New Society Born in Catalonia

Anarchist-Syndicalists Build Free Socialism in Catalonia

Under this title an article appeared in the Giornale de Liberta, an Italian Anti-Fascist paper published in Paris. The article was written by Carlo Rosselli, a well-known anti-Fascist, an ex-professor of Economics in the Geneve business school who was sentenced to several years of hard labor by the Mussolini government. He was one of the first to volunteer for the Arogon front where he was in command of the Italian section of the Anarchist Brigade.

"Catalonia holds now in its hands the destiny of Spain. The passion to have a clean slate in its own circle seems to me wholly unwarranted. We must bear in mind that even if Madrid is surrounded and a good part of the South is in the hands of the enemy, the entire Mediterranean coast, all Catalonia, is fervently anti-Fascist. And Catalonia alone means 24% of the population, half of the wealth of the country and three quarters of Spanish commerce and industry.

"In three months Catalonia succeeded in erecting a new social order upon the ruins of an old system. This is due mainly to the workers who manifested a remarkable sense of proportion, a realistic grasp of things and an organizing ability. Barcelona has a normal aspect now. All public services, amusement places, theatres function regularly.

"All the revolutionary forces of Catalonia have united upon a program of a syndicalist and socialist nature: socialization of big industry; consideration for small property and workers control. This program is adhered to by all anarchists, socialist and left-republican (Esquerra) organizations of Catalonia.

READ OUR LITERATURE ON SPAIN

"The Truth About Spain" by Rudolph Rocker — 5c

"The Revolutionary Movement in Spain" by Dashar — 10c

Send to U.L.O. 45 W. 17th Street, N.Y., N. Y.

Buenaventura Durutti

Five hundred thousand people marched to the grave of Buenaventura Durutti. They did not go step by step in military-like formations as the drilled and roboticized crowds of dictator in Spain are accustomed to. They marched in the spontaneous spirit of revolutionary crowds, swept by the deep feeling of grief for a lost revolutionary hero. It was a spontaneous outpouring, a spontaneous manifestation of popular sorrow.

He was a revolutionary hero and not a "professional" revolutionary of the kind which did so much to discredit the idea of revolutionary action in the eyes of the working masses of the world. He did not divorce moral responsibility from revolutionary action. His heroic life was impelled by a sense of revolutionary duty, freely accepted and acted upon in the manner of a free individual. He did not stifle himself before "leaders," did not glory the soulless discipline of a revolutionary automaton.

Hence the great power welling from the innermost being of this man who only four months ago was still working behind a factory bench. It is the same power which now emanates from the great mass of revolutionary workers of Catalonia, enabling them to perform the miracles of revolutionary reconstruction so much admired by every observer. The revolutionary masses of Catalonia responded so readily to the magnetic force of an idealist revolutionary like Buenaventura Durutti, because they felt him to be one of them, a man who came to represent something more vividly the heroic qualities of a class that is aware of the creative stirrings of a new world.

And because Durutti's life was imbued with that sense of individual moral responsibility, the sense of spontaneous solidarity, the revolutionary passion of a libertarian, it is because of this fact he succeeded in inscribing by his epic life and death one of the most glorious pages in the heroic struggles of the Spanish proletariat. From his youngest days he served the revolutionary cause with the modesty and unobtrusiveness of a true revolutionary. He did not fight for leadership, for supervisory commanding positions. There were none in the anarchist movement which he embraced so fervently. He fought alongside the workers of Barcelona in the darkest hours of the Fascist dictatorship of Primo De Rivera. It was then that his name already became a legend to the great mass of Barcelona workers, who, unlike the drilled and disciplined workers of the Marxist countries, did not resign themselves meekly to the Fascist dictatorship. He fought the Fascists with their own weapon. The acts of Fascist terror were not let go unanswered. Unstrung by periodic "revolutionary" terror. His activities were constantly based on holy texts and writings, he reverted to individual terror, which in the time of complete Fascist domination, kept the fire of revolutionary enthusiasm burning among the masses of workers.

Buenaventura Durutti

Cowardly Policy Brought Moors to Spain

For a number of years the Spanish imperialists waged a ruthless campaign against the Moroccon tribes. Although succeeding with the help of French and British imperialists in breaking the fierce resistance of the native warriors, they must have left a reservoir resistant and in a smouldering hatred in the wake of their punitive expeditions. How is it that the same rose of militarists succeeded in turning those very tribes into obedient instruments of their nefarious designs against the Spanish people? We find an answer to this question in the information given by the "Revolution Proletariam." No. 10, the attitude of the former Madrid government to the Moroccan problem. The picture drawn by this magazine is of the eternal, familiar kind: a cowardly denocratic government, hiding behind a smoke screen of liberal and socialist phraseology, but failing at the same time in its elementary democratic task in creating the exploited colonial peoples, and on the other hand—clever Fascist demagogy turning to advantage those fatal mistakes. This is what the magazine has to say on this subject:

Revolutionary Militia in the Trenches
SPANISH REVOLUTION

A publication dedicated to current labor news from Spain, published by the United Libertarians Organizations, Against Fascism and for Support of Spanish Workers.

45 WEST 17TH STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. • Gideon 3-9561
Vol. 1, No. 6
December 9, 1936

BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI

(Continued from page one)

He tasted to the bitter end the life of a revolutionary bound at home and in exile. Driven from one country to another, persecuted by the police of almost every "democratic" country on earth, he wandered from refuge to another, leading the tortured life of an anarchist exile.

He went back to Barcelona immediately after the revolu-
tion of 1931. He could easily have compensated himself for the years of suffering by some soft political job which were opened up to him by the socialist politicians occupying prominent ministerial positions.

He was the first to raise the banner of revolt against the sham of the new democratic government. He exhorted the workers to undermine the government by the "ancient" weapon of revolution. He was the first who dreamed of genuine revolution and not the kind of which the politicians spoke in 1931. And because of his tremendous influence, he was singled out for persecutions by the new governing powers. He was banished to Africa, beaten and tortured in the prisons, hounded at his place of work and driven from one factory to another.

But around him the steel wall of proletarian solidarity kept growing in strength and power of resistance. In spite of all the persecutions and machinations of the government, the workers of Barcelona flouted to the banner of social revolution headed by Durruti and his band of the anarchist revolution in Spain. It was due to Durruti and thousands like him, nameless heroes of a great movement, that the workers of Barcelona were not caught napping in the great critical hour of the fascistic revolt. Together with other countless heroes, Durruti fought at the barricades of Barcelona where the destiny of the Spanish revolution and that of the fate of the international proletariat hung in the balance.

And then—from the street barricades of Barcelona to the most dangerous sector of the front, leading one of the most valiant brigades of comrades, which already made history by saving Madrid in the last hour. The "General" Durruti—that is what the capitalist and communist press wrote of him. But he was no more a "general" in their sense than he was a "Lazaro" in our. He led his men by the power of personal example, of moral persuasion, of revolutionary enthusiasm and deep faith in the cause of the common man that personified his being. He demanded discipline, but he never demanded revolutionism, and the drilled automatic obedience insisted upon by the socialists and communists in their attempt to shape the fighting forces of the Revolution in the pattern of the Russian army. And now the enemies have to recognize that his brigade was one of the best fighting units in the military sense.

His death came as a fitting climax to his heroic life. Always in the front ranks of his fighting men, sharing the risks and hardship of every comrade in his brigade, he finally succumbed to the numerous wounds received during the fight for Madrid. Always fighting shoulder to shoulder with the mass of workers battling day and night to protect the healthy example and revolutionary action displayed on a high moral plane—such he remained to his last minute. And in reversing him the great masses of workers that poured spontaneously to pay hommage to his epic life and death, also paid a deep felt tribute to the libertarian movement which molded and shaped the heroic qualities of this man into the pattern of a new humanity.

Tune In On Barcelona

To hear the C.N.T. Broadcasting Station at Barcelona, Spain, adjust your dials to short wave 42.68 meters—6095 kilocycles.

Programs conducted alternately in many languages including English, between the hours of 5 P.M. to 10-30 P.M. Spanish time, or 12 noon to 5:30 P.M. New York time.

WHAT THE FASCIST RULE HOLDS IN STORE FOR SPAIN

FASCIST TERROR in Seville

We are reproducing immediately follow-
ing from the British liberal daily, "Manchester Guardian": "The writer of this article dis-
avows any uncritical priorities for the Spanish Left. The account of Fascist terror is based upon personal experience and check-
ed-up reports."

The account given below deals with the recent sufferings of the Sevillans. The Fascists are aiming at the wholesale ex-
termination of the workers and intellectuals. And in Seville they have partly succeeded. The Saturday night became a Heaven Embroidered or pinned on their sleeves.

In streets, little shrines to the Sacred Heart have been put up. No one in prison claims to have been there by mistake, he is told that he has to prove his innocence by being married by Church and not by the State and that his children were baptized, anything is just a joke for real Sevillan workers under thirty can manage.

Wholesale extermination of workmen and liberal.

"Almost 500 workmen have been shot in Seville. Syndicalists, socialists, anyone who sat on trade union committees, anyone in whose house was found a book on Russia, on socialism, anarchism. But the Fascists have a special hatred for middle class republicans. Freemasons have been shot, many chemists, most of them working at Adidas or some number of doctors, including the president of the University of Seville, have been arrested.

A number of buildings have been converted into prisons. These and the old prisons are overcrowded. Soldiers have been billeted on the families of all prisoners, and they have to supply them with food and clothing. Since the property of all persons associated with the Left has been confiscated, one wonders how thousands of women in Seville whose husbands have been shot or imprisoned, are going to support themselves and their children.

"Even shopkeepers are being executed in considerable number. One might say that more than half of the leading citizens of Seville have been shot. Of those who had been liberal of a moderate type, and were hostile to socialism. The excuse was that they were working for the Republicans."

"Many of them were shot in order to have their property expropriated for the government. All the furniture, all the possessions of these men were confiscated. They were convicted of treason, and were overthrown from the top to the bottom. They were not judged by a court of law. They were shown to the people, and they were released afterwards. They were shot immediately after having signed such papers. Their families were even forbidden to wear mourning."

COWARDLY POLICY BROUGHT MOORS TO SPAIN

(Continued from page one)

"During the two years following the proclamation of the Republican liberal and socialists of the Republican government did not and could not protect the native popula-
tion of Morocco. The same may be said about the govern-
ment of the People's Front. They failed to prevent during all the five months of its stay in power, that is to say, that preceded the protectorate, that such action. "Franco knew that it was necessary to have the Moroccans as their allies. He granted the natives Moroccans the right to publish their own papers. But it is ex-

tremely right that the Moroccans tried in vain to obtain from the People's government. For a number of months the Moroccans kept on petitioning the govern-
ment of the People's Front for the issuance of a native paper in the Arabian language. The government did not as much as see that this thing ignored this problem during the first acts of Franco was to grant the Moroccans this de-

"Now by we may already re-

ralize the fact that some native Moroccans wielding great influ-
cence are at the same time excellent patriots but democrats at the same time. They are the most faithful to the Largo Caballero government (be-

Cowardly policy brought Moors to Spain."

Forward With the Work of Building a Federation of United Libertarian Organizations

The ranks of the United Libertarian Organizations are growing. The last report received was from Detroit where an active committee of the Libertarian League of America has been forming active work for the Spanish revolution. They have been collecting money, money, money, holding meetings, pushing vigorously the sale of the 'Spanish Revolution' and likewise other publicity.

New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Detroit have already lined up behind our program of rallying all the libertarian forces for a concerted effort to place the work of the struggle of the Spanish revolutionaries on an organized basis. But this is only the beginning. The larger tasks of spreading the word, of expanding our paper, start publishing pamphlets on the Spanish revolution and also send out speakers to all parts of the country.

There are other cities in this country containing various groups and sympathizers. They all should follow the example of those four cities in which definite organizations have been set up for the purpose of stirring up the sympathy and support of the great significance of the Spanish events.

Let us hear from you, com-

Fellow citizens and sale collections to UNIFIED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

of Radinowsky, 45 West 17th Street
New York City

syndicalist into the government) make a definite promise of cer-
tain autonomatic rights to the Moroccans if they succeed in liberating themselves from Franco's rule. Those demands, while thoroughly discussed by the Cabi-
net Council, were tabled after wards, and the prominent Moroc-
cans who had been in the government did not even ask for their release."
Libertarian Revolution Winning Petty Bourgeoisie to Its Economic Program

The Petty Bourgeoisie and the Process of Revolution

The victorious sweep of the Fascist reaction in some countries was to a considerable extent due to the very reluctance to participate from the numerous classes of petty bourgeoisie. And this in turn was brought about through the inability of the revolutionary elements to find a common language and goal. The constant nagging opinion was that during the revolution the petty bourgeoisie would inevitably find itself on the other side of the barricades.

The Spanish revolution has shown that this is far from being inevitable. The realistic course of revolutionary reconstruction pursued by the anarcho-syndicalists is a course which other revolutionary provinces of Spain have wrought great changes in the attitude of the petty-bourgeoisie. If successful this policy of collaboration will open a new chapter in the revolutionary movement in Spain. The unity of the workers with that class will deprive the Fascist counter-revolution of its mass base. On the other hand the same policy of the working class, the petty bourgeoisie economic into a wide and dynamic scheme will save the Revolution from the horrors and the subsequent moral degradation of the Russian revolution.

The article reprinted below is a part of an editorial appearing in the "Solidaridad Obrera" of November 15th. The opinions expressed by the writer are not by any means the same as the Lockwood's. This is perfectly significant, but points to the living practice of the Catalan revolution. It ended the previous ploy within the process of the revolution of the C.N.T. (Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation of Labor) in a solution which will not affect the small commerce, industry and the owner of small means of production. This point of view made the most enthusiastic approval on the part of the greatest majority of unionized workers. Full Communion Can Be Realized Only Gradually.

"In countries where an attempt was made to realize full collective ownership of all means of production with such an approach there was met with a stupendous disaster. Here in Spain such a solution is not insuperable. The individual characteristic of the Spanish nation can become a factor in our revolution if we proceed along the right course. But if we try to suppress it in the course of the transition from capitalism to communism, we might obtain results that would tell very heavily upon the productive forces of the working class.

"The C.N.T. is aware of the importance that the winning over of the petty bourgeoisie might have for the triumph of the Revolution. That is why it did not hesitate to insist that the institutions of small property be retained. Moreover, we are of the opinion that the retaining small property, in enabling the small merchant and manufacturer to find a place and thus make it easier for the present transitional system to evolve into a communist society. The distribution of products will be even more perfect. The transition of the bourgeois-super-capitalist system to that of communism will be facilitated without effecting a havoc of social life, which was vigorously avoided in a such vast economic and social revolution within the brief period of a few weeks.

Workers Control of Industry Makes Possible Revolutionary Collaboration with Petty Bourgeoisie.

"Without any fear of equivocation we might say that the formula found by the C.N.T. is so perfect that our proletarian revolutionists have revealed to the world the original phenomenon of a petty bourgeoisie working enthusiastically side by side with the workers. The petty bourgeoisie will realize more and more that the bourgeois revolution has proved the main hindrance to its development— and that is super-capitalism.

With this fact the hands of workers union, with the nationalized banks converted into a people and the hindrance to the assertion of free initiative of the small merchant or artisans will largely disappear..."

Technicians Win Political Control

One of the most remarkable features of the great revolutionary work now going on in Catalonia and the adjoining provinces of the Eastern coast is the loyal co-operation of the technicians and professionals with the revolutionary forces. They do not turn back upon the revolution as similar groups did in the October Revolution of 1917.

This is due greatly to the preparatory work done by the anarchists and union movements covering the workers, covering every specialized field. The C.N.T. technicians are already working upon the plans of such a comprehensive technical education. The section is also busily working upon the building up of democratic institutions now to unify and direct the work of the many governmental divisions now set up in the factories. And though the problem of the control of theocommunist is the problem of the control is not one of immediate actualities, the section is already making the necessary work of preparing a so-called "technocratic" system on a new broad outline, to be submitted when the control and administration of the factories or factories has assumed the forms enabling the regulating bodies to tackle the problem of industrialization.

OPEN LETTER TO RUSSIAN WORKERS

The open letter, part of which we reprint here, reserved as it is to the expression of feelings, exposes the duplicity and hypocrisy which falls in line with its aspirations and political aims.

"And what does it matter to us, anarchists and revolutionaries affiliated with the C.N.T., rapidly grown in number and importance, school teachers, professors, and engineers now work side by side with manual workers in rebuilding the life of the country negatively. We are a united revolutionary proletariat. An interesting side-light on the activity of these groups (the section of engineers and technicians at the C.N.T. union of Free Professions) is given by the report of the "Solidaridad Obrera" (Nov. 1.)

"This section, according to the official report, has already taken the most technical forces of the country. (Catalonia). It is already mapping out a comprehensive program for the nationalization of the country, of raising the productivity of the industries and also the general level of technical qualification of the workers."

The letter ends with an appeal to Russian workers and to the workers of the world for support of the different unions of free professionals which are being set up in the factories. "... From the first days of the Fascist revolt we have been fighting against the reactionaries. Our group was on the Aragonian front, a group of workers and comrades whom you know well and whose death in the German concentration camp stirred up the whole world. "Having united our hearts with the name of this martyred worker, we call upon each of you to take up the defense of a worker who for a long number of years had been the companion of our hearts."

"Some of us know her as well as we knew him. And we know that she remained faithful to the cause of the revolutionary workers."

"It is already more than half a year since economic relations, and the situation in your country, having disappeared since then, so that we cannot possibly establish any contact with her."

"In the name of our common cause, in the name of the revolutionary proletariat of the world we ask that Zenzel Mushein be freed. While the Spanish people are victorious in the battle against Fascism, Zenzel Mushein should not rot her life away in Russian prisons or exile."

"And that is why we keep on demanding: Freedom for Zenzel Mushein! Let no other ship be as specific as the one which carries aboard Zenzel Mushein. A group of machine gunners of the name Ehrich Mushein."
WORKERS RUN DEPARTMENT STORES

The organization of distribution was always considered one of the most difficult tasks of the revolutionary period. Even now the Soviet Russia is the weakest link of its nationalized economy. Poor service, inadequate facilities, lack of efficiency, lack of adequacy are quite common now in most of the stores of Soviet Russia. And we to the first period of the October Revolution, it is known to everyone that the bureaucratic methods of the pre-revolutionary period had been completely demonstrator of the mechanism of distribution.

The more amazing it is to read of the phenomenal successes achieved by the C.N.T. workers (C.N.T. — Anarchist-Syndicalist Confederation of Labor) in running one of the largest chain of clothing stores of the country. This chain, which now comprises 50 stores in the most highly populated districts of Russia, is situated in Barcelona. It was in Barcelona that the first step toward the socialization of those enterprises was undertaken. The progress of the work entailed great losses leading to the gradual taking over by the workers committees of all the ten branches of the leading cities of the country.

The full story of how those enterprises were taken over and how they functioned is to be read in the "Solidaridad Obraa" (Nov. 1). Here we give only a brief outline of the most interesting features of the whole process.

The firm is one of the oldest, having been founded in 1850 and having grown into one of the richest in the country. It thrived during the course of the war and like most of the firms that prospered during that period, it found the lean years following the war, and especially since 1920, a toilsome period of hard going. Reorganization, wasteful management, exorbitant salaries of the higher...

Catalanian Workers Build Free Socialism

"That this socialist revolution is succeeding is evidenced by the improved equipment of the soldiers at the front: our army is now on the way of becoming the best equipped in the world. A miracle? Yes, but one whose secret lies in the adherence to the masses of the revolution, in the organizing ability shown by the labor unions and the C.N.T."

"I am not an anarchist, but I believe it is my duty to tell the world my opinion of the anarchists, and that of those who were so often represented as a purely destructive, if not an insidious, body. They are called the Catalanians, we are known as the anarchists, and that of those who were so often represented as a purely destructive, if not an insidious, body. They are called the Catalanians, we are known as the anarchists, and that of those who were so often represented as a purely destructive, if not an insidious, body. They are called the Catalanians, we are known as the anarchists, and that of those who were so often represented as a purely destructive, if not an insidious, body. They are called the Catalanians, we are known as the anarchists, and that of those who were so often represented as a purely destructive, if not an insidious, body. They are called the Catalanians, we are known as the anarchists, and that of those who were so often represented..."

AN APPEAL TO THE FRIENDS OF THE "SPANISH REVOLUTION"

When the liberation organizations of New York first undertook the publication of the "Spanish Revolution" we had no definite idea of what its future might be. The response to the first number was so favorable that we are treading on safe grounds when we undertook to publish the bulletin as a bi-weekly. From all over the country, groups and individuals receiving "Spanish Revolution" were very generous and we thought that the situation had changed somewhat. While the influence and circulation of the bulletin is steadily growing, the past few weeks have witnessed a serious decline in the mail order business. We find that a number of groups have been lax in remitting for bundles sent to them. All such groups are, therefore, urgently requested to check up on their accounts and to turn in all funds due us as soon as they possibly can.

The paper cannot appear on time unless the copies printed and paid for are remitted. Our work for our bulletin is greater than ever before, we are faced with financial difficulties. You, the readers of "Spanish Revolution," know what a valuable service it is performing on behalf of our heroic comrades in Spain. We are appealing to you to help us in this emergency so that we can keep going and expand the scope of our work. Help us build up a publicity fund to spread the propagandas like the present.

To that end all friends of the "Spanish Revolution" are urged to send in donations. Whatever means you may use for collecting such donations, (money can be collected in variety of ways) please send in all collections at once.

Since you all know to what extent the help we can give our comrades in Spain depends upon favorable and widespread publicity, we need not press this question any further. All contributions should be directed to:

U.L.O. — I. RADINOWSKY, Treasurer

45 West 17th Street
New York City

Funds Received for Spain during November

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To Anti-Fascist Com., N. Y. for Shakespeares, 112, 119, 120, 126, 24.75

On HAND — 185.41

I. RADINOWSKY, TREASURER, U.L.O.

In 1919 the workers of the world came to the rescue of the Russian revolution. It now seems that the same effort be undertaken on behalf of the revolution in Spain which promises to turn an even more glorious page in the history of humanity.

And as the writer of the "Gutierrez e Libraria" pointed out, there is an almost miraculous way in which the Spanish revolution is aiming itself due to the organizing genius of the Catalanian anarchist-syndicalist movement.