



The VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY

Organ of the international brigades



Vol. I - N.° 3

June 8 - 1937

A SOVIET MILITARY SPECIALIST ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE JARAMA BATTLES

Izvestia has recently published an intensely interesting article by a famous military scientist, A. Golubev, which consists of an analysis of the Jarama battles, from a strategic point of view.

We give a careful summary of this article because, in conjunction with the remarks of the *Times* correspondent quoted elsewhere, it will enable comrades of the Brigade to understand the importance of the role they have played in the fight against International Fascism.

"These battles", says Golubev, "are not only characterised by the fact that they were terminated by the most bloody struggles yet witnessed in Spain, but that they marked a turning point in the rebel plans for the capture of Madrid".

Original fascist plans fail.

Only a few months before while the rebel armies were marching on the capital, their generals quite confidently expected to take the city without serious fight. On the basis of this optimism they neglected to conduct serious operations designed to cut the roads to Valencia and the coast. It was during this period that the fascists undertook the frontal attack on the North and North-west of the capital which have so signally failed and which have cost them so dearly. From this springs

their attempt to plunge into the plains north of Madrid with intention of taking the republican forces in the Guadarrama region in the rear. The success of this enterprise would have permitted the rebels to undertake an attack from the north and the east with the support of the forces which had already passed the chain of the Guadarrama. In spite of a cer-

tain improvement in their positions, this plan, taken as a whole, failed in its intention.

Fascists change strategic plans.

"The offensive", Golubev continues, "which the rebels and their allies undertook on February 6th south of Madrid were based upon

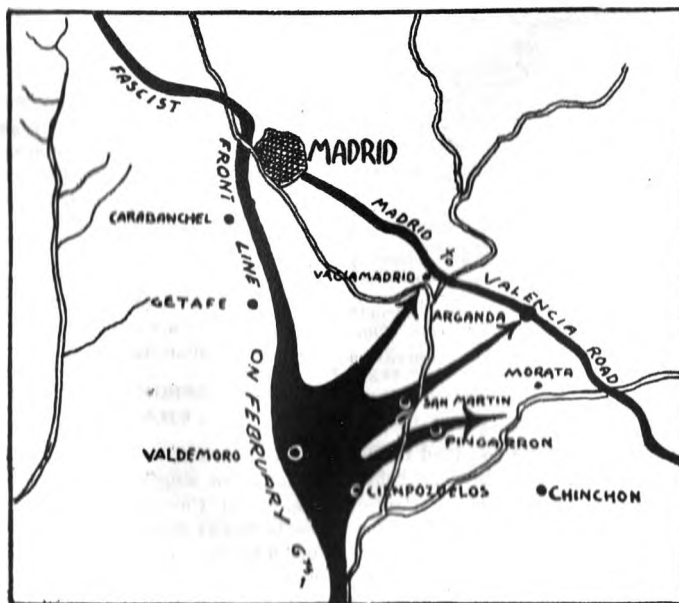
different premises and a different plan of action. It is strikingly evident that this plan had for its aim not the immediate taking of the capital, but the investment of the principal positions which would have enabled them to sever all connections between the capital and the Guadarrama front and the rest of Republican Spain. The success of this plan would have shortly created a situation which, if not impossible, would have been extremely prejudicial to the continuation of the struggle".

Since from the beginning of November the communications of Madrid with the rest of Governmental Spain were the two great Madrid-Valencia highways—the one via Tarancon and Arganda, the other via Guadalajara and Cuenca, the rebels planned attacking these two roads of communications. While the body of troops under General Moscardo were got ready at Sigüenza, those of the Fascist General Orgas (7th division, Moroccan and Italo-German troops) commenced the operations along the Pinto and Valdemoro line with the object of occupying the line of Arganda.

Fascist attack launched.

Golubev writes: "The attack commenced on the 6th of February, when, profiting by misty weather, the fascist shock troops con-

THE BATTLE FOR THE VALENCIA ROAD



The three arms fascist thrust towards the Madrid-Valencia Road.

(Continued on page 7.)

FASCIST PLANS FOR WORLD WAR

At 5:45 on the morning of 31st of May, a German Squadron, engaged in so-called Control bombardment of the open port of Almeria, killing many citizens. Afterwards the German and Italian Governments withdrew from the Non-Intervention Sub-Committee.

We shall not attempt a description of this cowardly act, every decent man would have heard the news with cold disgust but without surprise. It is important however, to realize the purpose of the act and to be on guard against adopting that line which Hitler and Mussolini would have us adopt.

It must be remembered that the Spanish Government at the League of Nations Session had just

Nations in which it lamented (of course) the Spanish situation and proposed to continue working out a plan for the withdrawal of non-Spanish fighters. Finally it expressed its horror at the bombardment of open cities. Next morning the German squadron poured hundreds of shells into Almeria.

There can be no possible doubt, the act was not only a piece of fascist sadism, but it was intended as provocation. To What? Undoubtedly to war!

Aiming at World War in a terrific gamble for internal security and world domination the fascist governments have supported Franco in order to control the Mediterranean and encircle France. War

Spanish will had steeled, that an army had been forged out, that a new and immensely more active government had come into existence, the fascist powers sought to withdraw from the Control Committee and to plunge the world into war.

On guard, therefore, against accepting this mad challenge on the eve of great changes.

What must the Spanish Government do? Can it hope that the League of Nations will come to the aid of Spain? Can it hope that Great Britain will change its policy and permit France to do the same?

It would be best for the Government to conduct a great recruiting drive, to build up reserves and consolidate the army. And, simply, comrades, that is being done.

ROOSEVELT PLANS LABOR LEGISLATION

President Roosevelt may recommend to Congress the passage of legislation establishing maximum wages in all great industries engaged in inter-State commerce. The President's plan would include.

- (1) The creation of a commission with broad powers, whose aims would be to bring about a 40 hour work week, hourly minimum wage of 40 cents, and a weekly minimum wage of 16 dollars.
- (2) The commission to adopt the principle of flexibility to meet seasonal variations in industry and to avoid imposing a single standard over the whole country.
- (3) Prohibition of the transfer of goods between States made by children under 16 years of age.

Senator Blanck and Representative Connery, co-authors of an earlier measure providing for a 30 hour week, are prepared to introduce a Bill on these broad lines.

PAUL ROBESON IN SOVIET FILMS

Paul Robeson, the famous American Negro singer now living in the Soviet Union, has agreed to act in Soviet films. He is to take the leading role in "Othello", following which a film will be made from the well known American labor play "Stevedore".

STILL STUDYING

As an alternative to a Senate Bill, which would require the taking of a census of the unemployed, the Senate Committee on Education and Labor has decided to report favorably on the measure appointing a commission to "study" the general problem of unemployment and relief. The argument against the direct taking of a census is that unemployment reflects only a "temporary condition" and that it would be costly.

Roosevelt demands 1,500,000,000 dollars for relief in the fiscal year 1937. It is likely that the House will give its consent, but to secure the approval of the Senate will be more difficult.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PROTEST TO HITLER

Following the Almeria incident, Pres. Roosevelt promptly left his Hyde Park home, where he was resting, for Washington to take up with Secretary of State Hull, the critical European developments.

Hull officially expressed to the German Ambassador at Washington, the U. S. Government's disapproval of the unnecessary and provocative shelling of the civilian population of Almeria, and demands that the Hitler Government make quick restitution for its acts.

The strike of Hollywood studio workers has been ended.

FORD'S 19,689,020 SURPLUS

The Ford Motor Company increased its surplus during 1936 by 19,689,020 dollars, making a total surplus of 602,666,000 dollars according to a balance-sheet filed with Massachusetts State officials.

Incidentally, Henry Ford's son, Edsel, must appear before the Detroit grand jury soon, for having used physical violence at the gate of the plant against his workers. Poppa's boy is getting tough! The idea of one big industrial union that is growing rapidly among the workers of the Ford Auto plants makes the Ford family desperately nervous.

The United Automobile Workers of America may sue Ford for distributing anti-labor literature, contrary to the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

A SOVIET MILITARY SPECIALIST ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE JARAMA BATTLES

(Continued from page 1.)

concentrated on the Pinto-Valdemoro line, composed of three or four regiments, or eight or nine thousands men, with a support of at least a battalion of tanks and about 50 or 60 pieces of artillery, attacked a sector which for a long period had not been in action, and which was weakly defended".

This first attack was partly

rama. They advanced four or five kilometers, effectuated a second crossing of the Jarama River to the south of San Martin, and approached the Pingarron heights.

On the 13th and 14th of February, massing their reserves on the left bank of the Jarama, the rebels carried out a new thrust towards Arganda and Morata. The 14th of February with a concen-

ican forces reached the Jarama near San Martin, endangering the fascist right flank. On the 22nd and 23rd the loyal forces advanced two or three kilometers. A furious attack was opened by the fascists on the 24th of February with the intention of improving the position of their right flank, but this was nullified by the loyalist counter-attacks. Later governmental counter-attacks, while they did not succeed in rendering the fascist right flank untenable, definitely put an end to the enemy's initiative.

In terminating his account, Golubev expressed his opinion concerning the campaign as a whole. He shows that the rebel objective has not been achieved. The fascist advance has created certain comparatively unimportant difficulties for traffic along the Valencia road, but it has not made things any easier for the fascists. Their own Madrid front is provisioned by two routes only, of which one, that of Avila, is threatened by Republican forces, which occupied Robledo during the Jarama battles.

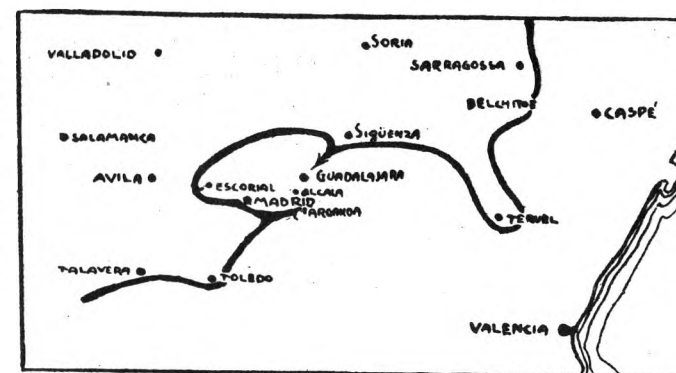
Finally, in a brief appreciation of the military value of the respective forces the Soviet technician draws attention to the tremendous powers of counter-attack possessed by the Governmental troops.

THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR AT GENEVA



ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE MAP OF BLASTED HOPES



General strategic plan of fascist attack against Madrid.

"Though Italian textile manufacturers stepped into the breach created by the stoppage of trade with Catalonia, they are now finding difficulty in collecting payment."

But this was not the only type of difficulty. "Pardonable exuberance on the part of the Moors and Legionaries returning from the front led to progressively earlier closing of the bars, cabarets, and dance-halls a process that was accelerated by the arrival of the quick tempered Italians." Possibly it was not merely a question of quick temper, for "Many of the Italians had previously been stationed in Abyssinia. They brought with them habits acquired in that country. They assumed too readily that the Spaniard was a poor fighting man and made little attempt to hide that assumption. And, as a result, a certain grim satisfaction was felt when the news of the retreat from Brihuega spread. Dislike was spiced with a touch of anger and contempt."

THE OLD OLD STORY

Like Primo de Rivera, Franco claims that he has put an end to the anarchy of the Popular Front rule. The Times man repeats this gag: "The dominance of the Casa del Pueblo and the trade unions". (Checked by wholesale massacre of the working class.) "The arbitrary decisions of the labor tribunals." (Which insisted on wage rates being observed.) "The bands of sturdy beggars." !!! "The inaction of the police." (Which usually failed to arrest fascist gunmen.) "All these factors that made life always difficult and sometimes dangerous under the short rule of the Frente Popular are still memories of the recent past."

This represents the sum total of the complaints against the Frente Popular Government. Every comrade will see that they are the time honored objections raised by the thoroughly-comfortable and the bourgeois Cafe Loungers against every progressive government. This gives even more value to the testimony of the London Times Correspondent. Atta Boy!

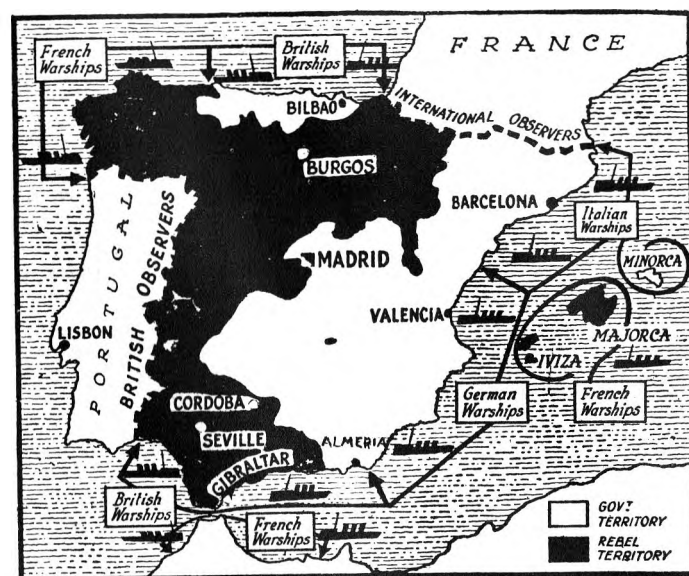
crowned with success. The rebels advanced in three directions, to the North towards Vaciamadrid, to the south towards Ciempozuelos and in the center towards San Martin de la Vega. However, the Republican command, during the rebel plan, sent reinforcements into the threatened sector. After the taking by the rebels of Vaciamadrid, Ciempozuelos and San Martin the counter attack began on the 9th of February on the Vaciamadrid line, where the Manzanares bridge was retaken. "On the 11th or 12th of February, continues Golubev, "and synchronized with the arrival of reinforcements the rebel command directed its efforts towards the east in order to become masters of the Valencia road between Arganda and Perales. On the 11th, after intense artillery preparation the rebels succeeded in passing the Jarama River between Vaciamadrid and San Martin with a force of five battalions and a tank corps. On the 12th in spite of Republican counter-attacks the fascists succeeded in broadening their lines on the left bank of the Ja-

trated attack of five or six battalions, 30 or 40 tanks and supported by intense artillery fire, the rebels succeeded in advancing several kilometers along a six or seven kilometers front and in approaching the Valencia highway. Nevertheless powerful counter-attacks supported by artillery and tanks stopped the rebel advance and pressed them back almost to their original positions".

Government troops begin terrific counterattack.

The rebels showed no initiative on the 15th of February and their right flank, was repulsed without serious effort. That day's action proved, according to Golubev, that the rebel shock troops under Orgas were exhausted and incapable of achieving success.

After having described the campaign of the second group of rebel forces attacking on the Guadalajara line, Golubev deals with the Republican counter-attacks which began on the 17th of February. On the 21st the Republi-



This map shows the distribution of foreign warships and observers stationed in order to prevent breaches of the Non-Intervention Committee's International Control Scheme which came into operation on April 19.

presented a White Book on Italian intervention and a protest against the terrible crime of Guernica. A few days later the German war-ship "Deutschland" illegally anchored in Ibiza harbor, opened fire on Republican planes, who replied with great effect.

That same day the League of

and rearmament are the very techniques of the so-called fascist "revolution". The internal contradictions the inherent fatalism of fascist demagoguery drive them forward to this.

Then, seeing that they have failed, confronted with the defeat at Guadalajara, aware that the

Pension law for defenders of democracy enforced by New Government

The "GACETA DE LA REPUBLICA" for May 21, 1937, No. 141 publishes the following decree:

"Because the emergency becomes more pressing daily and because the legal decrees concerning the rights of those who are fighting for the People and for the Republic's cause have not been enforced and because the rules of procedure for obtaining pensions have not been made public, the following has been decreed:

Following an agreement arrived at in the Council of Ministers, and after a motion by the President, the following has been decreed:

Article 1.—All personnel within the cadres of the armed units of the Defense of the Republic against military rebellion, as well as the civilian functionaries which, within the same conditions have or will be rendered invalid after July 17th, 1936, within the terms and circumstances specified by articles 62, 63, and 64 of the Statute of Pensions in force, shall have the right to receive a pension, the amounts specified by the mentioned articles and by Art. 60 and 61 of the same Statute in relation to the one which stipulates the salary of 10 pesetas pay for soldiers and corporals, volunteers and militias not included in the regular army payroll.

Article 2.—The corps, units or dependents within which they shall have rendered their services, those afflicted by invalidity or disabled, shall be careful to continue to keep on their respective payrolls the names of the above mentioned cases until those interested shall have presented the legal papers of procedure here in described:

a) Request to the Director of the Public Debt and of Pensions to solicit the pension.

b) A certificate made by the chief of the Corps or Unit in which the interested person was serving or in the supplementary case mentioned in article 2 of the War Ministry Circular of October 4, 1936. In this certificate there shall be described the war event in which the wound was received and also the salary re-

ceived by the presumptive invalid.

c) A medical certificate accrediting the invalid with the injuries claimed.

Article 4.—The presentation of the above described file shall be sufficient for the Finance Treasury to include him in the payrolls of the Pension Funds with the same pay they received when in active service, and starting with the date of exclusion from the original army unity.

Article 5.—The Direction of the Pension Fund shall take cognizance of the files as described in article 4 and shall act according to the rule established by the Pensions Laws of September, 15, 1932.

Article 6.—The Decree of August 11, and the supplementary orders shall be considered supplementary of this law with the exception of the food pension noted in article 4 of the order previously mentioned.

Article 7.—The President of the Minister's Council and the Ministers of National Defense, Interior, Finances and Economy shall establish the rules for its enactment.

Valencia on May 19, 1937.—*Manuel Azaña*, President of the Republic.—*Juan Negrin*, President of the Council of Ministers."

GENERAL MOLA



He's prettier now that he's got wings.

ALL INTERNATIONAL RIGHTS MUST BE RETURNED TO SPAIN

A group of European working class leaders have written a manifesto asking the end of fascist aggression.

A group of personalities well known in the International Labor Movement now in Spain, and among whom are: Julius Deutsch, Austrian; Luigi Gallo, and Pietro Nenni, Italians; Jean Delavigne, Belge; Francois Billous, French and Franz Dahlem and Eeinrich Kuttner, Germans, have issued a manifesto which we publish here and which was the result of the dangerous situation provoked by the bombardment of Almeria.

"The bombardment of the open city of Almeria by the German warships, has proved that International Control is only a fraud on the part of the Fascist Governments. The International situation has reached a dangerous point of tension. The fact that the fascist states have decided to no longer participate in the Control proves that, after veiled intervention they are getting ready to carry out open war actions on Republican Spain, provoking thereby a serious war danger for all Europe.

In face of this, we feel obliged to declare that we are in every way on the side of the Spanish workers, which in their last appeals have demonstrated that they will remain united in the future, as they have in the past, in their fight against the fascist rebels, for the defense of liberty and for the independence of Spain.

These parties and organisations have asked the international workers movement to strengthen their solidarity towards Republican Spain with vigilant actions. These actions, if properly carried out can be as profitable on the political arena as they have been on the humanitarian field.

We hope that workers organizations and all other anti-fascist forces of the world will give evidence of the same cohesion and of the same indestructible unity in the fight against fascism, and we remind the workers that their goals have never been reached except thru their own efforts.

The realization of this unity can

end the vacillations and the equivocal moves of the governments which are in contact with the Popular Front Government of Spain. We ask them to concentrate all their forces towards obtaining the following:

1. The withdrawal of German and Italian warships from Spanish waters.
2. The end of all blockade against Republican Spain.
3. To end the foreign intervention in Spain and to strongly oppose fascist governments from increasing their intervention.
4. To return to Spain all its International Rights."



A peaceful little street in Almeria, now a shambles.

U. S. OPINION STILL GROWING

The Spanish Ambassador in Washington, Señor De Los Ríos, states that in North America, especially in the United States, public opinion in support of the Spanish Republic is growing stronger day by day.

SPANISH SHIP RELEASED

The Washington Court of Appeals has judged that the Spanish Merchant Ship "Novemar" is the property of the legitimate Spanish Government and has ordered the Brooklyn authorities to immediately set it free.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

The Fascist Assault on Madrid.

In the last article we saw how, under the terrific impulse of indignation, enthusiasm and realization of historic purpose, the Spanish people turned itself into an army. Through confusion and blunder, by trial and error, the people's own instincts, guided by great political parties and aided by their government, evolved forms and methods which sharply distinguish the People's Army from any Imperialist Army.

This is a phenomenon which has been observed again and again in the history of great popular struggles of independence and revolution. The special characteristics of the Red Army are due, not to the abstract thinking of military idealists, but to the nature of the political struggle out of which it was born. And the success of the army of the French Revolution was not only due to the military

of military knowledge, in particular because after her relief of Orleans she would not pursue (and destroy as she might have done) the routed English, because the day was Sunday. But it was

strategic incompetence by military scientist of almost all countries, but it has not been often pointed out that his failure partly springs from political ignorance. In other words his foredoomed



"Non intervention" in the skies attacks half armed militia.

that incident that explains her role. In the immensely different political and religious atmosphere of her day, she was the Political Commissar of the Bastard's Army.

It is only when the currents of feeling drive deeply into the popular spirit that a real People's Army is created. This occurred in Russia and is manifestly happening in Spain. Such armies cannot emerge if the structure of a decadent and oppressive society is left entirely untouched. To relate this to our particular problem, where is the economic and class basis for a reactionary higher command which the disrupters profess to fear?

It has been seen that the old Spanish officer class was drawn from the great landed families. What has happened to their estates? That question is sufficient for those who know how to understand what is happening in Spain.

FRANCO'S STRATEGIC AND POLITICAL BLUNDER

"If a Military Coup d'Etat does not succeed within a few days it never succeeds." This has been remarked of countless rebellions; it is true of Franco's also. The rebel General had been accused of

direct assault on Madrid shows that he had never grasped the fact that a whole people is in movement, and that the capital city would justify its claim to be the capital.

Franco saw indeed that progressive Spain was about to deprive the feudal classes of their power, but he judged that to be the work of mere "political groups". From this false premise he deduced that Madrid would fall before his first blow. It would have done, so had not the Popular Front had its roots deep in the people, if the army had been merely the artificial creation of "political groups" in office, Madrid would now be a fascist city. But it was a political people which turned itself into a political army! A Popular Front people into a Popular Front Army! Month after month that army held back the enemy at the very gates of Madrid, until Franco was forced to change his plans. Too late! By then a regular army, disciplined and increasingly capable of maneuvers had been formed.

THE ATTEMPTED SIEGE OF MADRID

It can be said definitely that the fact that the fascist rebels

chose to attack the capital directly helped the Republic to form its regular army. The policy of defending the city at all costs was therefore the salvation of Spain. There never was a clearer proof that defeatism is not a proletarian or popular policy (there were some pessimists who urged the abandonment of Madrid).

At the same time as it hastened the formation of the regular army the assault on Madrid also gave the army an even deeper popular content.

THE FATEFUL DAY OF NOVEMBER 7TH

The week following this date will be remembered as being the turning point of European history. The fascist advance, steadily sweeping back the militia arrived at the very outskirts of Madrid. At once the left political parties sprang to action, the streets were filled with people listening to Popular Front speakers calling for yet more volunteers. All through the day and night hastily formed battalions were rushed out to the thin trench line that had been drawn between the rebels and the city. The regional committee of



Colonel Ortega, famous Commander of the Center Forces. Now chief of Security.

the Madrid Communist Party, in a historic effort, organized company after company of street fighters and shock troops, and itself



General MIAJA. — On November 7 he became chief of the defense of Madrid.

went into action at Carabanchel Bajo. Many of these formations had no arms whatsoever, ill clad and shod in canvas shoes without training, they streamed out to the barricades to take up the rifles of the wounded and killed.

Just as the people of Madrid merged with the army, the army spoke directly to the people. On the eighth of November the Fifth Regiment issued these instructions to those behind them.

"(1) Every resident must provide himself with bottles of gasoline, stoppered with cotton wool, to be ignited the moment of being thrown from balconies, windows and roofs, against armoured cars and tanks.

(2) The Fifth Column must be exterminated within the space of a few hours. The inhabitants of each house must form vigilance committees, to arrest provocateurs, to search for arms etc.

(3) The inhabitants of every block and quarter must organize the struggle at every street crossing, constructing barricades and trenches, forming groups of vigilants, taking every initiative.

(4) Every citizen must regard his house a fortress and must put it in the condition of being a bulwark of the independence of our people against Moors and Legionaries.

The second of May 1808 can be repeated in our beloved city!..." During the the month preceding

already on the work lists must be at the places appointed by their organizations with their lunch cans". It was out of this fortification corp that the present engineering and sapping corps of the regular army were formed. The U. G. T. Building Workers Syndicate of Madrid has today about 60 % of its 25,000 members in the army, mostly in this department.

THE BEGINNINGS OF A CENTRAL INTENDENCIA

The unity of army and people can be seen in such examples as this; the Villecas Radio (district) of the Madrid Communist Party, in conjunction with the United Socialist Youth and the command of the Sergeant Vasquez Battalion supplied 600 meals a day to the front lines, collecting the neces-

sary money and performing all work itself, besides undertaking the washing of clothes. Previously this "civilian" organization had dug the trenches this battalion was occupying.

And on November 9th the Vasquez Battalion gave 1,524 pesetas to Popular Front organizations for the same work. Out of a mosaic of such "civilian" organizations and the battalion supply services Intendencia eventually crystallized.

To take another department; Maria Medina, popular women's leader with 17 women of the northern sector of Madrid, during the first week in January, organized a collective laundry for the troops. None of its workers received pay for the immense labor of washing and repairing clothing, and it was not until May that this laundry was handed over to Sanidad (Medical Corps).

EMERGENCE OF UNIFIED COMMAND

On November 7th, the Government of Spain left Madrid. It was not the leaving, which should have been done earlier, but the manner of it which was deplorable. Hurriedly and with no precise instructions General Miaja who had been in command of the Madrid defence troops was given sole authority over the city. At once the Junta de Defensa was formed. Its Popular Front nature is evident from a list of officers:



Hastily formed militia resist fascist drive on Madrid.

people of Madrid had been demanding that the government should build fortifications and prepare trenches. This the government had not done, for various reasons.

Responding to the call of the political parties and syndicates a Mixed Fortification Committee of the U. G. T. and the C. N. T. was created and at once began with desperate energy, if small military knowledge to fortify Madrid. Bands of workers, men and women and children, urged on by beloved figures like Pasionaria, feverishly hacked at the ground with pick and spade. An order of the 9th of November of this Mixed Committee says, "those not

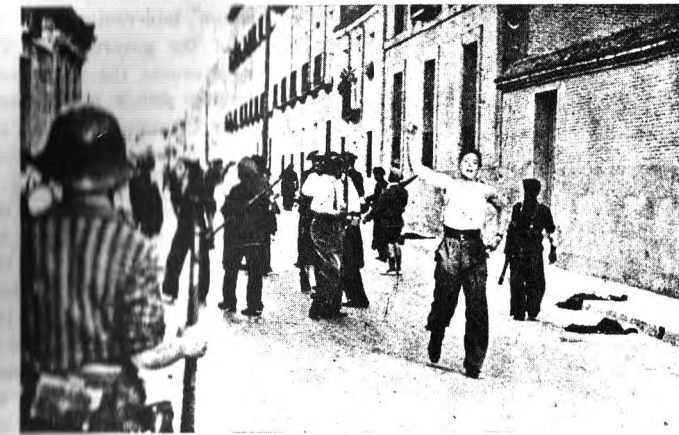
people of Madrid had been demanding that the government should build fortifications and prepare trenches. This the government had not done, for various reasons.

Comrade ANTON, forefront organizer of the Madrid defense.



President: General Miaja,
Secretary: Fernando Fraide, Socialist Party.

The immense prestige of the International Brigades and the discipline upon which this was found-



The people's fight against fascism in July days.

Councillor of War: Antonio Mije, Communist Party.

Public Order: Carrillo, United Socialist Youth.

War Industries: Amor Nuño, C. N. T.

Supplies: Yagüe, U. G. T.

Transport and Communications: Carreño España, Left Republican.

Finance: Jiménez, Republican Union.

Evacuation: Caminero, Syndicalist Party.

Undoubtedly the Defence Committee hastened the unification of the center forces. In this they were greatly aided by the International Brigades who from the very beginning considered themselves as a part of the regular Span-

ded did much to help the remodeling of the army.

At the same time the Defence Committee was able to conduct operations with more efficiency than the Ministry of War which was involved with other necessary work of government. That the Junta was a much more adaptable form of administration can be seen by the fact that on December 3rd, it reorganized itself and while reserving considerable military autonomy placed itself under the authority of the Valencia Government.

The Councillorship of War disappeared and was replaced by one of Milicias, Antonio Mije becom-

spread throughout the fronts around Madrid, until now by far the largest body of troops and the best organized, the armies of the center, are under the command of General Miaja.

It cannot be denied that the Defence Committee, the nerve center of the Madrid resistance, was a Popular Front organism. The army which grew up around it, with all its levels of command, was necessarily so.

Naturally as its composition shows the Committee performed many functions which, proper enough to a military authority in time of semi-siege, do not rightly belong to it. As a result of comparative normality in Madrid conditions, and the higher degree of organization reached by the ar-

my, during May the Defence Committee was dissolved and the City Council once more came together.

Many problems remained to be solved and these we shall examine later. For instance, on December 9th the Valencia Government created the Supreme War Council. Why this Council never or rarely functioned is a political problem which demands attention in another article.

GUERNICA

The flames which are burning Guernica are also lighting Germany. So that the whole world may see her.

HEINRICH MANN



Friends of Lincoln Battalion on Fifth Avenue in May Parade.

UNREST IN ITALY

In Genoa, recently, when the dusk was falling the walls were suddenly covered with huge slogans, "Down with the Duce, Long live Anti-Fascist Spain, Down with Fascism".

Immediately the authorities ordered that all lights be turned off, and under cover squads were sent out to clean the slogans off the walls.

Apparently, however, as fast as one slogan was removed, another appeared. In fact those responsible for chalking up the ori-

ginal slogans took advantage of the order of darkness to continue their work.

The authorities gave it all up in despair. But the next day many arrests were made in working class districts.

Meanwhile stories continue to reach the outside of constantly increasing unrest. It is reported that an Italian Regiment mutinied and that 200 members were shot. Unrest is said to be widespread in Lombardy and Piedmont.



Militia at rest during the Casa de Campo attack.

ish Army. The appointment of its General, for instance, was at once sent to Valencia for confirmation.

ing Commissar General for War. Thus from the core of the Defence Committee crystallization

TROUBLE IN THE FASCIST REARGUARD

The London Times of May 24th, the arch-conservative organ of the English bourgeoisie, the real top-hat boys, publishes an article from its Seville correspondent. Usually in reading the Times reports on Spain one has to remember that the gentlemen of the Carlton Club have high blood pressures and the Franco police have prisons to fill with daring journalists. This time it looks as if a fraction must be at work somewhere. Anyway, let the Times man have air.

A War-Weary Land

Under this sub-title the article goes straight to the point, thus: "The halcyon days are over. Much water has flowed past the bows of the Italian prison ship in the Guadalquivir since General Franco's rapid advance on Badajoz, his irruption into the Tagus valley and his triumphal march up-river to the walls of Madrid. Gone, too, are the days of patient and optimistic waiting throughout the long winter months, when the rain, mist and snow, according to the insurgent Press and wireless, alone held up the advance. Spring came in fitfully, and the hammer-blow at Malaga followed. Nationalist hopes flared up, remain-

ed suspended for a period, and then curved gradually downward. The expected follow through to Almeria never came. The planned offensive towards the shrine of the Virgen de la Cabeza and Jaen had to be abandoned in favor of a hurriedly constructed defensive line between Pozoblanco and Penaroya. And on the Madrid front the decision was postponed once more. The Jarama offensive, designed to cut the main highway between Madrid and Valencia, succeeded in embarrassing communication with the capital.

But to people who remembered the spectacular triumphs of Irun, Badajoz, Toledo and Malaga, even partial success implied failure.

The greatest blow fell in mid-March. Nationalist propaganda had represented the Jarama offensive as a complete success. There remained only one more road still capable of feeding Madrid, the secondary road passing through Guadalajara. With the seizure of Guadalajara, the investment would be complete and the fall of the capital through exhaustion inevitable."

ITALIAN LANDINGS

The article writer looks around for a minute to see if any falangists (of whom he is clearly contemptuous) are snooping around and decides to go on:

"By the beginning of March reinforcements had arrived, most of them from abroad. Throughout the winter Italian troops were landed at Cadiz and Algeciras with arms, ammunition, artillery and transport. The earlier arrivals were taken in their big Fiat lorries, adorned with sinister inscriptions glorifying Signor Mussolini and Death, and thrown into the attack on Malaga, where reputations gained in Abyssinia were enhanced in the coastal sierras. When the operation was completed a number were dispatched to points on the long, broken front curving from Pozoblanco through Andujar and Granada to Motril. The rest were withdrawn to Se-

ville and together with later arrivals (the last considerable Italian detachment landed towards the end of February) were then moved up to the north and concentrated in the neighborhood of Seville and Sigüenza. The final "assault" on the capital began."



Worried?

After a few displays of courtesy to the fascist authorities the Times man once more opens fire:

"Something had gone wrong. General Queipo de Llano explained on the wireless that for technical reasons the advance had been held up before Trijueque; that a short pause would be necessary to consolidate the positions captured and straighten out lines of communication. Soon afterwards he admitted that Brihuega, garrisoned after its capture by a handful of civil guards, had been evacuated owing to its unfavorable strategic position. From that day, the subject of Guadalajara was quietly dropped."

COMPLAINTS MANY AND VARIOUS

The consequences of the Guadalajara disaster were many, in-

cluding to the correspondent, but though mixed they were all bad. First, he says that fascist propaganda has always laid great emphasis on the extent and enormity of foreign intervention on the behalf of the government. The means, of course, the huge fleets of bombing planes gladly despatched by Comrade Eden and the massive batteries offered by comrade Roosevelt! Then he says:

"The stubborn resistance of the enemy to the Italian infantry inevitably raised the question in the minds of the civil population: Have we been misled? While the 'backs to the wall' propaganda of the Republicans had steeled their supporters to stern endeavor, insurgent propaganda tended to soften theirs by prophesying easy and early success. The result is disquieting, most of all in Andalusia."

ABSENCE OF COMBATIVITY

Naturally all Spain is behind Vora Franco, though the support is rather negative in character he finds it necessary to explain:

"There is a great deal of unseemly nervousness whenever it is rumored that a new class is about to be called to the Colors."

RADIO-SEVILLA



A study in alcohols.

BANKRUPTCY APPROACHING?

Difficulties of a material kind also hinder the victory of "law and order", lack of manufactured goods, for instance:

THE GOVERNMENT TAKES ACTION IN CATALONIA

THE PARTIES REACT AGAINST PATROLS

On May 15, therefore, the Plenum of the United Socialist Party demanded their suppression. Previously, that party's delegates had been withdrawn; the U. G. T. had already done the same. Then the Esquerra (Catalan Left Republican Party) ordered its representatives to withdraw because on the morning of the rising "the patrols received orders frankly hostile to the Government". (Who gave these orders?)

Meanwhile the special judge appointed to enquire into the events of May 6 had been compelled to dissolve individual patrols. For instance, on the 23rd of May the Junquera Patrol on the French border was abolished. In this region some of the Patrols were working in conjunction with terrorist bands, as at Orriol where the same judge arrested 4 men who had taken part in the murder of 17 innocent people, mostly peasants who had objected to such things as forced collectivization. This band had terrorized a whole region, the villages of Orriol, Vilahur, Calabuig and Bascara. At a house called Hostal de Dalt (The Upper Inn) a large store of modern arms was discovered.



LUIS COMPANYS, President of the Generalitat of Catalonia, a staunch friend of the Popular Front.

of an armed population. Rifles nevertheless were lacking at the front! Finally, in order to regularize this work, in October the Generalitat created the Patrullas in which were representatives of all parties. On the whole this was a distinct improvement.

Unfortunately, many elements were admitted who bore no loyalty to the Popular Front Government; Trotskyites, incontinentals, and other disrupters. The result was that there were grave abuses in certain districts. As a result of these and of the diminished utility of the Patrols masses of people began to demand their suppression. Some of these patrols even played an active part in the fascist and counter-revolutionary rising of May 6.

At Puigcerda this judge also unearthed a whole arsenal of 21 rifles of unspecified type, 79 Remingtons, 26 Mausers, 20 Muskets, 26 Winchester, 49 Carbines, 384 Shot-guns, 126 hand grenades, 11 boxes of rifle ammunition, 74 cases of dynamite, 4,000 percussion caps, a case of machine gun belts, two sub-machine guns and a mortar. The types indicate that this material had been stolen from the Aragon Front which the Trotskyites say has been starved of arms by the Valencia Government acting on the orders of Moscow!

THE LAST STRAW

Then, during the Government's search for arms in Barcelona the provocative role of the patrol was put beyond doubt. Assault guards, while searching a house for illegal arms, were shot at by members of a patrol. The National Guard who protested at an illegal house search by a patrol was murdered. Other crimes finally disgusted even their last supporters. With the people hating the uncontrollable of the "control", with responsible organizations like the U. G. T., the Esquerra, and the United Socialist Party denouncing them, the Government dissolved the counter-revolutionary units on June 4th.



ANTONIO SESE, General Secretary of the U. G. T. of Catalonia, murdered by pro-fascist elements.

FASCIST CABINET PLOT SPILLED

According to news from rebel Spain, June 7, was to be the day that a Government presided by General Mola was to be instituted. This government was to be formed under the oath of General Franco, chief of Nationalist Spain, without waiting for the fall of Bilbao.

The ex-Count De Rodezno, former leader of the Carlist Party, was to have the Portfolio of Administrator of Foreign Affairs.

The accomplishment of this scheme was prevented by the "unfortunate" death of the "beloved" General Mola, and now it appears that in view of indignant pressure by foreign countries toward the latest fascist atrocities the formation of this illegal cabinet will not take place, at least not at this time. The new chief of the fascist at Burgos is General Jordana, a fascist politician, bed-mate of Hitler and Mussolini.

COLLECTS COMMISSION

From reliable sources it is learned that the rich banker, Juan March, arrived at Gibraltar a few days ago after having raised 300,000,000 francs for Franco abroad. Collecting first his commission, he turned the balance over to his stooge, Franco.



VICENTE URIBE and ALVAREZ DEL VAYO, two strong guarantees of progress and democracy in the New Government.



Well to the front, but not at the front.

FASCIST PLANS FOR WORLD WAR

At 5:45 on the morning of 31st of May, a German Squadron, engaged in so-called Control bombardment of the open port of Almeria, killing many citizens. Afterwards the German and Italian Governments withdrew from the Non-Intervention Sub-Committee.

We shall not attempt a description of this cowardly act, every decent man would have heard the news with cold disgust but without surprise. It is important however, to realize the purpose of the act and to be on guard against adopting that line which Hitler and Mussolini would have us adopt.

It must be remembered that the Spanish Government at the League of Nations Session had just

Nations in which it lamented (of course) the Spanish situation and proposed to continue working out a plan for the withdrawal of non-Spanish fighters. Finally it expressed its horror at the bombardment of open cities. Next morning the German squadron poured hundreds of shells into Almeria.

There can be no possible doubt, the act was not only a piece of fascist sadism, but it was intended as provocation. To What? Undoubtedly to war!

Aiming at World War in a terrific gamble for internal security and world domination the fascist governments have supported Franco in order to control the Mediterranean and encircle France. War

Spanish will had steeled, that an army had been forged out, that a new and immensely more active government had come into existence, the fascist powers sought to withdraw from the Control Committee and to plunge the world into war.

On guard, therefore, against accepting this mad challenge on the eve of great changes.

What must the Spanish Government do? Can it hope that the League of Nations will come to the aid of Spain? Can it hope that Great Britain will change its policy and permit France to do the same?

It would be best for the Government to conduct a great recruiting drive, to build up reserves and consolidate the army. And, simply, comrades, that is being done.

ROOSEVELT PLANS LABOR LEGISLATION

President Roosevelt may recommend to Congress the passage of legislation establishing maximum wages in all great industries engaged in inter-State commerce. The President's plan would include:

- (1) The creation of a commission with broad powers, whose aims would be to bring about a 40 hour work week, hourly minimum wage of 40 cents, and a weekly minimum wage of 16 dollars.
- (2) The commission to adopt the principle of flexibility to meet seasonal variations in industry and to avoid imposing a single standard over the whole country.
- (3) Prohibition of the transfer of goods between States made by children under 16 years of age.

Senator Blanck and Representative Connery, co-authors of an earlier measure providing for a 30 hour week, are prepared to introduce a Bill on these broad lines.

PAUL ROBESON IN SOVIET FILMS

Paul Robeson, the famous American Negro singer now living in the Soviet Union, has agreed to act in Soviet films. He is to take the leading role in "Othello", following which a film will be made from the well known American labor play "Stevedore".

STILL STUDYING

As an alternative to a Senate Bill, which would require the taking of a census of the unemployed, the Senate Committee on Education and Labor has decided to report favorably on the measure appointing a commission to "study" the general problem of unemployment and relief. The argument against the direct taking of a census is that unemployment reflects only a "temporary condition" and that it would be costly.

Roosevelt demands 1,500,000,000 dollars for relief in the fiscal year 1937. It is likely that the House will give its consent, but to secure the approval of the Senate will be more difficult.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PROTEST TO HITLER

Following the Almeria incident, Pres. Roosevelt promptly left his Hyde Park home, where he was resting, for Washington to take up with Secretary of State Hull, the critical European developments.

Hull officially expressed to the German Ambassador at Washington, the U. S. Government's disapproval of the unnecessary and provocative shelling of the civilian population of Almeria, and demands that the Hitler Government make quick restitution for its acts.

The strike of Hollywood studio workers has been ended.

FORD'S 19,689,020 SURPLUS

The Ford Motor Company increased its surplus during 1936 by 19,689,020 dollars, making a total surplus of 602,666,000 dollars according to a balance-sheet filed with Massachusetts State officials.

Incidentally, Henry Ford's son, Edsel, must appear before the Detroit grand jury soon, for having used physical violence at the gate of the plant against his workers. Poppa's boy is getting tough! The idea of one big industrial union that is growing rapidly among the workers of the Ford Auto plants makes the Ford family desperately nervous.

The United Automobile Workers of America may sue Ford for distributing anti-labor literature, contrary to the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

A SOVIET MILITARY SPECIALIST ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE JARAMA BATTLES

(Continued from page 1.)

concentrated on the Pinto-Valdemoro line, composed of three or four regiments, or eight or nine thousands men, with a support of at least a battalion of tanks and about 50 or 60 pieces of artillery, attacked a sector which for a long period had not been in action, and which was weakly defended".

This first attack was partly

rama. They advanced four or five kilometers, effectuated a second crossing of the Jarama River to the south of San Martin, and approached the Pingarron heights.

On the 13th and 14th of February, massing their reserves on the left bank of the Jarama, the rebels carried out a new thrust towards Arganda and Morata. The 14th of February with a concen-

ican forces reached the Jarama near San Martin, endangering the fascist right flank. On the 22nd and 23rd the loyal forces advanced two or three kilometers. A furious attack was opened by the fascists on the 24th of February with the intention of improving the position of their right flank, but this was nullified by the loyalist counter-attacks. Later governmental counter-attacks, while they did not succeed in rendering the fascist right flank untenable, definitely put an end to the enemy's initiative.

In terminating his account, Golubev expressed his opinion concerning the campaign as a whole. He shows that the rebel objective has not been achieved. The fascist advance has created certain comparatively unimportant difficulties for traffic along the Valencia road, but it has not made things any easier for the fascists. Their own Madrid front is provisioned by two routes only, of which one, that of Avila, is threatened by Republican forces, which occupied Robledo during the Jarama battles.

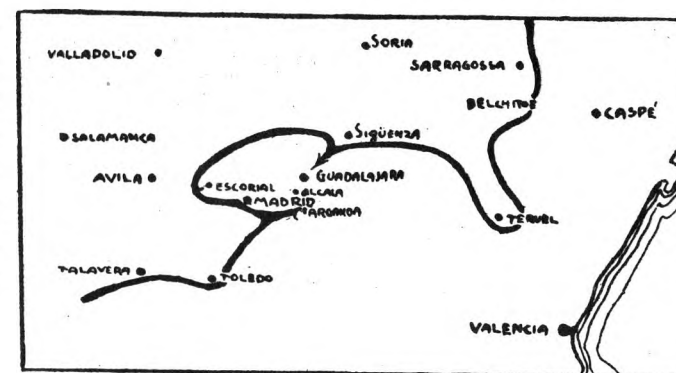
Finally, in a brief appreciation of the military value of the respective forces the Soviet technician draws attention to the tremendous powers of counter-attack possessed by the Governmental troops.

THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR AT GENEVA



ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE MAP OF BLASTED HOPES



General strategic plan of fascist attack against Madrid.

"Though Italian textile manufacturers stepped into the breach created by the stoppage of trade with Catalonia, they are now finding difficulty in collecting payment."

But this was not the only type of difficulty. "Pardonable exuberance on the part of the Moors and Legionaries returning from the front led to progressively earlier closing of the bars, cabarets, and dance-halls a process that was accelerated by the arrival of the quick tempered Italians." Possibly it was not merely a question of quick temper, for "Many of the Italians had previously been stationed in Abyssinia. They brought with them habits acquired in that country. They assumed too readily that the Spaniard was a poor fighting man and made little attempt to hide that assumption. And, as a result, a certain grim satisfaction was felt when the news of the retreat from Brihuega spread. Dislike was spiced with a touch of anger and contempt."

THE OLD OLD STORY

Like Primo de Rivera, Franco claims that he has put an end to the anarchy of the Popular Front rule. The Times man repeats this gag: "The dominance of the Casa del Pueblo and the trade unions". (Checked by wholesale massacre of the working class.) "The arbitrary decisions of the labor tribunals." (Which insisted on wage rates being observed.) "The bands of sturdy beggars." !!! "The inaction of the police." (Which usually failed to arrest fascist gunmen.) "All these factors that made life always difficult and sometimes dangerous under the short rule of the Frente Popular are still memories of the recent past."

This represents the sum total of the complaints against the Frente Popular Government. Every comrade will see that they are the time honored objections raised by the thoroughly-comfortable and the bourgeois Cafe Loungers against every progressive government. This gives even more value to the testimony of the London Times Correspondent. Atta Boy!

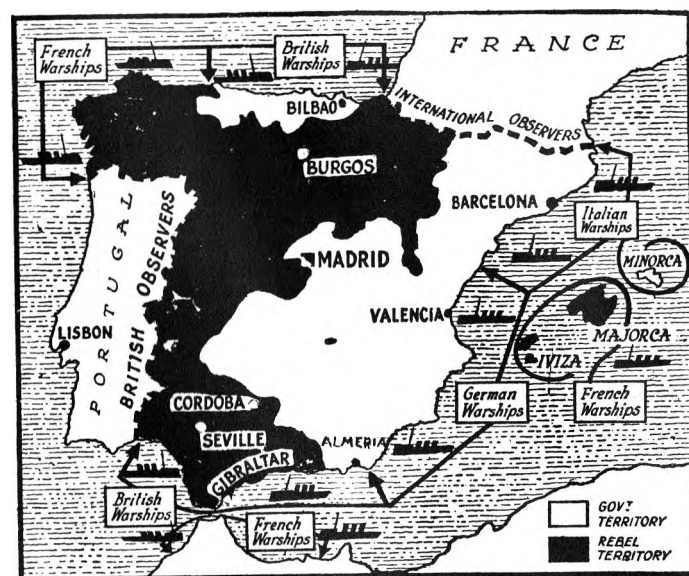
crowned with success. The rebels advanced in three directions, to the North towards Vaciamadrid, to the south towards Ciempozuelos and in the center towards San Martin de la Vega. However, the Republican command, during the rebel plan, sent reinforcements into the threatened sector. After the taking by the rebels of Vaciamadrid, Ciempozuelos and San Martin the counter attack began on the 9th of February on the Vaciamadrid line, where the Manzanares bridge was retaken. "On the 11th or 12th of February, continues Golubev, "and synchronized with the arrival of reinforcements the rebel command directed its efforts towards the east in order to become masters of the Valencia road between Arganda and Perales. On the 11th, after intense artillery preparation the rebels succeeded in passing the Jarama River between Vaciamadrid and San Martin with a force of five battalions and a tank corps. On the 12th in spite of Republican counter-attacks the fascists succeeded in broadening their lines on the left bank of the Ja-

trated attack of five or six battalions, 30 or 40 tanks and supported by intense artillery fire, the rebels succeeded in advancing several kilometers along a six or seven kilometers front and in approaching the Valencia highway. Nevertheless powerful counter-attacks supported by artillery and tanks stopped the rebel advance and pressed them back almost to their original positions".

Government troops begin terrific counterattack.

The rebels showed no initiative on the 15th of February and their right flank, was repulsed without serious effort. That day's action proved, according to Golubev, that the rebel shock troops under Orgas were exhausted and incapable of achieving success.

After having described the campaign of the second group of rebel forces attacking on the Guadalajara line, Golubev deals with the Republican counter-attacks which began on the 17th of February. On the 21st the Republi-



This map shows the distribution of foreign warships and observers stationed in order to prevent breaches of the Non-Intervention Committee's International Control Scheme which came into operation on April 19.

presented a White Book on Italian intervention and a protest against the terrible crime of Guernica. A few days later the German war-ship "Deutschland" illegally anchored in Ibiza harbor, opened fire on Republican planes, who replied with great effect.

That same day the League of

and rearmament are the very techniques of the so-called fascist "revolution". The internal contradictions the inherent fatalism of fascist demagoguery drive them forward to this.

Then, seeing that they have failed, confronted with the defeat at Guadalajara, aware that the

SWISS PEOPLE BEHIND SPANISH REPUBLIC

Organized by the Association of Friends of the Spanish Republic, a huge meeting was held which was attended by more than 2,000 people that unanimously adopted a resolution in support of Spanish Democracy. The resolution says:

"Two thousand wiss citizens united in the Victoria Hall of Geneva express their indignation of the criminal bombardements of the civilian population of Spain by the Hitler and Mussolini aviators. We demand a complete change of attitude of the government of Switzerland toward Spain. We urge that the Spanish Government be energetically defended against all those who are attempting to destroy it. We appeal to all those who believe in democracy and to the working class to prepare to strengthen the victory of the Spanish people, encouraging unity of all Republican forces and giving organized aid."

BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR RESPONDS TO PRESSURE

Rockwell Kent, celebrated artist, headed a delegation representing various organisations, who protested against the arch sentence passed on Brazilian leader Carlos Prestes. The ambassador officially promised that a commission would be allowed to visit Prestes and the other political prisoners.

RESIGNATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

The Tokio government resigned recently. The anti government parties have constituted a bloc. The military, however are active, and demand an even more pro-fascist government.

We have received the following telegram, which we are pleased to publish.

Regret shortness of stay compels me to send written greetings to all friends of Spain especially my fellow Americans in International Brigade and hospital units
Long Live the Spanish Republic. -- NORMAN THOMAS.

THE FIVE YEAR PLAN

In the summer sowings, 25% of the land had already been sown by last May. The state collective farms filled the plan for the year to 63%. The Kolkovs sowed 71 million hectares of land as against 60 millions last year.

BANK STRIKE

The clerks of the Casablanca commercial bank, Morocco, have gone on strike for a rise in salary, and have occupied the premises. It is remarkable that the bank clerks, last to take part in the social movement, should go on strike.

THE BARBER SHOP



Cleanliness in the rough.

ON THE AMERICAN FRONT

STEEL BATTLE ON

Ninety-thousand stel workers, under the Committes for Industrial Organization, walked out on strike when steel "bosses" refused to come to terms with the Steel Workers'Organizing Committee. The strike is spread over 5 states taking in 15 cities.

Embarrassed by the fact that some big steel plants have signed agreements, "independent" American firms, producing 40 per cent of the country's steel, are preparing for a fight to a finish with the C. I. O.

President Murray, Pittsburgh C. I. O. chief, has exposed the fact that criminals and notorious gangsters are being used as strike-breakers. The steel plants have on hand large supplies of tear gas bombs, machine-guns, and rifles, which are placed at the disposal of the police-defenders of "law and order". Large supplies of food for the scabs who are being forced to remain inside the plants during the strike are being stored. One of them is reported to have bought refrigerators, beds, linen, and other needs for the long siege.

In Chicago 5 steel strikers were killed by police; many more were injured in clashes on the picket line. Mass pickets around the plants demanded the immediate arrest of the perpetrators of the crimes, and the immediate evacuation of the strikebreakers.

Some steel plants have resorted to dropping of food by airplane to their "loyal" warkers jailed within the plants.

MORE GERMAN WORKERS

CONDEMNED

For the first, the German press has been compelled to admit the existence of numerous trials of German warkers who are accused of sympathising with Republican Spain. It is announced from Karlsruhe that the tribunal of the town has sentenced E. Kempp to 14 months hard labor, and A. Dingler to 6 months imprisonment.

These two workers were accused of having wished to got to Madrid to enroll in the loyalist ranks to fight against international fascism.



Getting the grub.