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I.D. 'SPY' CARD THREAT

The Tories have secret plans to bring in identity cards to strengthen the one-party dictatorship they have established in Britain.

ID cards will go hand in hand with the reorganisation of the corrupt police force and a boost to the secret agencies MI5 and MI6.

The task of these sinister state bodies is to counter the resistance of millions of people to hated Tory plans to make workers pay for the

international crisis of capitalism.

Prime Minister Major fears a revolt against Tory policies of smashing up education, the health service, public transport and social services.

By Paul Feldman

Youth defiance of riot police in Coventry is an expression of the anger felt at an existence without a future.

Major has ordered drastic spending cuts because government finances are £40 billion in the red as a result of rising unemployment and a slump in tax revenue.

State benefits will be slashed next winter, producing in Britain the revolt against poverty seen in Los Angeles and other American cities.

The main aim is to create a slave-wage economy as the only basis

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bankrupt British capitalism can survive cut-throat conditions of international slump.

While there is no money for public services, there are unlimited funds for those whose job it is to protect the banks, landowners and industrialists who run Britain for profit.

ID cards will be used to keep control of a population which has nothing to lose by challenging a rotten system.

The Tories are using racist propaganda and the rules of the single European market, which demand open borders, to justify the introduction of ID cards.

Effective

As the right-wing Mail on Sunday put it: "ID cards are now seen as the most effective way to stop Britain becoming an open house for illegal immigrants and international criminals."

A leading "Guardian" commentator with contacts in the Cabinet, says the Tories are "desperate to repel the hordes of displaced Europeans, Asians and Africans who are set, as ministers believe, to break through the EC frontier". They see ID cards as a "backstop".

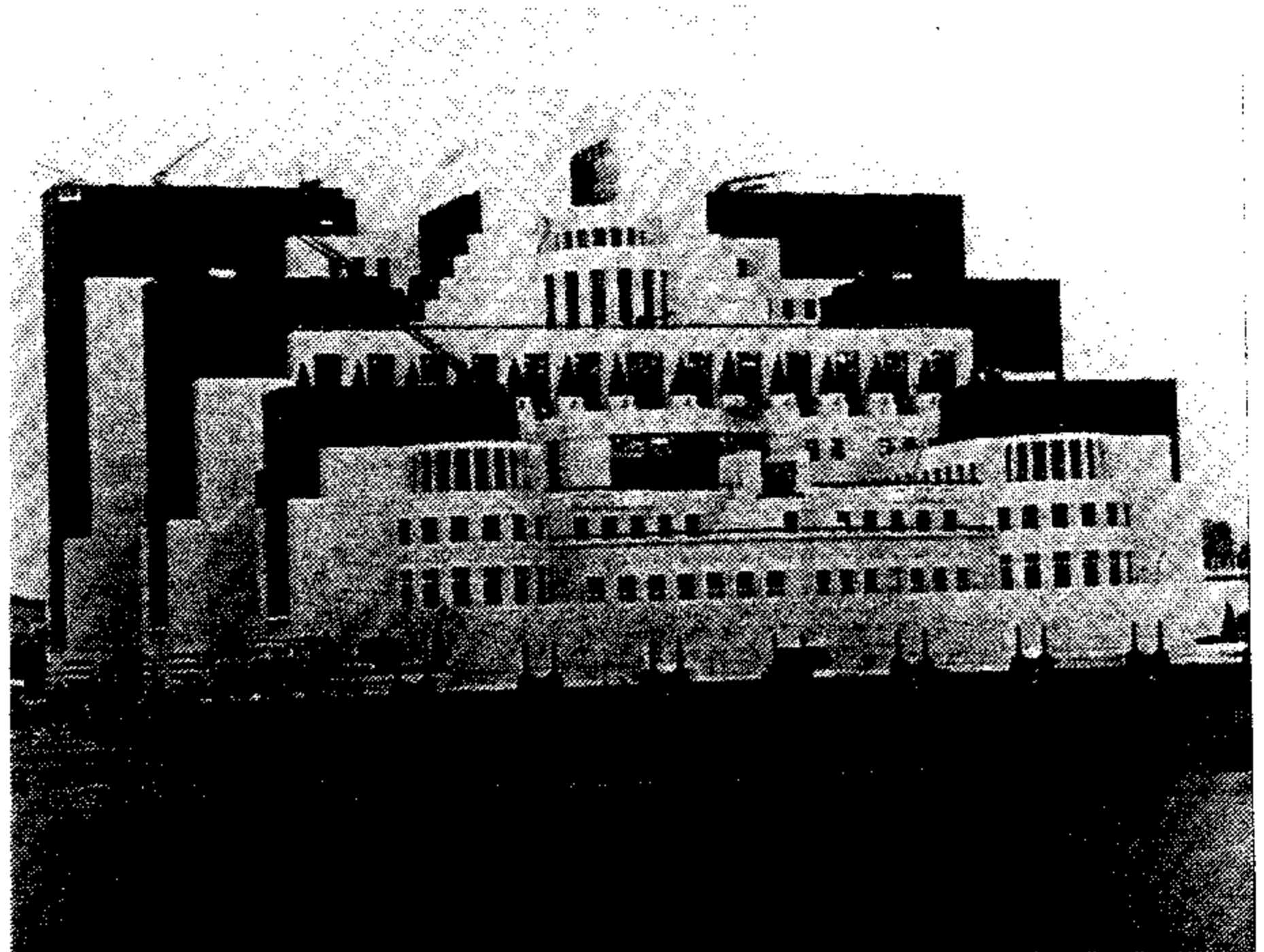
With new technology "smart cards" a vast amount of information can be stored on ID cards.

ID cards will include all conceivable information about an individual, including their ethnic group, political affiliations, criminal record and voter registration number.

All this will constitute a data-bank of Britain's 55 million citizens for use by the state when it cracks down against opponents of the Tory dictatorship.

An unspecified amount of money is going on providing MI5 with a new headquarters on the south side of Lambeth bridge - next to Westminster hospital, which is threatened with closure.

MI5's new chief is Stella Rimington, who earned her top job by spying on and taking action against Britain's trade unions and



The £130m new HQ for MI6 by Vauxhall Bridge

left-wing parties under Thatcher.

The spies have at least a million records on individuals considered subversive or a "threat to national security".

All this information is being placed on computers ready for transfer to the new HQ. The Security Service Commissioner recently gave MI5 permission to keep even more secret files.

Lord Justice Stuart-Smith says MI5 no longer destroys files, "on the basis that they are the key to their work and they cannot accurately predict when files will ever be needed again".

Special Branch

The Tories have just placed MI5's secret killers in charge of counter-acting the IRA, ousting the police's Special Branch from the job.

It means the cold-blooded killing we saw in Gibraltar and the shoot-to-kill policy of the army in the north of Ireland is official policy in Britain too.

Over £130 million is going on a new HQ for MI6 next to Vauxhall station. It will contain the latest technology. But who will it spy on?

MI6 was supposed to counter the "communist threat". Even the Tories say that no longer exists. For MI6, like MI5, the enemy is at home!

To complete the picture, Home Secretary Kenneth Clarke has

ordered a reorganisation of the police force to bring it into line with Tory requirements.

Discredited

The present force is utterly discredited, having framed hundreds if not thousands of innocent people in the last 20 years.

Yet the notorious West Midlands serious crime squad is not to face prosecution. That is what the Tories think of those who did the fitting-up!

The police are pushing for and will get new stop and search powers; and no doubt they will soon be asking for ID cards on the streets.

The Tories lie brazenly about their plans. Under the guise of "open government", they strengthen the vast secret network of the state.

They are preparing for civil war in Britain. Workers young and old, the unemployed and students organised behind a revolutionary leadership must get ready to smash the Major plans for police-military dictatorship.

ITALY BLOWN APART

The death of Italian anti-Mafia prosecutor Giovanni Falcone, blown off a Sicilian road with 2,200 pounds of TNT, has brought to a head the most profound political and social crisis in the history of the Italian republic.

The assassination of Falcone, which could not have happened without the connivance of the secret service that was guarding his life, came as he and his colleagues moved in on secret Swiss bank accounts of leading political and industrial figures in Milan.

For many years, the bourgeoisie of the industrial north have condemned the corrupt and Mafia-ridden south of the country. In this north-south divide they foster racist attitudes to the southern poor, characterising them as backward and incapable of functioning in a modern state.

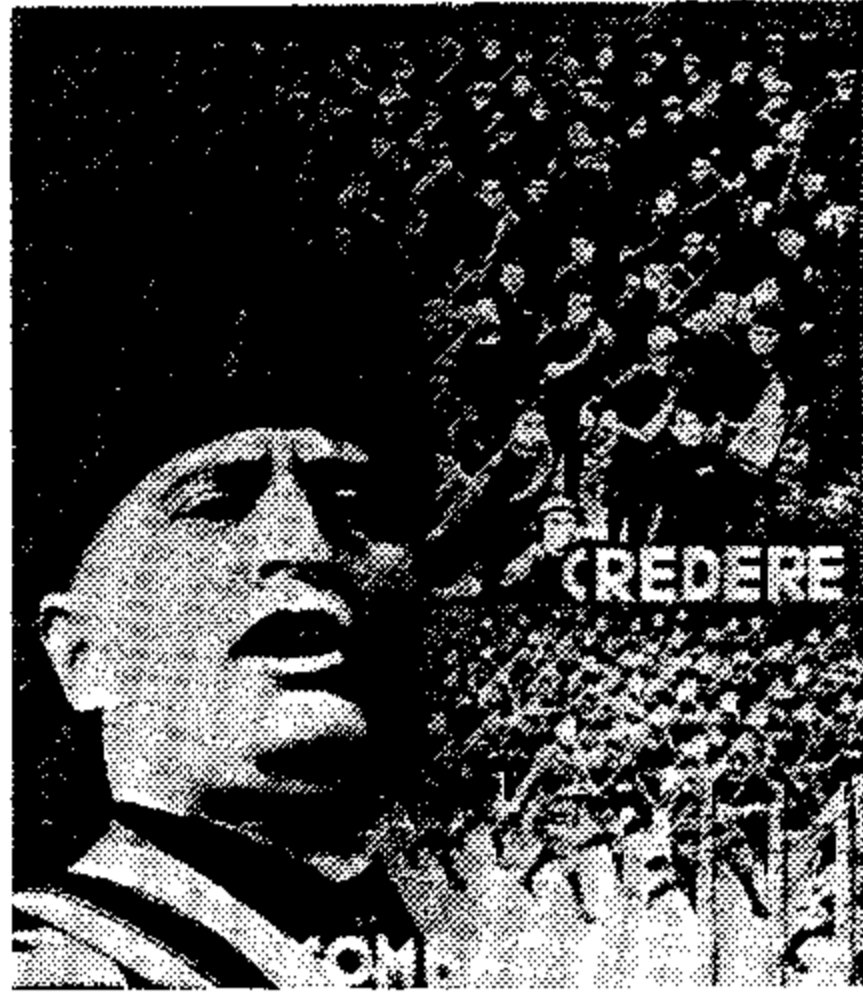
The efficient, clean-handed north earned the money, the story ran, to subsidise the idle and chaotic south. A semi-fascist political movement - the Northern Leagues - has won considerable political power on the basis of little more than this argument.

But now Milan is reeling from an unfolding skein of political and industrial bribery and corruption, involving the mayor of Milan, and the brother-in-law and son of the Italian Socialist Party leader, former Prime Minister Bettino Craxi.

Jobs in the public services, the media and the universities are doled out on the basis of political patronage. Few survive outside this system. As a matter of course, students must pay bribes to ensure that their theses are put forward for examination.

Meanwhile, the political crisis rages. The present republic and constitution was hastily thrown together after World War II by the United States.

This republic is now exposed as a front for organised crime, secret armies and Masonic cliques. All of



Mussolini - "misunderstood"

the political parties have now been proved to be on the take, with the Socialists among the worst of all.

At the time of Falcone's murder, the country had no president, no government and, in Milan, no city government.

President Cossiga had become an increasingly eccentric and dangerous figure, whose connections with secret armies set up by the Americans to fight communism, and still functioning today, had become public.

His resignation in April brought an indecisive election and the main parties could not agree a presidential candidate. The murder of Falcone galvanised them into what passes for action and a 73-year-old Conservative Catholic, Luigi Scalfaro, was chosen.

A virulent anti-communist, he was supported by the MPs of the former Communist Party, the PDS. Scalfaro states that reform of the constitution is his urgent priority.

With all the senior political figures discredited by scandal and corruption, he will have great difficulty in organising a government, however.

Increasingly the middle-class dream of a "strong leader" to sort out the mess. And right-wing groups are making progress. History repeats itself as farce in the form of Alessandra, granddaughter of

Mussolini, a political non-entity, with a smart line in designer clothes who is now an MP. She says Il Duce was a great man, much misunderstood.

Betrayed by Stalinism in the shape of the Communist Party and its reactionary policies of peaceful co-existence, the Italian working class now faces naked dictatorship as the country's "democratic" institutions cease to function.

Our History **150 years ago: The first General Strike in History**

In 1842 the first general strike in the capitalist world started in England. The strike began in June in the coal mining areas of Staffordshire and Warwickshire where workers opposed wage cuts, and spread to the rest of the country. In July great processions of strikers marched from factory to factory, from town to town, getting others to stop work. Flying pickets carried banners such as "They that perish by the sword are better than they that perish by hunger". On August 7, a huge assembly at Mottram Moor in Lancashire voted not to resume work until the Peoples Charter for universal voting rights became law of the land. By mid-August troops were sent against the strikers, killing four and wounding many more. In many districts strikers formed committees of public safety. The majority of the Chartist Convention which led the strike met with opposition from leaders such as Feargus O'Connor, the most influential figure in the movement, who wanted a return to work. By August 20, the strike was clearly defeated. Over 1,500 were arrested, 54 being transported.

Drug busting the NHS

by Augustus Oswald

During the general election Neil Kinnock swore until he went as red as a Labour rose that if the Tories were returned the National Health Service would not be safe in their hands.

He didn't have to repeat the obvious, as is his wont; 13 years of Tory government was enough to convince anybody that nothing was safe in their hands. But, would it have been safe with the Labour Party?

While both parties promised indistinguishable panaceas and placebos, very little was said about the role of the pharmaceutical companies who bleed the service, year in and year out. The current estimate of their business with the NHS is over £3 billion, which is ten per cent of the total budget.

Under a special agreement known as the Pharmaceutical Price Retail System, which governs drug company profit-levels, they are guaranteed between 12% and 17% by the Department of Health!

Recently, some drug importers who have managed to exploit price differentials in the European market, have been offering similar, if not the same drugs, at much reduced prices. But, because of this privileged agreement between the government and the giants like Glaxo, Wellcome, SmithKline-Beecham, Merk and their ilk, the NHS cannot benefit.

The giants claim that such European imports, where the drugs are purchased cheaper, puts patients at risk and threaten their profits, and, consequently, spending on research and development.

This hoary old claim is not very convincing, and their vaunted altruism is contradicted by the well-known facts that they only spend, on average, 15% on research but 45% on advertising! So much for their social use of profits.

What motivates this research? Is it



Wards are closed while the drug companies prosper

humanitarian concern for unfortunate victims of disease, or large-scale greed?

The multi-national company Glaxo is headed by Sir Paul Girolami, who is the chairman, and Dr Ernest Mario, the chief executive. It is, incidentally, Britain's biggest company, with more than £1 billion profits a year. Girolami's salary, by the way, is a modest £1,068,275 a year.

ANTI-ULCER

In 1976, an anti-ulcer drug was launched, with the brand name Tagamet, by the US drug firm, SmithKline. It quickly became the biggest-selling drug in the world.

Glaxo had "lost" the scientific race to find a compound to cure ulcers. They even toyed with the idea of making a straight copy of Tagamet despite the existence of a patent on it. Lawyers urged them to abandon this, however, as it was too dangerous.

But the desire to challenge Tagamet became obsessive as there were also other companies in the race. Glaxo succeeded, within five

years, in producing one which they marketed under the name of Zantac, and it held an advantage.

Tagamet had by then been on the market for five years and, like most drugs, it had started to develop side-effects. It was safe but it interacted badly with some other medicines, particularly heart drugs.

Zantac, as a new drug, obviously had no side effects. It went on to create pharmaceutical history as the first drug in the world to reach sales of £1 billion!

One of Girolami's sidekicks said: "What was right about Zantac was first and foremost that it was market-driven. If it had been science-driven, as it used to be, then I don't think the product would ever have developed, on the grounds that it wasn't new. Scientifically, it was thoroughly uninteresting.

"And, previously, even sales and marketing would have said, 'How can we sell it, it doesn't have an edge' But this time there was a different attitude, which was, 'We want to beat the opposition in the market place with a product which, to all intents and purposes, is the same as the product which is already

there. But then, when we get it there, we are going to make it absolutely certain we can take our share of the business".

The pharmaceutical industry is a £75 billion business. In the 1980s, the Glaxo group saw its profits increase thirty fold. In 1991 it made pre-tax profits of about £1.25 billion, of which one drug, Zantac, contributed half! And that on a turnover of about £3.5 billion. Can the CBI point to any other business with such a phenomenal success.

RESEARCH

The former head of research at Glaxo's Allen and Hambury's division, musing in retirement on his years with the company, had this to say about the chairman:

"Even Girolami knows that good science and good scientists are a prerequisite for success. Although I can tell you quite frankly he doesn't have any great regard for scientists, or for science as a way of living. His whole purpose is to make money. I don't think there is much folly in his mind about doing good."

An action has been brought in Britain by 3,000 patients who claim they were crippled by a Glaxo drug called Myodil. There are other lawsuits pending.

Chief executive Mario, paid all of £670,000, responds with: "I'm not happy about that at all." After this fleeting pang of conscience he proceeds to reveal his real concerns: "The challenge in the nineties will be finding a way for both Glaxo and the National Health Service to co-exist. We are aware that the government faces the difficult task of finding a way to serve the public without bankrupting the system ... People today see the pharmaceutical industry as a necessary evil.. But we have made - and are making - a tremendous contribution to health care."

At a considerable price to the NHS, he forgot to add.

LABOUR BREAKING TRADE UNION TIES

Moves to break the historic links between the Labour Party and the trade unions are being orchestrated by the capitalist state, the Tories and their media.

In the Labour Party itself, the campaign against the unions is led by Neil Kinnock and his certain successor, John Smith.

In the trade unions, the right-wing leaders of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union are pushing to sever the century-long connections.

Bill Jordan, president of the AEEU, believes that the Labour Party should abandon the famous Clause IV, which calls for public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and is considered the socialist cornerstone of the Labour Party constitution.

These forces want to tie the working class to the state, to prevent mass working class action against crippling unemployment and lowering of wages.

Labour owes its origins to the the TUC Congress of 1899, which voted to organise a special conference, representing the unions, co-operative societies and socialist organisations, to consider means of increasing representation in parliament.

This met in 1900 and soon became known as the Labour Party, contesting the general election of that year.

The first step in the break between the unions and the Labour Party is to abolish the union block vote in choosing the Labour Party leader and ending the role of union delegates in the selection and re-selection of Members of Parliament.

Opposition to these moves are being led by the mainly unskilled unions, the Transport and General

Workers Union and the General Municipal and Boilermakers Union.

Tom Sawyer, the National Union of Public Employees leader and chair of the National Executive Committee, has also warned against the headlong rush to abandon the unions.

Both the TGWU and GMB withheld their support for Kinnock's proposal of one member one vote in the selection of MPs at the May organisational sub-committee meeting of Labour's National Executive.

But the proposal was endorsed by 11 votes to 2, and subsequently by the full NEC. It now goes to the Labour Party conference in the autumn.

All this might seem purely academic in a country which is now ruled by a one-party elected dictatorship. As Marxists we have long known that the parliamentary road to socialism is a myth.

But any weakening of the power of the unions, which in Britain are the working class, is a blow against that class.

The formation of the Labour Party and the break from the Liberals was a progressive step. The party is now in an historic crisis because British capitalism has ruled out class compromise politics.

That is a problem for the working class movement to resolve, not bureaucrats like Kinnock and Jordan.

The Communist League stands for the defence of the union block vote in determining Labour Party policy.

At the same time we struggle against class collaboration by the trade union bureaucracy by fighting for revolutionary leadership in the unions.

The bumpy ride f

Waking to the morning papers on Friday April 24, it was a shock to discover that the lead story was not another poisonous pronouncement by Major on "classless Britain" nor even the latest episode in the self-indulgent Buck House saga.

"How the universe began", "The Independent" thundered; a half-page diagram showed just how. The theme was taken up in all the heavyweights and even the "Sun".

Scientists working for the American space agency NASA had announced that they had found "ripples on the echo of the Big Bang".

Astrophysicist George Smoot and his team had just finished analysing three years' data from the Cosmic Background Explorer satellite, known affectionately as COBE.

LAUNCHED

The satellite had been launched to study the very weak radiation that is seen everywhere all around us in space, which scientists think is the last remaining dregs of heat left over from the huge explosion which started off the whole universe.

What Smoot had found was that this background radiation was not completely smooth, its temperature was not a uniform 270 degrees centigrade - all that remained from an explosion that started with a temperature of one hundred, million, million, million, million, million degrees.

On top of the basic smoothness, Smoot found there were minute ripples, tiny waves which showed the Big Bang itself was a bumpy ride rather than a silky glide from nothing to something.

And that was important. For without those ripples on the Big Bang's echo it was not possible to explain just why it is that the universe we see today has stars and planets, galaxies and

giant clusters of galaxies.

Science, said "The Independent", had reached back to explain the very creation of the universe. The outcry was immediate; bishops jammed the airwaves denouncing the presumption of science.

If science had answered the problem of the origin of the universe, what was the role of God and religion, they asked. Distraught romantics and cynics from the world of "the arts" added their condemnation of scientists who took their science too far; of astrophysicists who trespassed on the ground reserved for prejudice and fantasy, and in so doing undermined morality and the human soul.

In the weeks that have followed the COBE result, there have been several set-piece confrontations between those who, basically, stand up for a scientific explanation of the universe and those who would rather leave those things unsaid.

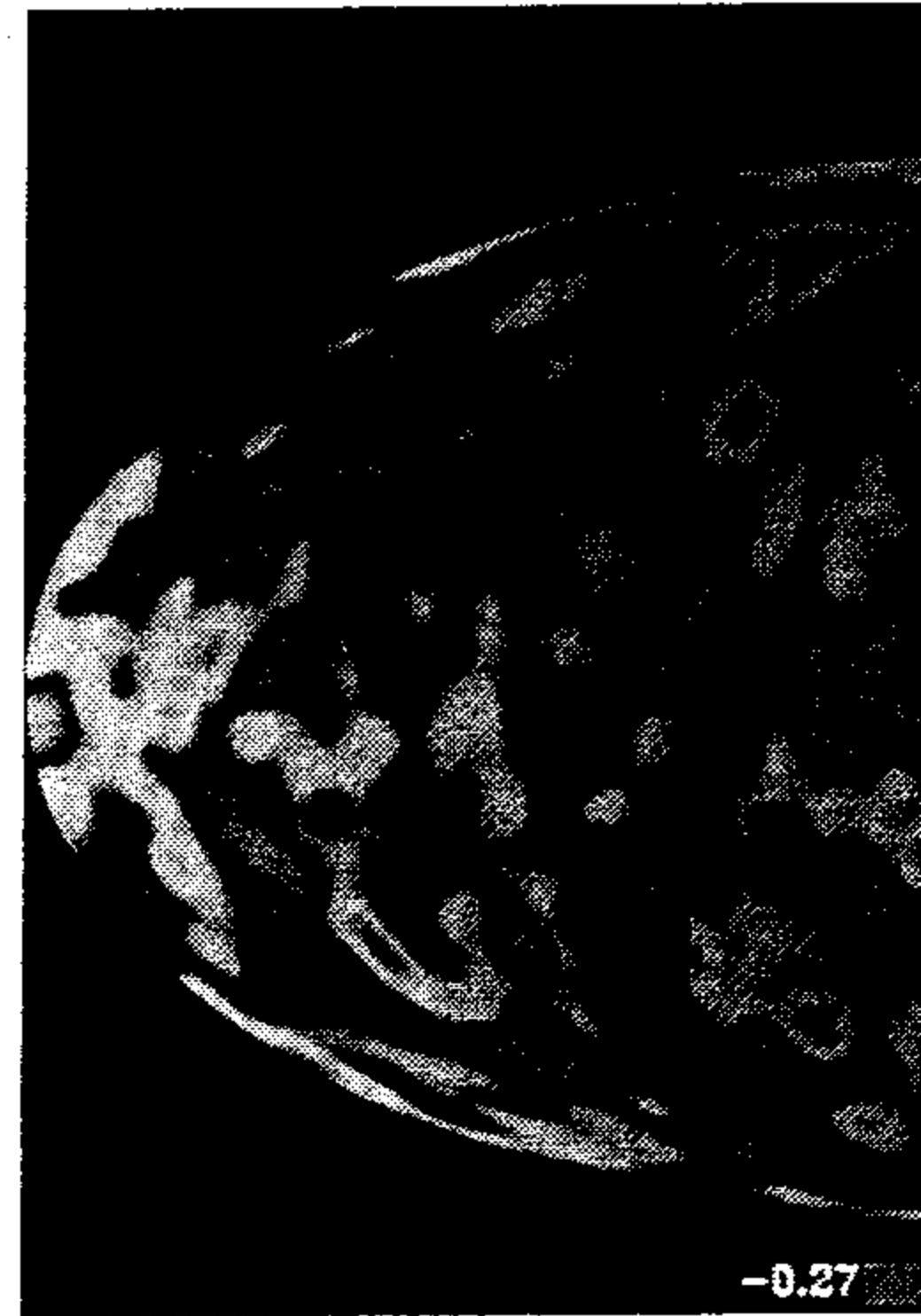
April's COBE result has brought out into the open a veritable underground war that has been running for the last few years over the direction in which science is going and where it is taking society.

PRO-SCIENCE

The anti-God, pro-science battalions scored a huge success with the publication of Stephen Hawking's "Brief History of Time". Hawking's frequent references to God in his book showed just how little there was for the Almighty to do and what a mystical irrelevance He was.

Amongst others, this group has attracted Carl Sagan, cosmologist and the presenter of the hit TV series "Cosmos", geneticist Professor Lewis Wolpert and zoologist and militant atheist Richard Dawkins. The anti-science lobby has, not unnaturally, Archbishop John

A scientist explains how origins of the universe ha for cover



The microwave map of the whole sky made from a ye

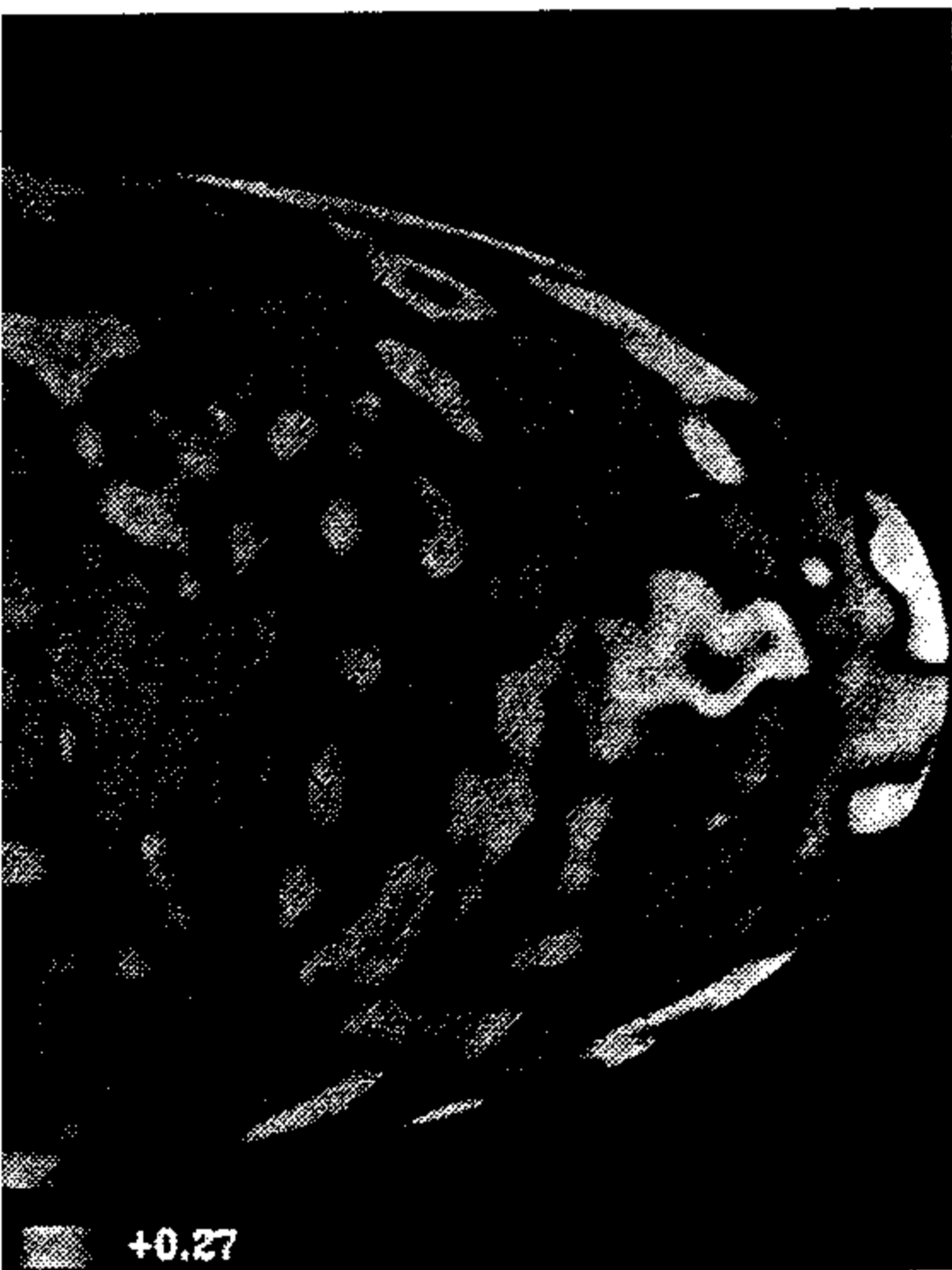
Hagood as one of its staunchest protagonists. It has also found natural allies in "Times" journalist Bryan Appleyard and the novelist Fay Weldon.

Weldon's thesis is the simplest. Science, she says, is responsible for everything bad in the world - pollution, poverty, global warming and so on - and, anyway, cannot answer the simplest of human questions such as "why am I here?"

Appleyard is one step up. His thesis is that science is alright in its place. But it has stepped out of line, into areas where it has no business. In claiming to answer questions like "how did the universe begin?", science has undermined religion and the morality that goes with it. And because science has put nothing in

From the Big Bang

**ew discoveries about the
e sent the clergy scuttling**



of COBE data

place of religious morality, it is undermining society.

Hagood, of course, circumscribes whole areas of knowledge as being reserved for God alone. Never, runs the religious argument, could we possibly "know the mind of God" as Hawking claimed was possible in the very last line of his "Brief History".

So what is to be made of all this: what does the latest data from COBE mean; why has it provoked such strident reactions; and why should Marxist socialists care?

UNIVERSE

Scientists believe at present that the universe "began" about 15 thousand million years ago with all the matter and radiation — gamma

rays, X-rays, ultraviolet, visible and infrared light, microwaves and radio waves - crushed together into one point.

This "primordial atom" as it is sometimes called exploded with a violence that would make the largest nuclear weapons we have on Earth seem less impressive than a balloon popping.

One second after this Big Bang, the temperature of the primitive universe was still an incredible ten thousand million degrees, a thousand times hotter than the centre of the Sun today, which is itself a giant nuclear bomb.

After 300,000 years, the temperature had cooled to a mere 6,000 degrees - about the same temperature as the surface of the Sun - and the universe had thinned out enough so that light could actually escape from the surrounding matter.

It is light from that time, nearly 15 billion years ago, that is seen as the cosmic background radiation. But in that time it has cooled to just three degrees above absolute zero. It is this radiation that COBE was sent up to study in 1989. Initially the satellite reported back that it could see no difference in the radiation it measured whatever direction it looked in.

This posed a problem for scientists trying to explain how the universe got from the Big Bang to what we see today. For the background radiation would have had indelibly stamped upon it the imprint of matter in the universe that existed 300,000 years after the Big Bang.

And if that matter had been entirely smooth, as COBE seemed to be saying, there had simply not been enough time to form the stars and the galaxies we see today; in other words, our present universe should have been entirely smooth too, not lumpy as we know it is. Now you

may think that nearly 15 billion years is a long time to form stars, but their formation relies on the force of gravity, which is - compared with electricity and magnetism - a very weak force.

Starting from absolutely smooth to now just was not long enough. So it looked as if the Big Bang theory was in deep trouble, which was good news for the Archbishop but not for those who wanted to drive the religious glorification of ignorance out of its last hiding place.

BIG BANG

The announcement by Smoot in April, therefore, that right from the start the Big Bang had been lumpy, and that there was, after all, enough time for the universe to evolve stars and galaxies came as a boost to scientific understanding but a body blow to religion.

Now, capitalist society has always had a contradictory relationship with science. It has used the discoveries of science to make profits; indeed capitalism was founded on the scientific developments of the Renaissance at the end of the middle ages and could not have destroyed feudalism without the new knowledge coming from the empirical, experimental scientists of the time.

But as a class society of workers and rulers, it has had to keep the mass of people basically ignorant of its real workings. In its struggle to keep workers ignorant, capitalism makes use of religion, adapted the church and pushes out crude idealism and individualism through its popular media.

Appleyard's plea for science to stay in its place and not try and answer the deepest mysteries of existence is essentially a plea by capitalism to work within the confines of the profit system, but not

to enlighten the mass of people, or free them from the ideological structures it has set up to keep its rule in place.

It would be completely wrong, however, to see the present debate as one between scientists, on the one hand, and anti-science on the other. There are many scientists looking for God. Vocal among them is astrophysicist Professor Paul Davies. He uses uncertainties in modern physics and the discovery that some events are chaotic rather than neatly determined, to claim that science has proved that religious free will is a fact.

The very existence of human understanding presupposes thought in the universe; and thought at the beginning of the universe takes us back to God. "In the beginning was the word", says Davies, echoing Genesis.

Nor is this a new phenomenon. Newton may have relegated Him to the maker of the clockwork of the universe, but He was still there. In the turbulent years around the turn of the century, Lenin had to do battle with members of his own Bolshevik party who wanted to use the latest

scientific fashions - that the world was simply a "complex of sensations" - to deny the existence of a real material world existing independently of thought and head on back to God via "free-thinking".

REVOLUTION

The revolution in scientific thinking that took place at the beginning of the twentieth century - Einstein's relativity and quantum mechanics - took science into the world of ultra-small particles that never stayed still and matter that, even conceptually, could never be separated from motion.

Science entered the realm of the awesome distances and masses needed to understand galaxies and beyond, in which Newton's absolute space and time was replaced by space-time, itself a property of matter-in-motion.

In his book with John Gribbin, "The Matter Myth", Paul Davies profoundly declares "materialism is dead". The intuitive, mechanical materialism of Newton is certainly dead. This was based on a world of homely objects in which relative rest

was possible and motion was looked on as external to the object that moved.

But modern science requires dialectical materialism. Just as Marx and Engels took the latest developments in science, particularly Darwin's theory of evolution of species, into their world view and used it to sharpen their critique of capitalism, Lenin also took the latest developments in science to deepen his understanding of the contradictory nature of the world and society.

The latest results from COBE show that, right from its inception, the material universe was one of contradictory, uneven development.

In a similarly contradictory way, the latest developments of science within capitalism undermine the religious, idealist philosophy needed to maintain the status quo. Modern scientific socialism has to incorporate these latest developments in the fight to emancipate humanity from mass exploitation and poverty.

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Uncovering hidden history

A guest reviewer looks at a new book on class conflict and unrest in the 18th century

This survey of class conflict and unrest in the 18th century has received plaudits from critics of the right and left. "The Guardian" went so far as to dub its author the "Tory with the Marxist touch".

But Sir Ian Gilmour, a Tory from the patrician and paternalist camp who was driven to the backbenches by Margaret Thatcher, has not been turned into a secret Marxist by his years of "exile".

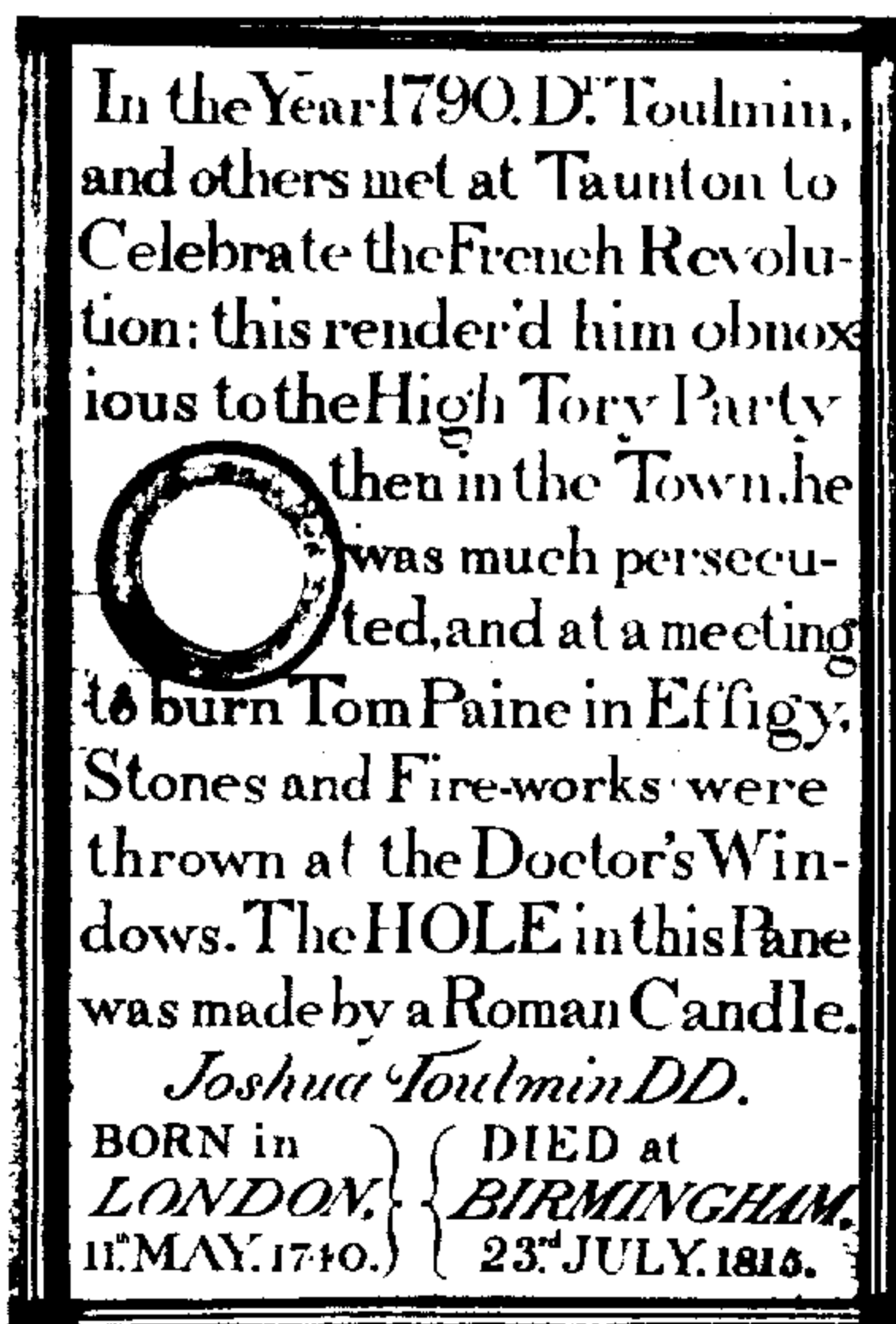
At first sight the book appears polemical and even radical because of the territory, usually hidden, that it uncovers. The grievances of the working class and the real impact that their uprisings had on political developments are for once given equal space with the "official version" of history.

And from the outset, Gilmour shows that he recognises the way that events are routinely distorted by the historians, with terms like "mob" or "crowd" used according to the political motives of the group described.

Double standards have prevailed in judging violence used by the state or by the people - "Violent repression and official terrorism can thus be justified by their apparent success, and abuses of power excused by reasons of state.

Popular violence is given no such latitude." Gilmour concludes that in the period covered by the book, "violence came much more from the rulers than the ruled".

It is precisely because of Ian Gilmour's privileged establishment position that he can afford to be so even-handed. He has produced a scholarly and erudite book, a real tome in fact, that wears its



A memorial window to a supporter of the French Revolution

meticulous research on its sleeve.

If anything the book is over-researched with the effect that the narrative thrust is overpowered by a tidal wave of information. But this is also due to the lack of a real thesis - Gilmour neutrally reports events that cry out for a political interpretation.

Thus "The militia was thought to be an upperclass plot. Gentlemen, it was said, kept poor people alive only so that they could fight for them."

DIFFICULT

This is a shame, because it makes the book as a whole quite difficult to read despite Ian Gilmour's efforts to write in a "readable" style. Because of this it's not best suited to readers new to this period of history though

paradoxically they will probably be drawn by its dynamic title and the range of events covered.

The book deals comprehensively with patterns of unrest in England, moving through the Sachaverell riots, press gangs, bribing and violence to rig elections, food riots, industrial disputes and the Gordon riots. Lord George Gordon, a Member of Parliament, declared that he belonged to the "party of the people" and incited a large crowd to besiege Parliament. Justice Hyde read the Riot Act and ordered the Horse Guards to disperse the "mob", only for it to move on to St Martin's Street "where they attacked Hyde's house and destroyed it".

The book closes after the "revolutionary decade" which followed the French Revolution of 1789. The impetus of the events chronicled here leads to the question of why a full-scale revolution did not take place in this country.

Gilmour gives no answer of his own, but allows Bishop Bousset the last word in saying that it was due "as much to the competence and moderation of the Government as to the traditional patience of the English people".

This is an unsatisfactory ending, but nonetheless the book is a valuable contribution to the uncovering of our own "hidden history" much of which is not a million miles away from our own experience today.

Riots, Risings and Revolutions: governance and violence in 18th Century England. Ian Gilmour (Hutchinson, £25.00)

ART GOES PUBLIC *by Corinna Lotz*

London's East End is home to thousands of artists, perhaps the highest concentration of painters and sculptors in Europe.

And from mid-June to the end of August, they are throwing the doors of their studios open to the public.

This year's season of "open studios" is co-ordinated by the Whitechapel Art Gallery which is organising a series of coach tours around all the 64 participating studios between June 20 and July 12.

As the gallery's press officer, Isabelle King, says, the "Open Studios" give many thousands of people an opportunity to see art in the making and in doing so "demystify" the personality of the artist and the whole process of creating art.

COMMUNITY

"Anyone can visit the studios and can meet the people who make paintings, sculpture, installations and videos," she explains. "Artists are no longer seen as strange creatures but ordinary people who live in the community."

Felicity Lunn, along with three other Whitechapel staff and two artists, was on the selection committee for the works which will be on display at the gallery and other venues.

She explained to *Socialist Future* how artists have been settling down in London's East End since the late 1960s because property was cheapest there.

Those first "pioneers" then attracted many other artists during the 1970s and 1980s. Now most of Britain's best known artists live or have studios in east or south-east London.

SPACE Studios (short for "Space Provision Artistic, Cultural and Educational Ltd") and ACME Studios began to acquire disused warehouses, factories and other properties in London's East End



Uganda 1991 by Jenny Matthews

during the early 1970s. SPACE now has around 250 artists in its studios.

Former Whitechapel director, Nicolas Serota initiated the "Open Studios" collaboration in 1988. Then 20-30 studios participated. His successor, Katherine Lampert has broadened the "Open", to include many different sites and special events.

MUSHROOMED

This has mushroomed to this year's 53 studio sites, located in Limehouse, Stepney, Bethnal Green, Poplar, Bow, Clapton, Leyton, Hackney, Hoxton, Shoreditch, Stratford, Wapping, Spitalfields, Bermondsey, Brockley, Lewisham, Deptford, Peckham, Camberwell, Greenwich, Southwark, Islington. A total of 900 artists will be opening their studios.

Having seen the work submitted for the "Open" exhibition itself, Felicity Lunn feels there is a complete mix of work and styles - abstract, figurative, sculpture and painting, photographs and video.

Both little-known and famous artists will be shown in two consecutive exhibitions in the gallery. Names such as Anish Kapoor and Sean Scully will be familiar to many.

SELECTED

The list of 161 names selected for the gallery show includes many women artists as well as a strong mix of cosmopolitan names.

Artists such as Zarina Bhimji reflect a special identity. Yvonne Kyriakides' work focuses on the situation facing refugees, while Jenny Matthews' photographs presents a series called "Rights of Children". (see photo)

"Visitors will be able to see the full range of what is going on. The main change this year will be the inclusion of large sculptures," she explained.

This is because a large amount of

1992 WHITECHAPEL OPEN

19 JUNE-30 AUGUST ADMISSION FREE

WHITECHAPEL ART GALLERY.

Part 1: 19 June-19 July
Part 2: 31 July-30 August.
Tues-Sun 11-5, Wed 11-8.
Closed Mon.

SPITALFIELDS MARKET BRUSHFIELD ST E1.

19 June-5 August.
Sun 12-3,
Mon-Fri 12-6 Closed Sat.

CANARY WHARF ROTUNDA GALLERY

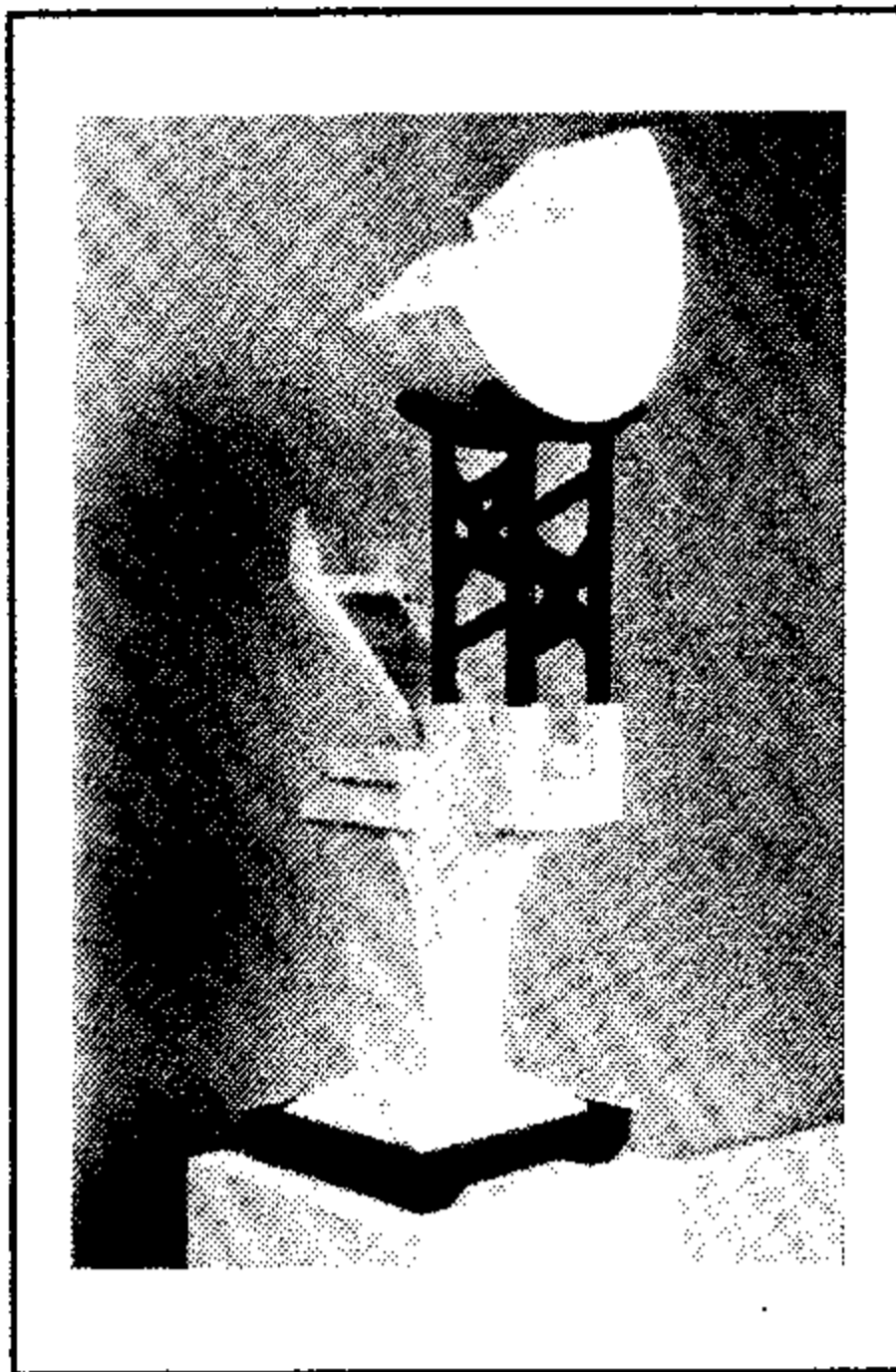
Cabot Place, East Canary Wharf E14
19 June-30 August.
Tue-Sun 11-7 Closed Mon.

BUTLERS WHARF CLOVE BUILDING

(next to Design Museum)
Clove One, 4 Maguire St SE1
Clove Two 15 Shad Thames SE1
6-26 August Tue-Sun 12-6
Closed Mon.

1992 EAST LONDON OPEN STUDIOS

19 June-13 July



A model by Martin Rodda

This is because a large amount of space has been made available at places such as the old Spitalfields Market, Butler's Wharf, Canary Wharf, and Tesco Stores in Bromley by Bow.

"INSTALLATIONS"

A number of artists are showing "installations" where an entire three-dimensional space is transformed into a unique, one-off environment.

Last year the bus tours, which the gallery provided free of charge, were oversubscribed by families both local and from outside London, and thousands of others, including many artists, critics, and dealers.

This year it will cost £2.50 or £1 unwaged. Booking forms are available from the Gallery Information Desk

Some other public galleries in London are becoming commercial enterprises, places where stockbrokers can meet their business associates or rich people can book their wedding receptions. American Express gold card offers special access to some exhibitions in what are called "public" galleries.

Under these conditions, it is pleasing to see the Whitechapel continue its 91-year-old tradition of making art freely accessible to people.

The "Open" was still looking for a main sponsor at time of writing.

Full details of studio openings, addresses, maps and index of participating artists are contained in the Exhibition Guide, available at the

Whitechapel Art Gallery for £1.

The Whitechapel Art Gallery is in Whitechapel High Street, E1 7QX. Information 071 377 0107. Aldgate East Underground.

What we stand for

Grave dangers now confront millions of workers and young people as the world economic crisis of capitalism drives the Tories to destroy living standards.

The vital question is how to defeat the Tory plans to create a violent police - military dictatorship.

It is clearly not possible to vote out the Tories and elect a Labour government again. The Tories have fixed the election system to ensure they stay in office.

The Tories could not have succeeded in their plans without the assistance of the right-wing Labour Party and trade union leaderships.

The election of the right-winger John Smith as the new leader will propel Labour even further to the right, towards a merger with the reactionary Liberal Democrats and a complete break from the trade unions.

The end of parliamentary politics means alternative forms of struggle must develop.

Real power has, in any case, always been exercised behind the scenes in the boardrooms and banks, in the higher reaches of the civil service, by property companies and landowners.

To challenge the Tory dictatorship it is necessary to engage in a struggle for power itself.

Denied the right to political expression by a Tory dictatorship, workers have every right to organise independently of the state.

There is now a vital need to build Councils of Action throughout Britain, in every locality, to bring together all those in the Tory firing line.

Every organisation opposed to the Tories, representing trade unionists, the unemployed, young people, ethnic groups, students and small businesses should be represented in Councils of Action.

They would defend and organise health, education, housing and other services and jobs, and protect communities from racist attacks.

Workers organisations would struggle for their policies in Councils of Action.

The Communist League's view is that such Councils should be ready to assume power itself, to destroy the Tories' dictatorship throughout Britain.

It is the only way forward for workers in England, Scotland and Wales. Reject the nationalists who want to divide and rule and leave the Tory enemy intact.

Class, not religion, race, nationality or gender, is the fundamental basis for the struggle for power.

It should be the perspective of Councils of Action to transfer power from the ruling class, to break up and overthrow the capitalist state and its institutions.

Power must pass to the working class, out of the hands of the employers who sack thousands, building societies who make people homeless, and banks that wreck small businesses.

Debt melt-down claims jobs

Olympia and York, the collapsed property developers responsible for Canary Wharf in London's Dockland, is the world biggest ever corporate bankruptcy.

O&Y was not the first casualty of the deepest slump since the 1930s, and it will certainly not be the last.

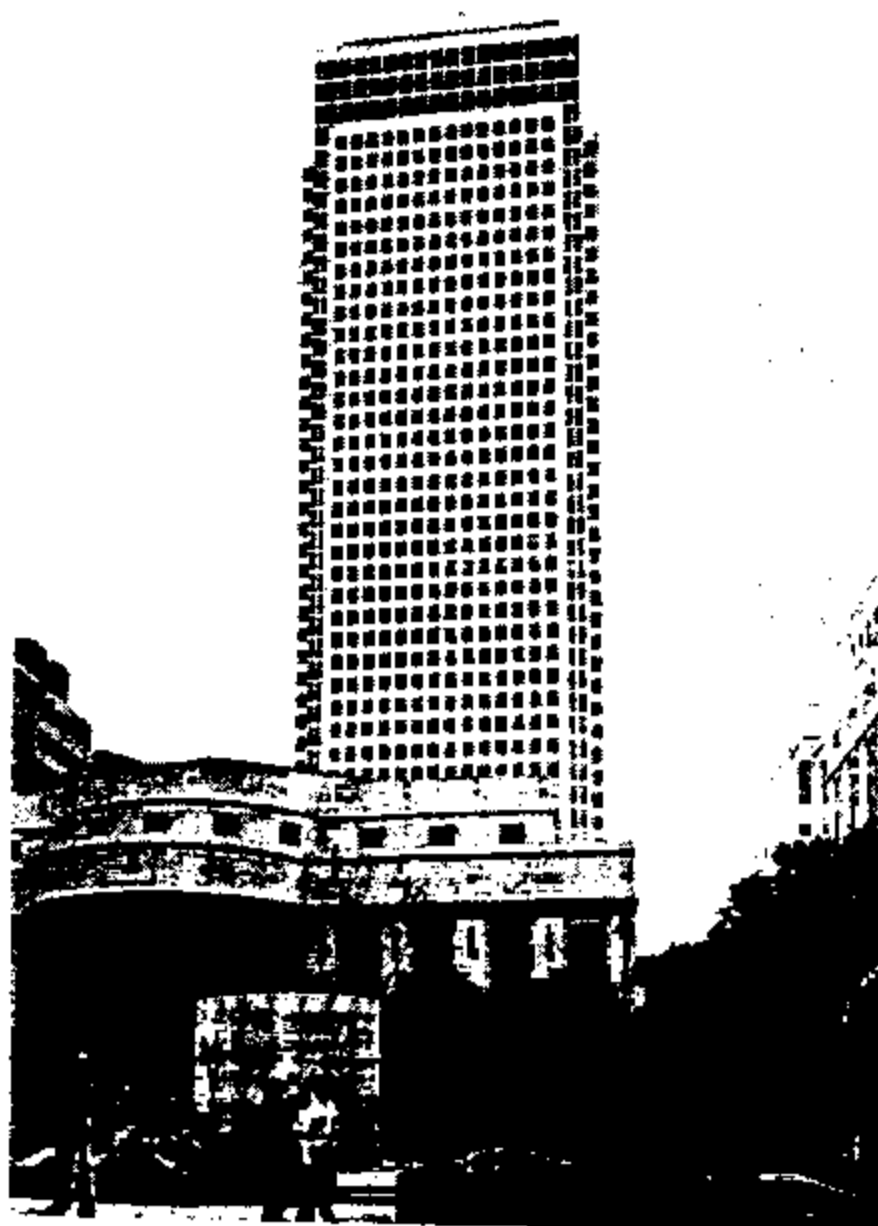
As international business empires built during the 1980s collapse like so many houses of cards, value measured in tens and hundreds of billions of dollars, pounds and every other currency disappear into the sewer of debt along with the livelihoods and lives of millions.

In desperate attempts to hold on to their wealth, the capitalist world's greatest successes resort to increasingly desperate measures, including fraud on a massive scale.

In Britain, the Serious Fraud Office is inundated with cases and has had to alter the measure of "serious". No case involving less than £5 million will be investigated in future.

Maxwell's infamous theft from his employees' pension funds is but one example. In May, India's worst-ever financial scandal broke, cutting share values by one third and revealing bank losses approaching 25 billion rupees. (£500 million)

At the centre of the scandal is Harshad Mehta, described as a genius by the "Financial Times". Having already once gone bust in



The ill-fated Canary Wharf

1987, Mehta, and it is believed several other entrepreneurs, spotted an opportunity for a quick and easy profit in the trade in government securities between banks and took advantage of weak controls.

According to the FT, the real lesson of India's crisis "is that financial markets need far more radical changes than the government is contemplating."

As with each one of these chapters in the break-up of national and international economic relations, the immediate collapse is but one effect in a world-wide chain of cause and effect.

Last year the Indian government refused to privatise state-owned banks. It is now in a dispute with the World Bank which has frozen a \$500 million loan in an attempt to force big cuts in state-directed lending through the banking system.

The World Bank is however conscious of the revolutionary implications of its interventions. According to the FT, it is "nervous of pressing banks to cut their surplus labour because of union opposition".

As the slump deepens, pressure on financial markets increases and competition between banks intensifies. The two bids for the Midland reflect the crisis.

If the Lloyd's bid succeeds, 20,000 of Midland's staff will lose their jobs. If the Hong Kong and Shanghai bid succeeds, jobs in all British banks will be threatened as over-capacity brought on by record business bankruptcies forces rationalisation and increased productivity.

Midland's own plans for rationalisation were revealed by chief executive Brian Pearse in the third week of May: "There are far too many branches in this country. We closed 158 branches last year and around 100 will go this year. This rationalisation will go on."

Workers in this and every other industry face unprecedented threats.

Join the **Communist** **League Today!**

I am interested in joining the Communist League

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Address _____

Age _____ Trade Union _____

Send to: Communist League, Box 942, London SW1V 2AR

FIGHTING FUND

There has been a warm welcome to *Socialist Future* but we need funds to sustain and develop the paper. We want to make its appeal as broad as possible and develop the discussion about the problems of leadership facing the workers' movement. So send what you can to:

The Communist League,
PO Box 942, London SW1 2AR