Russia. These same policies have been carried over into 1948 with repeated denouncements of the Marshall Plan in Europe and the taking of other similar steps which, as indicated above, coincide with the pattern of operations carried on by the Communist Party of the United States.

The Veterans And The Communist Party, USA

Apart from the relationship between the Communist Party, USA and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade already indicated the following is submitted for further consideration on this point.

As we know May Day is regarded by the all Communists to be of great international significance; a day to be marked by celebrations, parades and speeches in behalf of their objectives. It is therefore of some interest to note the participation of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in these celebrations.

> "It is fitting that we, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, should lead the May Day Parade and we are proud to do so.
>
> "Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade will head the May Day parade in which more than a half million will take part.
>
> "The place of honor was accorded the Vets by the 1000 delegates to the May Day Conference."
>
> Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 1, No. 4, May, 1938, p. 1. These statements were made by David McKelvy White a member of both the Communist Party, USA and the

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade up to the time he died in New York during July, 1945.

"May Day, 1947...

"The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade again will lead the May Day Parade in New York. All Vets are expected to March."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 9, No. 4, April, 1947, p. 1.

High tribute is paid by the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to the Communist Party of the United States.

"...the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade with most heartfelt gratitude, pays tribute:

"To the Communist Party which untiringly supported all who labored and sacrificed for the Spanish People."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by the Veterans of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 2, No. 1, January, 1940, pp. 3-20.

The Communist publication New Masses extended not general greetings but fraternal greetings to the Veterans.

"On behalf of the editors and staff of New Masses, I extend warmest fraternal greetings to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade...

"The editors of New Masses feel a warm kinship with the Vets of the Brigade and rightly so. Brilliant young Arnold Reid, who gave his life that democracy might live in Spain, was a New Masses editor. Edwin Rolfe, another editor spent 20 months in the Spanish War. Alvah Bessie, our drama critic, was one of the many soldiers in the International Brigade and Jack Bjoze of our circulation department saw action on the Spanish fighting front for two years. ...

"We, the editors of New Masses, salute the veterans of the Spanish War and say to them 'the good fight goes on.'

Joseph North, Editor, New Masses."

Ibid., pp. 3-20.

"At a meeting held last Monday night Roy Hudson, National Committee member of the Communist Party, called upon Communist members of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to take a leading role in the drive to build the circulation of the Daily and Sunday Worker."

"Hudson Calls on Communist Spain Veterans To Take Lead in Building 'Daily' Circulation" Daily Worker, August 20, 1940, p. 3.

The Veterans always protest very vigorously against any action which is or may be taken against the Communist Party, for example they were:

"...against the attempt of American Legion officials to bar the Communist Party from the State Election Ballot."

Volunteer For Liberty, issued by The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 4, No. 4, October, 1942, p. 3.

For additional current information illuminating the relationship between the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the Communist Party of the United States we next consider the present National Officers of the Veterans, who formulate, direct and control the entire activities of this militant organization.

March 5, 1948

National Officers

1. MILTON WOLFF is the National Commander of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Director of the Action Committee to Free Spain and Director of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom. His office is located at 23 West 26th Street, New York City. Confidential sources report that Wolff is a member of the Communist Party. Information has also been furnished reflecting Wolff was listed as a member of the New York State Council of the Young Communist League in the 1939 convention proceedings of this League. When testifying before the Committee on Un-American Activities on April 12, 1940, he denied he was a member of the Communist Party. When questioned as to which side he would support if war was declared with Russia Wolff refused to answer, saying, should war break out he would give his answer then. While fighting with the Brigade in the Spanish Civil War Wolff held the rank of major. He enlisted in the United States Army at New York City on June 26, 1942, receiving his discharge as a 2nd lieutenant October 8, 1945. Wolff was born on October 18, 1915, in Brooklyn, New York. He now resides at the Linden Point House, Stoney Creek, Connecticut.

2. WALTER GARLAND is the National Adjutant Commander of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The Communist publication The Daily Worker of August 1, 1938, reported that Garland was a Communist Party candidate for the United States Congress, 6th Congressional District, New York. In 1940 he was a candidate for the State Assembly on the Communist Party ticket from the 17th District, Brooklyn, New York. Garland is also engaged as National Adjutant of the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America. While serving with the Brigade in the Spanish Civil War, it is reported that Garland was Commander of the American Training Base attached to the Loyalist Army of Spain. He was born November 27, 1913, in Brooklyn, New York. It is said that Garland joined the United States Army on May 26, 1942, and was discharged April 7, 1946. His address has been listed as being 501 Herkimer Street, Brooklyn, New York.

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3. JACK BJOZE is the Secretary-Treasurer of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Voting records indicate that Bjoze registered as a Communist in 1935 under the name of Jack Goldstein. He is reported to be a member of the Communist Party. From 1934 to 1939 he was employed intermittently as Circulation Manager for the Communist publication New Masses. Bjoze was born as Jechem Goldstein February 28, 1911 in Piatnica, Poland. He was issued passport #26913 on June 1, 1933, at which time he visited Russia. In 1937 Bjoze misused this passport in order to travel to Spain for military service there. He claims derivative United States citizenship based upon his father's papers. Bjoze's address is listed as being 1501 Undercliff Avenue, Bronx, New York.

4. HAROLD JACOB SMITH is the Editor of the Volunteer for Liberty, official publication of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Confidential sources advise that Smith is a member of the Communist Party. At one time he served as personal secretary and assistant to Earl Browder. He has also served as a receptionist at the National Headquarters of the Communist Party, 35 East 12th Street, New York City. There are indications that his link with the Communist Party became less close when Browder was expelled; that during the past two years, however, he has been re-establishing his former close connections with the Party. While serving as a soldier with Brigade in the Spanish Civil War, among Smith's duties were those of Company Commissar. Smith was born in New York City on January 4, 1912. His address is listed as being 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, an address also given by Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party in the United States.

Members of the National Board of Directors

1. VICTOR ALLEN was born as George Albert Pulkkinen on July 23, 1914, at Monessen, Pennsylvania. Allen is reported to be a member of the Communist Party. He admits being secretary of the Young Communist League for the State of Missouri, having been sent to Missouri to fill this position by the Communist Party, New York City. Allen has also served elsewhere as a Communist organizer.

2. NILS WALDERMAN BERG was born November 28, 1914, at Kristaenstadt, Sweden. Berg is a Swedish citizen who entered the United States in 1919. He was arrested by the Newark, New Jersey, police during May of 1934 on the charge of "assault and resisting" during strike activities. Berg is reported to be a member of the Communist Party and as being active in various front organizations.

3. ALVAH CECIL BESSIE was born on June 4, 1904, at New York City. Bessie is reported to be a member of the Communist Party. He is the author of various books and articles which seek to strengthen the Communist Party line. Bessie is presently under indictment for contempt of Congress because of his conduct before the Un-American Activities Committee.

4. GEORGE CHAIKEN was born on January 1, 1908, at New York City. He was graduated with a degree in engineering from Princeton University in 1931. It is reported that both Chaiken and his wife are members of the Communist Party.

5. JOSEPH DRILL was born on March 15, 1904 in Russia. He now claims derivative citizenship as the result of his father's naturalization papers. It is reported that in 1936 he ran for the Senate from the State of Pennsylvania on the Communist Party ticket. Confidential sources advise that Drill is a member of the Communist Party.

6. IRVING FAJANS was born on January 23, 1915, at Bronx, New York. It is reported that both Fajans and his wife are members of the Communist Party. It is further reported that at the present time he is engaged on a special writing assignment for the Communist Party and is also preparing a "labor novel".

7. RICHARD FEIN is reported to be a member of the Communist Party. His wife is also reported to be a member of the Communist Party.

8. MILTON FELSEN was born on February 2, 1912, at Brooklyn, New York. Milton's brother, Henry Felsen, has stated that both he and his brother are Communists.

9. MOSESS FISHMAN was born on September 28, 1915, at New York City. It is reported that Fishman is a member of the Communist Party.

10. LOUIS ANTON GAYLE was born on July 2, 1912, at New York City. It is reported that Gayle has been used by Communist leaders for the purpose of infiltrating the United Auto Workers. Gayle has been active in various Communist Party circles and in different ways has consistently sought to promote Communist Party objectives.

11. CARL FREDERICK GEISER was born on December 12, 1912, at Orville, Ohio. It is reported that Geiser was a member of the Communist Party, but it is said he has not been active recently therein because he believes he can promote Communism more effectively outside the Party limits. It appears, however, that he is still listed as a Communist Party member.

12. IRVING GOFF is reported to be a Communist Party member and is presently District Organizer for the Communist Party in New Orleans.

13. BENJAMIN GOLDSTEIN was born on April 15, 1909 at Lemborg, Poland, a section now under Russian control. His father became a citizen of the United States but Benjamin Goldstein has never filed a formal petition for derivative citizenship. Goldstein has been an active worker in behalf of the objectives of the Communist Party. Confidential sources report that both Benjamin Goldstein and his wife were members of the Communist Party. However, it appears that Goldstein was very outspoken in his criticism of the Communist Political Association charging that it was forsaking Marx' theories. As a result of this he was dropped from the rolls of the Party in 1947. There is no indication, however, that he has renounced his belief in Marxism.

14. DANIEL SAMUEL GRODEN was born on March 15, 1908, in Poland. He was naturalized in New York City on June 20, 1930. It is reported that Groden is a member of the Communist Party and has served that Party as an organizer.

15. NATHAN GROSS was born on January 23, 1914, and has resided for some years in New York City. It was reported that Nathan Gross is a member of the Communist Party.

16. ANGELA GUEST was born on August 26, 1912, in London, England. She entered the United States in February 6, 1940, and is a citizen of Great Britain. Her parents still reside in London, England.

It is alleged that her father was a former member of the Parliament. Angela Guest is reported to be a member of the Communist Party in Great Britian. Since being in the United States she has associated herself with Communist Party members and activities.

17. ALBION HAUKE is reported to be a member of the Communist Party and has consistently supported the Communist Party line.

18. FREDERICK PAUL KELLER, JR., was born on June 4, 1913, in New York City. He was arrested in New York City on April 21, 1940, with 22 others on the charge of riotous picketing. Keller has been closely associated with the Communist Party and its activities. It is reported that in 1943 he had been elected to the Executive Committee of the Cuyahoga County Central Committee of the Communist Party. Keller testified before the Dies Committee on April 12, 1940, and denied that he had ever been a member of the Communist Party.

19. FELIX KUSMAN was born on March 25, 1909 in Tallian, Estonia. On September 16, 1935, Kusman was ordered to be deported from the United States. However, a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives cancelling his warrant of arrest and the order of deportation which resulted in Kusman being lawfully admitted for permanent residence in the United States. Kusman has long been associated with Communist Party activities and in various ways has sought to promote the Communist Party line. He has been in direct frequent contact with high functionaries of the Communist Party and at one time was in close association with Gerhart Eisler, who was convicted of Contempt of Congress, exit visa fraud and he is being currently being held by authorities for deportation.

20. STEVE NELSON was born on January 9, 1903 in Chaglich, Yugoslavia. He is reported to be a member of the Communist Party since 1923 and a Communist Party functionary since 1929. From 1929 to 1930 Nelson attended the Lenin School in Moscow under the name of Louis Evans. While serving with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain Nelson was a Political Commissar with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. It is reported that he has acted as a courier and Comintern agent in the past. Nelson is presently chairman of the National Groups Commission of the Communist Party and is a co-worker on the National Board.

21. THOMAS JENNINGS PAGE was born on September 29, 1909 at New York City. In 1936 the register of voters, First Assembly District, 105th E. D., Nassau County, Long Island, reflected that Thomas

Jennings Page, Jr., registered as a Communist on October 9, 1936. The Communist publication The Daily Worker of May 4, 1939, carried a group photograph listing Thomas Page as president of the James Ashford Branch of the Harlem District of the Communist Party.

22. LEONCIA PENA was born on September 12, 1909, in Bilboa, Spain. He entered the United States illegally as an Anti-Fascist Political Refugee stowaway on December 8, 1941. Pena was admitted to United States citizenship in the United States District Court Southern District of New York, on July 18, 1946. Pena has been associated with Communist Party members and activities since his arrival in this country. Pena received a communication from Dolores Ibarruri, a high ranking leader of the Communist Party of Spain, on May 9, 1947, urging him to mobilize support in the United States in behalf of the Spanish strikers.

23. STERLING ROCHESTER, a negro, has been a member of the Communist Party for sixteen years. He has served as a Communist organizer and in other positions in his efforts to promote Communism.

24. JACOB JOSEPH SHAFRAN was born December 25, 1917, at New York City. It is reported that he has been closely associated with Communist Party activities for some years engaging in various efforts in an endeavor to promote Communism. For example, it is reported that Shafran, along with John Gates, who is a member of the National Board of the Communist Party and Editor of the Daily Worker, was in charge of the arrangements for The First Annual National Communist Veterans Encampment held in Washington, D. C. on May 8 and 9, 1947.

25. MARK STRAUSS is a medical doctor who associated himself with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade during the Spanish Civil War. It is reported that Dr. Strauss is a member of the Communist Party.

26. EDWARD SIDNEY YOUNG and his wife, Charlotte are both reported as having been Communist Party members and active in the promotion of Communism. These two people were formerly known as Edward and Charlotte Ehrlich, having changed their names about 1939 to Edward and Charlotte Young.

As can be seen from the above the National Officers and Board members of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade are closely related to the Communist Party of the United States and its objectives. This relationship has in the past and continues in the present to express itself in the form of militant organized action involving the majority of the members of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, whose viewpoints are identical with those of its policy makers.

SECTION VI

SUMMARY STATEMENT

ARCHIVO HISTORICO de la Provincia de Buenos Aires

SUMMARY STATEMENT

The Spanish Civil War

The Spanish Civil War, lasting from 1937 to 1939, furnished the stage for the part played by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The Spanish Civil War was not a clear cut issue between Fascism and Democracy. The basic causes of the war were complex and reached far back into the past. The issues around which the conflict crystalized and found expression were similarly complex and each side (Loyalist vs. Rebels) possessed men and factions with different social perspectives, motives and objectives. Neither side could claim any monopoly of virtues and vices in human relations. The Devil vs. Angel theory of war did not apply to the Spanish conflict.

The Communist Party of Spain became an important factor during the course of the Civil War. Prior to the Civil War it possessed but little strength although ever since the Spanish Republic was founded in 1931 the Communists vigorously used the freedom and democratic procedures granted by the new Republic to develop their own organization, the principles of which were at variance with those of the Republic. The Communists were hampered in this effort by the existence of strong Syndicalist and Anarchial organizations. Following the outbreak of the Civil War the well organized, highly disciplined, tenacious Communist Party of Spain backed by Soviet Russia who contributed munitions and men, increased its membership and power very rapidly, reducing the other "leftist" groups to positions of secondary importance and continued on to exert significant influence over the Loyalist Government of Spain.

The international Communist movement which had an interest in Spain as in all other nations, urged Communists all over the world to give material assistance to the Loyalist cause in Spain. This meant ultimately in giving assistance to the Communist Party of Spain and their Russian allies in order that Communism could be established in Spain through force and violence. The nation would thereby become a satellite of Soviet Russia. Joseph Stalin's statement that the cause of Spain was the common cause of all "progressive" mankind was everywhere quoted in support of this world-wide Communist program.

The International Brigades

The world-wide Communist movement next inspired a fighting force

known as the International Brigades. This was made possible through the efforts of Communist Parties throughout the world, who recruited soldiers in their respective countries and sent them to Spain to further Communist objectives in accordance with the over-all policy of international Communism.

The Abraham Lincoln Brigade

In conforming to the policy of the world-wide Communist movement and in practical cooperation with other Communist Parties the men of the Communist Party of the United States recruited soldiers and organized and supported the Abraham Lincoln Brigade which was sent to Spain to become an integral part of the International Brigades. This Brigade was made up of a majority of Communists and its policy and leadership was wholly Communist dominated. It was this Abraham Lincoln Brigade which the Communist Party of the United States sent to Spain for the expressed purpose of engaging in force and violence in a foreign nation for a foreign cause. In so doing the Communists who engaged in this activity, violated the laws of the United States governing American citizens relative to recruitment and service in foreign armies.

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

On returning from the Spanish Civil War the men of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade formed a veterans organization known as the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The policy and practices of this organization has consistently and militantly coincided and augmented the policy of the Communist Party of the United States.

A Security Problem

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in view of their Communist origin, purpose and intentions do constitute a security problem to the United States, specifically in relation to <u>espionage</u> and <u>sabotage</u>. A few concluding reasons in support of this statement may be submitted as follows:

1. The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade furnish a concrete, specific example of a group of men, who, under the inspiration and guidance of the Communist Party of the United States, pursuing the objectives of world-wide Communism, engaged in organized force and violence. This fact is indicated by Communist sources alone.

> "...over 60 per cent of the Lincoln Battalion members are members of the Communist Party. ..."*

"For twenty-three months the Abraham Lincoln Battalion was a part of the Spanish People's Army..."**

"Twelve hundred American boys died in these battles. Fifteen hundred are now in America..."***

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in reference to a "movement" which they support, quotes with approval a statement advocating the use of force and violence to attain their objective.

"'And do not doubt it, that movement exists and Franco will be thrown out of Spain by force and violence, by means of combat.'"****

*The Communist, Vol. 16, No. 7, July, 1937, p. 613.

**New Masses, November 28, 1939, p. 24.

***Ibid, p. 25.

****News On Spain, Issued by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, No. 4, April 9, 1945, p. 3.

2. The men of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade even before leaving Spain, took an oath swearing they would continue to advance the convictions which brought them to Spain. They said:

"We are returning to our respective countries not for celebrations in our honor, not to rest, but to continue the fight we helped to wage in Spain; we are merely changing the fronts and our weapons."*

"The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, though few in number, can play an enormous role in American life. ..."**

*From "The Brigade Pledge," Volunteer For Liberty, Issued by the International Brigade Association, No. 13, June 1941, p. 21.

**Volunteer For Liberty, Issued by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 3, No. 5, May, 1941, Pre-Convention Issue, p.1.

3. These Veterans on re-establishing themselves in the United States did not forget their pledge and were commended for it in the Communist publication New Masses:

> "Today, the boys carry on in the newer, more difficult warfare of America... They are warriors for the people, and they shall never give up the sword... Young as they are, they know the enemy, know their allies, and they haven't stopped fighting. ... They have posts in fifteen of the major cities of the country; groups in as many more. ..."
>
> "The Yanks Are Not Coming" by Joseph North, New Masses, January 9, 1940, pp. 9-10.

4. The Veterans as we have seen, have supported the Communist Party program in every important issue. They have not limited themselves to propaganda campaigns alone. The Veterans have engaged in strikes, parades, mass meetings and picket lines. It will be recalled they were in charge of the picket lines around the White House protesting Lend-Lease and all other steps which this country was taking to protect itself against Nazi Germany when Soviet Russia held a Pact with the Nazis. This overt act was but a part of the Veteran's concentrated attempt to damage our national defense measures. Their object is action; militant action.

> "...our meetings are for the sole purpose of planning and carrying out action."*
>
> "We are organizing a petition drive, picket lines, delegations and whatever else will help."**
>
> "The Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade must reassume their traditional position in the front lines as shock troops..."***

*Volunteer For Liberty, Issued by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 1, No. 6, December, 1939, p. 4.

**Volunteer For Liberty, Issued by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 6, No. 10, October, 1945, p. 10.

***The Volunteer For Liberty, Issued by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 1, No. 6, December, 1939, p. 4.

5. The activities of the Veterans in the past and those of the present, in their own minds, are no passing fancy of fleeting value. On the contrary, they view these activities as being an important part of the historic, onrushing, world-wide Communist movement as reflected by a letter sent out from the Headquarters to all members during November, 1945 stating they were compiling a complete history on all members of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade for the purpose of making it possible for

> "...some future Administration to appropriately honor as is already the case in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia."

This attitude seems to blend rather well with the attitude manifested by John Gates, member of the National Board of the Communist Party of the United States and Editor of the Daily Worker. Gates apparently thinks of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade as being an instrument of the Communist Party. He writes:

> "'We must utilize the Veterans...'"

Volunteer For Liberty, Issued by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Vol. 3, No. 5, May, 1941, Pre-Convention Issue, p. 1.

6. In view of their background it is obvious that the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade are quite likely to expend every effort to assist in establishing in this country an Administration such as they refer to in connection with Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. These Administrations, as we know, are Communist dictatorships. The question arises, in what manner, apart from propaganda work, can the Veterans most effectively serve the Communist Party of the United States and the world-wide Communist movement

of which it is a part? The answer appears to be - the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade apart from propaganda, can most effectively serve the Communist Party in the event of civil disturbance or war with Soviet Russia by sabotage and espionage.

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade are well equipped to conduct sabotage. In addition to regular military training the men of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade were instructed in street fighting, use of explosives and other similar matters essential in sabotage operations. Before World War II it was the boast of these Veterans that they possessed knowledge and experience possible only to those who participated in the Spanish Civil War. They maintained:

> "The Lincoln veterans are the only men in the United States with actual military experience in modern warfare."
>
> From a bulletin issued by the Chicago Post of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade at an open air meeting August 2, 1941.

An indication of their knowledge and experience in what they refer to as "modern warfare" may be derived through an Associated Press dispatch from the Italian front written by Kenneth L. Dixon which appeared in the New York Daily News, November 9, 1943. It reads in part:

> "Stocky, swarthy Irving Goff, a confident, blue-bearded Brooklynite is back on the battle front... Goff was a guerrilla captain in the Loyalist Abraham Lincoln Brigade in '37 and '38. He operated mostly behind enemy lines. He dynamited bridges and railroads, mined roads, cut communication lines, sabotaged, and spread terror. He and another American officer led twenty eight Loyalists... Now Goff is a Second Lieutenant with an American infantry outfit..."

The Communist publication The Worker proudly confirms Irving Goff's experience and ability as a saboteur. It carries an article by Art Shields which says of Goff:

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"With a band of guerrillas, he dynamited bridges and stormed fortresses behind Franco's lines."

The Worker, September 10, 1944, Section II, p. 6.

Further confirmation is given by a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade writing directly from Spain at that time. He said of his training:

"Classes were conducted in street fighting, scouting, machine gun, mapping, chau-chau gun and in grenade throwing."

The Story of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion by Phil Bard, published by the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, 1937, p. 8.

Added to the experience which the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade received in Spain is the experience which many of them received in the armed forces of the United States during World War II. It is their proud boast:

"By the end of 1944 six hundred were in the armed services and 200 in the merchant marine..."

"The Lincoln Brigade Carries On" by Jack Bjoze, Executive-Secretary, Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Daily Worker, July 18, 1946, p. 4.

Some of the better known members of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade who have served in both the Spanish Civil War and World War II and who are not only equipped to conduct sabotage but to lead and instruct others to do so as well, are:

[redacted]

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The fact that these men are conscious of their military training and its implications is reflected in the Communist publication People's World:

> "The veterans are professional soldiers. They are hard, tough, competent... They are thoroughly efficient, well-disciplined..."
>
> "Spanish Vets In This Man's Army" by Ralph Friedman, People's World, August 9, 1945, p. 5.

The Veterans see in their status as "professional soldiers" a role which expands even beyond the confines of the United States. By this is meant their activities are not only national but also international. It will be recalled that in their Constitution they mention being affiliated with other similar organizations throughout the world. Their literature makes different references to this international connection. Their National Convention of 1946 may be cited as one example. At this Convention Consular representatives of Soviet Russia, Yugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslavakia attended. All these nations exist under Communist dictatorships. Today the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade maintain contact with Communists in Spain, France, North Africa, Italy and other countries. Only recently it was learned from a confidential source that the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade have been in touch with some members of the Yugoslavia delegation to the United Nations. It is reported that certain foreign representatives have asked the Veterans to engage in espionage and supply them with data concerning the commercial relations of Spain with the United States and Great Britain. The Veterans, while of course not giving any indication of their willingness to indulge in espionage work have written of their work to date:

> "One of our main jobs was to help the International Brigaders scattered all over the world..."
>
> "The Lincoln Brigade Carries On" by Jack Bjoze, Executive-Secretary, Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Daily Worker, July 18, 1946, p. 4.

Apart from material help in the nature of food and clothing this statement quoted above seems to have a special significance. It has a special significance because members of the International Brigade have been and are very active in the use of force and violence in Europe today. They

have been among the leaders in overthrowing the status quo and in establishing Communism. Any assistance given them by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is, ipso facto, support of the methods of force and violence in establishing Communism. This fact becomes more clear on considering the statements of Gerhart Eisler at a closed meeting of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, furnished by a confidential source.

Gerhart Eisler, as we know, has admitted that he is a Communist. He has for some years been active in behalf of the international Communist movement. Eisler was convicted of a contempt of Congress charge and sentenced to one year in jail and a $1000 fine, which he has appealed. Eisler was also convicted of an exit-visa fraud and he was sentenced on March 24, 1948 to serve one to three years for this second violation of the law. This, then, is the type of man who spoke at a confidential and closed meeting of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

In this talk to the Veterans Eisler is reported to have discussed the International Brigades and the activities of their members in Russian controlled countries and the Soviet zone in Germany. Eisler is reputed to have said that in those areas the Communist Parties have complete control of such important posts as Education, Interior and Police. He further stated that it is necessary for Communists and International Brigaders to control the same posts in other places, in continental Europe and in Spain and England. Eisler is said to have pointed out to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade that they must take even a greater part than they are now taking in this same line of work within the borders of the United States. He suggested that the Veterans work through trade unions and political organizations in order to bring pressure to bear at the right points and to further create conditions which will hasten the development of Communism in the United States.

In the light of the above it appears that the organization Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade does create a definite security problem, presently, as an actual vehicle of espionage and potentially, as a highly dangerous sabotage force which could be quickly put into operation at some troubled point in the future.

ADDENDUM

ARCHIVO HISTORICO de la Provincia de Buenos Aires

PARTIAL LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE, WITH SOME IDENTIFYING DATA, WHO ARE REPORTED TO HAVE SERVED IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY DURING WORLD WAR II

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*It is to be understood, of course, that these addresses were reported at the time the men were in the armed forces hence, their current addresses will be different in most cases. These addresses are being submitted however with this list as they will facilitate identification.

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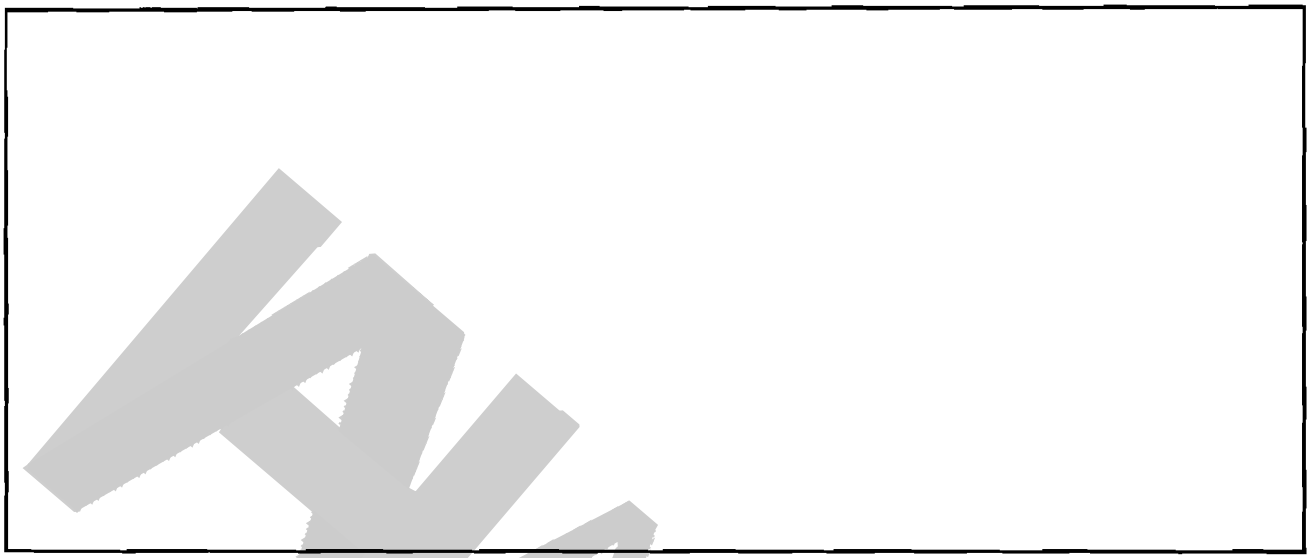

Bottcher, Herman, Capt. Killed in action.

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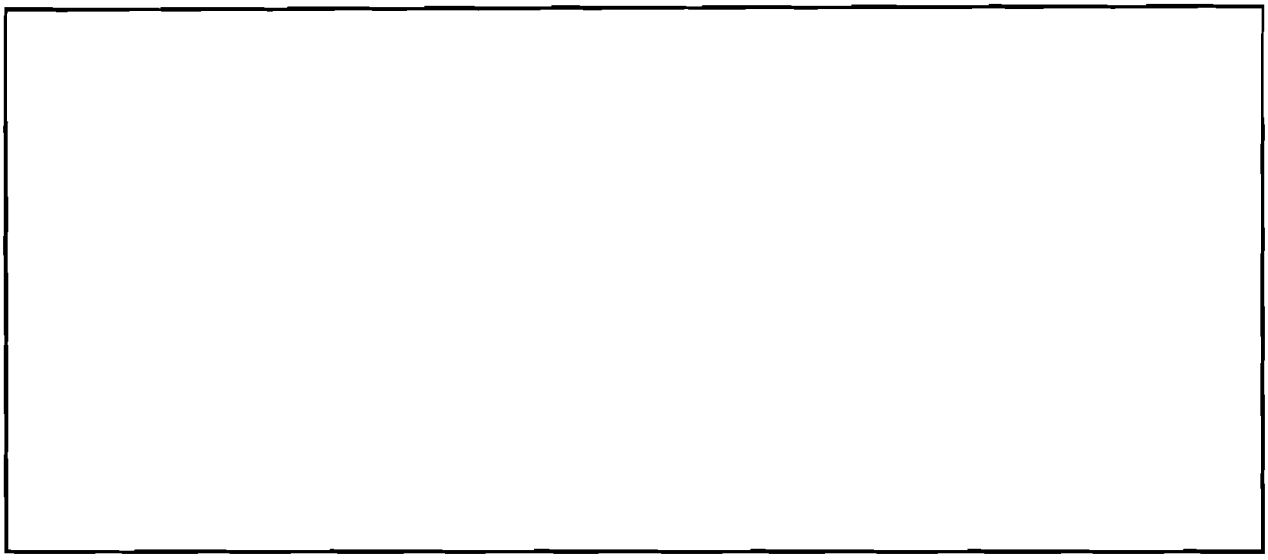

Carroll, George R.

Co. A. 133 Eng., A.P.O. 309, Fort Lewis, Washington. Age 41 in 1937. Passport 364-658 issued 2-1-37. Address also given as being 52 East 7th Street, New York City.

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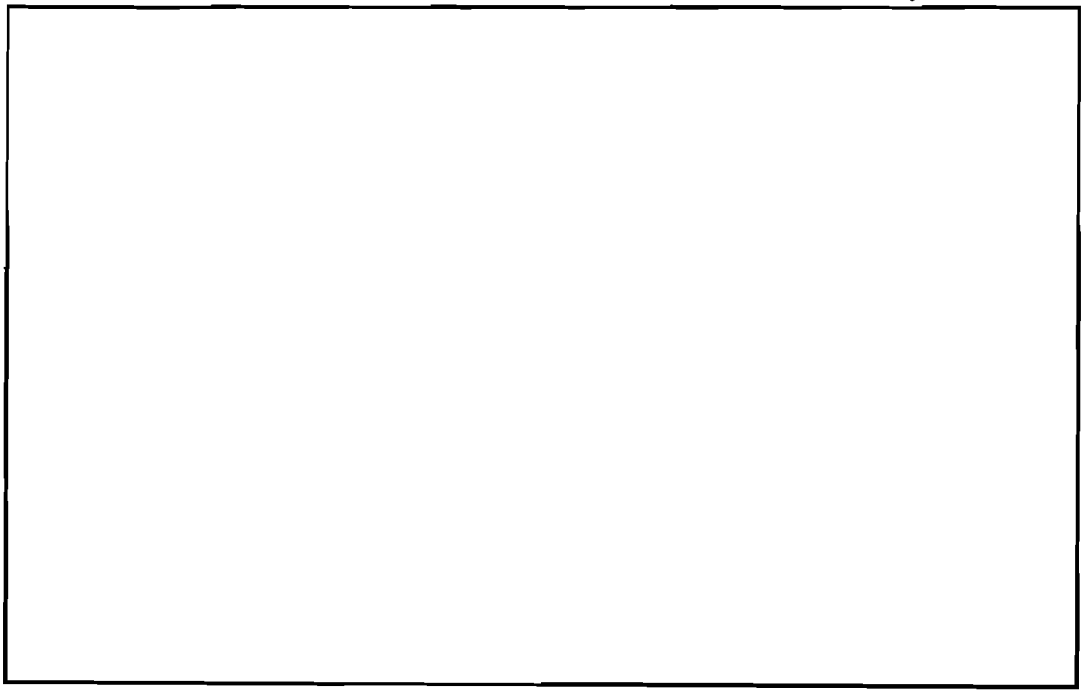

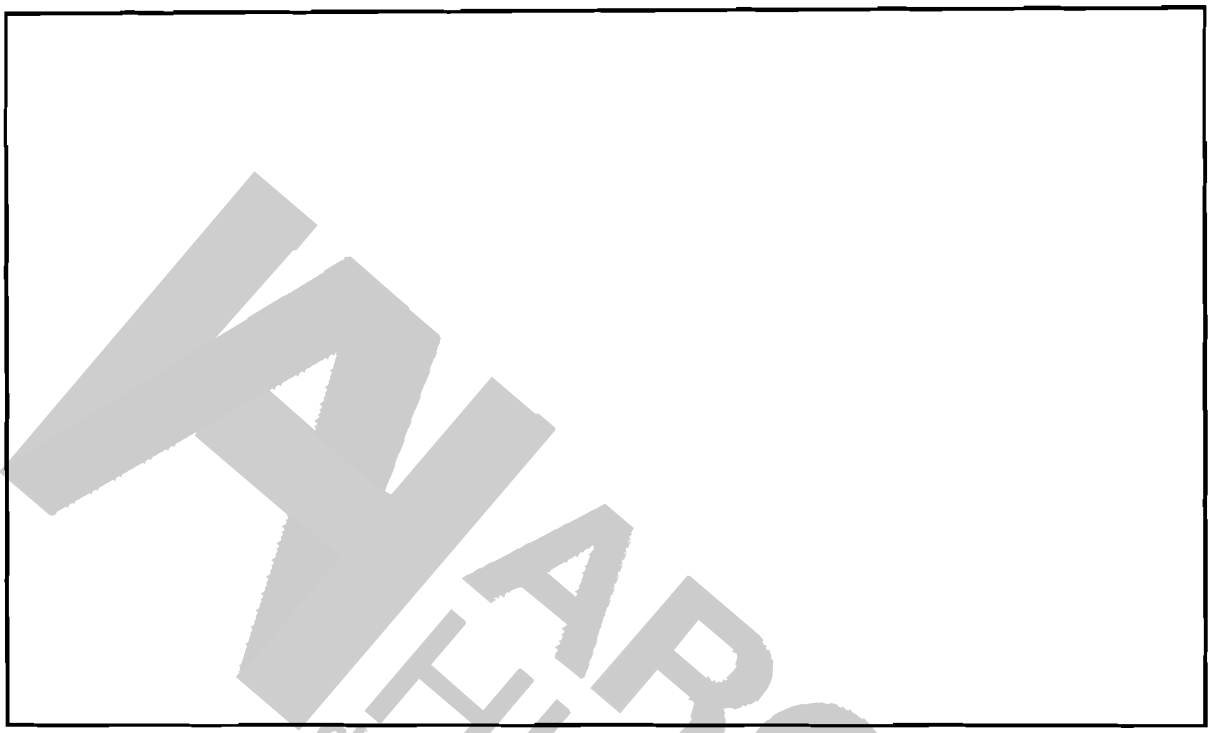

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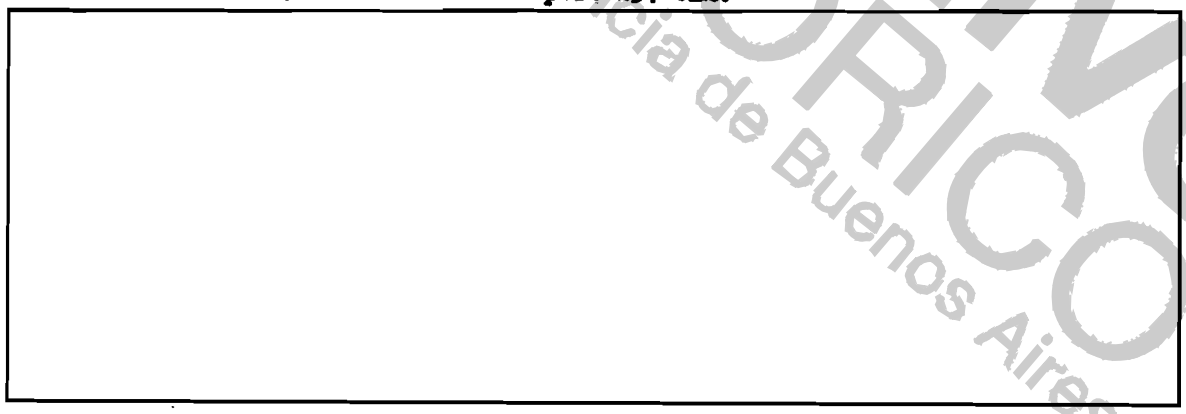
Drill, Joe, Pvt. — Co. F, 7th Q.M.T.R. Ba 471, Camp Lee, Virginia. Age 33 in 1937. Formerly from Wilkes-Barre and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Drummond, Red, Cpl. (may be identical with David Drummond) — Born May 10, 1905 in Seattle, Washington. 25 South Street, New York City. Passport 237-012.



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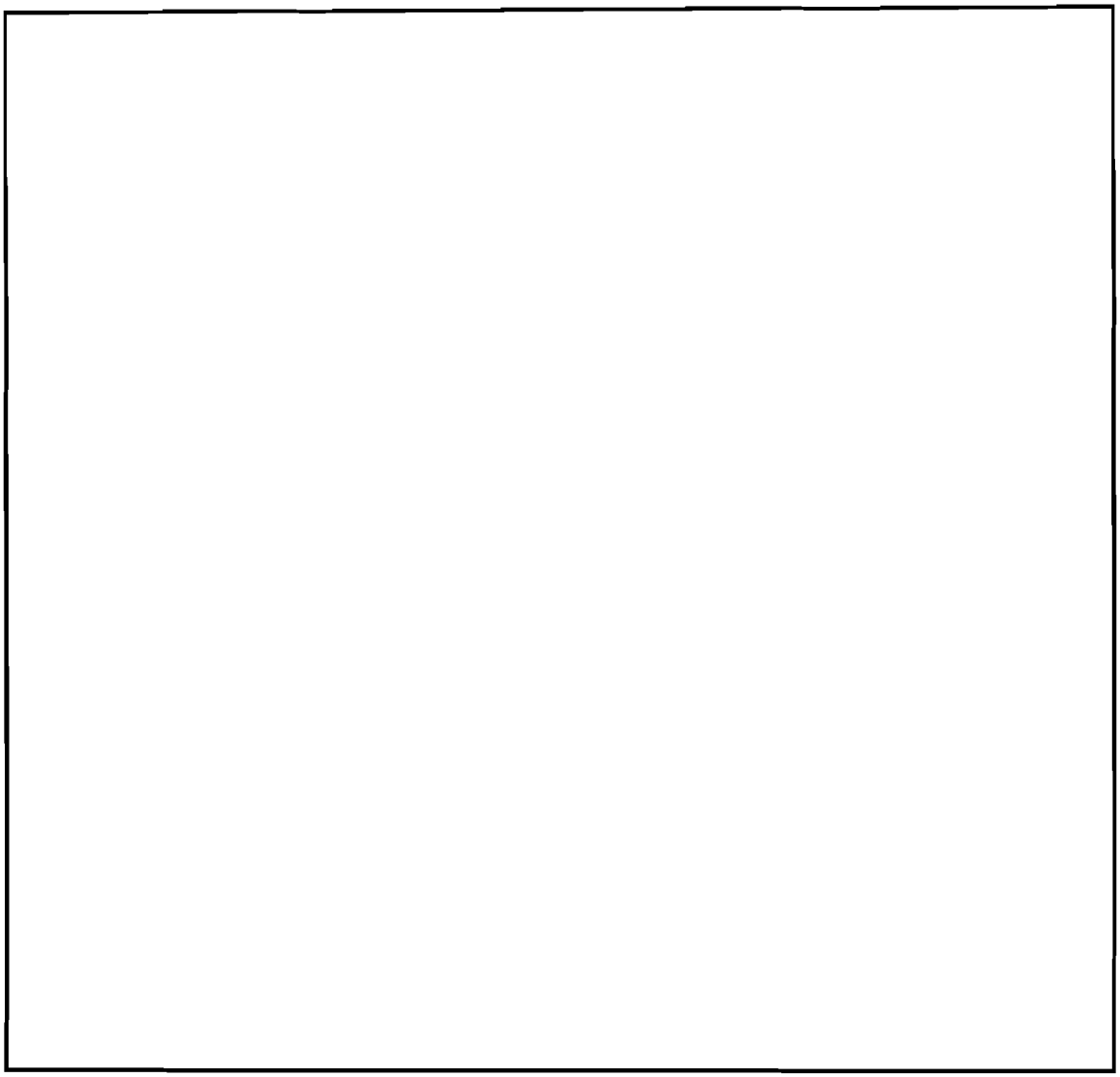
Kohn, Albert, Sgt.

327 A.S.G., Hq. Hq. Squadron A.S.B., Rapid City, South Dakota. Born 2-5-02 at New York City. Passport 415-583 issued 5-18-37. Reported to have lived at 115 East 3rd Street, New York City.



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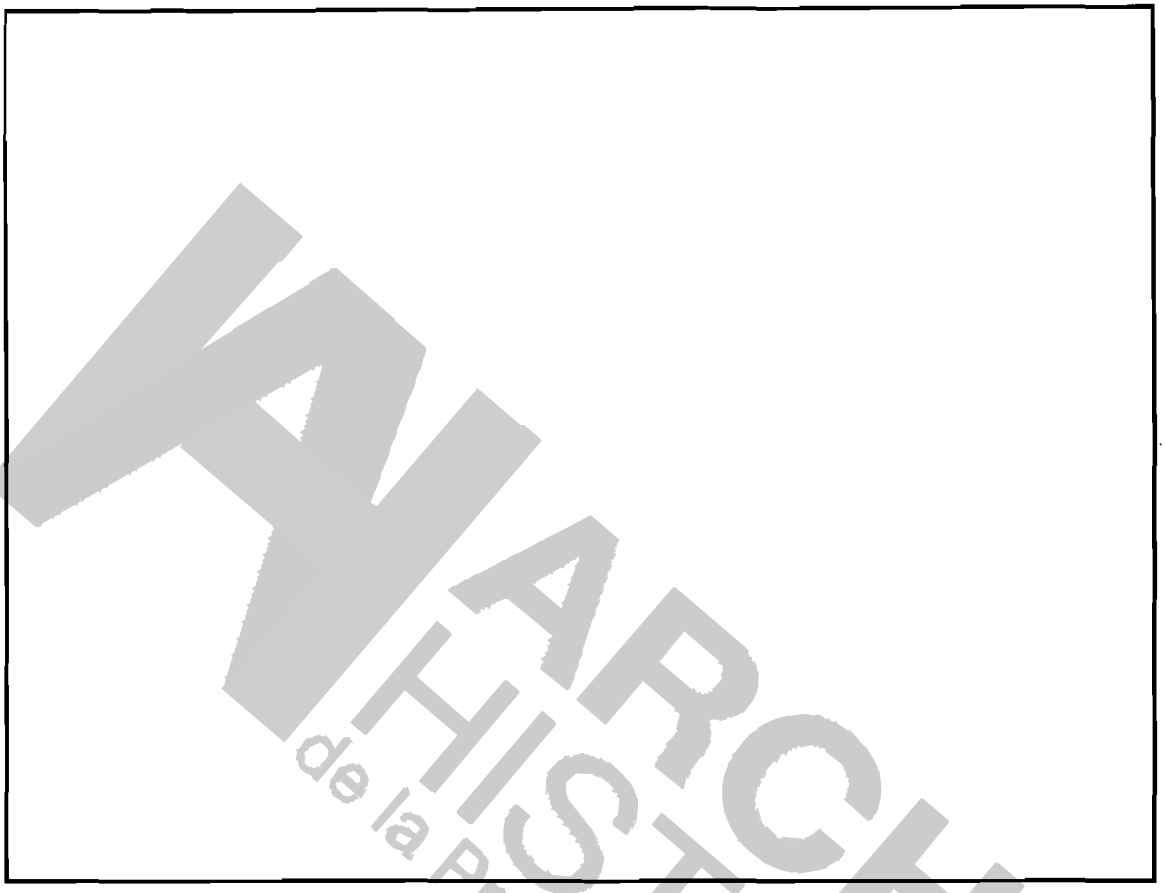

Miller, David A. (may be identical with David Micah Miller)	Barracks 308, 401 T.S.S., Sheppard Field, Texas. Age 31 in 1937. Reported to have lived at 1531 Hillcrest Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

Minor, Ben, A/C Lt. (may be identical with Ruben Minor)	AAF Pre-Flight (Navigation School) Monroe, Louisiana. Age 30 in 1937. Reported to have lived at 239 Perry Street, Battlecreek, Michigan.

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[redacted]

Shipman, Evan

Reported to be from New York. Age 32 in 1937.

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Slipyan, Sam

Co. C. 605 T.D. B'n, T.D. Training Group #1, Unit Training Center, Camp Hood, Texas. Address also given as being Co. C., 605 T.D. B'n., T.D. Trg. Group #1, Unit Training Center, Camp Mead, Texas. Born 12-3-07, New York. Passport #332 issued 2-4-39. Reported to have lived at 945 East 181st Street, New York City.

[redacted]

Stevens, Russell
(may be identical with
Russell M. Stephens)

Born 1-9-07, London, Ohio. Passport 447-908 issued 6-21-37. Reported to have lived at 111 West 85th Street, New York City.

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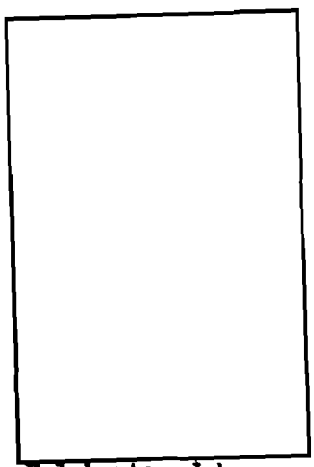
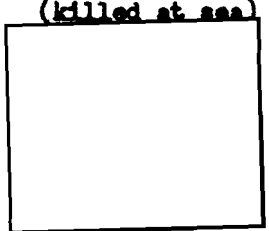
PARTIAL LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE WHO ARE REPORTED TO HAVE SERVED IN THE UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE, DURING WORLD WAR II

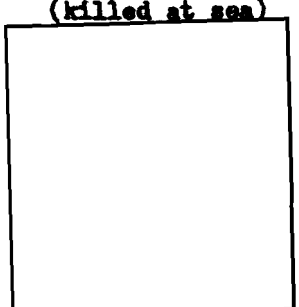


Delehanty, John
(killed at sea)

Dion, John
(killed at sea)

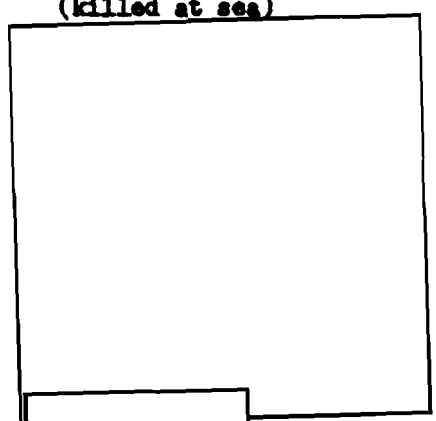


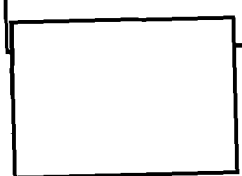
Gordon, Joe
(killed at sea)



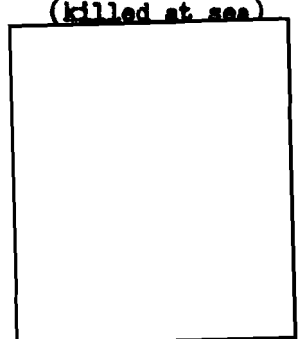
Korb, Max
(killed at sea)

Kosar, John
(killed at sea)





Kissane, Tom
(killed at sea)



Steinberg, Harry
(killed at sea)