



# The VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY

*organ of the international brigades*



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## OUR ARMY IS A PEOPLE'S ARMY

Development of the regular army of the Spanish Republic

### PART I

It is the object of this article at once to trace the growth and development of the Republican Army and to show that it is a real People's Army. Just as we have been told that the Popular Front policy was responsible for the events of Barcelona, we have also had to listen to the ridiculous statement that we of the Popular Front are creating a new danger in building up a regular army.

This argument will not carry the slightest weight with those who have followed the whole course of the army's evolution since the July days. General Miaja, defender of Madrid, in an interview with the writer, recently declared that "the regular army has grown up from below, out of the people, it has not been imposed from above". This is absolutely true and in a matter of fact historical way. At every stage the particular forms the army was to take, its methods, content and organization, can be seen in embryo long before a government decree regularizes or clarifies the situation. And without the constant compenetration of the civilian people and the armed forces it would have been impossible to bring the present army into being.

### THE THREE PERIODS

The history of the war may be divided into three phases:

1.—The Romantic phase during

which improvised forces, loosely organized and badly trained were expected rapidly to defeat a purely Spanish fascism.

2.—The Awakening period. In this period the enemy makes use of the vast resources given him by foreign fascism, both in materials and technical advice and personnel. The Republican forces begin to crystalize into a regular army but no reserves are created.

3.—The Realist period. Faced with invading fascist armies and

learning at last that war has its own objective nature, and that it rigorously imposes its own laws upon a government, the Popular Front Government begins to evolve a nation-wide plan for the whole military and economic life of the country.

### THE JULY DAYS

When the people aided by the loyal Assault Guards had defeated the fascist rising in

Madrid there remained the immediate necessity of repulsing the enemy marching on the city. The first forces were organized, not by the government, but by trade unions, syndicates and political parties. Often these groups were nothing more than a number of friends who rallied round the strongest character among them. There was, indeed, some talk of forming a governmental army and two "quintos" or conscript drafts were called up. This had no effect, partly because the men called upon were already in the forces, and partly because those who were not preferred to go to the companies organized by their respective political parties. In these early days Madrid was defended by an irregular army of a bewildering and complex mosaic pattern. There were Socialist companies and battalions, Communist and C. N. T. companies and Left Republican, all of whom preserved their separate headquarters and particular staffs.

### BEGINNING OF ORDER

Nevertheless a crystalizing movement can be seen even in this purely popular period. The Fifth Regiment, beginning with its Companies of Steel, began at once to propagand for a regular army upon the basis of definite organization and sound military training. This Fifth Regiment, which was to become the most famous of Spanish Republican forces dur-



"PASIONARIA" formerly honorary Commander 5th Regiment.

(Continued on page 7)

## MALAGA - A. MARTYRED CITY

500 refugees from fascist Spain arrive at Valencia.

More than five hundred refugees from Málaga arrived at Valencia from Gibraltar on May 25. They had managed, somehow, to enter the British Zone in their frantic escape from the fascist bands, at the time of the fall of Málaga.

When they left Gibraltar, compelled to do so by the British Governor, who feared an epidemic,

jails and from the ship "Marqués de Chavarri" at anchor in port. Then followed 300 Italian tanks, manned by Italian crews. After them, in three columns, came no less than 16,000 Italian troops, full Italian uniforms. Then came the artillery, machine guns mortars. Everything was Italian. Last, bringing up the rear, were small sections of fascists, falangists,

the morning every night, they took large groups of prisoners out to the cemeteries or to some out of the way street where the victims, tied with barbed wire were shot.

### ALL LEFTS AND PROGRESSIVES KILLED

The first to be killed was the Popular Front Mayor Eugenio Entrambasagua. Not content with having murdered him, they dragged his body thru the city streets. Then came the turn of Juan Delgado president of the Left Republican Youth, then Rafael Trigueros, a man who belonged to no political party, but who was extremely popular in Málaga. Three catholic priests who had made common cause with the people were also killed.

On Easter Sunday a special celebration was thought necessary. 250 prisoners were shot. The day after, the bodies of more than two hundred girls, members of the Young Socialist League were picked up in the streets. Altogether this terror lasted for more than a month.

Men were found hanging from trees in parks and fields; victims were cut to pieces, horrible mutilations perpetrated. Even nurses working in military hospitals were killed.

### MALAGA WAS ONCE SPANISH

Today Málaga is a German city. The lash and the club so dear to the German terror work overtime in Málaga. Workers are made to work under the lash of forcing overseers.

Málaga's hospitals, meanwhile, are full of wounded. More than 9,000 of them. The houses and the churches also are full of the wounded from the Almería and Córdoba fronts.

The "Maine" is on its way back to Gibraltar to bring another load of refugees to Valencia.

This is the work of fascism at its most typical.

Badajoz, Guernica, Málaga! Names of fascist victories over unarmed civilian populations, but also names that today loom large in the minds of the workers the world over!

## Marshal Voroshiloff to the Red Army on May Day.

Marhal Voroshiloff, the Russian War Commissar, addressing the parade in the Red Square, said:

*Only the Red Army hinders Fascism from attacking the country of the Soviets and beginning a new world slaughter. Fascism is the most deadly enemy of the workers and peasants. The Red Army has been, is, and will for ever remain the guardian of the peace of the entire world, however much our enemies may describe it as predatory and preparing to attack neighbouring State. All these insinuations cannot conceal the fact that Fascism has already entered on the path of war and arson.*

*"The Red Army is preparing to attack," shout those who have themselves already attacked and are destroying whole nations. The Red Army does not exist for attack, but to annihilate attackers utterly.*

### CONSUMERS POWER STRIKE OF MICHIGAN ENDED

The Michigan Consumers Power strike involving over 7,000 workers and affecting chiefly the General Motors plants in Flint and Lansing was ended when the United Automobile Workers Union (C. I. O.) and Governor Murphy were accepted as mediators.



Fleeing before the Italian invaders.

## Fascist Spies in the United States

A fascist spy and arms-purchasing agency has been exposed in the United States by the publication in the Daily Worker of letters and documents issuing from the offices of Diaz and Garcia, steamship operators, 17 Battery Place, New York. The head of this organization is a former Spanish Ambassador to the United States, Juan Francisco de Cardenas, who claims protection of a flink diplomatic passport.

The Daily Worker has published photostats of all correspondence passing between spy centers, from which it is seen, amongst other things, that the fascist gang suggested on March 5th, 1937, that a speedy armed ship be sent to the strait of Yucatan to block shipping from Mexico to the Spanish Republic. "If there were such a ship" one letter says "not one of the ships with armaments would get through".

The documents also disclose that this ring has conspired to violate U. S. laws by purchase of arms for Franco, and that there exists a network of agencies in Vera Cruz, Mexico and Havana, Cuba. Spies in these places send regular reports on the movement of Spanish shipping, through New York to fascist H. Q. in Spain. Diplomatic plots come within the scope of the cardenas outfit; one letter reveals that on April 8, 1937, the fascist agent Diaz was in Havana touting for recognition of Franco's "Government" by Cuba.

Fake aid societies have been formed, in particular the Commonwealth Spanish Relief Fund, 385 fourth Ave., and the American Committee for Spanish Relief, one of whose presidents is Ogden Hammond, former U. S. Ambassador in Spain. This concern does things in an ambassadorial style. H. Q. is at Vanderbilt Hotel.

### POPEYE AND BETTY BOOP ON STRIKE

Betty Boop and Popeye are on strike in New York City. One hundred members of the well known animated cartoons are demanding regular wages. They claim that the 15 dollars a week they get does n't keep them in spinach.

## THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT PRESENTS ITS PLEA TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

At the time of going to press the present session of the League of Nations is not sufficiently advanced for us to make long comment. This will appear next week.

So far the Spanish Government has rejected the proposal, backed by England and France, for mediation between Franco and the Government. As Comrade Negrin has pointed out, mediation can be effected between State and State, but not between a Government and a group of rebels. Only one kind of "mediation" is possible, the total defeat of fascism by the People's Government.

We may point out that these proposals for mediation always come when the situation is especially favorable to the government. They have occurred before, and now, after recent victories at Guadalajara and Pozoblanco and the formation of the new government they are being repeated.

The government has made the first diplomatic distribution of the White Book on Italian intervention. This volume is sure to provoke intense interest. We un-

derstand that it consists of over three hundred pages and contains photographs of Italian and military orders and other documents all proving that there is indeed an Italian Army of Occupation in Spain.

A scheme for the withdrawal of foreign volunteers is to be discussed. In this respect a government spokesman has declared that "it is impossible to confuse breaches of the obligation of not authorizing the departure of volunteers, with the organization and sending by the Italian government of a definite expeditionary force". In other words, the International Brigades are a real volunteer force which governments have tried to prevent being formed. (The French government for instance has closed its frontiers.) The Italians are not volunteers and have been sent by their government, often against their will, and by means of cruel deception.

It was stated in Paris that in all probability, Portugal would oppose the withdrawal of volunteers.



Mr. Eden has proposed mediation.

## Soviet Union Makes Peaceful Conquest.

The announcement by the Soviet Union that its scientists have conquered the arctic regions of the North Pole marks another glorious page in Soviet scientific advances.

There now exists at the North Pole a Soviet scientific colony whose base is situated on a huge block of ice registered on a list of Soviet polar stations under the name of "North Pole No. 56". The station has been constructed as the central polar directing point of the sea route for ships, and its air field, recently established is the landing point for airplanes.

Throughout the Northern polar regions wireless telegraph points, radio centers, beacons, ports for ships, and coal and oil bases have been set up. In definitely conquering the North Pole the Soviet scientists have a regular plan of air routes and waterway routes into the most hazardous points of the arctic.

Pravda, Soviet organ, says that Robert Peary, who first visited the North Pole, like other great explorers had no elements nor forces for the scientific organization of work at the pole. He was not able to place his discoveries into the hands of scientists and the people. But the Soviet explorers have behind them the entire nation.

The name "Stalin" is proposed for central base of the arctic.

The Juan Negrin, new Prime Minister of Spain, through the press praised the Soviet Union for its wonderful polar and scientific achievements.

The Red Flag of the Soviet Union waves now at the North Pole.

### ONE SUPREME COURT JUDGE RESIGNS

No doubt in a glimmer of returning intelligence, Supreme Court Justice Van Devanter resigned from his position. The gentleman is 78 years old.

When President Roosevelt heard the news, he smilingly commented: "This makes one point. There are five more to go."

# SPANISH GOVERNMENT AIDS STARVING PEASANTRY

## The Problem of the Land in Spain

In recent days we have heard from certain quarters the charge that the Spanish revolution has been betrayed by the formation of the new government. In passing, we may point out that POUM, one of the organizations making this charge, had already said that previous Popular Front governments had never begun the revolution. Probably P. O. U. M. understands by revolution the shooting of workers by those who profess to serve them; nevertheless, it is vitally important to know what has really happened in the Spanish countryside.

Fifty-six per cent of the Spanish people live on the land; the agrarian problem, therefore, has always been the most critical of Spanish problems. "Andalucía está muriéndose de hambre". Andalucía is dying of hunger. The classical phrase was true of Castilla and Extremadura and other parts as well. In 1930 the writer found whole districts, in the neighbourhood of Plasencia and Cáceres (the city where the hero Duffy made his H. Q. before running home), while the average wage

Aragon, during 1932, the writer discovered that there had been a famine during the preceding winter, due to the absence of wind. How could an absence of wind cause people to die of hun-

Lands of Sahagun... land of Salamanca, where hardly three or four times the quantity of seed sown is returned. Land without trees, without cattle." These are extreme cases but a yield of nine

another 20,000 schools were to be built.

Then, on the technical side of Land Reform, vast irrigation schemes were drawn up in 1932, aiming at the watering of 5,000,000 acres of land, at a cost of five thousand million pesetas, to be spread over 25 years. Many of these schemes were begun, such as the lower Gaudalquivir Valley Canal, the Gaudalcacin Reservoir and canals, the Genil works, and elsewhere.

### LAND FOR THE PEASANTS

Most important of all the Marcelino Domingo Agrarian Reforms of December 22, 1932 proposed to take over vast estates, upon a basis of compensation, to be divided among the peasants and their organizations. Certain of the nobles implicated in the anti-republican rising of August 1932, were to receive no compensation. Though this reform was slow and hesitant, much was done to improve the field workers' condition.

The Popular Front Government of February 1936 was pledged to speed up this land reform, which would have destroyed the power of the semi-feudal classes represented by Franco.

times is considered good in prosperous parts of Spain, whereas in the U. S. A. or in England 18 to 1 is quite usual.

It is not the natural impossibility of watering and manuring the fields which has impoverished Spain, but the neglect of absentee landlords and the absence of plan characteristic of a semi-feudal state. Furnished only with a light plough, often of primitive Roman type, the peasant was unable to undertake deep plowing which would protect his crops against drought.

And with this poverty went ignorance and illiteracy. In 1926 forty-two per cent of the nation was illiterate and there were whole districts where the proportion reached was ninety per cent.

Even now: after the efforts of the Republic, a great proportion of the men of the twenty-fourth battalion, Fifteenth Brigade, fine fighters and good comrades, are illiterate.

### THE WORK OF THE REPUBLIC OF 1931

First, in the matter of education; in two years the Republic created 9,000 new schools; by means of an Education Loan

ger? Very soon members of the International Brigade will have an opportunity of understanding how, for the months of reaping, July and August, are followed by the winnowing weeks, when the chaff and the grain, trodden out by oxen, are thrown into the air for the wind to separate. In that year in Javierrelatre there had been no wind and the fermented mixture had become useless for bread.

### THERE WERE GASOLINE DRIVEN WINNOWING MACHINES IN THAT VILLAGE, BUT THE PEASANTS WERE TOO POOR TO HIRE THEM FROM THE RICHER LAND-OWNERS

There lies the cause of Spain's agricultural backwardness. The poverty of the peasant, and the crushing rents, in the impossibility of watering their fields adequately or of manuring them, resulting in low yield. A Spanish economist says "Soria lands, bare hills of Almazan, where the plow only scratches the soil and after the efforts of an untiring farmer, only yields three times the volume of seeds put into the ground.



In the old days under the monarchy one and half pesetas a day for 12 hours work under a Spanish sun.



A good comrade, but the monarchy never taught him to read or write.

of the field worker was one and a half to two pesetas a day. The same was true of Salamanca, formerly Gil Robles' seat and now Von Franco's.

Again, at Javierrelatre in High

### WHAT HAS BEEN DONE SINCE JULY 1936

In the words of Comrade Vicente Uribe, minister of Agriculture, it has been the Government's policy "to expropriate the great landlords, enemies of the people, and give the land to those who work on it... we have cleaned loyal Spain of the foul disease of boss rule, of the oppressor of the field workers".

No longer are there vast estates like those of the Duke of Medina-celi who owned two hundred thousand acres. The one hundred and twenty five thousand acres of the Duke of Peñaranda are in the hands of his peasants and workers; so are the hundred and seventeen thousand acres of the Duke of Villahermosa, the eighty-seven thousand of the Duke of Alba, Franco propaganda agent in London now, who has declared that the Comrades of the International Brigades are thieves and criminals (and he did not mean merely the quartermaster). And the one million acres which belonged to only fourteen fascist Dukes, Counts and grandees of Spain has also been divided among the people.

### ALTOGETHER FIVE MILLION EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND ACRES OF LAND HAVE BEEN SHARED OUT

This figure represents eighteen per cent of the cultivable area of Spain, moreover, it excludes what has been done in Catalonia, certain parts of Aragon, and in the regions of Santander and Asturias.

It is true to say that in those regions where the land problem was sharpest it has already been solved. In the province of Ciudad Real, for instance, 1,855,000 acres have been given to workers organizations and collectives. In the province of Albacete, headquarters of the International Brigades, 1,116,000 acres, in Jaen, 900,000, in the province of Madrid, 340,000 acres in Cuenca 325,000 acres have been expropriated. Valencia workers and peasants have received 285,000 acres, the hungry people of Guadalajara, Granada and Murcia have also been helped.

Besides this directly expropriated land hundreds of thousands of acres have been taken over in other ways. If comrades of the English and Lincoln Battalion of the 15th Brigade look back from their lines they will see a broad, green and well cultivated valley.

If in that valley there is any peasant who, before the fascist rising paid rent to a landlord, then he no longer does so. The landlord and tenant relation no longer exists. The peasant pays not a single penny of rent, though when the time comes, like every other citizen, he will pay his dues to the state. At present he may freely

culture has said "the government has taken the land away from the proprietors in order to emancipate the peasants, not in order to emancipate four committees".

The government will continue to prevent these injustices. It will prohibit so-called "socialized" control of village commerce, it will give practical aid to the peasants.



Peasant were shut up as hostages in la Virgen de la Cabeza. Here they are seen talking with their liberators.

enjoy the use of nationalized land.

We of the Popular Front have been told by the theoreticians of the P. O. U. M. that we have betrayed the revolution. Because we wish to put our greatest efforts into winning the war we are told that we are counter-revolutionaries. Yet to the rear of our lines, comrades, you can see a country without tyrant landlords, without corrupt bosses, without usurers and village money lenders. Upon the land behind the fascists' lines, the weight of oppression still rests.

### WHAT IS THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S POLICY?

The Communist Party, in its recent letter to Señor Azaña declared that the peasant must be protected against forced collectivisations and extremist experiments and that the small proprietor must be left in possession of his land. This has been one part of the Government's policy, and will continue to be.

Here and there cases have occurred where self appointed committees have collected rent from those who are working nationalized land. As the Minister of Agri-

Over and above the gift of land the government has loaned to the peasants about 45,000,000 pesetas, through the Institute of Agrarian Reform.

Besides this, specialized credits have been granted to olive oil producers, vineyard workers and rice growers, for the carrying out of necessary work and the purchase of seeds. And all this to the tune of 45,000,000 pesetas. Instead of fomenting strife in the city streets in the name of revolution, this is what the Popular Front government has achieved on the land. Despite the provocations and the local tyrannies of irresponsible village Caesars, last autumn wheat sowing was up by 7 %.

To encourage production it is necessary to guarantee a remunerative price. Apart from the correction of abuses this can be done best by large scale ministerial purchases and by the creation of cooperatives. Already in the Mediterranean coast districts these cooperatives are giving good results.

### HOW TO RUN A COLLECTIVE

Here is an example of successful and properly conducted col-

lectivisation. At Villanueva de Córdoba last July the civil guards, disloyal to the government, captured the town and caused a great part of the people to flee to the fields. The citizens were not dismayed however, and headed by Julian Caballero, field-workers leader, they collected all the arms that could be found in the district. After a sharp battle Villanueva was recaptured. In that town where formerly there ruled an absentee landlord, the average size whose 40 estates was of 1500 acres, Julian Caballero is now Mayor, idolized by the emancipated people.

Villanueva has organized splendid battalions of peasant fighters, but it has also solved its land problems. The estates of the former parasites are now cultivated collectively by members of the Field Workers Union.

There is nothing resembling coercion in Villanueva. The small proprietors have their own association and cultivate their land individually. Land was also given to those who owned a yoke of horses, mules or oxen. Even inside the Field Workers Union there is a small group which without hindrance demands the parcelling out of the land.

The quality of all work is excellent. The olive trees have been zealously tended and the fields scrupulously cleaned. All last years crops having been gathered and the town is now collectively engaged in the production of olive oil. The natural economic difficulties of Villanueva, excess of meat and oil and insufficiency of wheat, have been overcome by collective exchange with other channels. When the war time refugee problem no longer burdens the town its prosperity will go forward by leaps and bounds.

Let no one pretend that the interests of the Spanish masses have been neglected or betrayed. It is these conquests at Villanueva which the comrades on the Córdoba front are defending; there advance is bringing release to thousands of other peasants for whom life has hitherto been a savage and brutalizing oppression. And in holding their lines the comrades of the 15th Brigade are likewise driving back the enemies of the people. Comrades, the Popular Front Government is guardian of the true Spanish and democratic revolution.



A medieval technique. In the hills around you women still spin thread this way.

## American finance imperialism in Spain

American comrades, students of Imperialist technique, may like to know of an example of American Imperialism in Madrid City. We refer to the Telefónica, the Telephone Company of Spain, whose head office, a skyscraper-like building, they may have seen.

This company, headed by the notorious Col. Behn, is an offshoot of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company of New York, one of the Morgan concerns.

In 1924 the Telefónica obtained a monopoly concession from Dictator Primo, which for cool impudence surpasses anything Wall or Threadneedle Streets have been able to put out. If anything it surpasses the achievements of Mussolini's diplomacy, or army canten prices.

The monopoly runs contrary to every principle of the Spanish constitution and every law of the Civil Code in that it puts an important political power in the hands of a foreign company. For example, during the 1932 Sanjurjo monarchist rising in Sevilla the Republican Government was unable to make telephonic contact with that city.

By its contract the Telefonica is entitled to use state powers and is exempt from every kind of tax, local or national, in the present or in the future. In one year the Telefónica thus avoided a normal business tax of 3,800,000 pesetas, while its total of percentage payment to the government only came to 3,420,000 pesetas. The cost of plant was staggering, being 878,993,000 pesetas, all of which must be repaid, plus 15 %, in gold, if the Republic of today wishes to regain control of the system.

Moreover, the Spanish Company must pay to the American Company 7 % of gross income yearly, besides a 5 % commission on imported plant, on which profit has presumably been paid in the states. Or was U. S. A. imperialism so charitable as to sell at cost price? This commission came to 43,000,000 pesetas.

Finally, with a highly modern system the Spanish state in six years has drawn 20,000,000 pesetas less than with the old outfit, which closely resembled battalion headquarters field telephone. Boys,

like love, or common or garden fascism, its a racket! Take another shot over the parapet at the friends of the Telefónica.

## O'Duffy's inglorious Dupes

O'Duffy has given some amazing reasons for the quick return of his much-boosted Brigade from Spain.

The ideas of this Brigade seem to have changed considerably in the few months since they set out with such ardour to "save religion in Spain".

According to O'Duffy's statement, they don't seem to have saved much or done much since they arrived in Spain. Either Franco did not value them very highly or they just refused to fight.

They appear to have spent most of their time catching colds in the "wet trenches".

O'Duffy says they have, "now been in the front line trenches since February 19th, subjected to unceasing shell fire and bombing - we have left "seven" dead in the field, many seriously wounded and many others suffering from shellshock, pulmonary diseases and rheumatic fever developed in the trenches during the incessant rain of February and March".

It was then too cold for O'Duffy's men, now it is too hot.

"The greatest trial of the war will undoubtedly be the danger of Typhoid and other fevers from now on... the complete absence of water for either drinking or sanitary purposes, have had serious effects on the health of the Irish troops already."

No clearer light could have been thrown on the types which O'Duffy recruited than the light of his own statement. The real fighters for Ireland never threw up the battle because of the hardships of the trench or the coldness of the cave on the hillside.

The "Wild Geese" left Ireland many years ago and fought with all armies, in all climates against the rapacious army of British Imperialism and won undying honour for themselves and for their people. To-day O'Duffy covers himself with ignominy. Men who be-

## 200 Submachine guns bought on account of the French Fascist are seized in Switzerland

The Swiss Federal police has just discovered a new arms smuggling organization.

Following the arrest of a smug-

gler by the name of Jean Ronchi, la whose position were found 20 sub-machine guns, and 8 boxes containing 2,500 rifles cartridges, several searches were made in various Swiss cities. 200 sub-machine guns were found.

It is believed that this group of smugglers was part of a larger, gang, members of which were arrested lately in several French cities.

Lately, custom guards arrested several smugglers known to be at the service of Doriot and of De La Roque.

## CHARLOTTE S. C. COTTON MILL WORKERS STRIKE

The first battle resulting from the C. I. O. campaign in Southern textile mills is on. 1,100 workers of the Marlboro Cotton Mill of Bennettsville and McColl S. C. went on strike May 9. The strike was quite spontaneous. According to the Rev. R. Lawrence, co-ordinator for the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, the workers went on strike when their patience was exhausted. Organization work had been proceeding very rapidly previous to the strike. When the men went on strike 96 % were already members of the Union.

## 25,000 JONES AND LAUGHLIN STEEL WORKERS STRIKE

Because of the company's refusal to sign a Union Contract 25,000 steel workers in the Jones and Laughlin Aliquippa and South Pittsburgh plants were called out on strike by the Steel Workers Organization Committee. Because of the "Unholy Alliance" of the Independent steel manufacturers under the leadership of Ernest T. Weir of National Steel, it is believed that 110,000 more workers will be on strike within a few days in the Pittsburgh and Youngstown region.

SWEDEN. — The Trotzkyite Kilbon has been expelled from the Swedish Socialist Party.

## UNIMPORTANT NEWS

Rockefeller died at the age of 96. Wally says she will marry the Duke on June 29.

## OUR ARMY IS A PEOPLE'S ARMY

(Continued from pag. 1.)

ing the first two periods of the war, was organized upon a Popular Front basis by one of the great popular political parties of Spain, the Communist Party. The directors of the Fifth Regiment, Comrades Castro, Lister and Contreras, from the very beginning organized all their companies upon a definite military basis, with proper training, and with technical staffs and specialised departments. It was in the first week of August that the Fifth Regiment began to appoint political commissars, who functioned without legal status until the government decree of October 15th. The first article demanding formation of a regular army appeared on August 2nd in "Milicia Popular", the organ of the Fifth Regiment. Here we see in these two instances the appearance of characteristics that were to distinguish the army in the second two periods.

## 2.—THE AWAKENING PERIOD

Largely as a result of the efficiency and propaganda of the Fifth Regiment there was a widespread and powerful popular demand for a regular army and on October 10th the old militias were militarized by an order of the government. As a result of this the FIRST MIXED BRIGADE, commanded by Comrade Lister, was formed. Commenting upon this governmental decree in a speech on the 11th of October at the brigade barracks Comrade Lister referred to the Romantic Period thus: "We have seen day after day small bands and little groups of militiamen going out to the war front just when they took it in mind to do so, and who enlisted whenever they chose. When anyone approached them and said "this position must be occupied" they used to reply "who are you, you are wearing stars!, then you have nothing to do with us. Even if you hadn't got stars we should take no notice of you. Our chief is this comrade". And the chief of the group was often one who, for one reason or another, was not interested in fighting at that moment. And thus we found that we had at the front several thousand combatants, but only on paper, because in fact they did not fight when necessary, not by reason of their own fault, but because they were neither organized nor

disciplined." The heroism of these comrades was beyond all question, but Comrade Lister was certainly not exaggerating.

## THE FIFTH REGIMENT

Before referring to the results for military organization of the historic defence of Madrid during

membered that the Fifth Regiment, originally intended to be 1,000 strong, had reached 70,000 in the Madrid region alone, with another 45,000 in other parts of Spain. The various departments of command were therefore progressively suppressed. By a brigade order of the 15th of December the First MIXED BRIGADE liquidated all the separate batta-



CAMPESINO, outstanding 5th Regiment leader now Brigadier General.

the first two weeks of November it will be useful to trace the growth, activity, and eventual merging of the Fifth Regiment in the regular army. It must be born in mind that the Communist Party had not organized the Fifth Regiment in order to possess a force of its own and it was as a result of its own propaganda that its members were handed over to the government. While the formation of the MIXED BRIGADES began on October 10th there was still thirty per cent of the Fifth Regiment remaining under its own command on the 27th of December. Indeed it would have been disastrous to abolish that command until every soldier had been fitted into his place in the new brigades. It must be re-

lion commands which it had in various parts of Madrid, surrendered all war materials and personnel and entered the Hortaleta barracks to begin a corporate existence. Again by a Fifth Regiment Order of Dec. 28 every military department Operation Intendencia or Supplies, Sanitary Service, Shoemaking department, tailoring department, armoury, etc. were handed over to the brigades. Comrades responsible for these departments for the most part began similar work in the regular army; thus we see that not only the forms but the actual personnel of the new army was derived from military forces not directly organized by the government. Of all the department, only those of Social Work and Organization were

to continue, in an advisory capacity, until the last Fifth Regiment soldier had entered the army.

## HUGE ECONOMY IN EFFICIENCIES

The importance of this voluntary surrender of autonomy can be seen by referring to a speech by Comrade Lister, given on the 23rd of December.

Referring to the new army he said that efficiency would be enormously increased and added "We in the Fifth Regiment had already begun a cleaning up which is still very necessary in certain parts. For example, such battalion used to have its own command in Madrid, to each of which there belonged approximately a hundred bureaucrats. Many stripes, and many stars, while the majority had not seen the front even from a general barracks! All this has been suppressed. Two or three individuals to each command are more than sufficient for all the office work which a battalion can occasion. You will understand the importance of this when I tell you that in Madrid there used to be 60,000 meal rations given out every day to people who had not fired a single shot."

Finally, on January 27th a vast public meeting in the Cine Goya was held to celebrate the complete liquidation of the Fifth Regiment, and this it must be remembered, was long after the event had actually occurred. Other political parties began to follow the same line and with the final inclusion of the C. N. T. troops in the regular army this process came to an end.

## WHAT DOES THIS PROCESS DEMONSTRATE?

It is obvious at the first glance that the vast bulk of the men in the Republican army have been drawn from the political regiments which grew up in the Romantic period. That they make up a People's Army there can be no possible doubt. But the officers of the new brigades, such as Lister and "Campesino", have also largely been drawn from these earlier formations. These had originally received their appointments from the various political parties belonging to the Popular Front.

But more conclusively than this the special characteristic of the



CAMPESINO, Commander of 5th Regiment visit war industry factory.

Republican Army, its possession of political commissars, was derived from the nature of the political war in which the whole people was engaged. These commissars, which exist and will continue to exist, have as one of their tasks the maintaining of just that kind

decrees governing the status and work of political commissars. The order of October 15th, given by the Minister of War, appointed Comrade Del Vayo as Commissar General. He was to be aided by 4 sub-commissar generals drawn from the greater organizations of the Popular Front; these sub-commissars were to appoint lower ranks. But within the ranks of the actual field commissars themselves, no grades or categories were established, because the army itself had no uniform organic structure. In other words, the people were still making their army from below.

As the army crystalized into definite shape as a result of party propaganda and experience, the decrees began to distinguish ranks in the commissars. For instance, the order of November 25th, by which date about 65 % of the Fifth Regiment had been merged with the Mixed Brigades, established the ranks of brigade, battalion and company commissars.

#### THE NATIONAL GUARDS

The general argument can be supported from the history of definite governmental forces, such as the National Republican Guards and the Carabineros.

The National Guards are the successors of the old universally hated Civil Guards, former strike breakers and political tools, imbued for the most part with reactionary ideas and practising the most brutal of methods. This conversion did not come about as the result of a government decree but as a consequence of a movement from within.

Before the July rising there had been within the old Civil Guards both political fractions and Popular Front groups, and while these were not strong enough to ensure the loyalty of the majority, they did much to win over many guards to the Republican movement.

After the Franco rising these groups definitely worked for the suppression, or conversion of the force, and finally became strong enough to do this on their initiative.

A central committee was formed, headed by Sergeant-Major Vega and from its offices in the basement of the Ministry of the Interior in Madrid, began to recruit into its forces. These forces, it must be understood from the very beginning were on a military footing of long service and rigid discipline. Like the Fifth Regiment it was originally intended to be only a small body yet by November about 15,000 were within its ranks. There quality can be seen from this, of the 4,000 fully trained men on the Madrid Front alone by November 11, 206 were dead and 693 wounded; about 22 %.

The forms its general staff adopted again show the popular and political nature of the National Guards. It has four sub-committees; Investigation, to prevent the entry of fascist and disruptive

#### GERMAN GOVERNMENT CONTINUES HELP TO FRANCO

In spite of all pledges and statements to the contrary, the German Government continues sending of no end of armaments to the Spanish fascist armies.

The story of the Marienbourg is a good illustration of what is happening. The Marienbourg, a Danish freighter flying illegally the flag of the Republic of Panama was about to sail from Hamburg a month ago loaded with boxes marked "Chocolate" and other such innocuous freight. One of the chocolate boxes broke open and the longshoremen found to their surprise that it contained a shipment of dum-dum bullets. The workers immediately inspected the whole cargo, which was found to consist of airplanes, to be assembled, of tanks, machine guns and to a considerable part, of specially constructed electrical switches for use in torpedo boats. All instructions to these instruments were in Spanish.

The city of Freiburg in Baden, Germany, is excited because every three days a squadron of airplanes with all German army insignia painted over, arrives at the airport. The aviators make no secret of the fact that they are bound for Southern Spain. Planes depart morning after arrival.

Along the Swiss border the German Government is building great number of barracks. The number of soldiers stationed now at that border is five times as great as before the last war. Constant manoeuvres are taking place in south Germany. New barracks are sprouting like mushrooms. In Rudolphzell, on the Swiss border, a new barracks has just been started which is to hold several thousand and infantry soldiers, machine-gun crews, anti-aircraft batteries, etc..

types, and Promotion, to appoint officers on the basis of good service; the other two departments at that time (November) being Organization and Supplies.

Summing up so far, the argument that the formation of the Regular Army constitutes a danger for the Spanish popular revolution is founded, when honest, upon ignorance of the army's history. However, the objection is usually made in bad faith. Next week we shall study the siege of Madrid, especially in its relation to the evolution of the Higher Command.



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of political enthusiasm which guarantees that the army shall never become a danger to the democratic Republic.

#### ALWAYS FROM BELOW

The way in which governmental decrees in this Awakening period tended to legalize existent facts, rather than to impose a structure from above can be seen from the



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