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UNITE THE WORLD'S WORKERS

There is a great prospect for building an international movement in 1994 which can answer the political and economic crisis ravaging one country after another.

The corruption and scandals surrounding the Major government here in Britain are an expression of a more deep-seated, world-wide crisis. It stretches from Japan to Russia, from the USA to Germany, from Mexico to Algeria. In every country, all the economic and political

arrangements are at breaking point. The "free markets" of capitalism are producing one disaster after another.

by The Editorial Board

Rulers are turning to nationalism and dictatorship to keep their systems going. From trade wars they will soon be preparing for shooting wars against their competitors and rivals.

The crisis is international because

all the economies of the world are inter-connected. The madness of market economics determines everyone's lives - from Moscow to Mexico City.

Workers in Britain may lose their jobs because of decisions in Tokyo; similarly, South American workers are driven into destitution by the bankers of north America. Every day, the money and currency markets of international capitalism transfer more funds by computer than any single government can put together.

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The opportunity is there to unite workers, students, the unemployed, professional people – in fact, everyone whose life is being ruined by the capitalist system – in every country.

There is an alternative to mass unemployment, hospital closures, education cuts and homelessness. There is another way to prevent the destruction of the planet's ecology.

Socialist Future is in favour of building an international movement, to show how it is possible to end the misery of capitalism and transfer power to working people.

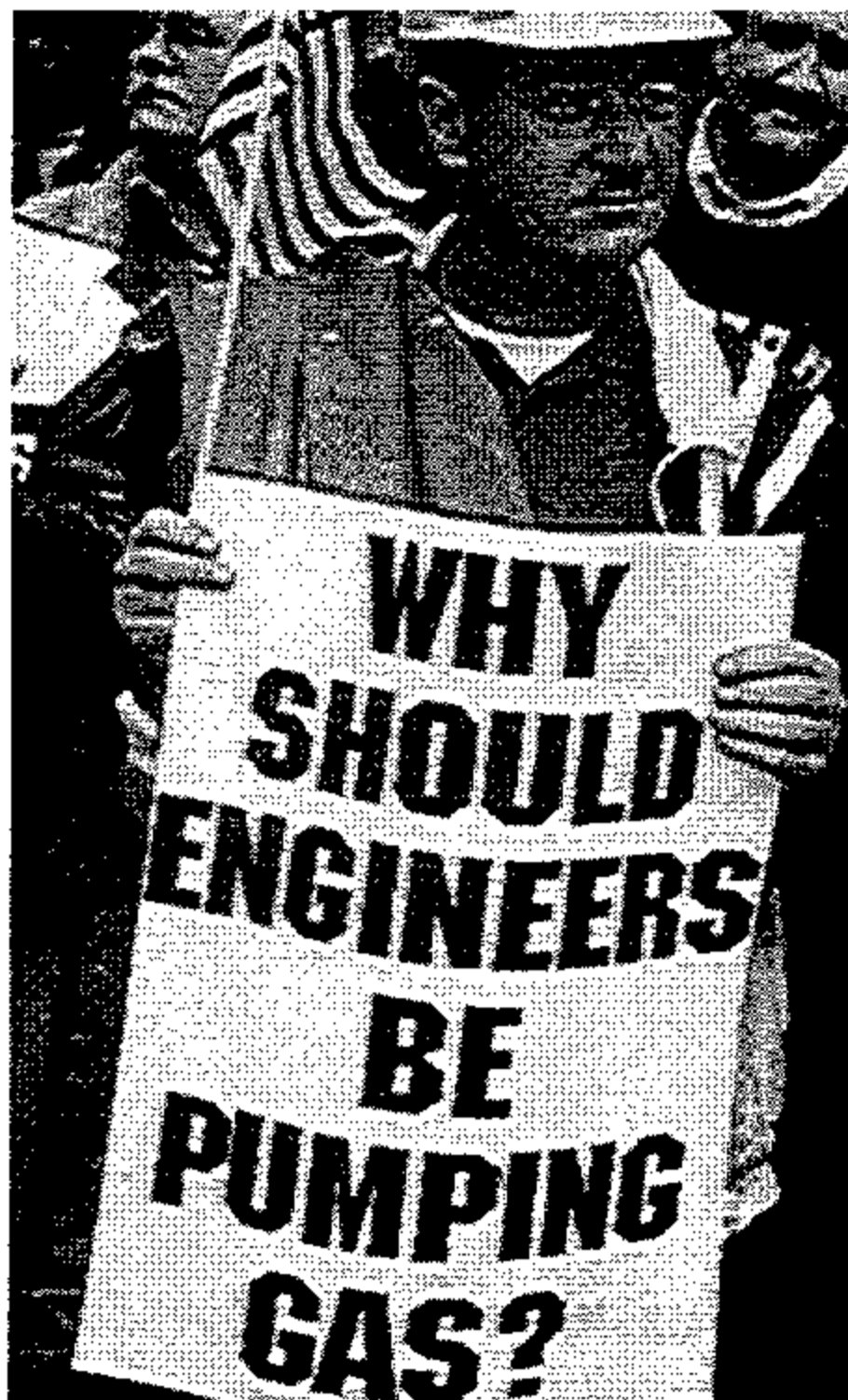
We believe that an international organisation of those committed to fundamental socialist change will help the workers of Russia and other former Soviet republics to prevent capitalism being established in their countries.

Just a glance at what is happening around the world is enough to make the need for an international approach self-evident.

In the **United States**, President Clinton celebrated his first year in office by agreeing to co-operate with a special prosecutor brought in to investigate claims of corruption.

The rottenness of the American political system is shown by the mass poverty in the cities, the desperation of young people who turn to drugs and the shutdown of basic industries.

Japan is in deep slump. The stock market threatens to melt down and mass unemployment is forecast. Old imperialist ambitions are resurfacing.



An American worker with a clear message for his government about unemployment

In **Russia**, the Washington-sponsored government of Boris Yeltsin is in disarray. Capitalist policies have reduced countless millions to destitution. Half of the people refused to vote in Yeltsin's elections, and most of those who did rejected his policies.

The Tory government in **Britain** stumbles from one crisis to another, only kept in office by the abject nature of John Smith's Labour

leadership and the total silence of the trade union leaders.

Corruption and scandals are erupting amongst the Tories because the system they represent is rotten to the core. All around us is the stench of decay from a society that enriches a few at the expense of the majority.

The political system has totally collapsed in **Italy**, putting the country on a count-down to civil war. Unemployment is soaring out of control in **Germany** and in the eastern part of the country, where one in three is without a job, there is widespread disillusionment with the results of unification.

Workers in **Belgium** and **Spain** have staged general strikes against their governments, and in **France** one million took to the streets in the New Year in one of the biggest demonstrations in history.

The indigenous Indians of **Mexico** have rebelled against the destruction of their hopes by the trade agreement signed with America and Canada.

As they said in their declaration to the Mexican people:

"As free men and women we are aware that the war we are declaring is a last but just resort. The dictators have been waging an undeclared and genocidal war against our peoples for many years, wherefore we urge your full participation in support of the Mexican people and their struggle for work, land, housing, food, health, education, independence and freedom, democracy, justice and peace.

"We shall not cease our struggle until we see these basic demands of our people met, forming the government of our free and democratic country."

Their appeal must become the rallying cry around the world for everyone who wants to put an end to private ownership of the economy for profit.

Socialist Future appeals to all our readers to join in the campaign to build an international leadership capable of showing the way forward in every country.

It will be established on the great principles developed by the outstanding pioneers of the revolutionary socialist movement – Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

Supporting this project in a practical way is the most important contribution readers can make to the fight against the Tories in Britain.

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North London students bug the establishment

By Our Education Correspondent

"It's time to take modern technology and use it to our own advantage," says Ross Golden Bannon, one of the editors of *Fuse*, the magazine for North London University students.

Very little has changed for students as a result of marches, letters to MPs and lobbying, and old-fashioned campaigns.

That is why the Student Action Committee was formed. Based at North London University, it was inspired by the concept of a "Media Virus Campaign", a communication network which can spread throughout the country.

Instead of being victims at the receiving end of information technology, the Media Virus campaign uses electronic mail to transmit a poster to universities and colleges. The posters have a list of telephone numbers for each working day. "All students will need to do is to make a telephone call to register their complaints to both the government and the newspapers," Ross explained.

Bad media coverage and government attacks on education affect 1.5 million students. Even if only 10 per cent get involved, the organisers are convinced the campaign will have a big effect.

It aims to use databases of newspaper advertising lines to hit them where it hurts - in their pockets.

How will this work out in practice? Phase One of the campaign is aimed at convincing newspapers to report student issues more fairly, but if they fail to do so, Phase Two will be put into action, preventing advertisers getting through on the lines.

Similar campaigns in France and in the United States were highly successful, the Action Committee found.

The aim is to de-centralise the campaign, says Ross. Each college will have information and it will spread organically like a chain letter.

"We have already had a huge amount of support, and the campaign includes further education and sixth form colleges."

The National Union of Students has refused to support the campaign on the grounds that it will upset the media. But Ross and his colleagues believe: "Unless we take action, nothing will happen."

The national officers of the NUS are interested mainly in using the union as a stepping-stone for their careers, many students feel.

While Ross personally believes there is no such thing as being non-political, he says the campaign can reach the entire student population because it is being run in a "cross-political" way. Whatever students' political beliefs, 99 per cent of them are affected by the government's actions. There are two main questions: cuts in student grants and the attack on the student unions.

"As well as taking our money, they are taking away our representation," Ross says. Grants are to be cut by 10 per cent each year for the next three years. The amount students can borrow under the government loan scheme will increase by the same amount, over the same period. But this will not be enough to live on; already loans have failed to keep pace with the increase in the cost of living. Most students get by on high interest overdrafts. This undoubtedly suits the government and its supporters, who have a vested industry in banking profits.

People need to recognise that the attacks on education are an attack on democracy, says Ross. It is in the government's interest to have an ill-educated population. An educated population, he feels, would make informed and logical choices when it comes to elections.

The government also wants to de-politicise students. The proposed

legislation about student unions will mean that they can only provide funds for "core" activities. These are sports, canteen and welfare facilities.

Students' unions will no longer be allowed to fund students' societies, national representatives or student newspapers. There would be no funding for full-time union officials, and the union would have no real control over its policies.

The attack on student unions involves a threat to all unions, associations and representative organisations.

Universities such as North London are a thorn in the side of the government, Ross and others there feel. It is considered a left-wing college, and it is amongst the largest of the new universities.

At North London there is a great interest in multi-cultural studies, and it is one out of only three in the whole country which does a combined degree in Irish studies. This course was begun in response to the local community's interest. There are also unique Caribbean studies courses.

Ross explains: "Any college that has real debate is considered radical and dangerous.

"It suits the Tories not to have any debate, so that what they say is accepted, and they can set one part of the population against the other.

"It is the activities of colleges such as ours that have made the government set into motion the anti-student union legislation."

For more details of "media virus" send a stamped, addressed envelope to "Fuse", North London University Union, Ladbroke House, 62-66 Highbury Grove, London N5 2AD, or use E-Mail number: NOTES01@UK.AC.UNL.CLUSTER

Palestinians ready to build a homeland

“Whatever the problems they face, Palestinians realise that the PLO is both an institution and an idea – and ideas are stronger than institutions. The PLO represents our sense of identity.”

Afif Safieh, representative of the PLO in London, recently returned to his home in East Jerusalem for the confirmation of his two daughters in the church near where he was born.

It was, he says, the most fascinating 17 days of his life. At the religious service were 750 people, including Palestinians from Israel, from the Occupied Territories, and in exile. A delegation of bedouins came from the south. A number of leading Israelis, including the Minister for the Arts, were also present. “It was an occasion that made me weep for Afif, and for all the Afifs who have been separated from their homes,” he said. “I had a reunion with my classmates, and of the 36 only three now live in Palestine; 33 are in exile.” These are some of his impressions of his visit.



Afif Safieh, the PLO's London representative

Palestinian unity of interests

The media speaks of a rift between those Palestinians living in Israel, those in the Occupied Territories and those in the diaspora. But this does not reflect the true situation, for nearly every Palestinian family lives in at least two of those places. My own family is an example. My mother and sister live in east Jerusalem. My brother is a professor in Brazil. I have Belgian citizenship, and presently live in London. When there are elections in the future, my mother and sister will vote for all of us; my brother and I are representatives of the same PLO that they will vote for.

Palestinian relations

I was struck by the cohesion of Palestinian society, in spite of sharply differing opinions. Arguments take place with mutual

respect. Every community has divergences - but as long as we behave according to democratic precepts we will survive.

For example, Bir Zeit university [in the West Bank] recently held the elections for student representatives. The coalition led by Hamas [muslim fundamentalist group] won. Fatah [Arafat's group] accepted this result with good grace, and when the leader of the Fatah group emerged from the hall, he said: “Democracy won.” And the same spirit is true throughout politics. When some of the deportees in Lebanon were preparing to return home, the Hamas leader said they should take this message from him to his followers: “No Palestinian hand should shed Palestinian blood.”

The situation in Israel

I spent two days in pre-1967 Israel, and was struck by the vitality of the Palestinian communities there. It is a society just bursting to deploy its talent and initiative.

But the Israeli government's policy is to obliterate the Palestinian presence, including its architecture and culture. Over 400 villages have been destroyed totally. The Palestinians are prevented by petty regulations from renovating and repairing their houses. These fall into decay and then the people are rehoused in high-rise buildings, constructed in the most awful taste. I have to say, Israeli architecture is far from attractive.

I found that the beautiful city of Jaffa, that great historic centre of trade and culture - known in the past as “the bride of the Mediterranean” - is now in a pitiful condition.

Three representatives asked me to visit Beit Iasa village near Jerusalem, and there I saw a people totally besieged. Only 1,027 of the population are left; 90% of their land and property has been confiscated. Israeli settlements are still being constructed on their land, although the Israeli government undertook to stop building settlements.

There has been no investment in the village for twenty years. The Israeli bulldozers push rocks on to the cultivated areas that remain to the villagers and then the authorities say “this land is no longer under cultivation” and confiscate it.

Israelis for peace

Most of the Israelis I met were in favour of making a peace settlement. But this was not true of the settlers, many of whom would prefer to push

all the Palestinians across the River Jordan. The most recent arrivals are the most radical. The only really offensive and rude man I met was a Latvian who arrived just five years ago. The political situation in Israel is worrying. For example, the Likud party [right-wing opponents of the talks] won in the recent local elections in west Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

The peace process

From this process we Palestinians say we must get a port, an airport and a passport. As I said, I found the Palestinian people bursting with talent and enthusiasm; there is great potential for tourism, agriculture and trade. Already Palestinian businessmen are becoming more active, but we need more investment. I hope that the British government will appoint a trade representative to promote joint activities.

Stumbling blocks to a settlement remain. The Israelis do not want Jericho to reach as far as the Jordan river at any point, and they also want to keep total control of the bridges between Egypt and Gaza, and Jordan and the West Bank.

It took the Israelis just six days to occupy the West Bank and Gaza. I am sure they could withdraw just as quickly. The deadline for ending the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Gaza and Jericho is April 13th; they should keep to it.

The PLO and Yassir Arafat

Whatever the problems they face, Palestinians realise that the PLO is both an institution and an idea - and ideas are stronger than institutions. The PLO represents our sense of identity.

The problem is that so far the Oslo process has not brought one single improvement in people's lives. No political or economic advantage has flowed from it. And so among the Palestinians I found increasing scepticism about the peace process, alongside an increasing desire for peace.

In spite of this scepticism, everyone is waiting for Arafat. He remains the architect of our national identity. The current gossip is contrary to our national interests and damages our bargaining power. We Palestinians have lived up until now in a unique political situation; it is the fact that there is now the potential for change that has caused the crisis.

SHOCK FOR RUSSIA'S SHOCK THERAPISTS

*by Dr Anatoly Pavlovich Butenko,
Professor of Politics at Moscow State University*

"Shock therapy" is said to have begun in Russia in 1992. And this is certainly true of the economy, where the Yeltsin/Gaidar "political duo" began their wild capitalisation of the country. Beginning with liberalisation of prices, they plunged the majority of the population into misery, in order to create a stratum of profiteers and millionaires as the social basis for their power.

report given at a late night meeting. He recognised that "Stalin's socialism" was not the system it pretended to be: that it was saturated with tyranny and terror.

Mikhail Gorbachev did not make such sensational disclosures, but because of the wide publicity he gave to past events, Soviet people gradually began to learn the truth about

"One does not need to be a Solomon to understand that the democrats themselves have paved the way for fascism and continue to do so."

Over the last two years industrial production has been cut by half, the standard of living is three times lower, and the death rate now exceeds the birth rate. Russia has lost half a million of its population. Here is a shock indeed!

But if we are speaking of "shock therapy" in the sphere of ideology and politics, it is Nikita Krushchev who bears the palm. In 1956 the delegates to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), and then the whole country and indeed the world, were shaken by a secret

themselves. People began to have a real understanding of their history.

Gorbachev said that in our country perestroika was taking place, which meant a renewal of socialism, and at this time people believed him. It was only the most courageous political scientists who understood that it was a lie, for there was nothing to renew. Because of Stalinism, Soviet society turned off the socialist road to historical confusion. Leon Trotsky and many other Leninists wrote this at the time.

During this period, an interview

was published in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, (August 16, 1989) with two political scientists – I. Klyamkin and A. Migranyan – entitled “Is the ‘iron hand’ needed?”.

The authors proceeded from the fact that in Soviet society was not socialist, but was governed by a totalitarian regime, both when Stalin was alive and after.

And who could disagree? How can one speak of socialism where the means of production, as well as political power, were estranged from working people.

Instead we had all the features of totalitarianism:

- A messianic, mono-ideology (so-called Marxism/Leninism in its distorted, Stalinised version).
- One party rule by the exponents of this ideology, and a charismatic leader.
- A vast apparatus for repression of anyone with a different ideology.
- A monopoly on information.
- A centralised, command economy.

SENSATION

It was not this theory that caused a sensation, but the fact that in a “democratic” journal like *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, two political scientists asserted that to solve the economic and political problems which would arise on the way from a totalitarian system to a market economy and political democracy, we had to sit one more exam – the power of the “iron hand”, or authoritarianism.

Now, after four years of continuous struggle between democratic and anti-democratic forces, this forecast has come true. After the bloody events that took place in October, authoritarianism has become real.

Recently both Klyamkin and Migranyan referred to their prognosis of 1989 in articles published simultaneously, but in

different newspapers, and from different standpoints. Migranyan (who is now a member of the Presidential Council) is busily searching for means to ensure more “efficient authoritarian power”. Klyamkin is anxious about the euphoria of those in power, their possible irresponsibility in using a regime established by bloodshed. So he warns: “Authoritarianism as a means of transition to capitalism is just the usual kind of utopia under Russian conditions.”

When the original article was published in 1989, the authors were subjected to an avalanche of accusations and disapproval, some of it rather rude. However, almost nobody took notice of the main defect in their position. It was that they regarded authoritarian rule as inevitable, and what is more – “necessary”. This was the Achilles’ heel of their “democratic” argument for authoritarianism.

However, neither democracy nor authoritarianism arise “naturally” and to persist on this line is not a mark of scientific conscientiousness, but rather of political unscrupulousness. Nice democrats, to be sure, to claim that there is no sense in fighting for democracy as it is impossible to avoid non-democratic authoritarianism!

This four-year-old interview might be of no interest today were it not for the events that took place in September – October. These were a shock for Russia, for former Soviet Republics and many countries abroad. They showed “who is who” in present-day Russia and what they aspire to. All politicians and political scientists who believe that “twice two is four” clearly see that the power of “the iron hand” has become firmly established, and that it did not come as a surprise to people.

They were being prepared for it for some time. They were led to believe that there were no forces

capable of opposing this development. Now the political power is concentrated in one branch of the state – the executive, and in the hands of one person – the President. What is more, all the representative institutions from top to bottom, from the Congress of People’s Deputies Council and the Supreme Soviet to local Soviets, have been abolished (except in some national republics).

And what next? Having captured control, those in power realise they are quickly losing their democratic image: authoritarianism is anti-democratic, after all!

Those in power in Russia today want to have a democratic image, not only for the purposes of the elections to the Federal Assembly but also for those in the West who promised support for democratic reform. But now Mitterrand, the President of France, says that Boris Yeltsin “resorts to practices which I regret and which by no means can be called marching along the road to democracy”.

Such a funny situation – it is much more convenient to rule by authoritarian means, but it is necessary to look like democrats!

THE VIEW FROM THE WEST

The conservative Dutch newspaper *Algemein Dagblad* writes: “Yeltsin has always made efforts to obtain the right to rule the Russian people without any control and any interference from outside, according to the rules he himself established. And his wish has come true. Some of his opponents have been beaten, others put into prison, still others have been killed. If one judges by these events and facts, it is doubtful that elections in December can be carried out democratically. Having such a President who is praised to the skies as a true democrat, Russia is nonetheless likely to remain

what it has always been: the country which is ruled by 'the iron hand' and where human rights are not observed."

Alluding to the bloody October events, Western analysts put the main question without beating about the bush: "Hasn't Yeltsin in setting out to save democracy with the help of guns, instead shot it dead?"

Any reasonable person understands that it is absurd to consider oneself a democrat and yet speak in favour of authoritarian rule. But what can one do if authoritarianism is inevitable, predetermined, as we were told by our two political scientists. If that is true, then one would have to accept authoritarianism as ill fate, and submit.

But, fortunately, there are no "iron laws" in the development of society! And if there appear to be "iron laws" then it is the result of morbid imagination making an absolute of one side of real life.

It is suggested that the only way of making the transition from totalitarianism to the market is via an authoritarian regime.

In reality there are at least two possibilities for the transition to the market – by compulsion or by consensus. It is true that as a rule the transition has been by compulsion. But this does not mean that it is the only way. Our two political scientists were brought up with our history, saturated with violence, and under conditions of constant antagonisms. Nobody taught them about the possibility of consensus.

But perhaps I myself have imagined this second way, which does not exist in reality? Not at all. If we appeal to history, we can see that there was no authoritarianism on the way from totalitarianism to the free market economy either in post-war Italy or Germany, because there was an agreement between all layers of population on the need to transform the former system.

More than a month has passed since "the iron hand" took uncontrolled power. On December 12 the referendum and elections took place; to ensure that they took place the White House was fired on and the Supreme Soviet was dispersed, in the name of the new Constitution.

The results of the voting on December 12 have become another dose of "shock therapy" in politics, but now it is the democrats themselves who appear to be shocked. Pseudo-democrats won only 15.05% of the votes. The majority of those who voted, voted for the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) headed by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy (24.58%). Communists and the Agrarian Party got 11.15% and 8.02% respectively, more than the pro-Yeltsin "Russia's Choice".

SHOCK FOR YELTSIN

This result, like a bolt from the blue, has shaken all the brain centres of the Yeltsin regime. There have been mass resignations and quarrels have broken out between democrats. They are in a panic over the danger of fascism which increases together with the growth of the LDPR.

Those in power began to look for reasons for what has happened. Some blame the disunity of the different democrat groupings during the election campaign; some the disloyalty of their own press; others blunders by the state television. One democrat-moralist blamed the whole country: "It is in a state of stupor," he claimed.

But one does not need to be a Solomon to understand that the democrats themselves have paved the way for fascism and continue to do so. Why? Firstly, because of the "wild capitalisation" which they carried out as a substitute for economic reforms. They robbed the population, and created a layer of dissatisfied

lumpens – the main social basis of fascism.

Secondly, without taking into account the national pride of their fellow citizens, they abused them, calling them "the mob" and "Sovki". They grovelled before the West. All this led to a growth not only of national awareness and patriotism, but also of extreme nationalism and chauvinism.

Thirdly, by unleashing and promoting anti-communism, they directed the growing dissatisfaction with their policies to support for the right – the LDPR and Zhirinovskiy.

All this raises some interesting questions for the democrats to answer. Was it worth dispersing the Supreme Soviet headed by R. Khazbulatov in order to have the Federal Assembly with V. Zhirinovskiy? Is it worth having a new constitution which gives the President power to disperse the Parliament at any time, when that constitution is welcomed by Zhirinovskiy, who will hope to use it for his own purposes?

Socialist Future Fund

Socialist Future is based on internationalism in practice. We want your support for the campaign launched on the front page of this issue. Crucial to that is raising the money to maintain and develop *Socialist Future*. We have no rich benefactors because revolutionary principles don't attract that kind of support.

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POOR COUNTRIES ARE VICTIMS OF TRADE DEAL

The richer countries have forced developing countries to sign up to a trade deal which benefits the multinationals.

Signed in Geneva at the end of last year, the the new trading arrangements will increase the wealth of the big corporations at the expense of both poorer countries and workers in the industrialised nations.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, set up in 1947, ended a seven-year series of talks with a set of new arrangements which were hailed as a triumph for free trade.

But a closer analysis of the agreement – known as the Uruguay Round – signed by representatives of 117 nations – after America and Europe had dictated the details – reveals a much different picture.

Belinda Coote, a policy adviser for Oxfam, one of Britain's biggest aid organisations, told *Socialist Future* that the poorer countries of the world will be the losers from the new global trading arrangements.

Detailed calculations show that the new deal will have a damaging effect on the people of many countries. The sub-Saharan countries of Africa will be the worst off.

"Many economists who were in favour of GATT have now decided, having studied its provisions in detail, that it will be harmful," says Coote, who is a specialist in world trade.

GATT will not bring benefits to the poor; it is not in the nature of the agreement. "It is about easing the terms of trade for trans-national corporations", Coote explained.

The purpose of the negotiations was to make it easier for trans-national corporations to move around the world.

"It means the free movement of goods and capital on terms dictated by the North," she added

The World Bank, Coote says, is pushing developing countries to open up to goods from the North, while they maintain their own tariffs to protect domestic markets.

It will be increasingly difficult for the poorer countries to build up an economic infrastructure. These countries will not achieve true sovereignty, since they will be functioning on terms dictated by the major international economies.

This view is reinforced in a report by Christian Aid, written to warn the negotiators about the consequences of the deal they were about to sign.

Compiled by Peter Madden and John Madeley, the report says that "many of the world's poorest countries will be made even poorer if the Uruguay Round of world trade talks is finalised".

"A number of countries will be forced to accept a Round in which they not only fail to gain better market access and increased trade volumes; they will actually suffer reduced market access and lower trade volumes."

The authors warn: "Even if a developing country gains overall, the poorest people within that country may lose."

"There may well be an increase in poverty in some countries if the benefits of trade liberalisation are concentrated in the hands of a few."

African countries stand to lose nearly \$3,000 million (£2,000 million) a year by 2002 from the changes arising from GATT.

Three-quarters of all developing countries - as well as Britain - import most of their food. These nations will face higher import bills as food

Who wins?

Low income Asia	1.8
China	37.0
India	4.6
<i>sub-total</i>	43.4
Upper income Asia	20.6
Indonesia	-1.9
<i>sub-total</i>	18.8
Nigeria	-1.0
South Africa	-0.4
Maghreb	-0.6
Other Africa	-0.6
<i>sub-total</i>	-2.6
Mediterranean	-1.6
Gulf Region	3.1
<i>sub-total</i>	1.5
Brazil	3.4
Mexico	0.3
Other Latin American	4.4
<i>sub-total</i>	8.0
United States	18.8
Canada	2.5
Australia/NZ	1.1
Japan	25.9
EC	80.7
EFTA	12.8
<i>sub-total</i>	141.8
Eastern Europe	1.4
Former USSR	0.8
<i>sub total</i>	2.1

Shows gains and losses (- numbers) from the year 2002, resulting from the recent GATT deal.

Figures are in billions of dollars.

subsidies are lowered throughout the world and prices increase.

According to the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), 104 out of 132 developing countries were net importers of food in 1989.

These countries exported food worth £9 billion but imported food worth £33 billion, a net drain on their resources of £24 billion.

"Most of these countries – the poorest African and food importers – will not be compensated by other changes that the Uruguay Round will make," says the Christian Aid report.

In countries such as the Philippines, the government has already reduced production and export subsidies for farmers and cut imports to liberalise trade.

But the Peasant Movement of the Philippines has said that this is having a direct impact on poor rural producers. In a statement described



*Coal miners in India: One of the outstanding photographs of workers from countries including Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and Europe on view until February 13 in the Foyer Gallery on Level 2 of the Royal Festival Hall. The exhibition and accompanying book are by Sebastiao Salgado and are called *Workers: An Archaeology of the Industrial Age*.*

by Christian Aid as "a cry from an impoverished section of humanity - the way they see international trade," the Peasant Movement says:

"The government's position protects the interests of big exporters and manufacturers, but penalises small peasant production while promoting medium and large-scale agribusiness. The net effect is the near total disintegration of family farming."

One of the most sensitive areas of the GATT agreement is the question of "Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights" (TRIPS). Many people are familiar with this, even though they may not know it.

Those super-cheap designer labels on anything from sports shirts to sun-glasses which you can find in your local high street market are usually made in developing countries.

The new agreements aim to outlaw such pirate practices, but they can equally be used to penalise the poor consumers and farmers in developing countries.

Oxfam's Coote explained that the protection of patents means that the transfer of technology from the developed countries to the poorer countries will be entirely on the terms of the rich. It means control over knowledge.

The demand for payment for pharmaceutical formulae or seeds for farming will affect the poorest countries the most.

Most sensitive of all is the question of patents on seeds. International seed companies may try to get royalties for breeding different varieties of high-yield seed which has been developed in Western laboratories.

But, Christian Aid points out, the farmers from the countries now being asked to pay high prices for seeds actually supplied them in the first place. They were never paid for parting with the raw material that was used to create new strains.

India protested strongly against these provisions, on grounds of economic sovereignty. In 1993 thousands of farmers in the South Indian state of Karnataka burnt down a building belonging to a Western company.

They were afraid that they would not be able to replant seeds that their ancestors used for centuries. In October last year thousands more farmers attacked a US chemical company, calling them "gene pirates".

The farmers launched the Third World Farmers' Movement Against Transnational Corporations. They are hoping to involve farmers in other

developing countries in their campaign for the protection of their rights to seeds, trees and plants.

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), implemented on January 1 this year between the United States, Canada and Mexico, is in Cootes' opinion, a "mini-Uruguay agreement".

The text is very similar. It is a process of deregulation which has been going on between the three countries for three decades. Jobs are being lost on a vast scale, and not only among the workers in the southern countries. Workers in Canada and the United States are losing jobs too.

The Maquilladora area between the Mexican and US borders provides an example of how trans-national corporations will operate in more and more areas.

US companies have been allowed to set up plants in the area, using cheap Mexican labour. They are flouting environmental regulations and labour laws, and have turned the region into an ecological and social disaster zone.

At the same time, American companies and agricultural businesses export products duty free to Mexico, undermining local manufacture and farming.

The January uprising by the Zapatista peasants was the result of a long process which has squeezed the peasant sector to intolerable levels.

Their extreme poverty is the result of the Mexican government's policy of removing subsidies and opening up agriculture to foreign competition.

In Cootes' view, the peasants' uprising was not only about NAFTA, but about the way in which the Mexican government has carried out the instructions of the International Monetary Fund and the United States. When oil prices collapsed in 1982, interest rates soared and capital flowed out of the country. Mexico and other South American countries could only borrow money at high interest rates.

The IMF bailed them out, with strict conditions attached to loans, which meant that the poorer countries were forced to open their doors to unrestricted foreign investment and competition.

By some estimates, 90 per cent of Mexico's maize farmers - some 1.6 million families - will be bankrupted by a flood of cheap US corn imports.

HOW MARX BECAME A MARXIST

Throughout the civilised world the teachings of Marx evoke the utmost hostility and hatred of all bourgeois science (both official and liberal), which regards Marxism as a kind of "pernicious sect". And no other attitude is to be expected, for there can be no "impartial" social science in a society based on class struggle. In one way or another, *all* official and liberal science *defends* wage slavery, whereas Marxism has declared relentless war on that slavery. To expect science to be impartial in a wage-slave society is as foolishly naive as to expect impartiality from manufacturers on the question of whether workers' wages ought not to be increased by decreasing the profits of capital.

But this is not all. The history of philosophy and the history of social science show with perfect clarity that there is nothing resembling "sectarianism" in Marxism, in the sense of its being a hidebound, petrified doctrine, a doctrine which arose *away* from the highroad of the development of world civilisation. On the contrary, the genius of Marx consists precisely in his having furnished answers to questions already presented by the foremost minds of mankind. His doctrine emerged as the direct and immediate *continuation* of the teachings of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economy and socialism.

The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is comprehensive and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world outlook irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defence of bourgeois oppression. It is the legitimate successor to the best that man produced in the nineteenth century, as represented by Germany philosophy, English political economy and French socialism. It is these three sources of

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the leader of the first successful workers' revolution in Russia in November 1917, died 70 years ago in January. To mark the occasion, *Socialist Future* is reproducing Lenin's article, *The Three Component Parts of Marxism*. It was first published in a Bolshevik theoretical newspaper called *Prosveshcheniye* (Englightenment) in St Petersburg in 1913. Lenin wrote the article to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx.

Marxism, which are also its component parts, that we shall outline in brief.

I

The philosophy of Marxism is *materialism*. Throughout the modern history of Europe, and especially at the end of the eighteenth century in France, where a resolute struggle was conducted against every kind of medieval rubbish, against serfdom in institutions and ideas, materialism has proved to be the only philosophy that is consistent, true to all the teachings of natural science and hostile to superstition, cant and so forth. The enemies of democracy have, therefore, always exerted all their efforts to "refute", undermine and defame materialism, and have advocated various forms of philosophical idealism, which always, in one way or another, amounts to the defence or support of religion.

Marx and Engels defended philosophical materialism in the most determined manner and repeatedly explained how profoundly erroneous is every deviation from this basis. Their views are most clearly and fully expounded in the works of Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach* and *Anti-Duhring*, which like the *Communist Manifesto*, are handbooks for every class conscious worker.

But Marx did not stop at eighteenth-century materialism; he developed philosophy to a higher level. He enriched it with the achievements of German classical philosophy, especially of Hegel's system, which in its turn had led to the materialism of Feuerbach. The main achievement was *dialectics*, which is the doctrine of development in its fullest, deepest and most comprehensive form, the doctrine of the relativity of the human knowledge that provides us with a reflection of eternally developing



Lenin speaking at the unveiling of a temporary monument to Marx and Engels in Moscow, November 7, 1918.

matter. The latest discoveries of natural science – radium, electrons, the transmutation of elements – have been a remarkable confirmation of Marx’s dialectical materialism, despite the teachings of the bourgeois philosophers with their “new” reversion to old and decadent idealism.

Marx deepened and developed philosophical

materialism to the full, and extended the cognition of nature to include the cognition of *human society*. His *historical materialism* was a great achievement in scientific thinking. The chaos and arbitrariness that had previously reigned in views on history and politics were replaced by a strikingly integral and harmonious scientific theory, which shows how, in

consequence of the growth of productive forces, out of one system of social life another and higher system develops - how capitalism, for instance, grows out of feudalism.

Just as man's knowledge reflects nature (i.e., developing matter), which exists independently of him, so man's *social knowledge* (i.e., his various views and doctrines - philosophical, religious, political and so forth) reflects the *economic system* of society. Political institutions are a superstructure on the economic foundation. We see, for example, that the various political forms of the modern European states serve to strengthen the domination of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat.

Marx's philosophy is a consummate philosophical materialism which has provided mankind, and especially the working class, with powerful instruments of knowledge.

II

Having recognised that the economic system is the foundation on which the political superstructure is erected, Marx devoted his greatest attention to the study of this economic system. Marx's principal work, *Capital*, is devoted to a study of the economic system of modern, i.e., capitalist society.

Classical political economy, before Marx, evolved in England, the most developed of the capitalist countries. Adam Smith and David Ricardo, by their investigations of the economic system, laid the foundations of the *labour theory of value*. Marx continued their work; he provided a proof of the theory and developed it consistently. He showed that the value of every commodity is determined by the quantity of socially necessary labour time spent on its production.

Where the bourgeois economists saw a relation between things (the exchange of one commodity for another) Marx revealed *a relation between people*. The exchange of commodities expresses the connection between individual producers through the market. *Money* signifies that the connection is becoming closer and closer, inseparably uniting the entire economic life of the individual producers into one whole. *Capital* signifies a further development of this connection: man's labour power becomes a commodity. The wage worker sells his labour power to the owner of land, factories and instruments of labour. The worker spends one part of the day covering the cost of maintaining himself and his family (wages), while the other part of the day he works without remuneration, creating for the capitalist *surplus-value*, the source of profit, the source of the wealth of the capitalist class.

The doctrine of surplus-value is the corner-stone of Marx's economic theory.

Capital, created by the labour of the worker,

crushes the worker, ruining small proprietors and creating an army of unemployed. In industry, the victory of large-scale production is immediately apparent, but the same phenomenon is also to be observed in agriculture, where the superiority of large-scale capitalist agriculture is enhanced, the use of machinery increases and the peasant economy, trapped by money-capital, declines and falls into ruin under the burden of its backward technique. The decline of small-scale production assumes different forms in agriculture, but the decline itself is an indisputable fact.

By destroying small-scale production, capital leads to an increase in productivity of labour and to the creation of a monopoly position for the associations of big capitalists. Production itself becomes more and more social - hundreds of thousands and millions of workers become bound together in a regular economic organism - but the product of this collective labour is appropriated by a handful of capitalists. Anarchy of production, crises, the furious chase after markets and the insecurity of existence of the mass of the population are intensified.

By increasing the dependence of the workers on capital, the capitalist system creates the great power of united labour.

Marx traced the development of capitalism from embryonic commodity economy, from simple exchange, to its highest forms, to large-scale production.

And the experience of all capitalist countries, old and new, year by year, demonstrates clearly the truth of this Marxian doctrine to increasing numbers of workers.

Capitalism has triumphed all over the world, but this triumph is only the prelude to the triumph of labour over capital.

III

When feudalism was overthrown, and "free" capitalist society appeared in the world, it at once became apparent that this freedom meant a new system of oppression and exploitation of the working people. Various socialist doctrines immediately emerged as a reflection of and protest against this oppression. Early socialism, however, was *utopian socialism*. It criticised capitalist society, it condemned and damned it, it dreamed of its destruction, it had visions of a better order and endeavoured to convince the rich of the immorality of exploitation.

But utopian socialism could not indicate the real solution. It could not explain the real nature of wage slavery under capitalism, it could not reveal the laws of capitalist development, or show what *social*

force is capable of becoming the creator of a new society.

Meanwhile, the stormy revolutions which everywhere in Europe, and especially in France, accompanied the fall of feudalism, of serfdom, more and more clearly revealed the *struggle of classes* as the basis and driving force of all development.

Not a single victory of political freedom over the feudal class was won except against desperate resistance. Not a single capitalist country evolved on a more or less free and democratic basis except by a life-and-death struggle between the various classes of capitalist society.

The genius of Marx lies in his having been the first to declare from this the lesson world history teaches and to apply that lesson consistently. The deduction he made is the doctrine of the *class struggle*.

People have always been the foolish victims of deception and self-deception in politics, and they always will be until they have learnt to seek out the *interests* of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises. Champions of reforms and improvements will always be fooled by the defenders of the old order until they realise that every old

institution, however barbarous and rotten it may appear to be, is kept going by the forces of certain ruling classes. And there is *only one way* of smashing the resistance of those classes, and that is to find, in the very society which surrounds us, the forces which can – and, owing to their social position, *must* – constitute the power capable of sweeping away the old and creating the new, and to enlighten and organise those forces for the struggle.

Marx's philosophical materialism alone has shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished. Marx's economic theory alone has explained the true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism.

Independent organisations of the proletariat are multiplying all over the world, from America to Japan and from Sweden to South Africa. The proletariat is becoming enlightened and educated by waging its class struggle; it is ridding itself of the prejudices of bourgeois society; it is rallying its ranks every more closely and is learning to gauge the measure of its successes; it is steeling its forces and is growing irresistibly.

What we stand for

There is now an urgent need to build Councils of Action throughout Britain to bring together all those in the Tory firing line.

To challenge Tory rule over jobs, services and basic rights means engaging in a struggle for power itself. There is no parliamentary solution to what is a fundamental crisis of the capitalist system internationally.

Real power lies behind the theatre of parliament – in the boardrooms of the multi-nationals and banks, in the higher reaches of the civil service, with property companies and landowners.

Denied the right to political expression by a Tory one-party state, workers have every right to organise independently of parliament. They cannot have any faith in John Smith and the other right-wing leaders of the Labour Party. Smith has taken Labour further to the right, towards a merger with the reactionary Liberal Democrats and a complete break with the trade unions.

Every organisation opposed to the Tories, representing trade unionists, the unemployed, students, young people, ethnic groups and small businesses should be represented in Councils of Action. They will defend and organise health, education, housing and other services and jobs, and protect communities from racist attacks. Workers organisations would present their policies for

discussion and adoption. The Communist League's view is that Councils of Action should be used for the purposes of taking power itself, destroying the Tories' dictatorship throughout Britain. The perspective of Councils of Action should be the transfer of power from the ruling class, to break up and overthrow the capitalist state and its institutions.

Power must pass to the working class, out of the hands of the employers who sack thousands, building societies who make people homeless, and banks that wreck small businesses. It is the only way forward for workers in England, Scotland and Wales. Class, not religion, race, nationality or gender, is the fundamental basis of the struggle for power.

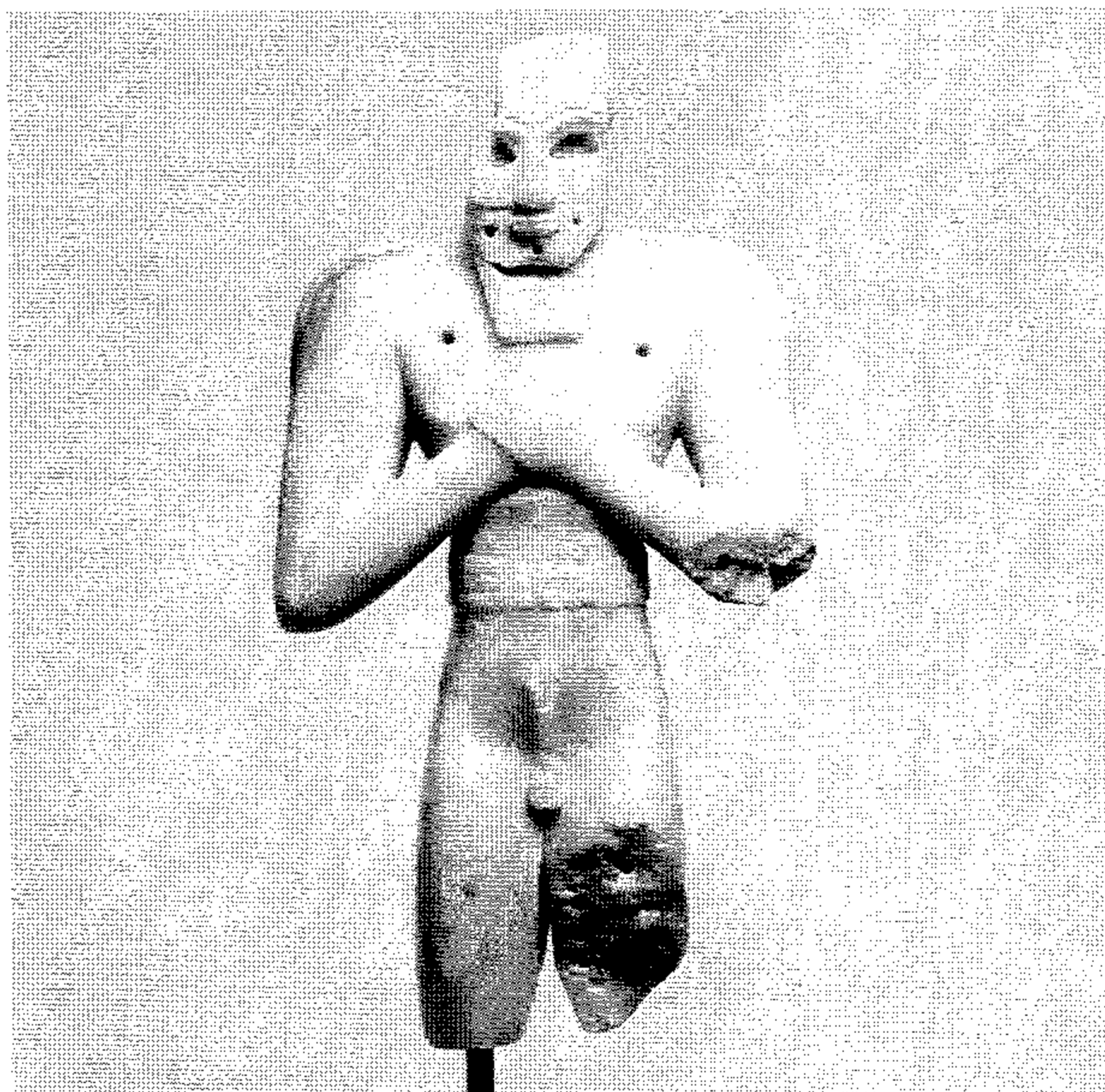
The Tories could not have stayed in office so long without the right-wing Labour Party and trade union leaderships propping them up.

The Communist League is an organisation which wants to build a revolutionary leadership to replace those who have misled the working class.

Our organisation trains its members as Marxists because it is not possible to fight capitalism with the ideas handed down to us by the system we live under.

The Communist League has its history in the ideas of Trotsky, who showed how Stalin had betrayed the Russian Revolution of 1917. Like Trotsky and Lenin, we believe that to succeed in the goal of the socialist revolution needs an international organisation.

TRACING THE RISE OF HUMAN CIVILISATION



In Pursuit of the Absolute, Art of the Ancient World, Royal Academy of Arts, Piccadilly W.1. Until April 6. Open daily 10-6pm. £4.50 & £3 concessions. Combined reduced tickets with the "Unknown Modigliani"

Picture left: Sumerian alabaster statue from the 3rd Millenium BC.

Objects salvaged from the history of human civilisation from its very beginnings can be seen close up in the Royal Academy's galleries.

Works of art, religion, and daily use are placed at eye level and beautifully lit, so that every detail can be appreciated.

Many of them are not surrounded by interfering glass or cases. Surface texture, the use of different materials and size can be immediately felt as three dimensional entities.

The care and time lavished on displaying the objects in this way makes it a pleasure to walk round them and to feel the presence of the human beings who made them and used them, such a long time ago.

Instead of being alien and remote, the time between them and us begins to shrink.

The earliest peoples to form cities and use writing, it is generally agreed, emerged 6,000 years ago.

The warm and fertile lowlands of what today is called southern Iraq made it possible for humans to create the first civilisation in history, the Sumerian.

Modern Iraq is marked by a genocidal war against its own people, who gave birth in ancient times to huge walled cities, their own religion with powerful officials, myths, poetry and the earliest form of writing.

Some fragments of this amazing culture have been preserved and can be seen in this Royal Academy exhibition.

Carved from waxy alabaster stone, a 34-centimeter high statue of a "Bull-man" is one of the oldest

objects on display.

He looks out of hollow eyes, with his arms crossed in front of his broad shoulders. The two holes in his chest mark the place where he was possibly holding the legs of a calf.

A group of works from pre-historic Egypt lead up to the foundation of the First Dynasty. The ordinary people who lived around the river Nile had their own gods along side the "official" ones. They were especially attached to the hippopotamus. To get across the river after you died, you had to have an image of the creature with you so that it wouldn't upset the boat.

The Bull-Man of Sumer was made around 2,500 BC, but 2,000 years later people in ancient Greece, thousands of miles away, were making statues with the same

position of the head and body.

The transitions of Ancient Greece are represented by the cultures that flowered in places such as the Cycladic Islands and Crete during the Bronze Age.

Again, the human body was the focus for these cultures. Sometimes a heavy female body, sometimes a smooth, almost sexless shape.

The collection covers a wide sweep of history and enables the viewer to see the connections, similarities and differences between one civilisation and another. Not only works of art and of religious significance, but objects of every day life are to be seen.

A discus and weights used by sportsmen 3,000 years ago have the name of the maker - the "Adidas" or "Nike" of those times - written in large letters around the edge.

The athlete to whom they belonged also made sure his name was on them too.

Increasing numbers of materials began to be used, including bronze, gold, silver, terracotta and glass.

The Classical period of ancient Greece began after the Greeks defeated their enemies the Persians in battles on land and sea.

A new freedom and movement enters into art, which stops being dominated by fear of death and celebrates life.

Sculptors began to breathe life into the abstract formal shapes that had marked all the earlier styles.

The large fragments that have survived are usually heavily marked by time. A torso of a young man, for example, when viewed from behind, has deep incisions on the back.

There are objects from many parts of the world, ranging from Egypt, the Peshawar valley, between today's Afghanistan and Pakistan, Sardinia, Etruria in Italy, Iberia (today's Spain), Africa, Polynesia and South America.

All these things were collected by George Ortiz, who was born into a fortune made from Bolivian tin mines. He spent most of his life selecting, buying and studying his collection. He decided during a journey in 1949 that ancient Greek art was the key to the "spiritual birth of man".

The Ortiz collection was exhibited first in St Petersburg and Moscow before coming to London. This tour is the first time that it has been shown as a whole.

Work in Progress...

Sculptor Sophie Horton is busy making a new installation, called "Even Concrete Has Feelings".

Horton specialises in making things out of unusual materials such as steel, suede, plastic, nylon, and fake fur. Her sculptured environment is to be shown in Southwark Park's Cafe Gallery.

Semi-tubular concrete forms will line the walls like a display of military hardware.

It will arouse the feeling of being trapped in a padded cell, leading to a variety of responses. The oppressiveness of the work is contradicted by the flaws and irregularities arising from the way the concrete is mixed.

Recent shows by Sophie Horton have included one-person installations in Sheffield, Darlington, the Central Space Gallery and the Islington Arts Factory.

The nearest tube to Southwark Park is Surrey Quays and visitors can combine a visit to the show with a walk through Southwark Park.

The Café Gallery is administered by the Bermondsey Artists Group, with some help from the London Arts Board and Southwark Leisure. Horton's show is open March 9-27. Gallery hours: Weds-Sun 11a.m to 4p.m.. Admission is free. Tel: 071 232 2170/237 1230

Listings

FREE AND LOCAL

Pete Hoida's Paintings.

Until February 6

Mali Morris from April 15 to May 1.

The Living Room

142 Greenwich High Road, London, SE10

Tel: 081 853 2325

Evenings 6.30-9.00; Weekends 11-6.30

Islington Museum

Frying Tonight: History of the Fish and Chip Shop (Jan-Feb) Weds-Fri 11-3;

Sat 11-5; Sun 2-4,

and Immigrant Stories (April)

Islington Museum

268 Upper Street, Islington N1

071 477 3851

Vestry House Museum

Waltham Forest's local museum includes the first car to be made in London.

Vestry Road, E.17. Tel: 081 509 1917

Mon-Fri 10-1 & 2-5.30. Sat 10-1 & 2-5

William Morris Gallery

Lloyd Park, Forest Road, E.17

The childhood home of the socialist craftsman famous for his wallpaper and textile designs.

Tel 081 527 3782. Free.

Tues-Sat 10-1 & 2-5.30. 1st Sun in month 10-12 & 2-5.

PREVIEWS

The Reading Room

Artists and writers focus on the Reading Room as a physical and mental space. Installations at the Freud Museum in London, Camden Arts Centre, Glasgow and Oxford. London March 18-April 24.

More information: Book Works, 19 Holywell Row, EC2A 4JB. Tel: 071 247 2536

MAJOR EXHIBITIONS

Claude: The Poetic Landscape

Until April 10

National Gallery, Trafalgar Square

Adm £3, conc £1.50

One of the greatest landscape painters.

Wednesday evenings late openings until 8pm with chamber music in the foyer.

Tel: 071 839 1785

All Human Life

Photographs from the Hulton Deutsch Collection

Barbican Art Gallery

Until April 24.

Adm £4.50/£2.50

Also at the Barbican until March 6.

On Memory and Reflection

paintings by Anthony Wishaw

Concourse Gallery.

Adm free.

Picasso: Sculptor/ Painter

Tate Gallery

Millbank SW1

Tel: 071 887 8732.

16 February - May 8.

168 sculptures, paintings, drawings and ceramics.

Adm: £5/£3.

TORIES MAKE THE YOUNG INTO A MOVING TARGET

by Paul Feldman

Young people, especially the homeless and rootless, are singled out for special treatment by the Tory government's plans for new laws.

The Criminal Justice Bill is anything but what its name suggests.

For over 800 years trespass has been a civil offence in Britain – a dispute between individuals rather than a crime against society. Now all this is to change.

In the firing line are an estimated 100,000 living semi-legally on somebody else's property – gypsies, travellers, squatters in some of Britain's one million empty or dilapidated properties, or in cardboard boxes.

Among the Bill's 117 separate clauses are many specifically targeted at squatters, new age travellers, all-night raves, hunt saboteurs, illegal campers and mass "trespassers".

Squatters and occupiers claiming tenancy who fail to leave a building within 24 hours of application to the courts by the owner will be committing a criminal offence.

The Bill is also aimed at stopping protests against the destruction of the environment by road building, and deterring those who block new and dangerous nuclear plants.

Public assemblies of "trespassers" who fail to comply with a police request to leave will be committing a criminal offence.

Police will have the power to order trespasses to leave "if they seek to disrupt or prevent a lawful activity by the owner of his guests". Lying in front of a bulldozer will become a criminal offence.

The police will have powers to move from private land any gathering of more than six vehicles, to impound the vehicles, even if they are someone's home, and to demand

cash for their release.

Local authorities will have the power to evict anyone living or camping on any land which is not their own.

The duty to provide safe caravan sites for travellers, which has existed since 1968, will be removed and grants for these sites will no longer be available.

"The legislation can turn those who have nowhere to go, whether they live on roadsides, abandoned fields or contaminated industrial wasteland - into imprisonable criminals," said one campaigner against the Bill.

LAWS AGAINST RAVES

Young people looking for a rave to enjoy have already had to contend with mass swoops by police forces. The Bill will make it a criminal offence for a group of 10 or more to gather to play loud music during the night and fail to comply with a police order to leave.

Any vehicles and amplification equipment can be seized and anybody within a five-mile radius can be turned back.

The Tories' fifth criminal justice bill in the last four years extends the categories of offences for which 10 to 13-year olds can be detained for long periods.

There are also measures to introduce curfews on offenders, enforced through electronic tags, to build secure training units for 12 to 14-year olds and to legalise private prison ships.

This assault on young people in the Bill is matched by other measures taken by the Tories in the field of education, housing and jobs.

Student grants are being reduced to the point where education cannot

be continued without taking massive loans. Many students are already giving up their courses, while those from working class families are unlikely to even start higher education.

Young single parents are the target for a particularly vicious Tory policy change. Local councils will no longer be compelled to provide permanent accommodation for homeless young mothers. Instead, they will have to traipse around from one hostel to the next.

Finally, workfare schemes which could eventually remove income support from up to 200,000 people between 18 and 24 who have been jobless for more than a year are to be introduced from April.

The Department of Employment says that those who refuse to participate in the schemes will have their benefit withheld. The aim is to get people to work for their benefit and provide an endless supply of cheap labour to Tory businesses.

WHERE TO BUY *Socialist Future*

Manchester

Frontline Books, 1 Newton Street, Manchester, M1 1HW

London

Compendium, 234 Camden High Street, NW1

Bookmarks, 265 Seven Sisters Road, Finsbury Park, N4

Housmans, 5 Caledonian Rd., Kings Cross, N1

Dillons University Bookshop, Malet Street, London WC1