



Prepare for new workers' party LABOUR'S NEW DICTATORSHIP

TONY BLAIR is to have complete power in the Labour Party. The link between the Party and the unions is to be completely broken.

Constituency Labour Parties, the National Executive Committee and the Parliamentary Labour Party will lose all power in deciding policy.

These are the chief findings of a secret report leaked to the 'Guardian' by a 'senior Labour source' on the eve of Blair's speech to the TUC at Brighton.

BY GEOFF PILLING

Those who disagree with the leader and his coterie of unelected camp-followers will be forced out of the Party.

The report, drawn up by Blair's 'campaign and strategy consultant' Philip Gould, possibly with the assistance of Hartlepool MP, Peter Mandelson:

■ Demands the setting up of a centralised command structure 'leading directly to the party leader' which would give Blair 'sole ultimate responsibility for campaigning authority'.

■ Warns that Labour is not yet 'a cohesive, integrated political party sharing the same political ideology.'

This is in line with Blair's sinister statement in last week's 'Observer' that anybody who opposed his plans for the party required 'psychiatric treatment'.

■ Demands a 'one-member, one-vote' party.

In other words the trade unions are to lose entirely their say in the affairs of the Labour Party. This was the party the unions founded at the start of the century.

■ Calls for a new statement of aims from the Blair team in the spring of next year, in preparation for a sweeping statement of Labour's policy in time for the next annual

party conference. Here is the real shape of the next Labour government.

Jack Straw has already told us that the police should rid the streets of the homeless and the poor (see pages 4 and 5).

Under a Labour government the working class will face an 'elected dictatorship' hell-bent on carrying out the plans of the ruling class to break up the working class and take from it all its past gains.

Any opposition to the government will be ruthlessly stamped on, with the use of the police and the rest of the state machine.

The Labour Party has reached a turning point. Blair wants to drive out any socialist and working-class voice from its ranks.

He and his friends intend to transform it into an openly ruling-class party along the lines of the US Democratic Party.

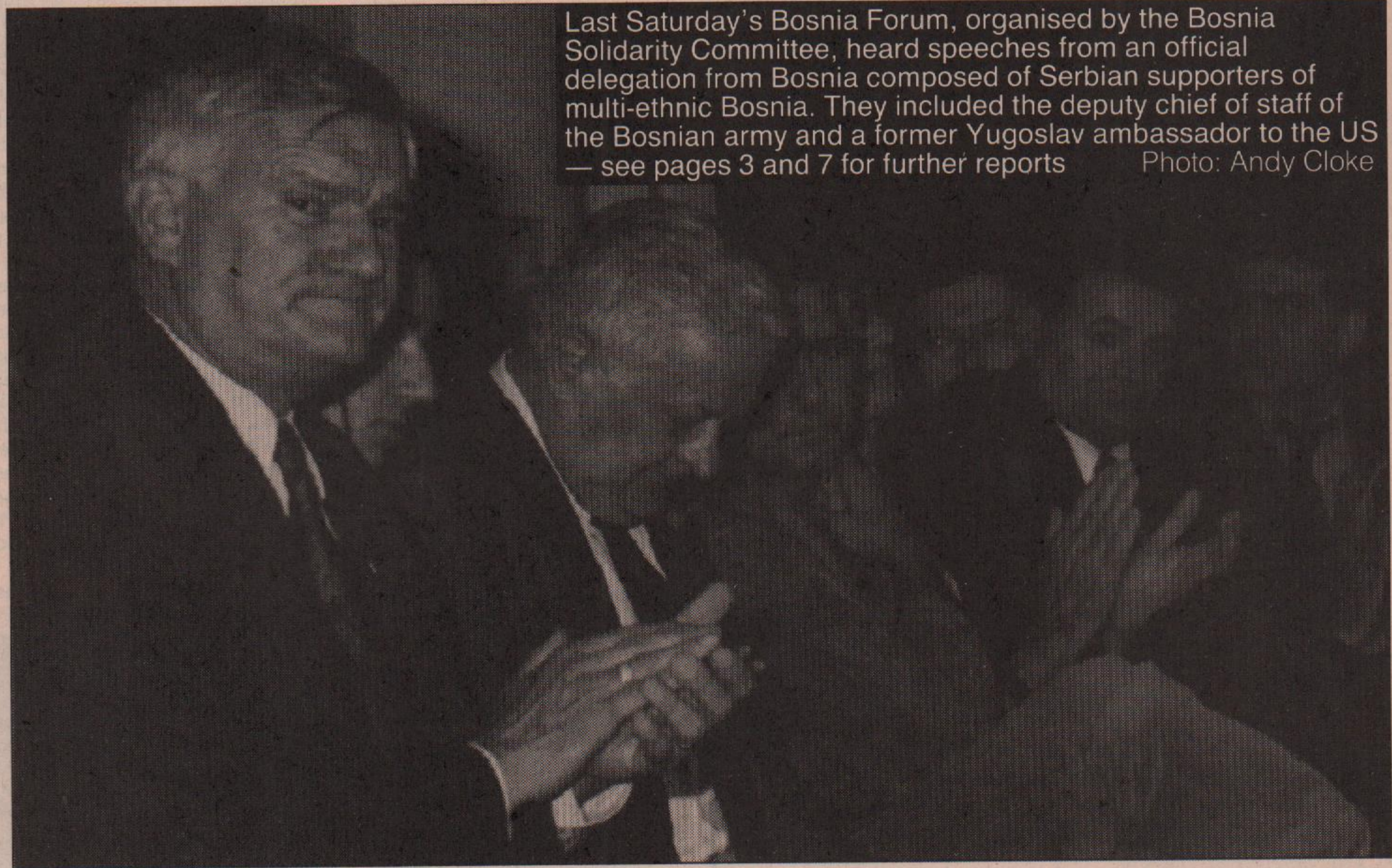
The time is rapidly approaching when the working class will have to form a new party that really fights for its needs.

Workers Press will next week announce our plans for the next step in this campaign.

■ See editorial, page 2.

Bosnia Forum

Meeting greets Bosnian Serb supporters of a multi-ethnic society



Last Saturday's Bosnia Forum, organised by the Bosnia Solidarity Committee, heard speeches from an official delegation from Bosnia composed of Serbian supporters of multi-ethnic Bosnia. They included the deputy chief of staff of the Bosnian army and a former Yugoslav ambassador to the US — see pages 3 and 7 for further reports Photo: Andy Cloke

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* Note date change for Leicester demonstration

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Our answer to Blair

IT becomes clearer by the day that the Labour movement in Britain has reached a decisive historical turning point.

Things cannot go on in the same way.

Just read the plans that Blair and his friends have for the future of the Labour Party (see front page).

They want to kick the unions out of the the new party they are now actively establishing.

They intend to dispose of any democratic element within their projected party.

They want an organisation attuned completely to the blood-sucking needs of the bankers and big business.

* * * * *

THE time for decisive action has arrived!

But in deciding such action certain things must be clarified.

■ In this openly capitalist declaration of Blair we are not dealing simply with personalities, obnoxious though the great majority of workers no doubt find Blair and those fawning sycophants who surround him.

Blair is a man of his times.

But what are these times?

They are ones in which the working class and large sections of the middle class can no longer be granted reforms. The capitalist system is in deep crisis.

The ruling class must now tackle the working class directly, head on, in the most brutal fashion. As is reported almost every day in the press, the Tories have plans to finally break up the welfare state.

A special meeting of the cabinet was called last for just this purpose.

Blair's 'New Labour' has the same aims.

It is New Labour because it no longer even promises sops for the working class. It openly declares that when it forms a government it will continue where the Tories have left off. Blair's morbid fascination with Margaret Thatcher's 1979 election programme is enough to make this clear.

The welfare state will be finally destroyed. The state is to be used directly against the working class together with all those who engage in the slightest resistance against these plans.

Straw has told us what to expect: the police 'socially cleansing' the streets of the most vulnerable in society.

* * * * *

WHAT is to be done?

All those in the labour movement, together with those millions who are completely outside of the movement, must come together to discuss how a party that can truly represent the immediate and historical interests of the working class is to be set up.

Blair declares for 'New Labour'. We propose a new working-class party!

The Workers Revolutionary Party and its paper Workers Press has now decided that the time has arrived for a conference of everyone in favour of such a party.

It will be held next February.

Next week we will make a call for this conference.

All those, inside and outside the Labour Party, interested in such a conference should contact us immediately.

Greek fascists in Bosnia

TENS of Greek fascists are taking part in the nationalistic clearance operations in Bosnia as selected members of the gangs of Arkan and Karadzic.

A typical case is that of 29-year-old fascist Lefteris Spourgitis, who was one of the 'Super Tigers of Arkan' that have recently been dissolved back into the 'Tigers'. In a revealing interview he gave to the newspaper 'Adesmeftos' on 6 August, he boasted:

'I quickly gained the Serbs' confidence. Shortly afterwards they began to entrust me with commando missions. I took part in small groups of four or five people, who broke into the Muslims' lines, while in most cases carrying explosives.

'We wore Muslim uniforms with their distinctive badges, and made our attacks at night. All day long we hid, staying motionless for many hours. At night we advanced through yards, avoiding the roads, to reach our target.

'Many times we greeted Muslim patrols so as not to create suspicion. We were given the order to obey if called to halt, to approach, and while handing over our identity papers, to shoot them dead. We not only sabotaged ammunition warehouses, dams and hydro-electric plants, but pilfered documents from headquarters.

'For these missions, continuous training was necessary. The methods we used were based on the training practices of the Foreign Legion.

'The leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Karadzic, decorated the whole group of the Greek Volunteers' Guard based at Vlesentisa for their fervour in the Serb cause, and the activities they had carried out.'

The Greek capitalists having a strategic alliance with the Serb nationalists, send their murderers to kill all those who are in favour of a multinational Bosnia. These fascists are supported by the Greek Orthodox Church, the trade union bureaucrats and most of the journalists.

The re-establishment of internationalism in the Balkans is an immediate necessity which demands:

■ A co-ordinated struggle against all bourgeoisies (old and newly-emergent ones);

■ A struggle for a multinational socialist Bosnia against Greater Serbian and Croatian nationalism and reactionary religious fundamentalism; and,

■ A struggle against Greek and Turkish petty imperialism.

Planning an international conference bringing together the best internationalist force from all parts of ex-Yugoslavia is an urgent duty of the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International.

Death to the Greek fascists! Death to the Serb Chetniks and the Croat Ustachi! Pan-Islamic fundamentalist fascists — from Iran, Sudan, Afghanistan, etc. — out of Bosnia!

No partition! Bosnia-Herzegovina for the Bosnians! Imperialist forces out of the Balkans!

Nikos Loukides
Athens

One-sided report

IN HER report of the 14 July Bosnia demonstration in Paris (The

Paris Commune and Bosnia, 22 July), Olivia Meerson makes a very one-sided description of events and misses some important political points.

Firstly, Meerson forgot to mention among the participants, 'Secours Ouvrier pour la Bosnie' (SOB — French branch of Workers Aid for Bosnia).

On our large banner, participants could read: 'Secours Ouvrier pour la Bosnie — International workers solidarity — convoy for the miners of Tuzla'. On our smaller banner: 'Chirac, Clinton, Major, Yeltsin — Accomplices of the fascists Milosevic/Karadzic — Lift the arms embargo!'

The second omission is that she does not inform the readers that among the speakers was an SOB representative.

According to Olivia the speakers 'called for support for the Bosnian resistance and clearly condemned the policies of successive French governments.'

The first part of this assessment is true but not the second. If speakers condemned Mitterrand's policy, Alain Finkelkraut, mentioned by Olivia, openly supported Chirac and in addition launched an open attack against all Serb people.

Thus, Olivia ignores a very important political battle which began publicly at this demonstration.

From the beginning of July, French President Jacques Chirac has made a turn in French policy towards Bosnia. He passed from Mitterrand's claim: 'Bosnians and Serbs are the same, there is no aggressor or victim, etc.' to saying that all 'Serbs' are barbarians. At the same time, the real chief of the fascist barbarians, Milosevic, was hailed as 'a man of peace' by Chirac.

This campaign ended with the current NATO offensive in which the French army takes its place.

The 14 July demonstration took place a few days after this hypocritical turn. Alain Finkelkraut, described by Olivia as a 'writer', is not simply that. He is one of the so-called 'new philosophers' associated with Bernard Henri Levy who from the 'left' have passed into the Chirac camp and who have done everything they could to subordinate the solidarity movement with Bosnia and Herzegovina to French imperialist policy.

The SOB's speaker rejected publicly Finkelkraut's argument by rejecting his 'all Serbs are guilty position' and spoke against any amalgam between Serb fascists and ordinary Serb people in Serbia, Bosnia or Croatia. The SOB representative also raised the necessity of unity against Milosevic's and Karadzic's fascism, which is a threat not only to Bosnians, but also to Serbian people.

He argued against Finkelkraut's demand for NATO

and French military intervention, and called for a fight to lift the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The French Workers Aid intervention got two responses. Some Bosnian nationalists and hysterical French petty-bourgeois shouted: 'Down with the Serbs, bomb Belgrade!'

But many Bosnians, French people and even someone from Germany approached the SOB's delegation and supported very strongly its firm internationalist stand as a base from which to fight for the integrity of multi-cultural and democratic Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Since the start of the NATO bombing last week, all these so-called intellectuals have calmed more than ever how Chirac is the 'real friend of Bosnia', and have tried to hide the real aim of the imperialist military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina: to successfully carry through the carve-up of that country.

Janos Borovi
Paris

Exaggerations on Croatia

THE tone of Bob Archer's attack on Simon Pirani (2 September) reminded me of former WRP leader Gerry Healy's exaggerations when a comrade disagreed with the 'line'. As one example, where does Pirani say (or even imply) that he wants us 'to hare off suddenly on a hunt for Croat fascists'?

Archer claims Pirani has 'far less day-to-day contact with Bosnia than many'. Does that mean his point of view must be wrong?

It reminds me of my younger days when I criticised Stalin to a Communist Party member who would say: 'How do you know? Have you been to Russia?'

I don't see that Archer has a day-to-day contact either, but he can claim 'a real involvement, a conscious intervention which enables us to penetrate beyond appearances'.

I'm glad Bob is so far sighted.

When Archer says, 'Most of those involved in the fight to regain a multi-cultural Bosnia have a far more material grasp than Simon Pirani of what Tudjman represents', does he mean these fighters can control Tudjman so he cannot sell out?

Earlier he says: 'This is a material question which will be resolved by a play of real forces.' Fine words — but not really an answer to what the role of Tudjman is or will be.

I feel uncomfortable too when he equates Pirani's line with that of the 'Independent on Sunday' and when he sneers because Pirani has quoted from the 'Sunday Mirror'. Quoting from the press is no crime.

I find Archer glib when he

says: 'Croat actions (no doubt including many excesses) are on a totally different level from the genocide at Srebrenica, Zepa and elsewhere by the Chetniks.'

Those 'excesses' will feel no different to Serbian workers than to Bosnian and Croatian people suffering the same excesses. They were physically attacked, driven from their homes, had members of their families killed. Not a word of condemnation by Archer for such actions by backward Croat workers and soldiers — just a feeble attempt to minimise these crimes.

Charlie Pottins also has a prominent article in the same paper. He also sneers at Pirani's reference to the 'Sunday Mirror'. I notice, however, that he is much more cautious in estimating Tudjman's attitude and influence than is Archer. Will the latter now launch a diatribe against Pottins?

So in two issues of Workers Press we've had four articles against Pirani — by Slaughter, Cooke, Pottins and Archer — a sledgehammer to crack a dissident?

Roughly half of your 2 September issue dealt with Bosnia. Yet there was no comment on the bombing raids by NATO. Of course, the NATO generals claimed they were protecting the 'safe sanctuaries' by only bombing military targets — with a minimum of 'collateral damage' (i.e. death and mutilation of civilians) — as they claimed with their 'smart' bombs in the Gulf War.

I had hoped the paper on 2 September would come out clearly opposing NATO. Their intervention is to force the Serbs to accept an updated version of the Owen carve-up of Bosnia — not a 'humanitarian' intervention.

If you are to influence the left of the labour and trade union movement surely you should reply to such issues *immediately*!

Apart from your campaign for Workers Aid you should be campaigning consistently for the withdrawal of all foreign troops, the lifting of the arms embargo to the Bosnian government and opposition to any deal which dismembers Bosnia.

One last thought: If the paper is intended to influence a regroupment of the Marxist left towards the building of a new Fourth International party, surely it should not be a single issue paper concentrating almost entirely on Bosnia.

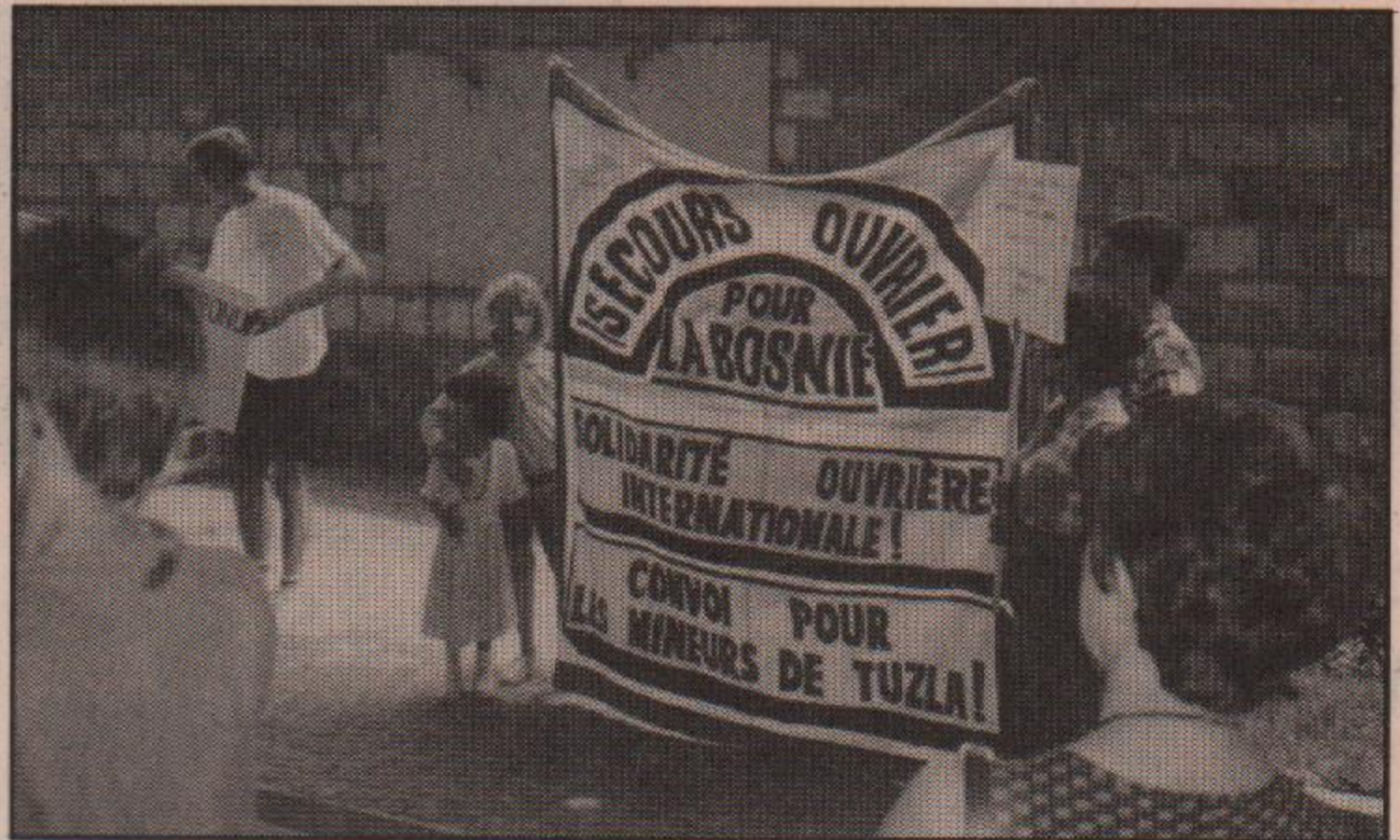
Other issues — for example, the threat posed by the French nuclear weapons' tests; the developments in the Labour Party and trade unions; the minimum wage; the RMT underground strikes; the developments in the health service and the moves by health union leaders to retreat over national bargaining and a host of other topical issues — should be far more prominently displayed.

The paper should intervene — such as by conducting live interviews, contain articles by workers involved in disputes and so on.

My feeling is that the paper has almost become a substitute for an internal bulletin, and is difficult to read except by the most devoted party member.

David Finch
Croydon

Editor's note: The NATO bombing did not occur until 2 September's Workers Press was finished on Tuesday night. We dealt with the issue in the next available issue — that of 9 September.



French Workers Aid banner at 14 July Paris demonstration

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Decisive action against nuclear tests blocked

BY STEVE DRURY

ALMOST every French embassy in the world has been besieged after the nuclear test in the Pacific. Greenpeace ships have been pirated by the French government. A variety of reformist and liberal politicians bob on a small fleet near Mururoa to propagandise for a nuclear-free Pacific.

But the most significant development has been the reaction in the French Polynesian capital, Papeete. Polynesians moved beyond protest to direct action. The airport was set ablaze and rendered non-functioning. Central Papeete was devastated and stripped of consumer goods that

are completely inaccessible to the majority of the population.

Polynesia, like all colonial and semi-colonial countries, is not just a class society. It is dominated by imperialism's interests, such as boosting its chauvinistic pride in the military display of its might at Mururoa. The contrast between Papeete's poor and the colons, tourists and the Tahitian bourgeoisie is as extreme as in any undeveloped country.

Involved in last week's events in Tahiti were young unemployed people from other Polynesian islands who live in appalling shanty towns close by Papeete's airport. Their illusions in the possibility of a better life from a temporary economic upsurge are now in ruins as it turned relen-

lessly to slump. In Tahiti, the main social issue is land. The bulk is owned by colonists, stifling the Polynesian peasants' aspirations to farm efficiently. Most peasant families have to be supported by some members having to work in Papeete, but jobs are few and poorly paid.

The spectacular events in Papeete were not riots, as the bourgeois media maintained. There was an element of spontaneous organisation. While many feathers were ruffled, no serious injuries were inflicted by those who took to the streets.

The first target was to immobilise the airport to prevent the reinforcement of the hated French gendarmes: the *taioro* (dogs' pricks). The next objective

was liberating value, as represented by the duty-free shops in the city centre.

What else was this but the emergence of latter-day *sans culottes* reflecting the gathering storm of revolution in the Pacific?

Accusations

Bourgeois Polynesian nationalists, led by Oscar Temaru, responded by calling for a return home, to stop the embarrassing accusations that it was Temaru who had fomented the 'troubles'.

There were no demands for a general strike, to immobilise the docks from which equipment and supplies set sail for Mururoa. No demands to take over the airport

or administrative buildings. No demands for all revenue from tourism to remain in Tahiti, for equal distribution of agricultural land, for removal of the *taioro* and all occupying forces.

And there was not a peep from Greenpeace asking for such support to help down Mururoa decisively.

It exposes not just inadequacies of bourgeois nationalism and single-issue liberalism. It shows just how these force hold back and divert revolutionary developments in the making.

The tiny Polynesian bourgeoisie prefer their French passports and subsidies.

Greenpeace, on the other hand, is a hyped-up money spinner netting donations of more than \$100

million a year. To move decisively and support the revolutionary aspirations of Tahiti's poor, the only way to shut down installations like Mururoa for good, could well disturb Greenpeace's well-heeled donors, but not the young people who really support the fight for better conditions on this planet.

The unemployed shanty dwellers of Papeete must be united with Tahitian workers and peasants on a programme to end colonialism, for jobs, land and a clean environment.

Despite the distance, Polynesia must not be walled off from the movement of workers and young people internationally by the self-seekers in the leaderships of organisations like Greenpeace.

Who needs nurses?

TO counterbalance the 4 per cent fall in the NHS's 340,000 nurses, the number of managers increased by 15 per cent, to 22,950, between 1993 and 1994. The government claims that 'market forces' are having a marvellous effect on NHS efficiency.

Health service minister Gerald Malone said he is determined to crack down on bureaucracy and to 'save' £200 million by 1997-98 through health service reorganisation. Malone maintains senior managers account for only 3 per cent of the NHS.

But this doesn't explain why 'market forces' produce more managers and less nurses.

Director's debit

TWENTY PER CENT of a £3 million payout to 200 former employees of a collapsed conglomerate has gone to its chairman!

British Commonwealth collapsed in 1990. Because chairman John Gunn continued to work on with the other 200 employees while administrators were seeking a buyer, he was 'entitled' to his £600,000 share of the settlement — in spite of a Department of Trade and Industry application to have him disqualified from being a company director.

Even more strange is the fact that Gunn continues to work with the administrators, helping them to sell off the business — long after his two-year contract starting in 1990 ran out

Bosnia Forum

'We are not naive'

Bosnian Ambassador to London Mohammed Philippovic introduced the delegation of 14 from the Serb Civic Council who attended last Saturday's Bosnia Forum that was called to discuss how to take the fight to defend multi-ethnic Bosnia-Herzegovina forward.

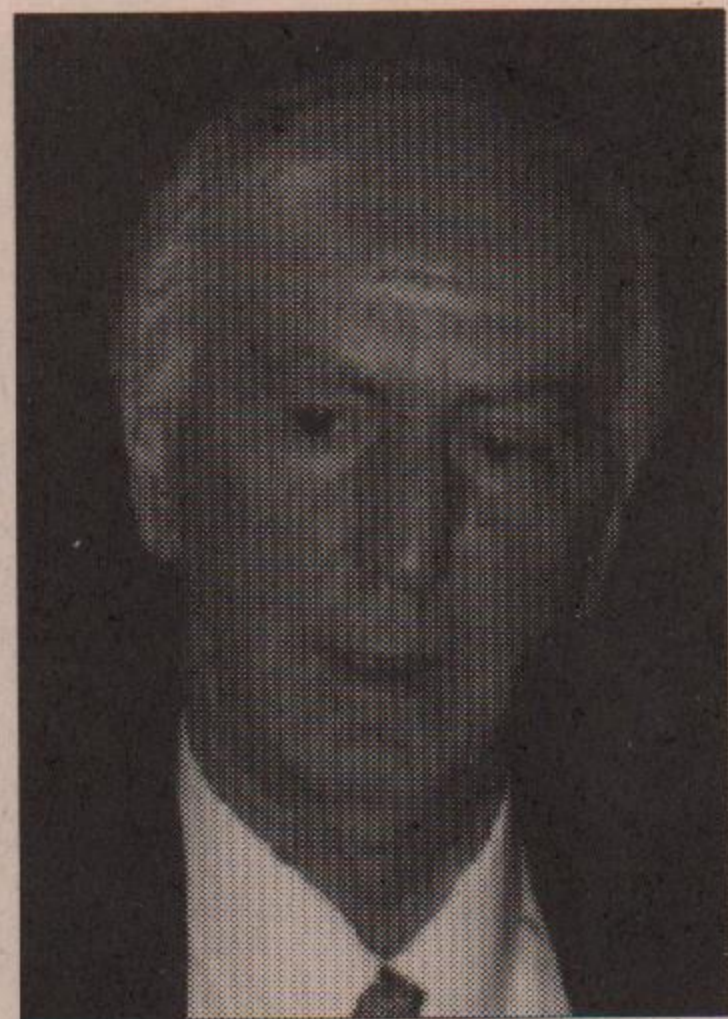
'We are not naive,' he said. 'We have a long experience of fighting fascism in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are clearly aware that the latest initiative from the Clinton administration is not because they want to make peace and satisfy the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina.'

If they wanted that they would not partition the country and leave out places like Zepa and Srebrenica.

'We are not going to accept any peace agreement or proposal which implies the partition of the country. The only state is going to be Bosnia-Herzegovina.'

'We are not denying people's right to be completely equal and have all rights at the highest level of modern society.'

'We guarantee the Serbs autonomy within the Bosnia-Herzegovina state. But, we will not accept another state. We will not allow the criminals of Pale to make any kind of secession in Bosnia.'



Bosnian Ambassador Mohammed Filipovic

'Bosnia will remain united and people will live wherever they like in Bosnia, including those who have been forced out. We will not exchange 250,000 dead for the peace proposals. Partition would not stop the war, it would be a prelude to a new war.'

The deputy chief of staff in the Bosnia-Herzegovina army, Jovan Divjak, a member also of the Serb Civic Council said:

'It was the Yugoslav National

Army (JNA) who conquered the 65 per cent of Bosnia-Herzegovina now controlled by the paramilitary forces led by Karadzic.

'In 1991, JNA units from Serbia and Montenegro came to Bosnia-Herzegovina. In March 1992, there were 7 corps of the JNA in Bosnia.'

'Two-thirds of their weapons were handed over to the paramilitary forces when they left. These force took over the Yugoslavian federation positions.'

'On 6 April 1992, the European Union recognised Bosnia-Herzegovina but we weren't able to counter the JNA supported by the Bosnian Serb units.'

'Then the arms embargo was introduced. The EU has done everything to prevent its being lifted.'

'While the Bosnian army has more soldiers they have far less weapons than the Bosnian Serb paramilitaries.'

'The NATO air-strikes do not contribute much to our fight on the ground. The seige of Sarajevo has not been lifted. We must continue to fight to lift the arms embargo. It is the quickest way to achieve peace.'

'I am very proud to be a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army and I am proud of its multinational nature.'

Sympathy to workers in Bangladesh

BRITISH clothing workers in the Clothing and Textile section of the GMB union have sent a message of sympathy to Bangladesh garment workers following the death of nine young workers, between 10 and 20 years old, in a factory fire there (Workers Press, 2 September).

National secretary Des Farrell has written on behalf of GMB clothing and textile workers to Bangladesh National Garment Workers Federation General Secretary Amirul Haque Amin:

'I have just learned of the recent tragedy at Lusaka Fashions in Ibrahimpur.'

'I was shocked and saddened by the news that there were nine deaths and many injuries as a result of the fire and stampede. It was distressing that so many young people were killed, and from the reports I have read, it appears that there was a serious lack of safety precautions at the factory.'

'The sympathy of all the members of the GMB goes to the victims and their families. It is hoped that as a result of this tragedy, urgent steps will be taken by the authorities to improve health and safety standards and conditions of employment to ensure that a similar tragedy cannot occur in the future.'

The Bangladesh Garment Workers Federation is currently engaged in a campaign to gain the right to at least one day a week off work.

Messages of support and sympathy can be sent the general secretary, Amirul Haque Amin at 00 880 2 867 485.

Donations can be sent, cheques/postal orders to the 'ITUSC Bangladesh Garment Workers Solidarity Fund', at the International Trade Union Solidarity Campaign, PO Box 12, Barking IG11 7UJ, Britain. Receipts will be sent.

New Labour demands: pay up!

BY PETER GIBSON

LABOUR PARTY members are getting some very strong letters from their leader Tony Blair, demanding they pay up their annual subs.

Blair ends his letter saying his aim is a government of 'national renewal' with 'opportunity and social justice for all'.

One Labour member, who first joined in 1945 and has been a parliamentary candidate and a Labour councillor, said he wondered if Blair was thinking of

leading a National Government, like Ramsay MacDonald did in 1931. Was this why Blair was going out of his way to talk to the big industrialists and the banks, while at the same time separating himself from the trade unions?

Another long-standing Labour member, who joined in 1957, responded to Blair's letter by wondering why nothing was said in it about the way the party's policy was formed.

'All they want is our money,' she said. 'There is no encouragement to attend party meetings to discuss policy.'

These two long-standing members may well resolve not to reregister.

They told Workers Press that quite a number of their age group — members over many years who considered themselves socialist — were not registering this year.

Richard Simon reported in Workers Press (19 August) that 38,000 people left Labour last year.

Many more are expected to go this year. A good proportion of these want to be in a socialist party and not 'New Labour'.

The more often Blair has to

write to people, I must ask you to renew your membership', the more he is likely to lose.

But since Blair plans to introduce the state funding of political parties if he wins the next election, does he really care if people join his party or not? At that point will he need their money so much?

It seems that many of those 'bloody miserable' members are set to leave Blair's New Labour. We must cheer them up by pushing forward with the work to build a new workers' socialist and internationalist party.

Drive for profit puts passengers lives at risk

BY ROY THOMAS

UNSAFETY figures from the Traffic Commission show that increasingly hazardous bus and coach travel has followed on from deregulation and privatisation.

In the latest figures, up to 31 March 1994, of 39,630 coaches and buses checked there was an 18 per cent increase in the numbers taken off the road immediately

by inspectors because of safety deficiencies. And there was a 40 per cent increase in coaches and buses given delayed prohibitions which allow the operators a few days to put things right.

There were regional variations. For example, in the Western area the number of defective buses went up by 58 per cent and in the North West immediate prohibitions shot up by 86 per cent. Senior Traffic Commis-

sioner Ron Ashford said that the increases reflected ageing fleets.

The pressure of the profit-drive against safe bus and coach services is also highlighted by the increased numbers of violations of driving-hours regulations going to court.

A case against Midland Red South and six of its drivers is to be heard in November and is expected to last three days.

The company is pleading not

guilty to 43 offences of permitting drivers to fail to keep tachographic records, two offences of failing to issue tachograph charts to drivers and two further charges of failing to secure the return of charts.

A hearing of charges against the Kent company following the death of 10 US tourists, on driving-hours related issues has again been postponed at the request of the defence.

INLA hunger strike ends after negotiations

THREE Irish political prisoners, members of the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), have ended their hunger strike in Portlaoise prison in the south of Ireland. They have forced the Dublin government to agree to talks about parity of treatment with IRA prisoners regarding compassionate parole.

This agreement came after negotiations between officials of the Department of Justice and the Irish Republican Socialist Party, the political wing of the INLA.

The prison authorities have

been much more ready to grant parole to IRA prisoners since the IRA ceasefire was called a year ago. At the same time they have been refusing parole to members of INLA even in circumstances of family bereavement.

The INLA has not officially called a ceasefire although they have not conducted any operations in the last year.

Michael McCartney had been refusing food for 26 days and Tony McNeill and Paddy Walls for 19 days. Both McCartney and Walls had been removed to the Curragh Military Hospital.

WORKERS PRESS IS THE PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

British section of the Workers International (to Rebuild the Fourth International)

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Dirty Liberty

LAST weekend, I joined a spontaneous standing ovation for our distinguished Serb visitors at the Bosnia Forum; and applauded General Jovan Divjak's forthright condemnation of Western governments' duplicity.

In this column last week I quoted Ljiljana Pavlovic, a Serb comrade of the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International and, as many people know, a leading inspiration in the formation of Workers Aid for Bosnia.

The September issue of 'Workers Liberty' has a thoughtful interview with Branka Magas, a Croat socialist with whom we enjoy excellent relations, on 'Why Bosnia must defeat Milosevic'.

But from Chris Reynolds's article in 'The left and Bosnia' in the same issue, I discover that Workers Press regards 'the Bosnian Muslims' as the 'good', democratic nation and the Serbs the 'bad', fascist nation! So why, I wonder, did we report Bosnian Serb unrest with Karadzic and co., and why have we advocated the right of Krajina Serbs to return to their homes? But I mustn't interrupt.

Thus Workers Press lacks any real political independence from the Bosnian government, outside of ceremonial declarations. It argues in terms which rationalise anti-Serb chauvinism: "the Bosnian people" means Muslims, while the majority of the Bosnian Serbs are "fascists".

I didn't see anybody selling 'Workers Liberty' at the Bosnia Forum. I'd have asked them what we call General Divjak, deputy commander-in-chief of the Bosnia and Herzegovina army, and member of the Serb Civic Council. If we acknowledge he's a Serb, are we calling him a 'fascist'? Certainly not advisable within his (paraphrase). If we say he's a Bosnian general does that make him a Muslim? I'd say it's Mr Reynolds who has problems.

He says: 'The coverage by Workers Press of events here in Britain connected to ex-Yugoslavia should be enough to make us distrust its picture of events in Bosnia which are more constant and more difficult to check than in the past. I don't know why 'Workers Liberty' should find it more difficult to check Bosnia than we did; nor what part Mr Reynolds has played in events here in Britain connected to ex-Yugoslavia'.

Workers Press's special 29 July issue reported the big Bosnia solidarity demonstration of the previous week, what speakers had said, and made union messages. Lesley Thompson interviewed marchers, and the front page led on the Non-Stop Market.

Our crime, apparently, is that we didn't pick up a leaflet put out by the Muslim Solidarity Campaign defending the regime in Sudan, and said something about 'howls of protest from a minority of the Bosniac refugees' against a message from Serbia.

Anyone who has been in a struggle knows the kind of reporting that ignores the real issues, the 'feel' of a meeting, or what's said, to seize any small incident they can use to smear the participants.

But the publications that carry such distortion aren't for workers' liberty; and Mr Reynolds's malicious smear serves neither the journal nor the cause he claims to support.

Here's looking
at you . . .

SABLANCA magazine is back, with a striking pull-out poster of La Balbanovic's Trafalgar Square sketch, updated by her. Other interesting items include an exposé of Martin Jacques's career at the 'Independent'. From the sublime to the ridiculous.

Charlie Pottins

New Labour attacks to criminalise poor

Arguments of

BY NICK LEE

JACK STRAW, Labour's shadow home secretary caused a furore with his remarks that squeegee gangs and street beggars should be driven off the streets. He was opening the Lewisham Community Safety Project with no less a personage than the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Sir Paul Condon, also well known for his recent carefully chosen remarks on black youth and crime.

Straw put the view — later elaborated in a guest editorial in last Thursday's *Independent* — that 'Aggressive begging, along with graffiti and . . . "squeegee merchants" all heighten people's fear of crime on the streets. . . . The result is a vicious circle in which people use the streets less, society becomes atomised, and community life breaks down.' The result, Straw says, is higher rates of serious street crime such as mugging and burglary.

It is important to be clear just how far to the right Straw's outburst is taking 'New Labour'. For classic social democracy the main answer to street crime was not policing but full employment.

While the criminal justice system was important to help individual victims obtain justice, the main force for reducing crime was seen as the elimination of the poverty and deprivation that produced it.

New Labour is busily reconciling itself to the collapse of the welfare state and full employment under conditions of seriously rising crime. Obviously new positions are called for.

The first stage was Tony Blair's reformulation of Labour policy as 'tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime'. Labour was now committed to the view that heavy policing and punishment of young street criminals is something to do with justice and will do something to reduce crime levels: despite years of evidence to the contrary.

Much of the criticism of Straw from the liberal press is that he has stressed only one side of the Blair equation: tough on crime. 'What about the welfare state — more hostels for drug addicts and homeless youth?'

It was for Straw to reply that of course the next Labour government would do this as well.

But this missed the most significant element in Straw's argument. He has gone a step further than Blair: from 'tough on crime' to 'tough on people who hang around the streets because of poverty'.

'Disorder'

Winos and cardboard-box street beggars, graffiti artists, squeegee merchants, even drunk aggressive young men are not actually criminals. They are guilty of nothing more than 'disorder' but, for Straw, they have got to be criminalised because, as he put it in a *Guardian* interview (9 September): 'It is disorder that leads to crime and the threat of disorder which leads to crime.'

Straw blurred the issue cleverly by referring to social surveys showing a high fear of crime in inner cities — particularly among women — and then using this to justify his outburst against street people as a whole.

The *New Statesman* picked up the slippage: 'The crimes that matter to most people in the areas of which Jack Straw speaks are, principally, street robberies and burglaries. Correct us if we are wrong, but we were



South Bronx: the theoretical inspirer of Straw's attack, US criminologist James Q. Wilson, seeks to blame

not aware of any evidence that squeegee merchants and their ilk were primarily responsible for such offences' (8 September).

Precisely, Straw has generalised from criminal offenders as people who commit particular types of acts to a notion of *the criminal classes* as the poor and unemployed in general, and — most important of all — holding them generally responsible for urban decay, bringing the rest of us down with them, blaming poverty and crime on its most likely victims.

Straw takes this view of the causes of crime and urban decay from the conservative American criminologist James Q. Wilson, who was adviser to the Reagan administration. Wilson argued that although beggars, graffiti artists and noisy youth are not serious criminal offenders, by creating 'disorder' they drive people off the streets.

Empty streets and dilapidated buildings are an invitation to real criminals and so the level of burglary and street mugging goes up, sex shops, drugs and organised crime move in as people with money move out, and the area collapses economically. So who is responsible for starting this process: capitalism? Come off it — it's the squeegee merchants and cardboard-box beggars!

The implication for Wilson and his colleagues was simple.

Forget about jobs, education and welfare. You have to nip the process in the bud by aggressively policing the squeegees and noisy kids — even though they haven't actually committed serious crimes.

Of course there are always plenty of vague 'crimes' on the statute book — in England, from the old 'sus' laws to the Tory Criminal Justice Act — to enable the police to do what they want. Also what counts as 'disorder' is anyone's guess — a fact which gives complete discretion to the police.

As the *Independent* (8 September) pointed out: 'Why not the boy selling the evening paper or a bunch of roses to homeward bound motorists stuck at the traffic lights?'

Gunshot

The basic argument contains a fatal flaw. If you hear a gunshot in a Suffolk village you assume it's some old buffer bagging a duck.

The same sound in inner-city New York or Hackney and you lock the doors.

In other words: many people do indeed feel intimidated by squeegee crews and street begging — but in an areas where there is *already* a high

rate of serious street crime. And high crime follows the urban deprivation resulting from the decimation of our cities, education, jobs and welfare.

Straw is determined to deflect attention away from these factors so as to reduce our expectations of a future Labour government.

Once we understand that concerns about street beggars are really concerns about serious crime, which is indeed a problem in many areas, we can understand how Straw's proposals will further increase serious crime.

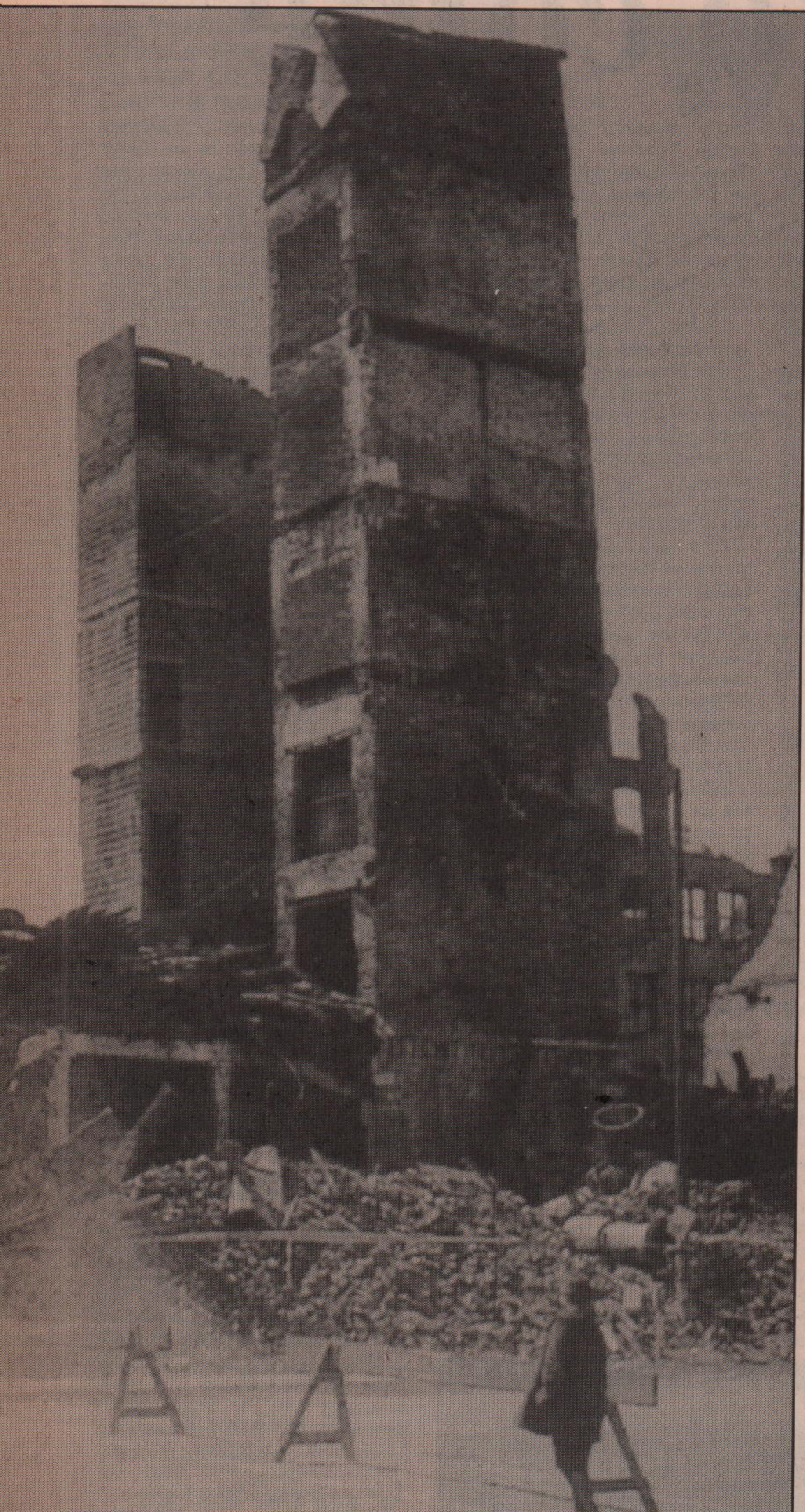
Take the squeegee crews. These are, in the main, enterprising young people who are at least attempting to avoid crime and provide some form of service in exchange for cash: a long way from mugging.

But if even these attempts to overcome the fate of unemployment are to be criminalised then it will be hardly surprising that some of these enterprising youngsters get pushed into the more serious criminal enterprise that is already going on in the area.

If you are going to be hassled by the police anyway, then drugs dealing is considerably more profitable than cleaning windscreens.

And when the police do 'move on' the beggars and squeegee crews —

Straw



me the poor — and not capitalism — for inner-city devastation

where will they go? Given that a government led by Tony Blair and Jack Straw is going to do nothing about the lack of jobs and opportunities for young people in the inner cities, either they go round the corner and do the same thing or the police book them and they end up in massively overcrowded detention centres where they will mix with more serious criminals.

Squeegee

Criminalising the squeegee crews will increase crime in another way. If police really want to deal with serious street crime in an area they need information from the public.

Who has information to give the police? It's not Straw's irate middle-class motorists at the traffic lights with their windscreens covered in soap but the squeegee crews themselves who are on the streets and see what is going on!

But policing under a future home secretary Jack Straw, even more than under Home Secretary Michael Howard, will be not be about tackling serious crime.

It will be about driving unemployed youth off the streets and into back alleys where they can be 'out of sight, out of mind' and into the arms of organised crime.

Straw has shown that New Labour has finally shaken off the last remains of social-democratic reformism and taken on the contempt for the poor characterised by post-Thatcher Toryism. The next Labour government will stand to the right of even traditional 'one nation' Tories, who have at least some sort of paternal benevolence toward the poor.

In the meantime there is much that socialists in Labour local authorities could do to bring down street crime even with the Tory cuts.

Squeegee merchants and some graffiti artists, after all, show how the unemployed actually have some enterprise and initiative.

Local councils and the labour movement could help them, provide equipment, license them as co-operatives, etc., as part of building new links between the unemployed and the working-class movement.

This is as of now further away from the concerns of New Labour than it has ever been before.

It is to the credit of those long-standing Labour Party members who wrote to the press following Straw's speech announcing their resignations. The working class and the unemployed desperately need a new alternative, a new party.

Water, water everywhere?

BY DANIEL ROBERTSON
OUR SCIENCE
CORRESPONDENT

WATER is one of the most basic requirements for human survival. There has not been a society yet that has not put access to, provision of and disposal of water at the centre of its life. Britain led the world in providing safe, secure water for its citizens, but at the end of the 20th century we appear to be faced with a serious water crisis. How has this happened?

Readers will be aware that the water industry, previously owned by the state, has been privatised. This is in line with the Tories' claim that the market can solve all of society's problems from health care to provision of cheap, clean water. But the only people whose problems are being solved by this action are the privatised water company directors!

They have voted themselves salary increases that make the recent claims of record sunshine and droughts seem modest.

Chairmen's salaries in 1993-94 compared with 1989-90 were up by between 108 per cent and an incredible 571 per cent! Profits since privatisation total over £8 billion.

Total directors' benefits (this includes share options and other legal fiddles) add up to over £10 million shared between 44 of these parasites — that's nearly £250,000 each. Don't bother with lottery tickets — just become a water director!

Where has this cash come from? It's not just directors' perks that have rocketed. Water bills have also gone through the roof.

Comparing current average bills with pre-privatisation levels shows mean rises of 80 per cent, with the highest (South West Water) at 121 per cent. There's not much doubt who is paying for those directors' perks.

What are we getting for these escalating bills? This summer has seen serious water shortages in many parts of the country.

The water utilities are blaming this on everyone but themselves. They claim that we have experienced an extreme 1 in 200 years low in rainfall. This argument is spoilt by the observation that last winter was actually exceptionally wet. In fact 60,000 billion gallons of rain falls on these islands every year. Where is this water going?

It is a scandalous fact that 20 per cent of the water retained in the distribution system is leaking out of punctures in water mains. In some areas it is as much as 30 per cent. This is occurring because of years of neglect in maintaining the water system — under both state and private control. This reflects Britain's social and economic history.

Fear

Britain was the first country to construct a modern, clean water supply, an action taken in response to Victorian fears that the water-borne diseases that ravaged the growing urban proletariat would spread to middle-class areas.

These ancient water mains have been left neglected for a century as Britain's industrial decline has removed the resources required for essential repair work.

Professionals in the water industry have been warning of an eventual water crisis for years.

OFWAT, the water industry's joke regulator, thinks that it is unfair to oblige the water companies to repair these leaks. The government echoes — or more likely originates — this

view. Environment Secretary John Gummer claims that it would be unjust to expect the water companies to carry out repairs for dealing with water shortages that will only occur twice a century.

As shown in a recent Workers Press article on global warming (26 August, 'Nice weather we're having?'), dry summers are likely to become more regular.

Arguments that consumers driven to using stand pipes should be compensated are treated with scorn. It is up to consumers to suffer in silence.

The reality is that the required repairs could be done, but would hit profitability hard.

Capital spending by the water companies on water distribution is currently under £500 million per year, and only a fraction of this goes on mains repairs.

Leaking

Repairing leaking water mains will probably cost several billions — a severe threat to profits. It will be the consumer that eventually pays for this long overdue work; profitability levels will be left untouched.

The introduction of water meters, nominally to reduce waste, will be used to ramp up water rates even faster. High bills will be blamed on families failing to economise on water use — blame will be transferred from the government and water companies to the consumer.

On top of all this the effect of global warming is projected to increase consumer needs for water just as rainfall levels start to decline. Water-meter pricing will hit working-class families with children (requiring higher water consumption levels) particularly hard. This will be used as yet another means of redistributing wealth upwards.

Water companies are trying to top up water lost from leaks by extracting water from rivers. The pricing policies involved make this a useful option for them as the cost per gallon goes down the more they take.

But, this is causing a severe threat to wildlife in several areas. Conservationists are slamming the water boards for failure to invest in new water reservoirs that could store excess water from wetter periods to get through the droughts.

Over 1 million gallons of rain falls per head of the population in a year — it should be possible to collect more of this!

Rare species of animals and plants are being threatened by this lack of planning, at least one species could be completely wiped out this summer. This situation will become more serious if this summer's weather is the start of a trend.

A more obvious effect of the drought on nature is that trees in rural areas are shedding their leaves early this year to reduce water loss. The damage drought causes to trees will make them more susceptible to storms such as those in 1987 and 1990.

In contrast leaks from town mains are probably protecting urban trees from the worst effects of water shortage — the only beneficiaries of lack of investment apart from the water company directors!

The water companies have responded to the barrage of recent criticism with some phenomenally inept arguments. Consumers have been accused of 'cultural ignorance' of the value of water.

Yorkshire Water has advised local companies to extend holidays or even move to other areas. Local businesses have described this advice as 'insulting'. Yorkshire Water itself has

declined to offer its own employees extra holidays!

A Norfolk water engineer has suggested that families should travel to the coast to bathe in the sea — 'it would make a nice day out for a regular dip'. This is all part of a pattern of transferring the blame for shortages to anyone but the water companies.

Meanwhile concern grows over the quality of water. Last week, I referred to fears about increasing exposure to oestrogen-like chemicals affecting human fertility ('Science Focus', September). Consumption of these chemicals through drinking water is an important source of exposure.

A whole range of unnatural chemicals is appearing in water supplies, many of which must be health threats. European Union standards for drinking water pesticide levels are being exceeded in supplies to 1 million consumers.

The Water Inspectorate is rumoured to be considering prosecuting water companies over 4 cases where water supplied is unfit for safe consumption. Rival quangos seem to be working against each other here!

The National Rivers Authority is notorious for its generosity in allowing companies special consents to discharge waste into rivers. The European Court of Justice ruled in 1992, as a result of a Friends of the Earth campaign, that the British government had allowed drinking water nitrate levels to exceed recommended levels in 28 supply zones covering about 3.5 million consumers.

Other chemicals over prescribed levels include polycyclic hydrocarbons — many of which cause cancer. Lead levels in some areas are probably damaging children's brain development.

Water authorities are still using lead solder in pipes, despite warnings from scientists of the dangers. The water industry is severely neglecting the research into the toxicological effects of water contaminants that it should be funding.

Outbreak

And, this summer has also seen a major outbreak of Cryptosporidium, a potentially fatal water borne micro-organism.

What needs to be done? The Labour Party's proposed solution is merely to juggle around the various bureaucracies involved in overseeing the water industry. But, the real cause of the crisis — the primacy of profit — would go unchallenged under a Labour government. It would be left in private hands.

A socialist solution to this crisis would start with renationalisation of water. There would be national planning to co-ordinate efforts to eliminate water contamination and ensure adequate, safe supplies.

Water conservation measures would be implemented throughout industry and other major users. Social solidarity and democratic participation in a socialist society would make people aware of their individual responsibilities not to waste this precious resource.

Meanwhile in some other parts of the world the problem is too much fresh water!

Good scientific evidence, recently reported by Norwegian scientists, has demonstrated clear evidence that both the Arctic and Antarctic ice caps are melting and that the rate of melting is accelerating. This is an early proof that predictions of the impact of global warming are being confirmed.

Our caring police

NOTHING about the British police surprises me any more. A friend who travelled back to Scotland a few days ago wrote telling me that as he was going to his train he saw a group of police at Kings Cross taking evident delight in bullying and manhandling a young woman vagrant.

Anyone who thinks that a New Labour government would clamp down on this kind of thing should think again. Jack Straw's recent declaration of war on the homeless shows that the police will be given a licence to harry the poor and dispossessed as never before.

But I admit I was shocked, though far from surprised, by the latest case of police misconduct, which came to light last week.

It happened in Thetford, Norfolk, where there lived until lately a man called Robert Dalrymple, who suffers from cancer of the mouth, has had part of his jaw removed, and is unable to speak very clearly or distinctly.

In 1993 Mr Dalrymple telephoned his local police station to complain about rowdy young people outside his council flat.

From then onwards he was the victim of a sustained series of distressing and intimidating nuisance calls — up to 15 a night — which made him cry with frustration.

At his request, the malicious calls bureau put a trace on his line, and the next such call was traced to the police station. An internal inquiry was started, and the calls miraculously ceased.

Mr Dalrymple, who has moved far away from Thetford — and who can blame him? — has been awarded compensation of less than £10,000 just before his case for aggravated and exemplary damages was due to go before the county court.

Norfolk police admitted that one of the calls was made from their Thetford station, but it was never established who made it and consequently nobody was disciplined.

Says Mr Dalrymple: 'They have closed ranks to sweep the matter under the carpet.'

Yes, that is standard procedure for them. The police are irredeemably sick and corrupt. And their sickness and corruption run from top to bottom, like the letters through a stick of rock.

Clarion call

THAT estimable 'socialist journal for the labour & trade union movement in the south west', the *Somerset Clarion*, has an interesting and well-informed article by Dave Chapple in its June-July issue, entitled 'Lawrence Daly & the Fife Socialist League 1956-62'.

Chapple says that 'according to Willie Thompson, Daly was formally approached [in 1959] by Peter Fryer from the Socialist Labour League, but the FSL decided not to affiliate.'

'It would be interesting to get Fryer's account of this, as Thompson's is too brief. Was it the SLL's open Trotskyism that put Daly off, or was it the SLL's entryist attitude to the British Labour Party? At this time Daly was advocating, on behalf of the FSL, a new socialist party/organisation.'

I wish I could respond to Dave Chapple's request by throwing some light on this. But I have no recollection of making such an approach to Daly, whom I had known quite well since the early 1950s, and at whose invitation, as Chapple recounts, I had spoken to Fife miners soon after the 1956 Hungarian uprising.

It's quite possible that I suggested to Daly that his organisation might consider some sort of link with the SLL, but I very much doubt whether this would have been a formal approach, for Gerry Healy kept all such matters very strictly under his personal control.

Chapple's source is an essay by Willie Thompson on 'The New Left in Scotland', published in *Essays in Scottish Labour History* (1982). I've not yet had a

PERSONAL COLUMN

chance to look this up, and will report further when I've done so.

Mistitled reprint

BOOKMARKS, the publishing house of the Socialist Workers' Party, have done a service to a new generation of young socialists by republishing the well-known essays on British communist history by Brian Pearce and Michael Woodhouse, with a new introduction by Chris Bambery.

However, they have diserved those same young socialists by retitling this useful volume *A History of Communism in Britain* (£6.99), which it most certainly is not.

And they limit the publishing history on the verso of the title-page to the three words 'First published 1969', slyly concealing the fact that the original and appropriate title was *Essays on the History of Communism in Britain*.

For this book is of course not a connected history of the subject, but a collection of essays on different aspects of it — as I well know, having had the pleasure of sub-editing five of these essays before they were first published in *Labour Review* in 1957-59.

A model history

ROZINA VISRAM, author of the pioneering *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes: Indians In Britain 1700-1947* (Pluto, 1986), has done more than anyone else to bring to light the lost history of Indian settlers in this country.

Her reputation can only be enhanced by her latest publication, *The History of the Asian Community In Britain* (Wayland, £9.99).

This is a short, splendidly illustrated account that deserves a place in all school libraries. Visram writes for young readers with the utmost clarity and simplicity, but without the slightest trace of condescension or 'writing down'.

I was glad to see that one of her 12 'case studies' of individual Asians in Britain honours the Gujarati woman Jayaben Desai, one of the valiant leaders of the 1976 Grunwick strike.

Lazy Observer

THOUGH no doubt we'll all get used to it, I can't say I'm exactly thrilled by the *Observer's* new look.

What bothers me much more, however, is what's happened in Farringdon Road to the firm smack of editorship.

The *Observer* was once a byword for careful, decent English. Now it can print without a blush, in its front-page 'WELCOME TO THE NEW OBSERVER' (3 September), the following piece of shop-soiled adspoke:

'It became clear that we needed to address a number of issues and strengthen our overall service.'

What does this mean? It means nothing at all. It's a typical product of a lazy mind, a mind that is content to string formulas together — as you can see if you change just two words:

'It became clear that we needed to address a number of envelopes and strengthen our jump-suit service.'

The great J.L. Garvin, who edited the *Observer* from 1908 to 1942 and wielded a fastidious pen, must be turning in his grave.

Peter Fryer

Edinburgh Festival by Terry Brotherstone

'I am a citizen of times to come'

IN GERMANY, Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805) occupies a place somewhat analogous to that of Shakespeare in England. Yet while Germans are also well acquainted with Avon's Bard, the English care little for the great German romantic.

Even Kenneth Tynan, the best post-war English drama critic wrote dismissively of 'four hours of Schiller's *Don Carlos*, a Spanish tragedy composed of themes borrowed from *Hamlet* and [Racine's] *Phèdre*'.

This year's Edinburgh Festival took a small step towards setting the balance of cultural internationalism into kilter. While Bertolt Brecht's former company the *Berliner Ensemble* brought a modern-dress version of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, the *Glasgow Citizens* offered Schiller's *Don Carlos* in a terrific new translation by Robert David MacDonald.

Done with great theoretical aplomb in a production designed and directed by Philip Prowse, this *Don Carlos* focuses on the play's intellectual drive, rather than on the slightly hysterical tale of the crown prince of the title (Benedick Bates), who is in love with his stepmother, Elizabeth of Valois (Sophie Ward) and struggling to escape the contempt of his authoritarian father, Philip II of Spain (Giles Havergal).

Full weight is given to the central third act, in which the complex Marquis of Posa (well tackled by Andrew Woodall) confronts the absolutist monarch, played by Havergal as unself-critically ruthless but not without human vulnerability.

Posa explains why he seeks to serve the King, but still seeks to promote that very freedom of thought which is the opposite of everything Philip seems to stand for. Schiller is clearly thinking as much of the dilemmas of his own

time — the play was completed not long before the French Revolution — as of 16th-century Spain.

Posa grasps that his conception of a stable but free society is too forward-looking, that he will be misunderstood as a man wishing to overthrow the order he in fact wants to make compatible with free thought.

'Sire...' he declares, 'You have misunderstood me! Just as I feared. You've seen me take away the veil from all the mysteries of kingship! Who is to say that I will still respect what I have ceased to fear?'

But he insists: 'The laughable desire for revolution, which only makes the chains it cannot break! the heavier, will never heat my blood! The century is not ripe for my ideal! I am a citizen of times to come.'

Revolution

How to bring such times into being, and to understand the role of revolution in doing so, were to be central questions on the agenda of progressive thinkers from Schiller's generation on. And, in the 1990s, with the Stalinist-inspired misconception so prominent in many minds that revolution only makes the chains of oppression heavier, rediscovering the questions Schiller asked is more relevant than ever.

There has been a welcome, if spasmodic, revival of interest in his plays in Britain over the last decade (for example, the RSC's production of *Wallenstein* last year). Along with Shakespeare, Goethe and Heine, Schiller was one of the creative writers who most influenced Marx; and a production as accessible as this *Don Carlos* helps you to see why.

The *Berliner Ensemble* version of *The Merchant* is set in the present, with Shylock (the splendid Gert Voss) played as a suc-

cessful financier, hating Antonio (Ignaz Kirchner chewing on a Havana) as much for the effect on the markets of his interest-free loans as in response to his anti-Semitism. The set reminds you more of Oliver Stone's movie *Wall Street* than of Renaissance Venice.

Zadek, a German Jew brought up in England, resolves the problem of the play's Jew-baiting by taking it in his stride. What you get here is a matter-of-fact discussion of a society which reduces all relationships to deals, and in which the rule of law must be upheld purely so that commerce can continue.

The pairings-off of various lovers of compatible status (a weakness of Shakespeare's) is, for the most part, dispatched either wittily or perfunctorily: even Bassanio (Paulus Manker) is not the usual romantic drip but a pig-tailed smoothie who requites his passion for Portia as though cashing in his chips after a lucky throw.

Zadek says the key to Shylock, the money-lender who wants his pound of Antonio's flesh rather than the return of his cash, is to make him so hateful that, when Portia's legal arguments engineer his downfall, the audience actually feels sorry for him.

Yet in this production it is not pity which is evoked so much as a sense of tension. As Voss sharpens the knife on his sole and Antonio bares his chest, you almost forget you know the trick Portia has up her sleeve. How Nick Leeson must wish he had such a sharp lawyer!

In Edinburgh, Shakespeare and Schiller could be seen in the context of contemporary work from one of the most theatrical of European nations, Ireland, and from one of the least, Scotland itself.

Frank McGuinness's fine play *Observe the Sons of Ulster*

Marching Towards the Somme — about eight men in an Ulster regiment, most of whom are about to die in the trench warfare of World War I — was revived after ten years as the *Abbey Theatre's* contribution to the 'peace process'. Earlier this year, 'loyalist' politicians travelled to Dublin to see how a Catholic republican playwright had dealt with one of their sustaining historical myths.

It is hard to imagine what they may have concluded, since, in Patrick Mason's spare, complex, yet gripping production, the play marvellously transcends any pragmatic intention. In so far as, in an immediately Irish context, it is political at all, it appears to attribute the fixing of the mindset of 20th century cross-class 'loyalism' to the ghostly but necessary soldierly solidarity generated by the horrors of the fields of Flanders.

In other plays, McGuinness has demonstrated his debt to Sean O'Casey as he writes in less than celebratory style about the Republic. And one does not have to step too far beyond the playwright's own terms of reference, to see *Observe the Sons* as arguing that what the bulk of Irish people share, wherever on the island they come from, is a material and ideological crisis inherited, not from 'the British' as such, but from the Empire and from the 'great war' to which it sent so many sons to die. If the play is read in that way, the 'peace process' to which it might contribute would have to be very different from the one currently underway.

Excellent

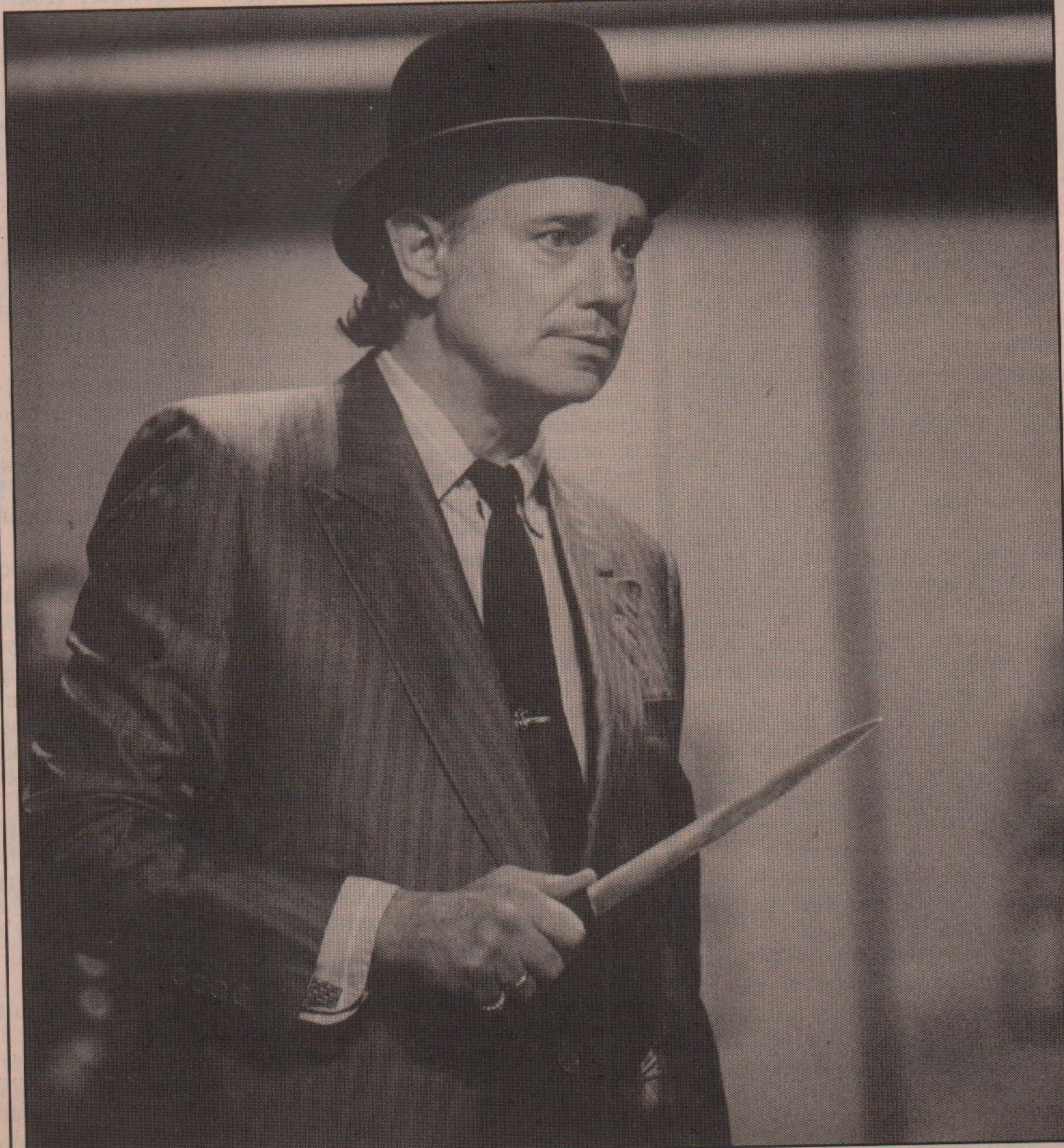
Meanwhile, when it comes to theatre, the Scots only rarely emulate the Irish. Two years ago *TAG Theatre* from Glasgow had a hit with an excellent adaptation for the stage of Lewis Grassie Gibbon's trilogy from the early 1930s, *A Scots Quair*. The same company, and the same intelligent adapter, Alastair Cording, have now attempted Alasdair Gray's complex 1981 work (or 'Life in 4 Books'), *Lanark*.

Cleverly set by Angela Davies, and directed by Tony Graham in the often intractable space of the Assembly Hall, it struck a chord for some Scots who saw it, but for few others. The production has its moments, and might turn out to be the beginnings of a work in progress which could reappear in the future in new forms. On its first outing, however, it was more an interesting literary experiment than a soaring theatrical success.

The drama programme concluded with further glimpses of European theatre. One of these was an inconsequential pageant of everyday absurdities, Jerome Deschamps' and Macha Makeieff's *C'est Magnifique*, the undoubted charm of which would have been seen to better advantage, in a shortened form, as late-night cabaret. Another was Patrice Chéreau's production of one of the late Bernard-Marie Koltes' highly cerebral examinations of commercial dealing as metaphor for human (or rather dehumanised) relationships, *Dans la Solitude des Champs de Coton*.

And Gert Voss turned up again, as different from Shylock as could be imagined, in the first of two Sacha Guitry comedies, *The Illusionist*, directed by Luc Bondy for the *Schaubühne am Lehninger Platz* of Berlin. The Germans teaching the French how to get laughs out of their own plays?

Plus ça change, plus ce n'est pas la même chose!



Shylock (Gert Voss) prepares to take his 'pound of flesh' Photo: Sean Hudson/Keith Brome

Bosnia Forum

'It's ordinary people who get killed'

A wide variety of people attended the 'Bosnia Forum' last Saturday to discuss the way forward in building the campaign to defend multi-ethnic Bosnia-Herzegovina. As the chair, Dot Gibson, said, it was very much a working meeting. Here is just some of what was said

Michael Saviour, *Jewish Socialist Group*: It is important that the cities [of Bosnia] are protected and given hope and support and the means to bring back civilised multi-cultural conditions. The attacks on us are attacks on us. We are their kith and kin, representing a cosmopolitan and multi-ethnic world. Londoners are second cousins to Sarajevans, Tuzlans, Mostarians.

As they did in Strasbourg, we should find a way to physically divide the City of London, for example by blocking all the bridges — a very effective way of showing on the ground what happens.

Bronwen Handyside: I am in Workers Aid for Bosnia and I am the organiser of the non-stop picket. We have maintained the picket for 50 days and nights demanding the lifting of the arms embargo so the Bosnian people can defend themselves.

It is important that we have met today and that we discuss the meaning of the NATO bombing: Was it to aid Bosnia or to bring the Bosnian government to the negotiating table for partition?

It happened as a response to the victories of the Croat and Bosnia-Herzegovina armies. Meanwhile the picket is still running. It stands against genocide and demands: No partition of Bosnia!

The important thing is not to get our ideas completely right but to act, to enable millions of ordinary people to make their voices heard over and above these politicians.

We invite everybody to come to this picket and come to the

picket meetings at St Martins in the Fields on Wednesday evenings.

Roland Rantz, *secretary of International Workers Aid* [a different organisation from Workers Aid for Bosnia]: The NATO bombing is designed to reinforce divisions. They are trying to remove Serbs and Croats from Bosnia and assert that only the Muslims are left.

Fortunately many people in Bosnia-Herzegovina are resisting this categorisation and carve-up.

International Workers Aid exists in 16 countries around the world. So far a score of convoys have reached Bosnia. Next week the first convoy is leaving for Sarajevo. We have realised that the transport of aid from Western Europe to Bosnia is superfluous. We have given help to set up a newspaper for women in Tuzla and we are helping them to feed themselves and inform themselves. We are taking opinion formers from Britain to Tuzla.

Katherine Brannan *had travelled specially from her home in Brussels to take part in the forum*: I want to make a plug for your work on Downing Street [the non-stop picket]. This is the form the resistance will take against Orwellian mind-control.

[Previously,] I was demoralised. But when we were in London in July, more or less as tourists, we bumped into your demonstration.

I went home and set up an organisation in Belgium: Dignity for Bosnia. In August, we organised the first human chain of 2,000 people around the

European Commission building in Brussels.

David Mosley, *active on the non-stop picket*: We should encourage everyone who has similar views to work together. People may disagree very strongly in other areas but we shouldn't let that cloud the issue.

Great Britain has a genius for leaving behind divided countries. These partition agreements are reached amazingly quickly. The trouble they cause can go on for decades afterwards.

Our demonstrations need to have more impact. Often we are too polite. Blocking the bridges would give a strong visual image.

Paul Henderson, *Association of University Teachers representative on the latest convoy to Tuzla*: We can become very clear ourselves on what is happening and clarify others in this country. Our Leicester steering committee discussed slogans for our march on 23 September [see front page]. The proposals put forward were very clear:

- Defend multi-ethnic Bosnia.
- 49 per cent/51 per cent = ethnic cleansing.
- No division of Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- Vance-Owen, accessories to genocide.
- UN helps Serb nationalism.

What could be clearer than these slogans?

Alan Thornett, *International Workers Aid*: We have been

unable to build a broad alliance first and foremost because of residual Stalinism.

Support for Bosnia remains on a narrow basis. To open it up we must build different kinds of alliances from before. International Workers Aid and Workers Aid are brilliant and must continue.

Where is the Bosnia Solidarity Campaign going? I have no problems with the picket but it cannot just be that. What should people outside London do?

Bosnia Solidarity Campaign groups are needed all over the country to politically organise in the labour movement. Trade union and labour movement organisations need to have a way of making some input.

The campaign should have a platform. I would accept the slogans proposed from Leicester.

Simon Nettle: I am a member of Seizing Bridges organising peaceful initiatives for multi-ethnic, multi-cultural society in Bosnia. I do not believe victory by force of arms is the solution. Peace will only come through education and initiatives which build bridges.

My personal belief is humanitarian aid and the political campaign go together. Hundreds of doctors in Bosnia-Herzegovina rely on UN aid. Without it they couldn't function. We should be against the use of aggression against people.

[Answering a question from the floor, 'How do you stand up against it?', Nettle said:]

Educate the Bosnian Serb civilians. I don't agree with what

Karadzic is doing. But trying to exclude a point of view is excluding a section of society.

Photojournalist Helen Sheehan: The United Nations is being used by national governments to be a participant in the partition of a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural country. Sure their hands are tied, but they are participants too. The UN are privileged. Look at them in Sarajevo where people have very little to eat. It's hard to judge the reaction from Bosnian-Serb-held areas because it's not democratic. It's a junta.

Raymond Skinner, *from Southend on Sea who has visited Croatia twice*: More and more, UN aid is being blocked. The UN should get out. Lift the arms embargo; let Bosnia-Herzegovina fight. In 'Siege Doctors' on television last week we saw doctors wanting to get equipment through but it was stolen by the Chetniks.

By bombing the Serbs, NATO are preventing the Bosnian-Croat alliance from striking to liberate Sarajevo.

The last session of the Bosnia Forum dealt with the activities of groups and activities around the Bosnia Solidarity Campaign

Marion Wenzel, *Bosnia-Herzegovina Heritage Alliance, which works to preserve archeological records and buildings*: The proof of Bosnia's multi-ethnic nature lies in its monuments and its towns. This has been a war to destroy culture.

Naseem Akhtar, *Teesside*: I'm an ordinary person and when wars start it's the ordinary people who get slaughtered. Seven weeks ago we held a public meeting in Teesside.

For three-and-a-half years we sat back and we knew innocent people were getting killed. We thought that America would do something as they did in Kuwait. Recently I realised there is no oil in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

From the public meeting we formed Teesside Bosnia Solidarity Campaign and brought a coach to London on 6 August and to the Bradford demonstration.

We are holding another meeting on 23 September and we will be having a rally and speakers on 14 October.

Angela Sibley, *Colin Roach Centre and Hackney NUT*: At my school we got permission to get a letter sent home to parents for pupils to collect aid. We are a multi-ethnic school on the borders of Tower Hamlets and Hackney. We held a non-uniform day to raise aid for Bosnia.

Rhian Hefin, *Powys in Defence of Multi-Ethnic Bosnia*: The biggest problem was people didn't understand. Together with the Bosnia Solidarity Campaign and the Alliance to Defend Bosnia-Herzegovina we have been sending letters to the newspapers.

We want to set up a rally in mid-Wales. We are in a theatre group and we have toured with a play about the war in Bosnia.

Safety on South Kilburn estate

Angry meeting unites tenants and workers

BRENT council faces a flood of legal actions and demonstrations after more than 120 angry tenants, tenants' leaders, trade union leaders, front-line council workers and church leaders blazed a trail to one of South Kilburn's most successful meetings in many years.

The meeting was united in condemning Brent council's responsibility in allowing the area to become one of the most dangerous in Europe.

A former tower-block caretaker said that a secret report 12 years ago had highlighted dangers posed by 'large panel systems' on highrise estates in Brent. Manufacturers had expressed concern about 'short cuts' in erecting these panels 'by literally shortening the fixing bolts that hold them up'.

The ex-caretaker maintained the report had been suppressed.

Local engineer **John Simmance**, who chaired the meeting, said that a similar system-built block at Charing Cross hospital had had 'to be completely covered in a fine mesh to protect people walking below', when pieces of concrete had fallen from walls.

Simmance pointed out that the Building Research Establishment recommends that such structures should be inspected every year by a properly quali-

fied engineer. From 1965, people in an area that was blighted by slum conditions had campaigned for decent housing. Instead of decent housing they had got tower blocks, which now were just as bad, if not worse, than what they replaced — particularly in terms of safety.

It was crazy, Simmance said, that as these tower blocks were getting older and more dangerous Brent council had decided not to inspect them to save money.

Tenant after tenant at the meeting complained that the council had done nothing to help prevent muggings in the area. **Eng Chew**, a law graduate and an organiser of the meeting, had been mugged twice in two weeks. He told the meeting of his frustration in trying to get something done.

'I have now looked at the law and I will pursue Brent through the courts,' he said. 'The council has a duty of care to protect its tenants.'

Action

Chew said that if enough tenants took action it would be cheaper for Brent to protect them than to do nothing. He appealed for others who had suffered muggings — particularly pensioners, disabled people, mothers — to contact the group or go to a solic-

tor. The unemployed could qualify for legal aid, he said.

Local Catholic priest, **Father Ryan**, spoke of the vast numbers of people who had been mugged in the area, not just once but twice and sometimes several times.

'These are the illegal muggings, but there is also the legal mugging — by the council and the government who take money out of your pocket weekly and put nothing back,' he said.

There were no resources being put into the estate to combat the devastation. The young people in the tower blocks were frustrated and in turmoil along with their parents.

'In a way I'm glad there are no council officials at this meeting tonight,' said Ryan. 'They would have found a way to fob you off.'

'You must realise that it's you who have the power. Don't give away what you've started tonight. You have the power now, keep it, elect your own leaders, unite all the people, especially the youth of the area.'

'Demand your basic human right to live in your home free from attack, free to walk to and from your home. Safety on this estate is a most basic democratic right.'

Tenants claimed that failure by the council to carry out basic

repairs had put their health and safety at risk. Fire doors were not properly repaired and criminals could just walk straight into the tower blocks.

Marguerite Corlea, a local tenants' activist, highlighted the difficulties tenants had experienced in getting these basic repairs done.

One contractor had been sacked — whom tenants had objected to in the first place — but only after two years of campaigning against the state of disrepair on the estate.

David Ellison, unemployed for five years, slammed the inadequate facilities for young people on the estate. He talked of the frustration of those who couldn't find work.

'To make this estate safe all these questions must be confronted,' he said. 'We must unite everybody, including those who work here, and not let anyone divide us. We must start doing that now by going to all our neighbours and assuring them that they are no longer alone. That we have started to fight for our safety.'

'If we stay united we must win. They will try to divide us but we must be firm in our resolve to fight this together.'

A local Methodist minister was impressed with the initiative

and appealed to tenants 'not to lose what they came to the meeting with — unity'.

'We must focus our energies on this issue,' he said. 'The only way forward is to stick together.'

John Tymon, president of the Brent council workers' union, UNISON branch, appealed for unity between tenants and the council workers' unions.

Redundant

'Many of the council's best workers have been made redundant in the last few years as the council prepares the way for full privatisation. Profit makers are moving into the council.'

'Private companies have contracts with the council. You are stuck with the contractor for the duration of the contract. The first priority is to make profits from your rent which go to pay the contractors.'

'Our members are being made redundant while you are crying out for repairs. The trade unions representing council workers want safe estates to work in.'

'They want decent jobs for the people of this estate and equal opportunities in getting those jobs. We must work together in our common interest as working people to make this estate a safe place for us all to work in, to be able to go to and from our homes

and our jobs in safety. We must unite all our resources for decent homes and jobs.'

A tenants' leader expressed concern and alarm that the council had moved people with severe mental difficulties into totally unsuitable accommodation in the tower blocks: 'Care in the community might save money but patients and other tenants are suffering. There is concern that sooner or later there will be a tragedy.'

'Mentally ill people must not be dumped in unsuitable accommodation like tower blocks. They should be housed appropriately with the care and attention suitable to their needs.'

Direct action against the council — marches, lobbies and court actions — were appealed for. Half those present gave their names and addresses and indicated whether they were working or unemployed.

Unemployed people will be offered the option of suing the council as test cases to open the floodgates for all tenants on the estate. A committee was elected and will meet to organise the legal actions, prepare a newsletter and arrange further and bigger public meetings, protests and other actions.

■ For further information contact **John Simmance**, 0181-960 8168.

MI6 behind lies about Bosnia

BRITISH intelligence officers faked news stories slandering Bosnian soldiers, in an effort to take attention off the massacre carried out by Serb-nationalist Chetniks at Srebrenica.

The activity of British state agents spreading disinformation about Bosnia was one of the issues Bosnian representatives hoped to raise with the British government during their visit last week.

Soon after Srebrenica fell to Chetnik forces on 10 July, MI6 officers told defence correspondents at a London briefing that the town's Bosnian defenders had disappeared before it fell.

The anti-Muslim spin from MI6 is a constant feature, they're always doing it, according to a UN officer in Bosnia quoted by 'Observer' journalist John Sweeney (10 September).

'Muslim troops fail to defend town from the Serbs', 'The Times' reported on 14 July. A later report in the same paper said "Missing" enclave troops found weeks later. But British officers with UN forces in Bosnia must have known the more grisly truth about what happened to the men of Srebrenica.

On 13 July, as UN troops abandoned the 'safe haven', Serb Chetniks stopped a Dutch battalion medical convoy, robbing the soldiers of their flak jackets. They dragged the wounded out of ambulance trucks, kicking and hitting them with rifle butts.

Dutch soldiers reported finding bodies by the riverside, men in civilian clothes who had been shot in the back of the head.

It's thought 2,700 men and boys were murdered by the Serb forces after they took Srebrenica. Sweeney says film taken by a Serb cameraman shows Serb soldiers in looted UN berets and flak jackets, and UN troops standing watching as the Chetniks carry out a Nazi-style 'selection' — men to the left, women to the right.

Dutch troops took photographs and video film of the scenes. The photographs were 'accidentally' ruined during development, and General Hans Couzy, commander in chief of the Dutch army has confirmed video footage was destroyed on his

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

orders. Earlier this year it was revealed that documents linking Serbia's President Milosevic with atrocities in Bosnia, including directives for concentration camps, 'disappeared' after the UN handed them to the Dutch secret service. The British government and its allies insist Milosevic is a 'moderate' who can help bring peace.

A UN report on Srebrenica which the Foreign Office received concluded: 'While the number of those killed, beaten, detained and sexually assaulted remains unknown, consistent accounts by displaced persons and UN personnel demonstrate that Bosnian Serb soldiers committed substantial violations of internationally recognised human rights following the fall of Srebrenica, including mass arbitrary detention of civilian men and boys and summary executions.'

Atrocities

Top UN human rights investigator Tadeusz Mazowiecki resigned on 27 July, because nothing had been done to curb atrocities in Bosnia. Mazowiecki sent a message of support to the Bosnia solidarity rally in Trafalgar Square on 6 August.

Meanwhile thousands of Serbs were fleeing the Croat offensive in Krajina. Without waiting for evidence the BBC called this 'ethnic cleansing', equating it with what had happened in eastern Bosnia.

When the US State Department released aerial photographs of mass graves at Srebrenica, BBC news opened with 'questions about US motives'. Naturally, British government motives were above suspicion.

The co-ordinated attempt to bury the truth about Srebrenica was aimed at hiding UN responsibility.

On 30 May the UN Security



Serb Chetniks celebrate the fall of Srebrenica with Dutch UN troops that surrendered.

Council accepted a report from special representative Yasuki Akashi advocating withdrawal of UN forces from Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde.

During the manufactured 'hostage crisis' French UN commanders reportedly assured the Chetnik commanders there would be no air strikes. Tory Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said UN troops would have to be withdrawn from Bosnia 'if fighting intensified'.

There has been a pattern of disinformation throughout the Bosnian war. As recent disclosures about Labour leaders and the Foreign Office's Information Research Department (IRD) have reminded us, MI6 and its allies are old hands at this propaganda game.

Among those assisting the IRD in the 1950s was Dennis Healey, nowadays a strident voice blaming Croatia and Germany for the war, and opposed to raising the arms embargo on Bosnia. This line has been echoed by chauvinist 'Lefts' like Labour's Tony Benn.

Some government spin-doc-

tors and psy ops specialists trained during the British army's war in Ireland were re-assigned to work on Bosnia. Some Bosnians and Croats have accused the British secret services of provocations, exacerbating hostilities to suit Lord Owen's partition plans.

UN secretary-general Boutros-Ghali and Akashi seem to play the disinformation game.

At a NATO meeting late last September Tory Defence Minister Malcolm Rifkind and his French counterpart firmly opposed lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia.

Warlords

On 4 October, British UN commander Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose met Serb-nationalist warlords in Pale ('The atmosphere was remarkably cordial', said 'The Times'). The same day it was widely reported that Bosnian commandos had murdered 20 Serbs near Sarajevo, mutilating the bodies.

The story from the Chetniks reached the media via UN spokeswoman Claire Grimes.

Four days later, following investigations, the UN admitted the 'massacre' had been a commando raid on a military post, with nobody killed except in battle, and no mutilations.

Meanwhile, Akashi had threatened air strikes against the Bosnians, and French UN troops under General Rose's command forced Bosnian troops off high ground near Trnovo, south west of Sarajevo, and destroyed their bunkers.

On 18 November, a week after the Clinton administration said it would withdraw two warships from the NATO Adriatic fleet, British, French and Russian ministers agreed in Paris to oppose any relaxation of the arms embargo.

Stories duly circulated in the French and British media about mysterious aircraft landing near Tuzla, and a US officer's 'secret' talks with Bosnian officials — actually a routine meeting attended by General Rose.

Media manipulated by the secret state cannot be reconciled with claims to 'democracy' or press freedom. We need a full

investigation of the role of MI6 and the willingness of sections of the media to play their dirty game.

Who decided that BBC broadcasters must persistently refer to Bosnians as 'Muslims' whether they are or not? Or that Serb Chetnik apologists should have privileged access to the air (most infamously after they killed young people in Tuzla)?

Some 'left' publications which pretend they are exposing 'the Western media' have retailed the very lies which MI6 was spreading.

Glossy

The glossy 'Living Marxism' claims mass graves and accounts of rape are just 'propaganda'. One of our readers remarked last week, this is the Chetnik equivalent of Holocaust revisionism.

In the 'Morning Star' on 10 July, purporting to present 'the real facts behind the Serb takeover of Zepa and Srebrenica', Helen Bennett quoted Chetnik General Mladic claiming 'safe areas' had been bases for 'terrorist activities'.

Citing UN secretary-general Boutros-Ghali's report on 30 May that Bosnian forces in Tuzla, Bihac and Sarajevo had 'increased their military activities', her article accepted the Chetnik line, that they are the wrong party, and Bosnians defending their own cities are the aggressors who must be crushed.

Thus the worst traditions of Stalinist falsification are enlisted to serve imperialism. Arguing with some Socialist Workers Party members and others, we hear the same stories repeated that have been discredited.

We need to be alert, and aware of where the lies are coming from. Workers in Britain and in Bosnia face a common enemy. This is just a discussion. It's a war.

Correction

THE former British diplomat who has criticised government policy on Bosnia is Sir Regina Hibbert, and not as stated in last week's Workers Press. Apologies.

'No peace if Bosnia divided' — warning

'THERE will be no real peace if Bosnia and Herzegovina is divided,' Stjepan Kljucic, a Croat member of the Bosnian state presidency, warned last week.

He joined a delegation from the Serb Civic Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina, including Bosnian army deputy chief of staff General Jovan Divjak, in Britain to make clear that Radovan Karadzic's racist 'Bosnian-Serb government' doesn't represent them.

They want an undivided, democratic Bosnia-Herzegovina, with equal rights for all. They

said nobody had the right to give away Gorazde or any part of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Civic Council, which includes representatives from all over Bosnia, will press for the right of all displaced and expelled citizens to return to their homes.

'That principle also applies to the Krajina,' General Divjak added.

The general said NATO air strikes had not yet forced General Mladic to withdraw his heavy guns from around Sara-

jevo, nor done significant damage to his Russian-supplied M84 tanks.

The Bosnia and Herzegovina army had not been consulted, and was not being allowed to take advantage on the ground.

The Croat victory in Krajina had had negative effects. 'Most of [Serb General] Marksic's army came well-armed into Bosnian territory.'

'Some 20-30,000 troops with 40 tanks are positioned against Bihac, and at Donji Vakuf.'

General Divjak said the Bos-

nian army had liberated Bihac, taken important communication centres around Sarajevo, and gained Mt Tresnica and Vlasica.

'The only reason it could do more is the arms embargo which is denying the right of Bosnian people to defend themselves.'

'Mladic's forces have superior equipment, and support from Serbia and Montenegro.'

'Our army has the skills and high morale to make up for technological inequality, but we cannot go like this.'

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