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## **“No Pasaran”—They Shall Not Pass!**

In Madrid, bleeding from the wounds inflicted by the fire of fascist bombing planes and heavy guns, in Madrid, half in ruins, half burned down, half starved, a meeting took place on November 8, devoted to the Nineteenth Anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution in the U.S.S.R. The meeting was called at the initiative of the Communist Party in the big hall of the “Monumental” cinema theater, where the working people and the heroic fighters of the People’s Militia of Madrid met to express fraternal sympathy and love for the land of socialism, the fatherland of proletarians of all countries. There spoke members of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, Dolores Ibarruri (Pasionaria), Antonio Mije, Secretary of the United Socialist Youth of Spain, Santiago Carrillo, and others. A resolution to send greetings to the Soviet Union on behalf of the population of Madrid was passed unanimously.

Three days later, on November 11, in a no less complex and dangerous situation, a “Resistance Meeting” was held, at which Comrade Diaz, the Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, Comrade Nicoletti, Political Commissar of the International Brigade, Comrade Lister, Commander of the First Brigade of the People’s Militia, Comrade Carlos Contreras, Commissar of the Fifth Regiment, fighters from the People’s Militia and prominent social workers delivered speeches.

Below, in abridged form, we publish some of the speeches delivered at the meetings, as printed in the *Mundo Obrero* of November 9 and 12, 1936.

### MADRID WILL BE THE GRAVE OF FASCISM

*Antonio Mije*

Friends and comrades of Madrid!

We are passing through a very serious period: the extremely tense struggle which is developing on the approaches to Madrid does not permit us to express our feelings in the appropriate words.

We are passing through critical days. The responsibility which lies upon the working class, the trade union organizations, the political parties and, chiefly, the Communist Party of Spain, is great. In this decisive moment, we are fighting with fire and sword at the very gates of Madrid, against a merciless enemy, which has raised its head with the help of international fascism, against an enemy which wants to make a graveyard of Madrid, our heroic town, the capital of Spain. With the Communist Party at our head, we are fighting with all the means at our disposal so as to keep the enemy out of the capital. *(Applause.)*

At this meeting, so solemn and historic, we can say, both in connection with our position and in connection with the celebration of the anniversary of the proletarian revolution in the U.S.S.R., that we shall strain every effort in order that the whole of Spain, all the proletarian masses, the whole of the working people, will be imbued with the consciousness of the danger which fascism brings in its train. If the people of Spain do not defend Madrid today, when it is seized by the throat, then tomorrow they will have to pay dearly, very dearly for not coming to the aid of Madrid in time. The people of Catalonia are already sending thousands and thousands of people, armed and unarmed, with only their bare hands, because Madrid, Catalonia, Biscay and Andalusia—all are

Spain, and everyone who considers himself a Spaniard must rise in defense of Madrid. (*Shouts of greeting in honor of the Communist Party of Catalonia. Applause.*)

And the rebels who are approaching the gates of the capital, and the enemies who are hidden in the capital itself waiting for a convenient moment to rise up in arms—let them not think that Madrid is left with no power, let them not think that Madrid has no government; Madrid has its Defense Committee, including all parties of the People's Front and all trade union organizations. In the historic moment when the fate of Madrid was being decided, the Committee of Defense was entrusted with the task of defending the capital, of saving Madrid. Madrid possesses sufficient means for her defense. Today is not 1930, 1931, 1934. The Madrid of July 18\* possesses sufficient means, courage and energy, to prevent the enemy from capturing the town. And let anyone who wants to enter our capital know that the words "*Madrid will be the grave of fascism*" will become a fact, for the inhabitants of Madrid will fight against the fascists with the first thing that comes to their hands, because they are the irreconcilable enemies of fascism. (*Applause.*)

We are convinced that the population of Madrid has the necessary means of defending itself until our friends from other parts of Spain come to the aid of Madrid. Who is unaware of the heroic behavior of the Madrid population yesterday, who can forget that yesterday self-sacrificing, courageous fighters, armed only with rifles, hurled themselves into battle against Italian tanks, and succeeded in capturing them? People who can go with bare hands to fight against tanks will not be frightened by fascism and its bandit detachments. *The population of Madrid is prepared to perish on the ruins of the town, before they will surrender to the enemy.*

We refuse to allow international fascism to lay its hands upon Spain through the capture of Madrid. No, the people of Madrid refuse to allow it! On this solemn day of celebration, on the Nineteenth Anniversary of Soviet Power, we should all rise like one man and swear that the enemy will not enter Madrid, first, thanks to the heroism of the Madrid population, its organizational strength and determination to fight and second, because the population of Madrid can still expect help from other towns of Spain. It is to be hoped that all the towns and villages of Spain will rise in defense of our city against invasion of the enemy. If the enemy tries to enter Madrid over the Toledo Bridge, it must find its grave there, if it tries to penetrate over the Legazpi Bridge, it must be crushed there.

Men and women—all in defense of Madrid! Fascism, Franco and Mola must not enter our town.

We who love the Soviet Union so well, the Soviet Union where the new world is steadily growing up, with Comrade Stalin at the head, we declare to the international fascists that Madrid will never belong to them, unless they capture a town of corpses. The inhabitants of Madrid are prepared for this. (*Stormy applause and greetings to the Committee of Defense and the Communist Party.*)

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Further, Santiago Carrillo, member of the Committee of Defense and General Secretary of the United Socialist Youth, takes the floor and declares that in this critical moment we must particularly emphasize the splendid behavior of the inhabitants of

\* 1930—The overthrow of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. 1931—The overthrow of the monarchy and establishment of the republic. 1934—The fighting in Asturias. July 18, 1936, the defeat of the attempts at a military-fascist rebellion in Madrid, quickly put down by the working population of the capital themselves.

Madrid, who are brilliantly defending their liberty. He appeals to the Catalonians and Basques, to the Spanish youth, and points out that at this moment, Madrid is Spain, and that Madrid must be defended not only by the youth of Madrid, but the whole of the Spanish youth. "At the head of the struggle to defend Madrid there stands the Communist Party; by its side is the whole of the United Socialist Youth who now as always will not leave their post but will fight at the front till the last breath of the last member of the Socialist Youth."

"Comrades," says he, finishing his speech, "it is impossible to retreat, we can only go forward, to victory! *Let us follow the example of the Soviet Union*, led by our Comrade Stalin. The Soviet Union is the most brilliant proof of the fact that the people, having risen up armed, are invincible. We must convert our town into an inaccessible fortress. We shall bring our people salvation. To victory, to victory, to victory!" (*Stormy ovation.*)

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Regulo Martinez—the Left Republican—praises the historic feats of the Soviet Union which by its heroism is able to point the way to all the oppressed, to all open-minded people in the world. Martinez calls upon all the intelligentsia and middle strata to march forward side by side with the proletariat, and not backward with reaction. Each should stand at his fighting post.

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Ariel, of the National Confederation of Labor (anarcho-syndicalist), appeals to the working people of the world in a speech full of emotion; he points out that "the time has arrived to put aside ideological differences among the workers and among all anti-fascists, and to rally together to crush the foul fascist murderers. We of the National Confederation of Labor are with you, prepared to lay down our lives for the liberty of man."

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WE SHALL FULFIL OUR SACRED DUTY TO THE U.S.S.R.

*Dolores Ibarruri*

Working people of Madrid, comrades!

It may appear incredible that at a time when hostile shells are destroying the houses of our towns, and fascist airplanes are flying over the capital of the republic, throwing deadly bombs upon defenseless women and children, we have come together for such a celebration. But we have come together here not so much to raise our spirits, which have been sufficiently fired in unexampled battles, but *to fulfil our sacred duty to that country, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, to which we are indebted for the splendid support afforded by them to the Spanish people, for the firm position adopted by them at Geneva, which has forced the fascist degenerates to pale with rage, and for their real aid, which has given the Spanish people an opportunity of preparing for the offensive which will hurl out the enemy so that the corpses of the fascists will fertilize the soil of our peasants.

Today the women of that people who were able to conquer not only the enemy at home, but abroad as well, call upon us in the following words: "Spanish sisters; follow our example!" The Russian people were the most backward people in Europe but, possessing the Bolshevik Party, the party of Lenin and Stalin, which was able, with amazing perspicacity, to overcome all the difficulties of revolution, true, at the price of many of the best fighters for communism, they achieved victory in spite of everything. (*Applause.*)

Knowing that our children, having obtained help from the working people of the Soviet Union, will not go hungry, we say to the enemy: “*No Pasaran!*” “They shall not pass!” for if Germany, Italy and Portugal are providing the enemy with tanks and airplanes, this only increases our courage and enthusiasm. (*Applause.*)

We have been saying for a long time that Madrid is being defended not only from inside, but from outside, and a few days ago the Communist Party published an appeal to the people of Spain, and in particular to the Communists. “It is essential,” runs the appeal, “for a Communist to be the leader and organizer, for him to be the Political Commissar, for him to sacrifice himself, first and foremost.” Following up this slogan of the Communist Party, we toured the provinces and only yesterday were we in the Levant regions, rousing the masses to aid Madrid. And the population there, which has been sending a constant supply of food to Madrid, took up the work of aiding Madrid without any hesitation; they know that if Madrid falls, these regions will also soon be menaced.

Comrades, people of Madrid! In 1917 one people, by acting resolutely, became the masters of their country. Inhabitants of Madrid! Let us once more repeat the feat of taking the “La Montagna” barracks,\* which is a feat worthy of the epoch of wars for independence.† Our slogan “*No Pasaran!*” will become a reality, for our men and our women, fighting and conquering, desire it.

## THE FIFTH REGIMENT ON THE MOST DANGEROUS SECTIONS

*Henrica Lister*

A few days ago a meeting of the Fifth Regiment took place at which a solemn oath was sworn that fascism would not penetrate into the streets of Madrid. Today we can say already that the Fifth Regiment, thousands of its fighters, have successfully carried out the promise given to the Madrid people, by fighting with great courage on the most dangerous sections.

Comrades! I bring you greetings from three thousand combatants fighting under my command. I will tell you briefly what they are doing. The enemy captured Villaverde and wanted to pass on to Manzanares, but they were pushed out of their positions, with heavy losses, though our ranks were small in number.

Yesterday the enemy concentrated large numbers of troops, cavalry, infantry, guns, machine guns and tanks on that sector, and started the offensive. I ordered my units to retreat, and we did this, defending each inch of the soil. The victory of the enemy was short-lived. Today, early in the morning, our forces made an attack with such courage that they captured the positions from which they had retreated yesterday, and gained even more advantageous ones. The field of battle was studded with the bodies of the enemy and the men were eye-witnesses of how the fascists run away.

In the morning, the men again saw the flight of the rebels. In our ranks there is no more disarray. For instance, we learned that eighteen comrades had not fought properly face to face with the enemy. They were detained, and when they were disarmed and the order came for them to be sent back to Madrid, they wept and implored us to send them to the front and not to disarm them. It was pointed out to them that they had fled in a

\* Fascist militarists, having occupied the “La Montagna” barracks in Madrid, tried, on July 18, to make a military putsch, but the attempt failed the same day thanks to the heroic resistance offered by the Madrid proletariat led by the Communist Party.

† The war against the invasion of Napoleon, which ended in victory for the Spanish people.

moment of weakness and that such a thing is not to be tolerated in the republican army. Ashamed of their actions, these eighteen comrades today behaved like real heroes. This proves that a new morale is being set up among the men, they are beginning to understand that the fighting front must not be abandoned under any circumstances.

You may all rest assured that on the section which I am commanding, the enemy will never pass Mansanares. People stand there with machine-guns, bombs, rifles and great courage, firmly determined that the enemy will never be allowed to penetrate into Madrid.

*(From the Fifth Regiment Colonel Kabala and Commander Valentine Gonzales also delivered speeches.)*

## VICTORY REQUIRES ORGANIZATION, ORGANIZATION AND STILL MORE ORGANIZATION

*Francisco Golan*

One of the Commanders of the Fifth Regiment

A few months ago I was training guards to use a howitzer captured from the enemy. Our guards had no conception of the latest armaments and could hardly manage the rifle. They had an incorrect conception of warfare and, in particular, of civil warfare. They thought the war was nothing more than an outburst of enthusiasm and that there would immediately follow a favorable denouement. But what I saw today on the Madrid sector was simply amazing. The enemy artillery was showering cross-fire on our positions to the south, north and northwest, on all sides, but I was convinced that these three months had radically changed the psychology of our fighters, had given them a true and exact idea of what civil war really is....

*The Fifth Regiment could not exist if our glorious Communist Party did not back it up. Under the leadership of the Communists, the Fifth Regiment has displayed examples of discipline when so many were reckoning that the war could be won by guerilla warfare....*

On behalf of these fighters, I greet you and declare that we have great confidence in you. It is clear that we are standing at the gates of Madrid not in order to open them to the enemy. The enemy would have to pass over our bodies. Have faith in victory, which is not far off, and we will be victorious not only because we are right, for the people and the workers have always been right, and yet have lost the battle. *We shall win because we have organizational strength, weapons, and the heroism of the men, which victory needs.*

*Be steadfast and the enemy will be compelled to retreat as far as the Portuguese frontier, where we shall annihilate them! (Stormy ovation.)*

## BY DEFENDING THE FREEDOM OF SPAIN, WE ARE DEFENDING FREEDOM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

*Nicoletti*

Political Commissar of the International Brigade

Let international fascism help the Spanish fascists; Republican Spain has the aid of all the anti-fascist forces of the world. By defending its freedom, Spain is defending the freedom of the proletariat throughout the world.

The International Brigade, fighting near Madrid, is a sign of the real solidarity which exists among the proletariat oppressed by fascism. The International Brigade will fight side by side with you to the last minute, until the dawn of victory which will signify the liberation of the Spanish people and of all the peoples of the world.

People of Madrid! The eyes of all the world are upon us and anticipate our victory, the victory over Spanish and international fascism! (*Ovation.*)

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Antonio Mije made a speech in reply, on behalf of the Madrid Committee of Defense, and greeted the glorious International Brigade which represents the anti-fascist movement of Germany, Italy, Poland and other countries of Europe.

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Then Antonio Jaen, a Left-Republican Deputy, who had just returned from Valencia, addressed the meeting. He expressed his admiration at the heroism of the Spanish women, and declared that the Republic and the revolution would triumph.

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WHILE THERE REMAINS ONE COMMUNIST ALIVE, THE STRUGGLE WILL GO ON

*José Diaz*

Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain

Comrades! I shall be brief, and say only a few words. The whole population of Spain is tensely following the heroic defense of Madrid, minute by minute, second by second. During the last few days I have been visiting the people of the Levant, in connection with requirements for the war, and for the purpose of discovering the state of affairs in the rear in order the better to organize victory. And there, all the people, men, women and children, are anxiously watching the heroic defense of Madrid. The people of Catalonia are also mobilizing to ensure that Madrid has everything required for its successful defense. The number of people signing on as volunteers and learning to use rifles is very great. *Soon all of them, whatever their number, will possess rifles*, and those who are waiting impatiently for the fascists to enter Madrid, will be compelled in a few days time to turn their eyes to another front, because the rebels will find themselves up against the defense barrier of Madrid, and in their own rear there will be a second barrier. (*Applause.*)

Inhabitants of Madrid! Your heroism will not be in vain! All the anti-fascist people of Spain know of your heroism. The anti-fascists of the whole world feel it. *The campaign of international aid to our republic is developing as never before.* You must know already that on the approaches to Madrid there are *3,000 to 4,000 people, not Spanish*, who are fighting in defense of the same cause as you, and with the same heroism as you. And this does not exhaust the international solidarity available. Thousands of people will cross the frontier to take their places side by side with us in the struggle, for the struggle that is developing in Spain "*is not the private affair of the Spanish people*", to quote the words of Comrade Stalin, the great leader of the international proletariat. And here you can see it clearly. There will be no shortage of people, the solidarity of the anti-fascist peoples is growing stronger *and* stronger.

Up to now the Spanish people have not felt the war at close hand, because they thought that the enemy would not dare to come so close to Madrid. But when the enemy actually approached, the people mobilized to the utmost, because they realize what would happen to Spain if Madrid were to fall. Madrid cannot be taken, for millions of inhabitants live there, and its guards possess the same fighting spirit as the anti-fascists in Catalonia, in Asturias, and in other regions. Our Party has said, and I repeat it here, that "When the fighters have the proper commanders, the Republicans will fight as anti-fascists fight

wherever they may be". When new commanders arose from among the guards, from among the workers themselves, from among honest army men, there appeared also heroic fighters who *destroyed tanks with the aid of hand grenades*. And so, there is leadership, there are heroes on the Madrid front, both among the commanders and among the men. We also said that the population of Madrid will not lag behind the proletariat of Asturias, the international proletariat, and that out of every ten inhabitants of Madrid, nine heroes would join up to defend Madrid.

Comrades! We have staked everything on the struggle against the rebels. If it is required, we must lay down our lives for our cause. People of Madrid! The enemy is at the gates of Madrid!

Defending the capital, defending their wives and children, the people of Madrid have shown that they will stop at nothing in order to bar the way against fascism. Here, for example, is a fact which occurred in Villaverde. Yesterday, at 9 o'clock in the evening, in consequence of an unexpected attack by the enemy, we lost part of Villaverde, and the other part of the town remained in our hands; but today Lister's fighters captured the town a second time. It has been proved that when we say we shall march forward, we actually do advance, and advance to the final victory. (*Applause drowned the end of the sentence, and rose into an ovation.*)

Side by side with all parties, with all the anti-fascist forces, we shall continue to lead the struggle. And rest assured that while there remains one Communist alive, the struggle will go on. We shall fight together with the Republicans, the Anarchists, the Syndicalists, the Socialists and the National Confederation of Labor, to liberate the Spanish people from the claws of fascism!

Comrades, remain at your posts, so that fascism will be unable to take a step nearer to Madrid. We, for our part, will continue on the road till the final victory! (*Stormy applause and greetings to Comrade Jose Diaz, the Fifth Regiment and the Communist Party of Spain.*)

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The next to speak was Carlos Contreras, Military Commander of the Fifth Regiment. He told of the resistance offered against the enemy on the threshold of Madrid by the Republican troops, and added: "Among us there must be no giddiness from success." The enemy still stands at the gates of the capital. Every house must be turned into a fortress. Every man, every woman, must become a fighter! Prepare for the struggle for the final rout of fascism in Spain!

Comrade Contreras' speech met with a stormy ovation.