

HEALTH ONLY FOR THE RICH

KILLER' CLARKE DISMANTLES THE HEALTH SERVICE

THE deliberate wrecking of the National Health Service by the Tory government took a giant step forward with the publication of last week's White Paper, mis-named 'Working for Patients'.

Its key proposals are:

Tax relief for the elderly if they leave the NHS and opt for private medicine. This is the thin end of the wedge. The next step will be to give tax concessions to anybody to pay for private treatment. If implemented this would spell the final end of a national service.

The 320 largest hospitals will be allowed to leave the NHS. They will become self-governing 'Hospital Trusts' and will compete in the market against private hospitals.

They will quote prices for the various services they are prepared to offer. 'Unprofitable' branches of medicine such as geriatrics and psychiatry will get no takers while highly lucrative activities such as cosmetic surgery will be well-supplied.

Wealthy

Wealthy patients will be able to buy superior hospital care - 'optional extras' such as better meals, provision of single rooms and telephones. This will bring a two-tier health service into being. GP practices with at least 11,000 patients will be able to operate their own budgets, buy in hospital care for their patients and keep any cash left over from their annual budgets.

This will give them a direct cash incentive to withhold treatment from their patients. Such practices will make money by turning away those such as the elderly and the chronically sick who make more demands on the service.

BY GEOFF PILLING

Profit and wealth is to be put before health. This is not merely because Mrs Thatcher is an evil hard-hearted woman. The Tory government represents a capitalist class which is driven by its crisis to take away all the rights and gains won by previous generations of the working class.

Last week Labour spokesman on health Robin Cooke spent much of his time waving the leaked White Paper in front of the TV cameras.

This was all well and good but what millions of anxious doctors, nurses, other health workers and patients will want to know is: what do the Labour leaders intend to do to stop 'killer Clarke's' plan to abolish the NHS.

The Tories have no mandate for this demolition job.

Thatcher lying told people 'The NHS is safe in our hands'. The working class and those sections of the middle class who oppose Thatcher's aim to destroy the NHS have every right to bring this government down.

Labour

But the Labour leaders have made clear that they have no intention of mobilising the industrial and political strength of the movement against the Tory

government.

A leadership prepared to unite all those involved in struggle against the government - students fighting against loans that will deny millions the chance of a proper education, trade unionists resisting the attacks on the rights of their organisations, youth fighting the proposed ID card system that will soon be extended to everybody, as well as those millions whose life literally depends on a decently funded and free health service, must unite against the Thatcher government.

We invite everybody to study our programme for this crisis and let us have your comments on it.

If you agree with its main points we ask you to join the Workers Revolutionary Party and help to lead the struggle to bring down this detested government.



A section of the 2,000-strong 'Troops Out' demonstration to commemorate the 17th anniversary of Bloody Sunday, which marched from Kilburn to Stonebridge Park last Saturday.

Inside Workers Press this week:

- Supplement - second part of the WRP draft programme
- Review of the Da Vinci exhibition - Mike Howgate
- Salvador Dali - Tom Owen

Workers Press

Mr Jessell and Dr Castro

THE HOUSE of Commons on 13 January. Speaking in the AIDS debate is Mr. Toby Jessell (Conservative, Twickenham):

'... We must be more rigorous in finding out who is infected and then curtail their infection of others, whether by persuasion or compulsion. That is much more important than upholding traditional medical ethics, politeness or not hurting people's feelings... Blood tests for HIV infection should be stepped up. The Government must draw up a list of priorities. They could start with blood tests on anyone needing an operation, on anyone entering hospital casualty, and on anyone having their blood examined by a doctor for any purpose including general medical checkups. When anyone shows up as HIV positive or infected by AIDS after a random check, that information should be passed on. These categories should later be extended.

'Testing for AIDS which is currently anonymous should not be so. Doctors should be notified as to which of their patients have the disease and they should officially notify the relevant patients. It should be made a criminal offence for anyone who is knowingly HIV positive or who has AIDS to have sexual intercourse with anyone other than a person who is similarly infected.'

Does it have the ring of a purification programme? Well, a week later, the 'Independent' reported the existence outside Havana of what was variously described as a luxury hospital and a prison camp, surrounded by barbed wire and armed guards, where all 256 of Cuba's identified AIDS victims are kept.

Cuba, the article said, is the only country known which isolates AIDS victims more or less forcibly from their families and society until they die.

'We will create conditions in which they will want to go and use every means possible to pressure them,' says Dr. Redolfo Rodriguez, head of Cuba's AIDS Testing Programme. Pressure includes sending doctors and nurses, and the loss of work, housing and rations.

Ronald Bayer, a specialist in AIDS and Ethics at Columbia University and a member of the only western delegation allowed into the sanatorium, described it as 'frightening in its implications'. It is, in short, 'a system of medical preventative detention'.

The Cubans, according to the 'Independent', defend the measure as one most other governments would like to take. Apparently the facilities at the hospital are excellent. The wife of one inmate said: 'If it is a prison, it is like a golden cage', with air conditioning, telephones, colour TV and good food. Salaries continue to be paid to families, but contact with families is limited to the occasional Sunday visit and only then in the company of a chaperone whose presence is to discourage sexual contact.

A final note for Mr. Jessell and his fellow thinkers. Cuba has also implemented sweeping compulsory blood tests, and neighbourhood committees are ordered to submit detailed lists of anyone who has spent more than three months abroad in the past 10 years. All are then required to take a blood test, as are homosexuals, soldiers returning from service in Africa and pregnant women and anyone entering medical school.

WORKERS PRESS FIGHTING FUND

Total received for January £1,878.39

DESPITE a tremendous effort on the part of several branches of the Workers Revolutionary Party, especially Crawley and South West London, we ended up £122 short of the £2,000 we wanted for the January Fighting Fund. Many thanks to all those who so generously made donations.

There is no reason for us to transmit illusions on the matter in this column. It is a commonly held view that the end of the month deadline for our Fund can be moved back. This is not so. Certainly our printer, British Telecom, the electricity and gas boards do not share this view!

It is an uphill fight for us to consistently raise the necessary funds to maintain and develop Workers Press. It is disappointing that we have not reached the £2,000, but that position will be discussed at the Workers Press Seminar this week-end, when plans for developing the paper will be discussed.

It would be wrong for anybody to take this to mean that we are pessimistic. Our meeting on Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht on 27 January and our contingent at the Bloody Sunday march on 28 January, when we were able to finance the Pollok Republican Band to travel from Glasgow to take part, revealed a great interest in our Party and opened up discussions with a number of people in the fight against Thatcher and the capitalist state.

We can also report that during the month of January we raised over £2,000 for international work, and included in this is £480 donated by LM, for which we thank him very much.

Let's get ahead with the February fund. Don't forget that it is a short month. We need an early start and consistent collecting. Can we get the £2,000 plus the £122 we are short for January?

Dot Gibson

Send your donations to: Workers Press Fighting Fund
PO Box 735, London, SW9 7QS

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Eddie Caghey (Irish Republican Prisoners Campaign)

Martin Walker (author, 'A State of Siege')

Peter Fryer (author, 'Staying Power')

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FREE THE CAPE TOWN 16!

This article is an edited version of a letter written by the sisters of Ashley Forbes. It is a proposal to launch a campaign on his behalf and on behalf of the 15 others who were victimised by the apartheid state along with him.

ASHLEY FORBES is one of 14 young black South Africans, members of the African National Congress, who were detained and charged by the South African state for 'terrorism'.

On 15 December 1988 the 14 were sentenced for the 'crime' of resistance to the system of apartheid: one to 15 years; two to 14 years; one to 12 years; two to 10 years; four to 2 years; and four received five-year suspended sentences.

Ashley, who is only 24 years old, will spend the next 15 years of his life in one of Botha's wretched gaols.

Together with Ashley's wife Yasmina (they were married while in police custody), the fourteen spent over a year and a half in police detention. At the end of this period, the charges against Yasmina were dropped and she was released.

All 14 were victims of incessant interrogation and brutal mental and physical torture, which in most cases included repeated beatings and electro-shock treatment. Even though their spirit of resistance could not be broken by their interrogators, for a long time to come they will bear ugly emotional and physical scars. Many have had their hearing seriously impaired as a result of beatings from the security police.

Ten of the trialists will spend time in a high-security apartheid gaol where conditions are appalling.

These young heroes of the oppressed masses will be isolated from the black townships and communities they loved so much, and for which they were prepared to sacrifice so much. Their ages range from 20 to 25. The masses will be deprived of the finest products of a new and vital generation of political fighters.

Virtually all of the trialists are members of struggling working class families which, as a result of the sacrifices of their sons and brothers, have been deprived of bread-winnings and will suffer great emotional loss.



Part of the march to defend Moses Mayekiso in London 1987

The four other trialists, who were each given suspended sentences of five years, have to report regularly to the police station, and are prevented from taking part in politics.

Ashley Kriel was a comrade-in-arms of the fourteen, and in the same Umkhonto we Sizwe (armed wing of the ANC) cell with Ashley Forbes.

He paid the highest price - shot in the back by the security police. The inquest into his death is presently in session.

The trial and the convictions coincide with Botha's release of long-serving political prisoners, such as Govan Mbeki, Zeph Mothopeng and Harry Gwala, and the speculations about the release of Nelson Mandela.

We cannot afford to overlook the cruel irony of these actions of the Botha regime, of freeing one generation of political fighters, the Old Lions of the sixties and the seventies, while imposing long sentences on a new generation of militants, the Young Lions of the eighties.

We call on all those opposed to the system of apartheid and state repression in South Africa to join the campaign for the Cape Town

Sixteen (the fourteen convicted in the trial and Yasmina and Ashley Kriel).

We propose the following aims:

1. To mobilise workers and youth in Britain and world-wide in a campaign for the release of the ten who have been jailed and all South African political prisoners and detainees.

2. To campaign, inform and enlighten people in Britain and worldwide on the significance and details of the case of the fourteen who were convicted and thereby:
 - a) to highlight the struggle and heroism of the Cape Town Sixteen in particular and black youth in South Africa in general.
 - b) to highlight the struggle against state repression in South Africa and world-wide.

3. To campaign in honour of the memory of the fallen hero Ashley Kriel by focussing on the inquest and exposing the brutality of the South African security forces.

4. To campaign, on the basis of the harsh convictions of the fourteen, to expose the fraudulence and cynical pretence behind Botha's posturings about reform, goodwill and talk of negotiation.

5. To campaign to expose the inhuman conditions under which South African political prisoners



City of London Anti-Apartheid Group outside the South African Embassy

live, and to struggle for their improvement.

6. To campaign to provide material and moral support for the Cape Town Sixteen and their families.

We propose that such a campaign be open to all organisations and individuals who support these basic aims. The City of London Anti-Apartheid Group have already agreed to give their wholehearted support.

A meeting will be organised soon, to openly and democratically discuss these proposals and to constitute a committee to co-ordinate the proposed campaign. If you are interested in attending, please let us know so that we can inform you of the details. Forward to a Campaign for the Cape Town Sixteen!

(For details of the campaign, write to: 11 Shackleton Road, Southall, Middlesex, UB12JA)

Stop Murder at Work

Appallingly low levels of health and safety on building sites caused 160 deaths in 1988. Even ordinary citizens are not safe - last year 7 were killed.

The very low level of union organisation on most sites has allowed employers to cut back on safety standards. They feel free to murder workers because they know that the average fine for a death on site, is a laughable £450.

As profits increase the price of a building worker's life is falling!

The Construction Safety Campaign wants to end the carnage. On 7 February they will be outlining their demands; which include heavily fining and imprisoning employers who cause a workers death. Every worker should be able to join a union and to elect their own safety representatives. This will involve ending the illegal blacklist which many employers are known to operate.

The group in greatest danger are young Irish workers who have come to Britain to find work.

They are unaware of their rights, badly paid, and working on dangerous sites with few facilities. The Irish in Britain Representation Group (IBRG) will be putting their concerns about this to the meeting. Other speakers are Hackney Direct Labour Organisation (DLO) and Hackney Joint Shop Stewards Committee.

The DLO has never had a fatal accident, but government plans to cut contract compliance conditions will reduce safety standards and put council building workers in danger. For further information: Mark Metcalf (Hackney TUSU) 249 8086/6930, or Alan Russell (Hackney DLO convenor) 986 0017.

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND THE YOUTH

BY CHRIS MCBRIDE

TROTSKY once told a group of young communists: 'The bourgeoisie cannot reveal its political face to young people. It cannot say: 'there you are, the 12 or 13 year old son of a worker, you have been born into this world in order that, after serving an apprenticeship to some trade, you may go into the factory and there to the end of your days create with your sweat, blood and marrow, surplus value for the lords of life, the bourgeoisie, which out of its surplus value will create its bourgeois culture, its luxury, art and learning for its children'. The bourgeoisie cannot openly expound such politics to young workers.'

In Thatcher's Britain today the bourgeoisie is compelled to launch an all-out attack on the hard-won democratic rights of young people in the working class and in the middle class.

It consists not only of deprivation, starvation, homelessness, baton-wielding police thugs and provocateurs, but also a profound ideological assault which stems from the 'work or starve' social and economic conditions which the Tories are trying to impose on the youth.

This offensive, profoundly necessary for the ruling class, is designed to sever any ties between the youth and the older trade-union organised workers in order to 're-educate the workforce'. It began in the 1970s under the Labour government headed by Callaghan, through the introduction of the Youth Training

-Scheme.

The Tories continued from 1979 through the setting up of the Manpower Services Commission, a state body which over the last 10 years has organised a network of private cheap labour agencies.

This was made possible through the collaboration of the Labour and trade union leaders who sat round the same tables as the Tories to make sure the schemes were imposed with no retaliation from the trade unions.

The first major step has been taken by Thatcher towards making the schemes compulsory for every young and unemployed worker, with the stopping of all social security benefits for 16-19 year-olds. Next on the Tory agenda are those millions of long term unemployed youth who have no intention of spending the rest of their lives on cheap labour schemes or doing a 'proper' job without 'proper' wages for that matter.

The situation where some youth have been able to avoid work in a 'normal' job and exist by doing 'a bit on the side', has been tolerated by the Tories for the last few years.

Arising from this situation is a whole layer of youth who strive to live a life that excludes full time work and includes as much social, cultural, sporting and educational activity as they are able to squeeze out of a decaying capitalist system.

The Tories intend to create a situation where anything that



young people want to do, be it going to football matches or week-end parties, holidaying or attending a pop concert, will require adherence to all kinds of conditions imposed by the state. Most significant of all these are the introduction of the Poll Tax, which must be paid by all over 18, and the proposed ID cards system for football supporters.

This national registration system and the knowledge of who's doing what and where, is essential for the Tories to decide who is and is not entitled to education, a vote in the elections, or use of the remnants of the health service.

Already right-wing Tory MPs are calling for a 'no pay - no vote' policy against those who don't or cannot pay the poll tax. This will be used to remove our rights to health care and education, both already under attack through privatisation and the abolition of student grants.

It is no coincidence that when the students last demonstrated against the 'loans for students' proposals, they came immediately up against the state in the form of mounted riot police. Thatcher and her cronies hope to whip up support for these policies in the name of fighting 'hooligans', 'lager louts' and the latest 'suburban violence'.

Anywhere in Britain where large numbers of youth gather is to be infested with police and provocateurs. The arrests and jailings from these attacks have nothing to do with justice, as the collapse of many of the 'football hooligan' trials have demonstrated. They have more in common with the Stalinist show trials of the 1930s. That is to serve reactionary political ends through the use of lies, mistruths and frame-ups.

The assaults, not only on health, education and housing, but on the basic right of youth to be able to go about their daily

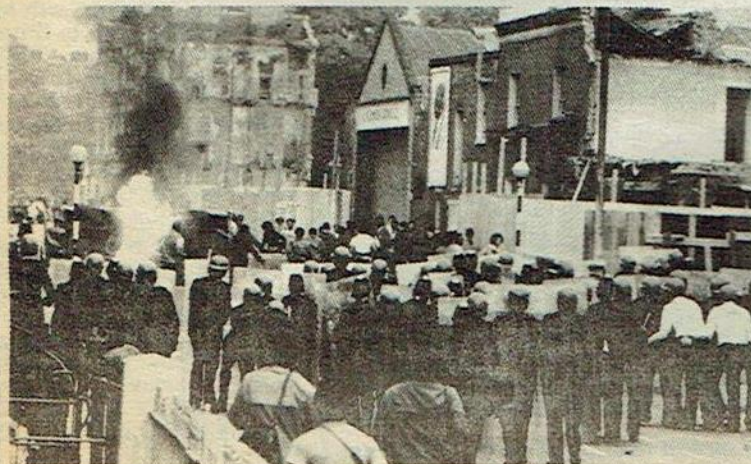
business and leisure, without police interference, represent not a strength, but a great weakness of the ruling class.

It is the young who cannot be controlled in the traditional manner, through the old labour and trade union leaders. Along with young workers, those who have confronted the treachery of the Labour and trade union bureaucracy (miners, printworkers, nurses, local government workers) are black and white youth such as those who showed their fists and teeth to the deporters of Viraj Mendis, whom the government are flapping about. Thatcher is conscious that capitalism has nothing to offer these people except slavery and privation.

As part of the Workers Revolutionary Party's campaign to defend basic democratic rights, we call on all workers to defend these youth. We call for a mass campaign throughout the labour movement for the unionisation of the young unemployed and part-time workers against the interests of the bureaucracy. Unionise all 'scheme' workers. Remove all trade union representation from Tory cheap labour agencies.

Trade unionists and workers must take note: it is youth and women who have nothing to lose but their chains in the fight for socialism. All actions, legal and illegal, taken by them in defence of education, housing, leisure and the communities against the police, the Tories and the interests of the traitors in the Labour and trade union 'leadership' must be defended.

We call on all youth and young workers, unemployed etc. to discuss how this campaign can be taken forward through the pages of Workers Press and to join the Workers Revolutionary Party, the British section of the Preparatory Committee for an International Conference of Trotskyists for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.



Riot police in Brixton in July 1981

7. WOMEN, THE FAMILY, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

From the very beginnings of private property and class exploitation, the oppression of women developed alongside them.

The division between mental and physical labour is reflected in the relations between men and women in class society.

Only the ending of class society - which will also mean the ending of the family in its present form - can bring about the liberation of women.

For this reason, the Workers Revolutionary Party and the Fourth International aim to unite women and men in the struggle for socialist revolution, and in the building of revolutionary leadership in the working class.

The socialist revolution cannot be carried out without the mobilisation of women against their oppression, and against capitalism.

Marxists have traditionally taken the view that the proletarian revolution brings forward the most oppressed sections of the working class - women workers and young people - among its most important forces.

Trotsky fought for this view, especially in the Fourth International's 1938 founding programme. And his position has been amply confirmed by struggles from Vietnam to South Africa and here in the British miners' strike.

Just as the Tory drive to destroy mining communities brought miners' wives into struggle, so the onslaught against living standards and democratic rights following the miners' strike will bring millions more working-class women into the front line of the fight in Britain.

Reformism can improve the conditions of women only within certain limits, and those limits have been reached. Indeed, the temporary gains of reformism are being reversed.

State child care for children under five is being virtually abolished; welfare cuts throw the responsibility for looking after old and disabled people onto family units, which hits women hardest of all.

More and more women not only bear these increased burdens, but are being driven into the labour market too.

While full-time women workers generally remain low-paid, there is the most ruthless exploitation of part-time workers, and home workers. Almost all of these are women.

Our party supports every struggle by women against exploitation, but we recognise that only the socialist revolution opens the way for the real liberation of women.

Under Lenin and Trotsky, the Russian revolutionary government instituted state-run child care, state provision of domestic services, maternity benefits, easy divorce at the request of either party, and free abortion at the woman's request.

It campaigned to eradicate prostitution by prosecuting brothel-owners and providing voluntary job re-training for prostitutes.

Under Stalin, all these measures were rescinded and the family was glorified as the basis of socialist life. Hand in hand

This is the second of three parts of the Workers Revolutionary Party's Draft Programme. The first part, published last week, covers the WRP's socialist aims, the foundations of socialism, the bases of the programme, the basis for and the rebuilding of the Fourth International. This second part covers the question of women and the family, the capitalist crisis and its impact on Britain, democracy, parliament, the workers' movement and Labour Party, the socialist revolution and the questions of imperialism and war. The third and final part, to be published next week, is our Programme of Action to fight the Tory government.

Readers are invited to send us their comments for publication. If you missed last week's paper and would like a copy, write to: WRP, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS



'It is possible to evaluate a human society by the attitude it has towards women, towards the mother and towards the child'. (Trotsky)

with this went the abuse and oppression of women by the ruling caste, and the revival of prostitution.

On a world scale, Stalinism has driven back the working class and the revolutionary movement, in organisation, theory, programme, strategy, and tactics alike.

Central to this counter-revolutionary process has been the reactionary abuse of women who have come forward in the struggle.

The subordinate role allotted to women in the Soviet degenerated workers' state, and the revisions of Marxism in the ideology and rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy there, push women workers back into the repression imposed on them in class society.

This is matched by Stalinism's betrayals all over the world, which entail the suppression of the revolutionary role of the working class and its submission to the discipline of the bourgeois order.

All this necessarily reinforces the oppression of women, which is central to maintaining the working class's conformity to wage-slavery, and to the bourgeois individualism to which trade union consciousness restricts workers.

One consequence of this counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism is to drive some militant women workers to the bourgeois feminists.

Revisionism in the Fourth International is essentially the instrument of Stalinism and its counter-revolutionary blows against the working class.

So revisionism makes its own contribution to the suppression of the development of women workers who come to the communist movement.

By providing cover and justification for Stalinist betrayals, revisionism has destroyed the development of thousands of workers and intellectuals, and has thereby closed the road of development as revolutionaries to thousands of women.

The revisionist leaders of the 'United Secretariat' have diverted many women workers, just as they did thousands of young people, into the swamp of middle-class radical protest, some of them to bourgeois feminism.

The more the Trotskyist movement fell victim to revisionism, the more did

this destruction of cadres work through the bureaucratism and arbitrary subjectivism of 'leaders'.

This was especially the case in the WRP and the International Committee after about 1970, when earlier tendencies of this kind became predominant, along with revisions on the most basic questions of programme. This meant that members were treated as mere instruments of leaders' manoeuvres and demands.

These leaders more and more made their 'own' opportunist relations with non-Trotskyist 'leaders' - relations to which the party and its members were subordinated.

In this atmosphere the Stalinist corruption of Marxism, far from being challenged, was echoed and 'refined'. And women in the movement had to suffer the stinking prejudices of male supremacy, the abuses created by millennia of class oppression and daily reinforced by bourgeois culture in decay.

The sexual abuse practised by Healy, and the behaviour of some of his closest associates, were an extreme manifestation of these consequences of Stalinism and revisionism.

It is no exaggeration to say that the point was reached where sections of the International Committee, including the WRP itself, became for Healy little more than suppliers of money and women.

Women in the party were subjected to sexual abuse and were habitually assigned menial tasks - which they were persuaded to accept on the basis that the struggle for women's rights was 'subordinate' to the class struggle.

There was little effort to draw working-class women into the party; if a woman's husband was a member, it was considered 'useful' if the woman was 'friendly', i.e. if she carried out household tasks uncomplainingly while the husband carried out political work.

The miners' strike, in which women played a central role, was the catalyst of the explosion in the WRP, in which women were treated in this way.

So it was no accident that Healy's systematic and cynical abuse of women comrades became the focus of the decisive struggle, in 1985, to remove him and reorientate the WRP to its real

foundation, the Fourth International.

That is why women comrades proudly took their place at the front of the struggle to drive Healy and Healyism out of the movement and go forward.

These lessons are precious. Only a party which learns them and builds on them will be able to play its part in rebuilding the Fourth International.

This struggle, and the continuing fight to deepen our understanding of it, are the key to bringing into play the tremendous revolutionary potential of working-class women.

The WRP supports children's rights. We take a stand against child abuse, which is one of the clearest manifestations of the barbarity of capitalism in crisis.

In Trotsky's words: 'It is possible to evaluate a human society by the attitude it has towards women, towards the mother and towards the child'.

The capitalist class is trying to reassert the authority of the family at the expense of the well-being of the child. Trotsky described the 'policed' family of capitalism (and of the Stalinist regime) as 'the unbounded domination of parents over children, and the absence of legal rights for the wife'.

The ruling class and its media reacted hysterically to the revelations of the extent of child abuse, partly because this exposes the tyrannical nature of the family.

We are against the victimisation of doctors and social workers who have contributed to the exposure of this abuse; but we recognise that the social services under capitalism are totally inadequate to deal with this problem.

Only under socialism will it be possible for the state to provide child care facilities and domestic services, which will relieve pressure on the family, emancipate women, and end domestic tyranny.

8. THE CRISIS OF BRITISH CAPITALISM AND THE BRITISH WORKERS' MOVEMENT

At the start of the 20th century British imperialism's world dominance was brought to an end by the other major imperialist powers.

Britain's decline has continued ever since, exacerbated by loss of empire due to the struggles of the colonial masses and, in recent years, by the struggles in Iran, South Africa and elsewhere.

This decline was obscured from immediate view only by the so-called 'boom' made possible by Stalinist and reformist betrayal at the end of World War II. Today the decline continues.

The share of British manufactures in world production has declined constantly, as has Britain's share in world trade. Sterling, once unrivalled as the means of financing world trade, has long been overtaken by the dollar, and is under pressure from the D-mark and yen.

Britain is the most parasitic of the major capitalist countries, increasingly dependent on financial speculation, interest from exported capital, and lending.

The old industries on which British capitalism rose to power - textiles, heavy engineering, coal, and shipbuilding - have

been drastically reduced (2 million jobs in these industries have gone since Thatcher came to power).

The 'hi-tech' industries have in no way filled the gap, and lag still further behind the US and Japan now than they did ten years ago. Since 1979, despite all their rhetoric, the Tory governments have failed to arrest the decline.

The 'improvements' they boast of are symptoms of British capital's weakness.

The increased productivity of labour in manufacturing was caused by the closure of weaker sectors, driven out of business by world competition.

The reduction in the inflation rate in the early 1980s was due, not to the wonders of 'monetarism', but to the fall in world commodity prices and the consequent favourable terms of trade enjoyed by British capital.

The economic crisis of which the October 1987 stock exchange crash was an expression threatens British capitalism most of all.

Immediate catastrophe was avoided by an international upsurge of credit and the growth of the American balance of payments deficit in election year, which helped keep Europe and Japan afloat.

Despite its bankruptcy, US capitalism retains a central position in the world economy; its staying-off measures cannot avert crises indefinitely but are bound to precipitate them.

Even before the Bush administration takes measures to rectify its external payments and budget imbalances, Britain's inflation rate is rising again, forcing up interest and mortgage rates and cutting living standards; it is now the highest among big capitalist countries.

Just as serious for British capitalism is its yawning external payments deficit.

This is producing tension, within the ruling class, between those who want to control inflation by means of higher interest rates and those who rightly fear that such measures, by forcing up the cost of borrowing, will eliminate more of British industry.

The inherent weakness of declining British capitalism now produces a social crisis which leaves no section of society unscathed, and requires the capitalists and their Tory government to make ferocious attacks on the working class.

Their targets are not only living standards, and reforms like state education, health and welfare, but the political concessions forced from the British ruling class - the right to organise in trade unions, to strike, to freedom of political expression.

At the 'lower' end of the scale, millions who live permanently on or below the poverty line are forced down further; immigrants are persecuted by 'left' Labour councils and fascists alike.

Young people, on whom society's future rests, are demoralised and made to feel totally rejected. This is the most eloquent condemnation of an entire social system.

The organised labour movement is thrown into crisis. The oldest such movement in the world, it won important gains through struggle in the 19th century: notably the Factory Acts, improved wage contracts, the right to form trade unions, to strike and picket.

During Britain's imperialist predominance, the 'labour aristocracy' grew on

the basis of the exploitation of the colonial masses.

The trade union and Labour Party bureaucracies, recruited from its ranks, restricted and betrayed mass workers' struggles (the unskilled workers' mobilisations of the 1880s-1890s; Taff Vale; the miners' strikes of the 1920s; and the 1926 General Strike).

When Labour governments came to power, from 1924 onwards, they faithfully administered the affairs of British imperialism against the British working class and the colonial masses.

The Communist Party, which in its revolutionary early years had won some of the most combative workers to its ranks, became subservient to Stalin and was transformed into an instrument of the bureaucracy for containing working-class struggles.

Today, even more subservient collaboration is required. Reformism and Stalinism have been the central means by which British capital maintained its rule over the working class.

The armed forces of the state - which assumed a fascist form in Germany, Italy and Spain and a Bonapartist form in France, to hold the working class down - often (though not always) remained in the background, and their full force was used only against the Irish workers.

So the crisis of British imperialism is a mortal crisis for the bureaucracy.

But this does not mean that the Tories can dispense with the need to rule through the bureaucracy; on the contrary, they require closer collaboration than ever from them.

This is what lies behind the TUC split, with Hammond of the electricians' union moving farther and faster towards corporatism than the majority of the TUC bureaucracy.

This is the source of the Labour Party crisis which resulted in the 1980 split by the right-wingers Owen, Jenkins, and Williams, and the extreme rightward turn by Kinnock and his Euro-Stalinist supporters.

The 'left' trend of Benn and Heffer hardly differs from Kinnock in its basically reformist perspective.

While we call on Labour Party members to support Benn and Heffer in party elections against the right wing, we are under no illusion that they can solve the problems facing the working class.

As the class struggle intensifies, these faithful adherents of parliamentarism will act to prevent workers' breaking from reformism and taking the revolutionary road.

Reformist trade unionism, and reformist Labour Party politics in local and national government, are historically exhausted. One by one, their partial gains are eroded and dismantled.

The struggles of the working class start in the defence of these gains - in defence of jobs, health, welfare and education services, in defence of trade unions and democratic rights.

These struggles lead to conflict with the capitalist state, as they did in the miners' and printers' struggles. Workers come up sharply against all sections of the bureaucracy.

The organised workers will find common cause with the unemployed, with black immigrants, above all with the Irish struggle. Women and young people

will more and more come to the fore.

The old reformist unions will outlive their usefulness for the working class. If they remain under the bureaucracy's control, these unions will become naked instruments of state control.

New, revolutionary unions will arise, politically independent from the capitalist state and under revolutionary leadership.

9. DEMOCRACY, PARLIAMENT AND THE LABOUR PARTY

Bourgeois democracy arose in Britain in the 17th century, in the form of important legal rights for the capitalists and their hangers-on. In the struggles of the 19th century the working class took these rights for itself, in part.

The material basis for British bourgeois democracy was the empire, i.e. the subjugation of hundreds of millions of enslaved workers and peasants in the colonies, who had no rights of any kind.

The Labour Party was formed in 1900 to represent the interests of the organised workers in parliament and win legal changes in their interests.

Parliament was dominated by the representatives of the capitalists, and the vote was still confined to male householders.

After the imperialist war of 1914-1918, the Labour Party was opened to individual membership, and, in the face of militant movements stimulated by the 1917 Russian revolution, inserted in its programme the demand for 'common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange'.

But in World War I the Labour Party leaders had deserted to the imperialist camp.

Then as now, they worked as agents of the ruling class within the workers' movement. Then as now, they were mortal enemies of the revolutionary struggle to smash the capitalist state, without which common ownership is inconceivable.

The seven Labour governments since 1924 did not challenge capitalist dominance. On the contrary, they faithfully served imperialism against the working class and colonial masses.

Yet, the pressure of the working class, especially after 1945, did result in nationalisation of basic industries and the winning of such gains as the National Health Service.

These gains are now under attack by the Tories. In its decline British capitalism is forced to take back these concessions - and even to curtail the legal rights dating back to an earlier period, generally referred to as 'democratic rights'.

Illusions in the parliamentary road arise out of a long history and remain powerful to this day. How to break workers away from these illusions and break the hold of the Labour Party is a major test for Marxists.

In fact the Labour Party today is little more than an electoral machine whose purpose is to send MPs to Westminster. The Labour leaders have no intention of leading campaigns against the Tory attacks on the working class.

The WRP is in no way neutral about parliament or elections for it. We will use

them at every possible opportunity to stand candidates and put forward our programme, and where we are unable to stand candidates we will advance a policy about how votes should be cast.

Since at present the vast majority of workers support the reformist Labour Party and trade unions, we are in no way neutral towards these organisations and in no case abstain from working within them.

We work constantly to develop a struggle against the bureaucracy of both the Labour Party and the unions, seeking both to win militant working-class fighters to our own party and to break sections of workers from reformism.

We will fight alongside those workers at all times, putting forward demands, and proposing courses of action, which will convince them through their own experience that reformism is at a dead end, and will win them to revolutionary leadership.

The main historical task is to resolve the crisis of working-class leadership. So our slogans and demands must bring the united struggle of the working class into conflict with the treacherous class-collaboration of the reformist and Stalinist leaderships who still command the allegiance of the masses.

Unlike the Labour leaders, we do not concede that the Tory government has any right to govern. It governs only on behalf of the ruling class, and we are for mobilising the strength of the working class to bring this government down.

At each point and on each issue we will demand that the trade union and Labour Party leaders mobilise against the Tories.

We are for campaigns of strikes, demonstrations, factory occupations, and other forms of working-class action. So long as the majority of the working class has yet to break from reformism, we call for a Labour vote at elections, wherever there is no revolutionary alternative candidate.

It is not elections, however, but the development of working-class struggle, from trade-union and single-issue battles to the political struggle for state power, that is decisive.

In the course of all these struggles, we advance our programme of transitional demands, including direct demands on the Labour and trade union leaders.

So long as these leaders retain their influence over the working class, we demand that they break politically from the capitalist class and take the road of struggle for a workers' government.

Along that road our party will call for the revolutionary mobilisation of the working class against capitalist reaction.

At the same time we develop our agitation around those transitional demands which must form the programme for a workers' government.

In every case and in every country Labour and reformist leaders have proved incapable of carrying through such a struggle.

But more than that: in accordance with their nature, they have organised bloody counter-revolution against the working class, as in 1918-1919 in Germany.

It is the revolutionary party's duty to make clear this truth and act upon it, and to denounce all attempts to obscure it in the name of 'taking the working class through an experience'.



СМЕРТЬ МИРОВОМУ ИМПЕРИАЛИЗМУ

Yes, the working class will reject its treacherous reformist leadership only through testing it in struggle.

In the course of that test of experience, the first need is for the revolutionary party to unite the working class behind its own leadership.

10. THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN BRITAIN

The socialist revolution in Britain will begin not from the good ideas of socialists, but from the struggles of the working class now developing against the capitalists and their state.

The miners' strike of 1984-1985 was the first of a series of struggles which must transcend the methods and limitations of trade unionism and go forward to the struggle for working-class power.

The Labour and trade union bureaucracy, aided by the Stalinists, worked might and main to isolate and betray the miners.

Above all they feared an extension of the strike and a struggle against the state, which they could not have controlled.

The miners and their leader, Scargill, came into conflict with the right-wing bureaucracy and the Stalinists in so far as the militant trade-union tactics they adopted went further than that bureaucracy could tolerate.

But even those methods, and Scargill's 'left' politics, could not of themselves bring victory in a strike which challenged the whole economic strategy of British capitalism and the rule of its state.

The pits, besieged by miners who were fighting to save their industry, were in some cases flooded by the Coal Board.

Measures like these - and measures like the mass sacking of trade-unionist printers at Wapping, will in future be answered by the occupation of plants threatened by closure.

The miners' mass pickets were subjected to brutal police attack. In future, in response to this, will come the organised defence of picket lines and then workers' defence squads.

Such squads must likewise be formed, by black and white workers, to defend the black communities from fascist attacks.

The miners' strike saw the growth of

rank-and-file strike committees: these are essential in every struggle as a means of keeping it under the control of the workers and not the bureaucracy.

The miners' strike also witnessed new forms of organisation: *womens' groups*, which played a crucial role in the strike in most areas; and, in non-mining areas, *support groups* comprising other trade unionists and those not in unions.

Such groups have been a feature not only of subsequent strikes (e.g. Wapping and the P&O strike) but also of more general political struggles (e.g. struggles against the poll tax, against health and transport cuts, etc.).

From workplace strike committees, community-based organisations, support groups, and other forms of rank-and-file organisation, the working class must go forward to develop 'councils of action' such as those formed in the 1926 General Strike.

From organs of struggle to overthrow the capitalist state, these workers' councils and similar organisations will become the organs of working-class power in the new form of state, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The working class, as ruling class, will then proceed to expropriate the capitalists and establish the basis of a planned economy for the construction of socialism and a classless society.

Such a society has no need of the state, which withers away.

This aim cannot be carried out peacefully because the capitalist state is a means of maintaining capitalist rule.

This is why we reject on principle the Stalinist line of a 'peaceful', parliamentary road to socialism.

At the point at which workers' councils challenge the capitalist state for power, armed bodies of the working class, under the control of workers' councils, will challenge and disband the capitalist army, police, and murder squads.

History has bloodily confirmed that if the working class is to achieve its political independence from the ruling class, if it is to break decisively from its reformist and Stalinist leadership, it needs above all else an independent revolutionary Marxist party, based on all the theoretical conquests of Marxism.

To build such a leadership is the specific task of the Workers Revolutionary Party, and of the Fourth International we are rebuilding.

The socialist revolution in Britain cannot develop separately from the European revolution

The natural ally of the British working class is above all the Irish working class. Already the Irish workers' struggle for national self-determination and against the state has provided not only examples of great fearlessness, but examples also, in the 'no-go' areas in the early 1970s, of the capacity of the working class to organise in defiance of the state.

The possibility of taking advantage of the 'centrifugal' tendencies in the British state, and of separatist movements in Scotland and Wales, was raised in his time by Frederick Engels.

But history has shown since his time that such separatist movements have generally been superseded by the united struggle of Scottish, Welsh, and English

workers for their class interests. We therefore reject talk of the 'break-up of the British state' that is counterposed to the struggle for workers' power.

Similarly, we reject the ideology of Scottish nationalism, and the Labour and Stalinist call for a bourgeois 'Scottish assembly', a call that is used to dissipate the struggles of Scottish workers.

If, however, workers in Scotland raise separatist demands in the course of their struggles, we are for the right of separation. And we will raise in such movements the slogan of John MacLean: 'For a Scottish Workers' Soviet Republic!'

11. BRITISH IMPERIALISM

The struggle against 'our own' imperialism, and against the pro-imperialist chauvinism of the Labour leaders, is a central part of the WRP's struggle for revolutionary leadership.

One of the legacies of the British empire is the hundreds of thousands of settlers from the former British colonies, mainly in the Caribbean and Asia, who came to Britain and were used as cheap labour.

Now, as the world economic crisis tightens its grip on British capitalism, the racist immigration laws passed by Labour and Tory governments increasingly force new immigrants to live outside the law.

The Afro-Caribbean and Asian communities settled here have become the target for every kind of racist filth - both institutionalised discrimination and police and fascist violence - that imperialism in decline spews out.

It will be impossible to build a revolutionary party in Britain unless we side actively with the Afro-Caribbean and Asian communities in every struggle against racism.

We have to take up every case of discrimination and police violence, initiate workers' defence guards against fascist attack and, above all, combat the pro-imperialist chauvinism within the labour movement.

Likewise, one of the basic responsibilities of the WRP is to side in practice with the struggle for national self-determination and socialism in Ireland. Without this there can be no successful struggle for socialism in Britain.

This means, first, the fight against the pro-imperialist Labour leaders, who sent the troops to the north of Ireland in 1969; who administered the regime of terror there under the last Labour government; who slavishly supported Thatcher against every struggle of the Irish working class and the nationalist movement.

We do not raise the slogan of Irish national self-determination as the Stalinists and revisionists do, to convince sections of the labour bureaucracy or ruling class that it would be beneficial to them.

We raise this slogan because without taking up this issue the British working class cannot make a revolution.

In Marx's words, the working class 'can never do anything decisive here in England until it separates its policy with regard to Ireland most definitely from the policy of the ruling classes'.

We defend all those fighting imperialism and its murder machine in the six north-eastern counties of Ireland, whatever methods they use; and in particular we defend the 1,000 Irish

Republican political prisoners, the largest body of political prisoners in Europe.

We oppose the line of the Workers' Party and 'Militant', who counterpose 'unity' of the working class to the struggle against the state and British imperialism, as though unity could be achieved outside that struggle.

And we oppose the Republican leaders' strategy of separating the question of national liberation from the working-class struggle for socialism.

The Irish national struggle will be brought to a successful conclusion by the working class, not as a purely national affair, but as part of the European socialist revolution.

We are committed to working closely with our Irish Trotskyist comrades to raise this revolutionary programme in both the British and Irish working class: this is the basis for their unity.

We are for the defeat of 'our own' imperialism, and for the defeat of those flag-waving chauvinistic leaders in the working-class movement who support it.

This is why, alongside the demand for Irish self-determination, we call for the Malvinas islands to be immediately returned to Argentina, Hong Kong to China, and all other remnants of the British empire to be dismantled.

12. AGAINST WAR

Capitalism is responsible for the nuclear war danger which hangs over humanity.

Today the deals being concluded between US imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy in the name of 'peace' are in fact, preparing for an intensification of war, against the working class and against national movements.

It is the struggle of the working class against imperialism and against the bureaucracy - the world-socialist revolution - which will successfully deal with the war threat.

The WRP is for disarmament - disarmament of the bourgeoisie, by the working class.

To young people in the peace movement we say: Let us fight for the 'unilateral' disarmament of Britain and all capitalist nations - this will be achieved in the course of the socialist revolution.

The working class cannot take a pacifist view of war: that all wars are the same.

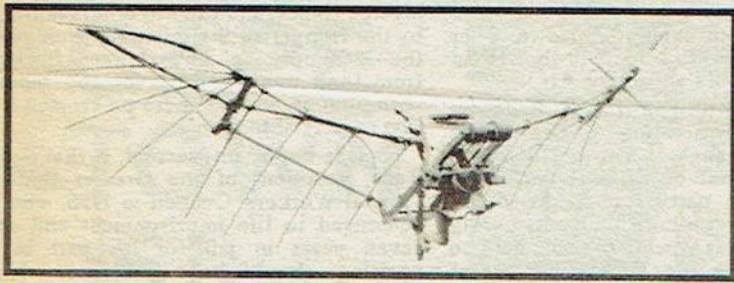
The WRP, and those fighting with us to rebuild the Fourth International, oppose all wars waged by imperialism in its own interests - the British war against Ireland, the US war against Nicaragua, the Zionist war against the Palestinians on the West Bank.

But our attitude to wars waged against imperialism, in the name of national liberation, is just the opposite.

While opposing the policy of those bourgeois national leaders who head many of the liberation movements, we unconditionally support those nations which, like Libya and Nicaragua, have faced a campaign of intimidation and murder by imperialism.

And we support struggles for national liberation directed against imperialism and, in the USSR and the deformed workers' states, against the bureaucracy.

Leonardo da Vinci



The art and science of an uneducated bastard

LEONARDO DA VINCI Artist, Scientist, Inventor. At the Hayward Gallery, South Bank Centre, London until the 16th. of April 1989. Mon-Wed 10-8, Thurs-Sat 10-6, Sun 12-6 Admission £4 (£2 usual concessions) A superbly produced catalogue with 180 colour illustrations is available at the special price of £11.95

IN 1452 in the small village of Vinci on the outskirts of Florence a peasant girl gave birth to the illegitimate son of a local notary. At the age of 17 the boy joined his father in Florence and entered the studio of the painter Verrocchio.

The skill of the artist Leonardo da Vinci was soon to be recognised, but it was his inventiveness and originality in a score of subjects that now span the Arts and Sciences that marked him out in his own lifetime.

However, this archetypal renaissance man described himself as unlettered. The elegant Latin phrase, the true emblem of the fifteenth century gentleman, was beyond him. He just excelled in everything else.

The current exhibition at the Hayward gives only a breath-taking glimpse of the range of interests and achievements of this self-taught genius. The lay-out actually helps us to understand the underlying themes which flow through and unite all the different aspects of his work.

For Leonardo the aim of art and science, which he would hardly have recognised as separate disciplines, was to express the beauty and laws of Nature in human achievement. In his own words 'Human ingenuity...will never discover any invention more beautiful, more appropriate or more direct than nature because in her inventions nothing is lacking and nothing is superfluous'.

This is why Leonardo the perfectionist produced so little in the way of great art. The Mona Lisa, the Last Supper and maybe a dozen other paintings survive of what may have been only a couple of dozen commissions ever completed.

What we know of Leonardo however is more instructive than if he had handed down 100 masterpieces. His notebooks are the key to our understanding. These are crammed with sketches of detailed anatomical dissections he carried out himself, designs for machines, details of landscapes and characters for projected major works, all surrounded by his own secret mirror writing. His imagination was fed by a gigantic curiosity about everything.

This comes over most completely in his

investigations of anatomy. Starting in the 1490's he is just copying the authoritative texts, which is apparent in the male and female plumbing of No.24 for example. But by the beginning of the next century he is doing his own investigations.

His dissection of a Florentine centenarian, although minutely detailed is far removed from the anonymous dissection of the medical student. Leonardo was there when the old man died and resolved to make 'an anatomy to see the cause of a death so sweet'.

This led to a series of anatomical investigations, climaxing in a series of foetuses (18,25,26) which fuse art and science as nothing else in the exhibition, and his rotational views of a superficially dissected arm which prefigure the era of moving pictures.

Even his designs for his famous flying machine were based on detailed investigations of the anatomy of the wings of birds and the hands of humans.

'For Leonardo the aim of art and science, which he would hardly have recognised as separate disciplines, was to express the beauty and laws of Nature in human achievement. In his own words "Human ingenuity...will never discover any invention more beautiful, more appropriate or more direct than nature because in her inventions nothing is lacking and nothing is superfluous".'

Besides his anatomical studies and his famous work on perspective, which is one of the excellent video presentations by I.B.M., there are examples of his studies on optics, map making, solid geometry, geology and hydraulics. The superbly detailed swirling vortexes around obstacles in rivers and at waterfalls induce a positive vertigo in the viewer.

For most visitors the high point of the exhibition, maybe wrongly, will be the flying machine and the other models both imaginative and practical.

The models, especially the flying machine, are creative reconstructions rather than careful reproductions. With only odd notes and diagrams to go on, Tetra Associates who built the Flying Machine attempted to operate within the constraints of Leonardo's style and

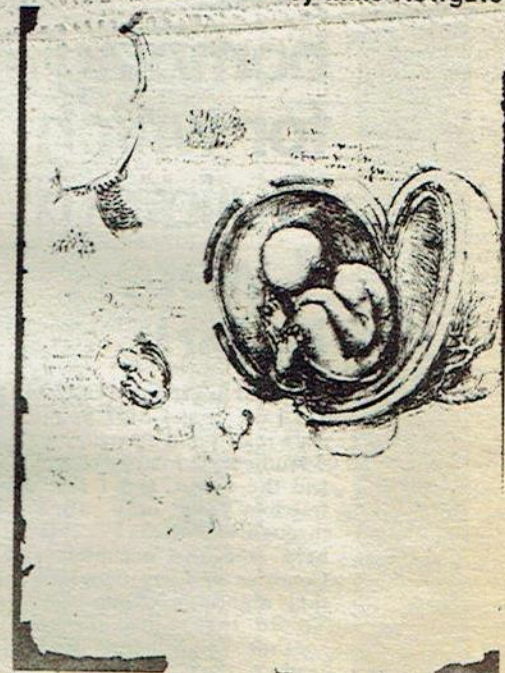
the technology of the period.

It must be emphasised that no-one, least of all Leonardo, would have expected the old crate to fly! It has been estimated that the amount of energy needed for take-off would be of the order of 15 horsepower, and you or I can produce about half a horsepower when going at full whack. This amount of energy, if attainable, would have shaken the wood, leather and string construction to pieces. But it was a good try for 1500 AD.

If there is anything to object to in this part of the exhibition it is that the excellent display of gearings and bearings which cry out to be wound up and down or cranked back and forth have the inevitable 'do not touch' plastered all over them.

Despite that final gripe this exhibition is a must for anyone with even a passing interest in art, science and the development of humanity.

by Mike Howgate



The foetus in the womb (c1510-12) by Leonardo da Vinci. Pen and brown ink and wash over traces of black and red chalk. Windsor Royal Library 19102

Vindication

TO be vindicated after 32 years and three months is a heady feeling indeed, and I have to admit that when I read the item in last Monday's 'Guardian' headed 'Budapest revises view of 1956 revolt', I did a little dance round the room before sitting down to write these lines.

A leading Hungarian Stalinist, Politbureau member Imre Pozsgay, has said that the 1956 uprising in Hungary was not after all a 'counter-revolution' but a 'popular uprising'.

This, he announced, is the main conclusion of a special party committee set up to reassess Hungarian history.

Pozsgay's words were prominently reported in Hungarian newspapers and on Hungarian television over the weekend, and it is expected that the committee's report will be endorsed when it comes before the party leadership next month.

A third of a century is a long time and, to understand the precise nuance of savage joy that gripped me when I read this news item, younger readers will have to think themselves back into a very different world from that of today.

The old 'Daily Worker' had sent me to Budapest to cover the uprising. Most of what I wrote was suppressed on the ground that the Hungarian events had been a 'counter-revolution', not, as I insisted, a 'popular uprising'.

And, when I stuck to my guns and dared to publish elsewhere an account of my experiences, I was expelled from the Communist Party and subjected to an orchestrated whispering campaign of slan-

der and innuendo.

I had committed 'suicide as a socialist political reporter'; I had been 'going wrong for months'; I had 'sold out to the capitalist press' and was 'raking in the shekels'; I had felt so guilty about having helped to cover the trial of Laszlo Rajk in 1949 that I had gone out of my mind.

Charlie Coutts, who worked in Budapest for the World Federation of Democratic Youth (and, for aught I know, still does) publicly accused me of 'dishonesty' for not regurgitating the party line as he did - though when I met him in Budapest during the uprising he was vowing to come back to London and tear the CP's King Street headquarters apart brick by brick.

What have you got to say now, Mr Coutts?

Doris Lessing, who had recently left the CP but had yet to discover the ineffable joys of mysticism and left-bashing, wrote me an astounding letter saying I was boring everybody with my obsession about Hungary and it was high time for me to shut up.

What have you got to say now, Mrs Lessing?

And what have you got to say, Mike Banda, who two years ago accused me, in your document 'What is Trotskyism?', of waging a campaign 'to sell bourgeois democracy to the Hungarian people'?

And what have you new friends and the other 56 varieties of Stalinism got to say, as they see 32 years of vilification of Hungary's rebels and martyrs as 'fascists' and 'counter-revolutionaries' go up the spout?

My personal satisfaction at this development is vast, but not vastly important.

What is important, first, is, that Imre Nagy and the other Hungarian victims of Stalinist

repression should be rehabilitated without further delay.

Let the remains of Nagy, Pal Maleter, Jozsef Szilagy, Geza Losonczy, my friend Miklos Gimes, and the 316 others murdered by the Hungarian Stalinists for their part in the 1956 uprising, be exhumed forthwith from their unmarked graves and reburied with honour, and let there be erected a fitting memorial to them.

What is important, second, is that Sandor Racz, president of the Greater Budapest Central Workers' Council in 1956, who was sentenced to life imprisonment and spent seven years in jail for his part in the uprising, should have his name cleared forthwith and be suitably compensated - as should all the workers who suffered similar penalties at the hands of the Kadar regime.

What is important, lastly, is that the Hungarian workers and youth should draw from this volte-face on the part of the bureaucrats who rule them a number of important lessons: about the nature of that bureaucracy; about the historical role of Stalinism from the 1920s onwards; about the role of workers' councils in the 1956 uprising; not least, about that uprising as one in a series of attempts at political revolution by the workers of eastern Europe.

These lessons are not, of course, the property of the Hungarian workers alone.

They must be shared with the Czechoslovak and Polish workers, whose own past resistance to Stalinism is still branded as 'counter-revolutionary'.

And they must be shared with the Soviet workers, too, whose reassessment and reappropriation of their own blood-spattered history has only just begun.

LETTERS

Write to: Workers Press,
PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

I did bombing for which Guildford 4 were jailed

Why did I get involved? Why did I do what I did? Simple, I am a realist and a patriot.

I studied the history of Ireland and the world, and I saw that freedom was only achieved through violence! I decided to help free the occupied six Counties and my people from their nightmare of bondage. To do that I had to create another 'nightmare' in England.

800 years of prayer has achieved nothing but the religious parasites, and their political collaborators, using a

dubious morality and history to justify their illogical positions, they conveniently forget or ignore the fact that they owe their relative freedoms to the violence of Irish patriots, not to prayer or the benign attitude of England.

I came to England in January 1974, and in the summer of 1974, myself and Joe O'Connell returned to Ireland to put our ideas to the army. We later returned to England from Dublin airport on separate flights.

On the strength of 800 years of history, we decided that it would be pointless taking precautions, fingerprints, etc., because if and when we were arrested and identified with the aid of 'Free State' collaborators, then we would be fitted up regardless of evidence! So to avoid arrest we carried 'short arms'. After my arrest in July 1975, my duty was to protect the identities and whereabouts of my comrades. Also to protect our source of supply.

I also tried to confuse and disrupt the search for my comrades and to cause anxiety to the enemy by making confusing and outlandish statements and claims - that was easy as I knew that the enemy had my fingerprints and descriptions from bedsitters, motor cars and unexploded bombs, and even 'police' wit-

nesses.

Before my committal for trial in Liverpool I dismissed my legal representatives, because I considered them to be police agents and class enemies. At my trial in Manchester, I refused to recognise the court or sit in the dock; the show trial that was planned for 10 weeks lasted about one!

I addressed the judge once to reject legal aid. I told him that my comrades outside who had bombs and guns would protect my interests, all other exchanges were limited to verbal abuse.

I claimed the Guildford and Woolwich operations in a recorded interview at Albany prison at the end of 1976.

I tried to help the Guildford 4, and also tear holes in the moth-eaten cloak of respectability that covers the corrupt establishment here.

I have no regrets and I am pleased with the damage I have inflicted on my enemies from within my prison cell.

The book 'Timebomb' has lots of mistakes and speculation, no doubt due to hearsay and gossip collected in Ireland.

But hopefully the book will convince even more people of the innocence of the Guildford 4.

Brendan Down
(IPOW)

Free speech in Glasgow

It was timely of Peter Fryer to remind readers of Workers Press to be vigilant in upholding the right of 'free speech'.

Glasgow workers have a proud record in this regard, and socialists were prominent in the fight. In September 1886 great demonstrations were held on Glasgow Green in defence of this right. To the forefront were members of the Social Democratic Federation - particularly pioneer Marxist Willie Nairn. After the First World War Harry McShane and Guy Aldred campaigned vigorously for the right to speak on the Green. This fight was sparked off by attempted bans on the 'Tramp Preachers' who met regularly on Sundays. At the moment, Glasgow Green is under threat. Plans have been made to privatise parts of this historic park. If such things came to pass the right to speak at this dear green place would be in danger. This must be of concern to the Socialist movement.

Leslie Forster
Glasgow

Avida Dollaro is dead

BY TOM OWEN

SALVADOR DALI, whose active and highly publicised career spans over 70 years, died last week, a lonely and isolated recluse.

He was a painter of extraordinary technical virtuosity and outrageously 'radical' temperament, who blatantly worshipped at the Temple of Mammon in whatever bizarre vestment took his fancy. The 'Sun' dismissed him as a trivial, mercenary buffoon on the same day as they launched another million pound competition.

That evening, George Melly, who claimed to represent the remnants of the miniscule and peripheral English surrealists, claimed that the real Salvador Dali had died in 1938.

Andre Breton, who had broken with Dali around that year, anagrammised his name cruelly, and announced his re-birth as Avida Dollaro. By 1939 Dali had emerged from a political crisis to declare himself for Franco and made his peace with the reactionary Catholic Church.

Like his far greater contemporary Picasso, Dali became fabulously and obscenely wealthy. No doubt we will hear of more scandals as his present lawyer and mentors squabble over his fortune in a three cornered scrap with the Catalan Generalitat (Provincial administration) and the Madrid Central Government.

Dali's history from 1938 onwards, when he accumulated his great wealth and made his popular world-wide reputation, is a sordid story.

His erstwhile colleagues of the revolutionary surrealist movement were driven into exile and obscurity or underground by the Nazi invasion of France, and his Catalan contemporaries (like Miro), into an odyssey of banishment by Francoism. He became a Hollywood court jester, a bizarre fashion designer for the decadent super-rich and a portrait artist for the daughters of dictators who could opine on the racial superiority of the 'genius' of the Latin peoples. Yet Dali had been welcomed with great enthusiasm by Breton and others into the surrealist movement after 1929. His work and his theories were seen to be a major contribution to breaking out of the impasse surrealism had found itself in through the Stalinisation of the French Communist Party, which they had



regarded as their political leadership.

What then did Dali have to offer? His training was conventional. The son of a public notary, he had been trained at the School of Fine Arts, Madrid. His early work followed the path of post-Impressionism and 'salon' cubism, developing a whimsical style very common in Barcelona circles.

The life of Salvador Dali

It was a stay in Paris and the influence of Dada, Duchamp and Breton in the mid twenties that transformed his painting and his thinking. His great statements of the 1920s, 'Figure on the Rocks', (1926) 'The First Days of Spring' (1929) and 'The Great Masturbator' (1929) bring together his extraordinary draughtsmanship and technique with the displaced images of the dream and the subconscious.

In a sense these works set a stamp on his style and method of symbolic realisation, which he reduplicated with increasing self-indulgence to produce the mannerist clichés of 'Plage avec Telephone' and the much publicized 'Metamorphosis of Narcissus' (1937).

His work with the anarchist film maker Bunuel, 'Un Chien d'Andalou' and 'L'Age d'Or', produced some of the most memorable and shocking images of 20th century cinema.

He characterized his outlook as 'Paranoia-Criticism' whose aim he declared in 'La Femme visible' (1930) was to 'systematize the confusion and to contribute to the total discrediting of the world of reality' and later in 1935, 'All my ambition, on the plastic level, consists in materializing, with the utmost imperialistic fury for precision, the images of concrete irrationality' (La conquete de l'irrationnel).

Dali was not alone in his glorification of the irrational. French surrealism from its inception in the work of Apollinaire had revolted against 'reason', which it had equated with French Rationalism as the ideology of the bourgeoisie.

Instead of transcending bourgeois rationalism in the development of Marxist theory, they

started as artists by breaking down the barriers between the dream and reality, and challenging the positivism of the bourgeois order.

The formative experience of surrealism and of all the avant garde 'isms' was the First World War and the Russian Revolution of 1917. Their common artistic and technical terms had led them to challenge received orders of reality, and to co-habit with forms of political radicalism, revolutionary syndicalism, anarchism, fascism and bolshevism.

The Italian Futurists for example, found their centre for 'activism' and irrationality in Fascism. The War and the Bolshevick Revolution offered the concrete possibilities for revolutionary artistic freedom and social transformation. The French surrealist movement is of central importance for a number of reasons.

Firstly, because it linked its own revolt as a radical 'school' with the young Communist Party. Secondly, with the rise of Stalinism and the destruction and dispersal of the Constructivist avant-garde in the Soviet Union and the Nazi terror in Germany, France still nourished an influential and prestigious avant-garde. And thirdly a section of this avant-garde broke with Stalinism and collaborated with Trotsky at the very point when he was founding the Fourth International.

Dali's break with Breton, I believe, represents the exhaustion not just of Dali but of a phase in the development of the avant-garde. As Maurice Nadeau says of their glimpses of a new paradise, 'Alas even the loveliest hallucination faded away, leaving on the shore of the mirage a man the more desperate for having glimpsed paradise and having lost it.'

Breton contacted Trotsky in 1938 at a crucial historic juncture. Trotsky had completed the Transitional Programme in April. The founding conference of the Fourth International took place in September. Trotsky, Breton and Rivera completed the Manifesto: 'Towards a Free Revolutionary Art' on 25 July 1938 and published it in 'The Autumn', after establishing the 'International Federation of Independent Art', or FIARI. A French section was established with a monthly bulletin called 'Clé'. This was dispersed soon afterwards because of the war.

It is important to raise these connections because the origin of FIARA is organically linked to that of the Fourth International. The struggle for continuity and reconstruction of the Fourth International should also establish the continuity and reconstruction of the politics and the revolutionary spirit of the art of FIARI.

News briefs . . . Secret out

SECOND World War Australian PoWs who, three years ago, submitted a bill of £235 million to the Japanese government as reparation for war atrocities, are now demanding a trade ban against Japan unless the sum is met.

The existence of an Australian government report detailing the atrocities, which had been suppressed for 45 years, was revealed last week when Brisbane's 'Sunday Mail' published details of cannibalism, torture and murder by Japanese soldiers against Australian and American service personnel. The controversy comes at an embarrassing time for the Hawke Labour government, at present pursuing the closest links with Japan whom it sees as its biggest source of overseas investment.

Call to resign

A DEMONSTRATION calling for the resignation of South Korean President Roh and the arrest of his predecessor, Chun Doo Hwan, took place in Seoul last week.

The demonstrators, some 3,000 students and workers, were prevented from marching through the central area of the city by the police who opened fire on the marchers with tear gas canisters

Deterrent

TORY plans to introduce student loans will mean that medicine will become a career for the sons and daughters of the rich, a British Medical Association report claims.

'The prospect of debt accumulated over five or six years will deter students from less financially secure backgrounds from even considering commencing a medical career' it says.

The BMA also criticises proposals to withdraw medical students from the benefit system because over 70 per cent of them claim supplementary relief during the holidays and almost 80 per cent claim housing benefit.

Don't prosecute

A PUBLIC inquiry to expose all those responsible for the murder and repression of millions of people during Stalin's reign of terror was agreed at the founding conference of the Memorial movement which met in Moscow last week-end.

The 500 delegates to the conference were, however, persuaded not to instigate legal proceedings against those involved by the intervention of Dr Andrei Sakharov and his wife Yelena Bonner, the human rights activists.

Secretary of Irish union sacked - for doing his job

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

AN IRISH trade union leader who attacked union leaders in the North for failing to fight discrimination and strip-searching is now fighting for re-instatement in his own union.

John Mitchell, who also backed the Dunne's storeworkers in their determined struggle to halt South African goods, was sacked last November from his post as general secretary of the Irish Distributive and Allied Trades Union (IDATU).

The union's executive claimed

Mitchell had lost 'the fundamental relationship of trust' with them. They have also halted recruitment in the North, and disfranchised branches there, claiming they had been taken over by Republicans.

This was after the Irish Congress of Trade Unions expelled Mitchell and suspended IDATU, following his criticisms of union leaders who failed to oppose anti-Catholic discrimination, and the strip-searching of women prisoners.

Supporters of Mitchell, who are urging the union's Easter conference to re-instate him, say that during his six-year term as general secretary the union won pay increases for members better than those won by other unions, and increased its membership at a time when others were losing members.

They also point to a record of backing for members in dispute, support of Irish language and culture, and the struggle of the Dunne's shopworkers against Apartheid goods, which won international acclaim.

Marxist Discussion Group established at Exeter University

ROGER J. COTTRELL

A Marxist discussion group has been founded by Workers Revolutionary Party members in Exeter University.

The group's founding - with 40 members - takes place at a time of systematised attacks on education as a right, as well as during an acute crisis of leadership in the student union movement.

The group will produce a quarterly theoretical journal to develop Marxist theory and its relevance for the issues confronting the contemporary working class.

The aim of the society is to involve students, lecturers and other workers in discussion around central themes of Marxist theory and practice.

Invitations have gone out to guest speakers including Cyril Smith of the WRP Central Committee. At the same time the Marxist Group is organising discussions on the Poll Tax and the relationship of democratic struggles to the labour movement.

Future themes for discussion, in seminars and in the journal, will include 'Ireland and the British Labour Movement', 'Stalinism and the Crisis of Leadership in the Middle Eastern Proletariat', 'Reform or Revolution' and 'the Workers' Government and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat'.

AIRLIE STIFLES FORD JOBS FIGHT

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

FORD shop stewards meeting on Jan 28 were persuaded by Jimmy Airlie of the AEU to take no action in their fight to retain Sierra production at Dagenham, but to engage instead in a campaign including a lobby of Parliament, not by Ford workers themselves, but by union officials on their behalf. In defence of the nationalistic tone of his argument Airlie fabricated a quote from Lenin, saying that you had to be a nationalist before you could be an internationalist(!)

The 'Financial Times' has revealed that Ford have a plan to reduce the workforce in Dagenham not by 500 jobs, but by 5,000 in the 1990s.



70 years since the murder of
ROSA LUXEMBURG
and **KARL LIEBKNECHT**
German Revolutionaries

A successful meeting was held on Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht at the London School of Economics last week by the Workers Revolutionary Party. Bob Archer from the WRP Central Committee spoke of the lessons to be learnt by the Fourth International today from their courageous struggle. The original poster, reproduced above which advertised the meeting is available for 50 pence, from:
INDEX BOOKCENTRE, 10-12 Atlantic Road, Brixton, SW9.