

LE VOLONTAIRE
LIBERTÉ

July

18 JUNE



TOWARDS ONE WORKERS PARTY

This week Comrade Thorez, leader of the French Communist Party addressed another appeal to the Second International for concrete decisions in the question of aid to the Spanish people. With considerable melancholy we have to admit that this is proof that the Socialist parties of Europe have not all yet realised that the historic moment for international solidarity has arrived, and with something of shame one must record that the objection within the Second International to working with the Comintern has come chiefly from the British Labour Party, which too evidently appears to be keeping step with Mr. Eden.

Within Spain, working class unity has made one more step forward this week with the presenting to the Executive Committee of the Spanish Workers' Socialist Party of the Communist Party's official proposal for the fusion of the two parties.

A CONCRETE PROGRAMME IS OUTLINED

In the preamble the Communist Party says that the joining of the two parties and the creation of one workers' party is absolutely essential to the winning of the war and the revolution, and to the safeguarding of the Popular Front, as also of the direction of the national economy. "Without this unification it is difficult to conceive the economic and social organisation of the New Spain."

This fusion should not be difficult, says José Diaz, because "there are no divergences of principle between the Parties. Both are inspired by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, whose best exponent and upholder today is Comrade Stalin; both regard as their historic mission the destruction of capitalist exploitation, of all exploitation and oppression of man by man, or of one nation by another; and the building of the Socialist (Communist) society without classes".

The first point of the programme deals with the army strengthening OF THE FIGHTING POWER OF THE POPULAR RE-

GULAR ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC.

This paragraph demands "the suppression of the Militia or of autonomous sectors of the front: better application of the decree on obligatory service: steady in-

crease of the number of well-trained, well-armed and well-disciplined reserves: energetic and methodical purge to cleanse the military apparatus of traitors, saboteurs and incapables; a fearless policy of promoting to high com-

mand of the leaders who have sprung from the people and have received their training in the fire of battle; supreme unified command... and practical and moral help to raise the prestige of the war commissars in their extremely responsible work".

On the question of war industry the programme says "it is necessary to ask the government to proceed immediately with the nationalisation and militarisation of all existing war industries as well as the creation of new ones, handing over of all arms in the rearguard, and a mass drive among the working class to increase the level of production. New roads are called for, as also the development of transport resources.

COORDINATION OF ECONOMY AND IMPROVEMENT OF WORKING CONDITIONS

Here a centralisation of all planning is demanded, together with the municipalisation of public and urban services. Trade Unions and Workers cooperatives are to be represented on the National Board of Economy. Though the workers well understand that during war time it is difficult to carry out thorough going reforms yet these are necessary; the conditions of the workers must be rapidly improved.

An intensification of agricultural production must be worked for also. The soil must be guaranteed to those who work it, the peasant must be free to collectivise or not as he desires, financial, technical and commercial help must be given to the peasants, whether working individually or in freely formed collectives.

Other sections of this extremely interesting document deal with the right of certain areas of Spain to a great degree of independence. This, of course, refers to Catalonia, Biscaya and Galicia. Only on the basis of independence and mutual trust can a really united Spain come into existence. In another paragraph the Communist Party proposes that the policy of maintaining good relations with the loyal sections of the middle class shall be continued.

COMRADE GEORGE BROWN

To the comrades of the English Battalion

Comrades; it is not the most fitting that one man alone should write what he feels about the loss of our comrade. I have telegraphed to London for a biography of Comrade Brown, but so far it has not arrived. When it does it will be published in full.

George and I slept in the same room while he was stationed here in Madrid. I had never met him before, but we soon became good friends; those who have worked with him will know why. We used often to talk of political work. He always spoke humorously of his own work, but listening to his shrewd accounts and analyses, and feeling his sincerity and steady conviction, one could understand his great worth to the workers' movement.

There was an affectionate warmth in Comrade George Brown, combined with a hard and clear understanding that made him a splendid companion in work. Dry and mechanical formality had no place in our comrade, everything was living material, to be handled with sympathy and care. I never saw him treat a single problem as a mere matter of routine.

He was always anxious to return. I remember how Harry Pollitt, to the comrades of the Battalion.

George and I rode down past the

North station in Madrid through the ruined outskirts of the city. That afternoon he told me again that he wanted to be back with you comrades. A day later he came excitedly to me, obviously very happy, and said he was indeed returning to you. We talked a long time on the stairs of this building, over an hour; he had a humorous remark about that also. The next day I was sent to Valencia. When I returned I heard of his death. Well, comrades, you knew him better than we did, but it was a very sad day for us.

The battle for liberty cannot be fought without losses. His was a very great loss. Comrade Lenin once said that for every Communist who falls a hundred will take his place. There will be, there must be someone who will later replace our comrade, because History has signalled us out for Victory. Nevertheless we mourn him as a grand fighter and as a man. Whoever follows him will have a fine example.

I said that it seemed wrong to me that I should write about Comrade Brown, because he was the Battalion's comrade. But I knew him, I knew his great worth and his fine manliness and that is why I have written.

RALPH BATES

THE PIG'S SNOUT IN SPANISH ECONOMY

All this is presented to the Socialist party not as a cut and dried plan, but as material for discussion which conforms to the general line of the Party.

PRINCIPLES OF ORGANISATION

That the campaign for unity has gone far beyond the propaganda stage can be seen from this, that the proposals include a section dealing with the organisation of the future party. This is part of what is suggested, "democratic centralism and severe, voluntarily imposed discipline, right of criticism and discussion and duty of selfcriticism but, when a decision is taken on a question... the decision must be obligatory for everyone."

THE OPINION OF SOCIALISTS AND U. G. T. MEMBERS

The issue of Saturday of the U. G. T. organ "Claridad" is commenting of the problem of working class unity says.

"The struggle and work in common have created, between socialists and communists, a solidarity and an identity of aspiration and sacrifice, which today is expressed in the vehement desire for unity... we can better commemorate this first anniversary of the war by making closer the union which we have forged out in the trenches and which we have watered with our blood."

In headlines "Claridad" demands ONE SINGLE PARTY FOR THE PROLETARIAT. This is the spirit of unity which will bring us victory, this is the vision which every worker who values his own integrity has always had, this is our guarantee of a world that an honest man may be happy to live in. At this moment the thrilling words of Pasionaria are ringing out over the wireless from the great meeting which the two parties are holding today in Madrid. There are enemies of unity, even in Spain, but they will be powerless to hold back the tide. How long will the gentlemen of Transport house keep closed their eyes? The workers of Spain demand unity between the two Internationals. They are right, for they are the vanguard of the proletarian world.

The speech made by Hitler in Wuerzburg on June 27, in which he said that what Germany is after is the iron ore of the Basque provinces, only put before the eyes of the general public what in the international financial and industrial world had long been known.

The conquest of Spain's mineral wealth by Germany and Italy might have been carried out in a comparatively peaceful way had the fascist generals and "noblemen" been able to conquer the central government and submit Spain rapidly and decisively. Failing in that attempt, as we all know, the war "against the reds" as Hitler and Mussolini tried to call it at the beginning, was bound to take on more and more a decided form of economic conquest, unashamed and ruthless.

What agreements have been made between Italy and Germany concerning the partition of the spoils we do not know, but Spain possesses rich iron deposits in Spanish Morocco, and among other places, extremely rich deposits of high grade ore near Bilbao.

German heavy industry is notoriously short of iron ore under its own direct control. Since long ago the large manufacturers of the Rhineland and of Westphalia have been casting voracious eyes on Northern Spain.

Ferdinand Friedensburg in his book "Mineral deposits as factors of political and military power", printed in Stuttgart in 1936 says: "The great and ever increasing activity of Germany in the field of international mining economy has as a goal, first of all the oil of Rumania, the iron ore production of France, Spain and Scandinavia and the conquest of lead and zinc ore in other parts of the world. (Spain is also rich in lead and zinc.)"

Krupp tried as long ago as 1924 to lay its hand on Spanish iron when, at the time of the notorious deal about the cannon shells percussion cap patents, Vickers gave Krupp the Basque iron mining and smelting plants "Fabrica Mie-

res, S. A." in exchange for the British patent rights. Krupp has also interests in the "Orconera Iron Co." of Bilbao, in the "Maquinista Terrestre y Marítima" of Barcelona and in several ship-building plants, chiefly in that of "Echevariata" of Cadiz.

It was on the 22d of January that the "Wirtschaftsdienst" (Economic Informations) of Hamburg rather dolefully stated that "The Spanish heavy industry centers, chiefly the iron ore region surrounding Bilbao and the coal mines of Asturias were not yet under Franco's control. Two weeks later, Mola started the offensive against Bilbao using for the action freshly arrived troops from Italy and Germany. The organ of Hjalmar Schacht at about the same time made a politico-military commentary on the necessity of conquering the Basque iron, which is the most frank statement yet made on the motives of Germany in this war. "The menace of the nationalist troops against the iron mineral region of Bilbao... touches the interests of Great Britain not only in what concerns the freedom of the seas... but also on what is by far the most delicate problem, which is the of iron ore supply to the British new armament program."

The paper continues by saying that the absence of the iron ore would considerably embarrass the British program. And so the strange game of hide and seek of the democratic countries for ever ready to duck the blows without taking a definite stand against the Fascist blackmailers goes on. The new proposal by Great Britain for a new form of control against Spain is one more evidence that the lesson has not yet been learned, and that fascist insolence may run wild for some time longer.

The interests of Great Britain are unquestionably in opposition to those of Germany and Italy, but the British Tories are still wavering between democratic Spain and a fascist assertion against the workers the world over. Hence the titubations...

News in brief

July 9.—Here is how "Pravda" comments on the visit of George Lansbury to Mussolini.

"In April this year Mr. Lansbury visited Hitler, taking upon himself the high mission of transforming the leader of German Fascism into "a peacemaker and genuine Christian"

"With this same aim Lansbury now goes to Rome. He intends to preach non-resistance to the Duce himself."

"Lansbury is, in essence, playing the role of advocate for the most die-hard aggressors, the most outspoken warmongers. His trip to Berlin was most advantageous for German diplomacy, which at that time found it profitable demagogically to demonstrate its pseudo peace-loving policy in order to receive an international loan.

FALLEN AGAIN

"Now Lansbury has fallen into the Fascist trap again. Mussolini, who is carrying on large-scale intervention in Spain, has nothing against coming out in irresponsible talk with this Labour leader as a picture of holiness, wishing only eternal peace and quiet in Europe.

"Undoubtedly Lansbury's visit of respect to the Fascists takes place not without the knowledge of certain circles in Britain, which constantly pursue the policy of helping the aggressors morally or materially."

July 10. — Juan March, the smuggling millionaire and business agent for the Spanish Fascist Rebels, is once more on his way to Rome.

More about him, the meaning of his trips and on the importance of the man can be gathered from the letter quoted here below and written by the former Spanish Minister Diego Hidalgo to a friend in Switzerland.

OWE ALL TO MARCH

"Without March all would have been lost some time ago. When one day we have the opportunity to talk to one another again, I

will explain to you how it is that the support we have received from Italy and Germany for our movement we owe entirely to March. You can take it from me that the Germans and Italians in Spain share this high opinion of him.

"From a friend like yourself I cannot conceal the truth. Franco, who is clever, would have done had success come quickly, as we hoped, but he is useless in a hard fight. He is not the stuff that leaders are made of; the consequence is that the "falangists" don't treat him seriously, and he inspires no confidence among the traditionalists, the monarchists, and even in militar circles.

"ONLY BRAIN"

"March, who is the real and only brain we have, is working to finish up as head of the state, or to become at least a representative leading figure, entitled to nominate a government based on real talent. The unfortunate part about it is that this talent shows no sign of putting in an appearance, unless it be in the person of March himself, which, you understand, is of course quite impossible".

SUBMIT TO ALL UNITS AND HOSPITALS

Comrades: In order to facilitate and render more efficient the expedition of mail, the following rules and regulations must be observed.

1) Your address is, as the following example:

Socorro Rojo, Plaza Altozano N... Albacete (España).

Your unit number will be given to you by the responsible comrade of the unit you join. No other address will do.

2) Outgoing addresses must be as follows.

John Doe, 245 W 45th St., New York, N. Y. (U. S. A.).

John Doe, 16 Gloucester Place, London, W. C. (England).

3) There shall not appear any return address, rubber stamp impressions, postage stamps or any wording, markings etc. that would indicate the original point of departure, for any correspondence. There are only two countries

Franco and Czechoslovakia, to which mail can be sent direct.

4) No officially headed paper or envelopes are to be used for private correspondence purposes.

5) Envelopes are not to be sealed.

6) No panoramic photographs or postcard views other than single buildings will be passed. All postcards must be enclosed in envelopes.

8) No report of deaths unless officially confirmed. Information to be obtained from political commissar.

9) No articles to the press whatever, will be passed, unless sanctioned by the Political Commissar of Unit or Brigade.

10) No names of towns or fronts must appear on heading or in body of letter. No strategic descriptions of military actions or battles allowed.

11) Packets of up to 500 grams can be conveniently forwarded both ways. In view of our past experiences it is indicated that it is necessary to register all packets and parcels, or letters with valuable objects enclosed.

12) All applications for leave of absence, or repatriation must be submitted through the regular channels indicated. Letters addressed otherwise will be returned.

13) Any letters or packages which do not conform to the above regulations will either be returned to the responsible comrade of Unit; or subjected to a delay of from three days to three weeks. We cannot hold up the mail of the comrades who are abiding by the rules.

14) No telegrams will be accepted, unless approved and signed for by the Political Commissar of the Base.

By order of the Government.

Base de las Brigadas Internacionales. Comisario político.



Soviet pavilion monument at the Paris exhibition.

¡PASAREMOS!

"War", writes the great military theorist Von Clausewitz, "is the continuation of politics." The Madrid offensive of the People's Army is the clearest possible illustration of this principle. A year of scattered but tremendous initiatives of millions of Spaniards and the central line of the New People's Front Government have been aimed precisely toward this drive. In the days of the rebel advance on Madrid when the militias retreated helplessly before the modern planes and tanks of their international Fascist enemy, the Fifth Regiment toiled heroically to create regular troops. In the heroic November days new reserves of popular energy were tapped to save Madrid, and with these reserves and the Fifth Regiment as a base, the Defense Junta of Madrid forged the Army of the Center. Málaga had to fall, the battles of the Jarama take their toll, the Blackshirts suffer a tremendous defeat above Guadalajara, and the Spanish people change Cabinets before the Army of the Center could be duplicated on a national scale. It took one whole year to create a regular Army, establish compulsory military service, subject the Army to a single General Staff. The work is still not completed. The perfection of that Army, the purging of its commanding staff of militarists of doubtful loyalty or mediocre talent and replacing them by officers taken from the ranks and tested as to ability and to loyalty by a year of fire — these are continuous tasks. There is no point at which the improvement of that military weapon ends, and so in examining the results of the first major offensive of the Spanish people against the invading forces of Italy and Germany, we must bear in mind that this is the work of a part of our forces at a given degree of development. The experiences of the offensive itself sweep the People's Army inevitably on to higher levels.

The Madrid front was the logical choice for the offensive, but it was equally obvious that the rebels could not be driven away from the heroic capital simply by head on attacks against extremely well-fortified positions. To attack those positions from the rear, to penetrate the rebel lines and strike from left and right, was a natural approach to this problem

GIVEN AN ARMY OF SUFFICIENT MOBILITY AND A COORDINATION OF SUFFICIENT FLEXIBILITY to make it feasible. THE FIRST LESSON OF THE PRELIMINARY PHASE OF THE GREAT OFFENSIVE IS THAT THE PEOPLE'S ARMY IS A MOBILE BODY WITH AN EFFECTIVE CENTRAL COMMAND.

On the night of July 5th Government forces descended from the neighborhood of the Madrid-Escorial road (we may use Valdemorillo as a concrete point) and penetrated rapidly into Fascist territory west of Madrid and along the foothills of the Guadarramas. The first day's work was divided roughly as follows: The Fifth Army Corps took Brunete at 6 a. m. with little difficulty; the Eighteenth fought all day and until ten p. m. for well-fortified and stubbornly defended Villanueva de la Cañada.

In preparation for the offensive, guerrillero's had cut the rebel railway lines at some point or points between their Madrid Front and their supply bases, keeping them closed for over forty-eight hours. Government forces near Seseña initiated an attack north and eastward, embarrassing the rebel rear on the Jarama. A third supporting action was an attack along the Villaverde-Usera front, pushing the rebel front line on the Toledo Road back to kilometer seven.

All this was accompanied by tremendous air activities. Every rebel position in the whole central area was bombed and strafed mercilessly. A gasoline deposit at Navalcarnero went up in smoke on the first day. On anti-aircraft we broke even, bringing down and losing one plane (altho anti-aircraft brought down two planes outside the center area that same day). But in the air itself, especially in a fight over Navalcarnero, a week of air-victories was initiated: three Heinkels falling and two burning up. Other spoils of the day were eighty odd prisoners at Brunete, over one hundred at Villanueva, a battery of 10.5's and smaller booty. The rebel reply: a vicious shelling of Madrid at night!

7.7 The loyal line of penetration had at once to be widened and our troops moved very little south, concentrating on pushing

the Fascists back to East and West. The towns themselves resisted stubbornly and our glorious air fleet — the Spaniards say, "Glorious" and understand "aviation" — worked a twenty — four hour day. Two Fiats sandwiched a loyal bomber and filled it full of holes, but bomber and crew returned safely whereas one Fiat failed to return. Then over Madrid, while the whole population watched from the roofs, 20 of our cazas fought a huge Fascist fleet including a new type of two seater, the fastest plane yet seen here. Score: two Fiats down and we lost a biplane.

7.8 Our troops took the positions of Minguito, Romanillos, Los Llanos and the castle of Villafranca, but the towns of Quijorna, Villanueva del Pardillo, Villafranca, etc., resisted. An enemy counterattack at Usera failed. In the air, one Fiat down; one Junker damaged; one loyal bomber damaged, one dead, remainder of crew wounded.

7.9 at 11,30 a.m. Quijorna fell. Among the over 200 prisoners were many Moors from the French protectorate in Morocco. Our aviation spent this and succeeding days bombing aerodromes; definitely destroyed two planes in Granada. On the Burgos-Santander front thousands of Italians now replacing Moors and Fascists.

7.10 Whole company infantry waves white handkerchiefs south of Brunete when their captain out of action. Since Tuesday our anti-air guns have brot down five planes. German air-captain dies in our hospital. Fighting around Villanueva del Pardillo.

7.11 Villanueva del Pardillo surrenders. Over 600 prisoners behave as though they had escaped from bondage, cheering spontaneously all the way to Madrid.

7.12-7.30 The Glorious brings down 25 enemy planes in two days, while we lost five Three rebel chasers attack one bomber which brings down two of them before it falls; the pilot and bomber fell in Na man's land and got back to our lines although the bomber was severely wounded on the way. At 5 p.m. on 12th, a big air fight with 33 loyal chasers fighting six trimotors five bimotors and thirty cazas. Score: 1 Heinkel, 8 Fiats (three of latter in our lines). We lost a plane and one plane that went deep in rebel territory in the morning failed to

return. In Mallorca another Fiat down.

7pm On the 13th nine rebel cazas and two new type monoplanes were brought down over Navalcarnero. Antiaircraft guns brought down another rebel plane, the pilot being taken prisoner. In addition our tiny "moscas" damaged a Junker and one chaser was seen wobbling.

The rebel line on the La Coruña sualties, plus over 1,200 prisoners, and have lost 100 square miles of road was cut at kilometer 16.5 (ten miles from Madrid toward El Escorial).

7.14 Seven Fiats down. Two loyal bombers lagged and were

answer pressure for pressure, attack for attack. The threat to Madrid from this side is weakened, and instead the Fascist forces move uneasily on the defensive. Loyal artillery can now pound the Campamento on the Navalcarnero Road from behind their fortifications. Supply difficulties for the rebels increase a hundredfold. In general, as the time draws near for the decisive battles that will free Madrid and Spain, rebel attack positions have become defensive ones that drain their resources. This is the result of the first phase of the offensive.

But if we bear in mind the preliminary question of army deve-

lopment with which we began this study, a far more important result of the offensive is seen. The ease and smoothness with which a small part of the People's Army — two Corps — executed this manoeuvre tell us the Army is ripening fast for the great drive to Seville. And one concrete fact stands out above all other from the results of the attack: the recruits who bore the brunt of the fighting proved themselves good soldiers. That is of incalculable importance, for it means that the still untapped reserves of Spanish manhood can now rapidly be absorbed at full military efficiency into the People's Army.



POLAR EXPEDITION CHIEFS PROMISE SCIENTIFIC RESULTS

The aviators, which carried the Polar Expedition under the direction of Professor Otto Schmidt and his companions to the top of the world, are back in Moscow.

Next year the same aviators will go to the North Pole to take the scientists back to Moscow. Prof. Otto Schmidt, in a reception speech in Moscow promised that, "with the co-operation of the four which will remain at the Pole for a year the Polar Expedition will supply to science and mankind all

that the North Pole will be capable of giving."

Vodopianov, the pilot, belittled the dangers of the expedition. "Now that a power like the Soviet Union is behind polar explorers, the dangers that made previous expeditions extremely dangerous no longer are to be considered serious. Within a year, there is no doubt about it, we'll go back to the North Pole and fetch the four comrades back home."

ONE YEAR OF FASCIST INVASION

A YEAR OF TRAGEDY AND GLORIOUS ACHIEVEMENT

This week the Spanish people enter the second year of the war which has been forced on them by the treachery of a few traitor generals and corrupt political leaders of the type of the cowardly Gil Robles. This week they enter the second year of their magnificent struggle against the fascist invader, against Portugal Italy and Germany. This week the Spanish people concludes one year of resistance to the slow but murderous policy of Non Intervention weapon of the British imperialist classes. These are the three principal enemies of the Spanish people; there is yet another, the incomprehension of certain people who call themselves working class leaders. It will be useful briefly to survey the course events have taken.

From the very beginning one thing must be understood; before the rising of July of last year, before even the coming of the Popular Front government of February 1936 foreign fascism was plotting in Spain. This is no mere assertion based upon political probability, but a historical and documented certainty. When the German consulate was taken over in Barcelona masses of documents were discovered covering a period of several years. Among them were papers incriminating Spanish politicians of the extreme right. German business houses, German consulates and journalistic agencies were all systematically engaged in spying, corruption and propaganda in this country. Spanish right leaders were importing arms months before the Franco rebellion. Moreover an economic survey had been clandestinely made by German specialists. For what reason? Hitler's recent declaration that he has intervened in Spain because he needs metals for his war plans provides the answer. The economic occupation of Spain had been planned by the capitalists behind Hitler before the coming of the Popular Front government. The Spanish fascists who tried to overthrow that government were only the tools of foreign powers.

THE TECHNIQUE OF FASCIST IMPERIALISM

It was the Italian war against Abyssinia and the shameful betrayal of that member of the League of Nations by the leading members of the League, with the exception of the Soviet Union, that provided the German and Italian dictators with the model. By encouraging the Spanish fascist to revolt and stepping in to help them, they knew they could make open war on Spain without openly declaring it according to the legal tradition. The Sanctions policy of the League of Nations in the case of Abyssinia told Hitler and Mussolini plainly enough that the rival imperialism of so-called democratic England would connive at the betrayal. This much must be understood; it is British imperialism which is responsible, not only for the policy of Non Intervention, but for the fact that Franco knew he could rely on the support of the enemies of his country.

THE POPULAR FRONT GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN

Faced with the reversal of most of the valuable reforms of the Republic of 1931 by the Right governments of the renegade Lerroux and the Catholic-C. E. D. A.-machine-gunner-by proxy Gil Robles, the Spanish progressive parties in 1935 formed the People's Front, upon a basis of guaranteed support to a government of Left Republicans working with a modest liberal programme. (The P. O. U. M., later viciously to attempt to stab the People's government in the back, signed this treaty. Within two months of that government taking office the P. O. U. M. was denouncing it.) At the elections of February 1936 the People's Front was victorious, the tempo of the world attack of the fascists on democracy was at once enormously accelerated. The miscalculation in the fascist plans was enormous. The assumption had been that Spain would easily fall victim and that no one would

come to her aid. Both counts were utterly wrong.

Franco thought he would repeat the 1923 success of General Primo de Rivera, Hitler and Mussolini, expected Spain to be another Abyssinia. They were right enough about the part the League Of Nations was to play, but they had not reckoned upon the heroism of the Spanish people, the solidarity of masses of the world proletariat, and the honour and rectitude of two governments, those of Mexico and the Soviet Union.

THE FIRST PHASE OF THE WAR

Most comrades will remember that the first stage may be characterised as the Romantic stage. In this period the Spanish people attempted to defeat fascism with ill organised though heroic militia groups. The result was that faced by the disciplined army of traitor troops and Moorish mercenaries the Spanish people were heading for defeat. There is no need to repeat what was formerly said in the articles on the evolution of the army, it suffices to say that the vast problem facing Spain was how to achieve organisation and discipline; how to destroy the Black Legend, The legend of an invertebrate Spain. That evil tradition has been destroyed, that it ever existed was due to the tyranny of outlived classes of governors. This much the war has proved.

In the field of foreign affairs another huge problem was to be faced. While feverishly rearming and preparing for war the British imperialists forced upon the other European governments the policy cynically called Non Intervention. Under this policy even arms that had been bought before the war had begun were withheld from the Spanish government, by the British and French governments in particular. The latter government had long demanded that Spain purchase her arms in France. However, while other governments professed to be unconvinced, the Soviet government soon exposed

the perfidy of the fascist powers who from the very first had been liberally supplying the rebels with arms and technical help. In October the Russian workers government declared that it would not be bound by the Non Intervention Pact to any greater extent than certain other countries.

This event may be said to begin the second phase of the war. Out of the first violent and excited confusion a regular army was beginning to emerge, crystallising round the Fifth Regiment organised by the Communist Party. The confusion in governmental administration was also beginning to disappear. Before this date even the government of the Left Radical Party, to which Spain owes a tremendous debt, had invited the other parties of the Popular Front to help it form a new government. In the first week of September the Communist Party entered the government.

The important phenomena to understand are these, that the Spanish people had realised what its task was, had achieved a great measure of organisation at the very moment when it ceased to be isolated in the world, when a great power and that a workers' power called the fascist bluff, and when the first demonstration of proletarian solidarity arrived in Madrid: the First International Brigade.

The International Brigade, the first of which was under the Command of General Kleber (now in command of the 45th Division) arrived in time to help drive back the first fascist attack on the city, which began on the 7th of November. It was at University City that the First International, the 11th of the Peoples Army, put up one of the most magnificent performances that history has on record. It was the 11th and 12th brigades which bore the brunt of the University City fighting, when the news was received that a certain body of troops had been driven out of it. Dramatic and desperate fighting went on for days, often from room to room, until the fascists were definitely held.

THE GOVERNMENTS AIR FORCE ARRIVES

About November the Fourth the air raids on Madrid began to become very serious, it was at once evident that they followed the German plan of attempting to demoralise the civilian people. Crowds of working class folk in the Glorieta park were suddenly bombed and machine-gunned one Sunday afternoon. Night raids soon began so that the city by night began to look like a region of blast furnaces, a red glare overhanging it. However the head of the Junta de Defensa, General Miaja, announced that in this respect the Madrileños might shortly expect to see something interesting. A few days later, when German bombers were droning over the city, a squadron of all-metal monoplanes roared over the house-tops and for the first time Madrid watched its aerial defenders chase the fascists out of the sky.

But once again the character of fascist aid to Franco changed.

SPAIN INVADED BY REGULAR IMPERIALIST TROOPS

In December and January Italian and German regiments began to arrive, later whole divisions, complete with staffs and equipment were found in action. While the numerical ratio of the I. B. has diminished as the Peoples Army grew, more and more has Franco been compelled to rely on foreign troops. With this new danger the Spanish Government as formerly constituted was hardly fit to cope. It had been composed of every important political sector of the Peoples Front, the anarcho-syndicalists of the FAI-CNT having entered in November, but there was no real unified cabinet programme.

Just as the National economy was a Jacob's coat of many-colored experiment, of different types of administration, so in a lesser degree the Governmental policy showed a marked dissimilarity of outlook between department and department. With the sudden increase of fascist help to Franco, and the Traitor's change of strategic plan represented by the flanking battles of the Jarama and Guadalajara fronts a real concentration of effort was needed.

In May 17th the present Negrin Government came into power. Recruiting at once was conducted at

a greatly sharpened tempo; the first problem to which the government had put its hand was that of creating the reserves which the nature of an offensive against the invaders made vital. At the same time the work of seriously organising the nation's economy was begun. And finally the first definite offensive was launched in July. This period, beginning with the months of January and February may be called the Realist Period., all illusion of easy victory had long since vanished instead, the Spanish people had become aware that not only its own independence was at stake, but that it was fighting the battle of world freedom. The Popular Revolution had reached its full consciousness. Defeat had become impossible.

In the outside world the coming of the Negrin government was accompanied by dramatic possibilities. The shelling of the open city of Almeria by the German warships engaged in "Control" lead to a crisis in the Policy of Non Intervention. The German and Italian Governments at once withdrew from the sub-committee of Control and demanded extravagant and altogether too fantastic a set of conditions for renewed cooperation. Nevertheless the fatuous Mr Eden, whom any novelist would reject as too obvious a caricature of a man, agreed. A few days later the German, dictator announced that the Leipzig had been narrowly missed by a "Red" torpedo and demanded joint action from Britain and France under the terms of the Four Power Pact which had emerged from the Almeria tragedy. To the astonishment of many, Eden refused.

Once again the British government set about trying to prop up the cretinoid dummy of Non Intervention, but the refusal by Germany and Italy of all feasible proposals and the final refusal by the fascist puppet Portugal of all control of her frontier put a momentary end to these efforts. On Tuesday July the 14th the French frontier was thrown open. An explanation must here be given; this ending of Control does not mean that the Spanish Government can exercise its legal right to purchase arms, say, in France. It means that supposing an American tourist in Perpignan woke up to find six tanks and an artillery battery amongst his baggage, plus legal documents, he could ship them across the border without interfe-

rence from the Garde Mobile. Actually the sale of arms to Spain is still forbidden by the Plymouth Committee. Again, removal of control means that an innocent American tourist strolling round Beziers in search of old-fashioned beauty will not be put into prison in that interesting town, nor in Toulouse.

A NEW BASE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

This change certainly indicates that the section of the machinery of world war has reached a completer stage of development. Eden has announced that if a solution of the Control problem is not reached the British government will consider the policy of Non-Intervention to be at an end. In that case what will happen? Spain will be able to buy all the arms she needs, that much is certain, though there are difficulties which might remain. The Spanish army would obtain all the arms it needs, them. What would be the reply of International Fascism? Would Italy and Germany pour in fresh armies on an entirely new scale? And if so what would France do? Here are questions which no wise commentator would answer in a hasty fashion. So much depends on whether the fascist dictators are ready, in a strictly technical sense, for war. Again, Hitler and Mussolini may decide that diplomacy and the convenience of Eden could still aid them to adopt positions that would help them to wage war with greater chances of success.

However, it seems that there are no limits of hypocrisy to which Eden will not go. At present he is putting forward yet another version of Control in order to bring in Germany and Italy. He has proposed to grant belligerent rights to Franco. The French government has protested and there seems little chance of this proposal being accepted.

One thing is missing from this

brief survey of the war, the problem of international working class solidarity, that will be with in another article.

So much is clear, comrades, for every growth of strength inside Spain, the reactionary powers in Europe, give fresh aid to Franco. Viewed in this fashion, without rhetoric and without the utmost objectivity this much is mountain clear. The Spanish people and with them their helpers are fighting a world battle of peace versus war, and of progress towards a juster society.

BASHIKIRIA TO PRODUCE OIL IN LARGE AMOUNTS

The recent discovery of a new oil field near the village of Tui-massa, situated 180 kilometers west of Ufa, is again attracting attention to the oil resources of Bashkiria.

It has now been ascertained that the poor work of the Bashkirian oil industry is the result of wrecking. Trotzkyte wreckers moved oil prospecting from the most effective stations to those of secondary importance, retarded for years the prospecting of rich oil fields, and equipped bore holes with poor quality boring tubes and tools.

Marked progress has already been noted at Bashkirian oil fields this year, after the removal of wreckers and the appointment of a new administrative personnel. Prospecting has been organized, main attention being focused on drilling in the areas adjoining the Ishymbay Industrial district which is one of the largest at present. Six basic oil fields within a 10 kilometers Radius of Ishymbay are to be drilled this year. Prospecting drilling is to be continued, a railway, an oil pipeline and an oil refinery are available. The sections can be completely mastered much faster than the remote districts which had been the aim of the wreckers.

NOTE

The lack of materials for making photo-engraving clichés has delayed the issuing of this number. Several of our articles call for maps and illustrations.

To this date the situation has not been relieved. We will publish the maps in a future number

THE VOLUNTEER'S MEDAL

The Commissariat of the International Brigades has decided to produce a medal for all the Volunteers, to be kept as a souvenir of the Spanish war of liberation.

Carmelo VICENT, Joaquín CORRAL, José ORTELLA and Manuel PASCUAL all members of the U. G. T. Artists Union have supplied the

models here illustrated. All of these models have value. We thank the comrade artists for their contributions; but to help us in the task of choosing from amongst the four the medal to be struck, we ask all comrades to indicate their choicetous:

COMMISSARIAT OF THE I. B.—Calle VELAZQUEZ, 63.—MADRID

Me satisface haber contribuido con mi modesta aportación a este conmovedor proyecto-homenaje, por tratarse de la columna Internacional, de heroica gesta

Joaquín Corral

Para la Columna Internacional vanguardia y estímulo de la juventud del mundo.

Carmelo Vicent

N.º 1



N.º 2



N.º 3



N.º 4

