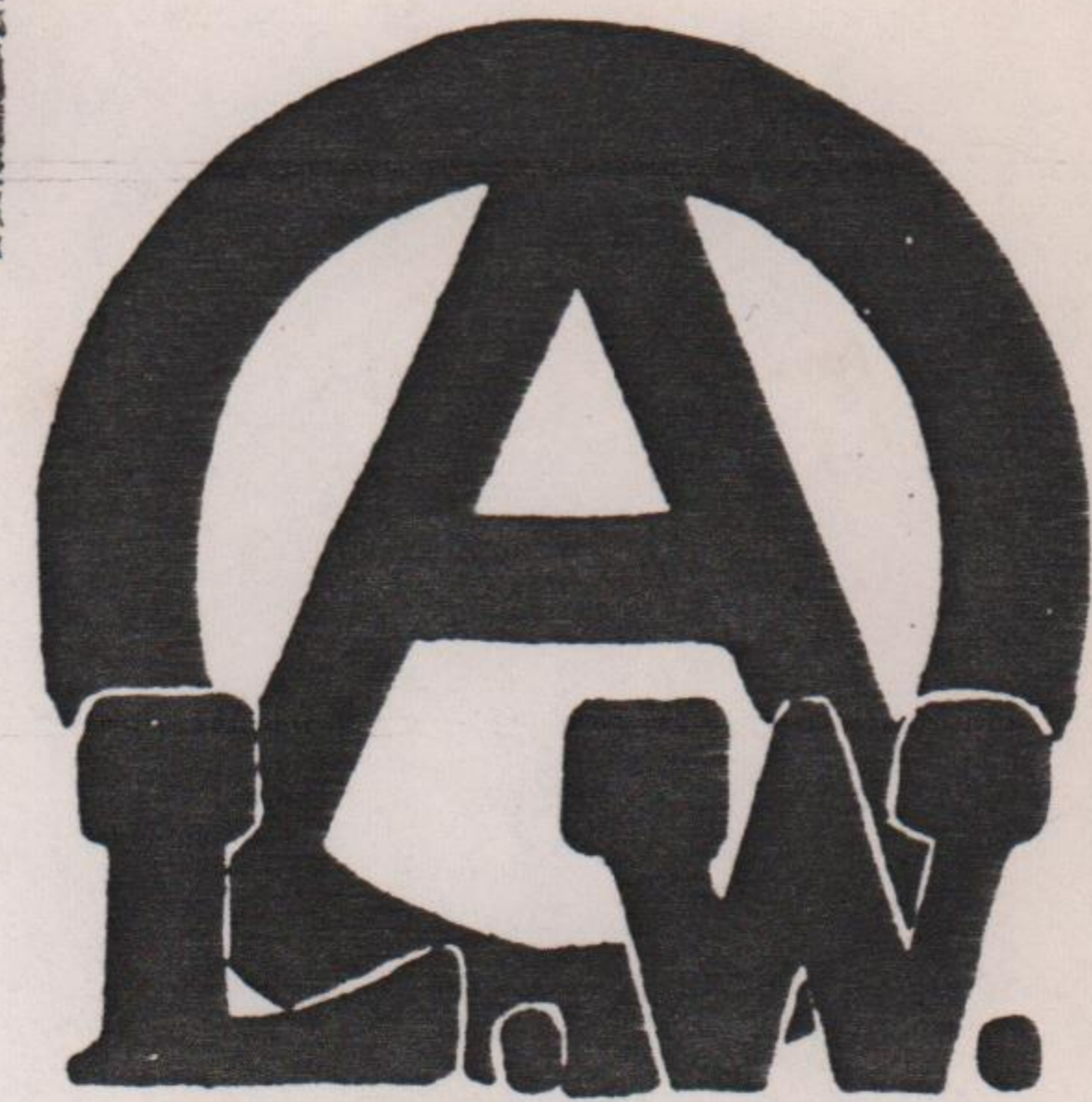


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LIBERTARIAN WORKERS BULLETIN.



p.o. box 20, Parkville 3052.

VOL. 3 NO. 4

NOV. 1980 - FEB. 1981

Anarchism: What It Really Stands For

ANARCHY

Ever reviled, accursed, ne'er understood,
 Thou art the grisly terror of our age.
 "Wreck of all order," cry the multitude,
 "Art thou, and war and murder's endless rage."
 O, let them cry. To them that ne'er have striven
 The truth that lies behind a word to find,
 To them the word's right meaning was not given.
 They shall continue blind among the blind.
 But thou, O word, so clear, so strong, so pure,
 Thou sayest all which I for goal have taken.
 I give thee to the future! Thine secure
 When each at least unto himself shall waken.
 Comes it in sunshine? In the tempest's thrill?
 I cannot tell—but it the earth shall see!
 I am an Anarchist! Wherefore I will
 Not rule, and also ruled I will not be!

JOHN HENRY MACKAY

*In a time of universal
 deceit, telling the
 truth is a revolutionary
 act.*

GEORGE ORWELL

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ANTI-ELECTION REPORT

Thomas Jefferson one of the founding politicians of the U.S.A referred to elections as 'the celebrations of democracy.' Well another finished here, and what a boring ,predictable and elitist party it was . It's little wonder large numbers of people did not attend.

The results seem to indicate an increasing dissatisfaction and frustration with the system of politics we are ruled by the limited party alternatives and perhaps the general sense of powerlessness felt by many people.

Whether a small campaign such as our 'Do'nt Vote' campaign had any influence in the results is questionable, but by providing an alternative positive perspective to our present ritual and by putting the argument that elections are one of many means of depleting our personal power to manage our own affairs and to show the hollowness of the idea that parliament is the controlling seat of power, we provided an important perspective to an otherwise negative event.

Our campaign involved distributing a large number of leaflets, posters ,and stickers throughout Australia.

The number of posters and stickers that appeared and were asked for shows the interest people had in the campaign.

Some 3500 pamphlets were handed out in Melbourne alone at major political campaign meetings and generated a lot of positive interest and discussion.

Unlike previous like campaign people handing out material did not experience the negative and violent reactions that have occurred, but were received positively and with a new interest.

In terms of a wider media coverage, predictably, despite a wide scale press information releases the campaign got only one small mention in the press and even then it described the campaign as an election based party campaign.

A large number of enquiries about an anarchist perspective have been received since the election and with the large number of disappointed and disillusioned voters since then maybe people will be looking for a positive alternative in the future.

DISCUSSION MEETINGS

The Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society are holding a series of discussion meetings over the next four months at the CHUMMY FLEMING BOOKSHOP, Shop 26, 210 Toorak Road, South Yarra.

All our readers as well as anyone they would like to invite are welcome at these meetings. The discussion meetings are:

- (a) Unemployment - an Anarchist Viewpoint
Sunday 23rd November, 4 p.m. - 7 p.m.
- (b) Marxism - Leninism or Anarchism
Tuesday, 23rd December, 7 p.m. - 10 p.m.
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LIBERTARIAN WORKERS' WINE AND CHEESE NIGHT -

AT THE BOOKSHOP - SATURDAY 7TH FEBRUARY, 1981

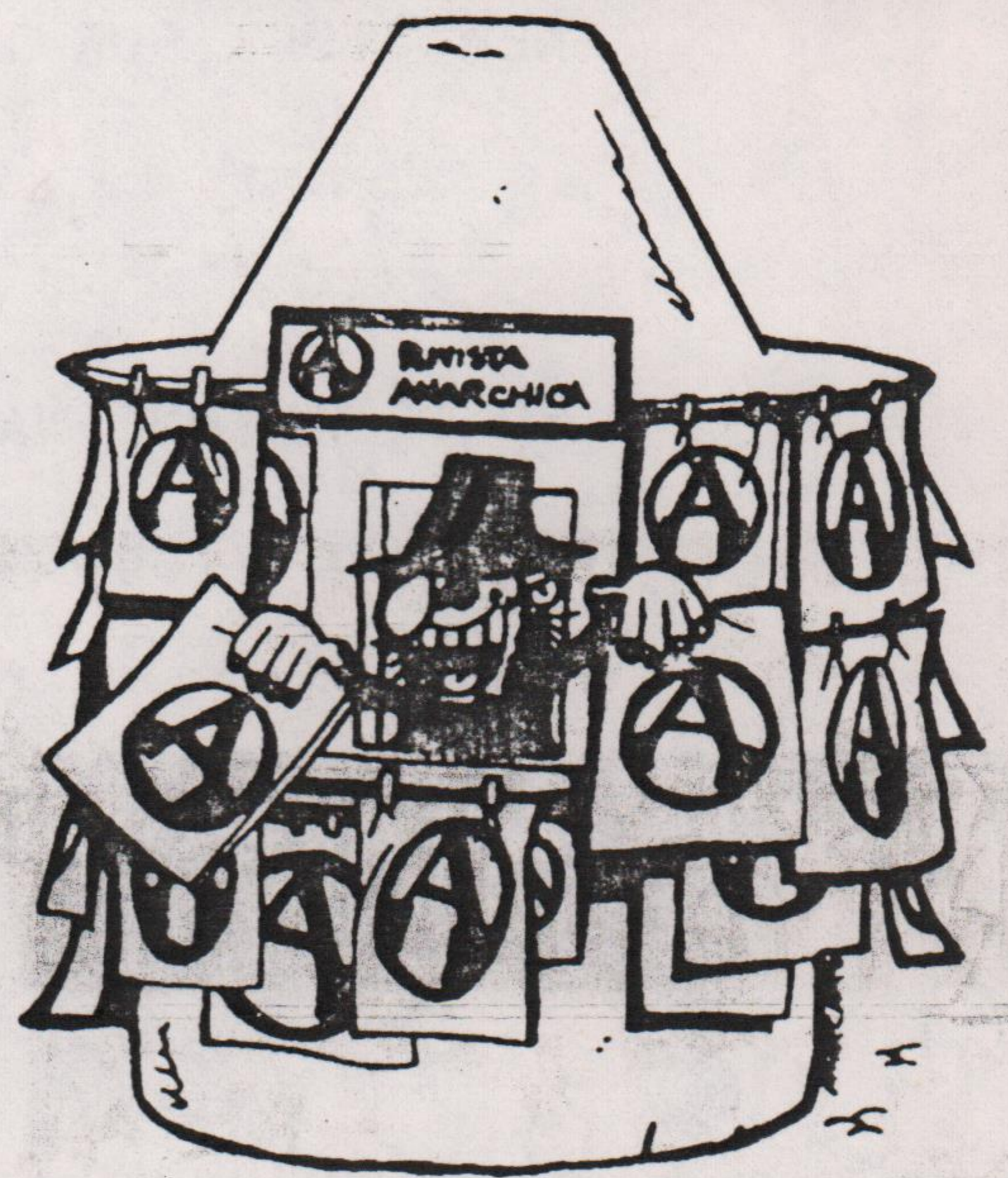
TO HERALD A NEW YEAR OF ANARCHIST ACTIVITY

AUTOGESTIONE



rivista
trimestrale
per l'azione
anarcosindacalista

 rivista
anarchica



mensile
in vendita in edicola
e in libreria

CHUMMY FLEMING BOOKSHOP

**Shop 26 Regent Arcade
210 Toorak Road
South Yarra**

THE BOOKSHOP HAS OVER 400 ANARCHIST TITLES IN STOCK.

THE BOOKSHOP HOURS AT PRESENT ARE:

TUESDAY 2.30 P.M. - 5.00 P.M.

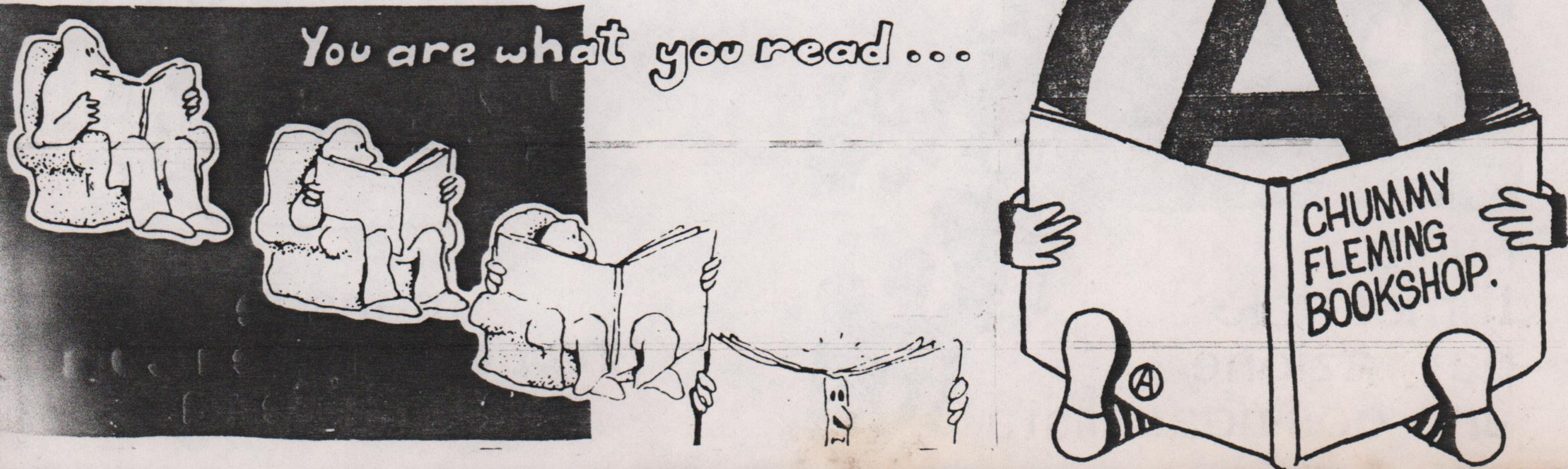
FRIDAY 1.00 P.M. - 5.00 P.M.

WE WILL ALSO OPEN THE SHOP AT A MUTUALLY CONVENIENT TIME
IF PEOPLE SEND US A NOTE OR LEAVE US THEIR PHONE NUMBER.

ALL PROFITS MADE FROM THE SALE OF BOOKS ARE USED TO BUY
NEW STOCK FOR THE BOOKSHOP.

SO IF ANYONE WANTS AN INTERESTING GIFT FOR A FRIEND,
REMEMBER THE CHUMMY FLEMING BOOKSHOP -

You are what you read...



Dear Libertarian Workers,

We are a group of Christians (Anarchist/Pacifists) who will not be voting in the elections. Following is our statement of resistance which has been circulated around in Brisbane. We have received some of your material from 'The Red & Black Bookshop Collective' - and will probably be using it on election day - as we are setting up a stall in the City Square. We will be trying some 'street speaking' as well as inviting people to discuss the issues individually.

A CHRISTIAN RESPONSE TO VOTING:

As Christians we have committed ourselves to resisting the powers of darkness while celebrating the coming of the Kingdom in our lives. We will not partake in giving a mandate to carry out violence, for such an action is contrary to the teachings and promise of Christ. In refusing to vote, we recognise that the State is based on violence - it legislates and then enforces its decisions with prisons, police, armed forces, asylums and torture. We recognise that the compulsory ritual of voting once every three years has nothing to do with the concept of democracy. We recognise that the ruling power resides not in any such rituals, but in the Principalities and Powers of transnational companies, the war-machine, bureaucratic Vanguard Parties and secret police organisations. We recognise that in our age the State has taken on the proportions of the Beast (Revelations); and we therefore refuse to burn incense for Caesar by refusing to partake in this compulsory ritual of condoning Caesar's activities.

Today, the State, whether Capitalist, Socialist or Marxist has become a norm unto itself. All States are based on power and coercion in order to ensure their own continuance. The demands of the Gospel: justice for the poor, liberation of the captives, love of enemies, service to all, nonviolence and being peacemakers are antithetical to the nature of the modern State.

In light of the truth of this fact, it is incumbent upon Christians to take their call seriously and stand prophetically and critically. Every Christian has a revolutionary mission in politics. As Jacques Ellul writes in his book, In the Presence of Wisdom, "the prophet is not one who confines himself to fortelling with more or less precision an event more or less distant, he is one who already lives it, and already makes it actual and present in his own environment".

FOR EVERY BOSS
that got a \$ he didn't earn,
THERE'S A WORKER
who earnt a \$ she didn't get.

TECHNOLOGY AND PEOPLE

Over the last few years, I have tried to put what I have learned from many different experiences into some form of organised analysis. This is an attempt to start; an exercise in self-discipline which borders on the idiosyncratic exhibition of peculiarities, a display of proclivitous behaviour patterns. (Sorry about the big words but I found them quite fascinating when I first heard them and I have not since been able to resist using them. They lend such color and depth of perception in perspective.)

What I hope to do here is to articulate political and personal conclusions using an historical and philosophical point of view in particular but drawing upon recent experiences to demonstrate a relativity of function in practical applications of the views expressed as theoretical expositions - in other words, a base from which to expand.

So far I have found very little "Idealism" which either I agreed with or which agreed with me for very long - i.e. "Idealism as expounded by Kant who believed that such a concept involved the putting into practice certain contemporary ideas of behaviour.

An adaptive attitude is required but very little mutual aid is encouraged as a means of facilitating an easier and therefore less traumatic transference in evolutionary activities.

It has been claimed that harmonious activity is an essential factor in the progressive socialisation of a species. I guess we need to define what we mean when we talk of activity - is it for example work, vested interests, monetary returns? Just what is meant when we are asked to look at "labour"? What is implied in our understanding of such a concept?

Marx, among other writers of his time, claimed that the automation of industrial activities would free the worker from tedious and repetitive tasks thus enabling a proletariat to liberate themselves from senseless drudgery in the mass production of material goods.

Automatic processing was seen initially as a means whereby the majority of workers would be able to experience the freedoms implied in choice of action and income benefits.

Specifically, Marx showed that the benefits accrued from workers' labour was immediately expropriated, taken away, from the labourer so that the labourer then experienced the work situation as an alienation from the production processes. And, in effect "labour (became) external to the worker, i.e. it (no longer) belonged to his essential being; that in his work, therefore, he (the worker) did not affirm himself but denied himself, did not feel content but unhappy, did not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortified his body and ruined his mind".⁽¹⁾ He went on to say that labour had lost its voluntary nature and taken on the cloak of coercion and hence the tones of forced labour were exhibited within the expropriatory acts of an owning class.⁽²⁾

The case is very little different today to what it was when Marx was writing in 1844. The benefits of accrued labour and production are still being expropriated.

A pressing area of trouble today is that there is a greater disparity in evidence between those who make decisions and those who experience the results of those decisions put into practice. Those who have access to available skills and those who do not qualify for entrance to privileged positions. Those whose skills are valued and those who are relegated to "non-deserving" grading.

A great deal of classificatory information is sifted through before a decision is made and a "class-pass" is conferred. Therefore persistence is maintained in social structuring based on hierarchical conceptions long after such a posture has ceased to be functional.

A class structure based upon "capital worth" succeeded to the earlier social frame - Feudalism. Feudalism had proven unworkable under extremities of pressure. Witness the Cromwellian upsurge of the "Leviathan" with the evolution of Jacobean resistance.

Today, the values and institutions of "capital-worth" which are at present being propped up by a highly technological society and dominated by the means of access to information, and therefore propaganda, throws a vast and complex pattern of shadows over people's perspectives. In some cases a very narrow and rigid adherence to one's own views or values is maintained as a defence mechanism to change.

However, even through advertising jingles can be projected via technological applications and electoral campaigns can intrude into everyone's living room with the aid of sophisticated electronic media and the potential is available whereby the manipulation of the desires and aspirations of every individual can be affected in every aspect of daily existence seemingly takes on real possibilities, it must be remembered that any potential is after all only possibility, not quite actualisation.

The questions as I see them are - are machines really taking our jobs, or is the distribution of resources a factor at work? How are machines taking our jobs or is decision making power a vector in loss of creative capacity? What sort of technology are we prepared to support? Who will accept responsibility for decisions taken to retool or introduce new conditions to a work environment?

Will the answers to such questions be decided by a minority decision taken as a representative vote of the owning class, the trade unions, or by vote of the whole population, the excluded and dispossessed aside? Or, will all affected people be able to participate in the choice of application, creativity and distribution procedures?

At present the answers seem to be yes, machines are taking our jobs. They are deskilling the work processes in order to speed up production ratios. And, no, people generally do not have much say in the direction of their own lives.

Certainly, computers are being introduced which are taking over many of the repetitive motions of the conveyor-belt, mass-production operations. Operators have been misplaced into an amorphous "mega-machine" of "idle-unemployed".

We now have the time to think and deliberate about the problems with which we are confronted. Unfortunately, many of this nameless, but not numberless, mass has not the resources with which to indulge the luxury of idle contemplation for any great length of time. We are, after all, not all Bernard Shaws or Bertrand Russells.

With limiting factors such as access to and availability of information placing restrictions upon resources distribution and actuality of decision making powers, a broader perspective is difficult to achieve and this can colour one's perspective in problem solving activities.

A measure of the ability to successfully apply problem solving capacities has for quite a while taken on a "technical fix" aspect. This perspective appears to have attained to the heights of achievement since its encapsulation within the "mechanical determinism" of the post-renaissance period. It was during this period that human potential and mind capacity were depicted as correlated to mechanical devices. This, in opposition to contemporary practice where technical aids were seen merely as an extension of human capabilities and such devices had little "use-value" excepting in as much as it made a job easier to accomplish.

The difference now is that instead of thinking in terms of cogs and wheels, we like to conceptualise in terms of electrical impulses and message relay points, awareness procedures and information input, overload syndrome, etc. (Well, maybe you like to see yourself as attached to a pile of junk which 9 out of 10 times isn't even warm and cuddly, a machine made in the image of its creator, a shadow of a

reality relative to the grace of the beholder, and I am sure there are many other descriptive epitaphs (?).

Going back to Marx, he along with many others claimed that it was the job of philosophy to change perspectives of reality rather than just re-inforce and describe issues.

I guess I should return to some of those questions posed earlier in this paper. How are machines taking our jobs?

I do not believe they are. Machines have not yet satisfactorily achieved the art of "self-reproduction". Machines depend upon an input of energy which is necessary to the continued functioning of a programmed processing. They are unable to make rational choices between alternatives, they can only obey commands programmed into their information or data banks.

Whether a moving conveyor belt in an industrial complex or a sophisticated electronic implement with high performances ratios, the results are the same. Machines extend the capability, inherent within human activity, to aspire to achieve a certainty of probabilities (?). Machines make it easier to perform certain allocated tasks. Machines provide an element of risk in manipulation which has better than an odds on chance of successful completion of a given direction. Particularly, if that direction is the removal of a 1 ton weight 100 feet in a specified time span. Mechanical or technological devices are only functional if they are maintained and serviced with regular human intervention.

I believe the capacity to participate within a given set of parameters undergoes cyclical regulation. The limitations to active involvement are access to capital, resources and information, and the capacity to articulate coherently plays a restrictive role in the potential for development of decision-making powers. In other words, restrictive accession to resources and a mystification of required information and knowledge provide the necessary prevalence in pre-requisites required for the maintenance of a given social order. No matter what is the base of that social order.

If we continue to aspire to a hierarchy of knowledge, information, resources; a society of class distinctions is an inevitable outcome. The sustenance of prevailing conditions must be maintained. "Like a conquered province"⁽³⁾ we will appear and the capture of the society dependent upon the computer society is assured.⁽⁴⁾

Perhaps it is time to transcend the questions of if, how and what sort of mechanical device will get us next week and start asking what sort of technology are we prepared to support? What has happened as a consequence of the preparations, aspirations and applications of groups of people who, beginning in a mood and landscape of hope, ended up in images of nightmare. For example, Queenstown and the Mount Lyall mining complex on the west coast of Tasmania.

What has been the outcome of advanced technical research and development carried out in the 50s and 60s? Did such work enhance the lives of more or less people, overall? Is further manufacturing capacity essential to the well being of societal relationships?

"Nothing, certainly no person, exists in a vacuum. We are born into a society. We are born into a society with a history, a society which cultivates certain values and a society which controls the institutions upon which we all depend for growth and survival."⁽⁵⁾ If we are to transcend a specific point of view propounded within a restricted and limited set of conditions we can choose to accept or reject the conditions of existence implied upon our consciousness. Or, we can do as Fromm suggests and make "the basis of rational faith ... productiveness"⁽⁶⁾ This way we can achieve, as he suggests, "the certainty growing from productive activity and from the experiences that each one of us is the active subject of whom the activities are predicated".⁽⁷⁾

A crucial question now arises out of what is obviously a perplexing situation. Do we now put our faith in an irrational faith in leaders, machines, success, or the rational faith in humans based on the experience of our own productive activities, to paraphrase Fromm.

If it is necessary to apportion guilt in the light of current trends, should we appoint advocates for our case, retaining the foundations and ethics of existing structures of distribution, productivity and resource allocations? Should we then continue to restrict the judiciary to a frame of reference applied in ascertaining legality of procedures?

Or, should we question the foundations and ethics of maintaining the current state of affairs where a majority of people with restricted access to satisfactory self-expression are kept in a subservient role in order to maintain the myth of technical expertise and professionalism? To assert and prove that the application of technical devices is the predominant factor in loss of job availability is unquestionably proper and necessary; but not enough.

Ethics, culture, form and content require a context of analysis and application. To act superficially and unjustly requires a procedure of self-abasement and the recognition of oneself as an inferior, weaker than another - and consequently, by losing self-respect making oneself still weaker.

Should we continue to mutilate that which is most valuable in us - the faculty of rational and just thought, as Kropotkin puts it?⁽⁸⁾

Are there alternatives with practical application in which human potential and development can be sustained or must we revert to the Luddite machine smashing of the past to reinforce an awareness of injustice and social inequities?

THIS ARTICLE HAS BEEN WRITTEN BY A MEMBER OF THE
LIBERTARIAN WORKERS AND DOES NOT NECESSARILY REFLECT
GROUP POLICY.

Workers' fight

"Workers" State



Gdansk workers snap up copies of their daily newspaper 'Solidarity' during the recent occupation of the Lenin shipyards.

the Prime Minister, Edward Babiuch, come to them for direct talks. Implicit in this request was the knowledge that had he agreed it would have been a public admission that the state controlled unions were not the genuine representative of the workers. Simultaneously, it would establish the legitimacy of the workers' main demand, namely, trade unions free of the state's control. So Babiuch stayed away.

Then on August 18 Gierek appeared on national television. He made numerous conciliatory gestures but these were mixed with statements like, "We will not tolerate strikes." On the next day Anna Walentonowicz was quoted as saying, "He acts as if he were talking to children." This seemed to sum up how pathetically ineffective his speech would prove to be.

It was followed by even greater polarization. Krakow's steel works were idled. Bus drivers along with the workers at two shipyards, all in Szczecin, were on strike.

Accusations flew. The state made more charges about how the MKS didn't represent the workers. On the other side the workers were widely quoted as having accused the state of behaving like a capitalist in its attempts to sow division in the strike movement.

Outside of Poland the events drew international attention. The capitalist press gloried in seeing such a profound challenge to a pro-Soviet state and heaped hypocritical admiration on the workers for their courage and wisdom. But its support had limits. After all, workers here might follow their example.

Within Poland the state was now opting for more repression. Fifteen members of the KOR (Social Self-Defense Committee) were arrested. KOR was actively supporting the

struggle for free trade unions, a cause which it had long championed. Composed of reformist intellectuals it had been a primary source of information for the Western press since the first strikes in July. Obviously, the state felt there was an urgent need to try to silence it.

Repression came down elsewhere too. Some 600 workers were arrested in Southern Poland in a crude attempt to forestall strike activity there. Compared to the Northern Coast the South was very quiet.

The reactionary Polish Roman Catholic Church went public on the strikers for the first time on August 22. Cardinal Wyszynski put on a display of traditional conservatism by pleading for "wisdom and prudence" while also emphasizing that prolonged work stoppages "were not for the good of society."c

Gierek on the Run

Premier Gierek was reportedly still in shock after the workers refusal to heed his patriotic appeal for the nation to resume work. What he was terming "... anarchistic and anti-socialist groups that attempt to make political use of the work stoppages," were making his hold on power less certain with each new day.

Gierek spoke to the nation again on August 24. This time he had to announce the removal from office of his close confidant, Prime Minister Babiuch, along with almost half of the other Politbureau members. Among their replacements were noted adversaries of his demoted in the purges last winter. (See NAA 4, pg. 10)

Displaying his weakness he offered more concessions to the workers. Union elections would henceforth be democratized with secret ballot votes and no restrictions on the candidates. This was a major retreat but Gierek still wasn't agreeing to free trade unions. He

didn't give way on censorship and the release of political prisoners either.

The still unimpressed strikers movement continued to grow in spite of him. The growth of MKS reflected this as the number of delegates from striking factories in many parts of Poland had by now swelled to almost 800.

The workers then won a small but significant victory. Telephone and Telex lines into Gdansk which had been cut earlier in the strike were restored without conditions. These lines enabled the Gdansk MKS to better co-ordinate their activities with strike committees in Szczecin and Elbag. It is noteworthy that the MKS had made the demand for their re-connection a pre-requisite for direct negotiations with the same government which had earlier refused to recognize it. Once again Cardinal Wyszynski spoke out for restraint. This time he stated, "The better we work, the more justified are our rights and then we can formulate our demands." A statement credited to a 22 year-old worker shortly afterwards provided a fitting reply. He reportedly said, "The government had to call on the Cardinal to try to calm things down, but the Cardinal won't get us back to work."

Still more strikes began. These included stoppages in Silesia — Gierek's political power base. At this point there were now 300,000 workers striking.

The MKS then issued an appeal

for temporary restraint to allow food to be gathered but the strikes did not let up. Walesa was advising the workers, "It's not good to have Poland terrorized. The people must have food." He also made statements to the effect that the workers could now give the government some time to act but if they didn't respond quickly the strikes should spread. The strikers, incidentally, by now had been promised wages for their time-off on strike.

With August drawing to a close 20,000 Silesian copper miners struck and their counterparts in the coal mines were becoming restless. The state cracked. On August 30, it agreed to free trade unions and the right to strike as long as the Party's leading role in society and Poland's membership in the Warsaw Pact were respected. Knowing these two stipulations were needed to keep the USSR's tanks from pouring in the workers accepted.

There were other important provisions. The most dangerous

was the stipulation that the free trade unions stay out of "politics". In another, amnesty was promised to those arrested during the strikes. Among the many economic gains were 3 years of maternity leave for women and a reduction of the retirement age.

Consciousness Lacking

Upon their return to work the Gdansk workers sang 'God save Poland', an act which showed the more backward aspects of the revolt. These being nationalism (albeit from people who live in an oppressed country) and religion. Obviously, the workers' political consciousness still lags well behind the implications of their actions.

Many thought the battle was over. That was until after a mining accident on September 1 in the Silesian coal fields killed 8 workers. In response Southern Poland erupted. Within hours 32 new strikes, including 19 in various mines employing 200,000 miners, broke out.

The demands won at Gdansk were put forward along with ones for the correction of unsafe working conditions and an end to compulsory work on Saturdays and round-the-clock shifts. Gierek's resignation was also demanded. All the demands, except the call for Gierek's head, were quickly met and work resumed.

Scattered strikes persisted indicating how little trust the workers had in the government's word. Likewise at Gdansk, the feeling had been widespread that since the government couldn't be trusted the free trade unions were essential to instituting the agreements generally. Subsequently, workers all over Poland started enthusiastically seeking membership in them.

But the government was still on the defensive as the price controls announced in early September showed. And packages coming from the USSR and the other "fraternal" states indicated that defensiveness prevailed even outside Poland.

Kania

This fraternal aid was padded further by new loans from the International Banks, all at the very time that comrade Gierek became suddenly ill. Sick with the symptoms of mass strikes and a sordid scandal involving his speechwriter Gierek saw Stanislaw Kania become Premier. Called a "moderate" the new man is the former head of the secret police.

Again, the party's purges evoked indifference from the workers. By

contrast the Kremlin was more enthusiastic. Brezhnev heartily congratulated Kania and accordingly came up with yet another aid package.

Kania responded in kind. While pledging to honour the strike settlements he emphasized his desire to strengthen relations to the USSR. He again reminded his people that the new free trade unions were to keep clear of "politics".

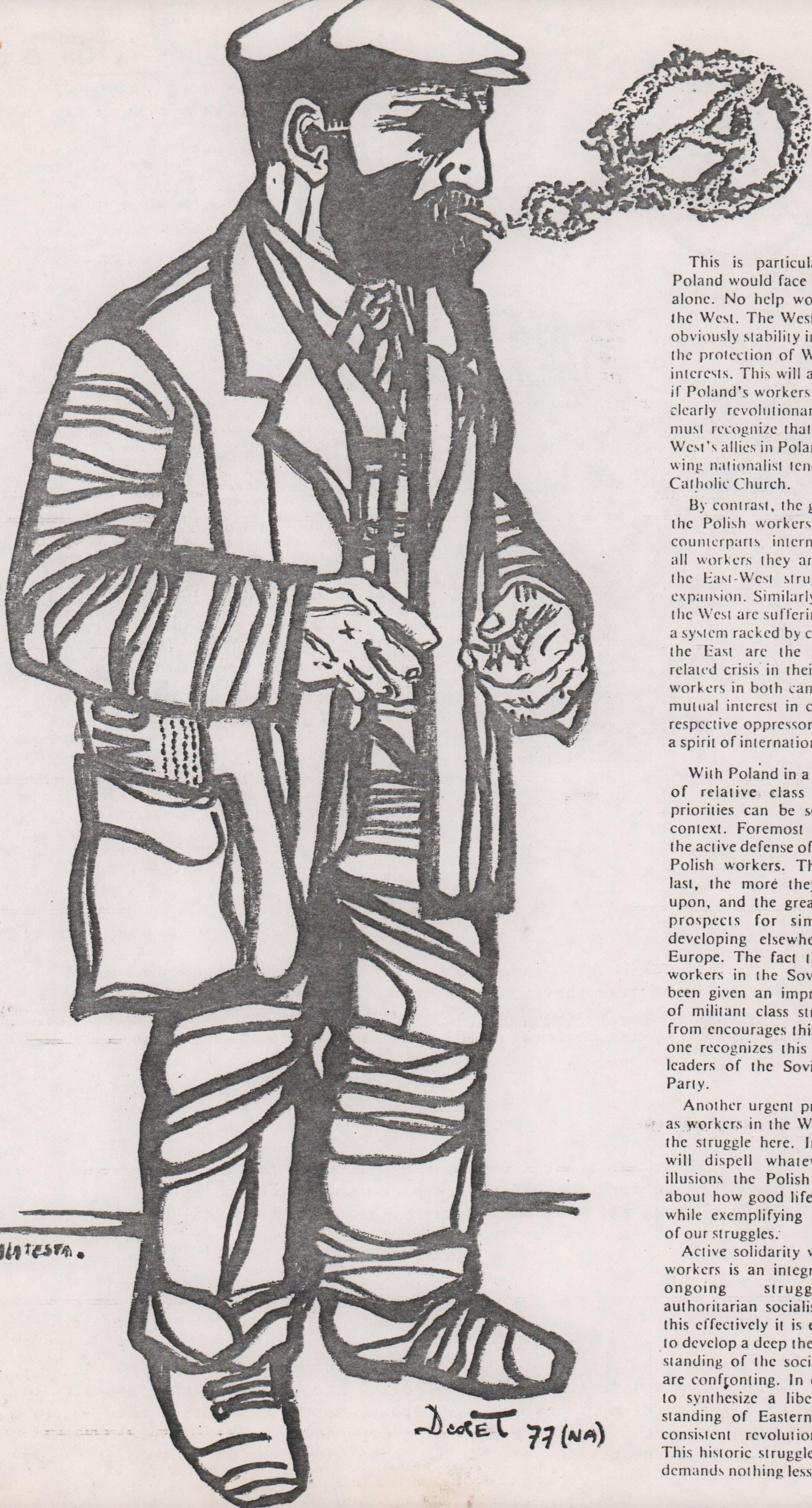
Soon after there were new reports of strikes involving workers angered at management harassment of those showing interest in the new unions. Elsewhere, Jack Kuron of KOR and other "anti-socialist elements" were increasingly being attacked in the official media.

Overwhelming Crisis

From the perspective of the bureaucrats such a process of trying to erode the workers' gains is the only option available. The country's economic crisis is awesome. The debt to Western Banks is \$20 billion while the workers' gains will cost another \$3 billion. To this can be added the cost of the strikes and debts to the USSR. Poland is bankrupt.

The political crisis is just as severe. For the rulers in Warsaw and Moscow the dangerous implications rival the Czech Prague Spring. The formation of unions not controlled by the state, the right to strike, eased censorship, the concessions to the church and the Polish state's weakness all add up to a potential centre for subversion within the Soviet domain. Even more foreboding are the ideological implications of a workers' revolt against a "workers' state".

Objectively, what's ahead in the next little while is an open question. Continued tension is inevitable but the response of the workers to state attacks is uncertain. But, given the danger to the East, it's likely they will act with discretion.



This is particularly true since Poland would face the Soviet tanks alone. No help would come from the West. The West's priorities are obviously stability in the region and the protection of Western capital's interests. This will apply even more if Poland's workers embark upon a clearly revolutionary course. One must recognize that at present, the West's allies in Poland are the right-wing nationalist tendencies and the Catholic Church.

By contrast, the genuine allies of the Polish workers are their class counterparts internationally. Like all workers they are oppressed by the East-West struggle for global expansion. Similarly, as workers in the West are suffering the effects of a system racked by crisis, workers in the East are the victims of the related crisis in their societies. The workers in both camps also share a mutual interest in casting off their respective oppressors duly aided by a spirit of internationalism.

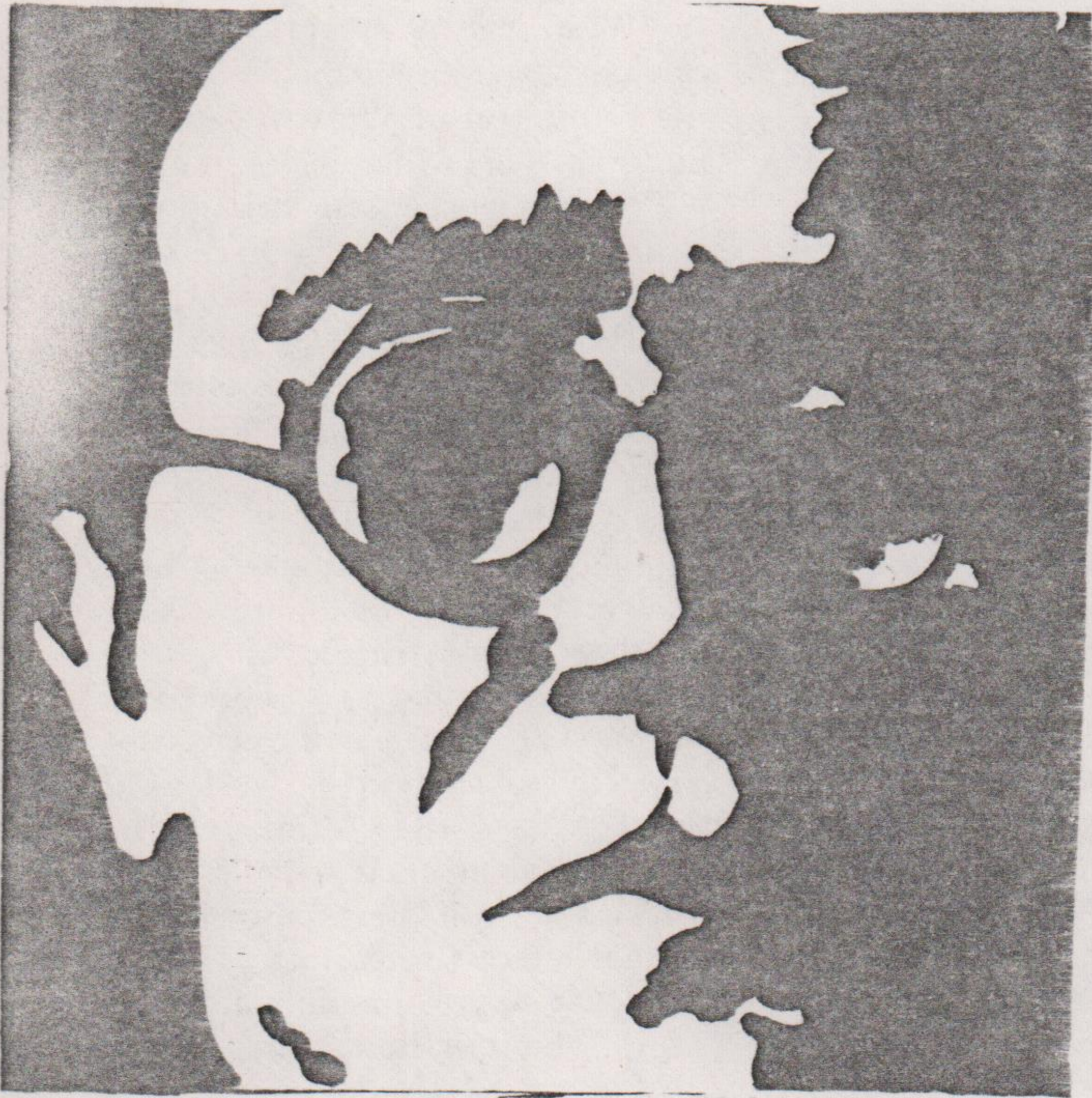
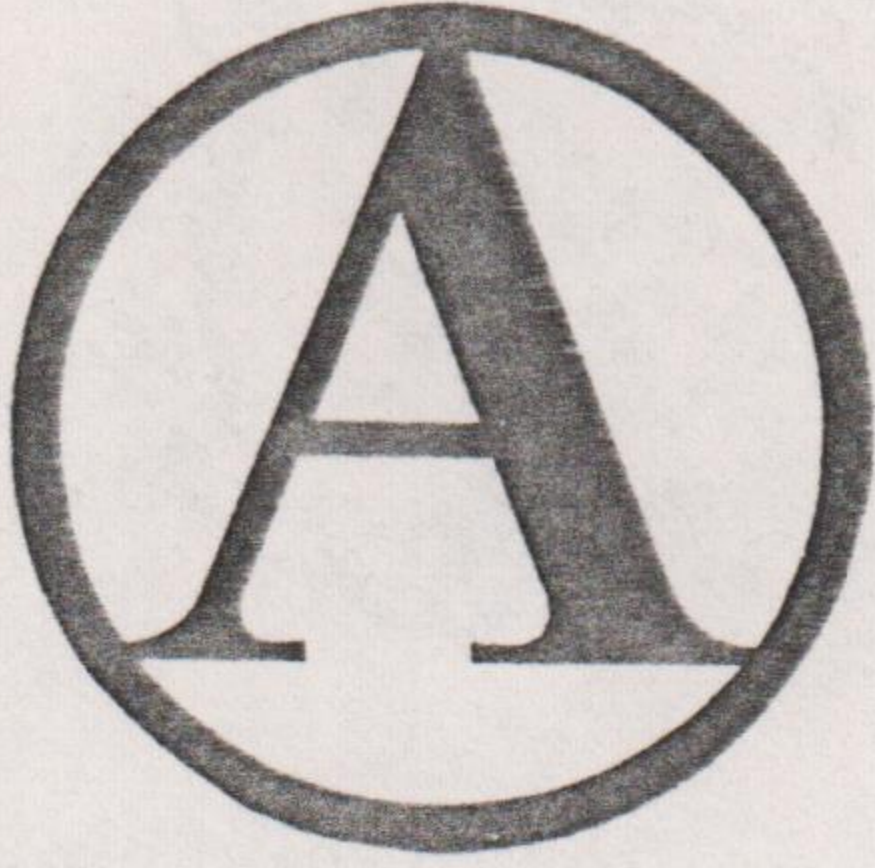
With Poland in a temporary state of relative class peace certain priorities can be seen within this context. Foremost among these is the active defense of the gains of the Polish workers. The longer these last, the more they will be built upon, and the greater will be the prospects for similar struggles developing elsewhere in Eastern Europe. The fact that millions of workers in the Soviet block have been given an impressive example of militant class struggle to learn from encourages this view. And no one recognizes this more than the leaders of the Soviet Communist Party.

Another urgent priority is for us as workers in the West to intensify the struggle here. In doing so we will dispell whatever remaining illusions the Polish workers have about how good life is in the West while exemplifying the similarities of our struggles.

Active solidarity with the Polish workers is an integral part of the ongoing struggle against authoritarian socialism. But to do this effectively it is essential for us to develop a deep theoretical understanding of the social system they are confronting. In effect we have to synthesize a libertarian understanding of Eastern Europe with consistent revolutionary practice. This historic struggle of the Polish demands nothing less.

RICO MALATESTA.

SECRET 77 (NA)

Prince Krapotkin's LetterSUPPRESSED BY THE TRADES
HALL EXECUTIVE. ✨ ✨ ✨ ✨

Comrades,

The following letter was suppressed by Messrs Barker and Scott and the Executive of the Council. In fairness to Mr. Dobson, one of the Executive, I wish to state he expressed surprise, as he heard no mention of the letter at the Executive meeting, although Mr. Scott had one two weeks before the meeting, and Barker several days.

Barker informed the Council that the Executive did not think it wise to read it to them. While the Barkers and Scotts are scheming after fat Parliamentary jobs, with six or eight pounds a week income, to while away the time on soft cushion seats, the misery of the workers is almost beyond endurance. Workers, awake! Free yourselves from political shysters. Don't Vote! Declare for the General Strike. "The Political Labor Party's Dead Slow."—Tom Mann.

Viola,

Etable, France.

Bromley, Kent,

Dear Comrade,

Thank you very much for your letter. Things must be worse than I thought, if the Labor Organisations are entirely in the hands of politicians. I have still the hope that apart from those workingmen who lay their hopes into Parliament there are men who will understand that the progress of Labor Unions is not Politics, but what in Latin Countries is described by the workingmen as Direct Action.

Do you follow the movement in France? The Synodical (Trades Union) movement, which for a number of years was in the hands of political Socialists, is now freeing these bonds, and we see really a new birth of what was the International Workingmen's Association before the Franco German war; their aim now is the Direct Action against Capital and Philistine Rule. Even when they want to obtain something from Parliament they think—quite right—that it would be better to impose their will, by strikes, &c., instead of begging. They prepare, as you know, the General Strike for May 1, 1906. What are you doing in Australia for this eventuality? It is time to think of it. I would be so happy to go to Australia, and to help the Labor Movement in any way. But since I have had an attack of the heart, I have had to give up all lecturing. Are you receiving regularly "Freedom?" There is a general revival of the movement in Europe.

With best brotherly greetings,

P KRAPOTKIN.

I am for a few weeks in France, but return to Bromley about 10th of September,

EMMA SPEAKS:ON PRISONS:

"With all our boasted reforms, our great social changes, and our far-reaching discoveries, human beings continue to be sent to the worst of hells, wherein they are outraged, degraded, and tortured, that society may be 'protected' from the phantoms of its own making."

ON EDUCATION:

"(School) is for the child what the prison is for the convict and the barracks for the soldier - a place where everything is being used to break the will of the child, and then to pound, knead, and shape it into a being utterly foreign to itself."

ON MARRIAGE:

"Marriage is often an economic arrangement purely, furnishing the woman with a life-long insurance policy and the man with a perpetuator of his kind or a pretty toy. That is, marriage prepares the woman for the life of a parasite, a dependant, helpless servant, while it furnishes the man the right of a chattel mortgage over a human life."

THIS ARTICLE HAS BEEN TAKEN FROM NEWS FROM LIBERTARIAN
SPAIN.

REPERCUSSIONS OF THE C.N.T. CONGRESS

The 5th Congress of the CNT (Madrid, Dec. 8-16, 1979) marked the climax of the long simmering conflict between contending CNT factions. The conflict must not be dismissed as a relatively minor disagreement. It involved fundamental principles and tactics. The very survival of the CNT as a revolutionary anarcho-syndicalist organization was at stake.

The right wing reformists want to convert the CNT into a de facto appendage of the State. Like the socialist and Communist party-dominated unions (structured like the authoritarian "vertical" unions) they too, want the CNT to join the class-collaborationist machinery of the unions, employers and the State.

Like the Stalinists, Trotskyites, Maoites and other dissident marxist-leninist groups, the right wing CNT Oppositionists, also bent on capturing the CNT, launched a vicious campaign of outright lies and villification. Thus, the assertion that the rank-and-file of the CNT, in opposition to the alleged "CNT bureaucracy," endorsed the Opposition is false.

Out of 772 delegates representing 324 unions, only 51 delegates walked out of the Madrid congress. In Catalonia, only 12 out of 114 unions and in Andalusia four out of 96 unions adhered to the Opposition.

Only the Canary Island and Cantabria federations withdrew from the CNT, but a sizeable minority opposed withdrawal. The only industrial area in which Opposition factions constitute a relatively important minority is Valencia, where about 20% of the unions support the Opposition.

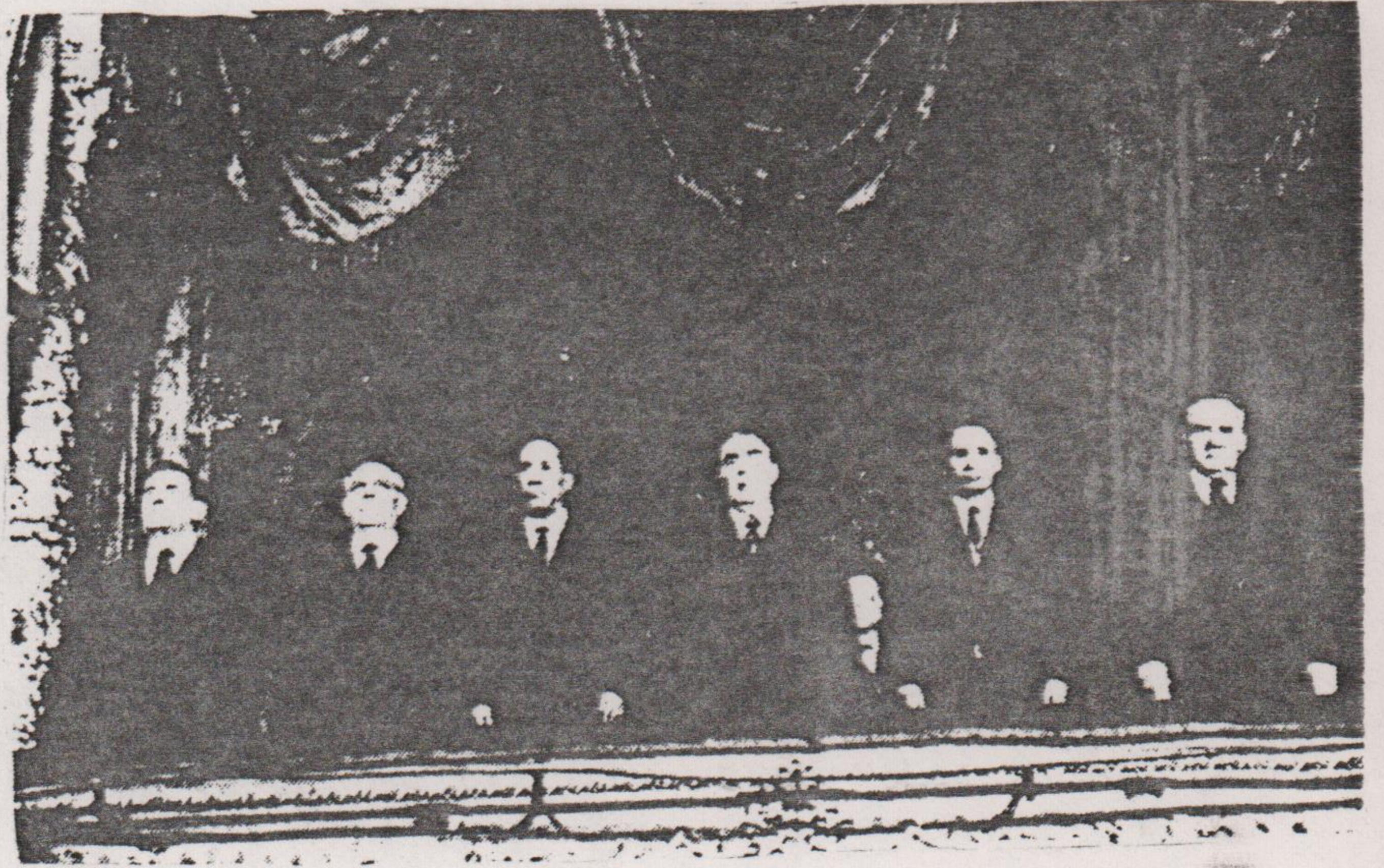
The accusation that the non-existent CNT bureaucracy, in league with the CNT-FAI exiles, dominated the congress is also false. In accordance with the procedures of the CNT, the decisions of the congress were ratified by The National Conference of CNT Syndicates in Barcelona, attended by 1500 delegates from almost all districts of Spain; by other ratification meetings and directly by the overwhelming majority of local unions.

Although the Opposition is by no means ideologically, numerically or organizationally qualified to represent the CNT, the usurpers brazenly staged a phony "Plenum of Regions" in Saragossa attended by only 60 delegates, fraudulently appropriated the seal and the name of CNT, elected a phony "General Secretary," and equally phony "National Committee of the CNT" and expelled anyone who questioned the legitimacy of the "Plenum."

Sam Dolgoff

(Sources: Report of the National Committee of the CNT to the International Workingmen's Association (AIT); Report of the 5th Congress of the CNT in Espoir-CNT, March 11-17, 1980; Interview with Jose Bondia, Secretary of the National Committee of the CNT, April 6, 1980.)

THIS ARTICLE HAS BEEN TAKEN FROM NEWS FROM LIBERTARIAN
SPAIN.



ANARCHISTS AMONG DISSIDENTS IN SOVIET UNION

The CNT paper published in France reports on some anarchist activity in Russia. Alexander Skobov, e.g., founded a commune in Leninrad in 1978, a discussion group that attracted a number of dissidents from other parts of Russia. Skobov published a paper which survived for three issues until the KGB pounced on it, arrested Skobov, his friend Andrei Resnikov and other members, handed out three- and six-year terms in prison and put Skobov into a psychiatric jail for an indefinite term.

In the totalitarian state any dissident publication from orthodox religious to socialist, or plain democratic, is of course non-governmental, hence, in the language of the ancient Greeks "anarchistic", and is denounced as such by the totalitarian establishment, as are also all demonstrations in public, no matter how peaceful. Where the state claims total domination over the whole tissue or web of human relationships, any non-governmental (anarchic) activity is anti-state and revolutionary.

Apparently, the dissidents of all shades of opinion are only a handful in number but, in spite of the KGB arrests, imprisonments in jails and concentration camps, and in psychiatric torture prisons, the state has failed to eradicate all opposition.

MASSES OF ANTI-TOTALITARIANS ON ECONOMIC FRONT

In addition to a reservoir of anti-government activists and groups on the ideological front, there are uncounted masses of anti-totalitarians in the economic field. Few people are heroic enough to risk prison and concentration camps for writing anti-communist pamphlets, but virtually everyone fights for bread and butter in defiance of the government monopoly on production and distribution.

Pretending to be a monolithic state with total control over every branch of the national economy, the Russian state is in fact as great a failure in controlling the economic life of the nation as was prohibition in the USA. Where there is an attempt to stop people from drinking there inevitably arises a national bootlegging business which thrives on prohibition, transforming petty criminals into vast corporate organizations with immense resources operating with impunity.

And such is the case in the entire economy of the totalitarian state, not only in the production and distribution of moonshine but of all economic needs, food, clothing and shelter. All are obtainable in the black markets of the so-called Soviet Union, where the soviets (local, self-managing voluntary organizations) have long since been abolished with the suppression of the Kronstadt sailors and the Makhnovist peasantry.

In the unregulated market place of capitalist society it is the individual who determines what industry must produce if it wants to make a profit. Infinitely more valuable to the consumer than the vote is the economic demand he makes with the dollars he earns. And because we are in the market for food, clothing and shelter, the anarchic market place produces largely consumer goods to satisfy our demand. In the totalitarian state, however, the state and not the consumer determines what must be produced and in consequence consumer goods are scarce, while guns proliferate.

The totalitarian state seeks to devote all the resources of the country, material and human, to the production of armaments, its number one priority, leaving only the barest minimum to satisfy the material needs of the people it rules. The ruling class, the established bureaucracy, is of course provided with all it needs including luxuries available in special shops closed to the common man. The common man has to scrounge for himself and does so at the risk of prison, exile and slave labor.

POWER CORRUPTS - STATE CONTROLS FAIL

Under prohibition North Americans had no problem obtaining liquor (however expensive and poor in quality it often was) because the servants of the state failed to enforce its laws. Power tends to corrupt, said Lord Acton, and power was wielded by the bootlegger--the power to corrupt with the bribes he was able to distribute. The bootleggers thrived on corrupt police--in uniform or plain clothes--as well as district attorneys and judges. Though prohibition laws were repealed many decades ago, the ex-bootleggers remained powerful in so-called legitimate businesses, while the law enforcement officers remained corrupt.

This same corruption makes it possible for the black markets to thrive in Russia. Stalin's collectivization of the land led to a disastrous famine and filled the concentration camps with millions of peasants who resisted collectivization, literally to death. Some 20 million died in the process. In the end, Stalin had to yield about five per cent of the arable land to individual ownership by the peasants. This postage-sized acreage, which the peasant cultivates in spare time away from the collective, yields about fifty per cent of all the vegetables and fruits reaching the grey markets in Russia. They are called grey instead of black markets because they are legal enough. No need to bribe the police. One must note, however, that in all other ways the subjugation of the peasant is complete. As in the days of serfdom the peasant is bound to the land. Unlike the workers and city people in general, the peasant can obtain no internal passport to travel inside the state.

Individual market operations in the totalitarian industry are entirely illegal, anarchic and designated as such by the established bureaucracy. But they are also irrepressible. Vladimir Bukovsky, in his book To Build a Castle, describes the process seen at first hand when he and his fellow students were made to work in a factory producing engines for buses:

"Working in a bus factory in Moscow, my classmates and I saw for the first time what a Soviet enterprise is like--with all its deceptions, its hollow facade, and its coercion. Nobody in the bus factory was in a hurry to work; the workers preferred to sit in the smoking room until the foreman appeared, when they all dashed to their places. 'Why should we hurry for the money they pay us?' said the workmen. 'Work's not a wolf, it won't run into the forest.' In the mornings they were almost all drunk, hung over.... The turner to whom I was assigned for training, a young fellow barely older than myself, had a most original way of meeting the target. Once the foreman had told him the total, he only pretended to work. Then, when the foreman wasn't around, he would creep up to the big wooden shed where the finished parts were kept....He would quickly locate the boxes he needed in the dark and stuff his pockets with the necessary parts. Then he...spent most of the rest of the working day in the smoking room...."

"Towards the end of the day...they kept slipping out of the building. They would come back holding loosely wrapped packets or cartons. They stole practically everything that could be sold on the black market or used at home. One day they stole a whole bus engine; another, a roll of material for upholstering the seats...."

UNIVERSAL CORRUPTION REACHES TOP CIRCLES IN SOVIET UNION

In the early days of communist rule Russia also had prohibition. It was more vicious than American (U.S.) prohibition. The production of alcohol by private citizens was punishable by death. It did no good. The peasants and other independent enterprises produced enough liquor to satisfy the needs of the public. In the end Moscow decided to monopolize the production of liquor as it had already done with all other goods. The factories and the land are now government monopolies, and corruption of the kind experienced in the USA only in the production and distribution of alcohol became universal in Russia, affecting all production, all trade and all distribution. Writes Bukovsky:

"You should have seen the fantastic cases that passed through Lefortovo (a notorious Soviet prison) in the 1960s....Whole enterprises would be beavered away--helped by Party committees and socialist competitions--while the profits were siphoned off into the private pockets of deputy ministers and management chiefs. And the opposite also occurred. Entire industrial complexes existed on paper, appeared in the plans, and were allocated funds by the state--even the Section for Preventing the Embezzlement of Socialist Property was on their payroll--in actual fact their sites were occupied by virgin Russian forests or an expanse of steppes.

"Kruschev wasn't very far from the truth when he said in one of his speeches: 'If people stopped stealing for even a single day, communism would have been built long ago.' But the thing he failed to understand was that without this stealing the Soviet economic system would not work at all. Without these rigged figures and manipulations hardly a single target would be met, and without this private, hence illegal, initiative nothing at all would be produced in our country."

Look back upon the 60-odd years of communist rule in Russia and you see government carried on with relentless hostility against the people governed, brutal in its suppression of the artist, the writer and the scientist, a coercive regime unprecedented in depth and duration; and in violence matched only by the hitlerite rage against the Jews.

Though covering one-sixth of the earth, with national resources, oil, coal, mineral wealth in abundance, totalitarian communism cannot provide sufficient food, clothing and shelter for the population of Russia in order to make rationing unnecessary. The population is made to live the life of austerity of a city under siege. The mismanagement is such that a country which was the granary of Europe under the Tsarist regime now has to import vast amounts of grain from the decadent West year after year, or let its workers starve.

And now compare this chaotic economy with Russia's next-door neighbor, Japan, which transformed itself from a feudal state into a modern industrial economy within one generation. It is now competing in the world markets successfully with all the industrialized countries of the world, in export and imports and in the stability of its currency. Japan has no natural resources: no oil, no coal, no mineral wealth and no forests. Its industrialization was achieved without years of famine, without forced expropriation of the peasantry, without slave labor and vast concentration camps, without psychiatric torture prisons, without public trials in which crimes never committed were confessed publicly, and without mass execution of former bureaucrats. Japan built its automobile and truck factories without help from Ford or Fiat. Its engineers and architects were never put on trial and made to confess unconscionable "wreckage", connivance with foreign powers and industrial espionage. At no time during this revolutionary transformation from feudalism to modernity were weary Japanese workers made to stand in line many hours for food and clothing. No Japanese has ever been forcibly evicted from his country for whatever reason nor has any Japanese ever been prevented from emigrating to try his luck elsewhere. The standard of living achieved without any natural resources far surpasses that in Russia with all its vast resources. And wherever or whenever the communist blight spreads to other countries--to Cuba, for instance--there appears the shortage of food and the long lines of tired, overworked people waiting to purchase some bread.

SHORTAGES OF FOOD, CLOTHING AND HOUSING AFTER 60 YEARS OF BOLSHEVIK DICTATORSHIP

More than six decades after the Russian revolution, long lines form daily in front of the food shops. Housing is obtainable only as slum dwellings where whole families have to share toilet, kitchen and bath facilities, if any. Clothing is scarce to the point where tourists are besieged by people in the street, begging to buy the shirts off their backs, even their pants and shoes, and at the same time offering cheap roubles for the tourists' dollars. Liquor is the sole luxury available to the working man without standing in line for

many hours. The state sells him this luxury while the government press chastises labor incessantly for laziness, absenteeism and drunkenness.

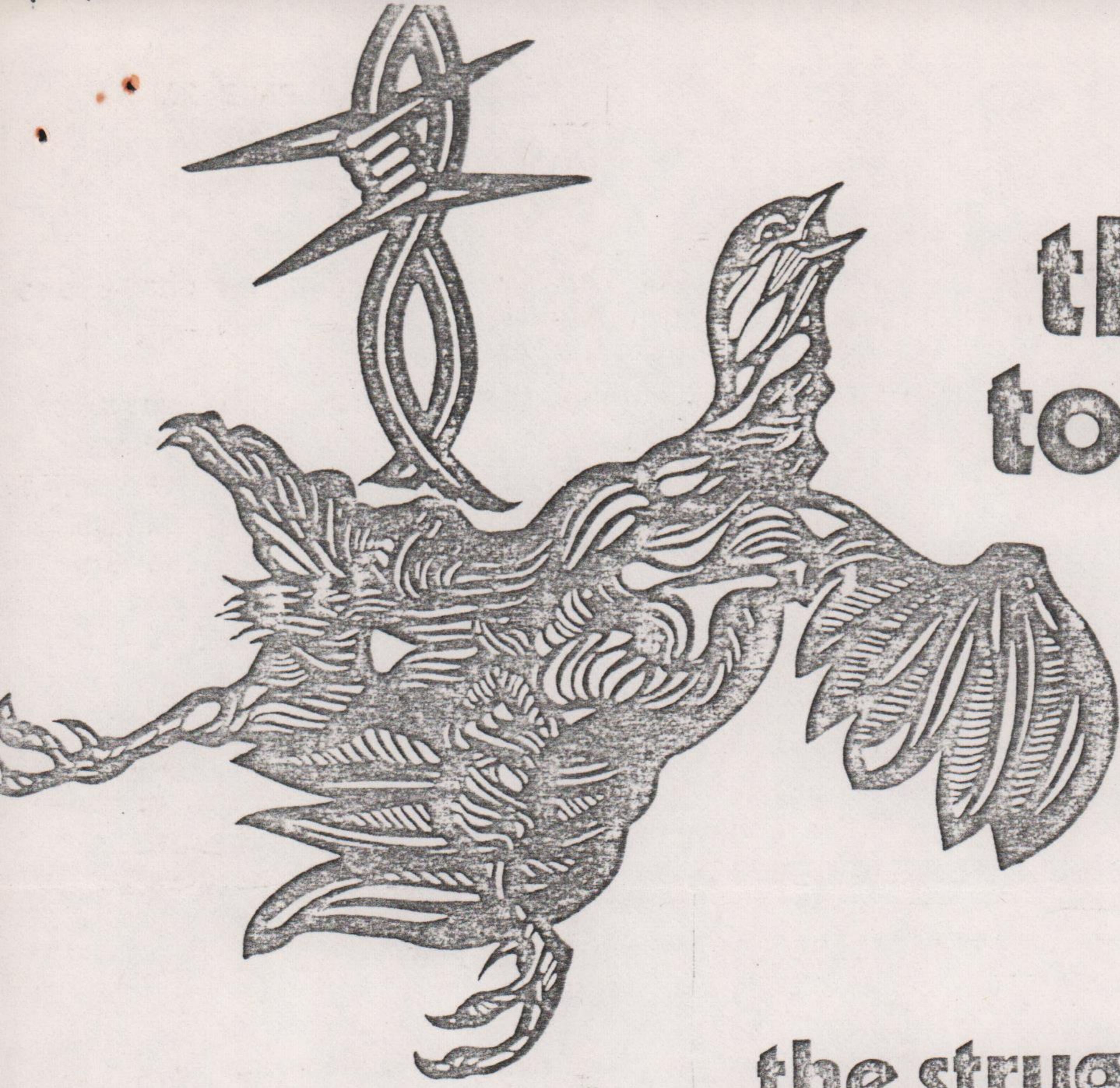
The scarcity of goods continue not only because the government of Russia is a military dictatorship devoted to the production of armaments alone (a war economy modeled by Lenin on the war economy of Germany in 1917, which he had seen develop from his observation post in Switzerland), but also because no totally centralized bureaucracy can, even with the best will in the world, organize an efficient and effective economy. The myriad of daily jobs that are part and parcel of industrial and agricultural production can be taken care of only locally and spontaneously. No central command has either the manpower or the time to accomplish this. Anarchism, which proposes a decentralized economy run by free and voluntary organizations of production and distribution, is denounced as a Utopian ideal but is in fact proven to be eminently practical by the demonstrated ability of the anarchic market place under capitalism to produce ample goods for the consumer. Where capitalism fails is precisely in that aspect of its structure which it has in common with the totalitarian state--the excessive power of the industrial lords, or the monopolistic corporations such as the seven sisters of the oil cartel.

Capitalism's productive ability is marred by the extreme injustice of its distribution system, but the totalitarian state has this defect to a far greater degree and, in addition, fails to produce anything that can be distributed. Under capitalism, the awards of management vs labor is about three-fold, whereas in a totalitarian state the manager receives 8-10 times the wages of a skilled worker. Nor is it possible to reform the totalitarian state, as was demonstrated when Dubcek attempted to give a human face to communist rule in Czechoslovakia. The attempt triggered the invasion by tanks of the Russian military establishment which could not tolerate the reduction of its absolutist powers.

What is called for is a world-wide movement for the abolition of slavery in Russia. Only such a movement, embracing the entire globe, can bring about the overthrow of this monstrous tyranny by reviving the original soviets, self-management groupings of workers and peasants in the days of the Russian Revolution, from March to November 1917. The Russian system of slavery, the "universe concentraire" created by Lenin, is the source of the plague that spread throughout the world. It makes our fight against the evils of capitalist society look like propaganda for the declared enemies of the open societies of the Western world. Only a world-wide movement for the abolition of slavery in Russia can stop the world-wide fascist-communist Russian propaganda for slavery everywhere.

Friedrich von Schiller said "We have nothing to fear from the slave who breaks his chain, nor from any man who is free." While the Western world could and did defeat fascism in war, there is no such option in meeting the menace of communist totalitarianism. A war with nuclear weapons can only destroy such civilization as we have. Our sole alternative is a relentless campaign around the clock with all the media at the disposal of the Western world for the abolition of slave labor in Russia. The attempt to abolish slavery in Hungary and Czechoslovakia failed because the font of communist slavery, the Russian militarist regime, remained intact. Only an uprising of the people of Russia, as in March 1917, can put an end to the militarist rule of their country. A Russia free of dictatorship would be no menace to the rest of the world. The liberated economy would produce butter instead of guns and a Russia freed of tyranny would inspire the oppressed people everywhere to shed their own yokes, though suffering milder forms of oppression than the monstrous totalitarianism of communist Russia.

Gabriel Javscas



the struggle to be human

crime criminology & anarchism

the struggle to be human

It seems naive that for so long we have settled for an explanation of crime and punishment without taking into account economics, the state and the evolving but changeless interdependence of life. Academic sociology and criminology, grounded in the necessity of law, the state and nation-state priorities have served, historically, to mask the essential conditions for a co-operative lifestyle. Even within more critical and so-called revolutionary marxian perspectives, the competency for survival and human continuity remains necessarily lodged in the state. Academic and marxian analyses, by their insistence upon the centrality of the state, continue to trade away the possibility of present human fulfilment and community for a managed and power-based existence. The interdependence of life is disregarded, held hostage by ideology and a tenuous future.

The struggle to be human is the first contemporary work to examine crime, punishment and social harms from a libertarian perspective. It emerges amidst the recurring failure of both academic and marxist sociologies to provide insight into ways in which we can live together harmoniously. It links the issues of social harm and punishment to scarcity and the basic human struggle to be free, and provides an incisive critique of the institutions of law, the state and social administrative systems; it also discusses these institutions within an historical context and highlights their limitations.

The struggle to be human is a foundational work which attempts to restore to the human consciousness a more fundamental understanding of the conditions of social life, maintaining as it does that human survival and continuity are not insured by violence, or power, or institutions derived from the state or the professions, but through human competence and usefulness. Social life that is progressive is not an ideological derivative of the State, history or economics, but derives from co-operation and mutual aid.

Though criminology is a minor concern of society as a whole, it is of major importance as the last defence of statism. Thus criminology must be rescued as a discipline from statism, and one needs to understand how the problems of criminal delinquency arise and how it can be treated. Unless a convincing libertarian criminology can show that without an institutionalised police force and without the inhuman invention of the penal system it will be possible for society to live peacefully, people will turn to the authoritarian state, albeit reluctantly, but still dependent on it, still hoping that by democratic reform they may somehow decriminalise it.

The struggle to be human is written against an American background by two US sociologists, but the analysis is applicable world-wide and the questions raised provide much food for thought, discussion—and action.



L. Tift & D. Sullivan

ANNOUNCING: A 1980 REVIEW OF LIBERTARIAN POLITICS AND
ALTERNATIVE LIFESTYLES

Having aborted the Conference on 'Libertarian Politics and Alternative Lifestyles', I'm compiling a collection of writings, graphics, which will provide the contact of differing libertarian strands intended for the conference without the organisational problems of large-scale people movement. Also, a copy of papers will be more easily and cheaply available to all interested people, sooner.

What I envisage is a large format (A4) book, 50 pp approximately (more if possible), to retail around \$1 - \$1.50. Contents, including those intended for the conference, will range over the following:

- News items from 1980 interpreted from a libertarian point of view, e.g.
 Noonkenbah, Poland, the Federal Police Act, the Olympics ...
- Reviews of comparatively recent and relevant books,
- Information about sources in the libertarian/alternative lifestyles field,
- Updating reports on Down to Earth, the Rainbow Region, the International Communes Movement
- Commentaries on what 1980s libertarians consider issues or consider should be issues,
- Relevant poetry, short fiction and graphics,
- Some items of historical importance.

The Review's bias will be towards this land mass, but important overseas items and sources will be covered.

Donations towards costs will be appreciated. An attempt will be made to pay contributors; however, I cannot promise. Brief, printable comments on the project itself would be appreciated as would be suggestions about items which could be usefully reprinted in such a collection as an annual review.

Print run is initially projected at 5,000, and hoped for distribution date around early-December.

I hope that you will join me, in some form, for what I also hope will not be a one-off exercise.

Please send all enquires and contributions

c/- BOB

P.O. BOX 20

We will pass on any mail we receive on to Bob.

PARKVILLE 3052.

Dear Friend,

We in the LSO have accepted an invitation to be guest editors of the first issue of Social Alternatives in 1981. The enclosed information pages indicate the scope of the journal and various details for the presentation of articles. LSO will itself contribute at least two articles and possibly some introductory material.

We draw your attention to the description of the focus of Social Alternatives. We believe that we should attempt a more rigorous adherence to the "development of alternative proposals to effect social change towards greater freedom and democracy" than has been the case in some other issues of the journal. The journal sells up to 5000 copies. In our judgment Social Alternatives readers believe in democracy (unlike most of the marxist left) and recognize the need for profound social change. However, in our experience they are surprisingly ignorant of many of the examples and issues of direct democracy. Perhaps in consequence, they are likely to accept a marxist-style view of the need for a transitional society which continues many hierarchical and statist forms. Here is an opportunity to make clear that there is a substantial revolutionary libertarian socialist viewpoint.

The editors aim for international distribution and prefer not to re-publish already published works. However, this would not restrict translation into English of already published papers or the re-appearance of articles from publications of restricted circulation.

The deadline for the presentation of our section is 1st March, 1981. We would like to receive word on planned contributions within the next month. At this point we may advise authors of any initial feelings about suitability of topics. We would like to receive a reasonably final draft in December, 1980 at the above address. We have approximately 30,000 words and, since the editors suggest that articles be 1,500 to 4,000 words, there will probably be room for up to half-a-dozen articles, or more if a number are short.

Our initial plans are for an article on the Spanish Revolution emphasizing actual self-management and some lessons for a movement for direct democracy, and an article on the struggle against militarism by a social movement for direct democracy using non-violent strategy. This should not prevent the offering of similar topics. In general we are quite open on topics provided they

emphasize libertarian social alternatives or issues of a movement towards these ends. Articles of a more theoretical nature would be accepted if they were of irresistible quality.

It seems at this stage that, in most countries, the libertarian movement is not mature enough to provide the climate of pluralism and interaction necessary for the production of worthwhile journals (let alone the money etc. and freedom from more basic activism). The planned issue of Social Alternatives is an example of a reasonable publishing alternative.