



The VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY

Organ of the international brigades



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FASCISM WHISTLES IN THE DARK

Highly revealing, and of particular interest to us in Spain, is a series of articles and dispatches recently published in the American and British press. Although it is not necessary, at this late date, to cite the tremendous amount of open assistance given to Franco by Hitler and Mussolini, actual figures have so far been lacking. These figures are supplied by the British Daily Worker of July 29th:

"Mussolini has spent no less than 2,500,000,000 lire during the months from January to June on assisting General Franco", writes the Daily Worker's special correspondent. "In addition to this Italy has backed bills with which the rebels have purchased supplies and arms directly."

"This sensational figure, equivalent approximately to 26,300,000 pounds, was given, I am able to reveal, by the Duce's Finance Minister Paolo Thaon de Revel in a report to a special and secret meeting of the Finance Committee of the Italian Chamber a few weeks ago."

FASCISM'S "ADVENTURE"

Corroboration of this figure, and generally of the tremendous drainage of money and materials, as well as of men, which Italian Fascist intervention in Spain has meant, is contained in a wireless to the New York Times of July 4th by Arnaldo Cortesi, the paper's correspondent in Rome. Says Cortesi, whose status in relation to Mussolini is similar to

that of William Casney to Franco:

"If any one had been able to foresee in July, 1936, the developments of the Spanish civil war, it is doubtful whether



FRANCO

Italy would have rushed so light-heartedly into the adventure, the end of which is still not in sight. It seemed at the beginning that a few thousand volunteers and a few dozen airplanes would be sufficient to secure General Francisco Franco's victory..."

If any further proof were needed to show Mussolini's criminal invasion of Spain, Cortesi's dispatch — for the hundredth time — parades the cat, long since out of the bag, up and down the street. Furthermore, the date of the dispatch gibes perfectly with the Italian Finance Minister's report on the spent 2,500,000,000 lire, which (as the Daily Worker correspondent pointed out

on July 29th) was made "a few weeks ago".

If Duce's unofficial American mouthpiece is unusually frank, Cortesi continues:

"...Italy found herself fully committed to support the Insurgents in November last year when she recognized the Franco government, but thought at that time that the war would not last much longer, since everything led to the belief that the fall of Madrid, the siege of which had started less than a month before, was imminent."

Further: "Now the Italians find themselves up to their necks in the Spanish civil war, and they are beginning to look around for what they are likely to get from it when General Franco wins, as they think he will. The first advantage they hope to gain is purely negative, that they will avoid the loss of prestige they would suffer if the Valencia government triumphed despite fascism's best efforts."



GOERING

The dispatch is concluded with a statement concerning the material gains hoped for by Mussolini: the vast mineral resources of Spain, and the strategic land concessions so necessary as military bases in the event of war.

GERMANY AND ENGLAND

The July issue of The Labour Monthly supplies the factual material necessary to an understanding of Germany's great stake in the invasion of Spain, and also provides the basic economic clue to British actions (Capt. Anthony Eden et al) in the Non-Intervention farce. Conrad Suden's article, "Anglo-German Interests in Spain", traces the complicated little-known network of Anglo-German capitalist connections in steel, chemical and armaments trusts, as well as in the international banking field, and concludes with the significant statement:

"The bonds between British and German capitalism in Spain do not account for the whole policy of British imperialism in its betrayal of democracy, its alliance with fascism; they do, however, constitute a factor of which the great importance is often overlooked."

DWINDLING RESOURCES

It is no wonder then, with Italy and Germany (and Portugal as well) so deeply sunk in their rapacious game in Spain (despite the diplomatic and material aid rendered by

British capitalism) that the fascists of all lands are beginning to whistle in the dark to keep up their dwindling courage. There is no need to speak of the critical condition in which the people of Germany find themselves, nor of the widespread misery of the Italian people aggravated not only by Mussolini's tremendous expenditures in Spain but also by his equally enormous losses in Ethiopia, which even to this day is not completely "pacified". Privation for the masses inevitably breeds opposition to the government, and it is for this reason that the fascists are forced to extend their stream of hopeful propaganda, at the same time that they are forced to admit the extent to which the "Spanish adventure" has drained their treasures and their manpower.

An unusual example of this "whistling in the dark" appears in the July 26th issue of the notoriously profascist London Daily Mail. Hopefully entitled "Ridding Spain of the Reds", it also calls attention to the "Italian's Big Part" in the dirty work. A few quotations will suffice to reveal the tone and temper of this article:

"When General Franco began the movement to rid Spain of the Reds there were many who wished him well but shook their heads doubtfully. True it is that Italy... responded promptly to the common unity and cause. Her aeroplanes flew across the straits to make Seville secure when Quiepo de Llano in that city was driven to every subterfuge to make his handful of troops look like an army..."

FAILURE AT MADRID

"It (Madrid) was theirs (the fascists) had they not turned off the main Seville-Madrid road to succour the heroes of the Alcazar at Toledo. That deviation gave the Reds just the amount of breathing space necessary for them to turn Madrid into a network of redoubts and fortresses.

"People who point out that Madrid is still not captured nevertheless know that in the meantime Franco has built up, with the assistance of German and Italian material and vo-



lunteers, an army which has saved more than half of Spain for ever from the mepace of Bolshevism.

"I have spoken", says the Daily Mail's correspondent, who, we are informed, has "lately returned" from Spain, "with many highlyplaced Italians, and I know that from the generals down to the privates they all individually and without pressure expressed their anxiety to come to Spain". Note that the information comes from "highly-placed Italians".

"Italy has played a significant part in building the new Spain — so significant that it has been insisted that she must be getting territorial concessions like the Balearic Islands to compensate her. The answer is that Italy's compensation consists of an ordinary war debt for materials and munitions such as the one we incurred with the United States during the World War"

There follows, at this point, one of the most brazen bits of

tongue-in-cheek writing which we have ever read:

"It is recognized by those who know the facts that Italy has throughout been inspired by the highest motives. She asked nothing more than to see Spain go from strength to strength, her territory having been freed from the common enemy, Bolshevism. Thus (and here we are permitted a glimpse of Fascist modesty), though the Italian troops played a very important part in the capture of Bilbao, and though they could have been the first to enter the town, their commanders preferred to remain out of the limelight until the Spanish army had come into its own."

All of this constitutes an imposing array of admissions, "out of their own mouths", of the fascists' role in Spain. Yet the articles cited were chosen at random out of a mass of similar material now appearing in the English-speaking press. Weighing every statement carefully, there can no longer be any doubt whatever of (1) the enormous aid fascism has given to the traitorous generals, and (2) that this aid has drained the fascist powers to so considerable a degree that they must now institute a campaign of self-induced cheerfulness, of "whistling in the dark" to keep their spirits up, to hide from the world their moral and material degradation and to stave off, for as long as possible, their inevitable defeat both by their own inner structural weaknesses and by the growing strength of the revitalized Peoples Army of the Spanish Republic.

SAYS BARNACLE BILL

Said the ship owner, haughty and fat,
As he wiped off the top of his hat:

"It's very upsetting

"When sea-gulls are getting
"Class-conscious enough to do that!"

★

The nine Supreme Judges are blushing.
When Washington's plumber came rushing,
He looked at the court

And then made the report:

"Only one thing is wrong; it needs flushing."

MICHAEL QUIN

PLUGGING FOR "BUTTS" BACK HOME

To the American Boys Who Do their Bit to Make Madrid the Tomb of Fascism:

We, the C. P. and Y. C. L. unit of the Altro Shop, send a concrete message of solidarity in the name of the workers of our shop. We hope that our story of how the workers here thankfully contributed cigarettes to ease the strained nerves of our Lincoln Battalion may result in a personal reply.

Through our shop paper, we put in our first plug for "butts". During collections for the paper a young Catholic worker said to a comrade, "let me be the first to give a pack of 'Butts' to the boys of the Lincoln Battalion".



A united front was formed between us and the workers of different political opinions. They joined with us, and the workers were able to get at people who wouldn't or couldn't contribute to us.

It is pleasant to relate some highlights of the campaign in order to show the unity and solidarity on the heartfelt sympathies that all the workers here feel toward Spain and our boys. A young worker claimed that she couldn't afford to contribute—a week later she brought in a pack saying, "My conscience bothers me". The manager and foreman contributed saying "this is something about which we all feel the same". This is an instance of how people here have their minds and hearts in our struggle for you in the front lines, defending world democracy. May you carry on as gloriously as you have in the past and soon say "Pasaremos!"

COMRADELY YOURS,

Altro Shop Unit
1461 Hoe Avenue, C. P.,
5th A. D., Bronx, N. Y.

THE PLOT THAT FAILED

The whole world was surprised last June by a startling bit of news, ingeniously served up for public consumption. According to the dispatches from Berlin a Loyalist Spanish submarine had attempted to sink a German cruiser, the "Leipzig". The news had the unmistakable ring of a cooked-up plot, and the press everywhere, while giving its usual hospitality to the news, added some very skeptical comments. So the plot failed miserably. The "casus belli" so badly wanted petered out completely.

Now a German working on the "Leipzig" at the time of the "torpedoing" has exposed the whole frame-up to the press.

"Three days before leaving for Mediterranean waters (says the seaman) all the submarine detectors were closely inspected, and all those found even slightly below the highest standards changed... Before leaving, the captain, Von Loewisch, made a very strange speech to the crew. He told them: 'Our mission is very difficult. The eyes of all the nations are upon us'. That was all. The day the cruiser left a group of eleven persons came

aboard. They were completely unknown to the rest of the crew, with the exception of the captain. While steaming towards the Mediterranean, one ammunition store-room was completely emptied.

ITALIAN OFFICERS

"The ship was then visited by Italian and Spanish Fascist navy officers who made detailed inspections, especially of the compartment from which ammunition had been removed. Several secret meetings were held with the foreign officers and the group of eleven unknowns. The sound detectors were once more inspected, as well as the armored plate. The crew was convinced that the purpose of the inspections was to find a way of torpedoing the boat without danger of sinking it.

"The result of the inspection must have been negative, because soon after the 'inspections' left for the 'Meteor', which had brought them to the 'Leipzig', all the removed ammunition was returned to its original place.

"All these maneuvers took place on June 10th and 11th. The 'Meteor' escorted the

"Leipzig" until the 21st. During June 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th, days when the attempted torpedoing was supposed to have taken place, nothing unusual happened on board, and no special precautions were taken. Everything was quite normal. The first thing that the crew heard about what was later to become known to them as the attempted sinking, was shortly before the ship entered the port of Wilhelmshaven. The captain told them that the ship had been attacked by a Bolshevik submarine. Officially only twelve people on the ship knew of the attempt, the eleven unknowns and the captain.

"As for the eleven strange guests of the cruiser, six of them were left on shore in Spain and taken to Berlin by plane, where they remained under strict watch. On June 19th, five more followed them and were quartered in Templehof and kept incommunicado.

"The crew is normally given two weeks' leave after such a trip. This time only five of the crew were given leave. They were all, significantly, rabid fascists. Even they, however, were given leave for only two



— When did Franco say he was going to enter Madrid?
— Oh, that was long before your time.

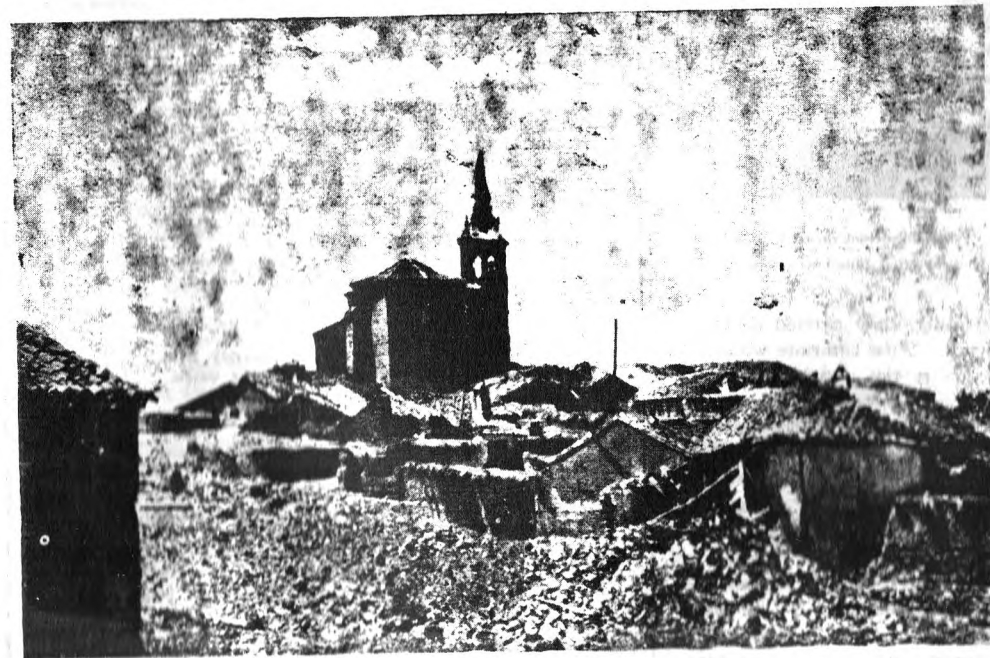
days, and under condition that they would go no further than twenty kilometers from the port. Communication with their families was prohibited both to them and to the remainder of the crew, and all mail was held up."

The above is a condensed copy of the official report. From the account, two things are evident: (1) The "torpedoing" did not take place only because the inspecting officers did not think that it could be carried out with safety, and (2) Germany will not stop at anything in causing a war of open invasion, regardless of the consequences.

More Poumists nabbed as spies

Ten more spies connected with the Trotskyite P. O. U. M. have been arrested and the police have placed them in the custody of the High Spy and Traitors Tribunal of the Spanish Government.

Documents revealing secret written and telegraphic codes have been seized. Papers referring to the underground traffic of arms have also been discovered. Among them are letters of communication with outside elements, exposing connections with Titler's secret police. Evidence now in the hands of the government brings out the leading part these spies played in the May Catalonian uprising. In all, approximately 300 arrests of Poumists have taken place, of which many have been turned over to the Espionage and Treason Court.



QUIJORA.—After the Battle.

THE MOTOR FRONT

The Transport Regiment in Prose, Poetry and Pictures

Four fellows are playing cards. Several are reading the newspapers and newly-arrived letters, others are discussing political or other news. All are in the canteen of the First Transport Regiment. A motor-cycle is heard. A moment later the bell sounds its chimes. "We Roll—Assembly", shout several. The Americans of the second squadron fall in, right dress and stand at attention.

"Rolling Orders. Gas masks, helmets, canteens. All trucks up to the gate immediately", orders Lieutenant Clark. "Dismissed". The fellows vie with each other to be the first in line. There's a dash for equipment, motors roar, and the trucks start for the gate.

squadron for his work. Whether it is wine, foodstuffs, ammunition or troops that they haul, the job is conscientiously and efficiently executed. Two hours after Brunete was taken, the squadron of trucks was transporting captured prisoners and grain behind our lines. They lay outside of Quijorna for three hours waiting for the town to be taken to deliver fortification material and food supplies. ("An army travels on its stomach"). They carried shells to artillery camps. They fed the troops, the cannons, and the rifles and sometimes carried wounded to the hospitals.

Braving aviation bombardment, consistent shelling and



vigilance. The roads are narrow and many chauffeurs are just learning. He never has the satisfaction of striking a personal blow against a fascist, never finds adequate relief for the hatred fascism

has welled up in him. Weaving his way through shells, ducking bombs, solitary, steadily, unflinchingly, and determinedly he delivers his load to the destination. Perhaps sometimes singing his song.

ELEGY (Ten Kilometers After Gray)

The curfew tells the knell of parting day,
A motley bunch of yanks retires to bed
Or else to shoot the crap, as they would say,
Or ponder on their day's misdeeds instead.

Off I have I wandered near some bracken-covered bower
And listened to the tales of do or die,
Then wondered how the fascists hold the power
To stand against the might of you and I.

But suddenly a sullen voice is heard
Echoing through the darkness of the night.
The hooting owl has nothing on this bird
Whose oft-repeated cry is, "Douse that light!"

A village Hampden might have argued here,
Or possibly the plowman would have kicked.
We realize enough these things to bear.
A deathly silence reigns; we know we're licked.

Full many a gem of wit that's smartly said
Is squelched beneath the timbre of that voice.
Full many a flowery adjective profane
Is muffled in the covers of the bed.

A few short hours they sleep the sleep of man,
Slumbering in the attitudes they like.
Then crashing roar of thunder awakens them,
Not fascist bombs — it's just the voice of Mike!
The station of a god does he enjoy,
The heavens tremble when he shouts, "CONVOY!"

ERNIE PARLOUR

First Transport Regiment
Second Squadron.



THE TRANSPORT REGIMENT (above) goes Hollywood in a big way.
Above right. The boys proudly exhibit shrapnel that failed to get them.

"Where to", shout one or two. "Quien sabe", shout several in their newly acquired Spanish. And then the motor caravan begins.

In the recently bygone offensive, the Second Squadron of the First Transport Regiment attached to the Fifth Army Corps of the Spanish Army played its part well. It was the Colonel of the Escorial Intendencia who said that he wanted members of the second

strafing, they carried on their work. One comrade wounded by shrapnel, another struck directly by a bomb and a third missing testify to the risks.

The work is physically and mentally a strain. Sometimes the driver keeps going for thirty-six and forty-eight hours, with short catnaps in his seat. He is responsible for his truck and for its load. Driving in Spain demands the utmost caution and consistent

CHINA - ANOTHER SPAIN

"Last year our country concluded an agreement with Germany against the Comintern. Our Government is undertaking action to give effect to this agreement." Hirota.

"China is a peaceful country and we have constantly tried to settle our differences with Japan through diplomatic channels. We are a weak nation, but if we are brought to bay we will defend our right to a national existence to the last gasp." Chiang Kai Shek.

The Japanese began their latest adventure in China in a spirit of optimism. "We will clean up Northern China... The campaign will last a month if conditions are favorable, two months if the Chinese resist", is how a spokesman of the Japanese Army gave his view of the situation. There is reason to believe that this optimism has now become a little tarnished. The Japanese have found that they are no longer attacking the China of the Manchuria and Jehol days—a country which was torn by civil war and unable to make a united resistance against the invader. The insistent demand of the Chinese people and the wise policy of the Chinese Soviet Government have brought into being a new China, far more united, far more able and determined to defend itself against the Fascist imperialists. For the first time the Chinese will be able to fight as a nation under a national leadership which has clearly and unambiguously given the order to resist. It is true that the Nanking Government has as yet concluded no formal agreement with the Chinese Soviets nor the Kuomintang with the Communist Party. It is also true that there are still men, holding important positions in China, who will be prepared to commit any treason to further their personal ends. But there are indications that this time the mass of the Chinese people is more aware than ever before of what is at stake, and will be able to sweep from its path

BUT THIS TIME JAPAN FACES UNIFIED CHINESE RESISTANCE

traitors and those who work against national unity in the face of the enemy.

PREPARATIONS RAPID

The Nanking Government has demanded the speeding up of preparations for defence and for putting the army on a war footing. It has decreed conscription and mobilisation on a wide scale.

The soldiers of the 29th Army declared that they would not accept foreign orders to withdraw from the Hopei region, and they disobeyed the orders of their own leaders to retire. When the Civil Guards at Tung Cheou learned that their leader had betrayed them, they mutinied and killed the Japanese.

At Swatow the authorities have ordered every family to prepare a reserve supply of food and water, and to collect five bags of sand for the defence. Employees in Japanese concerns have come out on strike. The movement for boycotting Japanese goods is spreading. At Canton and other places the workers have taken the decision not to load Japanese ships.

Unity in China is being realised in the northward march

of the columns of the National Chinese Army which is to be joined by strong contingents from the Chinese Red Army, which has held its own during ten years fighting against heavy odds. And in addition, the Chinese have the certainty that they will be supported by thousands of partisan fighters in the Japanese rear.

OTHER ASPECTS

But if these things are new, there are other aspects of the conflict with which we are already all too familiar.

Between the aims and methods of Fascists in the East and in the West there is a close similarity. On July 25th the Japanese ambassador at Paris declared smilingly: "Japan is not so stupid as to want to make war on China". The aggressor countries no longer formally declare war. They begin with a mixture of provocations, negotiations and hostilities, or they intervene to support a rising they have fomented.

The Japanese have shown that the Germans and Italians have not the monopoly in the art of bombing and machine-gunning civilian populations, and they have already staged their own version of Badajoz.



VILLANUEVA DE LA CANADA

EXCUSES FOR AGGRESSION

The aims which Japanese Fascism is hoping to carry out in China bear a close resemblance to those of the German and Italian fascists in Spain. Fascist propagandists, and also honest people who have been misled, paint a tragic picture of a vast population packed into some small islands and desperately needing space to live. But Japan has already detached great areas from China and these areas have not been colonised by Japanese workers and peasants but by textile manufacturers, munition makers, bankers and soldiers—individuals whose business it is to enslave the Chinese.

The immediate purpose of Japan is to submit Northern China, with its population of 80,000,000 inhabitants, to the same fate as Manchuria—not to settle Japanese colonists, but to secure raw materials, a market for Japanese goods and cheap labor, and as a step towards the complete conquest of China. Moreover the Japanese want to make their rear safe for an eventual war with the Soviet Union, for it would be madness for Japan to attack the Soviet Union until a very considerable part of China is completely under her control.

DOUBLE PURPOSE

The war has a double purpose. On the one hand it is intended to help Japan's ally, Germany, to wring more concessions from the British Government with regard to Spain, and on the other hand it is required by Japan as a trump card in the unsavoury game which she is playing with Britain for the division of China into spheres of influence. Japan, encouraged by the weakness which the Western powers have shown with regard to Spain, has drawn the conclusion that the surest way to come to terms with the British Government is to confront it with an accomplished fact; and Eden's

CHINA - ANOTHER SPAIN

statement on July 19th gives the impression that Britain is not prepared to put any serious opposition in the way of the Japanese plans, in spite of the uneasiness of the U. S. A. For although Britain has valuable interests in China which would be seriously endangered by a Japanese success, she also has valuable interests in India which would also be threatened if the Chinese gave a victorious example of how to deal with imperialism.

Like her European allies, Japan is attempting to cover her aggression with an Anti-Bolshevik veil as well as by the "civilising" mission for which all Fascists feel such a strong vocation. Prince Konyō describes the aim of Japanese foreign policy as being "the stabilisation of Eastern Asia, which can only be assured by co-operation between Japan, Manchuria and China to stop Communist penetration via Outer Mongolia". Such co-operation would suit Japan's purpose admirably. It would provide her with unlimited scope for intervention and would make the unification and centralisation of the movement for the national liberation of China quite impossible.

BREEDING MORE AGGRESSION

Nor would Japan be satisfied with Northern China. The conquest of the North would be followed by an advance towards the Centre, and after Peiping would come Nanking. Swatow and Shanghai would be attacked, and then an attack would possibly follow on the Mongolian People's Republic, with all the consequences that this would involve.

Japan is heavily committed to this venture. In four weeks it has cost her 517 million yen. The price of foodstuffs is rising, and a very difficult financial situation confronts the military Fascist clique who badly need a rapid victory which might start a new wave of jingoism and save them from a rising of the people.

CHINA RESISTS

China was never so prepared as now to resist the invaders.

The people know the danger and are ready to fight against it as a nation. Chiang Kai Shek has declared that the Nanking Government realises what is at stake and will fight if needs be to the finish:

"If we ask for peace once hos-

ilities have been begun, conditions would be imposed on us which would be equivalent to the enslavement and destruction of China.

"We must realise that if we hesitate and allow ourselves to be deceived by the hope of temporary security we are lost."

A. M. E.

PROPAGANDA BEHIND ENEMY LINES
A Task for Our Political Commissars

The results of our propaganda amongst the enemy troops are constantly increasing, which is evidence that the living conditions in enemy territory are continually getting worse, and that our military successes are having the effect of pushing both the civilian population and the soldiers to rebellion against the fascist oppression.

The mutinies of Granada, Motril, Aguilar del Campo (Santander) are but a confirmation of our assertions. The increasing desertions to our lines are still another evidence. All of these events do not occur spontaneously. They are the result of our work, of all our work, behind the enemy lines.

We have the report of Comrade Vittori, of our 15th International Brigade. Here is what he writes, under the title:

"WORK IN THE ENEMY LINES"

"We speak every night to the enemy, using a microphone and a loud speaker. This work is carried on in a strictly-organized manner, and no one is permitted to speak without the control of the Battalion Commissar. The subjects for these speeches are the following:

"1. Reading of the War Bulletin.

"2. Why we fight.

"3. What happens within our lines, compared to what happens within theirs.

"4. Why Hitler and Mussolini send troops to Spain.

"5. That we shall inevitably

bly win against the enemy army.

"6. Crimes committed by the invading troops which came to help Franco.

"7. How we treat our prisoners.

"8. Advice on how to weaken the fascist army.

"These and a number of other, similar subjects have been part of the work which has been followed systematically by the men of our Brigade for many weeks. Here are the results.

"On July 15th a soldier from the rebel camp came over to us. On the 23rd two more came over to us with rifles and grenades. During the night of August 1st 23 soldiers, among whom were a corporal and a non-commissioned officer, came over to us carrying eleven rifles, a sub-machinegun and cartridges."

PROPAGANDA EFFECTIVE

As you see, the results are important.

According to statements made by the deserters, our propaganda has made a powerful impression upon the enemy troops; it has in many cases demoralized them; it has awakened their anti-fascist sentiments, and thus deprived Franco of some of his troops.

The deserters affirm that the enemy is considerably demoralized and that, were it not for the extreme difficulties involved, there would be desertions daily.

Such results as these prove

In a message to the Spanish people, the President of the Chinese Soviet Government declared:

"We know that your victory will help us in our struggle against Fascism. Your cause is ours."

We send back that message to the Chinese people.

A. M. E.

that we must increase the intensity of our work.

One of the 23 deserters said to our comrades: "If we could have communicated with each other, not only could we have organized the escape, but we could have caused the desertion of whole companies."

Here is a problem us to solve: how to organize our work behind the enemy lines, not only for the purpose of causing desertions but also for the organization of attacks against the enemy positions.

DIFFICULT AND DELICATE

It is evident that, had we been able to communicate with the courageous soldiers who deserted to our lines, we could have organized a real surprise which might have brought us great results.

I know that the problem is a difficult one, and also a very delicate one, but it is one which must be faced by our Comrades and by our Commissars.

The morale of the enemy is so low that we must take advantage of it by an audacious plan and not merely through simple propaganda.

Loudspeakers to every front! On all fronts we must carry on systematic work in the enemy lines.

On all fronts must we study carefully the possibilities of disintegrating the enemy forces and of attracting them to our side.

Here, I repeat, is one of the most important tasks for our Commissars and our soldiers.

LUIGI GALLO

LETTERS
from
HOME

With this issue we are creating a new department, a department whose continued life depends on our readers. Whenever possible we shall publish letters from home — from friends, parents, wives, brothers — to American, English and Canadian volunteers in Spain. Needless to say, no names will be used. We urge all our readers to help build this department by sending their letters or copies of letters to the Editor.

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"Dear L...:

I received your last letter last week, but since then I have read how you were wounded; and believe me that I am very proud of you and hope that you weren't seriously hurt. We all know that your efforts to fight for liberty and against fascism will not be in vain.

We over here, my son, are trying in our own way to assist in the fight for liberty-loving Spain, although our efforts are feeble compared with your risking your life in this fight for the oppressed.

Don't worry about us here. We are getting along fine. We are all in good health and I'm being helped financially by your brothers and sister. It is you that we are all concerned about. If there is anything you require that is in our power to give please let us know and we

will do our utmost to see that you get it... I hope this letter finds you in good spirit and sufficiently recovered so that you may answer immediately. With love from all, and especially from.

Your proud Father, J...
Brooklyn, N. Y. July 11, 1937."

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"Dear Blacky and Comrades:

Was mighty glad to hear that you arrived at your destination and are now in har-



ness. As for the section here, we have been moving fast. We won a great victory in the

NATIONAL MARITIME UNION GREETSS
SEAMEN IN SPAIN

The following cablegram has just been received here:

"N. M. U. CONVENTION GREETSS OUR BROTHERS FIGHTING FOR DEMOCRACY STOP YOU HAVE OUR COMPLETE SUPPORT. — JOE CURRAN CHAIRMAN, THOMAS RAY, SECRETARY."

ONE MUST BE BLIND

One must be blind,
must have, as though placed in his eyes, splinters of [glass,

quiklime,
burning sand,
not to see the light emanating from our deeds,
illuminating our tongues from within,
our every word.

One must wish to die without a testament of glory [and happiness,
without participation in future hymns,
ignored by the judges of the sombre past.

One must wish, while still alive, to be of the past,
a bloody hindrance,
a dead thing,
a dry oblivion.

RAFAEL ALBERTI



HENRI THE V8

expected. Maritime Federation is also now balloting on same. Return from Sailors Union on C. I. O. went ten to one for C. I. O. Puget Sound council officers are trying to sabotage vote on C. I. O. by not sending out ballots to membership, but the rank and file is demanding ballots and will not be sabotaged..

The Blagin Mill had a two-day strike over wage raises, which was won hands down. R. N. sure took it hard about his defeat; the reactionaries came out with a big red-baiting scare just before the election, but it only helped win for us.

We had an Aid for Spain drive two weeks ago and raised 125 dollars and also a large truckload of clothes. Soon we will start another drive and make a big cleanup to send cigarettes, send cigarettes, send cigarettes and more cigarettes, and a hell of a lot of other things to you boys. You can expect a lot of the other boys here to join you soon.

With revolutionary greetings, W...

Aberdeen, Wash. June 27, 1937."

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Remember: if you have any letters you think would be of general interest, send them along to The Volunteer, S. R. I. Plaza del Altozano, 63, E. Albacete.

ON THE NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY

THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF MEETINGS TO BE HELD IN MADRID

Serious threats to internal peace, plotted by elements having a childish conception of war and of social revolution, and by tools of fascism attempting to agitate the masses with the slogans and deceptions indicated by Trotzky, have impelled the Communist Party of Spain to initiate a series of mass meetings.

The purpose of these mass meetings is not only to present the program of the Communist Party, but largely to popularize the aims of the Popular Front Government.

In this work of propaganda the Socialist Party is concurring enthusiastically, giving evidence that the unification of the two main proletarian parties of Spain is being accomplished and that the joint work is proceeding with increasing intensity even before the actual formality of unification has been carried out.

The meeting held at the Cine Salamanca on Sunday, August 8, was one of many held at the same time in many parts of Spain, and also the first of a series. That there was a need for such a meeting was best shown by the kind of speeches made.

We have been told repeatedly that Catalonia wanted autonomy, and also that it wanted a complete separation from the rest of Spain. Such a theory was very convenient to those who wanted to do as they pleased and needed a theory to defend their misdeeds. And their misdeeds were as many as they were varied. Last May these very same elements thought they had sufficient strength to victoriously challenge the government. But that was only a spectacular evidence of the seriousness of the danger they represented. Because these disorders had been confined chiefly to Catalonia, and because the idea of national autonomy had been misinterpreted, both there and in the rest of Spain, especially

by the enemies of the Popular Front Government, a pessimistic belief grew everywhere that Catalonia was not only a national problem but also practically a lost province. It was for the purpose of dispelling this belief and to inform Madrid of what the workers of Catalonia were doing that Rafael Vidiella, member of the Catalan Government and leading member of the Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia, was among the speakers at the meeting.

War industries

We all know that one of the chief weaknesses of Loyalist Spain in the waging of its war of Independence is the lack of a real war industry. Catalonia was hoped to be the region where such an industry could be created. But in the way of the formation of such an industry there were obstacles of a technical nature as well of a psychological nature, Vidiella said.

The Spanish aristocracy never allowed Catalanian industry to develop in the direction of a potential war industry. The bourgeoisie knew full well that the industrial proletariat of Catalonia was a constant threat to its hegemony. The metal industry especially was kept within the limits of small production. The most developed industrial region of Spain, containing also no small amount of mineral wealth, remained an anemic industrial region, that is an industry which had importance only in relation to the much less developed industry of the rest of Spain. Such a condition could not be remedied in four days. Not only was it necessary to reorganize the industry, but it was necessary to reorganize the political structure of the whole region.

While the industry was found out to be unequal to the task, and in need of important

changes, the psychology of the working class had also to undergo a serious change. Catalonia was the region where the "organization of indiscipline" was a much cherished slogan. And by organization of indiscipline was meant that everyone could do as he damn pleased, that every factory council could ignore every thing else outside of itself, and that every town council, where any existed, could find its orders flouted by anyone, with full impunity, because of a state of mind altogether too prevalent. Such a situation was ideal under the old regime for the purpose of paralyzing the conduct of the existing social structure. Even then such conduct could not have positive results. But in war time, under social revolutionary conditions, it became clear that the continuation of such a policy was of the greatest help only to the fascists in the trenches and beyond. The necessary educational work has been undertaken and Catalonia is improving in a very promising manner. Production, which had fallen off scandalously, is decidedly on the increase. Many war necessities are now being produced quite efficiently and a feeling of general optimism is growing about the share that Catalonia will contribute to the winning of the war.

This is taking place parallel with the growth of the Unified Socialist Party formed by the merger of four separate parties which had, at the time of unification, a combined membership of about 7,000 members; and which during war time, and in spite of serious opposition of dangerous but very influential elements, has grown to a membership of well over 60,000.

The problem presented by Comrade Vicente Uribe, Minister for Agriculture, was another one, but closely related with the statements made by Vidiella.

Unification in Spain today is not merely a political problem concerning the parties involved. It is an extremely urgent problem on which the whole course of the war depends. It is clear that those who like to organize indiscipline are not fit to carry on the war and that victory cannot come through them.

They have lorded it in many villages and in all too great a number of industries. But the Spanish proletariat is in this fight to win, and it will not allow anything to remain in the way of the fight for victory. As Uribe well said, their attempts to raise their head at this moment is a sure indication of their admission that it is a matter of "now or never".

Here is a quotation from Uribe's speech:

"When the question arises of the nationalisation of industry, when it becomes important to mobilize this or that shop for war industry purposes, these new rich come out with their fancy notions that they are the enemies of the Government and of the State, while at the same time they build little governments of their own and do as it damn pleases them. And these new rich, whose wealth will not last long, when their dividends are not quite sufficient, know how to go to the very same Government whose enemies they say they are, and do not mind asking for more money.

"These elements, who are so opposed to Government control of the economic means of the nation, are part of the chorus of owls hooting in the night without the least concern for the aims and needs of the people. First they hold the money which is not theirs, and then they are forever yelping at the government for more and ever more money.

"They are mistaken."

H. A.