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Emma Goldman in Saint Louis

Saint-Louis (Missouri)

Mon Vieux Peinard,

Anarchist ideas are making headway in the United States and if they have not spread more quickly it is because English-language propagandists have so far been too few and far between.

We would need lots of comrades of the calibre of Emma Goldmann who is presently making blessed propaganda wheresoever she goes.

This comrade does not know the meaning of tired! Scarcely has she been released from Blackwell Island prison in New York, after serving two years,[1] than she throws herself back into propaganda. She had been sentenced for letting her tongue run away with her unduly: at a workers' rally she had spoken too violently ... and just to prove that freedom of speech no more exists in "America the free" than in the slick monarchies and republics in Europe, she was scooped.

Emma Goldmann is of Russian extraction and Jewish parentage but she has long since renounced all religion and declared herself an atheist.

Tall, well-made, something like thirty five years old, she cuts a fine figure on the rostrum: she has a ringing voice, is given to gesticulation and speaks English and German alike with ease and eloquence. Also, she has enjoyed swelling success in the propaganda tour she has just made around the cities of the American continent.

Emma Goldmann's immediate objective is to whip up widespread agitation on behalf of comrade Bergmann [Alexander Berkman] who is serving 25 years' hard labour for having attempted in 1892 to blow the brains out of the martinet Frick, the manager of Carnegie's steelworks.

The exploiter Carnegie, the seventy-fold millionaire demon-crat who poses as a philanthropist was trying at the time to tighten the screws on the proles in his Homestead convict colonies, in Pennsylvania state. Since these good fellows would have none of it, this swine Carnegie mustered a gang of Pinkertons, volunteer police in the hire of their capitalist pay-master and unleashed them on Homestead. The moment they arrived, these Pinkertons worked wonders: they shot down the unarmed strikers and felled lots of them.

At which point, exasperated by the crimes of Carnegie and Frick, Bergmann tried to blow the brains out of one of the instigators of these craven actions.

Since when the poor fellow has been banged up!

And Emma Goldmann has rolled up her sleeves to secure his release.

Not that this means that in her talks Bergmann is all she has to talk about. In her most recent tour – which was also designed to revive memories of the execution of the Chicago anarchists – she spoke along general propaganda lines. Lucy Parsons, wife of Albert Parsons, one of the Chicago murder victims, accompanied her. She too is a belter of a propagandist! Since her husband's death she has not let up in her railing against the capitalist and government camp and reminding these nincompoops that they murdered an innocent man.

In addition to her clear and brilliant presentation of our ideas, Emma Goldmann never misses a chance to bait the police and there is not a meeting where she does not lay into the scum – which has the advantage of leaving the plain-clothed cops, plentiful at her meetings, to laugh on the other side of their faces.

Moreover, *mon vieux Peinard*, so that comrades may get some idea of the oratory of Emma Goldmann, let me offer you as best I can a summary of one of the talks [2] she gave in Saint-Louis to a packed hall and to frenzied applause from the public:

"In their utter ignorance, the masses have no knowledge of the reason for their existence.

"What is mankind's *raison d'être* if not to enjoy the beauties and splendours of nature?

"But do human beings know such enjoyment? If the answer is yes, they ought to be satisfied and happy – and if it is no, they have been robbed of their legitimate inheritance and are entitled to reclaim it.

"The latter is the true state of affairs: so, are men making their claim?

"Few of them dare! Only a few have that audacity – the anarchists! And these are despised, hounded, mown down, cast into prison or hanged ... All as punishment for their effrontery.

"As for the rest, the timorous slaves of the monopolies who bow and scrape, they do not possess the manly courage to make their minds known and demand that to which they are justly entitled. [pto]

Inside: José Martín-Artajo – Anarchist, diplomat, blasphemer, poet, man of letters

Emma Goldman in Saint Louis

“Religion, regardless of whatever it may go under, has always been the unfailing ally of the monopolists in oppressing the workers: it drums it into the poor ignorant slave that he should carry out the capitalist’s instructions, obey the laws ... and go in terror of the flames of Hell.

“To the devil with Religion! If the howlers the priests tell were true, I should rather go to Hell with my anarchist comrades than to Heaven with the cowards.

“The law is not made against the rich man, only against the long-suffering pauper. The rich man makes the laws and, of necessity, he looks to his own interests by legislating against the people.

“If a mother steals bread to save her children who are perishing of hunger, she commits a crime, an outrage against Society, and Society must come down hard on that! If, on the other hand, a lady bedecked in diamonds and living in luxury steals from a shop, although she is not really in need, she is a kleptomaniac, her plight is to be pitied and she gets away with it.”

Then, looking at all of the mechanics of society, Emma Goldmann shows that the object of existing institutions is always to protect the rich and grind down the poor!

Then, turning to the Haymarket riots in Chicago in 1886 and to Homestead in 1892 and Hazleton [3] just last month, she said:

“It is crimes like these that brought the people to a healthy appreciation of the task facing it. These capitalist massacres have had the result of stirring the dormant manly feelings in the hearts of men.

“The Hazleton sheriff, Martin, who gunned down the miners, does he think that he will only ever be confronted by bleating sheep?

“And those of his ilk, do they think that things will always be this way?

“Is it not, rather, evident that the massacres carried out by the capitalists and their henchmen will inspire the workers to arm themselves in order to resist by at least an equal, if not superior, force of arms?”

As for the likelihood of the Hazleton butcher, Sheriff Martin, being brought to trial, Emma Goldmann holds this as a mockery and she pokes fun at proles who imagine that the law, which he scrupulously observed, by ordering the massacre, will turn on him.

“Only a madman, she said, could believe that! And anyway, why should we look to the law? ... The law! We want no part of it! Each and every one of us is a living law and we claim for ourselves the right to right the wrongs and injustices foisted upon us...”

“Furthermore, she added, were X-rays able to delve into the recesses of the human mind, we should

all be astonished at the numbers of anarchists in existing but unknown to one another, and who have simply not had a chance to break through the layer of prejudices by which they are cocooned. And the social system stifling us would not long survive!”

In conclusion, Emma Goldman points out that society will not be transformed through the ballot box but rather by force:

“And that may well come to pass before long, she cries, for the warning tremors have already rattled capitalist society!”

Ah, *mon vieux*, you should have heard the stamping feet and frenzied applause once this comrade had finished!

It warmed the cockles of my heart, b’God!

Ah, if only she were right; what a blessing if the squall were to come soon. I cannot wait! It cannot come soon enough ... for me!

Un vieux de la commode [4]

Le Père Peinard, Paris, 19-26 December 1897, pp.4-5. Originally titled ‘American Post-Bag’

Translated by Paul Sharkey

Notes by the Emma Goldman Papers [adapted]

1 In fact, Goldman was arrested in 1893 at a demonstration of the unemployed for inciting to riot, found guilty, and sentenced to a year in prison, of which she served ten months.

2 The *Le Père Peinard* correspondent reports on Goldman’s talk in St. Louis on 16 October 1897 in Harugari Hall, on “Anarchy”.

3 On 10 September 1897, at least 19 men died and between 35 and 50 were injured, most of them shot in the back, when deputies opened fire on a peaceful march of striking miners at Lattimer, near Hazleton, in the anthracite region of north-eastern Pennsylvania. In March the following year, Sheriff James L. Martin and his deputies were acquitted of murder charges.

Among anarchists and other on the left, “Hazleton” (historians now call it the Lattimer Massacre) became a symbol of the unpunished violence that could be meted out to organized labor. [p285]

4 translates as “an old hand from the furniture removal trade.”

Published in *Emma Goldman : a documentary history of the American years*. Vol. 1, *Made for America, 1890-1901*, edited by Candace Falk; Barry Pateman; Jessica M. Moran. First published by University of California Press, 2003. (pp.318-321.) Reprinted University of Illinois Press, 2008.

Antonia Fontanillas Borrás (1917-2014)

The anarchist/anarcho-syndicalist activist Antonia Fontanillas Borrás was born in Barcelona on 29 May 1917. The daughter of militants and granddaughter of prominent libertarians Francesca Saperas Miró and Martín Borrás Jover, she emigrated to Mexico with her mother and siblings at the age of eight. She received six years of schooling and became a voracious reader, especially of socially-themed libertarian literature. After her father was expelled from Mexico in 1933 the whole family returned to Catalonia. Antonia found work in a lithography studio and joined the CNT and the Libertarian Youth and was elected as the FIJL delegate from the Printing Trades sector. When the civil war broke out she tried to sign on as a militia on the expedition to Majorca and finished up as administrator with Barcelona's *Solidaridad Obrera* newspaper. After Franco's victory she stayed behind in Barcelona, taking part in FIJL activities in her home where a number of editions of the underground *Solidaridad Obrera* were put together – at least 14 of them between January and November 1945. The copy came from Joan Doménech, Josep Lamesa and Arturo Benedicto, all members of the Printing Trades Union; it was typeset by Libertarian Youth members (José Nieto, Meana, Marina Herreros, and Antonia Fontanillas) and then printed off on a small press belonging to comrade Armengol in the Gracia barrio. Later she worked with the underground (1946-1948) and was in charge of liaising between prisoners and their lawyers. It was during those underground years that she became the partner of Diego Camacho Escámez (aka Abel Paz). When the latter was released from prison and went into exile in France in 1953, Antonia too crossed the border a few months later and the couple settled in Brezolles and then in Clermont d' Auvergne, where they were active in the CNT, in the MLE and in the local arts group. At that time she was in touch with Quico Sabaté's guerrilla group. In 1957 she was one of the people in charge of the FIJL *Regional Bulletin*, taking an active part in the annual camps organised by the French and Spanish Libertarian Youth. In 1958 she and Diego Camacho split up and Antonia settled in Dreux with their son, Ariel (Ariel later produced the documentary, *Ortiz, General sin Dios ni Amo*, about Los Solidarios member Antonio Ortiz). In 1960 she took up with Antonio Cañete Rodríguez and carried on with her multi-faceted organisational and cultural pursuits. In addition to taking part in a drama group, she edited the review *Surco* (1966-1967) which was published in French, Spanish and Esperanto. And she was active in the Dreux local CNT federation right up until it was wound up. Cañete was jailed from 1966 to 1969 in Spain and they were to stay together right up until his death in 1979. Antonia was active with the

Agrupaciones Confederales, the umbrella for those comrades who published the *Frente Libertario* newspaper. Following Franco's death, she took part in all of the CNT's congresses between 1979 and 1983, then in the congresses of the *escindidos* (breakaways) and in those held by the Confederación *General del Trabajo* (CGT) between 1983 and 1997. She also took part in countless talks, exhibitions, libertarian festivals and book launches in Spain and across Europe (France, Italy, Luxembourg, etc.). And did a variety of jobs with the International Centre for Research into Anarchism (CIRA), of which she was a member and in numerous historical investigations into the libertarian movement. In keeping with her anarchist beliefs, she remained independent and critical and lobbied for a rapprochement between all of the different libertarian factions, stressing what united rather than what divided them. Under a range of aliases (including *Tona*, *A F Borrás*, etc.) she contributed to many publications including *Action Libertaire*, *Anthropos*, *Boletín Amicale*, *Boletín Ródano-Alpes*, *CIRA*, *Le Combat syndicaliste*, *Confrontaciones*, *Espoir*, *Mujeres Libertarias*, *El Chico*, *Nueva Senda*, *Rojo y Negro*, *Ruta*, *Surco*, *Volontá*, *CNT*, *Solidaridad Obrera*, etc. She penned lots of books such as *Testimonio sobre Germinal Gracia* (1992, unpublished), *Desde uno y otro lados de los Pirineos* (1993, unpublished), *Francisca Saperas* (1995, unpublished), *De lo aprendido y vividos* (1996, unpublished in Spanish but published in Italian by *Volontá*), *Mujeres Libres. Luchadoras libertarias* (jointly authored, 1998), *Lola Iturbe: vida e ideal de una luchadora anarquista* (2006, with Sonya Torres), and she also wrote an introduction for Victor Garcia's book *Contribución a una biografía de Raúl Carballeira* (1961) and her testimony is included in the book *Clandestinité libertaire en Espagne: la presse* (1994) and she had a hand in the Luce Fabbri anthology, *La libertad entre la Historia y la utopía* (1998). She also contributed to the *Solidaridad Obrera* special edition (No 344, May 2007) produced by the CNT and took part in CGT-organised symposia on the history of the "Mujeres Libres" in October 2007.

Antonia has died at the age of 97 in Dreux on 23 September. Spanish historian José Luis Gutiérrez Molina has said of her that "between her own activities and her family line, she encapsulates the history of anarchism in Spain."

Her extensive papers can be consulted at the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam.

by Librepensador Acrata from
<http://lacntenelexilio.blogspot.com.es/2011/09/antonia-fontanillas-borras.html> translated, with additional text, by Paul Sharkey

Remembering Albert Meltzer and José Martín-Artajo

Albert Meltzer quotes

May 2014 is the eighteenth anniversary of the death of Albert Meltzer. To mark it, the Kate Sharpley Library collective have put together this (small) collection of quotes to salute our comrade.

On Anarchism

The Anarchism I advocated from the start, and never varied from is that born of the class struggle, which was certainly taken into account by philosophers but came out of the working class. It had a proud fighting history in the struggle against Statism and every exploitative system.

I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels page 174

There was by now a major difference as to what Anarchism was all about. Either it was a marble effigy of utopian ideals, to be admired and defined and even lived up to by some chosen individuals within the framework of a repressive society, or it was a fighting creed with a programme for breaking down repression.

I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels page 104

On the newspaper industry

Fleet Street workers long held the cynical view that theirs is a lie factory and the extra money they get is like the extra for playing the piano in a whorehouse. 'Mirror to Maxwell' *Black Flag* no.139 page 5

Such were the restrictive practices denounced as being a restraint of the freedom of the press-lords to decide who should work and who shouldn't that the management was not consulted as to our political reliability and the only test applied was whether we could do the job or not. This type of abuse of the employer's natural rights was later held up by Tory propagandists as an example of union power at its worst.

I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels page 170

On Unions

Nobody criticised the trade unions more than I did whilst they were powerful. I plugged syndicalism for over half a century and for what my powers were worth never spared the lash on bureaucracy and reformism. In the Nineties legislation and unemployment have reduced their power no less surely than was done in fascist countries abroad during the Thirties. I can now see the worst union was better than the best political party, and their faults were as nothing compared with the absence of any form of workers' defence.

I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels page 373

On politics

When the ambitious have power, they preach self-sacrifice by others.

The Floodgates of Anarchy (with Stuart Christie), PM press edition page 32

The theme of politics is always the same – that one must work harder and get less.

The Floodgates of Anarchy (with Stuart Christie), PM press edition page 76

What above all is the curse of leadership is not the leaders themselves, but agreement to being led blindly – not the faults of the shepherd but the meekness of the sheep.

Anarchism: Arguments for and against (2nd ed.) page 59

On violence

Most people, whether they admit it or not, are conditioned by the mass media, the neo-Church, and they deplore the type of violence that the state deplores and applaud the type of violence that the state practices. *The Floodgates of Anarchy* (with Stuart Christie), PM press edition page 111

It is obviously sometimes necessary to use violence, since laying down a code that says one may not use it in any circumstances leaves one helpless against attack. Everyone except an extreme pacifist would admit this, yet a different standard is laid down up for anarchists. It seems the official line, certainly the judicious view, is they must either be believers in "mindless violence" or woolly-minded idealists, so-called "non-violent anarchists" or "violent" ones, as if 99.9 per cent recurring of the population were neither ultra-pacifists nor mad axe-wielders.

I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels page 256-7

On the Left

In our day 'the Left' has changed from having any association whatever with the working class and even from State socialism to meaning a package-deal of reforms and attitudes generally expected of a 'progressive' person with no class connotation.

'Introduction to modern politics - Leftism' *Black Flag* 146 17/12/1985 page 6

On 'experts'

Are we calling these Intellectuals idiots? Who called these idiots Intellectual?

Liars and Liberals, *Black Flag* supplement page 3

Remembering Albert Meltzer and José Martín-Artajo

On the meaning of ‘libertarian’

The name “libertarian” was still, at any rate in Spain, used only by the anarchists and syndicalists; the hi-jacking of the name by right wing private enterprise people not yet having become widely known outside the USA – it still signified “libertarian socialist” as opposed to “State socialist”.

I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels page 233

On the far right

I moved in the early Seventies to a Greenwich council flat, and was there when a widely-advertised fascist march took place, passing a few streets away in Lewisham which had a high proportion of Black residents, As usual, it was more a police demonstration guarding bussed-in fascists marching between their lines.

I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels page 290

On the political police

Many subsequent experiences show that the British secret political police, if not the worst in the world, are the most secret. The writer C. S. Lewis says the greatest success of the Devil is to persuade people he doesn't exist, which makes it easier to get them to obey him. I never had any experience of this, but it certainly applies to the secret political police. Perhaps Lewis was understandably confusing the two.

I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels page 86

On history

Our historical judgement was criticised as based only on anecdotal history from veterans but knowing how conventional history is concocted I doubt if it suffered from that.

I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels page 182-3

‘Research’ often means looking up dated reference books, and passing it off as knowledge.

I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels page 166

Working-class theoreticians who express and formulate theories are totally ignored as of no consequence: what they say is attributed to the next available “Intellectual”.

‘Only a few intellectuals’ *Black Flag* v3n19 page 7 April 1975

The histories of whole peoples were wiped out for precisely the same reason that the history of the working class movement in recent times is wiped out: it does not suit the conquerors for it to be known, because traditions keep alive the spirit of revolt.

Review of *British syndicalism* by Bob Holton, *Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review* no.2 p. 16 (1977)

José Ignacio Martín-Artajo Saracho — b 1932, Madrid; d 14 April 2005, Gerona – Anarchist, diplomat, blasphemer, poet and man of letters

My first meeting with the dynamic and generous-spirited writer José Martín-Artajo (Pepe) was... in London in the early part of 1968. It was a year after he broke completely with his bourgeois past and walked out of his career as a Francoist diplomat, following the US-led colonels' coup in Greece in April 1967. He had been first secretary at the Spanish Embassy in Athens. At the same time he separated from his German wife, Christa von Petersdorff, a psychoanalyst and translator of the works of Freud into French. Christa and Pepe met while she was researching her PhD on the comparative myth of ‘Don Juan’ in France, Italy and Spain. After the split she always said, with a smile, that she had ‘known Don Juan personally’.

After leaving Greece José Martín-Artajo moved to Coolhurst Road in London's Crouch End (where I was living at the time) with his then partner, the ethnomusicologist and broadcaster Lucy Durán. Lucy, whom he had met in Athens, was the daughter of Republican civil war general Gustavo Durán Martínez.

The son of Alberto Martín-Artajo, right-wing Catholic, pro-monarchist and Franco's Foreign Minister from 1945 until 1957, José Martín-Artajo came from ‘impeccable’ Francoist, Integrist Catholic stock (an uncle became a Jesuit), and was a rebel from early youth. In the early 1950s he was arrested by the Gestapo-trained Brigada Politico Social for anti-Francoist activities, but instead of going to jail his father had him ‘sectioned’ on grounds of mental illness, a common ploy among the well-placed Francoist elite with dissident children, a device they shared with their opposite numbers in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, including the US according to Kurt Vonnegut's novel ‘God Bless You Mr Rosewater’, in which the young son of a wealthy bourgeois family wishes to become a firefighter – “Where's the profit in THAT?”

In his London years (1967-76), José Martín-Artajo (Pepe) became closely involved with the work of the Anarchist Black Cross, the Centro Ibérico, and latterly, in Paris, through Octavio Alberola, with Pepe Martínez of the libertarian Spanish-language publishing house Ruedo Ibérico.

In 1976, having put him in touch with my old comrade and cell-mate, the recently released Luis Andrés Edo, secretary general of the CNT and editor of *Solidaridad Obrera*, José Martín-Artajo returned to Spain after 9 years of exile where he threw himself into the task of helping rebuild the CNT and the Spanish Libertarian Movement. According to Federica

Remembering Albert Meltzer and José Martín-Artajo

Montseny, Martín-Artajo ‘fell into the wrong hands’ in London, Paris and Barcelona (she was referring to among others Miguel García, Albert Meltzer and myself in London, Octavio Alberola in Paris, and Luis Andrés in Barcelona).

In December 1979, the director of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam (IISG), Rudolf de Jong, refused to accept the credentials of José Martín-Artajo, Luis Andrés and Victor León as official representatives of the CNT, sent to negotiate the return of the union’s archives (the ‘Amsterdam Boxes’), which had been deposited there since the end of the Spanish Civil War. De Jong’s obduracy led to the three comrades occupying the IISG main hall and CNT lawyer Pep Castells being sent to join them with a letter confirming their authority from newly elected CNT secretary general José Bondía. Even so, de Jong still refused to authorise the archives’ release and it wasn’t until the eve of the Xmas holidays (22 December), following a serious shouting match (in German) between Martín-Artajo and the IISG director, that an agreement was reached. The archives were returned to the CNT in Spain the following year.

In 1980, the prestigious publishing house Ediciones Júcar published his novel, *Tigre Jack La vuelta de Ulises, El pecado del espíritu: prosas atroces*. Pepe also edited the military memoirs of Lucy’s father, Gustavo Durán, *Una enseñanza de la guerra española: glorias y miserias de la improvisación de un ejército ...*

His other published works of fiction include *Fiesta a Oscuras* (Ediciones Era, Mexico 1975), a critical attack on the repressive Catholic and bourgeois society in which he grew up, and *Historia de la misteriosa desaparición de Porfiria Santillana, fragona española en país superdesarrollado* (Joaquín Mortiz, Mexico 1970). There was also another novel based on his time as consul in Frankfurt.

Incidentally, it was also José Martín-Artajo who, entirely out of his own salary and savings, generously, selflessly (and quietly), funded and maintained Miguel García García’s famous hostelry and international anarchist social centre, the Bar La Fragua in Barcelona’s carrer Cadena.

In those early post-Francoist years, Artajo’s connections with the so-called ‘Apaches’ of the CNT and the international activists of the movement made him vulnerable to provocations, one of which was an unsuccessful attempt by Antonio Navarro, a police agent infiltrated into the FAI (Iberian Anarchist Federation) to implicate him in an arms-smuggling operation.

The first time I returned to Spain, in 1981, with my 3-year-old daughter Branwen, Pepe was waiting for us with his diplomatic credential at the airport arrivals

lounge – just in case the police decided to detain me. Fortunately they didn’t

In 1984 Spain’s first socialist government wanted him out of the way and sent him off as cultural attaché to their embassy in Caracas and later, in 1990, to Brasilia. It was a difficult decision for him to accept the posting, which he did only after lengthy discussions with close comrades, including Luis Andrés Edo and Octavio Alberola, who appreciated how useful he could be to the movement in such a position. However, once installed in the Caracas embassy he became an important conduit and helped at least 5 wanted comrades escape to safety in South America. They entered the country through Colombia, which at the time required only a ‘weekend-pass’, where José Martín-Artajo arranged for the pass to be changed to a visa, which allowed them to move on, with the help of comrades, and establish themselves in Brazil, Bolivia or Nicaragua.

José Martín-Artajo spent the later years of his life in Massanes, Gerona (with his second wife, Marisa Ares, and his son Josta, born in 1992) writing and translating Chinese literature and poetry into Spanish. He has left many unpublished manuscripts. He also has a daughter, Iris, by his first wife, Christa von Petersdorff.

Throughout this time he worked closely with Edo, who was with him when he died.

Stuart Christie (via facebook)

Library News (October 2014)

The Bristol Radical History Group are hosting the 2014 meeting of the international History From Below (HFB) network, 1-2 November 2014. See <http://radical.history-from-below.net/> and <http://www.brh.org.uk/>

New Pamphlet

Los Maños : the lads from Aragon ; the story of an anti-Franco action group Mariano Aguayo Morán interviewed by Freddy Gómez; and by Antonio Téllez is now published. These interviews throw light not only on the story of the ‘Los Maños’ group, but the nature, motivations and difficulties of the anarchist resistance to Francoism.

50 pages, £3 ISBN 9781873605318

<http://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/rn8r13>

This translation first published as an ebook by Christiebooks: <http://www.christiebooks.com/>

We hope to have a review for you soon of 4-volume local history investigation *Mob Work: Anarchists in Grand Rapids*. Meanwhile you can read or order via: <http://www.sproutdistro.com/catalog/zines/history/mob-work-anarchists-grand-rapids-vol-1/>

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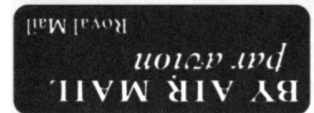
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