

## An Open letter to all workers and socialists

# HALT FASCISM IN BOSNIA

**ARE the forces of reaction in the Balkans to record the first victory for fascism in Europe since the collapse of the Third Reich in 1945?**

Are the fascist bands of Radovan Karadzic, supported openly by the regime of Milosevic in Belgrade and covertly by the French and British governments, to succeed in their aim of 'ethnically cleansing' the sovereign state of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

These are the stark questions now before the working class of Europe and beyond.

■ If Karadzic and his murderous bands succeed then every fascist and racist throughout Europe will be further encouraged.

■ If Karadzic and his allies are defeated by the united action of the Bosnian peoples and the international working class, then this will strike a great blow for international working-class solidarity.

That is why today Bosnia is the key to the international situation. That is why today Bosnia is the acid test for all who call themselves socialists.

Let us be clear.

■ This is not a 'civil war' as the British government, Tony Benn and some other Labour MPs, and the Socialist Workers Party claim.

It is not a war of 'Serbs' against 'Muslims'. Serbs, Croats and Muslims are united not only by living in the same towns but also through marriage. Bosnia-Herzegovina is a multi-cultural state. Many Bosnian Serbs live in cities such as Sarajevo and Tuzla which are now under murderous attack from the Chetnik forces of Karadzic.

Many Serbs are fighting in and helping to lead the Bosnian army to defend their country against those who want to turn it into an 'ethnically pure' Serbian state. Many Serbs participate in the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Karadzic does not speak in the name of all Serbs. He is fighting a war of aggression to break up and destroy a sovereign state which is recognised under the United Nations Charter.

Those who declare this a 'civil war', those who proclaim themselves 'neutral' and decline to take sides, are in effect giving succour to the ethnic cleansers.

Some of Benn's collaborators make no secret of this. Thus a sponsor of the recently-formed Committee for Peace in the Balkans is Sir Alfred Sherman.

Sherman, a leading Thatcherite and a man who invited Le Pen to Britain, said in a meeting called by the Committee in the Commons on 26 June 1995: 'I am Karadzic's adviser, and I am proud of being Karadzic's adviser' (see story, page 7).

**Why do Benn, Dennis Skinner, Diane Abbott and other supposedly left-wing MPs find themselves in the same organisation as Sherman?**

At the launch of the Committee for Peace in the Balkans, this was a question that Benn pointedly refused to answer. But this is a question that he and his fellow Labour MPs are duty-bound to answer to the thousands of workers who voted for them to be their representatives in Parliament.

And why does Benn, in attacking the principled stand that former Labour Party leader Michael Foot has taken on Bosnia, lump him together with Lady Thatcher?

BY THE WORKERS PRESS  
EDITORIAL BOARD

Benn uses the old Stalinist method. Foot opposes the war aims of Serbia; Thatcher opposes the war; therefore Foot = Thatcher. This false argument, this despicable method of guilt by association, must be rejected in the Labour movement.

These 'left' MPs call for the removal of all troops from the Balkans. With that no socialist can disagree.

The Great Powers have their troops there only because they are fighting for their own political and military interests in the region. The people of Bosnia also want such troops removed from their soil, along with those of the United Nations 'peace-keeping' force.

They know that UN troops have in fact superintended and helped enforce the attempted destruction of their country. As the representatives of the Bosnian peoples have made explicit: all they want is the right to fight for their country's integrity, and to defend themselves against a brutal aggressor.

### Preservation

But Benn adds to his demand for the removal of all troops the call for the preservation of the arms embargo.

In other words, he defends a situation where the Chetnik forces are armed to the teeth, having inherited most of their weaponry from the army of the former Yugoslavia, while the Bosnian army has completely inadequate resources with which to wage the war.

Benn defends his position with the accusation that those who call for the lifting of the arms embargo are aiding the arms manufacturers.

Hiding under a hypocritical pacifism, he would deliver the state of Bosnia to the ethnic cleansers.

Benn and others claim: there have been atrocities on 'all sides'. No doubt there have. But this

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Mosque destroyed in north-west Bosnia by Serb Chetnik forces who inherited the Yugoslav National Army's weapons

### Durham Miners Gala shows working-class spirit unbroken

THE Durham Miners Gala is the most important working-class festival in Britain.

Traditionally a day when miners rallied from all the coalfields of Britain, it is now celebration and demonstration of solidarity by thousands of working-class people.

With the destruction of the mining industry at the hands of the Tory government, there were suggestions that the 'Big Meeting', the Gala, be scrapped.

No doubt the leaders of the Labour Party nationally wanted to see this happen.

Tony Blair and company, having ditched Clause Four of their party's constitution, are now determined to break the links between the trade unions and the Labour Party.

But thanks to the determination of many workers, the Gala continues!

This year it meets the Tory party, traditional enemy of the working class, in turmoil.

The Tories are desperately trying to reorganise their shattered ranks in preparation for an intensified fight against the working class.

The Labour Party leaders make routine calls for a general election. But only in the House of Commons!

The last thing Labour leader Tony Blair wants is the working class mobilised in action to get rid of the Tory government.

Blair knows that the economic crisis will force a Labour government to press home the attack against millions of workers.

He above all fears the resistance of workers to these attacks. The Durham Gala shows again that the fighting spirit of the working class is unbroken!

This strength must be united into a powerful movement to remove the Tories and prepare for the problems the working class will face under a Labour government.

### Major wins, but . . . How long for government?

Prime Minister Major for the time being remains leader of the Tory party. But his election, with 89 MPs voting for right-winger John Redwood, does nothing to solve the crisis that is tearing their party limb-from-limb.

Major's supporters claim a magnificent victory. But one-third of Tory MPs, over 100 members, failed to back the prime minister.

Parliamentary politics can never resolve fundamental questions for the working class. Nor does this election solve anything for the ruling class.

The crisis of British capitalism remains, and gets deeper. The need to intensify the attacks against the working class remains. The need to press ahead with the destruction of the National Health Service and the social services remain.

The deep divisions in the Tory party remain, above all on Europe, but also on how to deal with the working class.

A campaign by the Labour leaders could remove this feeble government in next to no time. The failure of Blair and company to launch even the semblance of such a fight shows where they stand in relation to the struggles of the working class.



## Blood money

DOZENS of hospital operations throughout Britain were cancelled last week. The reason? A shortage of blood. An even bigger crisis was avoided only because thousands of volunteers rushed to donate.

The blood shortage follows the decision of the National Blood Authority (NBA) to destroy 15 per cent of existing blood stocks to eliminate the risk of contamination from faulty seals in blood bags.

Leaked minutes of the NBA show that the contract for the supply of bags to store blood was switched to an Australian firm called Tuta to cut costs. In other words, the safety of patients was subordinated to cost.

Yet again warnings from workers in one of the state health services were ignored, for staff at the NBA's centre in Oxford told management months ago that there were problems with the Tuta bags. But to no avail.

This would be bad enough. But immediately after this scandal was uncovered it was revealed that the NBA may have spent millions on the appointment of dozens of new managers without proper authorisation.

The Manufacturing, Science and Finance Union which represents staff in the transfusion service, has asked the Luton auditor to investigate the legality of making the appointments in advance of final decisions about the NBA should be run.

Until 1993 the NBA was run by one director and a handful of staff from a small office in Manchester. There are now 23 key managers, including 11 regional executives in the service, some appointed on salaries of over £100,000 a year. All are supplied with brand new lease cars.

Meanwhile the service has been 'reorganised' to save £10 million on its £135 million-a-year budget.

Here are some important lessons for the working class and all those who want to defend the social and health services.

While money is being saved at the risk to patients, millions are being poured down the drain on expensive and often quite useless bureaucrats.

And these are the 'reforms' to the health services that Tony Blair and the Labour leadership propose to leave largely untouched.

## When the Hurley-burley's done

'CHRIST, they lie more than me!' spluttered a British reporter from the sewer end of the business after spending a few hours on Sunset Boulevard. He was referring to prostitute women whom he'd been asking for help in finding a colleague of theirs, suddenly news-worthy because of a transaction with a British actor that had led to the arrest of both seller and buyer.

Here was a rare outburst of candour from one of the 20 whores of the pen and 30 whores of the camera whose descent on the Los Angeles red-light district looked like a British reporters' convention, and whose trade is infinitely more disgusting than that of the woman they were pursuing.

She in fact is the only person to come well out of the affair. Driven to prostitution at the age of 22 in order to feed her three children and pay her electricity bill, she has received from the 'News of the World', in payment for an 'exclusive' interview, what she would have got from 2,000 'tricks'.

Model Elizabeth Hurley, no doubt to her relief, finds herself still contracted to a cosmetics company that gets its profits from marketing the anal grease of the civet cat at grossly inflated prices.

Gutter and 'quality' press alike, in their saturation coverage of this banal episode, dragged their profession to the lowest depths. In a world descending into barbarism, papers that offer lurid accounts of the sexual behaviour of minor 'celebrities' have abandoned journalism for pornography.

## McLibel appeal to workers' movement

THE High Court libel trial brought by the \$24-billion-a-year McDonald's corporation against two unwaged London Greenpeace supporters began in June 1994 and is now expected to last until at least December 1995. It looks set to become the longest libel trial in British history.

The trial is of particular importance to trade unionists and the labour movement. The employment section of the trial, which will be the largest section, began in April. Forty ex-McDonald's workers will be testifying about the poor pay and conditions. Trade union officials and activists from around the world will be giving evidence about their experience of McDonald's hostility to trade unions. Included are:

(a) officials from the CFDT union in Lyon, France, who will relate how five McDonald's managers were arrested for trying to rig union elections in July last year;

(b) a 17-year-old Canadian worker who last year organised a union branch in McDonald's, Ontario;

(c) two McDonald's union activists from the successful 1979 Dublin strike for union recognition;

(d) a McDonald's worker from Norway, representative of the newly recognised union branch and secretary of the Oslo trades union council;

(e) a London TGWU official will testify on conditions in the catering industry;

(f) others from the USA and Australia.

International information on conditions and disputes has been provided by the International Union of Foodworkers.

We are calling on you to support the campaign of the 'McLibel 2'. So far about 30 trades councils and trade union branches have pledged their support, and the Transport and General Workers' Union has circulated our appeal to hundreds of branches. We're

hoping the whole labour movement will back the campaign. We hope that the following resolution can be passed throughout the trade union movement:

This branch/organisation recognises the poor working conditions at McDonald's and their hostility to trade unionism, and supports the right of their staff to organise and take industrial action; protests against the company's attempts to suppress criticism, in particular the use of libel laws as censorship; and resolves:

(1) to back the McLibel Support Campaign in its protests,

(2) to back the FREE SPEECH PLEDGE,

(3) to circulate information about the case, and

(4) to donate £XX.

The Free Speech Pledge is: 'Free speech is our right. We call on you to pledge to defy libel threats and to freely circulate anti-McDonald's literature, whatever the verdict at the trial — nearly a million leaflets have already been handed out on the streets since this campaign began! Let's show them that efforts to silence critics will continue to backfire.'

Your financial assistance is urgently required to help pay the travelling expenses of witnesses, all of whom are giving their evidence free of charge.

Last Summer, an independent McDonald's workers' support group was set up by a group of trade unionists in Hackney. They're building up a nationwide support network to provide advice and information, and to promote solidarity for all McDonald's workers wanting to fight for their rights.

**McLibel Support Campaign**  
c/o London Greenpeace  
5 Caledonian Road  
London N1 9DX  
Tel/fax: 0171-713 1269

## Marx/Engels reprieve in Colorado

THANK YOU for acting on my announcement of the closure of the Marx/Engels internet archive.

I hope your readers will be glad as I am to learn that after vo-

luminosity E-mail to Colorado University the archive is back in operation.

The immediate problem has been dealt with, but the long term need for the crucial information resources of the socialist movement to be internationalised remains. The Marx/Engels archives should be duplicated onto computers around the world to ensure that they can never be threatened again in the same way. Likewise with the anarchist archive 'Spunk' and the electronic copies of increasing numbers of socialist and leftist publications which currently reside on a few sites.

We should not limit our concerns to electronic data. All around the world irreplaceable documents and records of the workers' movement are stored in inadequate conditions — nowhere more so than in Russia!

**John Plant**  
London E7

## Surfing the 'net with Fred and Karl

VIC CHARLES's article in Workers Press (24 June) informed us that the University of Colorado had banned the works of Marx and Engels from its computers. Volunteers had typed in these works and made them available to anyone with access to the Internet — a worldwide network of computers accessible to any computer user with a subscription to a network service.

This archive is immensely useful to Marxist scholars who can download texts and search for keywords indicating topics of interest. Another site has not been banned from inputting that notorious book that's full of sex and violence known as the 'Bible'.

I have only one doubt about the wisdom of the Marx/Engels project and that is the danger that the unschooled or the unscrupulous will flood us with the quotes rather the wisdom of the old men.

On the other hand, it should make it easier to deal with those — such as N. Weyl (Peter Fryer's 'Personal Column', also 24 June) — who would pretend that Marx

and Engels said things they never did.

Protests have led to the University of Colorado reinstating the archive and readers fortunate enough to have access to the World Wide Web can view them at the address <http://csf.colorado.edu/csf/marx>.

However, the originators of this work are fearful that the university authorities could resume censorship and want to set up a global network of sites. Every region would have a duplicate of the Marx/Engels archive and would use a simple mirroring software program to update the site every two weeks or so — this is automated and requires almost no work.

It would then be almost impossible for any country to censor the work. The 'central' site hasn't been decided yet — it would be the source that everyone would connect to and to which new works would be added.

For now, it will remain in Colorado, but there's been interest from locations in several countries — but not Britain. The organisers of the archive say that a site in Britain 'would be terrific'. All readers of Workers Press who work in academic institutions should consider contacting them with a view to setting up a British location for the archive to help diversify the locations and give easy access for Marxists in Britain.

The archive organisers also told me: 'We could be developing a basic tactic of operating controversial political sites on the Internet. And nothing is better suited than the internationalist Marx.'

Yes, I thought, the old mole would have surfed if he were alive now. This raises an important issue, apart from censorship. It seems that governments worldwide are suddenly terrified by the Internet that they largely created. I can see why.

What if workers all over the world started talking to each other? In World War I my grandfather's comrades were shot for fraternising with their German counterparts!

The archive organisers can be contacted at [zodiac@gold.interlog.com](mailto:zodiac@gold.interlog.com).

**Archie Langham**  
London SW12

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# Tory election solves nothing

THE Tory party leadership election has solved nothing. Following a contest that was supposed to unite its ranks, a split in the party is now distinctly on the cards.

The party that, from the time of Disraeli onwards, has been the 'natural' party of government for the ruling class is today in danger of breaking up.

As recently as 40 years ago, the Tories were the majority party in Scotland. Now they are almost wiped out. In Wales the same situation exists, with the Tories reduced to a rump.

Only 25 years ago, the Ulster Unionists were an integral part of the Tory party at Westminster. Now they are a motley bunch owing little allegiance to the present government.

A section of the ruling class has clearly decided that direct rule over the six counties in the north of Ireland is no longer viable or desirable.

This is only one source of the historical conflicts threatening to rip the Tory party to pieces.

Right-wing ideologist Norman Stone in last Sunday's 'Observer' ('Has the time for a National Party arrived?') suggested that the time for a breakaway from the Tory party — a 'National Party' — had now arrived.

'In the artificial Europe that is being created, every country will be producing such a party. Why should dissident Tories not, if need be, lead the way?'

At the base of this crisis is the continuing decline of British capitalism and the refusal of the

working class to pay the costs of this decline.

The day of the Tory election vote, figures showed that manufacturing output in Britain is at its lowest level for 18 months. At the same time, inflationary pressures have reappeared, fuelling demands in the City for a rise in the cost of borrowing.

## Devaluation

The gains of the big sterling devaluation following Black Wednesday have been wiped out.

These are simply the latest, surface expressions of the crisis of capitalism in Britain.

It is a crisis that has reached a point where influential sections of the ruling class are now forced to think about different forms of rule in this country. If the ruling

class can no longer govern through the Tory party, then some other form of government and rule must be found.

In past crises, the ruling class has relied on Labour governments. Such governments have offered a few concessions to the working class and sections of the middle class, and during their time of office have allowed the Tories to re-organise their ranks and prepare for a return to government.

But now such reforms, even small ones, are not possible. The crisis for the ruling class is expressed in the fact that almost 16 years of Tory government has failed to shift the balance of class forces in any fundamental sense.

The capitalist class is faced with the most urgent problem:

how to weaken the working class to the point where all its past gains are destroyed.

Tony Blair and the rest of the Labour leadership fall over themselves to ape Tory policies — on the NHS, on education, on welfare services.

But this raises a serious question for the working class. If these policies, carried out by the Tories for a decade and a half, have failed to halt British capitalism's decline, then something even more reactionary will be demanded of the Labour leaders when they form a government.

Meanwhile the Tory right show the shape of things to come. Michael Portillo, the right's most serious candidate, makes his attitude to trade unionism clear.

## Speaking

Speaking to the Institute of Personnel and Development on the eve of the leadership vote he raised the spectre of a resurgent trade union movement in Britain. He warned darkly of a return to 'the sleazy world of blacklists, blacking and blackmail'.

Portillo combined this with a strident anti-European nationalism which pretended that the trade union leaders were hand-in-glove with the European Union bureaucrats in Brussels aiming to restore trade union power.

How to prepare for this renewed onslaught, whether by a Tory, Labour, or coalition government: this is the main issue before the working class.

## Taiwan comes to Ireland

BY MARY IDE

IRELAND's 'social partnership' approach — in the cause of competitiveness and building 'a strong economy' — has led to a massive erosion of working conditions in recent years. 'Taiwan comes to Ireland', says Michael O'Reilly, the secretary of the Irish section of the Transport and General Workers' Union, the ATGWU.

Writing in the union's journal, the 'Record', O'Reilly points to the loss of 2,000 skilled engineering workers at Air Lingus, 2,000 at Telecom Eirann, and 2,900 are due to go in the next five years at the electricity suppliers.

Five hundred strikers at Irish Steel went back to work but, O'Reilly says, 'they will pay for the survival of the company.'

The publicly-owned TSB is being primed for take-over by Australian-owned National Irish Bank.

Workers for state companies are bearing the brunt of the attacks.

To make things worse the Irish TUC, the ICTU, without co-ordinate resistance, acts as a neutral mediator.

These attacks on Irish workers, with huge job losses, low pay and the creation of low-skill work, have reaped benefits — for the ruling class!

Ireland is the fastest growing economy in Europe, with bumper profits and dividends for the bosses, not better pay for workers. Irish Steel's chief executive has just had a pay increase of £6,687 and Air Lingus chief executive Bernie Cahill an increase of £18,977.

We active trade unionists across Europe have to realise that our problem is not 'how to keep their company afloat', but that capitalism, and the deregulation and 'social partnership' it needs to work, does not work for us but only for the bosses. We must work towards the time when we organise to take these companies over to operate them in our interest and of the world as a whole!



RMT transport union demonstration against low pay: sinister Tory rightwinger Portillo warns of trade union resurgence

## Rolls Royce workers knock back management plans

BY PAUL HENDERSON

ROLLS ROYCE shop stewards at the Ansty plant near Coventry are claiming a victory in a struggle against management attempts to impose sweeping casualisation practices.

The 350 engineering workers at the plant had recently escalated their action from an overtime ban begun six months ago to a programme of discontinuous strikes. This was in response to an offensive begun by the employers at all of their factories in Britain, and resisted by Rolls Royce workers at East Kilbride, Bristol and Derby, as well as at Ansty, although the Ansty workers held out for two months longer than anybody else.

Amongst other things, the management had wanted to impose flexible seven-day working with no premium payments for Saturdays and Sundays, to introduce a rolling four-day shift system, again with no extra payment for weekend working and to annualise working hours. This latter meant that the workforce could find themselves working long hours for part of the year and be laid off for the rest.

At the same time, the manage-

ment mounted an attack on the shop stewards at the plant, cutting the hours allowed for union work. At a rally held in Coventry following an agreement reached with the firm, convenor Alan Wilkins said that if the workers had not taken their action, Rolls Royce management would have turned them into 'industrial gypsies'. Pointing to the importance of their struggle, Alan described how, although this might look like a 'one-off' issue, this was not really the case.

It involved all workers, as the practices sought by Rolls Royce management were part of a move on the part of the employing classes, affecting all workers in all industries.

'With the multi-national nature of industrial capital,' he went on, 'it is vital for workers to put a stop to these practices, wherever they appear.'

Speaking after the rally to Workers Press, Alan explained that management had very consciously planned to break the strength of the Rolls Royce workforce.

'They went to the supermarket Tesco to get advice as to how Tesco manage their workforce', he said. 'They wanted to bring in the same sort of casualisation and

flexibility of working carried out in supermarkets.'

'To force through these practices they need to break the link between younger workers who have grown up in the Thatcher era, and those of us who are older and have an established trade union consciousness.'

'Then they went around the factories in Britain, getting different settlements at each one. At East Kilbride, they got flexible working across 32 to 37 hours. At Derby, they brought in seven-day working with no premium payments for weekend working, and at Bristol a rolling four-day shift system was introduced with full working on Saturday and no premium payment.'

## Settled

'Everyone settled, and Ansty was left on its own for two months, our action began and stayed solid. At the end, there was a majority of only 56 to accept the agreement.'

'Under the terms of the agreement, we have conceded Saturday working, but we are still only working a four-and-a-half-day week. Now the week starts on Tuesday, with premium payments for working extra hours. We have maintained the 37-hour

week and a two-and-a-half-day weekend.'

'This means that we have driven back one of the worst aspects of the company's plans, which was the annualisation of hours. They also wanted variation of hours from 6am to 8pm and to add overtime more or less as they saw fit.'

'This is not everything that we wanted because it opens the door to flexible working. However, the general feeling these days is that you cannot change things, but we have shown that you can, as we have seriously knocked back the plans.'

'The shop stewards here are very anxious to open up a campaign against flexible working and annualisation of hours. We are prepared to speak to anybody in the workers' movement. For example, we are in agreement with the proposal for a series of public meetings throughout the area, ending up with a conference, aimed at all those who are facing casualisation of their working practices.'

'This must also be taken into the political arena. One thing that we must insist on is that the next Labour government repeals the anti-trade-union legislation, as that legislation ties us down'

## Clegg gets away with murder

IF John Redwood had been prime minister in 1990 when Lee Clegg murdered teenager Karen Reilly, the Para might now have been dead.

Clegg was convicted of murder after being found guilty of shooting Reilly. She was shot in the back after the car in which she was a back seat passenger had passed the check point that Clegg was manning.

Instead he has been released on the grounds that his punishment — four years in jail — was sufficient.

It was the most cynical of moves by the prime minister designed to rally the right in the Tory party on the eve of the leadership election.

Clegg has not been cleared of murder. He has simply been re-

leased after four years. He was one of the exceptionally few serving soldiers who have been convicted while on duty in the north of Ireland.

Some 300 civilians have been killed by the British army there since 1968.

His conviction was upheld in every court in the country, up to and including the House of Lords.

He has been made into a hero by the army top brass, the Tory party and the right-wing press.

Tory MP Lady Olga Maitland, one of Clegg's most enthusiastic backers, said his conviction was a 'quirk of the law'.

For these people there is one law for the army and another for the rest of the population, including members of the IRA.

And they are right.

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# Inside left

## Division of labour

**BACK ALL THE TORIES'**, proclaimed 'Socialist Worker' (1 July). Indeed, beneath the rubric 'Not to be trusted', it profiled Redwood, Heseltine and Portillo.

'Any big focus for people's bitterness could finish off this crumbling government,' opined the paper, mentioning health and rail pay struggles but warning that union leaders might settle for dubious deals.

'Labour mustn't repeat mistakes,' it went on; 'the Labour Party's economic strategy, announced on Tuesday, offered little in the way of change' ('Our chance to bury the Tories'. 'What we think', 'Socialist Worker', 1 July).

Alongside this, an ad for the Socialist Workers Party's 'Marxism 95' summer school, promising 'seven days of recharging our batteries', depicted star speakers: Labour Party MPs Tony Benn and Bernie Grant, and miners' leader Arthur Scargill.

Where's the 'Marxism', then?

'Fighting for a better life means more than simply supporting Labour,' said a note, referring to an article on Bill Morris's re-election as leader of the TGWU; 'it means being prepared to continue the fight under Blair government.' Pitched presumably at some 'average' Labour-voting trade unionist, 'Socialist Worker's' message is: stay as you are, be a bit more militant, but don't worry about developing your ideas.

Notwithstanding occasional child-stunts, the Socialist Workers Party's recent phase of 'rank-and-file'ism, and attempts to distinguish itself from Labour, are ways of avoiding confrontation with the bureaucracy, not challenging it politically. SWP street politics amount to a division of labour with the parliamentarians, not a real difference with reformism.

The ever-so-amusing Tony Cliff, long-standing SWP leader, may be giving his last, testimonial performance this weekend. (How about a 'not to be trusted' feature on Hallas, Harman and other possible replacements?) But while tired 'Socialist Worker' sellers are recharging their batteries, and leaders recharging their glasses, don't look to 'Marxism' for a socialist alternative to Labour.

## Blair 'should go further'?

**WICK THEM ALL OUT!** says 'Workers Power' (July). After looking at the Tory crisis, its editorial ('Divided they fall?') says 'Tony Blair, the leader of the Labour Party, has rightly said that this leadership excludes the country from delivering its verdict on the government and its leadership. Blair should go further.'

'The Labour Party must not sit back and let a few hundred Tory MPs decide who rules Britain. They must demand the resignation of the Tory government now and an immediate general election. They should back up with calls for mass protest action, demonstrations and meetings to force an election now.'

Noting that Blair has denounced teachers and other workers for threatening strike action, 'Workers Power' says rail and health workers should 'go for all out strikes', 'set up joint committees' and galvanise other workers into action. 'The Tories are considering how to change their leadership so that they can better attack workers. We need to change the whole lot of them and force them out of office.'

But Labour leaders aren't just sitting back. They are desperately promising even minimal reformist promises overboard, the nearer they get to being in government. Shouldn't we say so, and draw some conclusions? **Charlie Pottins**

## Book review

# Bosnia-Herzegovina — a warning

**Genocide in Bosnia — The Policy of 'Ethnic Cleansing'**  
by Norman Cigar  
Texas A&M University Press, £29

A SCHOLARLY and honest work, 'Genocide in Bosnia — The Policy of "Ethnic Cleansing"' is a meticulously researched work written in language which makes it accessible to a wide audience. The author presents factual evidence and eye-witness reports giving incontrovertible proof that what took place in Bosnia-Herzegovina was premeditated genocide.

This book can only strengthen the fight against Greater Serbian nationalism taking place in the whole of ex-Yugoslavia, including the oppositionist intellectuals and workers in Serbia itself.

Cigar is not a socialist. Indeed, he is a professor of national security studies at the US Marine Corps School of Advanced Warfighting, and a former senior analyst for the army staff at the Pentagon! But, whatever Cigar's political and ideological stance, he has carried out a thorough job of work, with every statement carefully supported by appropriate evidence.

If the book has a weakness it is Cigar's reference to a supposed 'international community' as if there is no class struggle; and he deals with morals as if they stand outside of that struggle.

Nevertheless Cigar makes a telling point about capitalist morality when he points out that it is not possible for the West to plead ignorance over the genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and:

**'What Bosnia-Herzegovina measured was the cost that the international community was willing to bear in order to prevent or stop genocide. However sensible the cost-benefit analysis may have turned out to be to policy makers, and however genuine the anguish these policy makers may have felt, the result was that they finally assessed that stopping genocide was not worth the cost.'**

The book shows that the genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina was led, planned, prepared and enacted on the basis that 'the establishment of the full national integrity of the Serbian people, regardless of which republic or province it inhabits, is its historic and democratic right'.

This statement can be found in the 'Serbian Memorandum', drafted in 1986 by the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences:

'The manifesto maintained that the "national question" of the Serbian people had been thwarted by the Communists at the end of World War II.'

Ignoring this, 'Western observers' have taken the view that 'the proximate cause of what befell the Muslims was the latter's pursuit of Bosnia-Herzegovina's independence after a positive vote in the February 29, 1992 referendum.

'After this, the Serbs, allegedly not wishing to stop being part of Yugoslavia or to become a minority in another state, took up arms with the help of their fellow-Serbs from the neighbouring rump Yugoslavia.'

### Lie

This is a lie, and each chapter of Cigar's book sets out the background and facts to prove that, and to reach the conclusion, contained in the first chapter:

**'Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina was neither a spontaneous expression of communal hatreds, extending back over a millennium, nor was it a primeval popular**



Omarska concentration camp where Bosnian men were herded by Bosnian-Serb Chetnik forces remain

emotion, which the Serbian leadership could not control.

**'On the contrary, in seeking to develop a vehicle for its own acquisition and consolidation of power, the Serbian elite (both governmental and non-governmental) found it necessary to engage in a systematic and intensive campaign in order to create a nationalist movement and to exacerbate intercommunal relations to the extent that genocide could be made plausible.'**

The 'Memorandum' was opposed by the government of the time. In an address at Belgrade University, on 30 October 1986, Ivan Stambolic, Serbia's president, stated that the 'so-called Memorandum is not new. It is the old chauvinist concern for the fate of the Serbian cause with the well-known formula that the Serbs win wars but lose the peace. . . . In short, the so-called Memorandum, more precisely and with an easy conscience, could be entitled "In Memoriam" for Yugoslavia, Serbia, Socialism, self-management, equality, brotherhood, and unity. . . . Essentially, it is diametrically opposed to the interests of the Serbs throughout Yugoslavia.'

But interest in the 'Memorandum' spanned much of the Serbian national elite, including leading intellectuals, political figures, and clergymen, and its impact was to extend to all strata of society. . . . That is, by reifying and isolating the entire Muslim community, any steps subsequently taken against Muslims in pursuit of Belgrade's political goals would acquire legitimacy and popular support.'

However, many Muslims in Bos-

nia-Herzegovina were members of the Communist Party. Therefore Miroljub Jevtic, a political scientist and specialist on Islam at Belgrade University 'was forced to stretch his definition of fundamentalism to one of "secular Islamic fundamentalism" and "Communist Islam"....'

### Protected

The Serbian Orthodox Church had protected nationalists as dissidents under the previous regime. Now the Church played a key role in whipping up racism. 'In late 1991, in lashing out against the alleged Islamic inspiration of articles in a Sarajevo newspaper, a Serbian Orthodox cleric wrote about the "malignant disease of the authors of these texts and of those whose orders they write".' He rhetorically asked the Muslim population to decide 'whether this disease has been contained or whether it has infected the majority of its organism'.

**But even though nationalism and intolerance were growing the 'Memorandum' could have been sidelined had it not been for Milosevic. He used the nationalist sentiments which were resurfacing in the wake of the break-up of Stalinism in the ex-USSR and eastern Europe to mobilise support for his own political power.**

By 1987, through playing the nationalist card, Milosevic had won control of the Serbian League of Communists, and in 1989 he consolidated Serbia's hold over Vojvodina and Kosovo, and brought his supporters to power in Montenegro. He also arranged the arming and financing of the various Chetnik po-

litical groups. The manifesto of the Serbian Popular Renewal (Srpska Narodna Obnova — SNO) denied that the Muslims were anything but forcibly converted Serbs whose Muslim identity had been artificially invented by Tito!

By the late 1980s Serb nationalist rallies organised with the support of Belgrade were staged in Bosnia-Herzegovina with demonstrators bussed in from Serbia. Long before the Bosnian government held its own referendum on the issue of independence in February 1992, the Bosnian Serbs' main political party organised a plebiscite in November 1991 and, following the inevitable outcome, set up the autonomous Serbian republic within Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In late 1991 Bozidar Vucurevic, who eventually became governor of Serbian-controlled Herzegovina, threatened: 'I would inform the Serbian people that we will correct the injustice with regard to the borders which Josip Broz [Tito] drew with his dirty finger...'

Radovan Karadzic, president of the 'Serbian Republic' in Bosnia, 'could make the average Serb feel that he was struggling not only for his own nation but for the good of the West as a whole. He reassured his domestic audience that "we defended Europe from Islam six hundred years ago. . . . We are defending Europe again from Germany (sic) and from Islamic fundamentalism.'

Cigar's book shows that 'Muslims had already become direct targets of physical attacks by the Serbs by the second half of 1991, well before Bosnia-Herzegovina had made a



# ina genocide g to Europe



s a potent symbol of the war

decision, much less taken any concrete steps, to declare its independence. But Serbia's actions 'including the leveling of the city of Vukovar in eastern Croatia... led to no appreciable penalties against Belgrade, apart from haphazardly enforced economic sanctions.'

The imposition of the arms embargo on all countries of the former Yugoslavia had little effect on the well-equipped Yugoslav People's

Army, but had a crippling effect on Croatia, and showed Serbia that this embargo would also leave their future target — Bosnia-Herzegovina — defenceless.

In every war there is death and injury and damage to homes, civic and religious buildings, and there are also individuals who commit barbaric acts. Cigar shows that every effort was made to prevent this on the Bosnia-Herzegovina government's side. I can confirm this from my own experience.

When I was in Tuzla in April 1994 with Workers Aid for Bosnia, I was witness to the repair of the Orthodox Church, and also, on a later occasion, to the first service held there since the war began — both with the assistance of the multi-ethnic local authority.

Cigar's book shows that atrocities carried out by the Serbs, far from being acts of individual terror, were carried out on the instruction of and co-ordinated by the Serbian authorities and top levels of the army.

In an intercepted telephone conversation conducted while besieging the town of Zeleni Jadar, near Srebrenica, in 1993, Mladic [General Ratko Mladic, the Bosnian-Serb Army commander] provided detailed guidance to a subordinate at the scene on how to shell the town. He ordered: "You have my permission [to shell], but do not touch the industrial infrastructure because we need the machinery. Shoot only at human flesh. Shell only human flesh, only human flesh."

This brings to mind the recent killing of 72 young people (five of them Serbs) in Tuzla by the Serb militia deliberately shelling a popular meeting place and restaurant. My friend and well-known Bosnian campaigner, Faruk Ibrahimovic from Tuzla, has a Serbian wife.

In one telephone conversation she tearfully explained to him that a Serbian news broadcast had told its listeners that the Muslims had shelled and killed their own young people just in order to blame the Serbs!

After the first force of heavily armed troops (Yugoslav National

Army) captured a town the Bosnian Serb Militia took over to carry out the ethnic cleansing. In a village in the Banja Luka area, for example, decrees imposed not only a curfew on non-Serbs but forbade them from meeting in cafés and other public places, traveling by car, gathering in groups of more than three, or contacting relatives outside the town.

'Muslims were deprived of a livelihood. Their utilities were cut off, their houses often burned down, and individuals beaten, killed, or raped, either selectively or indiscriminately.'

Cigar points out that this method 'calls to mind the operational procedure the Nazis used in occupied areas of Eastern Europe during World War II. There, light special police, the *Einsatzgruppen*, one of whose principal missions was to target "racially and politically undesirable elements", co-ordinated closely with the regular army.

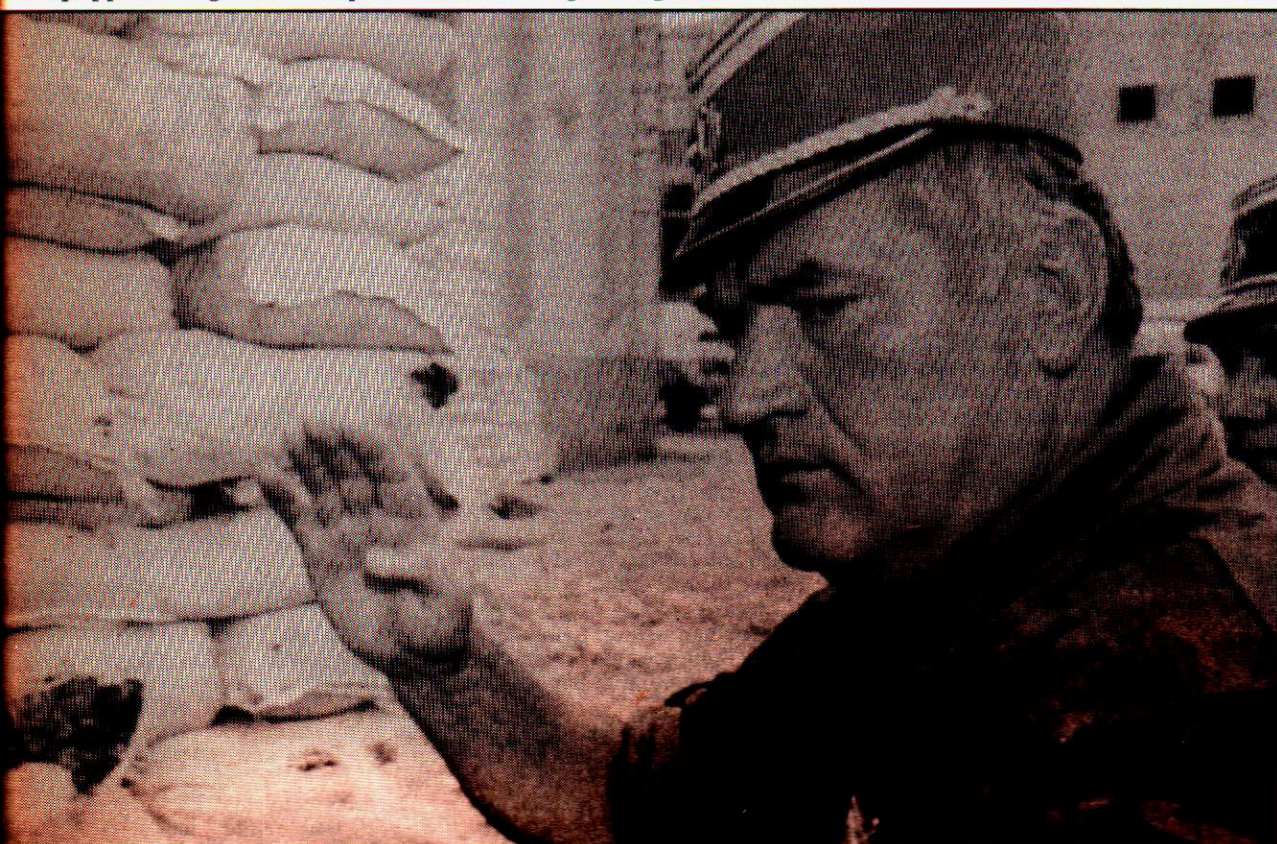
## Studied

'In a studied division of labour, the *Einsatzgruppen*, along with locally raised and often unruly light auxiliary forces, normally went into action once the more heavily armed *Wehrmacht* combat forces had secured the area, thereby enabling the lighter forces to operate with relative impunity.'

Cigar's book should be a warning to us. The racist thugs and gangs who beat up and murder black people on the streets in Europe and make arson attacks on refugee hostels today, cheered on by racist politicians like Le Pen, could become the *Einsatzgruppen* of tomorrow if we turn our back on the struggle of the people in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

[Note: Normally I would use 'Chetnik' and not 'Serb' when writing about those who carry out the aggression and ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina, because there are thousands of Serbs who do not support these actions. However, in the context of writing a review of this book, it was not possible to change the forms used by the author.]

Dot Gibson



Bosnian-Serb Chetnik General Mladic was concerned that his shells should only hit 'human flesh'

# City Lights

## Food wars

A FIERCE battle is raging in Moscow about the recently-imposed higher tariffs on imported food. So fierce are the passions aroused by the decision to raise duties by over 15 per cent that the mayor of Moscow, Yuri Luzhkov, has formally filed a charge of slander against Anatoli Chubais, deputy prime minister of Russia and chief architect of the privatisation programme.

An indication that privatisation has yet to make any inroads into decisive sectors of the economy is the fact that the vast majority of the food consumed by Muscovites is imported. For those with the money, food is freely available in the shops — from Italian parmesan cheese, eggs from Belgium, milk shipped from Switzerland to Japanese noodles. Even salmon roe comes from Denmark — this in a country famed for its caviar.

Luzhkov, who runs Moscow like a personal fiefdom and has been the target of many allegations of corruption has emerged as the unlikely champion of liberalisation and free trade.

He has spent weeks lobbying senior cabinet ministers to get the increased tariffs overturned. Luzhkov warns that the new taxes will put between 40 and 70 per cent on the price of food. Few believe him.

In a turn-up for the books, Chubais has become the champion of protectionism. He warns that any rise in food prices will not be the fault of the tariff but of deals between monopolists who enjoy the backing of the city's authorities. Chubais was thus widely understood to imply that Luzhkov is the protector of Moscow's mafia. Hence the writ.

The grocers of Moscow naturally agree with their mayor. But many admit, in private at any rate, that the fight over the tariff on imported food has obscured an even more byzantine conflict which could have far greater implications for Russian families' grocery bills.

Many shopkeepers say that the already existing tariffs on imported food and cigarettes have had little or no practical effect. The explanation lies in one of the murkiest aspects of Russia's bizarre tax system.

For the last few years a number of altruistically named organisations, such as the Chernobyl Fund and the Afghan Veteran's Fund have had the legal right to import goods without paying tariffs or regular taxes. But nobody bothered to specify what goods could and could not be imported.

The largest of these bodies is the Sportsmen's Fund, headed by President Boris Yeltsin's tennis partner and close friend, Shamil Tarpishchev. It has grown to be so powerful that it controls the importing of virtually all Moscow's food.

Pressure from the International Monetary Fund has forced the government to revoke these privileges as from 15 March. But they were then extended for a few organisations, including the Sportsmen's Fund, until 15 May and then 1 July.

Moscow's shopkeepers are anxiously awaiting the outcome of two battles. The first, between Luzhkov and Chubais, is about to be joined in the courts. The second, for the retention of the tax-evidence schemes, is being fought behind closed doors.

But it is this second one that is likely to prove the more decisive.

## US-Japan cracks

CRACKS are already appearing in the 'historic' agreement between the

United States and Japan and the world's two leading economic powers narrowly averted a damaging trade war over cars and car parts.

President Bill Clinton led a chorus of Americans claiming an estimated \$9 billion gain for the US from the concessions that the Japanese government were supposed to have made. Clinton was talking glibly about the opening up of a thousand new outlets for US cars in Japan by the end of the century.

But chairman of Toyota, Shoichiro Toyoda, also claimed victory — precisely because the US had backed away from specific numerical targets. Japan's minister for international trade, Ryutaro Hashimoto, blamed US chief negotiator, Mickey Kantor, for these wildly inflated figures.

The truth seems to lie with the Japanese. Last week most Wall Street analysts agreed that the deal was extremely vague and contained entirely voluntary plans by Japanese carmakers to expand their US operations.

If this does indeed turn out to be the case it is certain that the US will be back demanding real concessions from their Far Eastern rivals.

The one group that certainly gained nothing out of the deal were Europe's car exporters. As they warned throughout the course of the talks, any deal struck between the US and Japan was certain to be at their expense.

For while Japan has made promises to open up its market to imported car parts in general, the expected beneficiaries were always going to be US producers. Now it seems that they are likely to come away with little that is tangible. Watch this space.

## Little to cheer about

BEER drinkers have always suspected it. Now they have proof positive. The price of a pint is going up far more rapidly than inflation. Over the last twelve months or so, its price has gone up at twice the rate of inflation, according to CAMRA, the Campaign for Real Ale. Lager went up even faster — by over 6 per cent, as against the official inflation rate of around 2.5 per cent.

Our science correspondent, Daniel Robertson, writing recently in Workers Press, suggested that drinking red wine was positively good for you. Now you have another reason for taking his advice.

## A sick joke

THE Tories' 'property-owning democracy' is looking a sicker and sicker joke with every passing month.

Housing transactions fell a further 10 per cent in the first half of the year according to Nationwide, the country's second biggest building society.

Over the same period house prices fell on average by almost 2 per cent. Nationwide said it could see no improvement in the foreseeable future.

Estate agents are now predicting a dreadful July, which in any case is always a bad month for house sales. They blame the growing political instability in the country as one of the reasons why people are reluctant to purchase property.

Last week the government introduced regulations that from October will reduce the amount of state aid available for unemployed homeowners, a move hardly likely to make the situation any less dire.

Threadneedle



## Confessions of a language purist

## PERSONAL COLUMN

CHATTING in the Workers Press office the other day, I confessed to having a soft spot for those French people who are purists about their language and who deplore slang and *franglais* and other deviations from the straight and narrow path charted by the Académie française.

A French comrade informed me that my point of view would cut little ice with young people in her country — or, for that matter, with French motorists, who are so used to signs saying 'STOP' that the French equivalent would sow confusion, it seems.

And indeed my fellow-feeling for the purists may well be hopelessly outmoded, for it dates back to the early 1950s, when I had two long stays in Paris, covering a general election and a near-general strike.

I was greatly impressed by the patience and courtesy with which the many French people whom I interviewed listened to my far-from-adequate schoolboy French — always taking the trouble gravely to correct my grammatical howlers, so that each visit was among other things a badly needed crash course in the spoken language.

Nor was this culture of benevolent didacticism limited by class: the railway workers and dockers and printers I spoke with were just as eager to teach, and just as effective teachers, as the university-educated journalists with whom I mingled at lunchtime in the canteen at the Communist Party newspaper 'Humanité'.

Forty years ago this French pride in the French language, this desire that the visitor from abroad should speak, as it were, the 'Queen's French', contrasted sharply with the 'anything goes' attitude (or, one might say, the *laissez-faire* attitude) to the 'Queen's English' that was already widespread on this side of the Channel.

And I can't help thinking it's a pity if the French have in fact come to feel that the mangling of their language through incautious and often inaccurate borrowings from other languages doesn't matter — or that this is too powerful a tide to be turned.

WHEN I grumble mildly to members of my family, as I sometimes do, about what I regard as the mistakes in spoken English to be heard every day on television, and the mistakes in written English to be seen every day in the newspapers, I always get the same sweetly-reasonable-sounding reply.

It goes something like this: language is changing all the time; people's linguistic behaviour can't be controlled; so trying to hold back change in this area is fruitless and a waste of time.

Clearly there's a lot of force in this argument. If there weren't, we should still be speaking not just the language of Chaucer but something still more ancient: proto-Indo-European or whatever.

Does this mean that all linguistic rules and standards can be cast aside; that 'anything goes' in written and spoken English alike; that, as Humpty Dumpty told Alice, 'When I use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean — neither more nor less'?

In practice not even the least 'prescriptive' and most 'permissive' amongst us ever takes this solipsistic position. The speed of linguistic change is obviously limited by the need to communicate — the need to understand and be understood. And it could not be otherwise.

So every parent and every teacher is in the business of controlling young children's linguistic

behaviour, at least to the extent of correcting such grammatical mistakes as 'I brought'.

Conversely, in practice even the most ardent 'purist' doesn't try to call an absolute halt to linguistic change but rather seeks to decelerate it in the interests of accuracy, clarity, and mutual understanding.

THOUGH many would dub me a purist or even a conservative (with a small 'c', of course) in these matters, I'm not one of those who get hot under the collar at pronunciations that differ from their own.

Having been brought up to rhyme 'suave' with 'rave' and 'gala' with 'sailor' I expect I shall carry these idiosyncrasies to my grave; but I don't regard an 'ah-' sound in these words as wrong, merely as different.

There are three areas, though, where I do think the line should be drawn. The first is the blurring of useful distinctions.

For instance, it seems to me to impoverish the language to use 'disinterested' to mean 'lack of concern' and 'disinterested' to mean 'uninterested'. These are perfectly good synonyms for 'impartiality' and 'impartial' respectively, and deserve to be retained in that sense.

Second, I think it's in the interests of clarity — and of maximum understanding between the generations — that change in the written language should proceed more deliberately and more thoughtfully than change in the spoken language.

A case in point is the use of 'like' as a conjunction, something that has become extremely common in speech, particularly among young people. 'He doesn't enjoy it like I do', for instance, is probably heard more often these days than the older 'He doesn't enjoy it as I do'. Willy-nilly, this has become the norm.

Even so, I should advise a teenager, or a foreign language-speaker learning English, to prefer 'as' to 'like' in this context when, for example, writing an essay.

Third, the utility of English as a working tool seems to me much reduced by the proliferation of unexplained technicalities and strings of initials — in a word, by jargon.

In speaking and writing alike, this can become a disease. It repels the outsider as nothing else does; and one of the things that seems to me to put Workers Press head and shoulders above the other so-called 'left' papers in this country is its comparative freedom from jargon.

IN SHORT, I'm all for charting a middle course between the two extremes of 'anything goes' and 'all language change is by definition a bad thing'.

I would encourage children to use their own local dialects for everyday purposes, and would teach them a 'socially neutral' form of Standard English to enable them to communicate easily, in both speech and writing, with other English-speakers all over the world.

Good English, like good French, is a great instrument of thought; used properly, it's a magnificent weapon in our struggle. We should be proud of it — and we should guard it from those who would spoil it, either by swamping it with new-fangled expressions or by strangling it with pedantry.

Peter Fryer

# Green protest and multinational capital

BY NICK LEE

THE decision, on 20 June, by the multinational oil company, Shell, not to sink its disused Brent Spar oil platform in the North Sea, but to seek dry-land disposal, is being regarded as a great victory for the international environment pressure group Greenpeace.

Its volunteers staged an audacious occupation of the platform and successfully resisted attempts, both by the company and by Scottish police, to remove them.

Greenpeace was able to rely on support from the German Green Party, whose recent election successes put pressure on Chancellor Helmut Kohl to argue against the sinking at the recent G7 summit.

German environmentalists were particularly prominent in the public campaign in which thousands of Shell filling-stations were subjected to a boycott — one was firebombed — which cost the company about 30 per cent of its fuel sales. A thousand German petrol retailers threatened to sue Shell for loss of revenue — estimated as much as 50 per cent in the week leading up to the change of decision.

The press and media, smarting from the victory of these 'hippies in rubber dinghies' has over the last week mounted a campaign to show how the proposal to sink the Brent Spar in the North Atlantic was, in fact, the best option from the standpoint of environmental protection.

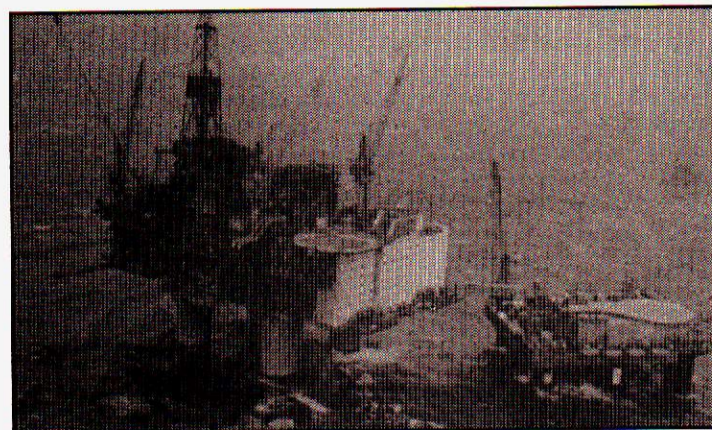
The Economist (24 June) denounced Greenpeace for its 'emotional campaign [which] has forced the oil company into a hazardous course of action that appears to make less environmental sense than its [Shell's] original plan'.

The argument is that sinking the Brent Spar in water 6,000 feet deep, where there is little life, and where a layer of strong currents would prevent the various toxic metals and radioactive waste getting into the human food-chain, makes more sense than cutting it up in a dry dock, exposing workers to toxic materials and dumping the radioactive waste in landfill sites.

## Sinking

But technical documents released by Greenpeace tell a different story. The estimated environmental effects were being calculated on the basis of an intact sinking of the Spar, without taking into account the level of structural damage the platform has sustained over the years.

There is considerable doubt as



There are 400 oil platforms on the North Sea full of toxins

to whether it could have sustained the towing operation into deep water without breaking up, let alone whether it would reach the bottom intact without dispersing its toxic cargo into the higher waters and so into the human food-chain. If these factors are taken into account, claim Greenpeace, the dry-land option starts to look the safest.

But most important, as Greenpeace point out, is the alarming precedent that would have been set.

Brent Spar is the tip of a toxic iceberg. There are over 400 fixed oil and gas platforms in the North Sea — of which about 50 are due to be decommissioned over the next ten years.

The total amount of toxic materials they contain has been estimated to include 1,800 metric tonnes of Zinc, 10,500 tonnes of contaminated fluids, 2,200 tonnes of radioactive scale. In addition, the oil and gas industry is responsible for continually discharging toxic and radioactive wastes in its day-to-day routine operation.

For example, in one year an estimated 84,000 tonnes of drilling chemicals and 6,000 tonnes of production chemicals were dumped from North Sea oil platforms.

If Brent Spar had been sunk, a precedent would have been set for an open-ended dumping policy with completely unpredictable consequences. As Greenpeace see it, forcing Shell into a dry-land disposal has raised the

cost to multinationals of their environmentally dangerous policies.

Business and the media have responded by trying to reinforce the image of an 'environmentally conscious' capitalism.

John Gidland, environment director of the Confederation of British Industries, said that 'Shell's decision . . . undermines the whole way we assess risks and calculate the cost-benefits of any cleaning operation. In future . . . we will have to take in a whole set of other considerations' ('Observer', 25 June).

## Pontificated

Meanwhile the 'Guardian' (28 June) pontificated about Brent Spar marking 'the emergence of a new era which requires business to focus on . . . environment and social equity. . . Companies will need to consult a growing range of environmental "stakeholders".'

But dumping of hazardous waste on land is well established! Most experts expect the international waste trade to continue to increase in the 1990s as the pressures to export mount.

Germany — which put the greatest pressure on Shell to reverse its decision — is in fact the world's greatest exporter of waste and has increased its exports every year since 1988.

Greenpeace figures on waste trade proposals also indicate an increase in the waste trade business. In 1989 Greenpeace recorded 48 proposals, 69 in 1990, 58 in 1991,

119 in 1992 and by the mid-year point in 1993, 70 proposals had already been recorded.

In recent years the waste trade business has shifted geographically from Africa, the Pacific, the Caribbean and Latin America towards eastern and central Europe, the former Soviet Union and Asia. The common theme is the search for sites in countries desperate for foreign 'investment' and authoritarian governments which will keep the lid on protests.

The other trend is the promotion of waste trade schemes cloaked under the more agreeable name of 'recycling'. This is one of the main ways in which various treaties and declarations for a global ban on waste dumping — such as the Basel Convention of 1994 — are being undermined.

There is a simple reason why this is happening. Calls from the United Nations and numerous inter-governmental summits to 'ban' the disposal of waste are irrelevant as long as the existing technology upon which capitalist production is based continues to produce such materials in increasing volume.

Liberal ecologists talk about 'sustainable lifestyles' and propagate the fantasy of a peaceful transition to a humane, environmentally-friendly capitalism based on windmills and solar power. Business could not contemplate such a wholesale and expensive shift in technology when so much capital is already invested in existing techniques and lines of development.

The massive re-equipping and fundamental change in manufacturing processes required to avert ecological disaster require that the competition between capitalists for the extraction of surplus value — in a word: capitalism — be suspended.

We have therefore to recognise that the only force capable of bringing about an end to capitalism's destruction of the environment is the international working class, because only it has the capacity to replace capitalism with a more humane and advanced civilisation.

## Music review

# Michael Jackson's 'Scream'

When allegations were made two years ago that Michael Jackson had abused children, many thought he would never produce another record. His latest album has just been released. ADRIAN BLAKELOCK reviews the first video to come out of that album and what it shows about the machinery of capitalist exploitation in the music industry

ON 16 June, the new Michael Jackson double album was released — with massive, worldwide advertising. The video promoting the first single — 'Scream' — cost a reported \$50 million. The album is called 'History, past, present and future'.

The video has been likened to the bourgeois media to the infamous work of the German filmmaker and actress Leni Riefenstahl — and most infamously of all 'Triumph of the Will' that glorified Hitler and the Nazi Nuremberg rallies in the 1930s.

But the video is more than that. In it Jackson is represented as a giant statue, a grotesque icon,

towering above the human beings around it.

The image is an amalgam. It draws on the propaganda methods of both the Nazis and the 'socialist realism' of the Stalinists. It is a world where history has stopped. Frozen in the Cold War. A spectre of true horror where imperialism and Stalinism will forever hold sway.

Jackson's considerable talents are inverted and pressed into capitalism's drive for profit. The global promotion and justification of Jackson is an iron necessity for his record company trying to relaunch their biggest money-making machine.

Jackson unconsciously reflects the degradation that capitalism inflicts on the human race — the most famous example of this being the way he and reconstructed his features to appear white and ageless.

Two years ago, police in the US began an investigation into allegations that Jackson had sexually abused a 12-year-old boy.

That investigation has now stopped, following an out-of-court settlement by the Jackson organisation to the boy's family.

When the accusations were made, Jackson aborted the world tour he was on at the time. He said he was ill and under intolerable stress. In 1994, he married Elvis Presley's daughter, Lisa-Marie.

## Release

The week before the latest album's release, Jackson and Lisa-Marie were interviewed on Sky TV and the BBC for an hour.

Children idolise Jackson, and much of his still huge following is among those aged ten or younger, as it is for some other pop singers and groups.

Jackson is, or has been, the pre-eminent pop star in the world, with a career that spans almost 30 years since his days as a child performer with his brothers in the Jackson Five. His position was comparable to the Beatles and even Presley!

The TV interview showed Jackson and his wife — in vivid contrast to the 'Scream' video — as insipid, 'preppy' adolescents, giggling, nudging, bickering, unsure of themselves or their relationship.

Lisa-Marie described how children staying overnight in the Jackson house would follow Michael into the toilet and then pursue him back to his bed. She was talking about current behaviour.

When the interviewer asked them about adult responsibility in these matters, Lisa-Marie replied that Jackson was helpless — the children love him so much!

The 'Scream' video eloquently shows the misery of the abused child. In the lyrics Jackson evokes the abuse he himself suffered; then he pleads for understanding for the way he now conducts his life.

Jackson told his TV interviewer that child molesters should receive treatment — but, he added, he himself was not such an individual.



# Sir Alfred's pride — and Mr Benn's NIGHT OF SHAME

BY COLIN PENDLETON

RIGHTWING Tory Sir Alfred Sherman has 'nothing against Muslims', he assured a House of Commons gathering on 26 June, but Muslim countries were neither 'civilised' nor democratic.

Maybe rape camps, ethnic cleansing, killing children, and systematic destruction of libraries and mosques are Sherman's idea of 'democracy' and civilisation, because he boasts of his pride in backing Serb-nationalist war criminal Radovan Karadzic.

Claiming that the Bosnian government had legalised polygamy, outlawed inter-marriage, and legislated Islamic dress code for women, ex-Stalinist International Brigade commissar turned Thatcher-adviser Sherman blamed the war in Bosnia on Germany, before concluding: 'I am Karadzic's adviser and I am proud of being Karadzic's adviser.'

Sir Alf 'Garnett' Sherman's use of chauvinist stereotypes to incite hostility against Muslims and multi-cultural Bosnia is not surprising. In 1976, he wrote in the 'Daily Telegraph' condemning what he alleged was a left-wing conspiracy to undermine national 'Christian values' and impose multiculturalism in Britain.

In 1987, as a leading Monday Club member, Sherman invited France's National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen to address a Tory fringe meeting. Le Pen tortured liberation fighters in Algeria, built his political career on hatred of immigrants, and described the gas chambers at Auschwitz as a 'mere detail'.

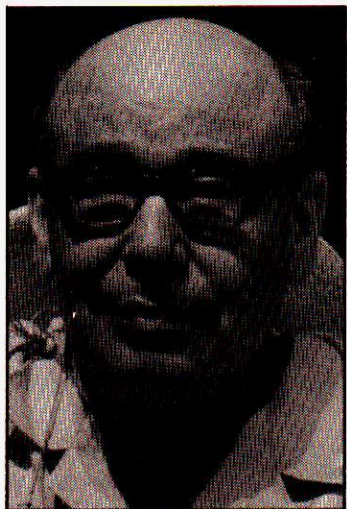
No wonder someone who chooses such political company feels proud of advising Karadzic!

## Supporters

But Sherman was speaking at a meeting to launch a 'Committee for Peace in the Balkans', organised by Labour CND supporters and 'lefts' like Tony Benn.

As Quintin Hoare, of the Alliance to Defend Bosnia-Herzegovina, told them, looking straight at Benn, whom he had supported in the past, 'This is a shameful, and shaming, meeting.'

Purporting, like the Socialist Workers Party, not to 'take sides' in the war, this 'peace' committee says it's against 'outside interventionist' but knowing that Serb-nationalist forces have all the weapons they need, it insists the arms



Sir Alfred Sherman

embargo must be maintained, denying Bosnia weapons to defend itself.

The war in Bosnia has gone on for over three years. Three years of 'ethnic cleansing', concentration camps, sieges and destruction of Bosnian cities.

Labour MP Alice Mahon, chairing the 'peace' meeting, regretted it had taken so long to do anything. A young Bosnian commented: 'Now when we are starting to drive back the Chetniks, these people shout for peace!'

Sir Alfred Sherman was among signatories to the 'peace' committee's leaflet. When people shouted 'where's your friend Le Pen?', chairperson Alice Mahon insisted on Sherman's right to speak without interruption.

The platform speakers — Labour MPs Tony Benn and Tam Dalyell — made no attempt to disassociate themselves from his reactionary diatribe.

Nor did supporters of 'Socialist Action', a shadowy ex-Man-delite outfit helping to organise this committee.

Only yesterday they filled positions in Anti-Racist Action, now they cohabit with Sir Alf.

Tony Benn made jibes about former Labour colleague Michael Foot's supposed 'alliance' with Margaret Thatcher on Bosnia.

But Sherman, who used to be

one of Thatcher's top policy advisers, was too embarrassingly right-wing even for her when he invited Le Pen. Is Benn too thick-skinned to embarrass so easily, or is he just too thick?

## Evoked

Rather than condemn the crimes committed against the Bosnian people, Benn evoked atrocities committed by Ottoman Turkey in the last century.

Claiming Bosnian Muslims were Serbs who converted for land, he confirmed his credentials as a historian by referring to the assassination in Sarajevo in 1914 of Austria-Hungary's 'Archduke Otto' (the name was in fact Franz Ferdinand).

The Serbs had been 'our allies' in two world wars, this former minister of the Crown reminded us, whereas in World War II, Croatia was a fascist state.

That Serbia also had a puppet fascist state under General Nedic, or that Croat-Slovene Tito's partisans recruited from all nationalities, are facts too awkward for this British patriot's picture of history.

Both speakers ignored (or were ignorant of) more recent history: Milosevic's imposition of military rule in Kosovo, and attempt to conquer Slovenia; the Yugoslav National Army's destruction of Vukovar and bombardment of Dubrovnik; or its arming of Karadzic.

Benn blamed the war on German and European Union recognition of Croatia — which happened after these peaceable events!

A man from North Haringey Labour Party (and 'Socialist Action') repeated that German recognition of Croatia and Slovenia had meant there 'would be' conflict.

Accusing people of applying 'double standards' by not mentioning fascism in Croatia, he supported the right of Serbs to secede and join Serbia.

Ron Huzzard, of Labour Action for Peace, said lifting the arms embargo would be dangerous, the Americans wanted to sell

more arms, the UN must continue 'peacekeeping'.

Bosnian refugees ably answered the platform's hypocrisy and lies.

A young man expelled from Serb-held Banja Luka said: 'You want to treat all sides equally, but they are not equal. Bosnia must be for all. Nobody has the right to create ethnically-pure states. If you support that, you support fascism.'

Ismet, a survivor of the Chetnik concentration camp at Manjaca, where 6,000 civilians were killed, said those who wanted Bosnia disarmed should apply the recipe to their own states.

Answering talk about what NATO or the UN should do, he declared to applause: 'We do not want foreign soldiers in Bosnia. We only want to have the right to defend our own country.'

A woman from SOS for Children, in Edinburgh, read a message from Tuzla trade union president Fikreta Sijercic, who said Tuzla people whose children had been killed by Chetnik shelling were asking for the right to defence; and that those who denied it had blood on their hands.

Clearly shaken by opposition, but betraying little sign of having listened to it, the speakers wound up; Benn claimed it had been 'a good meeting'; but arming Bosnia, or 'bombing hell out of the Serbs' (something nobody had advocated) would solve nothing.

Dalyell said it had been 'an awful meeting'. 'What the hell do you people think you playing at?', he thundered (this to people who had been through hell in Bosnia); he couldn't tell his constituents their sons should be sent to that place (to protests of 'we don't want them').

Carol Turner, of Labour CND and 'Socialist Action', appealed to people to stay and discuss how they could help the committee.

Most people left, pausing to take leaflets about the July trade union aid convoy, or buy Workers Press with the front-page lead: 'Bosnia Fights Back!'. Several gave their names for Workers Aid for Bosnia.

# Glastonbury 1995 — ravers and rebels

DAVID WRIGHT reports from this year's Glastonbury Festival

The 1995 Glastonbury Festival — a fund raiser for Greenpeace these days — was celebrated in the warm glow of their brilliant victory over Shell.

To me the meaning of this event was typified by the giant wind generator providing power for the main stage. Free energy plucked out of the air; no toxic wastes and no director's share options here!

Glastonbury is actually a hybrid of old pop culture and the new culture of ravers, new agers and single-issue protesters. This is its fascination to me.

After hours of main-stream rock bands, there is the pleasurable option of escaping to the Avalon and Green Field areas to sample the latest in alternative culture and politics. But first the music.

The festival includes around 1,000 acts covering all areas of the performing arts, so it is only possible to sample a fraction of what was on offer.

Most memorable to me, as a fading old hippy, were the bands that reminded me of my youth.

Orbital, techno rave monsters, stunned with their creepy insect-like stage presence, backed with some good projected political back-drop images. These raised

of the most hated capitalist politicians; the resignation of Major was on everyone's mind, although the grape-vine had actually suggested that the government had fallen (the Festival is very isolated from the outside world — one of its pleasures).

Banco de Gaia, one of the best of the ambient bands, were an enormous success with their dippings into world music combined with gentle dance rhythms. They played in the Gaiasphere where the stage was sun or pedal powered. I remember lying on my back here at 2am as crowds of youngsters swayed around me.

P.J. Harvey is being much hyped as a sex-rock icon at present. Her show was sexual, powerful and disturbing, based on her latest album 'To Bring You Love', which must have brought her many new admirers.

In contrast Robert Plant and Jimmy Page, whom you will remember from Led Zeppelin in the 1970s, were a massive disappointment. Their music reminded me of the worst type of modern classical; gimmicks and effects to hide a loss of direction.

With so many revivals of 60s/70s bands at present, it is fascinating to see which are rediscovering some originality. Roy Harper, sadly not at Glastonbury this year, takes some beating. His work has discovered new energy by tapping into many of the po-

radical angle — but that's another story!

Another oldy — John Otway — put on a great storming act based largely on his disappointment at never achieving the recognition that he clearly thinks he deserves.

I caught a little of Sinead O'Connor. The most that I can say is that she sounded just like her records.

Simple Minds demonstrated their expertise at being a big audience band.

My old favourites The Cure rounded off Sunday night suitably, even if they did reduce their impact by playing too much of their more recent less inspired work.

But what about the rest of the Festival?

## Politics

The politics present, which was considerable and seems to grow each year, was dominated by single-issue campaigns. Animal rights, anti-roads protesters, environmentalists, new agers of all types were heavily represented. They all have stalls selling their political wares.

A marquee provides a space for talks and discussions of serious political issues as well as the mystical nonsense that is present at festivals of this kind.

Political groups proper were almost exclusively anarchist. The

# Science focus

A monthly column by Daniel Robertson, principal scientist at a leading bio-technology company

## Green tourism

GREEN or Eco-tourism — tourism to areas of wildlife interest — has been promoted as a 'market' approach to conservation.

However, like all other market solutions this one turns out to be just another destructive route to making a fast buck.

The theory is that if capitalism can show that more money can be made from protecting environments for tourist potential than by ripping them apart for natural resources, then perhaps they can be saved. The reality is very different.

Rubbish, environmental damage and excessive demands on pollution-generating services have left their mark wherever tourists have gone. These days this can be anywhere.

There is a boom in travel companies offering wildlife holidays. A recent edition of a popular birdwatching magazine included advertisements from over 30 companies offering overseas wildlife holidays covering every continent.

Tourist litter can now be found on Everest and in the Antarctic.

Interest in birdwatching — now a major hobby in Britain — has been mobilised in a sensitive and responsible manner by non-commercial organisations, such as the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds and the Wildlife and Wetlands Trust, to provide funds for some highly successful reserve developments. But even here birdwatching is recognised as a growing threat to bird survival.

Imagine the damaging impact of commercial tour operators, even those claiming to be green, operating well away from the scrutiny of organised conservationists! Even apparent success stories, like game tourism in West Africa, have led to changes in wildlife behaviour.

Tourist development generally has long had damaging environmental effects. In some areas, such as Goa and Bali, local environmentalists have led campaigns against tourism that destroys both local wildlife and human communities.

The desire of wealthy Western tourists to experience nature in its pristine state, long since lost in most Western countries, is making no part of the world safe. The unplanned and chaotic manner in which the market makes this possible will destroy the very thing these tourists seek.

And do not underestimate the importance of tourism in the world capitalist economy.

According to the World Travel and Tourism Council, tourism and travel together constitute a massive 6 per cent of gross world production.

At first sight this might seem to be a way of transferring wealth from advanced to less developed capitalist countries. The reality is that many tourism companies, hotels and airlines, and much of their supporting superstructure, are owned by western multinationals.

Anything up to 90 per cent of revenues generated by tourism in economically backward countries finds its way back to the West. Is Eco-tourism any more sensitive to the areas it visits?

In some cases such as small operations run by wildlife enthusiasts it may be. But as it becomes big business the temptation to put profit first inevitably predominates — and wildlife and local communities suffer.

Thatcherites argue that if there are environmental crises on the way then the unhindered operation of the market can be depended on to prevent them.

Much more likely will be a frenzy of activities to cash in on the insecurity that such crises will increasingly bring into people's lives, whilst attempting to blame the problems on the greed and indifference of far away governments or uncaring individuals.

The myth of eco-tourism is an

dictably adds to the problems it claims to address.

## Genetic rape

GENETIC engineering is a technology with enormous potential for good. It could readily be used to address the world's food and energy crises.

However the operation of capitalism ensures that it turns into its opposite and almost miraculously contributes to increasing these problems. A recent example in the southern US is with growing harvests of a genetically engineered rapeseed plant.

Rapeseed is the plant producing bright yellow flowers that gives so much of the English countryside a surreal look in the summer.

The new variety produces lauric acid which is a raw material for soaps, detergents and cosmetics. This sounds like a breakthrough in producing a cheaper source of this material.

However at present this material mostly comes from coconuts and palm kernels grown by small farmers in less developed countries such as Indonesia and the Philippines where it is an essential cash crop for earning Western currency.

Exports from these countries to the US are thus threatened as rapeseed can be produced in a northern climate.

Calgene, the company responsible for this disaster, claim it will only be used to make up for shortfalls in imports. This claim has met with scepticism. The genetic-engineering industry has long argued that its efforts will solve the problems of farmers in poor countries, but a Calgene representative has admitted that it answers first to share holders.

Genetic engineering is addressing problems that are themselves a result of the operation of capitalism itself, with its increasing inequalities of global wealth distribution and the propping up of oppressive and exploitative social structures.

There would not be food and energy crises in a socialist world where biotechnology would soon be put to work to solve these problems. But new technologies will only aggravate these problems as long as the capitalist world market continues. They will inevitably be used to the benefit of Western countries that monopolise their use.

An additional tragedy is that the way capitalism corrupts new technologies makes people suspicious of the technologies themselves. This feeds hostility to science and the growth of irrational beliefs. The biotechnology baby may be thrown out with the capitalist bath water.

## Eco-rustlers hit paper mountain

THE manner in which the market has distorted efforts at conservation and recycling is often tragic, but sometimes amusing to witness.

For some time paper recycling has been difficult to justify as German environmental legislation, which encourages collection of paper without providing the means for the paper to be recycled, has led to a European 'paper mountain'.

This has depressed the price of such paper, and capitalism being what it is this has meant that paper outside of Germany is mostly still being destroyed. But recently a growing market for such paper in the US, reflecting worldwide paper price increases, means the paper mountain is disappearing over the Atlantic.

Suddenly waste paper is becoming valuable. This previously despised commodity has now bred a new species of eco-rustler who will actually steal the stuff.

Next time you want to throw away that old Workers Press think again — it could be a valu-



## Halt fascism in Bosnia

# UN fiddles while Bosnians starve

### FROM FRONT PAGE

covers up the fact that this war was from the start a planned, genocidal war.

In the name of a Greater Serbia, it was aimed at exterminating the Bosnian Muslims.

Eviction, murder, rape, and the destruction of ancient buildings and thousands of homes were not an accident or the work of undisciplined individuals. This is the policy of Milosevic and Karadzic.

The shelling of civilian targets in the hospitals, schools, youth clubs, markets and water queues is not an accident — this is the policy of Greater Serbian nationalism. That is the main thing.

The Socialist Workers Party shares the same disgraceful position on the war against Bosnia-Herzegovina as Benn, Skinner, and others. It too declares this to be a civil war.

(Even if it were a civil war, it is the duty of socialists and workers to take sides against chauvinism and reaction.)

### Echo

Like Benn, the SWP advises workers not to take sides. Like Benn, they echo the line of the British Foreign Office.

Yet, through the Anti-Nazi League, the Socialist Workers Party has always presented itself as a doughty fighter against fascism and racism.

But Bosnia is the real test for any organisation making such claims.

The SWP leaders have singularly failed that test. Like Benn and company, they have in practice joined forces with Karadzic and Milosevic.

We know that this is not the position of all SWP members, and we call upon those members who disagree with it to challenge and change the position that their leaders have taken.

We ask all Labour Party members, especially those who support the Campaign Group of MPs, likewise to repudiate the reactionary position that Abbott, Benn, Skinner and others have taken.

It is the responsibility of all workers and socialists to unite and fight in defence of multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## CHILDREN and elderly people have started to die of starvation in the Bihac area of north-west Bosnia, one of the United Nations' so-called 'safe havens'

Serb-nationalist Chetniks besieging the area have refused to let food through. The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), makes no effort to break this blockade. In three months only five aid convoys have got through to Bihac.

An official of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) visited Bihac on Friday 30 June. He found a three-year-old boy weighing just over a pound, dead of hunger.

An old man had also died, leaving a note saying he had no food left and could not bring himself to beg. A mother said she had to go out in the streets to escape listening to her children crying from hunger.

UN officials and the imperialist statesmen and politicians who hide behind the UN's 'humanitarian', 'peacekeeping' role have turned a deaf ear to the cries of Bosnian children dying from hunger, just as they turned a blind eye to military supplies reaching the Serb Chetniks.

It was UNPROFOR itself which, on orders from Lord Owen, delivered fuel to the Chetniks in the Croatian Krajina region who are waging war on Bihac.

General Mladic, the Chetniks' commander, earned his rank shelling Croat cities in 1992, and remains a general in the 'Yugoslav' (Serb) army. His forces' Russian-supplied ground-to-air missile batteries are integrated with Serbia's military radar and computer network.

It was the threat from these batteries which the UN used late last year to stop surveillance flights over Bihac — at the same time as the British government

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

and media were assuring us 'Serbia's Milosevic regime was the best hope for peace!'

UNPROFOR is protecting nobody. In the past three months not one payload of food or medicines was flown into Sarajevo.

The Chetniks opened fire on planes on 8 April, and the UN stopped all flights. Next the Chetniks closed the roads.

UNPROFOR's mandate authorises it to use 'all necessary means' to assure safe passage for humanitarian aid, but UN representative Yasushi Akashi insisted it should do nothing of the kind.

Only six percent of food and other essential supplies for Sarajevo has reached it in the past month. Much of what has started to get through has been brought not by the UN, but by the Bosnian and Herzegovina (BiH) army.

Meanwhile, as the BiH forces attempt to break the siege, the Chetniks have helped themselves to heavy weaponry from UN compounds, and used it to shell civilian areas.

### Children

Children have been killed because they stepped out to play, their parents blown to pieces as they queued for water.

The latest Chetnik weapon is a 500lb modified aircraft bomb,

fired like a rocket. One scored a direct hit on the television station, another blew a crater in a west Sarajevo street. It may not be long before they are bombing from the air.

They have already used cluster-bombs (such as Britain supplied to Yugoslavia) at Bihac, and the UN has abandoned its 'no fly' zone (except for food planes trying to reach Sarajevo!).

Bosnian troops attempting to break the Chetnik stranglehold on Sarajevo have reported gains to the north-west and south of the capital.

'The Path to Freedom', a government television news programme chronicling the battles, showed a captured five-mile stretch of road near Trnovo, slicing into Serb supply lines. Croat forces which are now allied to Bosnia have come nearer to threatening Knin, the Serb Krajina centre.

After what they have been through, neither Bosnians nor Croats are inclined to trust the UN. The Bosnian government has said it will no longer talk to UN special representative Akashi.

Responding to the European Union summit, talk of withdrawal, and NATO's Rapid Reaction Force, Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbey said: 'I don't think the international community, or certain world leaders, get it. They think we are begging for the UN to stay. The message is clear ... you may leave'. He said what Bosnians want are the weapons to defend themselves.

Bosnian army commanders, whose forces came under French UN troops' fire on Mount Igman last year, say they are worried the

so-called Rapid Reaction Force could be turned against them.

Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnian-Croat federation, ordered a halt to Rapid Reaction Force convoys pending clarification of its intended role.

'Croatia at this moment is preventing our British friends from landing at Ploce, and we have a number of unresolved difficulties with the deployment of French soldiers in Bosnia,' French armed forces chief Admiral Jacques Lanxade complained on 3 July.

### Troops

Mostar radio said Croat border police had turned back a column of French army vehicles with troops attempting to cross into Bosnia without government permission.

At British battalion headquarters near Gornji Vakuf, Major Greg Thomson said the BiH army had been stopping UN traffic. 'After two days they let us through, then they stop another one.'

British commander Brigadier Andrew Pringle ordered extra routine convoys to assert the right to the roads for the Rapid Reaction Force.

'The policy is simple, we do not agree to comply with warnings that our convoys will be halted,' said Major Thomson ('Paying tolls on road to peace', Nik Gowing, 'Sunday Telegraph', 2 July).

The contrast with the UN's refusal to guarantee humanitarian aid convoys was painfully obvious!

It is not only Akashi and French UN commander General Janvier in Zagreb who are responsible. It has been reported

that troops of the Devonshire and Dorset Regiment and 19 Field Regiment Royal Artillery had been preparing to assist food convoys running the gauntlet over Mount Igman to Sarajevo recently, when their orders were countermanded from Whitehall. The Tories want to starve Bosnians into submission.

Tory Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd's hostility to Bosnia is well-known. He insisted that lifting the arms embargo would 'only create level killing fields'.

One of Malcolm Rifkind's closest advisers at the defence ministry is David Hart, the millionaire property-dealer who was Thatcher's hidden hand and secret link with strikebreaking Union of Democratic Mineworkers (UDM) during the 1984-85 miners' strike.

This sinister figure went on record two years ago, advocating British backing for Serbia and the Chetniks.

During that same 1984-85 British miners' strike, Bosnian miners in the Tuzla region held regular collections to support their brothers and sisters in the British coalfields. It is time to repay that debt of solidarity.

And it is time to sort out those within the labour movement who, with pacifist cant, and hypocritical talk of 'not taking sides', side with Tory imperialist intrigue, and the Serb nationalists killing children. The enemies of the Bosnian people are enemies of the working class.

**Lift the arms embargo on Bosnia!**

**Support the right to self-defence against fascism!**

**Support Workers Aid to Bosnia!**

# CP dissidents locked up in Vietnam jails

BY PIERRE DUPONT

VIETNAMESE police have moved against veteran Communist Party militants and writers in an attempt to crush political dissent before next year's party congress. Political repression

comes as Vietnam's opening to capitalism is widening social divisions.

Tran Ngoc Nghiem, the 76-year old former head of the country's Marxist-Leninist Institute, was arrested in Hanoi last month, possibly because of an article he had written urging that

the congress abandon the clause in Vietnam's constitution on the leading role of the party.

Also arrested was Do Trung Hieu, one of the founders of a Club of Former Resistance Fighters set up in the south by veterans of the struggle against US imperialism.

Hieu, arrested in Ho Chi Minh city, is reportedly facing charges of spreading 'anti-socialist propaganda'.

He had circulated a petition calling for the rehabilitation of senior officials purged for 'revisionism'.

Another member of the Resistance Fighters' Club who received a visit was Nguyen Ho, detained last year but released after three months on grounds of ill-health.

### Time

Nguyen, who spent time in prison from 1967-73, and again from 1981-87, handed over some essays he had been circulating, saying he would rather die than be put back in prison.

Vietnam has been opening up its economy for foreign trade and investment, letting pay gaps

widen, and cutting social services and state education. The legal minimum wage was cut to please foreign investors.

The right to strike is legally recognised, but restricted. Unemployment is a growing problem among young people.

### Club

This month the country became the seventh member of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), joining Indonesia, Singapore, Brunei, Thailand, Philippines and Malaysia in this capitalist club.

President Clinton is considering US diplomatic recognition, a case of the flag trailing after trade.

Many Vietnamese state-owned firms are becoming joint ventures with foreign capital, but there is resistance to privatisation from workers.

Like the Stalinist bureaucracy in China and elsewhere before it, the Vietnamese leadership faces the problem of 'liberalising' its economy without opening the door to independent working-class activity. Like them, it resorts to political repression to tighten its grip.

## Korean blast shakes system

FOUR store executives were arrested in South Korea after more than 100 people were killed and hundreds more injured when a crowded Seoul department store collapsed. Safety warnings had been ignored.

It was latest in a series of disasters that have focused public anger on profiteering disregard for safety.

Last year, a bridge linking southern and northern Seoul collapsed under rush-hour traffic.

In February, 18 workers were killed in a boiler-room fire of a ship in dock.

In April, there were riots in Taegu after more than 100 people were killed in a subway gas explosion.

## Pacific storm hits Paris

THE tide of anger over French President Jacques Chirac's plan to resume nuclear testing swept the world last week, with demonstrations in Tokyo, Tahiti and Paris, following those in Australia and New Zealand. About 10,000 people took to the streets in Papeete, the Tahitian capital, and blocked main roads.

In Paris, where 1,000 anti-nuclear protesters marched in gas masks, the Socialist and Communist Parties and the Greens promised 'a large movement of protest'. In London, where CND is planning a protest on 16 July, it was reported that the Tory government also wants to restart nuclear tests.

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