



# The VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY

*Organ of the international brigades*

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## THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY AT HOME

Leo Gallagher, the author of the accompanying article, needs no introduction to the American volunteers. Since the organization of the international Labor Defense in 1925 he has defended, in California, thousands of workers falsely arrested for attempting to exercise the democratic rights they supposedly possessed under the Bill of Rights. He has been attorney for Tom Meoney; and he was sent to Germany in 1933 to defend Dimitroff, framed on the preposterous charge of having burned the Reichstag building in Berlin. Recently Leo Gallagher was the attorney for the defendants in the famous Sacramento Criminal Syndicalism trial. Two years ago, running for the Supreme Court in California, he polled 248,000 votes — the largest ever recorded by a progressive or labor candidate. — Editor's Note.

No one can well deny that there has been in the last two years a great advance in the organization of the progressive forces of the United States. Following the United Scoww Following the General Strike in San Francisco in 1934, the maritime workers of the West Coast consolidated their forces and achieved unity by the organization of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific.

The longshoremen, sailors and other maritime workers of the East and Gulf coasts, as well as on the Great Lakes, soon recognized the correct tactics used on the Pacific, and proceeded to repudiate their

old leadership. As a consequence, it will not be long before we shall find in the United States a powerful, unified National Maritime Federation.

### — AND THE C. I. O.

The successes of the maritime workers have been duplicated in other fields. John

L. Lewis and his associates, conscious of the impotence of "craft" union organization in steel, rubber, auto and other basic industries, set out to organize hundreds of thousands of unorganized workers in these and other fields. Their success has been immediate and overwhelming. Millions of workers are now organized

into the C. I. O. and additional thousands are being added every week.

On the other hand, the reactionary forces controlling the economic life of the country are not blind to the threat which powerful union organization will mean to their dictatorial powers and privileges. They have converted their factories into armed fortresses, manned by gangsters, labor spies and provocateurs, who mislead or by threats force thousands of misguided workers to act as scabs. In this they are helped by the organization and use of company unions.

The struggle between the progressive forces of labor and the reactionary forces of privilege is becoming more bitter from day to day. The reactionaries, in this situation, instinctively turn to their old ally — or rather their historic servant, the State — for aid. But here too conditions are changing.

### POLITICAL TREND IN U. S.

The rank and file of the American people have become aroused by the destruction of democratic rights in Germany and Italy. Just as France and Spain organized great united fronts in defense of democracy, so in America the progressive forces have begun to elect candidates on the basis of previous, proven records rather than upon the former candidates chosen by the reactionaries. As a result, the political apparatus in the United

## FRANCO'S MAN-POWER

Probably everyone has wanted time and again to know just how many troops Franco has at his disposal and what he can count on for reserves. Izvestia's military expert Golubev has provided us with a fine analysis of the human resources of the rebels. Not content to show that Franco can put no more than 240,000 to 270,000 men in the fields as an Army of combat, with 70,000 to 100,000 of these on the Madrid fronts (not counting Guadalajara), Golubev traces the men to their sources.

At the beginning of the war there were 100,000 to 120,000 soldiers carried over to the rebellion; adding Civil Guards and other militarized bodies, we get from 130,000 to 140,000; with the requetés and Phalangists the Army of Rebellion would total 200,000. In December 1936 five years' conscripts were called up, so that at the beginning of 1937 the total manpower for the year came to 370,000 or 390,000, consisting of 200,000 recruits and

miscellaneous forces for secondary fronts and local garrisons, etc., 110,000 to 120,000 soldiers, 60,000 to 70,000 requetés and Fascists of the Pha-



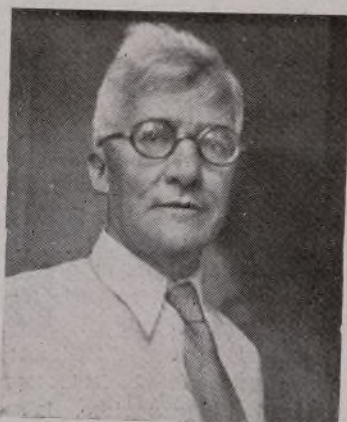
lanx. Italians, Germans and Moors arrived steadily during 1937. The intervention troops totalled some 120,000 to 130,000 and by July not less than

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States, while far from ideal, is at least more favorable to labor than in the past. A number of public officials are fearlessly exposing the past hypocrisies of the political and labor fakirs alike.

Under this influence, a sufficient number of cowardly and even reactionary public officials have been forced to legislate and interpret laws in favor of labor. During the Roosevelt administration a number of measures have been enacted which are really epochal in the labor field — no-



Leo Gallagher.

tably the National Labor Relations Act, commonly known as the Wagner Labor Law. This law guarantees to the workers the right to organize into unions of their own choice. It therefore in effect outlaws the company union — the main obstacle to genuine union organization. After the passage of this act, the great American corporations, with their usual cynical disregard of law, continued to violate workers rights as they had done in the past. They felt that they might safely count upon the United States Supreme Court — the last citadel of reaction — to declare the Wagner Act unconstitutional.

#### TORIES DEFEATED

But here again the reactionaries failed to take into account the changed political set-up. The famous drive to reform the Supreme Court was initiated. As a result of this

campaign, which was organized around the issue of curtailing the powers of the Court, that body came into such disrepute and was so discredited that it did not dare to declare the Wagner Act unconstitutional. The right of workers to bargain collectively through agencies of their own choice was judicially recognized. Meanwhile the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee was exposing the lawlessness of the great American corporations on the industrial field.

That the struggle for Labor's rights has not been an easy one, and that reaction is organizing to destroy all vestiges of democratic rights in America may be seen from the fact that the struggle to reform the United States Supreme Court was defeated, despite the fact that the majority of the American people were behind the effort.

All these events in America are directly linked up with the fascist invasion of Spain, and with the Washington-Lincoln Battalion — the American advance guard in the struggle for the defense of democratic rights in the United States.

Both the progressive and the reactionary forces in America are closely following events in Spain. The reactionaries fully realize that a fascist victory in Spain would result in a general strengthening of fascism throughout the world, and therefore also in the United States. With such a swing to the right, they would redouble their espionage and terrorism, and break the labor union movement throughout the country.

#### AMERICA WATCHES US

The progressive forces, on the other hand, know that the victory of democracy in Spain will immediately strengthen the united front, democratic forces throughout the world, and specifically in the United States. It is for this reason, and to give a concrete proof of solidarity with Republican

Spain, that the Maritime Federation of the Pacific called a general strike of its 40,000 members a few weeks ago.

The role of the members of the Washington-Lincoln Battalion can best be understood when one realizes that the fight in Spain is likely to shape the future of society throughout the world for years to come.

For this reason, we in America scan each day's paper for news about the Washington-Lincoln Battalion. We have read with pride the record of your struggles — volunteers who on foreign fields are defending American democracy.

To the Washington-Lincoln Battalion. Salud!

LEO GALLAGHER

#### BROOKLYN SHIP YARD SEES MASS PICKETING

Blunt refusal of the management of Robin Dry Dock Co. to negotiate a settlement with 15,000 workers on strike for over seven weeks, brought out a mass picket of more than 3,500 workers before the yards.

A similar demonstration took place before the Sisco Plant of the United Ship Yards Corp. at Mariner's Harbor, Staten Island.

Several truckloads of strikers from the Hoboken Tjenjen & Lang Yards participated in the Staten Island mass picketing. A very large percentage of Irish-Americans participated in the picketing together with their wives.

#### FRANCO'S MAN-POWER

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20,000 to 25,000 more Moors had been recruited. Thus Franco began the second year of war with from 390,000 to 440,000 men, when we have deducted his years' losses of 150,000 men. Troops needed in Morocco, secondary forces, auxiliary groups, local detachments absorb from 150,000 to 175,000 men, leaving a maximum figure of 240,000 to 270,000 for his Army of Combat.

When the Government offensive began at Brunete, the Fascists maintained some 70,000

men on the entire Madrid front with the exception of the Guadalajara side. It was reported that they had decided to increase their forces around Madrid to 100,000, utilizing Italians, in view of the increased mobility of the People's Army.

Franco himself summarizes his manpower problem in his proposals for a new rebel offensive: Mussolini and Hitler must give him 125,000 men or he cannot move, he reports.

Which amply reveals his condition.



«REST IN PEACE» Mussolini gets his bird.



# TOO MUCH OF RACE

The following address was made by Langston Hughes, outstanding American poet and novelist, at the Second International Writers Congress in Paris, a month ago.

Members of the Second International Writers Congress and people of Paris: I come from a land called America, a democratic land, a rich land—and yet a land whose democracy from the very beginning has been tainted with race prejudice born of slavery, and whose richness has been poured through the narrow channels of greed into the hands of the few. I come to the Second International Writers Congress representing my country, America, but most especially representing the Negro peoples of America, and the poor peoples of America—because I am both a Negro and poor. And that combination of color and of poverty gives me the right then to speak for the most oppressed group in America—that group that has known so little of democracy—the fifteen million Negroes who dwell within our borders.

We are the people who have long known in actual practice the meaning of the word fascism—for the American attitude toward us has always been one of economic and social discrimination: In many States of our country Negroes are not permitted to vote or

to be unable to work in editorial offices, or write for the motion pictures. We know Jim-Crow cars, race-riots, lynchings, the sorrows of the Scottsboro boys. In America, Negroes do not have to be told what fascism is in action. We know. Its theories of Nordic supre-



macy and economic suppression have long been realities to us.

## FASCISM ON WORLD SCALE

And now we view Fascism on a world scale: Hitler in Germany with the abolition of labor unions, his tyranny over the Jews, and the sterilization of the Negro children of Cologne; Mussolini in Italy with his banning of Negroes on the theatrical stages, and his expeditions of slaughter in Ethiopia; the Military Party in Japan with their little maps of how they'll conquer the whole world, and their savage treatment of the Koreans and Chinese; Batista and Vincent, the little American-made tyrants of Cuba and Haiti; and now Spain, and Franco with his absurd cry of "Viva España" in the hands of Italians, Moors, and Germans invited to help him achieve "Spanish unity". Absurd, but true!

We Negroes of America are tired of a world divided superficially on the basis of race and color—but in reality on the basis of poverty and power—the rich over the poor, no matter what their color. We Negroes of America are tired of a world in which it is possible for any one group of people to say to another, "You have no right to happiness, or freedom, or the joy of life". We are tired of a world where forever we work for someone else and the profits are not ours. We are tired of a world where, when we raise our voices against oppression, we are immediately jailed, intimidated, beaten, sometimes lynched.

Nicolas Guillen has been in prison in Cuba, Jacques Roumain in Haiti, Angelo Herndon in the United States. The great Indian writer, Raj Anand, cannot come to the Writers Congress in Paris because the British police have taken his passport from him.

## "MURDER IS NOTHING"

I say, we darker peoples of the earth are tired of a world in which things like that can happen. And we see in the tragedy of Spain how far the world-oppressors will go to retain their power. To them, now, the murder of women and children is nothing. Those who have already practiced bombing the little villages of Ethiopia, now bomb Guernica



and Madrid. The same Fascists who forced Italian peasants to fight in Africa now force African Moors to fight in Europe. They do not care about color when they can use you for profits or for war. Japan attempts to force the Chinese of Manchuria to work and fight under Japanese supervision for the glory and wealth of the Tokio bourgeoisie—one colored

people dominating another at the point of guns. Race means nothing when it can be turned to Fascist use. And yet race means everything when fascists of the world use it as a bugaboo and a terror to keep the working masses from getting together.

Just as in America, they tell the whites that Negroes are dangerous brutes and rapists, so in Germany they lie about the Jews, and in Italy they cast their verbal spit upon the Ethiopians. And the old myths of race are kept alive to hurt and impede the rising power of the working class. But in America, where race prejudice is so strong, already we have learned that the lies of race mean continued oppression and poverty and fear—and now Negroes and white sharecroppers in the cotton fields of the South are beginning to get together; and Negro and white workers in the great industrial cities of the North under John L. Lewis and the C. I. O. have begun to create a great labor force that refuses to recognize the color line. Negro and white stevedores on the docks of the West Coast of America have formed one of the most powerful labor unions in America. Formerly, the unorganized Negro dockworkers—unorganized because the white workers themselves with

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to hold political office. In some sections freedom of movement is greatly hindered, especially if we happen to be sharecroppers on the cotton plantations of the South. All over America we know what it is to be refused admittance to schools and colleges, to theatres and concert halls, to hotels and restaurants. We Negro writers know what it is

## REMEMBER THIS?



On the old Jarama front.



# To the English-Speaking Comrades of the International Brigades

In saying farewell to you (for a time only) there is little I can say which I have not said many times before. But one thing I must add, my heartfelt thanks for the help given me and for the comradeship I received. Boys, my work was made easy, that's the solid truth. My job was a simple one, of course, to try to break down that isolation from Spanish events which many comrades have felt so keenly. All of you, or the great majority of you, had active political lives in the States and in England. You were part of the active, creative movement in your countries, and so came to Spain. Though you are taking the most vital of all roles, you still feel cut off from the significant background of Spanish life. Mine was not a difficult job, because Spain has been my country long enough for me to love garlic and to revel in olive oil (hence this troublesome waistline, I suppose). In fact the only thing I can't stand about the States is its food; not enough oil, spice, rice or mule meat and beans.

But what gave me a kick was the way the comrades took the dope. Real attention, and damn good questions, and more than that, the boys wanted no easy solutions, no sloppy generalizations, but were eager to understand the real and enormous complications of the Spanish Popular Revolution. I like talking about Spain anyway, and for want of an audience sometimes practise on myself. I expect you guessed that.

Whether I succeeded in giving all the information that was wanted I do not know. But I think many were satisfied, for sometimes I got the sincerest form of thanks, a good swinging backhanded compliment, right in the jaw. One comrade earned my affection (and I mean it) by saying, "Comrade Bates, after listening to that, I'm damned if I can see how an intelligent guy like you could write such a long-winded, silly, stupid book as you did!" In the first place that shows he was on good terms with me, that guy, and that's what I always wanted; and in the second, well

honest opinions are good for swelled heads (the common fault of writers). But really, I could see, he was saying, "Thank you, comrade; that was the works!"

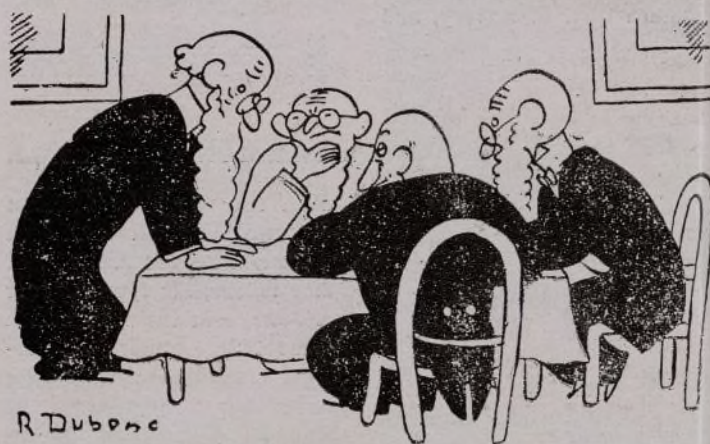
with the Mac-Paps, particularly the one when the cooks wouldn't give me any coffee, and the Ukrainians sang like red angels.

## SUMMING UP

If I had to sum up in one paragraph what I have always tried to say, it would be this: Boys, never forget you are in

## EVENINGS OF COMRADESHIP

There are many events I shall always remember, the



«Non-interventionist: Suppose we knock off for the summer, boys.»

## TOO MUCH OF RACE

(Continued from page 3.)

their backward ideology didn't want Negroes in their unions—formerly these Negro workers could break a strike. And they did. But now, together, both Negroes and whites are strong. We are learning.

### THEY FEAR US

Why is it that the British police seize Raj Anand's passport? Why is it that the State Department in Washington delays unduly in granting me permission to go to Spain as a representative of the Negro press? Why is it that the young Negro leader, Angelo Herndon, was finding it most difficult to secure a passport this spring in New York? Why? We know why!

It is because the reactionary and Fascist forces of the world know that writers like Anand

and myself, leaders like Herndon, and poets like Guillen and Roumain represent the great longing that is in the hearts of the darker peoples of the world to reach out their hands in friendship and brotherhood to all the races of the earth. The Fascist know that we long to be rid of hatred and terror and oppression, to be rid of conquering and of being conquered, to be rid of all the ugliness of poverty and imperialism that eats away the heart of civilization today. We represent the end of race. And the Fascists know that when there is no more race, there will be no more capitalism, and no more war, and no more money for the munitions makers—because the workers of the world will have triumphed.

LANGSTON HUGHES

moonlit night on the Jarama front when the fascists suddenly put an end to questions with a piece of rudeness characteristic of fascists; or perhaps it was the olive trees, for by the time I got back from the Battalion armory with a rifle, it was all over. Or again, I shall always remember the lecture place in the English Battalion, with its machine gun post just above. By the way, after the poor efforts of the American boys, it was pleasant to hear a little good English blasphemy. And a certain night at the Auto Park, beneath the trees, and the canteen afterwards, and Bunny cheering us up with sad songs. (Though the limit in songs was reached by the Lincoln boys, who could shame any journalist or commercial traveller.) Grand evenings, full of human health, and—why not say it—a comradeship such as I have rarely experienced, and by Christ, comradeship is one

of the biggest compensations for the hard work our movement gives us. And I shall remember, too, my meetings

a country that is still struggling out of feudal conditions, and that not every Spaniard sees which way to get out of feudalism. Never expect a degree of organization and smooth working you would expect of an English or American proletariat, therefore. If you remember this, you will be as amazed as I am at the distance we have covered and take fresh confidence and courage. Any comrade who can't see this has just forgotten his theoretical dope, that's the truth.

And finally, I'm going to the States, and there I'll try to do the same I set out to do here. I promise to send over news about each city I visit and about each section of the movement I come in contact with. And, of course, to pep up the cigarets and chocolate wallahs. I guess you guys can permit one boast as a parting shot. I never gave a single pep-talk. Any man who denies this can choose his weapons; mine's a hatchet.

Salud.

RALPH BATES

Ayuntamiento de Madrid



# ANARCHISM IN LEGALITY

The Iberian Anarchist Federation has long been the strongest section of the International Workingmen's Association. In fact, nowhere but Spain has the Anarchist movement had first-rate importance. In the course of a year of popular defense against Fascism, the F. A. I. has made many adjustments to legal conditions and to the popular revolution. Nevertheless, its fundamental structure remained that of an illegal organization, or as the Anarchists put it, a movement that lived "above rather than beyond the law". "Affinity groups" were the basic cell. In other words, small conspiratorial groups, conforming to the Anarchist faith in a few determined men rather than the great masses less capable of quick action. The fundamental approach of the Anarchists, a year after the military-clerical-Fascist rising was still that of a hunted, persecuted, opposition movement. Yet the anarcho-sindicalists had early elected to participate in Government, and the libertarians often claimed a majority of the armed workers of Spain. At length the F. A. I., which has always provided the political direction for the C. N. T., decided to change its articles of faith and organic structure.

## CHANGES IN STRUCTURE

"The groups that served as basic cells of the F. A. I.", explains a sort of long preamble to the new Constitution,

"are not sufficiently flexible at the present moment, although they performed an important historic mission and were well-suited to epochs of underground work". Therefore the Constitution provides for village groups or branches, district branches in cities, federations of branches and, for strictly political work, provincial federations



following prevailing provincial bounds. The higher organs are the Regional Federations and the Iberian Anarchist Federation binding them together.

Behind this unexciting structural reform lies a complete revision of the Anarchist articles of faith. In the first place, the F. A. I. frankly acknowledges the need of building a mass party and of providing direction for the Revolution. "If we aspire to have the masses accompany us and endorse the transformation we propose, etc..." It is quite evident that the lessons of a year of popular Revolution have overcome the objections of the Anarchists to a great many

political principles. For instance, they long combatted the building of a mass party in campaigns opposing proselytism, and they criticized the Communist Party's "directorial political line" as tending toward hegemony and dictatorship. Now they frankly state: "The Revolution must be oriented and directed... The F. A. I., to be concrete, has its hands on the powerful levers of a Revolution." But there is an even greater break with the past in this little discussed document. The Constitution calls unmistakably for stern discipline and a single party line!

## SIGNIFICANT DECISION

Those who recall the Anarchist posters calling for the organization of indiscipline, will have some hint of the internal revolution this decision symbolizes. Individual Anarchists had to break with their friends, in the past, if they agreed with the Communists on this point. The late Durruti, in exile in Paris, told his friend Romero: "I shall be 'for' discipline if the Revolution comes in Spain". Romero himself says he then disagreed but in the course of the war realized that Durruti was right. Now the F. A. I. has come the whole theoretic way on this point:

"The F. A. I. must give its movement a new structure accepting the practices that are necessary to achieve victory and that are demanded by the special conditions in which the war and revolution place us. Subordinated individually and collectively to our supreme aim. We must be coherent, disciplined and daring in action, and in order. That that action may take form and crystalize in results achieved, the F.A.I. must have a uniform political line that embraces all aspects of social and political life, so that it may anticipate 'how' it will act at any moment and in any circumstances."

## OPEN POLITICAL PARTY

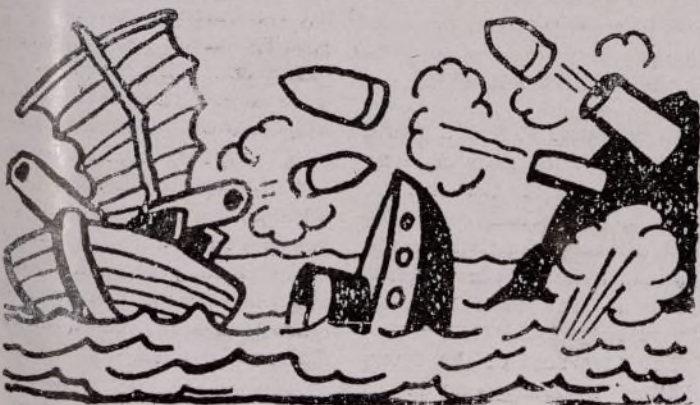
What has happened? In effect the F. A. I. has constituted itself into an open political party, aspiring to guide the masses, "open a single channel and direct events in a single direction", namely, the direction of Libertarian Communism. It has made this decision because the popular Revolution changed everything. There is even the suggestion that the F. A. I. realizes it has been slow to adjust:

"In the economic order, the F. A. I. recognizes that Spain is living through a period of profound transformation. Feudal property in land surviving since time immemorial tends rapidly to give way to collective



BLUEBEARD: "E demand recognition as a belligerent."

property, thereby destroying the major historic bulwark of Spanish capitalism... On the other hand, great industrial enterprises likewise tend to assume a collective character, thereby fundamentally changing the character of the national economy." That changes the relations of the Anarchists to their environment. "We who fought tirelessly yesterday against a condition of tyranny and injustice, today stand at the side of the new institutions arisen from the Revolution as the expression of the deepest desires of the masses..."





Therefore, as against our inhibitions of yesterday, we feel that it is the duty of all Anarchists to take part in every public institution that can strengthen and advance the new state of affairs."

#### MIRACLES STILL POSSIBLE

On the positive side, the new Constitution is rather weak. As a carry-over of the long oppositions record of Anarchism, the programmatic suggestions or bases seem rather to reject those of Marxism than to specify "how" the Anarchists expect to achieve their aims. The function of the trade unions to plan production in general lines and strictly to control the means and forms of production is stated without commentary. The Federalist political principles of Anarchism, based on the autonomous region, the comarca and municipio (county rather than municipality) are also formally reaffirmed. But in the preamble, the really important basis of continued popular unity appears: "The F. A. I. cannot accomplish its whole mission if the war is lost. To win the war is to maintain the principle of the Revolution strong and victorious..."

With the present structure of the F. A. I. and the crowded



lessons of common struggle against Fascism still to be learned in the coming months, miracles are possible. Would it not be a miraculous view of unity in Spain to look forward to some future entry of the F. A. I. into a single party of the proletariat side by side with the Communists and Socialists?

G. M.

When we first came here we were kept very busy preparing the villas for the members of the International Brigades. There were 18 of us, nurses sent from Madrid. Nearly all the nurses had been in the 5th Regiment—that is to say that they had fought in the trenches from the very first days of the struggle.

But we were not so busy

neighborhood. They came from the Malaga front, where they left everything else and fled from the Fascists with their children on their backs. They know nothing of what has happened to their husbands, or to the rest of their families.

I have seen these poor children crying at the slightest sound, in the belief that it was a Fascist bombardment...

to take an interest in them. Gradually their visits to the Orphans' Home became more and more frequent, until finally one comrade from the International Brigades married the woman comrade in charge, and another married the teacher.

And so now it is as if we were all one family: the children in the Home and the International Volunteers; even the contrast between them makes a very harmonious picture... the weak and tiny orphan beside the strong, grave volunteer.

When the volunteers see the children they remember that they too have children. Because of this the home is always full of Volunteers who do all they can to look after the kids and make them happy.

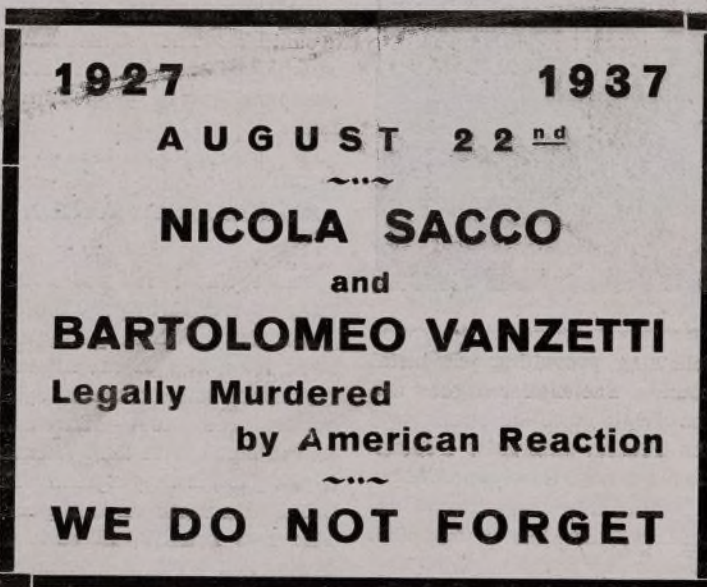
#### MASS ADOPTIONS

At first each volunteer wanted to adopt one special child, but then they thought it best to adopt all without any distinctions, and that is what they finally did. Now when a collection is taken the money goes to the children, who now have everything they need.

At the fete which was held for the opening of the Kitchen for those on special diets at the Hotel, the children were given bathing costumes, everything they needed for games on the beach, and hammocks, etc.

The Governor of C... the Mayor, the Pioneers all came, and they all competed with one another in speech-making. But the best of all was when the little children began to recite poetry, Garcia Lorca's gypsy ballad and other things in the same style. They recited and sang Asturian and Andalusian songs and they were all improved by the children voices, and when at the end they were given a Punch and Judy show, everyone laughed; and it was impossible to tell who laughed loudest—the children or the volunteers for liberty.

MARIA P. DE ECROYA



that we did not find time to visit the refugee children at the Home for the Orphans of militiamen who were the only inhabitants of these deserted villas.

The children were the first who had been taken from the different fronts, and there were children of Asturian miners who had no idea what had happened to their fathers, many from Madrid and others from the Andalusian front, where they had seen their parents suffer all kinds of torture even to being burned alive... And the poor little children remember, and have an expression as if of horror on their faces, and in their dreams at night they cry their hearts out.

#### TERROR-STRICKEN

Some are the children of women who are working in the

At first the children were left very much to themselves. No one took much notice of them. Maria Luisa, who was in charge of them, complained that even at Christmas nobody thought about them.

At that time the members of the International Brigades were not in the majority here. Not a single one had arrived as yet. It was only about Christmas time that the first began to arrive.

#### THE I. B. ARRIVES

In any case it was a pitiful sight to see the poor children. One day we of the Socorro Rojo brought them some clothes, for they came with nothing and since it was wintertime this made their state all the more pitiable.

The Comrades of the International Brigades soon began



# LETTERS from HOME

From the Editor of the  
New Masses

Dear E....

...The New Masses is already sending several hundred copies regularly to the International Brigade. However, I am suggesting to the circulation department that an additional batch be sent to you for distribution to the MacKenzie-Papineau boys.

Spain continues to be the big issue here. We feel the impact of the struggle in various walks of life. In Hollywood funds are raised by progressive actors and writers for one or another of the Spanish committees. On the San Francisco waterfront you can see slogans in the trade-union halls calling for support of Spanish democracy. Naturally every word about Spain is read with the greatest of interest, and I am looking forward to the article you promised us by a member of the Loyalist army...

...I want to write you a much longer letter than this, but this is my first day back in the office after a three-weeks' tour



and I am only now catching up with my work, so this brief salutation will have to do for the moment. However, there's one thing I want to add:

I made a visit to San Quentin and talked with Tom Mooney for about three-quarters of an hour. He reads everything he can about Spain and his heart is with you fellows. What a grand guy! After 21 years he is still full of courage and fight, confident of the justice of his own cause and of the



Our Fellow antifascists in China.

future of the working class. It was an inspiration to see him.

Write me again soon and if you get the chance, make it a long, detailed letter all about your outfit and yourself.—Saludos!—JOSEPH FREEMAN, New York, July 15, 1937.

★

Dear A....

...Of course the struggle in Spain is very close to all of us here and it is easy to conclude that more and more people are becoming interested as they realize the significance of the battle between democracy and reaction. At the moment democracy seems to be in the saddle here. The LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee is turning up some spectacular (and to the innocents, unsuspected) facts. The Wagner Act is, for the time, functioning in favor of the workers. Politicians, emboldened by the successes of their own daring confreres, begin to talk more and more like militant friends of labor. The list of strikes called and strikes won is too long for the newspapers to print entire... Truly, people of like interests are being drawn together as they sense the struggle that is taking place and its imminent threat to themselves.

For instance: near us is a summer camp leased by the Sociedad Naturista Hispana, whose acquaintance I made last year, a proletarian group similar to the German Natur Freunde. Although there are many anti-fascist comrades among them, they were not able last season to sponsor any anti-fascist activity because of differences among their membership. Last year, too, we found them only vaguely conscious of events in Spain and their significance, as they read almost no English papers and their Spanish ones were coming rarely and very late. But the course of the war has awakened them. They have progressed a long way toward unity in the last ten months. Now they are able openly to espouse the cause of Loyalist Spain and to work in its support. On Sunday the camp will be filled with banners reading "No Pasaran" and with the emblems of the various proletarian organizations of Spain. There will be a big fiesta and hundreds of guests will come to hear the latest accounts of the heroism of Spain's defenders and to contribute what they can to their support. This... is a picture in miniature of what is happening all over the country on a much grander scale...—A. S., Staten Island, N. Y., July 22, 1937.

## 70,000 SILK WORKERS THREATEN TO STRIKE

The possibility of a national silk workers strike in the U. S. increased when it was decided to present an agreement to the silk manufacturers. Unless the agreement is signed, the Textile Workers Organization Committee, affiliated with C. I. O., will call the strike.

The Union demands are: A weekly increase of 10 to 20 per cent, a minimum weekly wage of 18 dollars for weavers, a weekly minimum of 15 dollars for auxiliary help, and the 40 hour week.

All silk mills in New England, Pennsylvania and New Jersey will be affected. Expectations are for a short strike, because several manufacturers have already agreed to sign new contracts.

## 160,000 BRITISH SHIP BUILDING WORKERS ASK HOLIDAYS WITH PAY

Claims for holidays with pay for 160,000 workers employed in the shipbuilding industry are now before the Employer's Federation. It is expected that a meeting with the unions concerned will be arranged at an early date.

Another matter debated by the workers is that of secur-



ing union rights for young apprentices. The importance of securing this has been glaringly demonstrated by disclosure of wage rates and working conditions made during the recent big strikes on the Clyde and at other ports.

The militancy of the young apprentices came as an unwelcome surprise to the employers, who were forced to a settlement of the strike. With this as a precedent, and backed by the militancy of the apprentices, the unions are in a strong position to fight the issue.



# WHEN THE WORKERS TAKE A HAND

"Aldus-Artes Gráficas, directed by a Workers' Council"—I noticed this heading on the notepaper of the printers whom I had approached with regard to a pamphlet for the Flemish Volunteers.

It was this heading which gave me the idea of finding out exactly what a Consejo Obrero — a Workers' Council — meant in Madrid.

I had already seen how the workers manage their own factories, etc., in the Soviet Union. But those Russian workers already had years of experience behind them. The Spanish workers have only had a few months in circumstances which have been exceptionally difficult, especially in Madrid.

The letter which the printers had sent me gave a clear and detailed statement of the prices and the time necessary for the work, and I at once got the impression that the undertaking was under good management.

## WITH THE PRESIDENT

In the office, where only one man was employed, I met the President of the Consejo Obrero, a worker about 40 years old. He told me that he had been a member of the Spanish Socialist Party for 17 years. His job is to combine a technical knowledge of printing with a thorough understanding of the sentiments and needs of the working-class, and he knows it well, for he has had long years of trade union and political activity.

In answer to my questions, he told me that the Aldus printing works is one of the best equipped in Madrid. It has a linotype machine together with 3 large printing presses, and an automatic machine for printing in an unusual American color type. The business had previously belonged to Germans, but they had cleared out as soon as they saw that the Fascist coup on July 18th had been completely throttled in Madrid.

Unfortunately for themselves the German owners had formed an anonymous Spanish company, with the result that

after their departure the printing establishment passed into the control of the Trade Union, and with the help of the Union the printers formed their own Workers' Council which has been managing the concern successfully for months.

## SHORTAGE OF PAPER

There is always work for them and there would be more if it were not for the great shortage of paper due to the



The Tight-rope artist.

war. The number of employees has increased from 16 to 25 and among them there are two girls and four young workers of about 18.

The old works have become too small and the Workers' Council is looking forward to a change of premises soon, which will make it possible to increase the size of the concern. The financial assistance which will be necessary for this will come not from the banks, which in that way would be able to get control of the works, but from the Printers' Union which helps and controls every printing establishment managed by a Workers' Council.

Let us take a look at the printing works. Automatically I glance at the walls, which in the Soviet Union are a proof in themselves of the change of system, with their banners, slogans and wall newspapers. I wonder whether I shall see the same in Madrid.

## WALL NEWSPAPER

The wall newspaper is there — not very well looked after — but there all the same. There are portraits of Azaña and Caballero, and only one slogan but that full of meaning: "Now we work joyfully for we are helping to build a new civilisation". And this is true, for it is with real enthusiasm that the Aldus workers print the Anti-Fascist publications of the Campesino

a permanent bond of unity among them.

I shall never forget what the typographer told me while he was setting up a page:

"Every time I pick up this type (it was of German origin), I remember my German boss who was one of that gang which combined slave-driving with spying and started the Civil War. But today we are using that same German type to help to win the final victory and to drive out the slave drivers for ever."

Like printers elsewhere, the Madrid printers are politically and intellectually advanced and they are in the forefront of the progressive movement.

They have their own Battalion of "Gráficos" at the front, which together with their Workers' Councils in the rear, is helping to defend the Republic.

A. H.

## MEXICAN OIL WORKERS WIN

18,000 Mexican oil workers won several demands following a 12-days strike.

Their gains include a wage increase of 32 per cent, instead of a 15 per cent offer by the employers, and the 40 hour week. The total wage increase will amount to 7,200,000 yearly.

The oil companies are filing "objections".

LONDON.—A lightning strike of the haulage lads took place at Denaby Main Colliery, Yorkshire, where 12,000 men are employed.

Grimthorpe Colliery, near Barnsley, employing 2,500 men and boys, continue on strike arising out of a dispute over a recently revised price list affecting the Parkgate and Beamshaw seams.

The miners employed at Frickley are watching events at Grimthorpe with greatest interest as negotiations for a price list in the Barnsley seam at the pit are in progress.

## UNITY OF WORK

The printers differ among themselves on politics. Among them there are Socialists, Communists and Anarchists, but they never become involved in futile quibbling arguments, for their workshop and their common welfare are now