

MARXIST review

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200th Anniversary of
Karl Marx



Cover image:

Marx statue in Trier, a gift from China to the town of his birthplace in this his bicentennial year

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(Credit: Kleon3)

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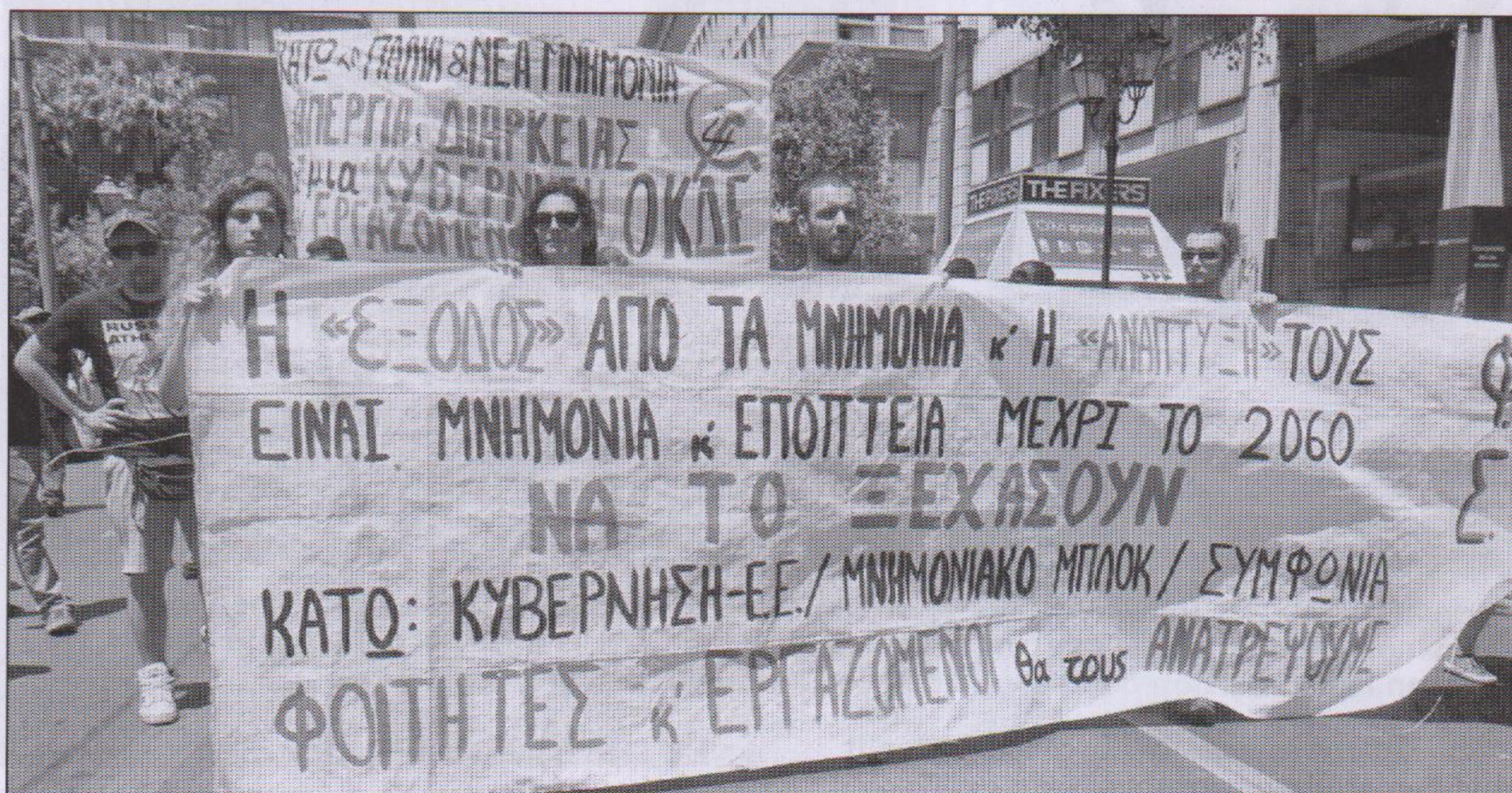
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International cooperation is dead Forward to the dictatorship of the proletariat



Athens students marching against the latest bill of the Tsipras Syriza government, cutting pensions and privatising state assets. Their banner reads: 'Austerity Accords will be with us until 2060 – they should forget it. Down with the government, EU and IMF –Overthrow them!' Greek workers and youth have been the subject of ruthless economic diktats from the Troika of the EC, ECB and IMF since 2008. The EU institutions are determined that workers must pay for the crisis

The Bretton Woods institutions of 1944, the IMF, World Bank and later the World Trade Organisation, have transformed into their opposites, as US imperialism, driven by colossal debts and an angry working class, seeks under President Trump to smash up the last remnants of international cooperation and put 'America First' by bankrupting everyone else.

Henry Morgenthau in 1944 spoke of the 'creation of a dynamic world community in which the peoples of every nation will be able to realise their potentialities in peace'; the IMF would create a stable climate for international trade by harmonising its members' monetary policies and the World Bank would raise up the less developed nations.

Now, the IMF is an instrument for enslaving economies such as Greece, and World Bank loan repayments have generated poverty throughout Africa, with imperialist wars driving their populations towards Europe as migrants and refugees.

The crisis has matured into the present economic and political collapse of Europe.

The reforming period from the late 40s to the 70s is over. When the US decoupled the dollar from gold, debts began to soar, financial crash-

es became more cataclysmic and the last one in 2008 now threatens to re-emerge with renewed force, taking bankrupt nations down with it.

With no reforms to be won and all welfare gains under attack, social democracy has become the main prop of capitalism, to be seen here in Britain in Corbyn's Labour Party, Tsipras' Syriza in Greece, and now with the tinderbox of the anti-establishment 5 Star Movement and the far-right nationalist League coalition government in Italy.

All these reflect the revolutionary movement of workers determined to reject austerity.

Middle ground has disappeared.

In Britain, the May government reels farcically from crisis to crisis, over Brexit, the Windrush and Grenfell tower scandals, as well as a permanent winter crisis in the NHS, but kept in power only by Corbyn's Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy.

The parliamentary scramble led by the Lords to frustrate the 2016 referendum result to leave the EU teeters drunkenly between PM May's attempts to appease her Brexiteers, whilst at the same time hanging on to the 'mutinous' Dominic Grieve-led Remain camp.

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editorial



French Cheminots (railway workers) on strike in Paris on April 18 are determined to oppose the smashing of their unions and privatisation of the SNCF state rail network. President Macron is on collision course with them and the whole public sector

The UK ruling class is irreconcilably split and demoralised over this.

In the middle of such a fiasco, what else can workers do but demand that the House of Lords be shut down and the Commons purged of traitors by a dictatorship of the proletariat determined on socialist policies?

Italy's new government is on collision course with EU diktats. The election result rocked Europe, with stocks shuddering at the prospect of an anti-EU alliance that could take Italy, with its 135% debt-to-GDP ratio, out of the union.

German MEP, Markus Ferber said bluntly that, in the event of Italy going bankrupt because of the policies of the incoming coalition government, 'Then the Troika would have to march into Rome and take over the treasury.'

France's President Macron is besieged by a strike movement against mass sackings, pension cuts and privatisation in the public sector and the railways.

The G7, including the US, UK, Germany, France, and Italy, met in Canada and hoped for 'free, fair, and mutually beneficial trade' and the importance of fighting protectionism. Trump simply refused to sign the statement.

All these G7 nations were bludgeoned by President Trump's move to impose 25% tax on steel and aluminium imports from midnight on May 31st.

EU leaders are left gasping.

Even stolid Angela Merkel's 13-year reign as German Chancellor is under threat.

Last September's elections initiated coalition talks so fractious and divisive that it was not until March this year that a government could be formed. Now, it threatens to fall apart.

Christian Democrat Merkel and her interior minister Horst Seehofer of the Christian Social Union have fallen out over 'migrant' policy, threatening her coalition government.

The house of cards that is Europe is toppling.

The only way to end the dictatorship of the banks and bosses in this bicentennial year of Marx's birth is to counter it with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin in *State and Revolution* quotes Marx on a basic tenet: 'What I did that was new was to prove: (1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with the particular, historical phases in the development of production, (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.'

Sections of the Fourth International everywhere have this task: to honour Marx's legacy by giving leadership in practice.

— WW

End the dictatorship of the banks and bosses in this bicentennial year of Marx's birth with the dictatorship of the proletariat

Marx at 200

Marx: born May 5 1818 died March 14 1883

By Dave Wiltshire



The arrival of Chinese sculptor Wu Weishan's bronze statue of Karl Marx as a gift of the People's Republic of China on the occasion of the bicentennial of his birth caused a great stir on May 5th this year. At Marx's birthplace Trier, the council voted to accept the gift by 47 to 7. The founder of scientific socialism is still regarded by the bourgeoisie as having a dangerous legacy (Credit: Victor Wittal)

This year marks the 200th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, the founder of modern scientific socialism, whose whole life was devoted not just to analysing the world but to changing it through revolutionary practice.

Lenin, the greatest Marxist of the 20th century who, guided by the theories of Marx, led the first successful socialist revolution, wrote:

'During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their theories with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonise them, so to say, and to hallow their names to a certain extent for the "consolation" of the

oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time robbing the revolutionary theory of its substance, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarising it.' (Lenin: State and Revolution)

Lenin's observation is wholly accurate in regards to Marx who during his lifetime was hounded and vilified by the bourgeoisie and after his death in 1883 has been subjected to a campaign to turn him into a 'harmless icon' and rip the revolutionary guts out of the revolutionary socialist movement that he fought to build and train in the method of dialectical materialism.

Countless numbers of academics have made a career out of trying to turn Marxism into just one more interesting theory about society.

Lengthy books have been written trying to fit Marx into

what is acceptable to the bourgeoisie.

In the past, we have had Marx split into the 'young Marx' presented as a humanist philosopher, a young man who felt the pain of workers and the oppressed in much the same way as every liberal today 'feels the pain' of the victims of capitalism.

This view was contrasted with the 'old Marx', the Marx who wrote the three volumes of Capital, who is presented as the elderly bearded figure, labouring away in the dusty confines of the British Museum library to produce a treatise on economics that holds some interesting theories but which have in reality been disproved by history.

Marx was fundamentally wrong it was pronounced – modern capitalism is a vibrant, strong system, albeit with a few crises thrown in –

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Marx bicentennial

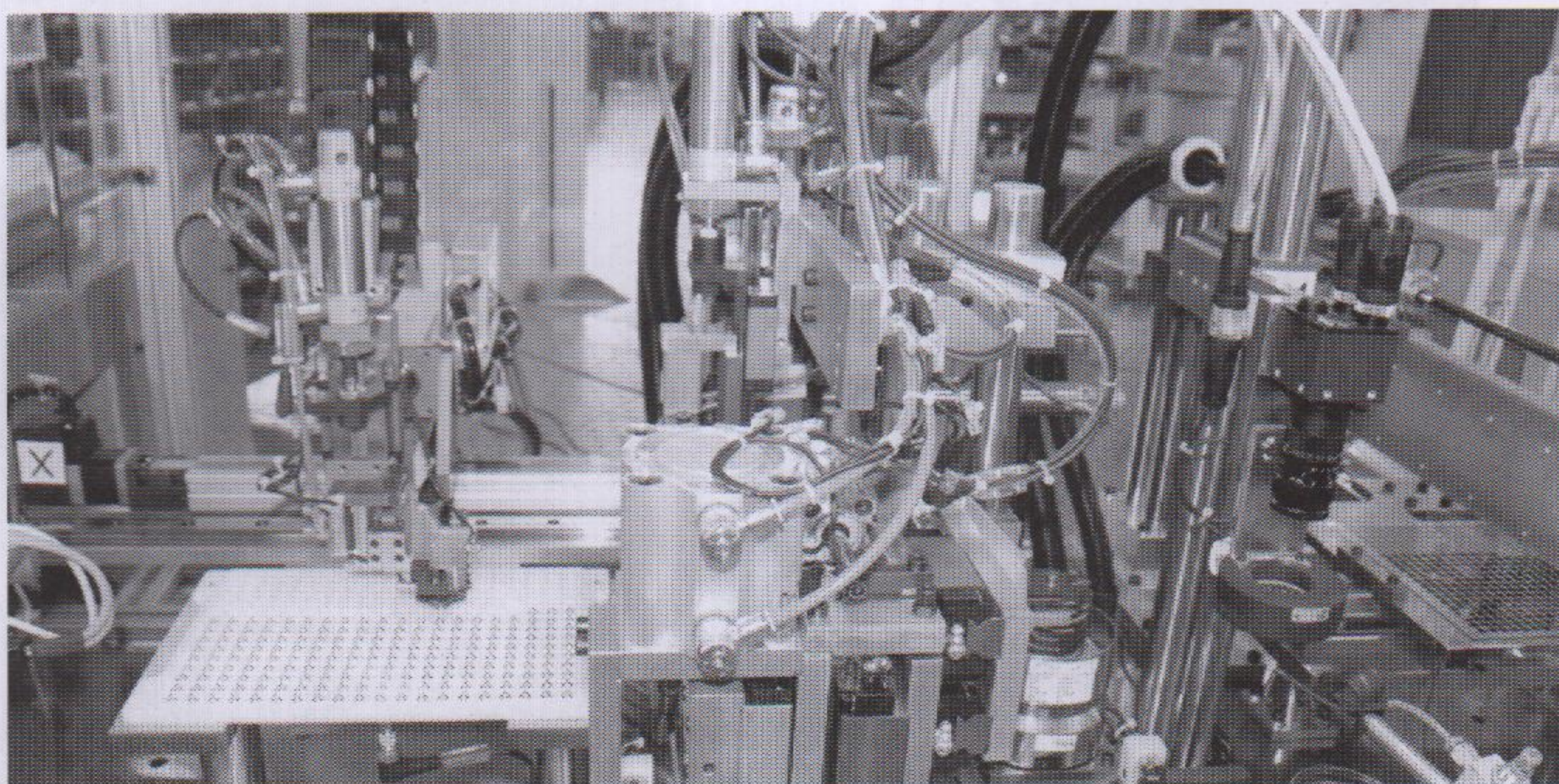
indeed the private ownership of the means of production is the only conceivable system.

In the 1990s, it was declared that history itself had come to an end, that capitalism represented the end-point of humanity's evolution – that Marx had finally been buried for good like a dead dog along with socialism.

Such heady euphoria from the academic lackeys of capitalism hasn't lasted.

With the world crisis of capitalism breaking through with the advent of the banking collapse in 2008, the fear of Marxism is once again haunting the ruling class.

This was made clear by none other than Mark Carney, the governor of the Bank of England in his keynote speech to world financiers last April, in which he warned that mass unemployment and poverty level wages being inflicted on the working class throughout



The governor of the Bank of England, Mark Carney, fears that workers may turn to Marxism when threatened with unemployment and poverty by automation, computerisation and drones

the capitalist system are forcing millions of workers to embrace the revolutionary socialism of Marx.

Carney warned his audience that impoverishing the working class while the bosses and bankers grew increasingly rich meant that 'Marx and Engels may again become relevant.'

Almost every bourgeois newspaper in the country has over

recent years carried articles asking 'was Marx right?', while fervently expressing the hope that he was not.

What is undeniable even to the central bankers is that today Marx is not just relevant to the working class but that millions of workers are indeed being driven to embrace it as the only future for them.

Even a cursory look at the life of Marx gives the lie to all those who present him as just another talented, even brilliant thinker; as the German Marxist Franz Mehring wrote:

'There is no doubt that the incomparable stature of Marx is due not a little to the fact that in him the man of ideas was indissolubly bound up with the man of action, and that the two mutually complemented and supported each other. Neither is there any doubt that the fighter in him always took precedence over the thinker.' (Franz Mehring 'Karl Marx: the story of his life')

Marx was born in the Prussian town of Trier on 5th May 1818.

This was a period of the most intense upheavals throughout



An installation of Marx statues in Trier in 2013 by the artist Axel Kohlhaas. It may be affectionate, but reduces Marx to a harmless icon (Credit: Axel Kohlhaas)

Marx bicentennial



Marx's birthplace at Brückenstrasse 10 in Trier is now a museum

Europe and during his formative early years Marx was influenced by the revolutionary turmoil that gripped the continent.

As Marx entered his teens Europe was swept by revolution: in 1830 France was gripped by the July Revolution which spread across Europe from east to west.

This revolutionary wave in France was itself a culmination of the momentous French Revolution of 1789 which overthrew the old feudal monarchy

and replaced it with a bourgeois republic.

The great French Revolution was the catalyst for revolutionary ideas and action to spread not just in Europe but across the world, inspiring liberal and radical ideas.

In Britain, this was the period of the great industrial revolution, the massive eruption of factories and cotton mills which required workers who owned nothing but their labour power.

The working class was being created on a mass scale in

Britain, forged in the steam and fires of modern industry and coming inevitably in conflict with the capitalist class of bosses.

Trade unions were being built under conditions of illegality and the fight for political rights by the working class was emerging in what would be the first real working class party, the Chartist movement.

Germany was not immune to this revolutionary wave sweeping the world but the material changes in the country were

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Marx bicentennial



Eugene Delacroix' Liberty at the Barricades is a celebrated image symbolising the 1830 revolution in France, the stirring background to the young Marx's development

painfully slow in comparison to others. This led the great German thinkers of the time to inevitably see change in terms of changes in the realm of ideas.

Marx later wrote: 'In politics the Germans "thought" what other nations did. Germany was their "theoretical conscience".'

In Germany revolutions were made in the head!

In October 1836, Marx attended the University of Berlin to study law but soon became immersed in the study of philosophy, in particular the philosophy of the great German philosopher Georg Hegel, and he quickly became involved in a radical group of young thinkers known as the 'Young Hegelians' who were drawn to Hegel's dialectical method.

Hegel was supremely concerned with change; he saw that everything exists in a

state of change, that nothing is static and that everything has to be studied as a process of change and development. Hegel saw movement and change as arising from the contradictions within the object itself and not as being caused by things purely external to the object.

This was the great achievement of Hegel but his great limitation was that as a philosophical idealist he saw these changes as occurring purely in the realm of thought.

With Hegel changes occurred within the realm of ideas and the changes in the material world were merely reflections of these changes.

In 1842, Marx moved to Cologne where, barred from any academic advancement by the growing hostility of the Prussian government to the radicalism of the Young Hegelians, he became a journalist writing for a radical newspaper, the 'Rhineland

News' where he expounded his early ideas about socialism. He would soon become its editor.

In particular, Marx began to examine issues concerning the peasantry writing articles on their material conditions and the way that the law penalised and criminalised them in favour of the ruling class.

The vehemence of his criticism of the treatment of the poor earned the enmity of the government and caused a rift between Marx and the paper's backers who demanded he 'tone down' his work to avoid problems with the censor.

Marx refused to acquiesce to these demands, resigned as editor and left the paper which soon collapsed after his departure.

Marx had started writing for Rhineland News more or less as a radical democrat primarily interested in the social and economic conditions of the peasantry, but by the time he left he was drawn towards a study of the economic relations of society.

Under pressure from the authorities, Marx left Prussia for Paris in 1843 where he became editor of a new radical newspaper (German-French



Best of the Young Hegelians, Ludwig Feuerbach completed the criticism of religion from a materialist perspective, but left out the active role of human practice

Marx bicentennial

Annals), founded by the German socialist Arnold Ruge, with the aim of uniting radical German and French radicals .

Only one issue of the paper was printed after the German authorities banned it from the country.

After the collapse, Marx began writing for another German radical paper 'Forward', which was connected with the League of the Just, a secret society of mainly German workers and artisans.

Marx attended meetings of the League but never formally joined.

All this time, Marx was devel-

oping his ideas, ideas refined and informed by his involvement in the struggles that were sweeping Europe.

In particular Marx was influenced by the work of Hegel's most talented student Ludwig Feuerbach.

In 1841, Feuerbach published 'The Essence of Christianity' in which he was the first to criticise Hegel from the standpoint of materialism.

In particular Feuerbach rejected Hegel's notion of the 'absolute idea' and insisted that:

‘Nature exists independently of all philosophy. It is the foun-

dation upon which we human beings, ourselves the product of nature, have grown up.

‘Nothing exists outside nature and man, and the higher beings our religious fantasies have created are only the fantastic reflection of our own essence.

“The spell was broken; the “system” was exploded and cast aside, and the contradiction, shown to exist only in our imagination, was dissolved’ (Engels: *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*).

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Right Left Hand

Marx' collaborator Friedrich Engels made this doodle of the Young Hegelians at their disputations

Marx bicentennial



In this issue of *Vorwärts!* of July 1844 Marx published a celebrated poem by Heinrich Heine on the subject of the Silesian Weavers, a struggle of the working class against slave wages, mechanisation and rapacious landlords. Their fight was something new and conscious in the development of the working class

But Marx quickly understood that Feuerbach suffered the same limitations as all previous materialists in that he saw man as a product of the material world whose thoughts and ideas were a reflection of nature but he viewed man solely as an individual passively reflecting nature.

Feuerbach had rejected Hegel's idealism but had also thrown out the active side of Hegel's philosophy; that man does not merely passively reflect nature but is essentially in conflict with it, and that a unity, conflict, interpenetration and transformation of opposites takes place.

Marx was, as he said later, standing Hegel on his head, or rather his feet, by giving the basis of materialism to the dialectic.

Marx wrote in the introduction to Volume I of *Capital* that 'the dialectic in its materialist form is a scandal and abomination to the bourgeoisie and its doctrinaire spokesmen, because it includes in its positive understanding of what exists a simultaneous recognition of its negation, its inevitable destruction; because it regards every historically developed form as being in a fluid state, in motion, and therefore grasps its transient aspect as well; and because it does not let itself be impressed by anything, being in its very essence critical and revolutionary.'

In 1845, Marx would settle accounts with Feuerbach when he wrote his 11 short 'Theses on Feuerbach', intended as an outline for the first chapter of his book *The German Ideology* but which like the book itself was never published in his lifetime.

The final 11th thesis is famous: 'Philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways, the point is to change it.'

In the 1840s as a young man in his twenties, he was grappling with the question of what force could change society.

His struggle towards the founding of a truly scientific socialist world view was informed at all times by his involvement in the struggles in Germany and France.

One particular event clarified his thinking, the revolt in Germany of the Silesian weavers in June 1844.

The Silesian weavers rose up and smashed the new textile machinery that was being used

Continued on page 30

Desperate push to privatise the NHS

**'Transformation', and 'integration' spell Americanisation
For national action to bring down the Tory government!**

By Anna Athow

A prestigious report recommending a large long-term funding settlement for the NHS, through increased taxation, raises the question of why the Tory government is considering a sudden U turn on NHS funding after eight years of vicious austerity.

It appears that the government's privatisation policy – the Five Year Forward View (FYFV) 2014 – has stalled from lack of cash and big business is frantic that the later phases of the Letwin-Redwood strategy be accelerated with a bung of cash from the Treasury.

In 1988, Tory MPs Oliver Letwin and John Redwood, published a plan to get the NHS denationalised. It involved: (i) The establishment of an independent board, (ii) Increased use of joint ventures between the NHS and the private sector, (iii) Extending the principle of charging, (iv) a system of 'health credits', and (v) a national health insurance scheme. ('BRITAIN'S BIGGEST ENTERPRISE Ideas for radical reform of the NHS')

The NHS in England is in a critical state.

Estimated excess unwarranted deaths this winter range from 10 to 30,000. All authorities now agree that the NHS winter crisis is all year round, with hospitals full to capacity and general practice, mental health and ambulance services crippled by cuts and reforms.

The Tory-LibDem government of 2010-15 slashed £20bn off the annual budget, followed by another proposed £22bn from 2015 to 2020 under the FYFV



The NHS march through London this year made its point about under-funding, but it is the whole organisational transformation to prepare the NHS for privatisation that needs addressing

plan of Simon Stevens, head of NHS England (NHSE).

Thus the NHS budget has been flatlined since 2010, with the longest, deepest funding squeeze in NHS history. Its staff having suffered the George Osborne public sector staff pay cap of 0-1% for the last 8 years.

This year 2017/18 again the NHS is running a deficit of £4bn. A Nuffield Trust spokesman said, 'The real underlying deficit is likely to remain very similar to where it was at the start of the year – at around £4bn, which is inevitable as long as we continue to systematically pay hospitals and other services less than the cost of actually delivering care.' (28.5.18 G)

Simon Stevens, having accepted the impossible 2015

funding settlement of only £8bn a year extra by 2020, now presents himself as the champion of more funding for the NHS. In March and November 2017, he said that the NHS constitution's targets for A&E waiting times, elective and cancer care would no longer be met without more cash.

In January 2018, Chris Hopson of NHS providers said the NHS was at a 'watershed moment'. He demanded the government make an urgent political decision and do what Gordon Brown did in 2002: get the Treasury to organise a proper long-term funding plan. He called for another 15,000 beds.

On 9th May, Health and Social Care Secretary Jeremy Hunt supported a new ten-year

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Desperate push to privatise NHS

(HMOs). About HMOs, John Ehrlichman famously said to president Nixon in 1971, '... the less care they give them (patients), the more money they make.'

Niall Dickson, of the NHS Confederation, a rich charity of over 500 organisations from NHS boards, Clinical Commissioning Groups and private companies, told the BBC, 'We need to stop bed-blocking. We cannot do this with 2%, (increase per annum). We need to have the historic 4% and productivity changes and new technology...

'There is a better way to organise and deliver services. We are still very hospital orientated, very 20th century ... We need care in the community. We have got to change the way we deliver. We need capital funding and the rest.'

The Confederation's annual conference included guest speakers Jeremy Hunt, Simon Stevens, and John Ashworth, shadow health secretary.

Anita Charlesworth from the Patients Foundation wrote, 'Talk of closing beds in the medium term looks wildly

unrealistic. The task will be to limit the growth in bed capacity, for that we need to make a reality of the new models of care set out in the FYFV.

'The scale and change can't be underestimated. It will need a balance of determination and realism. Over the last 20 years funding growth and workforce has been skewed towards acute care.

'Shifting the balance will need capital investment. It also needs real clarity about what new fit-for-purpose services in primary and community health care will look like. Crucially, we need a very well-executed plan of action to scale those new services across the country.'

Jeremy Hunt (9.5.18) called for 'the transformation plan, the move to integrated care, the move to improved out of hospital care', 'the full integration of the health and social care system' and 'really big efficiency improvements' from productivity of nurses using modern IT systems, and artificial intelligence to read scans.

He said '...we have to be Sin-

gaporean about this and plan for the long term.'

Singapore has a market of mixed healthcare providers and a government insurance market at differing pay levels.

It becomes apparent that these establishment figures championing more funds for the NHS, want the money to reconfigure the NHS out of existence, through imposing American 'integrated care systems' made for insurance funding, more technology, and the creation of a cheaper workforce. This would represent a huge bail-out of public money for private healthcare corporations, IT, property and pharma companies and the rest, with scarce a penny for restoring safe frontline care; for more beds and properly trained staff.

The fact is that the FYFV has stalled from lack of cash, despite the mergers, consolidations and reconfigurations and the huge sale of NHS land under the Naylor plan.

The junior doctors experienced this medicine, with the

Continued on page 12



SERCO strikers at Whipps Cross Hospital in Walthamstow. The new pay deal leaves non-medical staff out if they have been transferred to a private company

Push to privatise NHS



Junior doctors in a sit-down protest in Whitehall during their determined fight for a safe and fair contract in 2016. They were abandoned by the TUC and left to fight alone

imposition of Hunt's 'red lines' in 2016: loss of automatic pay progression, loss of banding protection, and big reductions in unsocial hours pay. The BMA hierarchy recommended this awful new contract, although the membership still rejects it.

This has resulted in a super-exploited junior doctor workforce, as junior doctors find themselves covering rota gaps and far too many wards for safety on decreased pay.

Now a similar trick is being played on a million Agenda for Change (AfC) staff, with the 'Framework agreement on the proposed reform of AfC' 27.3.18. This removes automatic pay progression, and imposes performance-related pay. It offers a below-inflation pay rise, and the prospect of the NHS being flooded with cheap-labour apprentices authorised in the new contract.

It is shocking that the big Unite and Unison unions can

recommend this deal to their members.

Less qualified and cheaper alternative roles to fully qualified and registered doctors and nurses are being introduced, such as nurse and physician associates. Cynically, NHSE wants to increase the supply of migrant labour, as a cheap quick fix, and who can be tossed out whenever the Home Office changes the rules.

Gig-economy-type flexible contracts are being piloted in 15 trusts, with promises of prompt payment per call-in shifts and reduction of pension contributions.

Outsourcing of AfC staff is proceeding apace, as Trusts set up their own private subsidiaries and TUPE staff across, which can lead to inferior terms and conditions.

To restore a comprehensive publicly owned and provided service, with free care for all according to need, requires a huge fight to halt the implementation of the FYFV.

District General hospitals and GP surgeries must be kept open to stop the imposition of US-style Accountable Care Organisations, shamefully sold as 'integrated care' for the patient.

Labour and trade union leaders that continue to welcome so-called 'world class', 'integrated care' and 'care in the community' are playing into the hands of government and big business.

Insurance-based American healthcare results in individuals paying for their own health care, and denial of care for millions of people.

The Tory government has to go. The unions must mobilise their members for this struggle and call on the whole trade union movement and the entire public for support.

A new leadership in the health unions is required, which understands that this is a life or death fight to get rid of capitalism and that what is needed is a workers government with socialist policies.

The future needs the answer to the class question

The Future Starts Here

Victoria and Albert Museum

Sainsbury Gallery

Cromwell Road SW7 2RL

Until November 4

Admission: £16; concessions available

The lustrous, shimmering surface of this show of 100 trend-setting objects which might define the future conceals a Janus-like ambivalence: is design and technology setting up humanity for a miserable existence of slavery to an app, or is it beckoning to mass empowerment through digital connectivity?

It depends on how you answer one of the prominently displayed questions that hang above the displays: Is Edward Snowden a hero or a traitor?

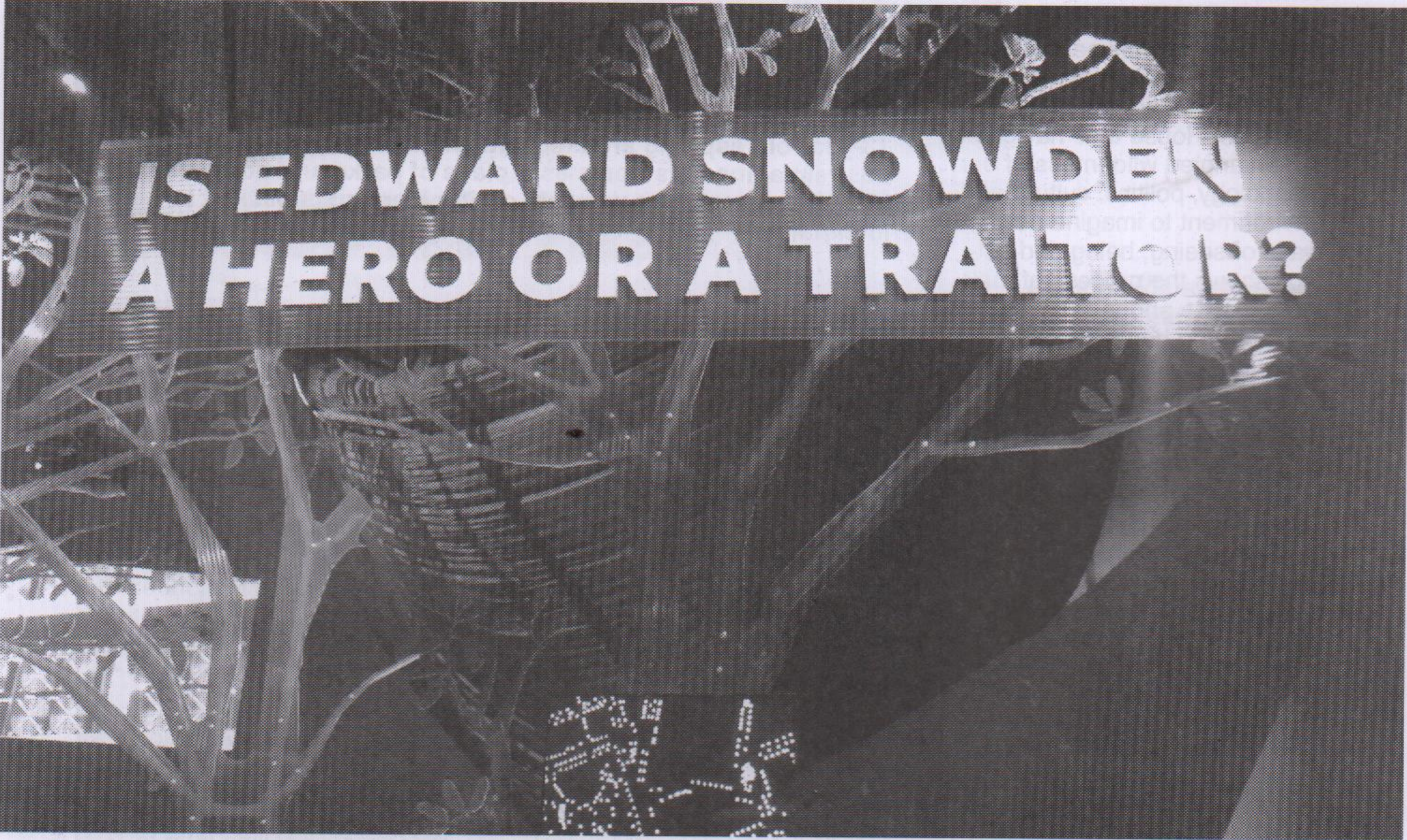
The future is a class question, and the V&A's Design, Architecture and Digital department poses it here through their provocative choice of objects.

To give it some structure, there

are four broad themes: Home, Public, Planetary and Afterlife, and running through them all is the gnawing presence of capitalism and giant corporations competing for markets both real and virtual.

The result is both disturbing and uplifting, the ground covered is comprehensive and the questions posed all need urgent answers, most of them only solvable through socialism.

To begin with capitalism, the show points our attention to a website called 'asterank.com' which not only identifies and locates asteroids, but puts a value on them in terms of their mineral resources. This is combined with a copy of an Obama-era Public Law 114-90-Nov 25



IS EDWARD SNOWDEN A HERO OR A TRAITOR?

In a forest of internet trees hangs the presiding question of the exhibition: to answer hero means changing the world

The Future

2015, which, in the section on 'Space Commerce' includes the following startling paragraph:

'A United States citizen engaged in commercial recovery of an asteroid resource or a space resource under this chapter shall be entitled to any asteroid resource or space resource obtained, including to possess, own, transport, use, and sell the asteroid resource or space resource obtained in accordance with applicable law, including the international obligations of the United States.'

And you thought the stars belong to everyone.

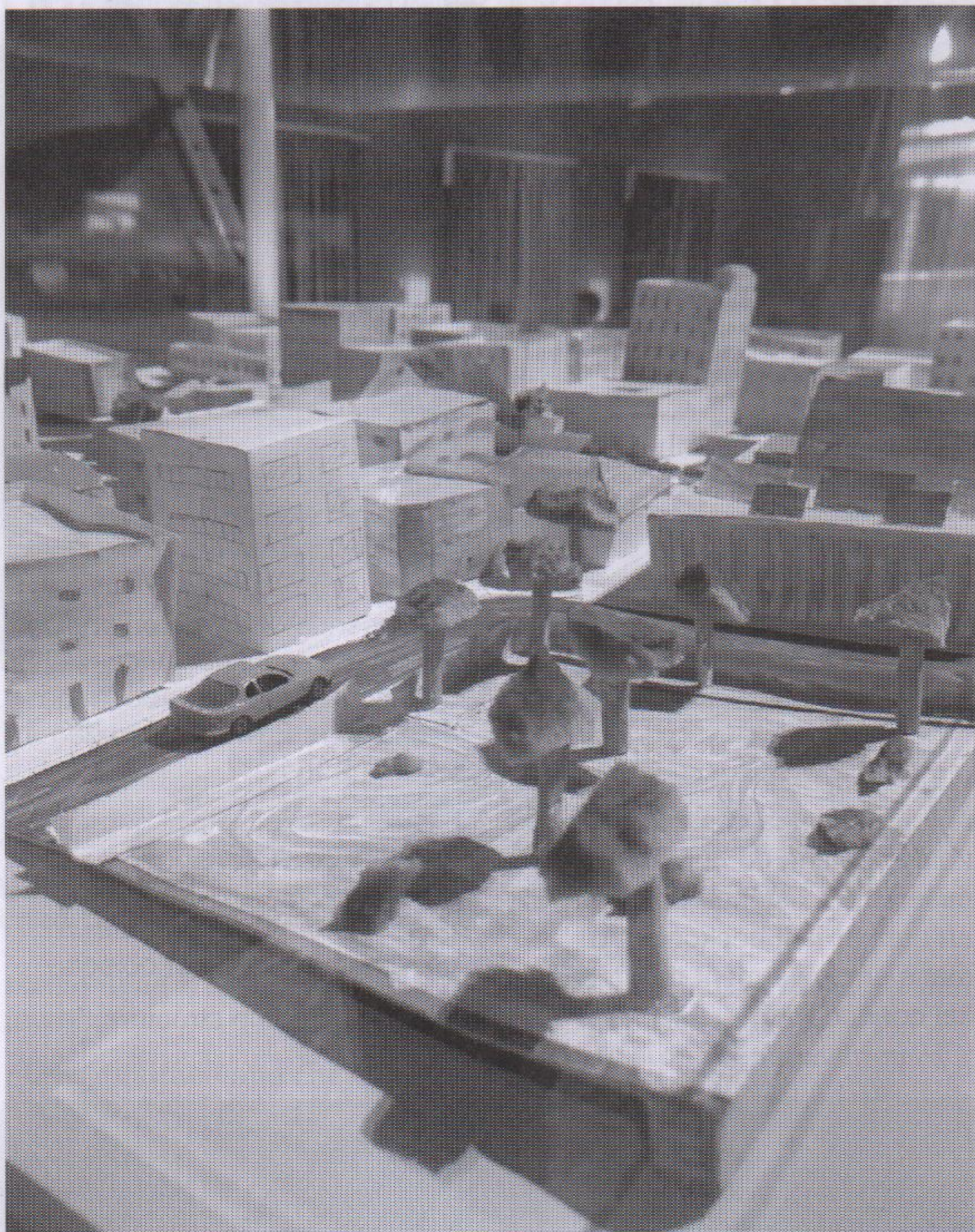
The minerals to be found in asteroids are much sought after on Earth for the ever-burgeoning field of digital media, where the big four transnational companies Microsoft, Apple, Google and Facebook now permeate most aspects of everyday life. If we project from the present to the future, then some of this show illustrates that there is cause for concern.

An unusually perceptive eight-minute film from Superflux, the studio in Somerset House that 'navigates the entangled wilderness of our technology, politics, culture and environment to imagine new ways of seeing, being and acting,' shows the process of making a mobile phone from 'the mine to your hand'.

Coltan mines in the Democratic Republic of Congo, supplying the tantalum for capacitors in gadgets, are polluting and involved in human trafficking, slavery and regional conflict as well as child labour.

By the time the phone is in your hand, all this is forgotten, crowded out by apps that control your home environment, social interactions, media platforms and amusements.

Related to these phenomena is the query on the poster for the exhibition: In the future, will your boss be an algorithm?



13-year-old aspiring architect Muhammad Kutaish from Aleppo has reimagined his home as a place of parks and homes rebuilt after the devastation wrought on it by terrorists backed by imperialism

The tale of Uber taxis and UberEATS is told here through the sad story of Onomarou, the Nigerian Uber driver living in LA, a chronic insomniac sending money back home in between sleeping in his taxi and dodging immigration officials, all transformed into an art installation. This app-driven existence is here reduced to the opening and closing of curtains representing key moments in Onomarou's day and is not a happy sight.

The employment algorithm, with minimal human involvement, dictates terms and conditions for 'casual workers, who

are expected to deliver a seamless service, like machines,' says the caption.

Eager to bring affordable internet connectivity to parts of the world without it, with all the attendant benefits and enslavements, Facebook is pioneering an Aquila space platform into the stratosphere. It looks very sleek slung across the exhibition space, weighs 500kg and is solar powered to fly unpiloted for three months at a time.

Facebook is currently mired in scandal over selling data to Cambridge Analytica, which then

The Future

developed 'social bots' to engage in electioneering in various parts of the world. Whether such interventions of targeted advertising actually swing results is at least moot, since Brexit, for example, was absolutely a revolutionary movement of the working class, and the election of Trump was a consequence of the Democratic Party's sidelining of Bernie Sanders, the latter's implosion and Hillary Clinton's passionate embrace of Wall Street; real things, not virtual.

These issues of the moment are all represented here, as well as fake news, who should own and police the internet, and the 'corporate versus community' polarity of digital communications.

This where Edward Snowden makes his appearance. The caption reads: 'As the whistleblower Edward

Snowden revealed, private user data was routinely funnelled by massive online corporations, like Google, Apple, Microsoft, Facebook and others to government agencies.' For his pains, Snowden, the hero, was forced into exile in Moscow, with Donald Trump calling for his execution.

The section in which all these items make their appearance is 'Public', asking the question 'Does Democracy Still Work?'

It is loaded with class conflict, posed as 'documenting the limits of democracy today', but offering 'alternative systems designed to rebuild trust or divert power to citizens'.

Amongst the latter, crowdfunding and a project to build floating cities of 'micronations ... beyond the reach of the taxman' are held up as examples.

A lot more worrying is the inclusion of the 'Democracy without a

state', known as Rojava in northern Syria, where the Kurdish-led region declared independence in 2012 as part of a federation within Syria, offering 'self-government, gender equality, communal economy and secularism'.

A model of their regional 'people's parliament' in Derik is in the show. The project flies in the face of the legitimate Syrian government, which said it 'contradicts the Syrian constitution and all the national concepts and international resolutions' and also sets itself against Turkish ambitions in the region.

Another utopia is Foster + Partners' model of their six million square metre Masdar City in Abu Dhabi, the world's first 'carbon-neutral, zero-waste city'. It may incorporate the last word in ethical designer living, but since the crash of 2008 no one now knows when or if it will ever be finished – another lofty piece of

Continued on page 16



A toy panda stuffed with state secrets, created to make a point by the political artists Ai Wei Wei and Jacob Appelbaum, and containing shredded government documents and a chip with Edward Snowden's leaked documents.

The objected was donated to the show by Julian Assange, one of a number of politically dissident recipients.

Secrecy and the intrusions of surveillance are a thread throughout the V&A's exhibition

The Future

idealism brought to earth by an ugly fact that only a planned world economy could control.

Better by far are the aspirations of 13-year-old Mohammed Kutaish, who has modelled out of the most basic materials a vision of a reconstituted Aleppo, now reduced to rubble by defeated terror gangs.

Everyone knows that Aleppo was at the centre of imperialism's designs on the Middle East, which now become ever more desperate as the terror gangs are eliminated. Mohammed Kutaish's plans for his home show how indestructible and resilient is the spirit of Syrians fighting for the integrity of their nation.

If the prospect of a digital world of spy bots concealed in the toaster, fake news, killer robots and where to put atomic waste is beyond endurance, then the show offers two solutions: move to Mars or live forever through cryogenics or as an avatar of yourself. There are serious efforts under way to 'upload your brain to a USB', using scanning to model the neural networks in a mouse brain. This would establish proof of principle to 'lead to the transfer of information within a brain into a digital existence'.

We don't have to believe everything we see here.

At the end of the show is an invitation to take part in a YouGov poll about attitudes to the future, ranging from 'All-round optimists' to 'Well-informed worriers'.

The V&A will probably have decimated the former category by the time they have consumed their bottle of 'Soylent' (Green), but for the latter, well-informed worries about the 'limits of democracy' should be transformed into the fight for a socialist future, where some of this scintillating technology can be put to safe use for the benefit of humanity, not just the capitalist corporations.



Above: Foster + Partners' model of their six million square metre Masdar City in Abu Dhabi.

Intended as a carbon-neutral, temperature controlled environment with electric transport, the building of this exclusive utopia was brought an abrupt halt by the banking crash of 2008

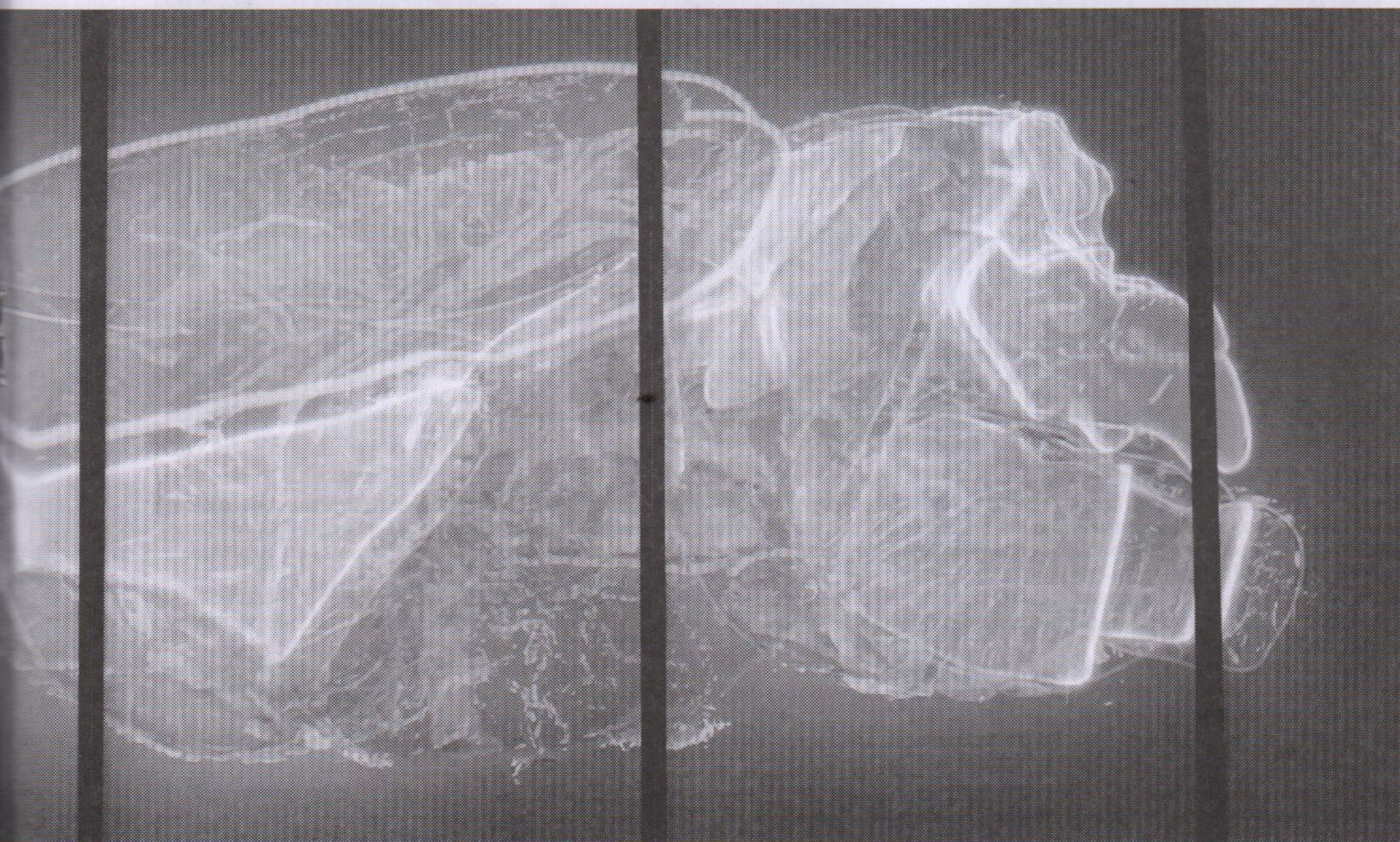
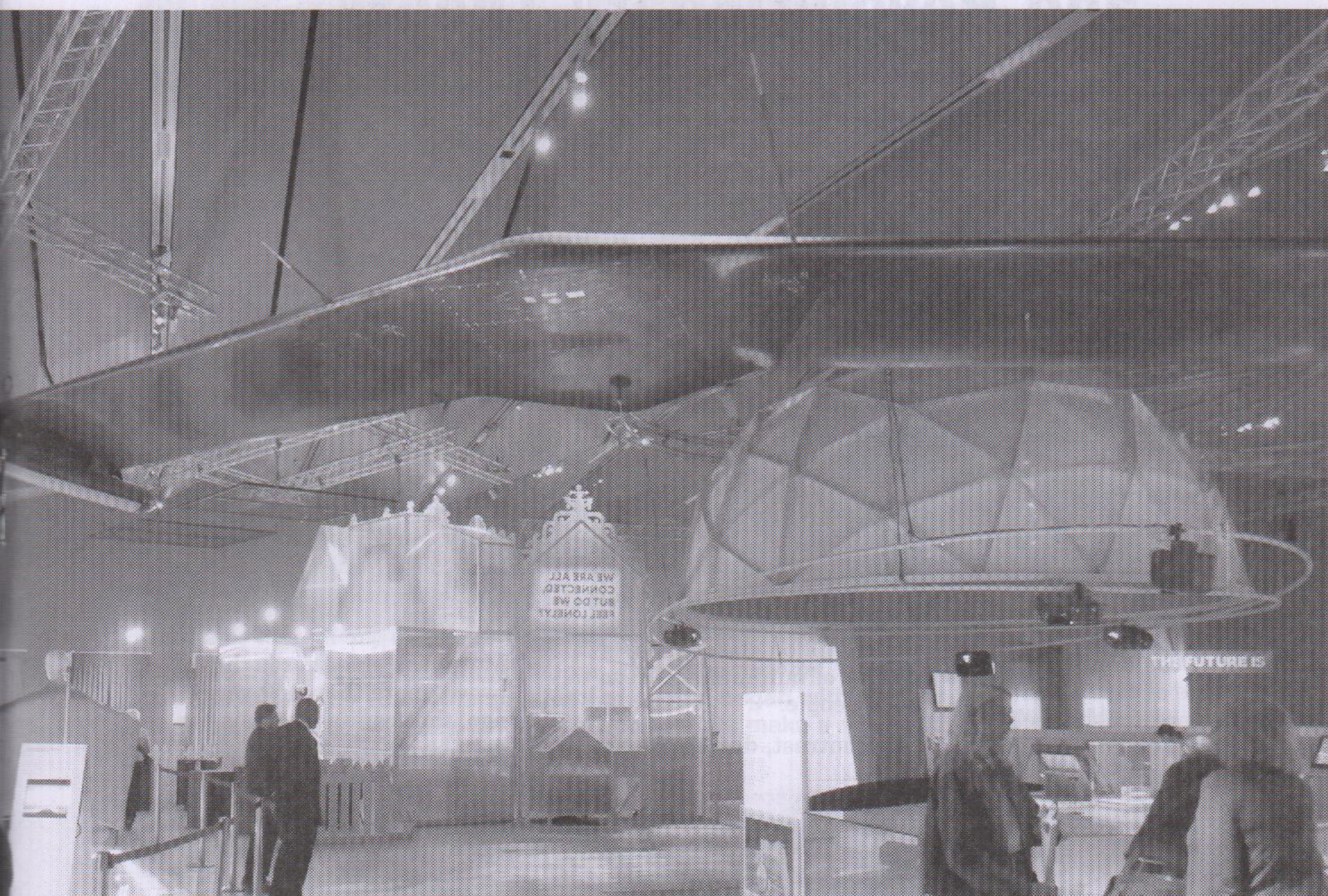
Top right: Facebook's Aquila drone looms over the exhibition space. The project has the apparently well-meaning intention of bringing connectivity to places without, but with the data leakages and state snooping that Facebook has been charged with, the prospects under capitalism are as much threat as social interaction

Right: Want to live forever as a digital download?

This 'whole brain emulation' derived from scanning a mouse brain is intended to generate neural networks which can be used to transfer the information in a brain to a computer. The research is serious, but Battlestar Galactica Cylons are some way off



Starts Here



Marx and Lenin: On Capitalist Crisis and Revolutionary Theory

By Mike Driver

A new class war strategy was reportedly launched late in 2016 by the US Federal Reserve with the backing of the US Treasury: to 'drain liquidity' from the world's debt-ridden capitalist system by 'winding down' so-called 'quantitative easing' – i.e., the creation from nothing of ever larger 'quantities' of cash representing no actual value, so making debtors of most of the world's population.

The US Treasury responded by putting the bulk of its ready cash into Federal Reserve vaults, keeping some £386 billion as a buffer for emergencies. It is acknowledged that the measure could in itself trigger a collapse of capitalism: but such bodies presumably believe that even that outcome might

nevertheless permit enough chiefs of the capitalist class as 'necessary' to emerge from its aftermath with sufficient assets intact.

So as global debt now amounts to some £170 trillion – according to the Institute of International Finance (IIF) – the apostles of 'high' finance have taken to speculating on a sufficient few of such bosses profiting from serious economic collapse. Whatever will happen then to the real producers of all new wealth, i.e., to the majority working class and their multi-million class allies, is clearly of minimum concern to such people.

By contrast, during the era

when Marx published his first volume of *Capital* in 1867 in the wake of earlier economic crashes, he was already able to show precisely what was at the root of capitalist crises, at the same time as demonstrating *scientifically* – in accordance with what Marxism had then begun to establish as the *law* of value – that the total amount of *surplus value* which accrues to capitalists following production is fully commensurable with the total quantity of unpaid labour time which every worker employed must perform in return for their employment.

It was in the light of this that Marx was able thoroughly to prove, more than 150 years ago, that capitalist crisis can only be resolved by the practi-



What is quantitative easing?

Quantitative easing is when a central bank like the Bank of England creates new money electronically to make large purchases of assets. We make these purchases from the private sector, for example from pension funds, high-street banks and non-financial firms. Most of these assets are government bonds (also known as gilts). The market for government bonds is large, so we can buy large quantities of them fairly quickly.

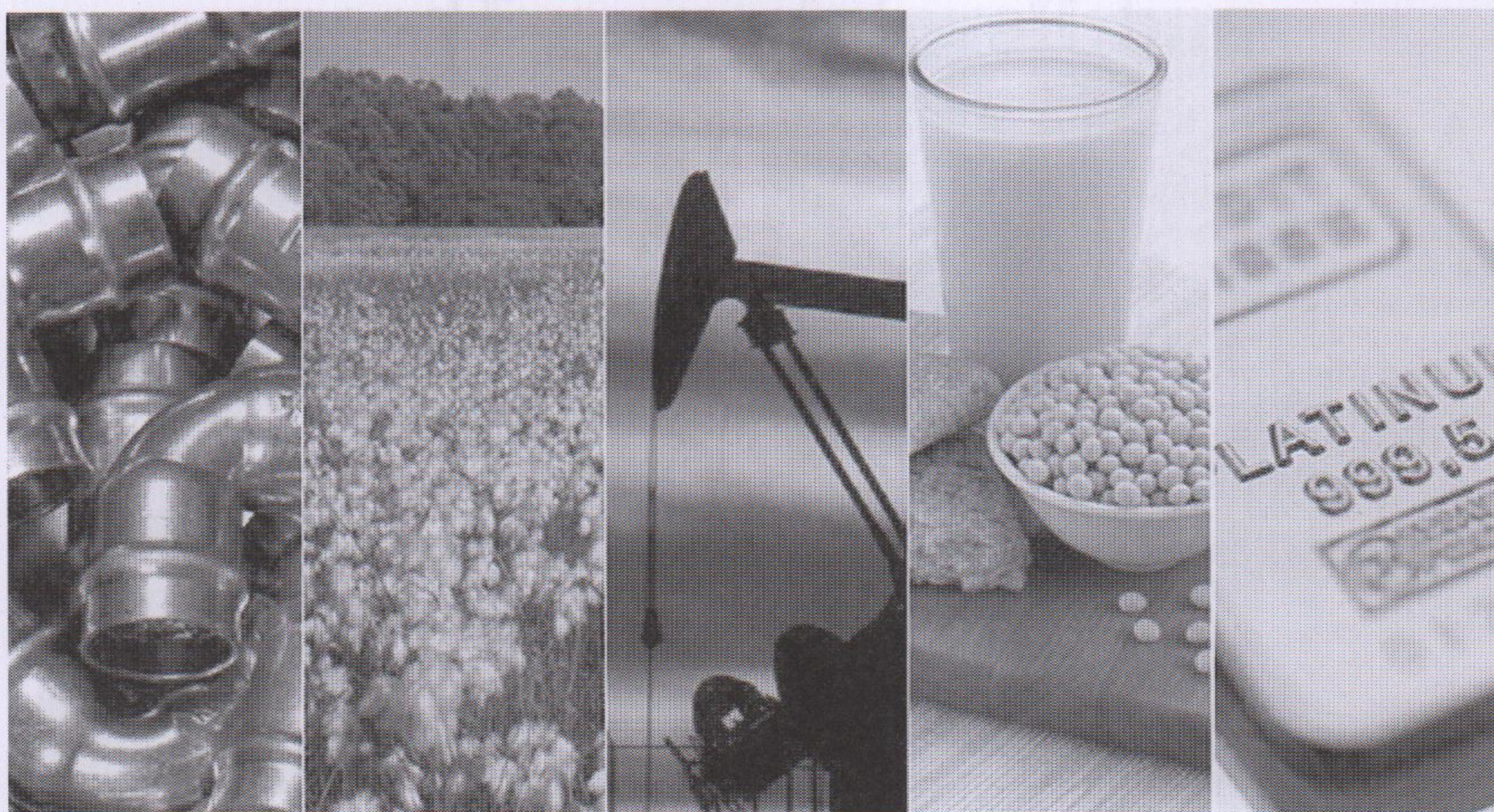
The purchases are of such a scale that they push up the price of assets, lowering the yields (the return) on them. This encourages those selling these assets to us to use the money they received from the sale to buy assets with a higher yield instead, like company shares and bonds.

As more of these other assets are bought, their prices rise because of the increased demand. This pushes down on yields in general. The companies that have issued these bonds or shares benefit from cheaper borrowing because of these lower yields, encouraging them to spend and invest more.

We also buy a smaller amount of private debt like corporate bonds. This is aimed at making it easier for companies to raise money in capital markets to invest in their business. (from the BoE website)

Government bonds are a part of QE, and the US and EU are now cutting back on the scale of this 'stimulus' programme, having decided that the economy is recovering

Capitalist crisis and revolutionary theory



Commodities crystallise human labour within themselves, giving the commodity its value. Marx's study of capital began with the analysis of the commodity. Bourgeois economists make a mystery of this with their conjuring tricks with QE

cal means of international socialist revolution.

It's also very widely-known that Marx began his *Capital* with the analysis of a *commodity*: yet it isn't so well understood that this had not been his initial intention – for example when he began the notes for his *Grundrisse* ten years before that in 1857 – or that he realised only later that such a change had become obligatory *precisely* because that fresh beginning-point was a necessary key to the full understanding of capitalism.

What he came to articulate fully by 1867 flew entirely in the face of the capitalists' own explanation for their crises. They had always reassured themselves that such problems were caused by *overproduction* of goods: so that what they needed to do was to limit production for a period of time, in this way creating a 'recession' that would sooner or later come to a natural end.

But by recognising that in fact capitalism as a system

manufactured not products but commodities – i.e., goods made not principally for use but for the purpose of profitable exchange via their money equivalent – Marx was able to show exactly how and why capitalism is *necessarily* a system of crisis; which is exactly why it can be and has to be replaced by something very much better.

He explained this succinctly as follows in Part 2 of his three-part Volume Four of *Capital*, also known as *Theories of Surplus Value*: 'The word *overproduction* in itself leads to error,' he wrote. 'So long as the most urgent needs of a large part of society are not satisfied, or only the most immediate needs are satisfied, there can of course be absolutely no talk of over-production of products – in the sense that the amount of products is excessive in relation to the need for them.'

'On the contrary, it must be said that on the basis of capitalist production, there is constant *underproduction* in this

sense. The limits to production are set by the profit of the capitalist and in no way by the needs of the producers.

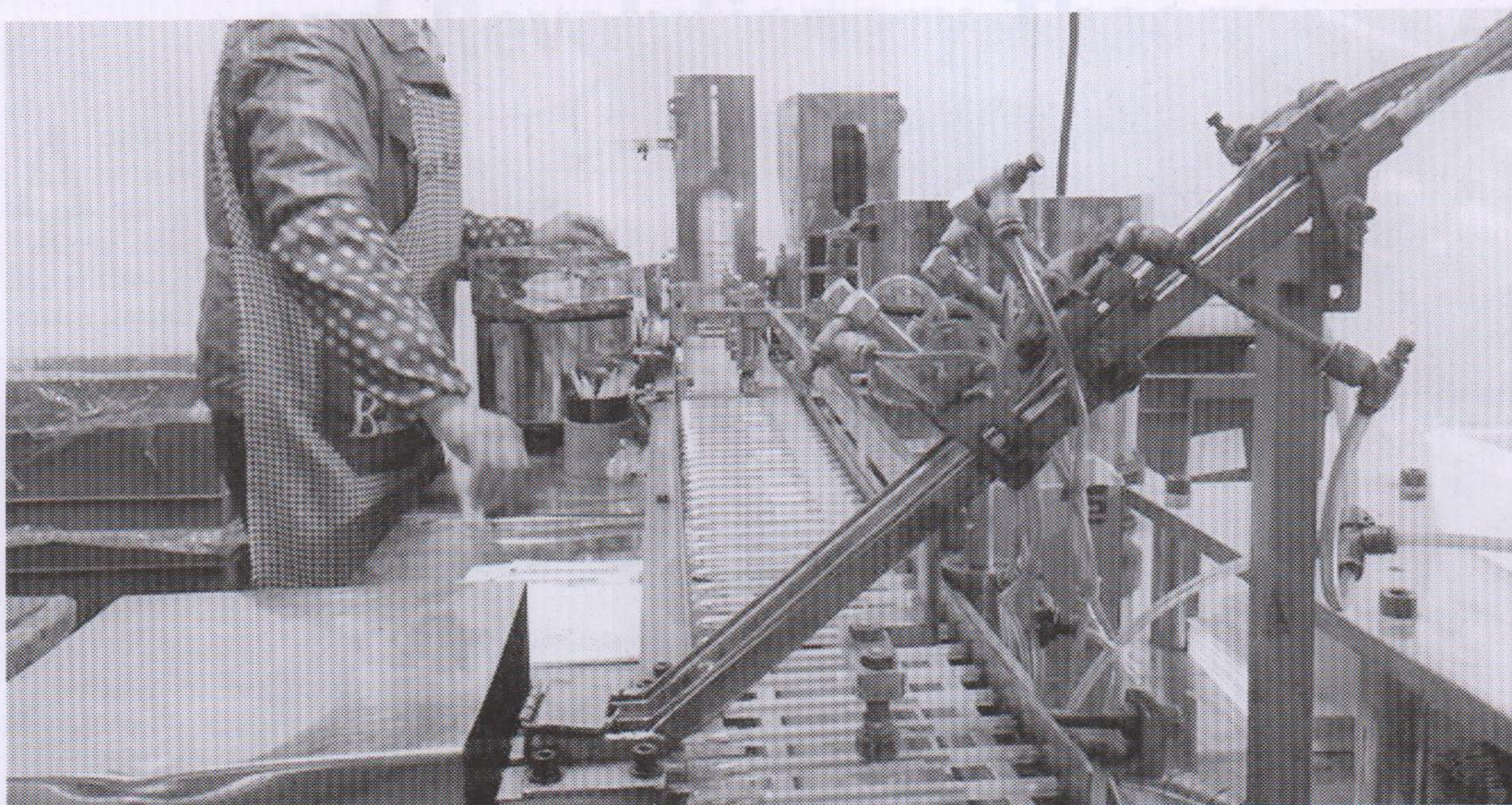
'But over-production of products and over-production of commodities are two entirely different things.' (1)

Then as he later continued in Part 3: 'The fact that bourgeois production is compelled by its own immanent laws, on the one hand, to develop the productive forces as if production did not take place on a narrow restricted social foundation, while on the other hand it can develop these forces only within these narrow limits, is the deepest and most hidden cause of crises, of the crying contradictions within which bourgeois production is carried on and which, even at a cursory glance, reveal it as only a transitional, historical form.' (2)

Our most recent article in this series – entitled 'Engels Defends Dialectics and the Law of Value' (3) – showed how Engels alongside Marx, and then Lenin just a few years before the start of the 20th Century, explicitly acknowledged the contribution of the

Continued on page 20

Capitalist crisis and revolutionary theory



Even mass-produced items like biro's involve human socially necessary labour time to add value to the commodities that form their parts

German idealist philosopher Hegel's study of dialectics (most notably in his book *The Science of Logic*) to the whole subsequent development of Marx's scientific method in *Capital*.

Marx, as is also well-known, described Hegel in the afterword to his second German edition of *Capital* as 'that mighty thinker'. (4) And in truth – although of course Hegel as a philosophical idealist would have been altogether unable to see it as such – a more concrete analogy has never been found for the *relationship* of each particular commodity to the general development of capitalist society than Hegel's succinct philosophical formula in the *The Science of Logic's* opening 'Introduction': 'Not merely an abstract universal, but a universal which comprises in itself the wealth of the particular, the individual, the single.' (5)

At that same point Hegel did however venture so far as to add to his remark: 'Thus, the value of logic only receives due appreciation when it is the result of experience of the sciences; then it presents itself to

the mind ... not as a *particular* department of knowledge alongside other departments and realities, but as the essence of all this other content ...' (6) And in fact that ready appreciation, both of science and of the decisive role within it of actual human *practice*, provides the key to everything that was really vital in Hegel's eventual influence on Marx.

Then commenting on Hegel's use of the previously unvoiced term 'the syllogism of action' very close to the end of *The Science of Logic*, Lenin emphasised: 'For Hegel *action*, practice, is a *logical "syllogism"*, a figure of logic. And that is true! Not, of course, in the sense that the figure of logic has its other being in the practice of man (= absolute idealism), but vice-versa: man's practice, repeating itself a thousand million times, becomes consolidated in man's consciousness by figures of logic.

'Precisely (and only) on account of this thousand-million-fold repetition, these figures have the stability of a prejudice, an axiomatic character.' (7)

In fact Lenin had already insisted in this commentary, as we also saw in an earlier article: 'Hegel is completely right as opposed to Kant. Thought proceeding from the concrete to the abstract – provided it is *correct* (NB) (and Kant, like all philosophers, speaks of correct thought) – does not get away from the truth but comes closer to it. The abstraction of matter, of a law of nature, the abstraction of *value*, etc., in short all scientific (correct, serious, not absurd) abstractions reflect nature more deeply, truly and *completely*.' (8)

In the wake of that Lenin was then able to emphasise: 'The formation of (abstract) notions and operations with them *already* includes idea, conviction, *consciousness* of the law-governed character of the objective connection of the world.

'To distinguish causality from this connection is stupid,' he continued. 'To deny the objectivity of notions, the objectivity of the universal in the individual and in the particular, is impossible. Consequently, Hegel is much more profound than Kant, and others, in tracing the reflection of the move-

Capitalist crisis and revolutionary theory

ment of the objective world in the movement of notions.'

Then in order to show even more exactly what Marxism had been able to *learn* from Hegel, Lenin continued: 'Just as the simple form of value, the individual exchange of one given commodity for another, already includes in an undeveloped form *all* the main contradictions of capitalism, – so the simplest *generalisation*, the first and simplest formation of *notions* (judgments, syllogisms, etc.) already denotes man's ever deeper cognition of the *objective* connection of the world. Here is where one should look for the true meaning, significance and role of Hegel's *Logic*. This NB.' (9)

After that he also went on to stress in this connection: 'When Hegel endeavours – sometimes huffs and puffs – to bring man's purposive activity under the categories of logic, saying that this activity is the "syllogism", and that the subject (man) plays the role of a logical figure in the "syllogism", and so on, – **THEN THAT IS NOT MERELY STRETCHING A POINT, A MERE GAME. THIS HAS A VERY PROFOUND, PURELY MATERIALISTIC CONTENT.**

'It has to be inverted: the practical activity of man had to lead his consciousness to the repetition of the various logical figures thousands of millions of times in order that these figures could obtain the significance of axioms. This NB.' (10)

And following that: 'The *totality* of all sides of the phenomenon, of reality and their (reciprocal) *relations* – that is what truth is composed of. The relations (= transitions = contradictions) of notions = the main content of logic, **by which** these concepts (and their relations, transitions, contradictions) are shown as reflections of the objective world.

'The dialectics of *things* produces the dialectics of *ideas*,

and not vice versa.' And there he emphasised: 'Hegel brilliantly *divined* the dialectics of things (phenomena, the world, *nature*) in the dialectics of concepts.' (11)

From this Lenin concluded: 'Logical concepts are subjective so long as they remain "abstract," in their abstract form, but at the same time they express also the Things-in-themselves. Nature is *both* concrete *and* abstract, *both* phenomenon *and* essence, *both* moment *and* relation.

'Human concepts are subjective in their abstractness, separateness, but objective as a whole, in the process, in the sum-total, in the tendency, in the source.' (12)

It is in the wake of this recognition that thinking and revolutionary theory, which must necessarily contain truth *insofar* as it accurately and fully reflects objective reality, can become a guide to practice.

1) Marx: Theories of Surplus Value, Part 2, Lawrence and Wishart p527

2) Marx: *ibid*, Part 3 p84. See also T Kemp, Karl Marx's Capital Today, New Park

3) MR, Jan-Feb 2017



James Prescott Joule's apparatus for determining the mechanical equivalent of heat. That and related experiments in the 19th century established the first law of thermodynamics, that energy can neither be created nor destroyed. The role of scientific practice in the development of knowledge was acknowledged by Hegel and by Lenin: that practice by repetition has the stability of axiom, and that such confirmed knowledge is a reflection of the movement of the objective world in the movement of notions, leading to ever-deeper cognition of the objective connections of the world

4) Capital Vol 1, Lawrence & Wishart p29

5) Lenin, Collected Works Vol 38, p99

6) *ibid*, p99

7) *ibid* p217

8) *ibid* p171

9) *ibid* pp178-9

10) *ibid* p190

11) *ibid* p196

12) *ibid* p208

Suffragettes

100 years since the Representation of the People Act 1918

By Gail Downing



Dame Millicent Garret Fawcett's statue in Parliament Square. Her NUWSS belonged to the tamest strand of parliamentary petitioning, but it was terror and WWI that got the vote

WOMEN's suffrage in Britain is officially 100 years old. Throughout 2018, the bourgeoisie and its supporters have been commemorating this 'great step forward for democracy' (bourgeois democracy, that is) which brought socialism no nearer, despite the living

example of the Russian revolution which consciously advanced the role of women in society as part of the wider class question.

Lenin summed up the Revolution's opposition to single-issue feminism in his 1920 conversation with Clara Zetkin, published as 'Lenin on the Women's Question'. He makes the point:

'The thesis must clearly point out that real freedom for women is possible only through Communism. The inseparable connection between the social and human position of the woman, and private property in the means of production, must be strongly brought out. That will draw a clear and ineradicable line of distinction between our policy and feminism. And it will also supply the basis for regarding the woman question as a part of the social question, of the workers' problem, and so bind it firmly to the proletarian class struggle and the revolution ...

'The communist women's movement must itself be a mass movement, a part of the general mass movement. Not only of the proletariat, but of all the exploited and oppressed, all the victims of capitalism or any other mastery.'

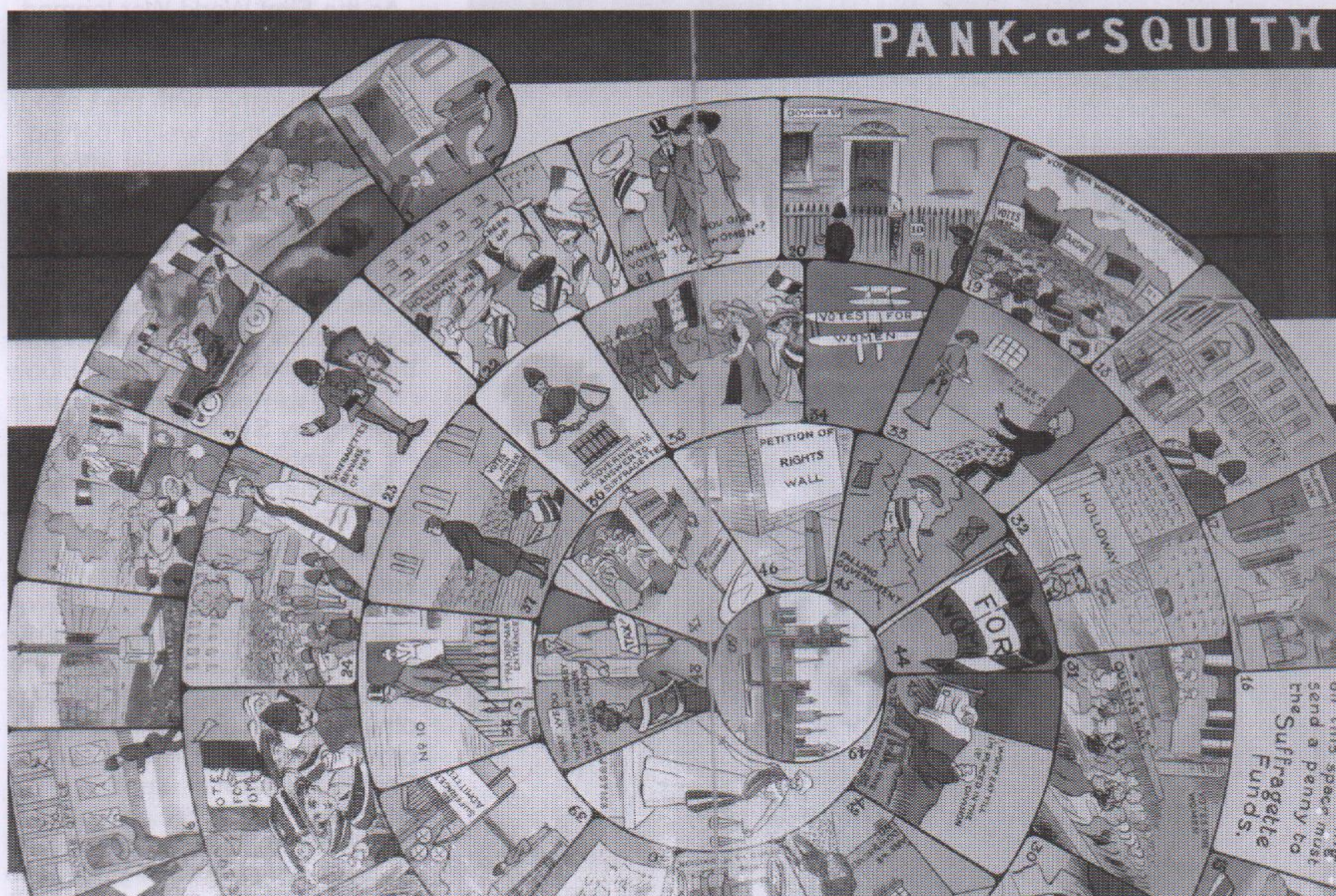
Such an outlook was signally lacking in the period leading up to the 1918 Act and from the celebrations this year.

There are films, television documentaries, radio discussions, books, festivals, music, plaques, exhibitions and statues, telling the often heroic story of the fight for women to have the vote. A century on, these celebrations look threadbare and reactionary.

The centenary is of the limited 1918 Representation of the People Act, in which concessions were granted only to women of property, not to working women – they had to wait until 1928.

Women over the age of 30 got the vote – but only if they were householders, wives of householders, occupiers of property with an annual rent of £5.00, and graduates of British universities – just over 40 per cent of the female population.

Suffragettes



Fundraising board game from the WPSU illustrating the steps along the path to ... parliament. The object is on display at the London Museum throughout this year

The fact that Britain was one of the last capitalist countries to grant women the vote demonstrates just how backward the bourgeois system is, as a brief timeline demonstrates:

Women got the vote first in New Zealand (1893) followed by Australia (1902 – but only if you were white; all Aboriginal women had to wait until 1967), Finland (1906), Norway (1913), then Denmark (1914), Canada (1917), Austria, Germany, Poland in 1918 along with Soviet Russia whose revolution swept in complete equality for women (see Lenin's statement below). 1918 saw the limited franchise for women in Britain, followed by Netherlands (1919), the USA (1920, after a century of struggle and again, only if you were white; women of colour were not enfranchised until 1965).

If anyone thinks that 'democracy' is based on universal suffrage and not private

property, they should think again!

On the 24th April this year Tory Prime Minister Theresa May unveiled a specially commissioned statue of Millicent Fawcett.

In 1897, Fawcett was elected president of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) which linked disparate women's groups together. This confined itself to peaceful means, mainly writing to influential figures and putting pressure on MPs to put forward Private Members' Bills.

To great fanfare, the public was told this is the first sculpture of a woman, by a woman (Turner Prize-winner Gillian Wearing) to stand in Parliament Square. May told the crowd, including London Mayor Sadiq Khan, Labour MP Harriet Harman and ex-Home Secretary Amber Rudd:

'I would not be standing here today as Prime Minister, no female MPs would have taken

their seats in Parliament, none of us would have the rights we now enjoy, were it not for one great woman, Dame Millicent Garrett Fawcett.'

So there we have it, reformism has paved the way for the likes of Thatcher and May – fighters for capital, not women and definitely not workers.

Fawcett was the best choice for parliamentarians. Fawcett wrote: 'I could not support a revolutionary movement.' Her 'Suffragists' (National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, NUWSS, or Parliamentaries) were horrified and bitterly opposed to the terrorism of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). Their banners proclaimed in huge letters 'NUWSS LAW ABIDING SUFFRAGISTS'.

The Pankhursts, mother Emmeline, daughters Christabel, Adela and Sylvia, and others, formed the WSPU to escalate the campaign, in opposition to Fawcett.

Suffragettes



A suffragette attacked in London on 'Black Friday' 18 November 1910. The picture shocked Britain, but the state was opposed to women's suffrage (Credit: Museum of London)

Their slogan was 'Deeds not Words'.

Deeds meant terrorism.

As soon as the campaign turned to smashing and bombing private property, the real terrorists of the capitalist state made their move. Over a thousand women were imprisoned, thousands were beaten and several killed. When they went on hunger strike demanding to be treated as political prisoners they were tortured by force feeding. Worried about a backlash should a hunger striker die and become a martyr, the Liberal state came up with an ingenious solution, the 1913 Cat and Mouse Act. This released Suffragettes who became ill from the torture but put them back

inside once they had recovered sufficiently!

The militant campaign grew. The state, in crisis in the run-up to the First World War, became even more oppressive and violent. Women's meetings were attacked by riot police. Women like Emily Kitty Willoughby were given hard labour for throwing a potato at Winston Churchill's house. Her answer was to train in jujitsu and carry an Indian club in her petticoats as part of Emmeline Pankhurst's female bodyguard.

Their fight for universal suffrage did not deliver workers of either sex from the oppression of capitalism; working women remained 'slaves of wage slaves'.

As the First World War loomed, leaders of both the Suffragists and Suffragettes, reformists to a woman, together with the Labour Party, threw their weight behind imperialism and the war effort.

Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst called off all campaigning and disbanded the movement to actively support conscription of male workers into the trenches.

Only Sylvia Pankhurst opposed the war. She had already broken from the Suffragettes' militancy and turned to the working class and socialism.

To the horror of her family, she set up a big WSPU branch in the East End, forming alliances with other socialist and workers' organisations. Her HQ on Old Ford Road soon became 'a ceaseless font of radical politics'. The last straw was when Sylvia spoke on a platform in support of the 1913 Dublin Lock Out, and her opposition to the looming imperialist war.

Christabel promptly expelled her and her entire organisation and the family disowned her.

Her expulsion from the WSPU led to her founding of the East London Federation of Suffragettes, which over the years evolved politically, first to the Women's Suffrage Federation and then to the Workers' Socialist Federation (WSF).

Pankhurst corresponded with Lenin and travelled to Moscow as a delegate to the important 2nd Congress of the Communist International, in August 1920. This called on all European revolutionaries to break from Social Democracy and build Communist parties, especially in Britain which necessarily entailed participation in elections and the trades unions, not to liquidate into them but as a tactic to take the masses from their narrow syndicalism and ties to Social Democracy, at the same time training the Communist parties to lead the working class to power.

Suffragettes

However, Pankhurst was opposed to Lenin's position arguing for ultra-leftism and not being tainted by participating in capitalist elections and parliament. She thought it was impossible to join all the different movements together. The WSF is mentioned explicitly in Lenin's *Left Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder* of 1920. Pankhurst would have been given a copy at the Second Congress.

The Executive Committee of the International gave the British delegates four months to get a unified Communist Party together, however, Pankhurst was arrested for 'sedition' because of an article against imperialist military intervention against Soviet Russia she had written in *The Workers' Dreadnought*.

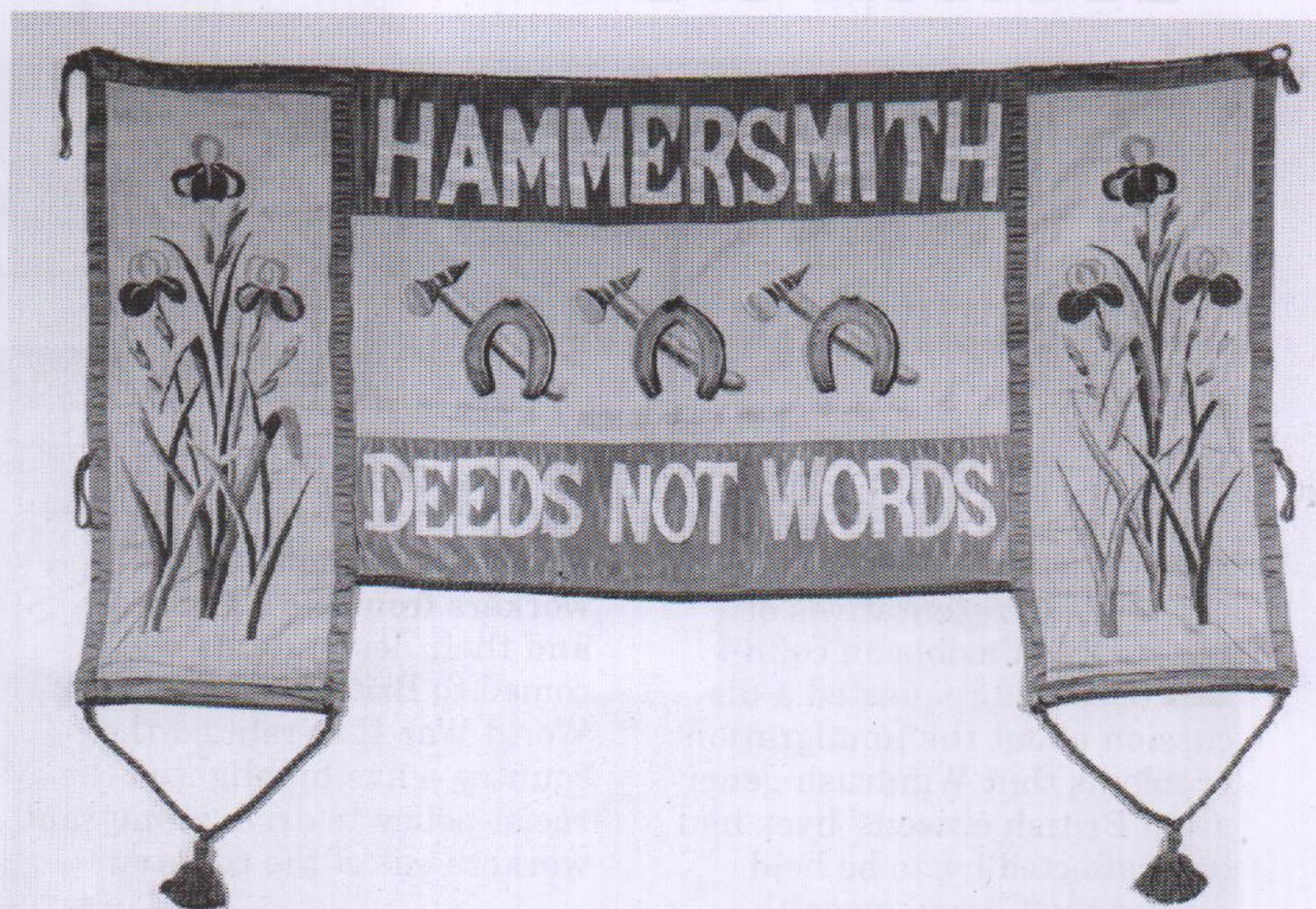
She wrote to Lenin, apparently in some distress, still arguing the impossibility of joining up with all different groups to found one Communist Party. Her letter was intercepted and gleefully printed in *The Manchester Guardian* on 27 October 1920:

'Dear Comrade, The situation is moving in a revolutionary direction more swiftly, but of course we are far away yet. The prices of necessities are rising, but the cost of living is not totally supposed to have risen this month. Unemployment is now acute, and the unemployed are restive. One of Lansbury's meetings was broken up by members of my party because he advised peaceful methods, and the crowd supported the young dockers, seamen, and others of my party who opposed him. Unemployed march to factories, enter them, make speeches, and speak of using them. Ex-soldiers arm and drill. Do not exaggerate these things – they are not formidable yet.

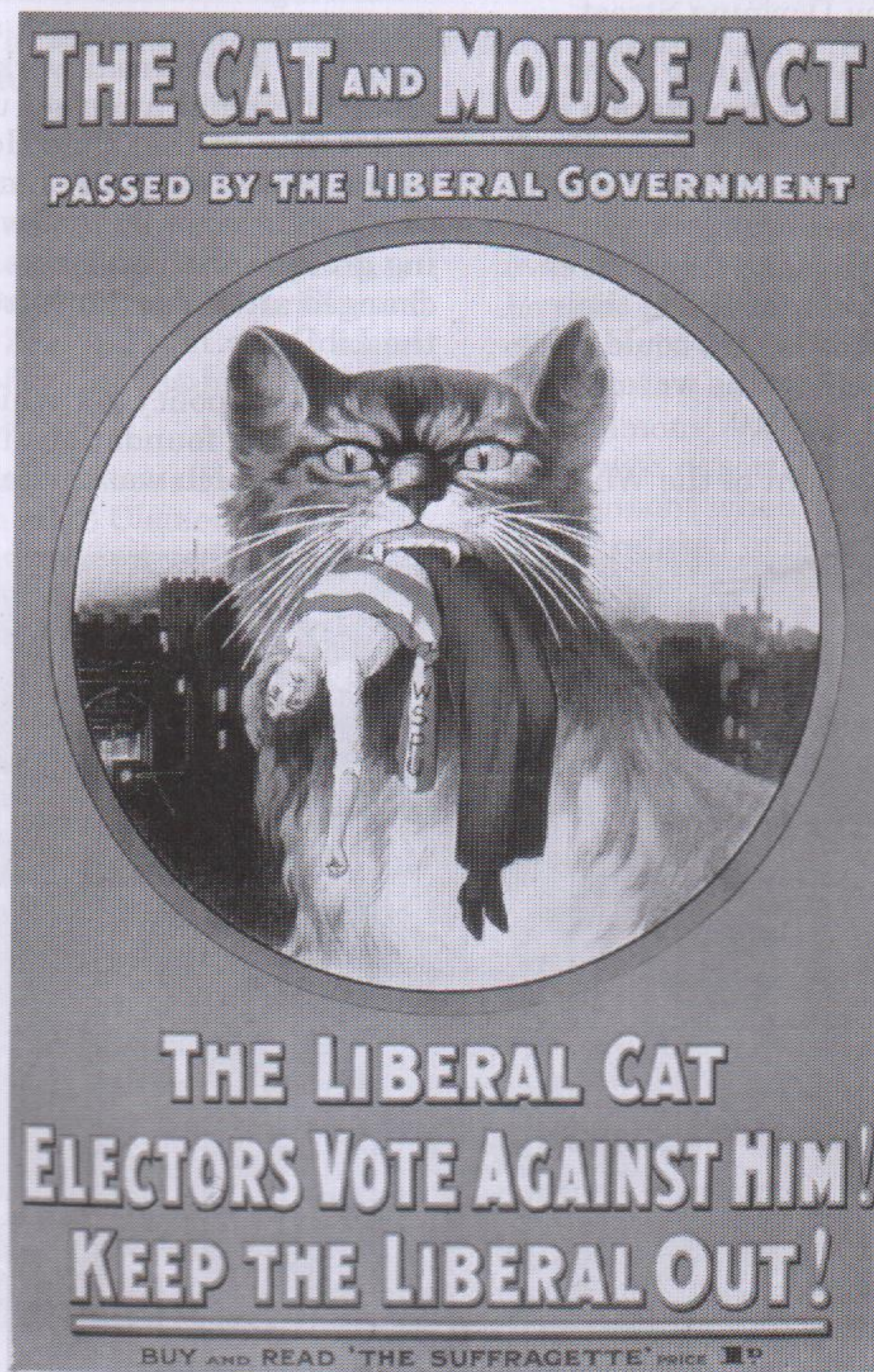
'... The Communist parties alone are neither big enough nor bold enough to rise to the occasion ...

'With Communist greetings.

'SYLVIA PANKHURST.'



The WPSU banner for Hammersmith bearing its famous slogan (Credit: Museum of London)



Suffragette propaganda poster in defiance of the Act that made a revolving door of force-feeding in prison and freedom (Credit: Museum of London)

Windrush: A scandal

that should have brought the
government down!



By Cheryl Thompson

In April it was reported that representatives of twelve Caribbean countries had requested a discussion about the immigration problems that Windrush generation British citizens' lives had been affected by, to be held during the Commonwealth heads of government meeting. Showing utter contempt, talks on Windrush injustice were rejected by Downing Street.

An estimated 50,000 of them face the risk of deportation if they never properly formalised their residency status or don't have all the documents to prove it. To make things even more difficult for them, their boarding cards that could have proved their status were destroyed in 2010.

The treatment of the Win-

drush Generation – those workers from the Caribbean and their descendants welcomed to Britain at the end of World War II to rebuild the country – has highlighted the racist policy to drive immigrant workers out of the country.

Sarah Teather, who was a LibDem minister for children and families in the Tory-led coalition government at the time, revealed as far back as 2013 that an internal working group on immigration set up under May, at that time Home Secretary, was initially named the 'hostile environment working group' – the name was only changed after objections from the LibDems.

Under this policy, for which May laid the foundations in 2013 and which was made law

in the Immigration Acts of 2014 and 2016, doctors, social workers and teachers are forced to act as border guards.

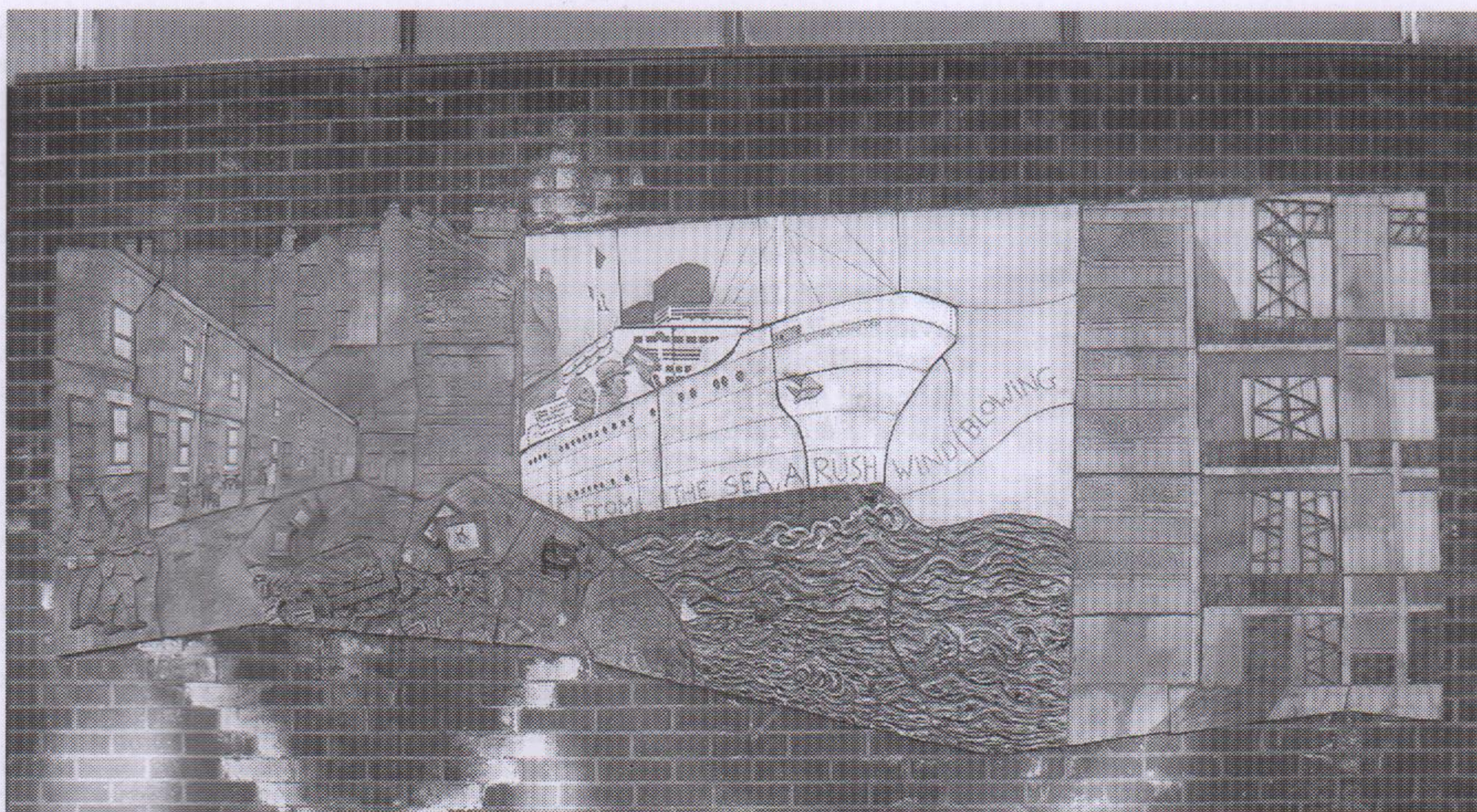
Every job application and health emergency could end in arrest, detention or summary deportation. Under these acts, employers, landlords, schools, universities, banks, doctors and local government employees must run their own checks and can be hit with criminal charges if they fail to report anyone they believe to be in the country illegally, making Britain so profoundly unwelcoming that people choose to leave of their own accord.

This strategy of making life as unbearable as possible for people without papers so they would voluntarily leave the country was introduced under



West Indian immigrants in transit to a new life in the UK after the Second World War

Windrush



The mural that decorates Hulme library in Manchester pays tribute to the Windrush generation as part of the community (Credit: Ceropegius)

the 2010 coalition government in the context of a Conservative manifesto commitment to cut net migration by the 'tens of thousands'. It followed decades of anti-migrant policy that introduced increasingly restrictive immigration controls, at the same time propagating the idea of 'bogus asylum seekers' with former Labour Party Home Secretary David Blunkett warning of asylum-seeking children 'swamping British schools'.

June marks the 70th anniversary of the arrival of the Empire Windrush at Tilbury Docks carrying 492 West Indians. This year also marks 70 years since the 1948 British Nationality Act was passed. The act, referred to as 'that most evil statute' by Enoch Powell, was intended to give all British subjects the automatic right to travel to and settle in the UK. The principle had been established in earlier decades in the sure knowledge that poverty and the high cost of travel would deter poor blacks from

coming. The architects of the act had envisaged that it would be the white citizens of Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand that would make use of their time-honoured rights.

In fact, Labour Prime Minister in 1948 Clement Attlee looked into preventing the ship's embarkation or sending it to East Africa. When the ship arrived, the Colonial Secretary, Arthur Creech Jones, is said to have reassured cabinet colleagues that, although 'These people have British passports and must be allowed to land. There's nothing to worry about because they won't last one winter in England.'

When that prediction was proved false, ministers considered how they could revoke the commitments enshrined in the 1948 act with a new act in 1971 that granted those who had already arrived indefinite leave to remain.

For over a year there have been reports of workers of the Windrush generation facing deportation.

People like Paulette Wilson, who had lived in the UK for over fifty years, having arrived here from Jamaica at the age of ten, raised a family and worked as a cook in the House of Commons, was yet threatened with deportation by the government when the Home Office refused to believe she was in the country legally.

She spent a week in Yarl's Wood detention centre and was about to be forced onto a plane when a last-minute intervention from her MP prevented a forced removal. She had lived with the threat of deportation for nearly three years. Her housing benefit and sickness benefit was stopped and she was made homeless.

She has a legal right to stay because she moved here before the 1973 Immigration Act gave people who had already settled in Britain indefinite leave to remain. Large numbers of people like Paulette who came to the UK legally in the 60s have been threatened by the 'hostile environment' policy Theresa May introduced in 2012.

Windrush

In March, it emerged that a man who had been living in London for 44 years had been told to produce a British passport or face a bill of £54,000 for cancer treatment, forcing him to go without. Official refusal to accept his legal status led to him being evicted and spending three weeks homeless.

Theresa May refused to intervene in the man's case although she had promised to do so when Jeremy Corbyn raised it during prime minister's questions. She stated that under her government's new rules the decision lies with the hospital.

As more and more cases emerged revealing widespread challenges by the Benefits Agency to prove they were in the country legally or bosses sacking workers having decided an employee was here illegally, or those made homeless, a huge public outcry developed and there was international anger at Britain's treatment of the Windrush generation, condemning the Home Office.

Four Bishops called for an immigration amnesty for those people who moved to the UK

from the Caribbean decades ago. There is also a campaign for the 22 June, the anniversary of the arrival of the Windrush at Tilbury Docks to be made a public holiday called Windrush Day.

On April 16 Labour MP, David Lammy gave voice to the moral indignation that was gathering strength saying, 'This is a day of national shame.' He told the Commons, 'Let us call it as it is. If you lay down with dogs, you get fleas, and that is what has happened with this far-right rhetoric in this country.'

Home Secretary, Amber Rudd was forced to announce that there would be a team set up to ensure no more Windrush citizens would be classified as illegal immigrants and acknowledged Home Office failings, promising that nobody will be deported because of lack of paperwork, ignoring those that have already been deported.

On April 23 Corbyn called on May to listen to the harrowing human consequences of her cruel and discredited policy, which "has ripped lives apart"

and to change course. He told a conference in Wales: "This week, something rotten at the heart of government has come to the surface. The Windrush scandal has exposed how British citizens who came to our country to rebuild it after the war have faced deportation because they couldn't clear the deliberately unreachable bar set by Theresa May's 'hostile environment' for migrants." He stopped short of demanding her resignation.

The Tory government will not be shamed by any amount of impassioned speeches—they need to be brought down: there is definitely something rotten in the capitalist state of Britain.

Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn called in parliament for Rudd's resignation, but would not call for May to go as well.

Both May and Rudd refused to resign despite the fact that this outrage is not some accident caused by over enthusiastic Home Office staff but the deliberate outcome of a deliberate policy pushed by Cameron when he was PM, enthusiastically pursued by his Home Sec-



In mid-March Stand Up to Racism campaigners laid out their demands in London, just as the Windrush scandal was breaking in April.

Windrush

retary Theresa May, who argued that it should be toughened up even more, and carried forward by Rudd who similarly demanded even more vicious tightening of immigration attacks.

Attempting to wriggle out of all responsibility, the Tories were reduced to lying through their teeth.

May lied to Parliament stating that the boarding cards had been destroyed in 2009 when a Labour government was in power. She was immediately contradicted by the Home Office and those who actually carried out the destruction.

Apologising to Caribbean leaders, May admitted quite casually that she was responsible for the whole catastrophe, stating that the 'issue had come to light because of measures that we introduced recently' and suggesting it was merely a bureaucratic concern for those people who now 'needed to evidence their immigration status'. She made no mention of the pain caused to thousands.

On April 29 in her resignation letter to May, Amber Rudd said she had inadvertently misled a parliamentary committee in denying the government had

targets for the deportation of illegal migrants. She was replaced by Sajid Javid.

More than 200 MPs signed a letter to the prime minister calling for government promises to Windrush immigrants to be written into law, addressing concerns over compensation, housing and legal rights.

Showing that the hostile environment policy remains, the government was then caught up in another deportation scandal when it emerged that a section of the Immigration Act is being used in threatening to deport at least 1,000 'highly skilled migrants' who are seeking indefinite leave to remain (ILR) in the UK – including teachers, doctors, lawyers, engineers and IT professionals on the grounds that they have lied in their applications, either for making minor and legal amendments to their tax records or having discrepancies in declared income. The controversial section 322(5) is designed to tackle terrorism but is being used to define the most minor error as being a 'disregard for the law'.

This vicious policy is also blocking students from studying in the UK, refusing entry

to much-needed overseas doctors from working in the NHS, while demanding landlords check the immigration status of their tenants. It was challenged by doctors' union BMA, lecturers' union UCU and the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI) forcing Tory Home Secretary Sajid Javid to review the cap on students and doctors allowed into the UK.

Many vulnerable members of the Windrush are still being forced to live in conditions of complete destitution despite Tory pledges to deal with all the Windrush cases including compensation.

The sheer inhumanity of the Tory hostile immigration regime was evident when the inquiry into the Grenfell Tower inferno that killed 72 people opened. Home Office delays meant many bereaved relatives who had been granted 'core participant status' at the inquiry were unable to attend.

One year on from the tragedy, 72 families have still not been re-housed.

Windrush along with Grenfell must serve as a call to the whole of the working class to take action to bring down this barbaric Tory government.



Popular anger over the revelations about the Windrush generation's treatment by the Home Office erupted in spontaneous demonstrations. This one took place in Brixton, on April 20th, with its banner demanding an end to the racist scapegoating of immigrants.

The 'hostile environment' was fostered by Theresa May when she was the Home Secretary

Marx bicentennial



Marx met his lifelong collaborator Engels in Paris in 1844

Continued from page 8

by the merchants to cut their wages.

The army was called out and fired on a demonstration of 3,000 who had converged on the headquarters of the textile merchants, killing 11 and wounding dozens more.

The workers fought back but the uprising was crushed the next day when cavalry and artillery were brought in to smash the revolt.

This revolt drew a great deal of sympathy from liberals and radicals while at the same time being dismissed out of hand by Ruge who wrote that it was a 'feeble' uprising by feeble weavers, easily put down by a few troops.

Marx's view of the Silesian weavers' revolt was fundamentally opposed to those who viewed them as helpless objects to be pitied or dismissed as feeble.

Marx wrote:

'Consider only the song of the

weavers; the striking, trenchant, ruthless and powerful way in which the proletariat hurls the battle-cry of its antagonism against the society of private property. The Silesian revolt began where the French and English insurrections ended, with the consciousness of the proletariat as a class. The whole action was of this character. Not only did it destroy machinery, the rival of the workers, but also the merchants' records, their property titles. In the beginning at least, all other movements were directed exclusively against the industrialists, against the visible enemy, but this movement was also directed against the banker, the invisible enemy. And finally, no English insurrection was carried out with the same courage, deliberation and persistence.' (Quoted by Franz Mehring in 'Karl Marx').

Many others had recognised and written about the existence of the class struggle.

The utopian socialists had viewed the proletariat as a downtrodden class to be pitied,

unable to defend itself from the ravages of the oppressing class whose only salvation lay in being 'helped' by their intellectual and cultural 'superiors'.

Marx's great development was to grasp that the proletariat was the only revolutionary force in society, the only class that could liberate humanity.

Already by the 1840s, the young Marx had started to reach this understanding and began to develop the theory of scientific socialism.

On 28 August 1844 in Paris, Marx met Frederick Engels and so began a lifelong friendship with the man who would stand as the co-founder of modern socialism.

Engels, two years younger than Marx, was also born in Germany but had spent two years working in the family business in Manchester.

During that time, Engels had immersed himself in the life and struggles of the working class and written the classic of revolutionary socialism *The Condition of the Working Class in England* in 1844, building close relationships with workers' leaders in the newly emerging trade unions and the Chartist movement.

Engels had by this route reached the same understanding as Marx – that the working class was the only revolutionary class under capitalism and his book had a profound effect on Marx.

In this period, Marx turned to an intensive study of political economy in order to deepen his understanding of the capitalist system.

By 1845 Marx's study to 'understand the inner workings of capitalism' (Marx and Engels 'The German Ideology') had clarified his position about 'the theory and tactics' of a truly 'revolutionary proletarian

Marx bicentennial



Kathe Kollwitz' series of engravings of 1893-7 depict the struggle of the Silesian weavers. That struggle was decisive in forming Marx's view of the role of the working class as the gravedigger of capitalism. The struggle itself was commemorated in a play of the 1890s and a reworking of that play as a silent film of 1921 as a metaphor of life for workers under the Weimar republic

movement' based on a 'scientific materialist' philosophy.

While engaged in this crucial work, Marx was forced to leave Paris, expelled from France by the government. He moved to Brussels first having to pledge to the Belgium government that he would not publish anything on politics.

In Brussels, Marx was joined by Engels and a whole group of members of the League of the Just began to gather in that city.

In July 1845, Marx and Engels travelled to England to meet with leaders of the Chartist movement, Marx's

first visit to the country which he used to explore the wealth of information in the libraries of London and Manchester.

It was now that Marx and Engels set about writing *The German Ideology* which expounded in detail for the first time the theory of historical materialism.

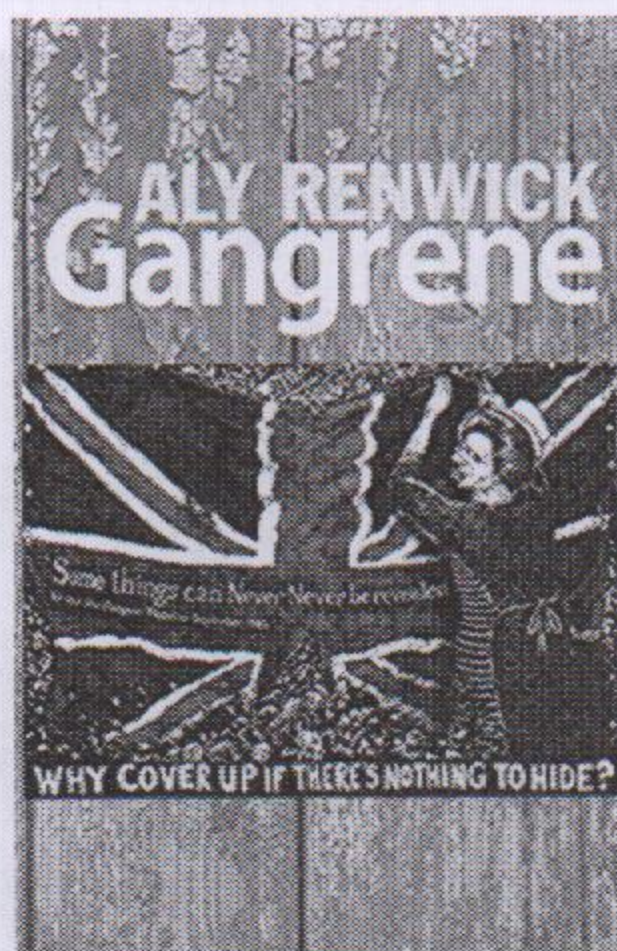
In this book, Marx broke decisively from idealism and placed dialectical materialism as the sole motor force of history.

This was followed in 1847 by his book *The Poverty of Philosophy* where he broke with all previous utopian theories of socialism which held that the

task of socialists was to recruit individuals one at a time through logical discussion, and instead counterposed that the real task of revolutionary socialists was to formulate appeals to the material interests of the whole class as the only way of mobilising the broad mass of the working class in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

In the next article, we will look at how this new revolutionary theory laid the basis for Marx's most famous works, the *Communist Manifesto* and *Capital*, and his struggle to build the first revolutionary international movement.

BOOK REVIEW



A searing indictment of British state forces, this novel by a former soldier in the British Army reveals much about the activities of the British state in the last four decades of the twentieth century. It reads like a thriller with a documentary background.

A British intelligence officer, Ginge, is lying in hospital in the fictional town of Mugsfield, having survived a booby-trap bomb which exploded under his car outside his cottage near a former mining village. It is 1994, just months before the IRA ceasefire announcement.

In flashbacks he recalls all his experiences in the armed forces and rethinks British military objectives and the way he was both treated and treated others during Psychological Operations – carried out covertly by military personnel.

Much of the novel is set in the north of Ireland where Ginge is sent in 1968. It is there that he tortures the Irish for information and he recounts the way that the British army operated including the events of 'Bloody Sunday' the 30th of January 1972, when British soldiers shot 28 unarmed civilians during a peaceful protest march against internment. Fourteen people died: thirteen were killed outright,

A scorching exposé of the British state in Ireland and the Miners' Strike

while another died later in hospital.

The book also details how Ginge runs both nationalist and Loyalist informers.

Ginge is not worthy of the reader's sympathy: he also worked as a mole for army intelligence spying on the miners during the 1984-85 strike, but his former friends Eddie and Amy are now working on a commemoration committee to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the miner's strike. They decide to produce ten display panels, work which becomes more ambitious and educational as they put in some research.

They look back to 'the coming of Thatcher, the closing down of industry and manufacturing; the freeing of the banks and financial markets; the Irish hunger strikes and deaths; the sinking of the Belgrano and the Falklands War; the miners' strike and the shutting of the pits; the dismantling of the welfare state and the enhancing of the rich and the impoverishment of the poor'.

The book also takes you into the heart of an NHS hospital, which in 1994 is being opened up to privatisation by the Major government of that time. Cleaning services and other NHS work like porters and catering were being lined up to be handed over to private companies. Elsie and her colleagues bemoan the cuts and privatisation; while nurses become fewer, the numbers of managers are growing with their anti-union agenda.

Lying in hospital with plenty of time to reflect, Ginge becomes friendly with one of the nurses, Elsie, and asks her to get him a tape-recorder

Gangrene

A novel by Aly Renwick

Published by Greenprint

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so that he can record his memoirs giving details of the exploits of his superiors like 'the Major' and 'Snake Eyes' who, he now realises, were prepared to sacrifice his comrades for their own interests. We also find out that Ginge has made and kept in his cottage secret copies of an incriminating document written by the Major, 'Towards a New Britain' which had also anticipated the creation of New Labour.

As well as Ginge's personal experiences, he is able to outline other British imperialist campaigns through conversations he has with an older army friend called Geordie, who served in Cyprus, where the British have had bases since 1960 and the aftermath of the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus (a place where they still have a very large base which they have used to launch attacks on other countries) and during the Kenyan fight for independence which was successful in 1963 when Jomo Kenyatta was elected as president but involved the Mau Mau uprising of 1952-64 when the British Army tortured and killed thousands of Kenyans.

Geordie also told Ginge about rumours that a section of the military had a hidden agenda: the same military figures who admired Pinochet's anti-communist coup in Chile against Allende in August 1973. He also

told him about Shield, a secret organisation that was touring selected officers' messes and Conservative Party Associations telling them that military rule might be required.

There are graphic details of the barbaric tortures that were used by the British army and the dialogue reveals all ruthlessness of the outlook of British imperialism.

It is a book that is well worth reading as it is highly informative, exposing the treatment meted out by the British military and confirming Engel's assertion that the state is made up of 'bodies of armed men'.

Renwick's efforts to expose the role that the armed forces play is admirable and the book makes it clear that they are not a neutral force that protects the British people, as they are portrayed in bourgeois propaganda, but serve to maintain the capitalist ruling class. Ireland was exploited and used as a test case and training ground to further the aims of right-wing Tories.

The author of this novel, Aly Renwick is a former soldier in the British Army who joined the army at 15 and served from the 1960s. A founder member of the Troops Out Movement he is currently a member of Veterans for Peace UK.

– DW

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THE News Line

Monday June 20 2016 Number 1220

Italy orders 7 refugee boats back!

ITALY has ordered seven boats with a total of 100 refugees to return to the Greek island of Lesbos. The British navy's military presence in the area has been criticised by the Italian government. It comes days after Italian interior minister Matteo Salvini refused to let a rescue boat with 200 refugees on board dock in Italy, saying there was no room for them.

Demonstrate NHS is 70

Saturday 26 June
Assembly Place, London
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NHS 70th Anniversary
March to Downing Street
to demand an end to privatisation

BMA rejects NHS privatisation

ALMOST every single doctor voted to oppose the introduction of an insurance-based healthcare system into the UK. The almost unanimous vote took place at the British Medical Association's (BMA) Annual Representative Meeting in Brighton yesterday.

The BMA's decision is a significant victory for the public sector. It comes in the face of a government that has been pushing for the privatisation of the NHS since it came to power in 2010. The BMA's decision is a clear statement that the medical profession is committed to the NHS as a public service.

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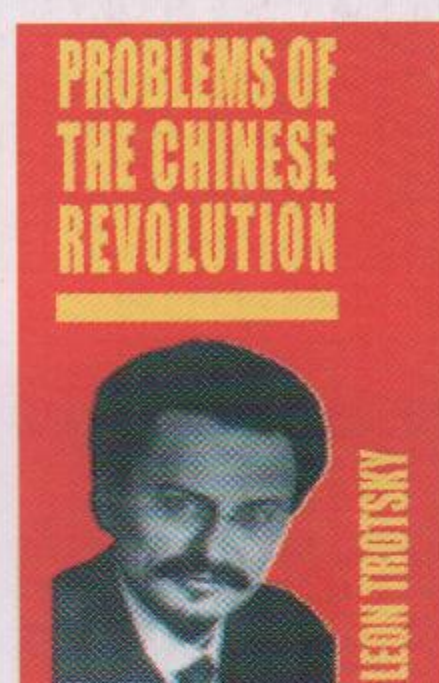
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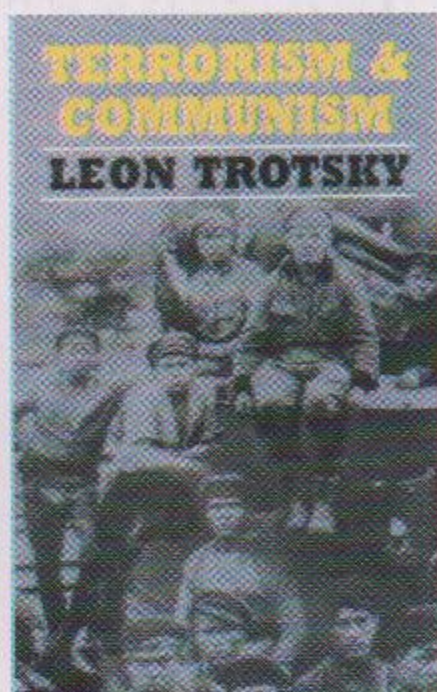
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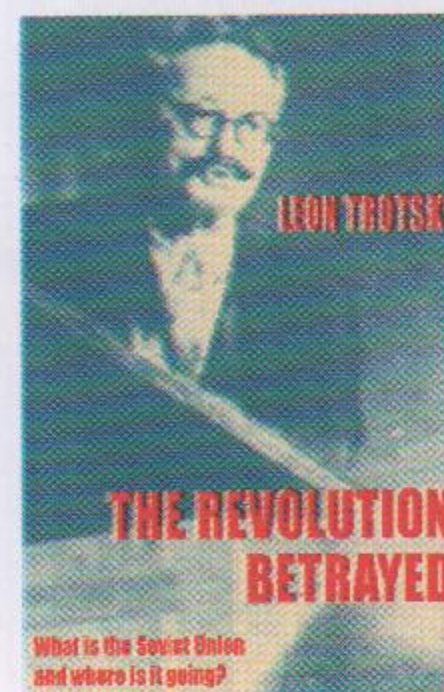
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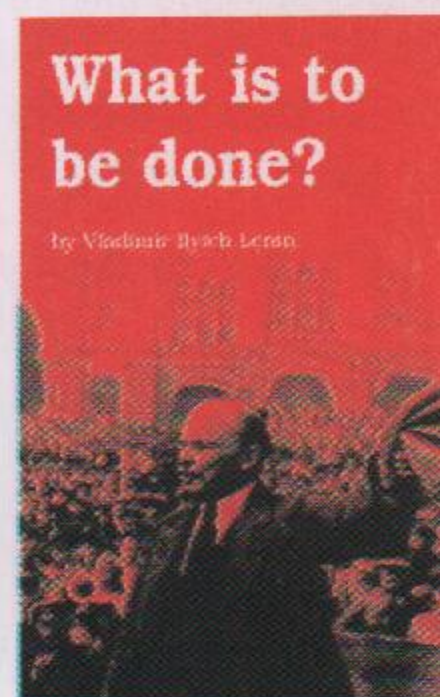
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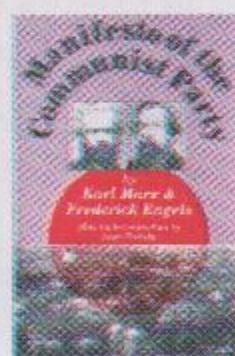
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