WEEKLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

SATURDAY 5 NOVEMBER 1994

NO. 430

PRICE 30p

Workers International and the 'Socialist' conference — p.4&5.

Our comrades in South Africa, members of the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International (South Africa), are on the political offensive (see pages 4 and 5). But to continue their work of building a revolutionary workers' party needs money. Please give generously cheques made payable to our 'South African Appeal'. Send to South African Appeal, PO Box 735, London SW8 1YB.

On other pages:

Student strike against racism, p.3; Bosnia, p.6;

Haiti: cheers fade for US occupation,

Build mass movement against state harassment

DEMANDAMNESTY EORAL REFUGES

A CLEAR pattern of deaths of black refugees at the hands of the state is emerging in Britain.

Black community groups are calling for a mass movement against this systematic harassment and for an amnesty for all refugees.

A meeting in London mainly compromised of representatives of these groups discussed many of the cases and the need to build such a campaign.

The latest victim of the state violence was Joseph Nnalue, a Nigerian, who two weeks ago fell to his death from a back-room window of a second-floor flat in Clapham, south-west London, when police and immigration officers raided his home.

The press had tried to portray this as a case of suicide but Joseph Nnalue had been forced to hide when police and immigration officers raided his home at 8am. He panicked and fell after he heard the police interrogating his two children aged four and three.

He stood up after falling but the police held him down and did not call immediately for an ambulance which arrived 25 minutes after the

Julie Southey of the African Refugees and Migrants Monitoring Project, which convened the meeting, said that a pattern of deaths was forming as 'Fortress Europe' — a racist European Union policy supposedly designed to keep out 'economic migrants' from eastern Europe and the so-called 'Third World' - tightens against refugees.

Poverty

But these 'economic migrants' are fleeing the grinding poverty caused by the rapacious imperialist policies of a Western capitalism that bleeds dry their home countries with interest repayments on loans and other forms of exploitation.

The Joseph Nnalue killing had many similarities with the case of Kwanele Siziba, a 27-year-old Zimbabwean woman who fell to her death

Her sister, Theodora, told the meeting that the police had harassed and intimiBY JACKIE VANCE

dated Kwanele even though her delay in returning to Zimbabwe was due entirely to her waiting for medical treatment for a broken arm.

Other cases cited included that of a refugee who died in Pentonville prison, and Joy Gardner who suffocated to death in front of her five-year-old son after being gagged and bound in preparation for deportation to Nigeria.

Mobilised

Kofi Klu of the African Liberation Support Committee which has set up a Re-fugee Help Link, said that a force must be mobilised which will challenge the legitimacy of the state's actions. This meant a campaign against both the Ayslum and the Criminal Justice Acts.

This meeting of black activists was an important step forward. It was correct to emphasise that the campign must go beyond the immediate grief of the relatives and have political

Britain plundered and murderously exploited the resources of its colonies and now the international banks and monopolies retard any development of their econo-

The peoples of these countries have a right to travel and work anywhere in the world. It is the duty of the workers' movement in Britain to support this right and to join the campaign for an amnesty for all refugees.

A public meeting is planned to launch the campaign in Brixton on 17 November. For further details contact 071-924 9033.



Health workers on the march against hospital cuts in Melbourne, Australia, on Tuesday 25 October

Photo: Nick Bailey

THE 'welfare state' was heralded, in 1942, when Sir William Beveridge, at the time master of University College, Oxford, published his famous report on the future of public services. It was one of the most popular publications of the war

The 'Sunday People' hailed it as a 'Magna Carta for the toiling masses', and tens of thousands queued to buy their copies. A special paperback edition was produced for the armed forces.

The reasons for its popularity are not hard to seek. Beveridge, a shrewd representative of the ruling class, knew that concessions would have to be granted to the working class after the war. His report promised to get rid of the 'five giant evils': want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness.

It seemed to promise that there would be no return to the Hungry Thirties, when millions had been without work and thousands were forced to survive in poverty and squalor.

The Beveridge report, although modified severely, was partly enacted by the post-war Labour government led by Clement Attlee. A scheme for insurance against unemployment and sickness was established and provision was made to provide retirement pensions for all as of right. The National Health Service, which promised free health care for everyone, was introduced in 1948.

The late John Smith, as leader of the Labour Party, in December 1992 set up the party's 'commission on social justice', chaired by Sir Gordon Borrie and consisting of so-called 'progressive' intellectuals. Its task was supposedly to examine the Beveridge report on the 50th anniversary of

In fact its real job was to propose the scrapping of the Beveridge proposals. For all its inadequacies, the Beveridge report had instituted a system of universal benefits, that is ones which were available to all. It is this principle that Borrie now proposes Labour

Workers Press

From Beveridge to Borrie

should scrap. In this they would of course only be following the lead of the Tory government, which is already well down this path.

THE REASONS for the abandonment of Beveridge are not hard to discover.

■ Lying in the background to the Borrie report are the great changes that have taken place in capitalism since Beveridge first drew up his report.

British capital is now even weaker than it was in 1945. It struggles to operate in a world where capitalism, dominated by the speculators, has become ever-more globalised and where the British ruling class has virtually no room for manoeuvre. Even the Borrie report

'The changing economic power of nation states starts from the massive increase in the last two decades in the volume of international financial flows. The daily turnover on foreign-exchange markets if \$1 trillion.

Twenty years ago, 90 per cent of currency flows were based on trade and only 10 per cent on speculation; today the proportions have been reversed. Deregulation of financial markets, the growth of international telecommunications and the creation of highly sophisticated computer software have not only encouraged highly aggressive speculation in new financial instruments but have effectively created a market in government

In other words the speculators, when they do not like its policies, will simply bring a government down.

■ During the inflationary boom — which

lasted from the end of World War II in 1945 to the early 1970s — unemployment was low and, in general, of short duration. Since the 1970s unemployment has grown steadily. More than this, it has become long-term unemployment.

Taking the European Union as a whole, we find that whereas in 1979 around 30 per cent were classified as long-term unemployed - that is out of work for a year or more - by 1988 the figure had shot up to almost 55 per cent. It is now even higher.

At the same time the numbers out of work have risen sharply. It is one thing to run an unemployment scheme when the numbers out of work are relatively small and they are without work for short periods. It is another matter when the unemployment rate rises and people are unemployed not for a few weeks or months but for years, in many cases permanently.

■ The population is ageing. As the Borrie report notes: 'In the UK, which had one million people aged over 80 in 1961, there are already more than two million, including 250,000 over the age of ninety.' We need, says Sir Gordon, to study the 'financial and social arithmetic of care'.

WELCOMING the report, Malcolm Wicks in the 'New Statesman and Society' magazine (29 October) echoes the same sentiments: 'There can be no return to 1979 and nor should the left wish for one. By the late 1970s, Labour's version of welfare statism was a faded, jaded project, devoid of vision and new ideas.

'There was no new strategy to cope with ever-growing demand, much of it the result of demographic change,' he added.

Translated into less mealy-mouthed language, Wicks and Borrie are telling us that capitalism cannot provide for the needs of a population that is living longer. They are right. Indeed, capitalism can no longer provide even the already inadequate benefits payable to the unemployed, the sick and the mentally and physically handicapped.

Naturally, it never crosses the minds of such people, completely tied as they are to the existing order, that here is the strongest case for getting rid of capitalism. They take a diametrically opposite position: how are the old, the sick and the unemployed to be made to pay for this crisis?

These reactionary notions are not confined to the right-wing Labourites and liberals who packed the Borrie committee. Transport and General Workers' Union general secretary Bill Morris, said to be on the left of the trade union bureaucracy, almost anticipated the Borrie report's conclusions when he said some two years ago:

'We need some fresh thinking about welfare benefits. I favour an examination of the ineffective system of universal entitlements, perhaps . . . a more flexible and dynamic programme that offers individual pathways out of poverty . . .

If there is a continuing need to satisfy the principle of universality we could have a universal minimum floor set at a much lower level than at present . . . with additional payments to those who actually need it' ('New Statesman and Society', 17 July

In future issues of Workers Press, we shall examine in more detail the proposals of the servants of capitalism who gathered together to write the Borrie report. But one thing is already clear. A future Labour administration intends to destroy what is left of the system of welfare benefits that were introduced by the post-war Labour government.

Letters

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WE WELCOME LETTERS

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Final nail in Labour's coffin Acknowledging a very worthy return

AFTER a lengthy discussion in Workers Press on the direction of the Labour Party and our attitude to it, the general opinion seemed to be that the nature of the Labour Party has changed; it no longer represents the interests of workers, and has ceased to be even a reformist party.

It was therefore with some despair that I read in Workers Press that we should support those mem-bers of the Labour Party fighting to retain Clause Four of their constitu-

One of the revolutionary party's tasks is to break the working class from the Labour Party and social democracy and bring them towards revolutionary politics. We have never been able to do this, but now it may be unnecessary as the Labour Party itself is breaking from the working class and trying to distance itself from the trades unions.

Our task now should be to hasten that process. Far from supporting the retention of Clause Four we should call on the Labour Party to remove it, so ending their last pretence at any connection with socialism.

We should also call on Labour to change its name. I was going to suggest the New Liberal Party, but this would be a gross insult to the old Liberal Party, which in many respects was far more radical than the present Labour Party.

Finally, we should call for the trades unions to withdraw their financial support and use their political funds to defend their members against any government that attacks

If the Labour Party no longer represents workers' interests, we should look upon it as we do the Tory and Liberal Democratic parties and fight it accordingly.

We should see Tony Blair and his shadow cabinet for the cowardly hypocrites they are, and as the final nail in the Labour Party coffin. We should be grateful to them.

Nick Brown

IT WAS great to see Norman Harding's article, 'A giant among workers' leaders (29 October), inspired by reading Bill Hunter's recent book on the post-war dockers struggle, 'They Knew Why They Fought'.

I hope this brief acknowledgement will encourage Norman to put pen to paper a lot more often. He has a wealth of experience in the Trotskyist movement which should be better known, and what better place for it than the pages of Workers Press (unless you are thinking of writing your memoirs, comrade!)?

Likewise, the contribution by Wendy

from Australia ('Londoners give off a hope less feeling') in the same issue. I'm sure I'm not alone in thinking that articles like Wendy's speak more powerfully than those streams of indigestible statistics which some Workers Press correspondents feel it necessary to bombard us with!

On the same subject (of satiety), may I say I endorse the editor's suggestions apropos of the Scottish national question being debated in the Letters column. Let's take a break from it — and call a meeting.

Jeff Jackson London SW16

Squeeze the truth out of them!

tem', described some of the corruption that the British government is embroiled in, but it devoted only one sentence to our response — a call for a 'full and public inquiry now'.

For years we have heard of corruption scandals deep in the heart of the government. The Westland helicopter deal cost Leon Brittan his job as a cabinet minister, though he was probably acting for Maggie - PM at the time. Mrs Thatcher was also made aware of her son's commission

CHARLIE Pottins advises me to wise up' about the role of the police

around the Criminal Justice Bill ('In-

side Left', 22 October). Of course,

like Charlie, I realise that the police

are an arm of the capitalist state

dedicated to defending the interests

of the ruling class. But if that was all

there was to it British capitalism

Some words

LAST WEEK's Workers Press edito- on the Al Yamamah deal as long ago for them to cover up the crimes. dering, the Pergau dam, the list goes on and still the government remains.

It is clear that only a movement of the working class demanding the truth will prevent another white-wash. Only such a movement could force a public inquiry, and such an inquiry would only be as open as the movement demanding it is strong the truth must be squeezed out of

Leaving the inquiry in the hands of the bourgeoisie will make it easier we must propose to it that only an inquiry led and organised by the working class will honestly expose the truth. If no movement exists, however, then we cannot expect

more than a private, parliamentary inquiry. A 'public' bourgeois inquiry will only be an escape in the face of a movement capable of producing a

working-class inquiry. **Ed Barbor** International Socialist League

the wise

COMING SOON

SUNDAY 20 NOVEMBER: Benefit for Mordechai Vanunu, Israeli nuclear prisoner of conscience. 7.30pm, Jackson's Lane Community Centre Theatre, 269a Archway Road, Highgate, London N6 (opposite Highgate tube). Vanunu is an Israeli kidnapped by Israel's security services after revealing details of that country's secret nuclear weapons programme. He was sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment and has now served eight years in solitary confinement. Proceeds from benefit to go to the Campaign to Free Vanunu. Prices: £7 (£5 Now!

unwaged). Tickets in advance £6 (£4 unwaged) from box office.

SATURDAY 26 NOVEMBER: Manchester Martyrs commemorative rally 1994, at Longsight Library, Manchester, at 2pm. Sinn Fein and other speakers from Ireland invited. The Manchester Martyrs were three Irishmen held responsible for the death of a policeman in the city in 1867, during a successful attempt to rescue two Fenian leaders. Organising group calls for Troops Out Now! and United Ireland

REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY AGM Saturday 12 November

Calthorpe Arms,

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Ratner talking about his autobiography 'Reluctant Revolutionary'

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would long since have been over-I have no doubt that one or other agency of the state, possibly includ-

ing the police, wanted the 9 October protest against the CJB to end in a riot. It would be surprising indeed if agents provocateurs were not employed. After all the British state has used such people since its inception.

offered to

But I would not want to go too far along the state-conspiracy road. My point was that the police are not necessarily the well-disciplined and fearsome force they would like us to believe they are.

They are more frequently an ill-

disciplined rabble working on their strategies quite independently of senior officers. How else do we explain, tactically, the police charge into Hyde Park that day? That charge left the police isolated and eventually defeated and forced out of the park.

The police are not on our side, they are up to no good, but they are not by any means invincible. Keith Flett

Tottenham

Students strike against racism

BY PAUL DAY

OVER 50 students from two east London boroughs went on strike on Wednesday 12 October to protest at racism within their schools.

Some 25 female students at Skinners Company School in Hackney were joined on strike by a similar number of students from Gladesmore School in Haringey and individuals at other schools in the boroughs.

The strikers produced a leaflet, announcing that 'we want teachers not to divide us but to give better education'. The leaflet detailed incidents of racist abuse after complaints were made about the quality of the food in the school, and reported racist remarks made by teachers and other staff.

Grievances

The leaflet called for students to unite against 'all the problems we are facing in our schools'. It demanded the removal of racist teachers and the use of school halls for mass meetings to discuss grievances.

The struggle was led by Turkish and Kurdish women, who were sick of being treated differently from students of other nationalities. They were joined by students from other backgrounds who believe that teachers were not forceful enough in trying to break down barriers between students.

Anger had flared when some Turkish and Kurdish students were attacked by Afro-Caribbean members of the school. The headmistress had refused to meet the students to discuss the situation.

At a picket the following morning, the headmistress found time to speak to the students, but only to encourage them to return to school or risk expulsion if they did not.

During the morning break the school locked other students in the building — in a clear breach of health and safety regulations — to prevent them joining the protest. The school also called in the police against the strikers. They left after finding the students well-organised and disciplined.

In the afternoon the students were offered talks with the headmistress, but it was made clear that those who did not do so would face disciplinary action. On returning to school they found teachers handing out leaflets, purporting to come from 'students that care', calling on them to 'stop fooling around'.

The students are now trying to organise a public meeting on the question of racism in schools, and wish to have discussions with teachers' unions.

Review finally set on Kashmiris' jailing

BY MIKE COOKE

A JUDICIAL review of the imprisonment of two Kashmiri students, held at the discretion of the home secretary, has finally been set for 8 December.

For many years the two — Abdul Qayyum Raja and Mohammed Riaz — did not know the judge's recommendation on the length of their imprisonment. In fact, Riaz has now served longer than the ten years Justice Bristowe suggested to the home secretary.

The two were convicted of the murder of an Indian diplomat in Birmingham in February 1985 and have been in prison since February 1984.

They were convicted on the basis of circumstantial evidence. Qayyum and Riaz have both denied any part in the actual killing but admitted to the charge of false imprisonment. The trial judge, noting that Riaz had unwittingly be-

come involved, had said that he was 'unlucky to have been involved at all'.

ved at all'.

Qayyum says that he did not know that the man was going to be killed. Those accused of carrying out the killing were alleged to have fled the country.

Police are still looking for the

murder weapon.

When Douglas Hurd, the home secretary in 1985, received the judge's recommendation, he added ten years to the sentences. That political decision was kept secret for many years, denying Riaz and Qayyum their right to know and the right to appeal. Home Secretary Michael Howard in 1983 upheld the original decision.

Leaders of the Free Riaz and Qayyum Campaign claim Howard did not give serious consideration to mitigating circumstances, or take account of the original decision being incorrectly based upon the pretrial report from West Midlands police, which was inconsistent and full of assumptions.

Home Office grabs Kurdish leader

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

KURDISH leader Kani Yilmar was walking along the street when eight or ten police officers bundled him into a car and drove him away.

It's an everyday occurrence in Turkey. But it happened in London, where Kani Yilmar, a representative in Europe of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), had been invited to meet MPs on 27 October.

Kani Yilmar is on the Turkish regime's wanted list as a fighter for Kurdish freedom. He lives in political exile in Germany, and he entered Britain legally.

The Home Office said Yilmar had been served with a deportation notice and arrangements were being made for his removal as soon as possible. It would not say where he was being deported to.

In parliament, Labour MP John Austin-Walker condemned the British government's hypocrisy, in pretending to defend the Kurds against Saddam Hussein's regime but backing repressive Turkish rule against them.

Strike

Outside the Home Office, Kurdish refugees and supporters began a hunger strike to protest against the deportation. The Kurdistan Information Centre said the government was responding to pressure from the Turkish embassy.

The Home Office claimed Yilmar was stopped for 'nation-

al security considerations', and because his presence 'was not conducive to the public good'.

What a load of rubbish! Whose 'national security'? What 'public good'? The British government welcomes all sorts of brutal reactionaries, war criminals and international arms dealers with their dirty money, because it can do business with them.

Whatever our views on the PKK, it represents no threat whatsoever to working people in Britain; which is more than can be said for the Tory government and its laws, and the way it uses the police force.

Turkey, with its troops razing Kurdish villages and police torturing prisoners, is a member of NATO. The British and other European Union governments are doing the Turkish

government's bidding, backing repression against the Kurds, because they look to the Turkish regime, and particularly its military, to do their dirty work in the Balkans, the Middle East and central Asia.

Aggressive

But more than that, the direction the British state is taking, with the anti-union laws, the Criminal Justice Bill, and aggressive police actions would take us down the same road as Turkey, and further. Seizing a political leader off the street on his way to address a meeting is a warning we should heed.

The labour movement must strongly oppose the deportation of Kani Yilmaz. Defend his right to speak here, and that of all refugees from tyranny!

OBITUARY

Sylvia Bolgar: a fighter remembered

TRADE union activist and campaigner Sylvia Bolgar has died from cancer, aged 70.

For many years secretary of Camden Trades Union Council in London, Sylvia will be remembered for her energy and determination in support of working-class struggles.

Sylvia joined the Royal Canadian Air Force during World War II, and then returned to England where she studied at the London School of Economics. During this period she became disillusioned with the Labour Party and joined the Communist Party.

In 1947 she went as a Student Work Brigade volunteer to the new Stalinist countries of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Rumania, where she helped construct railway tunnels.

Unable to pursue a career in journalism because she was blacklisted, she became a teacher at Hampstead School, where she became active in the National Union of Teachers.

She was very active during the 1984-85 miners' strike, and joined the picket lines night after night during the News International dispute at Wapping in 1986. Kevin Courtney, branch chair of the Camden NUT, remembers her when the police charged. 'Police were charging

at the crowd and many protesters ran away, but Sylvia stood her ground,' he says. She was also very active in

raising the issue of self-determi-

nation for the Irish people throughout the trade union movement in Britain. In recent years she was committed to unity, and tried to work for it wherever she could.

She supported the Crisis in London Campaign and participated in its conferences.

A memorial held in the Camden Workers Club after her funeral honoured her commitment to the anti-poll-tax movement. Speakers included Norman

Laws, himself imprisoned several times for non-payment in spite of his 74 years.

In a message read out at the memorial meeting, the secretary of Tower Hamlets trades council, Phil Edwards, hon oured Sylvia's courage and con-

tribution to the workers

movement.

'Sylvia and I came from different traditions in the workers movement, but like many others around her I was always impressed by her sheer determination and energy to fight or every issue. . . We will missylvia but never forget her. She was a fighter for the working

TV rip-off for health service patients

BY MIKE COOKE

MAKE the sick pay — to watch TV. That's the message from the new privatising NHS.

Patients not uncommonly feel a bit grotty and bored when they're restricted to being in bed, and not surprisingly a bit of telly is just 'what the doctor ordered'.

But it ain't what the hospital managers order when there's a profit to be made!

At Northwich Park hospital in Harrow, north-west London, they're installing 'a new bedside system for patients that will provide a sophisticated range of services, including a telephone and answering service, television, video and radio for each patient.'

Sounds wonderful! But the catch is that patients will have to pay 'a modest charge' for some of these 'services'. 'The cost of watching television programmes is still being finalised with Patientline [the installer of the system] and the cost of each service will be available in a bedside booklet,' says a Northwich Park hospital pres release

What's not mentioned in the press release is that hospital managers are banning portable TVs from bedsides ('Evening Standard', 1 November). But director of operations Martin

ambeth town hall, London SW2

Tickets £4 (£2 concessions) oceeds to South Africa Solidarity Fund Lerner is forced to explain in the press release: 'We know that many patients are disturbed by the noise from televisions which other patients have brought into the hospital.'

And 'our electricians will no longer need to check the safety of televisions which have been brought into the hospital,' says Lerner.

The system uses a 'smart card' rather similar to a phone card. Patientline chief executive Colin Alton helpfully suggests: 'These smart cards would make a super present for someone who is ill in hospital, instead of bringing the usual bunch of flowers.'

A nice little earner for Alton

and all very well if you have visitors, but those without visitors are left in the lurch.

The TV price question has obviously caused a bit of embarrassment to the Northwick Park managers. Alton said in the 'Evening Standard': 'We are looking at charges starting from £1.50 a day, which is very reasonable for a whole day's TV with 20 different satellite and broadcasting channels.'

But does your £1.50 get you the 20 channels? And are the channels any good anyway?

'This is a disgusting move,' said a spokeswoman for the public service union, UNISON. 'It illustrates commercialism at its worst in today's NHS.'

Bazaar
Saturday 10 December
2pm, Bryant Street
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Items required are:

cakes or other items for the homemade stall, toys, books and records, prizes for the tombola, bric-à-brac, plants, good jumble, small toys for the lucky dip.

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Inside left

Our time must come!

NTIL last week I'd never heard of Our Time'. But in its heyday, this nagazine published work by Dylan homas, J.B. Priestley, Julian hymons, V.S. Pritchett, Edith Sittell and Arthur Calder-Marshall, s well as Communist Party wriers such as Jack Lindsay, Alexanler Baron, and Sylvia Townsend Jarner.

And artists whose work appeared on its pages included Paul Hogarth, Ronald Searle and Topolski. But from its peak circulation of 18,000, in 1945, 'Our Time' lid not last beyond 1949.

I've just been reading Andy Proft's article, 'Writers, the Communist Party and the Battle of deas', in issue five of 'Socialist History'. This explains that 'Our time' emerged from the shortived 'People's Convention' called by the Communist Party in 1941 when the party was still opposing World War II).

Published by Fore Publications, t was to all intents and purposes a party journal, even though, according to Croft, 'Rumpole of the Bailey' reator John Mortimer, who contrituted film reviews, says:

'Naive as ever, I didn't realise hat it was a Communist magazine and when I got letters saying that The Party in Wimbledon' didn't ike the tone of what I wrote I hought that some people in the suburbs had met for a few Saturday hight drinks and taken the opportunity of discussing my notices.'

what finished 'Our Time' was not cold war anti-communism, but the CP's Stalinist leadership, which sought to impose the aggressive, sectarian (and chauvinist) line of societ ideologue Y. Zhdanov.

Editor Edgell Rickword resgned after a meeting at the CP's headquarters in King Street, London. Issues of the magazine were often delayed because King Street disapproved of editorial reluctance to endorse Zhdanov's campaign against "decadent bourgeois literature", explains Croft.

After Lawrence and Wishart published Zhdanov's speeches, Maurice Cornforth penned a fierce attack on the party's erstwhile literary authority, Christopher Caudwell, denouncing his 'Freudian idealist' psychology and bourgeois ideology'. (Caudwell could not reply, having been killed in Spain.)

Andy Croft's article affords a fascinating glimpse of British Stalinism's period of strength, and its relation to cultural and intellectual developments. (Whether we can be satisfied with Croft's understanding of the political issues is another

IN THE same issue of 'Socialist History' Stepen Woodhams looks at some ideas on class and culture in the 1950s (mainly those of 'Universities and Left Review' and Raymond Williams), and John Lucas criticises Croft's book 'Red Letter Days: British Fiction in the 1930s'. On a sour note, I notice 'Socialist History' now costs £15 for three issues a year. 'Our Times' in 1945 cost a shilling.

The collapse of Stalinism leaves us, as Trotskyists, the long overdue task of building a real, revolutionary communist party in Britain, as everywhere else. The WRP is but

the nucleus, or seed, of this.

Based essentially on the working class, and with none of the opportunism of 'popular fronts' (or a People's Convention), such a party must also attract writers and artists rejecting capitalism, and must enable them to participate with their own skills. Our time must come!

Charlie Pottins

South Africa: working-clas

THE South African Communist Party (SACP) for years put forward its 'theory' of there being two stages to the socialist revolution: first the struggle for a 'national-democratic' revolution, and only then, after democracy had been achieved, the struggle for the socialist revolution.

Now the SACP says that apartheid is gone but still we, the workers, are not at the stage of the fight for socialism. We must, it says, complete the democratic revolution—we are only, somehow, in an earlier phase, or pre-stage towards the 'first stage'.

This talk by the SACP is mumbojumbo; it expresses nothing but the complete bankruptcy of the 'twostage theory'. And it covers up the reality of the class-collaboration of the African National Congress/ SACP alliance with the enemies of democracy and socialism, by their participation in the 'government of national unity'.

The Marxist theory of the struggle for socialism is not a 'two-stage' one. In South Africa the actual sequence is very clear. In this country the most advanced forms of capital exist, owned by domestic and multinational companies employing many thousands of workers.

Yet this monopoly (imperialist) stage of capitalism was reached in South Africa without a preceding stage of capitalist free competition and democracy [the classical model of capitalist development]. It was built through a political regime of brutal, racist repression, culminating in apartheid.

The working class has taken, over the decades, the leadership of the masses in the bitter and bloody struggles to overthrow the apartheid regime. That task will be completed by the working class taking power, at the head of all the

As reported in last week's Workers Press, our comrades in the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International (South Africa) have been invited to the 'Socialist' conference organised by the Congress of South African Trade Unions. This followed COSATU's executive committee overturning the organising committee's decision to exclude them.

This conference, held in Johannesburg this weekend, was called after a resolution, from the NUMSA metalworkers' union, was put on COSATU's congress agenda in September. The resolution was not debated but referred to the executive. (It was wrongly reported last week that the resolution was passed by the congress.)

But the organising committee changed the purpose of the conference. It is now a 'Socialist conference for reconstruction and development'. In other words, the discussion is to centre on the implementation of the government's reconstruction and development programme (RDP). This programme contains no socialist or even 'state capitalist' measures. It demands that workers make 'sacrifices', 'donations', 'work during their holidays for nothing', etc.

Last week we reported how housing minister Joe Slovo, who is

oppressed. The revolutionary struggle will take that form as it carries through to the end the fight against apartheid.

This struggle will grow over directly into the socialist revolution, that is, the expropriation of the big capitalists who were protected by apartheid.

Now, in 1994, the ruling class has been forced to *retreat* by the struggle of the working class, and has brought the ANC/SACP into a 'government of national unity'.

This device is being used by the capitalists to hold on to their rule, to deny to the people of South Africa the full fruits of their struggle against apartheid.

It attempts to prevent — in the name of democracy and national unity — the working class from

going forward to the taking of power and the construction of a socialist society, in unity and solidarity with its allies, the international working class.

The final defeat of apartheid and the achievement of democracy will be possible only through a workers' government, which will lead the working class in the dismantling of the apartheid state regime.

The apartheid regime cannot be 'democratised'. It must be broken up and replaced by workers' power. And the working class in power will find itself having to break the power of capital everywhere—that means going forward to socialism.

The party the working class needs now is a party with this programme — the programme not of also the chair of the South Afric negotiated loans from the bank But these loans are tied to an as family defaulting on payment w

Members of Slovo's party, the Sconference's organising comm comrades. The SACP is split intlast mass Stalinist party, but it doyalty of workers on the basis ousurpation of the 1917 Russian has now collapsed.

Our South African comrades—tradition of the fight against this the world's working class by the reflection of the break-up of Sta COSATU executive—again do forced to overturn the decision the 'Socialist' conference.

Below is the submission of our conference, entitled 'The Curre Africa and the Way Forward for

'two stages', but of the permanent revolution.

The response of the working class

BEFORE the elections, SACP chair Joe Slovo appealed to workers not to strike before, during or after them. But workers did not agree with this. Striking is not a luxury or pastime, it is one of the few weapons workers have to defend themselves against the basses

Since the elections there has been a wave of strikes and other struggles — in the communities, over education, and by members of the former military wings of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress over their merger with apartheid state forces. Many of these have finished, many are con-



When Nelson Mandela was elected to head the new government, workers expected it to serve their interests

China

TOM OWEN looks at two film relationships under different and their relation to the epic

THE experience of China's anciculture being propelled into 20th century was brought 'closer a contemporary British audie by the Chinese films 'Raise the Lantern' (Channel 4, Saturday October) and 'Farewell my Cubine', shown in cinemas this y and now out on video.

It takes a leap of the imagina for us Europeans to grasp even most mundane of cultural prices of the medieval or Rena ance periods. So to underst Oriental cultures seems to prealmost insuperable problems, the Western genres that co closest to describing these films are tragedy and epic restively.

These forms — inherited for the classical Greeks — have be regarded as the most exa forms of art. Indeed many believes as did Marx, that in 'moditimes the conditions do not experience of the conditions do not experience of the conditions of the conditions do not experience of the c

forward to s power

an Communist Party, had s for people to buy their homes. surance from Slovo that any ould be evicted by the army.

ACP, dominate the ittee, which tried to exclude our o at least five factions. It is the an no longer command the of the Soviet bureaucracy's Revolution. That bureaucracy

Trotskyists — stand in the usurpation of the leadership of Stalinist bureaucracy. It is a linism in South Africa that the minated by the SACP — was to exclude our comrades from

South African comrades to the nt Political Situation in South Socialism'

tinuing, and there are many new strikes looming.

In these strikes workers have two main concerns: wages and the ending of apartheid's work practices.

Workers have put the new government in power, and they are fully justified in expecting it to serve their interests. South African workers do not sit around passively waiting. No, our working class is the most militant in the whole world - they know they have to struggle, and they know how to do

The new government's response to the strikes and other struggles is causing workers to begin to realise that the ANC and SACP, part of the government, are not serving their interests, but are implementing the policies of the big capitalists.

The following are the key

reasons why we say this:
1. The ANC and SACP politicians have taken over as the leading champions of capitalism.

2. The police and the army continue to brutally attack strikers and other protesters. But who is the minister of police? None other than a leader of the SACP. Who is the defence minister? A leader of the

At least four protesters have been killed as a direct result of police actions. Hundreds have been injured. Thousands of workers have been arrested by the 'ANCcontrolled' police.

In only the past few days, a striker was killed in a Durban street while marching behind ANC posters; and in Cape Town, members of the South African Manual Workers' Union, demonstrating against the apartheid-created city council, were brutally attacked and injured by the police.

We note with concern that, to date, the trade union leaders have failed to stop the police brutality against the working class.

It is clear where the 'government of national unity' stands, and that the ANC and SACP are not serving the interests of the workers.

3. The ANC-led government of national unity has now committed itself to privatisation, despite the long-standing opposition of workers.

4. The ANC and SACP are throwing another lifeline to apartheid by agreeing to share power with its functionaries in the transitional local councils.

5. President Nelson Mandela is calling on workers to tighten their belts. But the workers rightfully believe that, after suffering under apartheid, they should be getting a national workers' and socialist better deal.

process of rising up against their tional.

suffering, imposed on them by capitalism.

In this battle, the ANC and SACP leaderships, as well as many trade union leaders, have gone over to the side of the capitalists, sending in the police and army to attack strikers.

If the socialist conference does not take note of this, and deal with it, it will end up as a failure.

The way forward

OUR country and the working class face the onslaught of imperialism and its agencies such as the International Monetary Fund and the

Poverty and unemployment are increasing. The working class is resisting its incorporation and cooption within the capitalist confines of the government of national

We see the following as the only way forward at the present time:

a) The complete withdrawal of the COSATU trade union federation from its alliance with the ANC and

b) Unqualified support for disciplined working-class action in the factories, workshops and rural

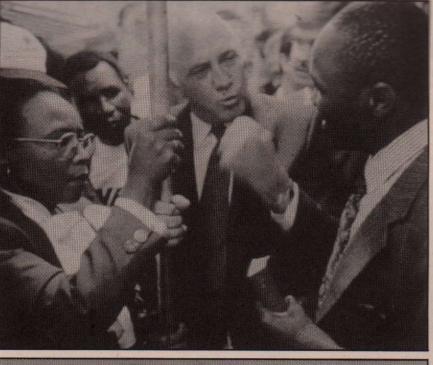
c) Open and democratic debate between all working-class organisations, parties and individuals towards the establishment of a workers' party that will:

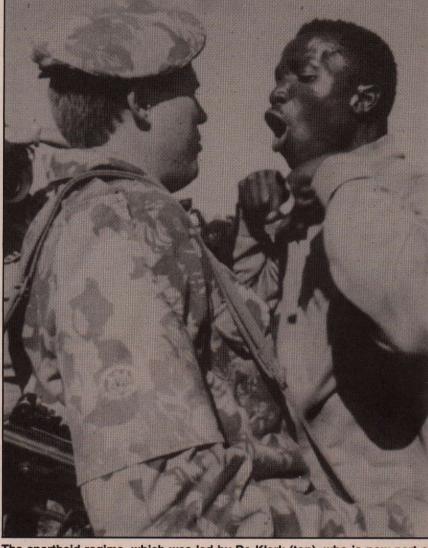
 Struggle consistently for socialism;

Base itself on Marxist/socialist principles:

Resist the imperialist plans of the IMF, World Bank and international capitalism, and the 'new world order'; and

organisations, on the road to recon-Today the working class is in the structing the proletarian interna-





The apartheid regime, which was led by De Klerk (top), who is now part of the 'government of national unity', cannot be 'democratised', it must be broken up and replaced by workers' power. Apartheid's soldiers (above) are being merged with the ANC's and the PAC's military wings

a's cultural great leap forward

on the distortion of personal tyrannies in China this century, and tragic dramatic forms

for the re-creation of these genres. 'Raise the Red Lantern' seems

to have all the focus and power of a classical tragedy. It has only one location, the household of an early-20th-century Chinese feudal

It follows the fortunes of Songolian — a student from an impoverished family who has been sold into concubinage. She is to become the fourth wife in the master's harem, servicing the needs of the master and, above all, providing him with

After her initiation into the rituals of the household, Songolian becomes aware of the crippling constraints of domestic ritual and that her life as a free woman has been tragically short.

The household is a prison and the power of the master is absolute. He has all the whimsical power of the gods to determine the fate of his hapless retinue.

licly by the raising of a red lantern doctor. outside the quarters of his cho courtyard.

This combination of humiliation in a net of deception and intrigue, house by the male retainers. in which they both comfort and betray each other.

Betrayed

this web and attempts to curry the master's favours in a desperate gamble: she pretends she is pregnant while hoping to conceive. She vant, who hopes to be a wife her-

As an act of revenge, Songolian exposes the keeping of forbidden Peking Opera Company. lanterns by this servant, who is then forced to pass her nights in the freezing cold and dies of fever.

the former opera singer, who be- she could enter him into the opera hind a mask of perverseness and troupe, where he has to serve a

The central ritual of the day eccentricity has been able to carve comes in the evening, when the out some spiritual space for hermaster selects the concubine he self. But this is not enough and she will sleep with. This is marked pubbegins an affair with a Westernised

Again there is betrayal. Songobed-companion, in a communal lian gets drunk and exposes her friend. She then witnesses, in horror, the singer being hauled off and and patronage ensnares the women hanged in a hut on the roof of the

> The film is a masterly study of patriarchal tyranny and the regimes that flourish in the corrosive culture of absolute power.

If 'Raise the Red Lantern' has Songolian herself is drawn into the intense concentration and emotional engagement of tragedy, then 'Farewell my Concubine' has the historic sweep and depth of the epic. Based on the novel by Lilian is betrayed by an ambitious ser- Lee, it deals with the momentous events in China this century. But it does this obliquely, through the fortunes of two performers in the

The central figure, the 'concubine', is in fact a male actor, the son of a prostitute. His mother cut Her only real ally turns out to be off his abnormal sixth finger so that barbaric apprenticeship learning how to contort his body to acquire the exacting disciplines demanded by the postures of classical Chinese theatre and opera.

He becomes a 'concubine' because of the role he excels in: a warlord's devoted concubine in an ancient opera. He forms a bond with the actor who plays opposite him, and this intense relationship is threatened when his partner marries a 'real-life' prostitute.

This triadic partnership survives the revolutionary upheavals of the 1930s and 1940s, and the establishment of the 'People's Republic' under Mao Zedong.

For the 'concubine' the archaic art-form of the Chinese opera becomes a life-style of decadence, a refuge from history. His partners are more pragmatic, adapting at least outwardly to ideological pressures.

It is the 'cultural revolution' of 1967 that finally breaks the professional and personal bonds of the three. Victims of denunciation by Mao's Red Guards, the triad breaks down in a series of public personal betrayals and humiliations, leading to suicide, guilt and

If the classical epic dealt with the fate of a people pitched against the forces of nature, the supernatural and war, then this film comes close to grasping the modern forces that are breaking down the loyalties to the past and redefining historically the new challenges for humanity.

Pernicious

The most pernicious 'actor' in 'Farewell my Concubine' is Stalinism. This is reinforced by the film being presented as a reminiscence after the two actors meet following the death of Mao. They attempt to reperform the ancient opera which contains a suicide scene but with tragic consequences when the former prostitute kills herself.

'Raise the Red Lantern' and 'Farewell my Concubine' are in the tradition of great Chinese cinematography, having survived the dead hand of Stalinism's 'socialist realism'. They may be the harbingers of new and rich possibilities for world cinema.

Measles and morals

AN EPIDEMIC of measles on a large scale is predicted for next year. There are expected to be 200,000 cases in Britain, and about 50 of those will cause the patient's death.

Seven million children and young people between the ages of five and 16 are to be vaccinated this month with the MR vaccine, which protects also against rubella ('German meas-

The headmaster of Ampleforth, a Roman Catholic school, has let it be known that he won't permit his 600 pupils, all of them boys, to be vaccinated in this way. Stonyhurst, another Catholic place of supposed education, is following his lead, and there have been similar murmurs from some leading Muslims.

Ampleforth's headmaster, Fr Leo Chamberlain, wants a measles-only vaccine for the boys in his charge, since the rubella vaccine comes from a virus strain isolated from two foetuses aborted 30 years ago when their mothers were exposed to rubella. Fr Chamberlain regards the use of a vaccine so derived as unethical.

Yet he has admitted that he would advise parents to have daughters vaccinated, since catching rubella during pregnancy can lead to the birth of a baby who is blind or deaf or both. (As the father of two small girls some 25 years ago, I was advised to expose them to rubella as soon as possible, since catching it would give them immunity.)

The logic of Fr Chamberlain's position escapes me, for pre-pubertal girls have been immunised against rubella for the past 20 years, and so the 'reservoir' for the disease is in males; hence the only way to eliminate it is to vaccinate both sexes.

You'd have to be a Jesuit, I suppose, to understand and justify the glaring double standard that the good Father is applying here. Surely, if it's wrong for boys to benefit from an 'injustice against the unborn child', then it's equally wrong for girls to benefit from it?

The abortions which made the MR vaccine possible were carried out because the mothers did not wish to bear children who were blind or deaf or both. That was a matter for those mothers alone.

Should the rest of us not rejoice that much contingent good has flowed from their decision, in that pregnant women are nowadays rarely faced with the anguish of such a choice?

What's more, I shouldn't care to be in Fr Chamberlain's obscurantist shoes if one of his 600 unvaccinated pupils turns out to be one of those 50 children who are expected to die next year from measles.

IQ as 'make-believe'

tests', claims Hans Eysenck, professor emeritus of psychology in the University of London, defending 'The Bell Curve', the recently published book by Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein that I wrote about

'By now', asserts the honourably discharged professor, 'the majority of experts (geneticists, psychologists, educationalists) agree with what Herrnstein, Murray and I have to say.' And he adds:

The reality of black-whiteyellow differences in IQ cannot be doubted.'

Well, let's see what one of those experts on these matters had to say a third of a century ago, in a book called 'Know your own I.Q.' (Penguin Books, 1962):

Intelligence tests are not based on any very sound scientific principles, and there is not a great deal of agreement among experts regarding the nature of intelligence.

COLUMN

Arguments about this subject were very popular in the 1920s and 1930s, but they have pretty well ceased now because it is realized that they . . . did not permit of any reasonable solu-

'[I]ntelligence testing has no firm scientific basis. . . . Giving an adult an I.Q. . . . is a kind of make-believe operation.

We . . . turn to the question of the validity of the I.Q. as a measure of intelligence. Here we come up right from the beginning against the difficulty that no satisfactory criterion does in fact exist.

For most practical purposes, such as for vocational guidance or industrial selection, it must be recognized that the I.Q. is probably very much less useful than the more precise measure of the more specific type of ability.

And the writer proceeded to advise the (male) reader of that book using it to discover his own IQ: '[H]e should realize that there is a certain amount of spurious accuracy involved in any single figure purporting to give a measure of his intelligence. . . . He should not base any serious decisions on the result' (emphasis in the original).

Intelligence testing today, and the racist conclusions that Murray and Herrnstein draw from it, are no less of a 'makebelieve operation', and have no firmer scientific basis, than when those wise words were written by - none other than H.J. Eysenck, professor of psychology in the University of

Not to be trusted

TWO polite young chaps approached me in the Deptford Bookshop the other evening, shortly before I was due to start a talk entitled - and advertised 'A Musical Evening in Brazil'

'We're from the Spartacist League', said one.

You're wasting your time', I told them, handing them the photocopied programme. 'I'm going to talk about music, and I don't suppose there'll be much to interest your organisation.'

'All the same', said the spokesperson, 'can we have per-

mission to tape your talk?'
'No', I replied. The idea of having my every casual word about samba and lambada and candomblé minutely picked over at leisure for evidence of 'Stalinophobia' and other grave sins didn't greatly appeal to me.

The pair went away, only to come back a few minutes later with a slightly older companion, who regarded me with a suspicious frown.

He peered at the programme. The word 'REVOLUTION' caught his eye. But it was only part of the title of a CD by the Rahia-based Grupo Olodum: 'REVOLUTION IN MOTION'.

'Do I um erstand', he asked, 'that this is a purely cultural event?

'I suppose you could call it

that', I replied. At which the trio departed with an air of deep dissatisfaction, leaving me to ponder Shakespeare's warning, in 'The Merchant of Venice':

The man that hath no music in himself,

Nor is not mov'd with concord of sweet sounds,

Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils;
The motions of his spirit are dull

as night, And his affections dark as Erebus:

Let no such man be trusted.

Peter tryer

We are fighting fascism'

A CONVOY organised by the Sarajevo Committee in Lille and Workers Aid for Bosnia is at present on its way to Tuzla carrying supplies for schools there. The convoy was organised in response to appeals for help from the Tuzla teachers' union and from schoolchildren.

The October convoy returned after a successful trip. Here we publish the first of a series of reports from convoy members.

On the way to Tuzla you pass the town of V. We stopped on the outskirts of town to make a cup of tea. Some young Bosnian soldiers and police from the checkpoint down the road came and checked our papers and then stayed to talk. The men were all in their twenties and wore battledress. Spirits were high.

Finished

'The Chetniks are finished. We are becoming organised, and now we are starting to push them back. The only problem is the United Nations Protection Force. They protect the Chetniks. Yesterday we mounted an attack on a Chetnik stronghold. We would have taken it, but French UNPROFOR intervened and seized 50 of our men. Soon we will have to fight UNPROFOR.'

We explain to them about our campaign for workers' solidar-

ity and say that we have to work for the day when such action by the French UNPROFOR is answered with demonstrations in Paris against French government collaboration with the Chetniks. The soldiers agree with this. One young man asks the question, 'We are fighting against fascism. Why is no one coming to our assistance?'

Organised

One of the soldiers takes three of us off to find the commander who organised a meeting between our previous convoy and the local trades unions.

We go into the town, which is just like any large council estate in Britain. Only here everything is in darkness - no electricity. But there are many people busy between the tower blocks. Mostly sawing and chopping up wood, getting ready for winter.

Most of these housing blocks have communal central heating but last winter the heating systems failed and people froze. This winter they are more prepared.

Everywhere there are neatly-stacked piles of logs to burn in the stoves which can be used even in these high-rise flats.

Many flats have at least one window covered with logs or planks to protect the family against grenades.

Workers Aid for Bosnia August convoy

Picture: Ed Cansdale

The commander is not at home. We leave the young soldiers and continue on our way.

In Tuzla we hear over and over same story from the soldiers - 'If this was a war between the Chetniks and us we will free the whole of Bosnia but the problem is UNPROFOR.'

One soldier tells us: 'Now when we prepare to take some ground we block the roads around us first so UNPROFOR cannot intervene.' The day we

left Tuzla we heard on the news that Bosnian soldiers had attacked French UNPROFOR.

These soldiers are learning the truth about the UN presence in Bosnia. It is not there to save lives or to keep the peace. It is there to divide the country into ethnic ghettos. If the Bosnian soldiers begin to push back the present front lines that divide their country, then they will increasingly come into conflict with the imperialist troops.

tolerance Our culture

THE following is the text of a letter given to Workers Aid members at a meeting with the President's Council of the **Tuzla District Trade Union Organisation:**

WE are deeply grateful to Workers Aid for Bosnia who have managed to reach our town of Tuzla many times, even under the difficult conditions imposed by the Chetnik blockade.

The aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina from Serbia and Montenegro has turned into a fascism that has inflicted a horrific tragedy on our country.

Both Bosnian and Croatian peoples have experienced this fascist terror — the destruction of human beings and centuriesold civilisation by complete barbarism.

Think of all the towns where the fascist-Chetniks have destroyed universities, schools, hospitals, nurseries, churches, mosques, cemeteries and

The Bosnian army has never set out to destroy civilians or civilian buildings.

In our town of Tuzla everything from the Serbian tradition remains intact and functioning. The trade unions in Tuzla have worked hard during this war to help the citizens of all nationalities without any discrimination. Despite all shortages of food and basic essentials we have tried to assist everyone without distinction.

Disappointed

Our district union presidency consists of nine members: four Bosnian Muslims, three Bosnian Serbs and two Bosnian

As president, and a Muslim woman, I have a good relationship with all the members. We are all good friends and nothing comes between us in carrying out our union duties. We are disappointed that there is not greater solidarity and moral support for our struggle from the trades unions in Britain, France, Germany, Spain and elsewhere.

We would like to visit all these countries to explain our situation and bring together an international movement against fascism. Nobody here foresaw the war. If the rise of fascism is not stopped here then it will spread further and further.

The workers' attitude is clear. We fight to be able to work in order to live. We want a state with democratic and human rights for everyone that respects all our cultural heritage that has been developed through the centuries.

We will not allow the Islamisation of our country that is being promoted by outside influences. Our culture of mutual tolerance is too strong for that. The women's movement is strong and women occupy positions of responsibility at every level of society. In order to excountry. Will you help us with travel expenses and with obtaining the necessary travel visas? Our proposed delegation will 1: Sijercic Fikreta, President -

plain our situation we ask all

trade union organisations to

help our delegation visit their

Bosnian Muslim. 2: Segat Ivica, President's coun-

- Bosnian Croat. 3: Bojic Jovan, President's coun-

cil - Bosnian Serb.

Future generations will remember all the people of Europe who have come to our assistance.

Sijercic Fikreta

The District Council of Trade Unions will make a Workers' Aid representative an honorary member of their council in gratitude for their solidarity. The award will be made at an international conference being held in Tuzla on 6 November to defend the idea of a multi-ethnic society.

Citizens' assembly calls for undivided Sarajevo

THE Sarajevo Citizens' Assembly has launched a campaign for a free and undivided

A four-point declaration (see below) and petition are being circulated in Bosnia-Herzegovina and internationally. The assembly, a non-governmental group that originated in the Sarajevo Municipal Assembly and the Citizens' Assembly, hopes to collect 100,000 signatures by the end of November.

The declaration opposes the division of Sarajevo, calls for the punishment of all war criminals and the return of all refugees. It is also calling on the international community to assist in securing a future for the Bosnian capital based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Salko Selimovic, one of the authors of the declaration, said: We are relying on the goodwill of all people who believe in the importance of preserving diversity and tolerance to distribute our appeal, reprint the declaration in newspapers and magazines and collect signatures for the petition.

We have no resources to fund this campaign, but we know that journalists, aid workers and ordinary people who know Sarajevo — those who know what our city was and what it still can be - will support it.'

The statement

WE address you as citizens of Sarajevo, troubled by the many uncertainties which cloud the future of our city, and disturbed by the lack of progress towards a solution.

■ In order to guarantee the future security of Sarajevo, and the right of its people to a civilised life, we hereby demand the lifting of the blockade and the demilitarisation of the city. We make this demand not just on our own behalf, but on behalf of the 10,000 victims of the brutal war against Sarajevo, and on behalf of our descendants.

■ But after all the agony of our city's physical destruction, we are now being threatened with the permanent partition of Sarajevo, which would destroy a distinctive way of life that we have cherished for centuries. Such a partition would represent not just the artificial division of a historically unified city, but a new line of cleavage segregating different civilisations, religions and cultures — it would create a new 'Berlin Wall' in Europe.

■ We reject this proposal. We invite the citizens of Sarajevo and the entire world community to join us in a new struggle: a second battle for Sarajevo — a defensive battle against the spiritual and moral degradation that would accompany such a partition.

■ We are determined to preserve the cultural life of diversity and tolerance that our ancestors constructed and that we ourselves have nurtured and preserved.

In support of the position adopted by the Municipal Assembly of Sarajevo, the city's highest authority, we therefore issue the following:

DECLARATION FOR A FREE AND UNIFIED SARAJEVO

1: We are irrevocably committed to a free, open and undivided Sarajevo. We will permit no one to partition our city for any reason, especially at a time when the entire civilised world is tending toward greater inter-cultural collaboration and integration.

2: We are firmly convinced that our life of diversity and tolerance is a priceless inheritance from our past, and the only secure foundation for a peaceful and happy future for all citizens of Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

3: We demand the just and timely punishment of all war criminals, and the safe return of all exiles and refugees. Both measures are essential for the restoration of normal life and the renewal of our tradition of multi-ethnic harmony. 4: We unreservedly accept the UN

Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as the fundamental criteria of justice in social relationships, and as the basis for our action. We call upon the international community for assistance in determining the future of Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina on the basis of these principles. We are convinced that only a democratically-structured policy can guarantee the dignity, preserve the freedom, and protect the interests of all

our citizens. At this critical moment for us all, citizens of the world community as well as citizens of Sarajevo bear responsibility for the fate of these civilised values.

The Citizens of Sarajevo The campaign in Britain is being co-ordinated by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Information Centre, 40-41 Conduit St, London W1R 9FB. Tel: 071-734 3758, Fax: 071-734 3765.

The political economy With Prime Minister John Major's government under increasing pressure from the 'sleaze factor', NICK LEE shows that it is not a merely a 'British' phenomenon, but is based on international trends that show the decay of the capitalist system The prime Minister John Major's government under increasing pressure from the 'sleaze factor', NICK LEE shows that it is not a merely a 'British' phenomenon, but is based on international trends that show the decay of the capitalist system

THE Tory party seems to be burying itself under a mountain of petty corruption. Try as he might, Prime Minister John Major is unable to stem the flow. What a year ago looked like a problem specific to Italy is now revealed at the heart of the British state.

'Sleaze' as the press calls it, is not quite corruption: no minister has yet been caught though civil servants have accepting bribes in return for awarding state contracts to foreign multinationals. But the principle is the same.

Members of Parliament have been accepting payments, usually in the form of expensive holidays, in return for asking parliamentary questions to get information relevant only to the interests of their sponsors. In short, attempting to turn the civil service into a research department for private com-

The two heads to fall so far have both been junior ministers, Tim Smith at the Northern Ireland Office and Neil Hamilton, a junior trade minister.

They had, it is alleged, taken money from Mohammed Al Fayed, the owner of Harrods, for asking parliamentary questions and had failed to declare it in the register of members' interests. Hamilton admitted that in 1987 he had received over £4,000 worth of 'hospitality' at the Ritz hotel in Paris, also owned by Fayed.

The home secretary, Michael Howard, has also been mentioned in this murky context, as has another cabinet minister, Jonathan Aitken.

Aitken had his hotel bill from the same Paris Ritz on the front page of the Guardian (£1,000 for two days!). Aitken claims that he paid this bill in full. His stay at the Ritz was in September

Aitken's account at the hotel was actually closed in September, with the balance being transferred to the account of a Saudi businessman, Said Mohammed Ayas. Aitken claims this was covered by a cheque sent on 21 February to Ayas's nephew, Abdul Rahman.

Fayed has contributed £250,000 to Tory party funds in the past. He has applied for British passports for himself and members of his family. He was reported to be particularly annoyed when his brother was denied a passport.

Fayed denies reports that he threatened to name four ministers who had taken bribes of 'hundreds of thousands of pounds' if his complaints are not

Party donations

AS MARTIN LINTON pointed out in the 'Guardian' (28 October), since the early 1980s the Tory party has deliberately sought cash donations from wealthy overseas businessmen. Asil Nadir - currently back in his home in north Cyprus to escape the attentions of the Serious Fraud Office — gave £400,000, while Greek shipping magnate John Latsis reportedly donated £2 million.

The need for such large outside cash donations for a major bourgeois political party reflects changes both in the nature of the Tory party and in the political system.

As general elections have degenerated into mass advertising campaigns run by media consultants, the need for massive party funding has grown.

Arrangement dissolves

MEANWHILE, the old British arrangement whereby the aristocratic Tory leadership ran the state on behalf of the bourgeoisie has, to a great extent, dissolved.

Under Thatcher the old Tory grandees' - extremely wealthy landowners and financiers, were gradually pushed out in favour of a newer generation of brash young men without 'breeding', with less wealth but with strong business connec-

This means that Tory MPs are now more likely to have direct business connections the number of MP's earning consultancy fees has grown, as has the numbers of ex-ministers landing on the boards of directors of companies that had a direct connection with their departments.

Dependent on perks and consultancy fees to keep up their life-style, these people think nothing wrong in the idea of providing a service to a customer even if it involves abusing the traditions of the 'mother of parliaments' — in return for a fee. Meanwhile the big outside donors like Fayed want something directly for their money.

These people become more important than politicians and governments. Martin Linton, in his 'Guardian' article, mentioned an episode during a visit by Major to Hong Kong in 1991. Major excused himself after only 30 minutes from a cocktail party given by the senior British trade commissioner to go off to Under pressure: Prime Minister John Major's government seems to be burying itself under a mountain of sleaze a private dinner party hosted by the richest man in Hong Kong, Li Kashing, who is reported as having donated £500,000 to Tory party funds

Corruption in the strict sense of the word has also increased. Another of the changes of the Thatcher period was that more senior civil servants have been recruited directly from the private sector.

Another section of the old aristocratic tradition of the British state has been weakened by an infusion of people who maintained their close connections with private business.

The result has been an increasing number of cases in recent years of procurement fraud: business paying backhanders to civil servants to receive government contracts, particularly, it seems, in armaments and catering.

A world-wide process

FROM the standpoint of business, being able to bribe civil servants or buy Members of Parliament takes on increasing importance throughout the world as the struggle for profitable investment opportunities intensifies under conditions of world recession.

There is hardly a capitalist state that has escaped this process. Japan - one of most 'modern' and efficient of capitalist countries - comes immediately to mind, as do the corruption scandals of recent years in France, Spain and Germany.

In France at the moment one ex-minister is in jail, another has been recently forced to resign, and hundreds of businessmen and minor politicians are under judicial investigation. According to the 'Economist' (29 October) two-thirds of French business leaders believe companies regularly engage in corrupt practices.

Many maintain that it has become impossible to win a public contract or obtain planning permission without the payment of a kickback to the local mayor or party boss.

The 'Economist' quotes Antione Gaudino, a former police inspector claiming that 'corruption has infiltrated everywhere, not just among politicians, but also in the civil service — at all levels'.

Capitalist decay and the state

THESE developments, while exacerbated by the current economic depression and the search for profitable contracts. reflect much more basic changes in the relationship between the state and the capitalist class, changes that become increasingly evident as reflections of capitalism in its period of decay.

The key feature of capitalism in its ascendant phase was the independence of the state from particular sections of the
— often internally competitive capitalist class

This independence enabled the state to serve the general interests of capital accumulation as a whole. Part of this arrangement involved Members of Parliament being seen as 'representatives' rather than delegates.

That is, rather than fighting tooth and nail for the particular interests of those who sponsored their election campaign, they were to be influenced by the general interests of 'party' and country'

But under monopoly capitalism this distinction between particular and general interests of capital is less clear.

Powerful financial blocks and multinational companies operate in a world in which the nation state is increasingly

They don't need a strong parliament to represent their in-

Large multinational companies can talk directly to governments: and governments will listen.

The leading sections of global capital see parliamentary democracy as simply one among many political forms with which they can coexist as long as their interests are carried into effect.

The other side of this coin is a growing cynicism amongst all classes about the relevance of 'politics'. Politicians and civil servants are suffering from de-

clining status and prestige, even in the traditional bourgeois democracies.

This, in turn, undermines old aristocratic notions about the high status and moral integrity of 'public life' These are regarded as anachronisms.

But at the same time, the nation state — including local government — still dispenses important public contracts, distributes overseas aid and issues tax laws, planning permission, etc. The national state is still the only law-making and law-enforcing body around.

Bribery and corruption, or simply large donations to party funds, are the methods whereby large capitalist concerns, having abandoned any need for the processes of bourgeois parliamentary democracy as such, now seek to exercise a direct influence on government.

In this scenario MPs become regarded as simply functionaries to be bought. But it does not stop there.

Right at the heart of government a concern with the 'affairs of state' becomes translated into a concern with sucking up to one section of business or another. If this means violating the government's own policy and cabinet ministers lying through their teeth, so be it.

This is the significance of the 'arms-for-Iraq' issue, which will flare up again on the publication of the report of the Scott inquiry into the issue. It was also shown by the Pergau dam affair, when the government's own policy of not linking overseas aid to arms purchases was being openly violated.

Mark Thatcher's activities in various Saudi arms deals were justified, in his mother's famous phrase, as 'batting for Britain'

The issue facing the working class both in Britain and internationally is therefore not simply the collapse of reformist politics, as witnessed by the Blair leadership of the Labour Party, but also the growing degeneration of national bourgeois politics as such. That is why the development of new movements to defend the working class must start out from an international agenda.

Vhere are Zeki and Ilyas?

TURKISH authorities are being asked to account for the 'disappearance' of two young members of the country's ancient Christian minority, believed to have been held by security forces combatting the Kurdish re-

Zeki Ercan Diril, 17, and his brother Ilyas Edip Diril, 15, had been working in Istanbul for six months when they decided on 15 May to return to their home village of Kovankaya.

Kovankaya, an Assyro-Chaldean Catholic village, was burnt to the ground by Turkish armed forces in 1990. Villagers fled to Istanbul, but two years ago some began returning to rebuild

Zeki and Ilyas had been given some money by a Catholic charity in Istanbul to help with their fares, and to give some-

thing to their extended family in the village. They arrived at Uzungecit, some distance from Kovankaya, where they had to stop because the road was mined. Before setting out to continue their journey they left the money with the Kurdish owner of the house in Uzungecit where they were staying.

Detained

The Diril brothers never made it to Kovankaya. According to two villagers who came to meet them, the two lads were detained by village guards on 19 May and handed over to gendarmes from Uludere, the nearest large town. The gendarmes also confiscated the money from

their Kurdish landlord. On 4 June, Kovankaya was burnt down again, and four families, including young children, were taken away and held at Cevizagac. A village elder who went to Beytussebab to complain and make enquiries about the 'disappearance' of the two teenagers was arrested and held in Beytussebab prison. He has been accused of helping Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) guerrillas

The four families are now allowed to move. Together with one other family in Cevizagac, they are the last remaining representatives of the Assyro-Chaldean Catholic community, which numbered more than 5,000 before the Turkish government launched its war in northwest Kurdistan in 1984. All the others have migrated to Istan-

bul or to Europe. The two brothers remain 'disappeared'. Amnesty Inter-

national has appealed for people to write to the Turkish authorities expressing grave concern about the 'disappearance' of Zeki Ercan Diril and Ilyas Edip Diril following their detention on 19 May by security forces in Uzungecit, Hakkari prov ace; and urging that a prompt, impartial and thorough investigation be conducted into their 'disappearance'.

■ Amnesty recommends writing to: Chief of Staff of the Gendarmerje, General Aydin Ilter. Salutation: 'Dear General'. Faxes: +90 312 418 0476

And to: State Minister with responsibility for Human Rights, Mr Azimet Koyluoglu. Faxes: +90 312 417 0476.

Send copies to: His Excellency Mr Candemir Onhon, Embassy of Turkey, 43 Belgrave Square, London SW1X 8PA.

Saturday 5 November 1994

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HAITI: cheers fade for **US** occupation BY PIERRE DUPONT

MANY Haitians who welcomed the return of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide are not cheering the US occupation force, nor the package of capitalist economic policies known as 'the American plan', which the US administration has thrust upon Aris-

tide's government.

One of the government's first steps was to announce a petrol price increase, to 38 gourdes a gallon, up from about 19 gourdes before the coup, because the International Monetary Fund 'says Haiti cannot subsidise the price of gas anymore.' When people panicked and protested, the price dropped to 30 gourdes (US\$3.00).

Aristide announced he supports a 'market economy' and economic democratisation' the sale of state-held businesses. He also talked about the importance of the private sector and said he is creating a private-sector state commission.

Calling for 'order and discipline', the cabinet has denounced looting and 'violence', and urged 'no vengeance, yes to reconciliation!'

People attacked the homes and offices of the military and secret police oppressors, as part of the dechoukaj ('uprooting') of oppression they thought Aristide stood for. They resorted to people's arrests, and sometimes summary justice, fearing that those guilty of crimes against the poor would otherwise escape.

Critics say the army's 'interim high command' is full of those who took part in the military coup that drove Aristide into exile, and that known human rights abusers have been rewarded with overseas posts instead of being brought to

It is not clear what guidelines there are for the US occupation. But it is clear that the US wants control over which army officers are kicked out and which remain, over the choice of the new army chief, over the training of the new forces. It also wants a say in the new police system.

The Haitian army is a product of the first US occupation, from 1915-34.

Opposed

When Aristide was elected president in 1990 he sought to have Swiss training for a new palace guard. The US govern-ment opposed this and supported the army's coup.

The army is headed by Jean-Claude Duperval, a coup participant allegedly implicated in

the drug trade. The US wants Duperval to remain in place, and the Aristide government does not, but thus far Aristide has not made any announcements or even

take over 'law and order' around the country.

The US also wants the exclusive right to train the new police officers, through its International Criminal Investigations Training and Assistance Program [ICITAP].

reacted to Duperval's moves to

Notorious

Run by the US Justice and State Departments, and staffed by FBI agents, secret service and narcotics agents and police officers, ICITAP has worked in many Latin American countries, including Panama, Guatemala and El Salvador. The 'new' forces in those countries remain notorious for human rights abuses.

The Haitian government wants Canada and France to participate in the training, but ICITAP representatives say it is a US affair.

Bonivert Claude, who oversaw illicit exports of currency and other irregularities, has been shifted from his post as governor of the central bank but remains as a member of the administrative council.

In all of the programmes announced, there has been no mention of any plan to investigate and prosecute 'respected' members of the bourgeoisie who collaborated with the military regime in underhand deals, and made hundreds of millions of dollars of profits, leaving the country a shambles.

A huge crowd greeted two returning leaders of the peasants' movement, MPP, in Hinche on 20 October.

Climbing on top of a car to address thousands of exuberant supporters, Chavannes Jean-Baptiste congratulated those who had resisted military rule, especially the women. Then, to the obvious surprise of many in he crowd, he condemned the US invasion.

'This is not a victory,' he said. 'This is not the way we should have come back. It's not the way Titid [Arisitide] should have come back.

'It is not a US occupation that should have brought him back. It's us that should have done it ourselves. We have to work so

that nobody will do our work for us. We have to work like Charlemagne Peralte!' [Peralte was the rebel leader who died fighting the US occupation forces in

'Don't celebrate and think that the [US] army is here to liberate us. . . It is part of the same strategy as the coup! The tables can be turned at any time,' he warned. 'If they are given the order, they will beat

The crowd's reactions were muted compared with the cheers at the beginning, but Jean-Baptiste told them: 'Don't run out and say the marriage is beautiful! We celebrated on 7

February 1986 [when dictator 'Baby Doc' Duvalier was overthrown]... and then we realised that the Macoute system came back even stronger.

The Macoutes are still drinking our blood, destroying our homes, raping our children and so we have to understand. This little liberty we have from the occupation is not the liberation of Haiti!'

Jean-Baptiste said the country would not be free until the army, the barracks and the paramilitary death squads were destroyed. He told people to make lists of everyone who committed human rights violations and stole from them.

'Bring them to justice! Make them pay!' he said.

The previous day, employees of the National Port Authority (APN) held a press conference to denounce corruption and

Workers said APN had stolen 18 million gourdes (US\$1.4 million) from the pension fund. They said former de facto director Max Paul regularly wrote 'zombi' cheques to members of FRAPH (Front pour l'Avancement et le Progres Haitien), military attaches and illegal January 18' senators, sold an APN boat, cut workers' salaries by 26 percent, and gave a payoff to police chief Michel Francois every month. They demanded Paul, who fled to the Dominican Republic, be brought before the courts. 'An example must be made!' workers cried in unison.

Many business people from the 'patripoche bourgeoisie' ('patriots of the pocket' bourgeoisie) who wrote fradulent contracts with the state, constructed illegal piers, and engaged in massive contraband are recycling themselves and making a great deal of money out of the US intervention. The Mevs family, for example, has rented the US forces its fuel storage facilities, its industrial park and other sites.

Chinese joint ventures lose money

on joint ventures and foreign investment, is failing. A survey by the State Industrial and Commercial Administration expects 51 per cent of foreign-funded joint ventures in China will lose money this year.

In the past four years, 40 per cent have lost money. In the last year the losers have lost US\$13.75 billion. The 41 per cent of profitable companies earned just \$8.15 billion.

'China Daily' claims that some of these are 'losses' designed to cheat on tax. For example, it says 60-80 per cent of the ventures in Fujian province have been found to be evading tax.

The paper reports that some foreign ventures have traded their concession-loaded licences to local companies and the more reckless ones profiteered through smuggling, swindling, gambling and prostitution'.

Many foreign businessmen complain that only the 55 million members of the Chinese Communist Party are making good money. They describe the party as 'the world's biggest chamber

FROM NICK BAILEY

IN AUSTRALIA

LIKE in Britain, it is the cer-

tainly not the rich who shoulder

Taxation Office, of \$31 billion in

business income, only \$6.1 bil-

According to the Australian

Eighty per cent of the gross

income received by the self-em-

ployed and individual business

Some 21 per cent of employers and the self-employed

wriggled out of paying tax at all

cheating and finagling - 'rort-

ing' as it's called here.

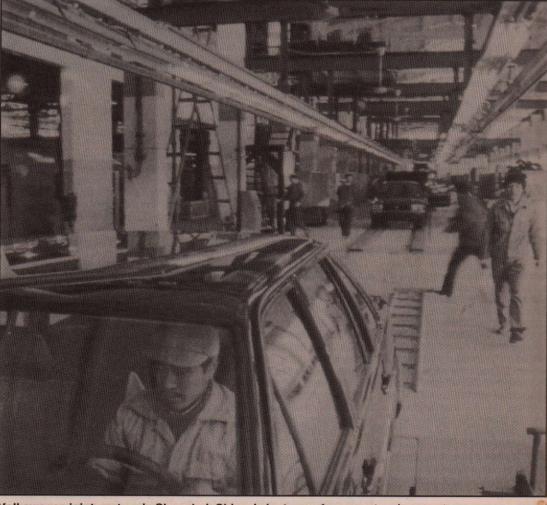
There have been suggestions

Australia's tax bill.

lion was subject to tax.

owners escaped tax.

in 1992-93.



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■ Ten per cent of barristers and soliciters on gross incomes of \$125,000 on average.

Australia's 'rorting'

Surgeons earning as much as \$1 million gross.

Large minorities of dentists and accountants; and.

■ More than 40 per cent of video, food and clothing store

owners.

How can this be?

For those of us who pay our income tax 'pay as you earn' (PAYE), it is often difficult to understand the labrynthine pro-

cess of filling in a tax return. Along with declaring 'in-come' the self-employed and business owners can declare 'allowances'. These include ex-

in the press that there is some penses, overheads, etc. The real skill lies in declaring all those important 'busi-Among the Australian great ness lunches', 'hospitality',

'company cars', and on and on. There are armies of tax accountants that specialise in making the maximum number of allowances, so reducing the customer's taxable income.

The tax office reported to the Australian parliament some

truly astounding cases: ■ Two plastic surgeons with a combined business income of \$1,866,000 ended with a net loss after deductions. Result — no

■ Seven pathologists with a total income of \$2,710,000 clocked up a loss of \$157,000 at the tax

office. Result - no tax. ■ Two diagnostic radiologists grossing \$497,000 together claimed negative incomes of

paid no tax despite earning on

\$502,000. Result - no tax, One thousand accountants and tax agents - 10 per cent -

Comparison between those who pay tax and those who don't

showed there was little or no difference in the amounts The 300 dentists not paying

tax earned \$146,266 compared with the \$185,936 of those who paid tax.

But, video store owners and some surgical specialists who didn't pay tax earned more on average than those who did.

In the past three years, gross business income has increased by 31 per cent, but the taxable amount has only increased by 12 per cent.

Over the same period, the number of employers and selfemployed paying tax rose by 8 per cent, while the numbers not paying tax increased by 34 per