WEEKLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

workforce.

following a ballot.

tary, Bill Morris.

legal implications?"

been legally smashed up.

repeal the anti-union laws.

Parliament.

scheme.

The company took no further

action until the expiry of the 28-day legal time limit within

which workers must take action

management sacked all 80 work-

ers for supporting six of their

mates who refused to work over-

time. The trainees put a picket on

the dock gate, which the rest of

sion at a mass meeting to go out

on unofficial strike. A strike com-

mittee with a picket rota and

regular communication was set

up. Two committee members

were despatched to the Labour

Party conference in Brighton to

get hold of their general secre-

steward explained: 'The lads were

within their rights, and the rest

of us could not cross their picket

line. There are principles

involved here. But what are the

That is the \$64,000 question!

all basic trade union rights have

will serve the interests of the

nation and not of any 'vested interest' such as the trade unions.

Under the Tory government

And Blair says: 'New Labour'

A Labour government will not

Six years ago the National

Dock Labour Scheme — under

which the dockers' trade union

was recognised and they had

security of employment and

wages - was abolished by Act of

executive council refused to sup-

port the dockers' demands for strike action to defend the

The 'left' TGWU general

The union's general secretary

at the time, Ron Todd, said that he

Mike Carden, TGWU shop

There was a unanimous deci-

the dockers refused to cross.

Then, in a clear provocation,

SATURDAY 7 OCTOBER 1995

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### LIVERPOOL dockers started 'unofficial' strike action on 28 5(1):45 September against sackings by Torside Limited. The company 'offered' redundancy to 80 trainees taken on four years ago under a special agreement with the union to employ the sons of ex-dockers. Torside want to reduce their number by 20 and replace them with casual agency workers. In a ballot the 80 young dockers voted unanimously to strike against any reduction in the

#### BY DOT GIBSON

was responsible for the whole union and not just the dockers! Solidarity action could open the union up to sequestration of its funds under the Tory laws, he explained.

going on strike until abolition of the scheme had been rushed through parliament, the dockers were defeated. In Tilbury the union was outlawed. The Liverpool dockers held on to their

In that same year new antiunion laws started their passage through parliament and were

Employers have the right to sack unofficial strike leaders. financial redress through an

ble for the actions of unofficial strike leaders, and are expected from unofficial strikes. Not to do funds.

### Solidarity

keeps being reasserted. Trade union principles are alive and kicking. The Liverpool dockers' sons defend their jobs and stand up for their workmates. The older dockers will not cross the picket

We can't leave it at that. Work-

conference on the 'Crisis in the labour movement'.

Isolated and deterred from

union organisation under duress.

later enacted.

Such strike leaders cannot seek Industrial Tribunal.

Union leaders are responsito actively distance themselves so faces them with fines and ultimately sequestration of union

The legal position is clear. There is no right to strike!

But working-class solidarity

ers need a new socialist party which has these principles at heart.

■ See centre-page call for a



Liverpool dock labourers T&G shop stewards' committee banner on an anti-poll-tax demonstration in the late 1980s

BY BOB MYERS Secretary, Workers Aid for Bosnia

LAST WEEK two Workers Aid for Bosnia convoys left Britain. On 28 September, ten lorries set off for Tuzla and three days later three lorries began the journey for Bihac.

Nothing could more demonstrate the depth of public feeling over the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the growing number of people determined to prevent the ethnic division of the country than these convoys.

It is only five weeks since the Tuzla trade union convoy returned home and in that short space of time lorries have been serviced, food and other aid collected and approximately £16,000 raised to fund them.

Teams of people, many of whom joined Workers Aid only since the fall of Srebrenica, have been out night after night collect-

ing money in pubs. Others have been working in the warehouses boxing up tons of aid and loading the lorries.

A last minute supermarket collection in Salford ensured that an extra lorry was able to go to Bihac. In two days Bosnian refugees and other local supporters collected £760 and 1,500 kg of food.

This will be the first Workers' Aid visit to Bihac. It follows a long-standing promise to Workers' Aid members with relatives in Bihac that as soon as the route into the besieged town became passable we would send aid to the town.

The convoy will be escorted from Slovenia by Bihac refugees. From contacts in the town we have learnt that all pre-war organisations have collapsed but meetings are being arranged in the town with a variety of people, including those who want to see the trade unions rebuilt.

The Tuzla convoy will develop the contacts made with people in the towns in the canton by the last Workers' Aid visit.

Lorries will go to trade union Gradacac, in committees Lukavac, Zivince, Banovici, Kalesija and Gracanica as well as to the Tuzla Trade Union Committee and the Kreka Miners' Trade Union (Tuzla).

On the convoy is the lorry of the British Communications Workers Union, now making its third trip to the Tuzla communciations workers.

#### Working

There is also a lorry organised by the GMB general union members working for Derwentside council in the North East. A farmer and her two daughters from Somerset are taking a lorry of aid to Kalesija where trade unionists are trying to keep the region's largest dairy farm working right on the front line.

A member of the print workers' union who went on the last

convoy is taking several tons of aid he managed to collect from various factories in Trafford Park, Manchester, in the 17-ton lorry lent by the Gas Board.

A member of Lancs Women Against Pit Closures is taking a large quantity of aid to the Tuzla orphanage that she visited in August.

The three Muslims from Leicester who travelled with one vehicle on the last convoy have also spread the word about their trip and have campaigned for support, not just for their fellow Muslims in Bosnia, but also in defence of multi-cultural society.

Now four vehicles and drivers have been sent from the Muslim communities in Blackburn, Bolton, Leicester and Dewsbury.

The Muslims living in Bradford have also been very involved in the work of the Bradford Bosnia Solidarity Committee which has also sent a truck on the convoy. One of the drivers is a Labour councillor.

Workers Revolutionary Party/Workers Press meeting

#### 10th anniversary of the expulsion of G. Healy from the WRP

Saturday 7 October 1995, 2pm

Conway hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1 (Holborn Underground) Doors open 1pm for refreshments. Admission £1 (50p concessions)

### Tickets now available THE FUTURE OF MARXISM

A Series of 10 Lectures

Conway-Hall, Red Lion Square, London (Holborn Tube) Thursdays, 7.30 pm, 5 October — 7 December, 1995 1st Lecture: Frederick Engels: A Centenary Lecture (Geoff Pilling) Admission: £1.50 (£1.00 concs.) Tickets for the series: £10.00 (£5.00 concs.)

Liz Davies, p2 ★ Non-stop picket, p3 ★ Crisis in labour movement, p4&5 ★ Ireland, p6 ★ Crime and punishment, p7 ★ Arkan, p8

### Democracy and Liz Davies

ON Tuesday, the Labour Party conference voted overwhelmingly to support Blair and the executive in disqualifying Liz Davies as Labour candidate for NE Leeds.

On the same day, the last opportunity to retain common ownership (Clause Four) as a declared aim of the Party - an opportunity which arose only because of the NUM's threat of legal action — was disposed of in the space of a few minutes.

Next, the voting strength of the trade unions was sum-

marily reduced from 70 per cent to 50 per cent.

The same new rule book endows the general secretary with the absolute power to reject any membership application and to expel existing members. And the NEC can call special conferences to change policy whenever they think fit - as they did, without waiting for a change of rules, on Clause Four last April.

Is this the 'New Labour' of democracy and justice which Blair is on about? What justice did Liz Davies get? What 'democracy' did the 1,000-plus members of NE Leeds Constituency Labour Party get, having followed to the letter every single rule, even inviting in TV cameras for some of the procedure, so open was their method?

Liz Davies resisted the Tory poll tax, and as a Labour councillor, sided with working-class people against council cuts dictated by Tory policies. Labour's 'Mo' Mowlem as good as admitted on BBC Radio 4 on Tuesday that this was unacceptable, because a Labour government would also have to impose unpopular policies.

'The main reason' for excluding Liz Davies, according to Blair and Clare Short MP, was that she had been associated with 'Labour Briefing', 'which criticises Labour Party policy and the leader of the Labour Party'. As Workers Press and others have said, she is excluded because she is a socialist. All such people have to go, just as Clause Four had to go.

SO 'democracy and justice', in the party of New Labour, means democracy and justice for those who agree with the leader. As every schoolchild knows this is not democracy, and cannot pretend to be 'justice'. Even capitalist 'justice' professes 'equality before the law'; and bourgeois democracy, we are told, includes the rights of those who disagree.

Can the defence of democratic rights be entrusted to the election of a Labour government? What kind of party is this, in which millions at this stage still place their hopes of change? It abhors common ownership, not even pledging to renationalise privatised industries and utilities.

It accepts anti-union laws.

It cannot even pledge to abolish VAT on fuel, but puts on a phoney song and dance about 'only' taxing fuel 5 per cent. And its big, tough freinds in the union bureaucracy had not the courage to press to the vote their measly £4.15 minimum-wage demand.

Now this party blatantly imposes its dictatorship on the ordinary people, including Labour Party members, of NE Leeds. By the way, 300 of these members over whom Blair rode roughshod were part of the wave of new mem-

bers boasted about by Walworth Road.

In NE Leeds anger and concern about the Labour leadership's attack went far beyond the constituency party. There was spontaneous support for the CLP against Blair and co. from hundreds of ordinary working people, from older Labour voters and, very importantly, from young people in the area who were not previously politically active. Labour Party members have to ask themselves, in NE Leeds and elsewhere, with what kind of party can socialists win the support of such people?

Labour Party members in NE Leeds should consider whether or not to defy the leadership's diktat, and put up

the candidate of their choice anyway.

But more important, isn't it necessary now necessary to fight, inside and outside the Labour Party, for a truly socialist party which can win the confidence of the working class, especially the youth, and strengthen their self-reliance and confidence? As against the 'New Labour' insistence that everything depends on the 'electability' of the

leader, of 'he whose will must be obeyed'?

Is any progress in building the socialist movement possible in a party with the kind of 'democracy' that we saw in the Liz Davies affair? This question cannot be avoided. It is essential to discuss it thoroughly as part of the preparation for the kind of fights that are inevitable under a Labour government, as well as to strengthen the political and industrial fight against the Tories and employers to-

day. Blair and co. would like all resistance, all fight, whether in the country at large or the Labour Party, suspended while they get elected. They take cynical advantage of the wish of the mass of people to get rid of this Tory government. But to dampen down or halt the real fight against the Tories on this pretext would be the worst thing that could happen. It would disarm the working class in the face of Blair's I about government as well as the Tories

### Letters

Watchout for the brownstuff

JJ PLANT (Letters, 30 September) claims my 'outburst' was Luddite. I myself prefer Sabot because it leaves more scope for having a right laugh at the 'unco good'.

I agree with JJ Plant, more people should have a go on the internet, here are a few interesting sites to visit while you're aimlessly surfing about: http:// 204.181.176.4/stormfront/, http:// www/gl.umbc.edu/~ laude/natlsocial.html and there are a few newsgroups too that are worth investigation; alt.politics.nationalism.white, alt.politics.white power, alt.revisionism and alt.skinheads (a cracker).

There are loads of them, its a fairly common surfing problem, you've always got to keep a look out for the jobbies rolling in with

the tide.

I have absolutely no problems with the technology that makes the internet possible. It has been around for at least 30 years and the logic involved in the manipulation of high and low voltages (subtitled 1s and 0s for the hard of thinking) by integrated circuits had been sorted out by mathematician George Boole decades ago. Luddites were never that slow on the uptake.

As a socialist I understand that all advances in science are beneficial to the human race, it's what capitalists decide to do with them that's the problem, nuclear weapons, satellite TV, spray cheese and Pop-Tarts being prime examples.

JJ Plant says 'once you have experienced the efficiency of electronic mail you will not want

to go back to posting.'

Dear JJ As I filled in yet another B1 the other week I thought wouldn't life be simply wonderful if I could E-mail it to the DSS and get my Giro a day earlier (whoopee!) and save 25p. I have applied to the Social fund for a loan (only £500 or so) and then I can keep in touch with all my in-line mates

on the dole queue. Yours truly, etc. etc.

It is the uncritical acceptance of the net that makes me suspicious. The data on the net disproves the old dictum '90 per cent of everything is crap', 99.99 per cent of the stuff on the net is a load of old bollocks, never before have I encountered such a motley farrago of ephemera.

There are even confused pages proclaiming that science is the myth of the West! Yeah? Then perhaps I should spoon milk

down the back of my terminal. I came across an interesting media story about how the internet helped to catch a paedophile (a BADDIE). Since he was advertising on the net in the first place one hardly needs to call in Sherlock Holmes, but the good old net (a GOODIE) caught the nasty blighter!

This skewed reasoning is the same as asserting 'it was lucky shuggy was steaming when he fell down the stairs otherwise he might have injured himself. Of course shuggy would never have tried to ski down the bannister in the first place if he was sober.

I did not suggest that a 2 ampere device will have the same power requirements as a pig-iron smelt, though it does depend on the scale of the foundry you are talking about.

In fact I was trying to understand why BT charges you, like a wounded buffalo, to use something you are already renting, i.e. the telephone line. (Incidentally the best way to save money on telephone bills is to get yourself a rechipped mobile and high qual-

ity modem, apparently.) Unfortunately there appears to have been some cognitive dissonance between myself and the editor. I will be bringing him some good ski boots and a safety helmet to prevent its recurrence

the Internet is without equal, that much is obvious. Its potential is enormous and its exclusivity is absolute. It will fail to have the same impact as Caxton or of the radical newspapers of the mid-Nineteenth century unless the working class have access to it.

(My own PC has not been acquired through the traditional mode of financial exchange, except for the plug and that was £70.)

I do not see that happening in the near future and until it does I will continue to regard it as a hitech talking shop for a mixed bag of nuts, loonies, zealots, technophiles, perverts, jaded middle-class thrillseekers and plain old chatterers.

On the plus side JJ Plant failed to mention you can order Pizzas on-line, ain't technology wonderful? The centre of debate for working-class politics cannot become the preserve of the privileged world middle class and technocratic elite.

As for the complete works of Marx and Engels (still not available) I can read them easily and anytime in a BOOK.

George Angus

Putting Marx right?

PETER FRYER should have been around in the 1850s to put Marx right on the Crimean War (Letters, 30 September). Though he had no illusions about the motives of Palmerston or Napoleon III, Marx criticised them not for going to war against Russia but for not waging that war vigorously enough.

Whatever the shortcomings of Britain and France, Russia was 'the gendarme of Europe' - like Hitler's Germany in our time. And the Allies' victory contributed to bringing about the reforms of the 1860s that would begin the process leading to the collapse of Tsarism in 1917.

Was Russia still capable, by 1891, of playing the 'gendarme' role in Europe? A debatable point. But a war waged by Kaiser's Germany to keep Alsace-Lorraine would indeed have been a 'peculiar variety of national war'.

Of what 'mass movement against national oppression' would such a war have been 'expressive'?

Uncritical repetition of Len-

in's abstract phrases doesn't help here. There is a well-documented discussion of Engels's views in Gustav Mayer's life of him (English translation, 1936).

As for the difference in practical terms' between 'the enemy is at home' and 'the main enemy is at home', the latter formulation rules out the policy of 'promoting the defeat of one's own country', since this simply means promoting the victory of the other side, which is also an enemy.

Trotsky pointed this out in his dispute with Lenin during World War I. On the situation faced by Soviet Russia in 1918 after Germany's victory on the Eastern Front, by the way, see my 'How Haig Saved Lenin' (MacMillan,

> **Brian Pearce** New Barnet, Herts.

### Pan-Africanism

JAMES YOUNG ('Pan-Africanism and the British "left", Workers Press, 23 September 1995) outlines two historical phases of Pan-Africanism. He describes the first phase as 'Pan-African socialist internationalism'.

This includes the writings and struggles of the 'pro-Pan-African Londoner' R.M. Fox; Claude McKay; George Padmore and C.L.R. James in the 1920s and 1930s.

The second phase, dating from the fifth Pan-African Congress in 1945, was 'more nationalist in orientation'. This resulted in the tragedy that 'the struggle for decolonisation by the people of Africa began without a socialist

ist attitudes within the English left as a factor that strengthened 'Pan-African socialist ideas'. Did the racism of the European left explain the transition from international socialist to nationalist Pan-Africanism?

A decent explanation would need to pay attention to Paul Trewhela's article on Padmore in 'Searchlight South Africa' No. 1, September 1988. Trewhela argues that the seeds of Pan-African nationalism were sown by George Padmore as early as 1934.

James Young may not know of Padmore's silence over the sudden death of his South African friend and comrade Albert Nzula after the latter's forcible removal from a meeting in Moscow by Soviet security services in 1934

Nzula probably saved Padmore's life. When Padmore was summoned to go to Moscow for his expulsion from the Comintern, Nzula warned him by cable not to go. Nzula was known as a Trotskyist.

This belied Padmore's later allegation that 'Trotskyite Communists' were white manipulators of black interests.

Padmore was unable or unwilling to understand the nature of Stalinism after his break with the Comintern in 1934. He had no understanding of the counter-revolutionary role Stalinism played in upholding colonialist domination in North Africa (especially Morocco during the Spanish Civil War).

James Young may not know that Padmore supported Soviet policies in China and Vietnam uncritically. Nor that Padmore denied that the Uzbekians, Tajiks, Kazans, Turkmans, Tartars, Chuvashains, Kirkghizans, Kazens, and Burians suffered racism from Slavs in the USSR.

This ignorance of the nature of Stalinism led him to jettison the notion of the proletariat as the agency for emancipation from imperialism.

By 1942, Padmore was calling on British imperialism to save itself by liberating its colonies. he was arguing that Gandhi was the best person to keep the insurgent Indian masses under control. He was calling for nationalist trade

unions throughout Africa.

James Young will recall that Padmore's nationalism had a disastrous influence on C.L.R. James. Although he later recognised his mistake, James publicly praised the Ghanaian dictator, Kwame Nkrumah, as a revolutionary who had made as great a contribution to human emancipation as Marx, Engels and Lenin. (See 'The Misdirection of C.L.R. James' by Baruch Hirson in SSA No. 4, February 1990, pp.68-69).

James Young is right to point out that 'English ethnic national-

ism' has no place on the left. He is right to ruthlessly expose every aspect of racism within the Brit-

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cal allies.

ish and European left. However he misleads his audience if he believes that the ori-

gins of Pan-African nationalism are attributable solely to this influence. He is well aware that Stalinism has upheld chauvinism, suppressed thought, and spread ignorance, bigotry and falsehood in whatever country it has criti-

> Paul B. Smith Glasgow

### Peron and Ser-

ALTHOUGH I have been accused of 'treating Serbs like white niggers' (a letter in 'Living Marxism'), I have never regarded Serbia as a fascist state.

I regard Slobodan Milosevic as a Peronist, since Juan Domingo Peron ran the same authoritarian populist state in Argentina in the

It is ironic that Milosevic should be a Peronist since it was Peron who gave shelter to one of the worst fascist criminals of World War II — the Croat Ustashe leader Ante Pavelic, who was responsible for the slaughter of 350,000 Serbs, Gypsies and Jews (a conservative estimate, although it is accepted by the Serb Kocevic in 'Zrtue u Jugoslaviji'). Pavelic is thus one of the worst enemies Serbia ever

A lot of the money to finance Franjo Tudjman's HDZ party came from Argentina.

But there is a fascist party in Serbia — Vojislav Seselj's Serbian Radical Party, founded in 1991 with Milosevic's approval.

In 'Der Spiegel' in 1991, Seselj said that he wanted to conquer Croatia as far as the Karlobag-Karlovac-Virovitica line and leave the Croats with a republic so small the whole lot of it could be seen from the top of Zagreb cathedral. He wanted to send all the Bosnian Muslims to Anatolia.

In his maiden speech in the Belgrade parliament, he also called for Zagreb to be napalmed.

In 1992, this sinister man — Grand Duke of the Chetniks won 28 per cent of the vote in the Serbian elections and became leader of the second largest party in its parliament. He has openly boasted of his atrocities against Croats.

Together with the Serb Academy of Sciences and the Serb Orthodox hierarchy, Seselj is one of the pillars of the Chetnik 'philosophy' that Bosnia is fighting against.

> Tom Carter Somerton, Somerset

#### Memorial meeting for Maire O'Shea

Irish republican, communist and fighter Speaker: Bernadette McAlliskey

Saturday 18 November, 2pm-4pm (to be followed by a social) At the Mechanics' Institute, 103 Princess Street, Manchester M1 (opposite Chorlton Street bus station, side entrance)

Maire O'Shea died on 6 March 1995. She represented a tradition of Irish republicanism that was both radical and secular. Her active struggle for a united Ireland made her reject all deals with the British state. Maire became nationally known in this country when she was arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and charged with conspiracy. After a major campaign, which was supported by her trade union and in which she repeated her politics to the jury in court, Maire was acquitted.

Irish politics, the politics for a free and united Ireland, were central to Maire's life. However she was a fighter against injustice wherever she saw it and she saw it everywhere. In particular her professional life as a psychiatrist was also deeply political. For many years she fought against a system that defines and drives people mad and then imprisons them for life in top-security mental hospitals. She understood the connections between racism and mental health and established in Birmingham a therapeutic centre for black people. In Manchester she offered her professional help

to black people hounded and distressed by immigration laws. Maire was a supporter of all struggles by working people and was an active member of her own union ASTMS (MSF)

► Come to the memorial meeting. Honour Maire O'Shea and discuss how we can take forward those causes for which she fought.

Organised by the Maire O'Shea Memorial Committee, c/o 1 Newton Street, Department 95, Manchester M1 1HW. There is also a memorial concert being organised by the

Troops Out Movement at 8pm, 16 September at the Trade Union Club. 723 Pershore Road, Birmingham.

### 68 days and nights' non-stop picket for Bosnia BY BRONWEN HANDYSIDE Picket organiser

THE students, intellectuals and workers who came forward to organise the Bosnia Solidarity Campaign picket of the British Foreign Office have ended that stage of the campaign after a magnificent 68 days and nights.

Many of the picketers had never campaigned on any issue before. The knowledge that the Serbian fascists were carrying out genocide in Bosnia made them decide that they could no longer go on living their ordinary comfortable lives - that they had to do something.

Dozens of mainly young people, of every nationality and background poured their energies into the non-stop picket, gaining invaluable experience in campaigning and organising.

The students who were the backbone of the picket are now building Student Aid for Bosnia in universities throughout the country.

The picket team that organised 'Bands for Bosnia' in Trafalgar Square have formed themselves into a permanent group to fundraise for Bosnia through musical events - and according to them, the sky is now the limit.

We made important contacts with groups from Mauritius to Brussels who are now part of an international campaign for Bos-



Browen Handyside

nia. Thirty thousand signatures were collected calling for an end to genocide, and the lifting of the arms embargo. Among those who signed were two members of the Russian Duma on a visit to Westminster.

But the highpoint of the picket was the visit by members of the Serb Civic Council, and Jovan Divjak, deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Bosnian and Herzegovina army - who were very obviously delighted with what they saw.

The most important questions now are: can multi-cultural life be reconstructed in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the whole of former Yugoslavia? What can we do to assist this process? What are the implications for the whole of Europe and the rest of the world?

At our weekly picket meeting we have decided that we nust continue to act together, discuss,

campaign and encourage more and more people from all backgrounds and of all ages to join our stand against racism, fascism and in defence of multi-cultural life.

There is much to be done. Displaced people must have the right to return home, everyone must have the right to live where they want. Humanitarian aid is needed for the hospitals, schools, universities, the mines, the factories, and the farms.

We must do everything we can to overcome the enormous damage done by rampant nationalism, aided and abetted by the Great Powers, to people who have lived together for generations.

The picketers have decided to continue our weekly meetings. and make new recruits; to picket and campaign in different parts of London and throughout the country; build Students' Aid in the universities, join the convoys organised by Workers Aid for Bosnia and the trade unions; and acquire an office\workshop\coffee bar as an organising centre.

If you want to join us, contact us through the ADBH, 12 Flitcroft St, London WC2H 8DJ, Tel: 0171 240 7992.



Bosnia demonstration, Trafalgar Square, 6 August, held once the picket started on 22 July

## 'A greater experience than France in 1968'

There was a wide variety of people on the non-stop picket for Bosnia. LESLEY THOMPSON spoke to some of them

Marie Dagurn is from Brittany, France - now living permanently in London.

Up until the demonstration on 22 July Marie had been feeling depressed about the situation in Bosnia. She recalled the day she opened the Guardian and saw the photograph of the Bosnian woman who in desperation had hung herself from a tree — Marie just froze in her tracks.

From that day she became a regular on the picket, eventually deciding that the fight to defend Bosnia's besieged people must take precedence over everything

Marie said the picket had been 'great political education', an oasis of resistance where she has met 'a most marvelous group of people'.

Marie described herself loosely as an 'anarcho-feminist', by nature 'not good at everyday commitment', but she feels that the structure of the picket has changed her attitude - giving her life more meaning and direction. 'An even greater experience than May 1968 in France.'

A student at City University and somewhat 'famous' for his charming and tenacious methods of fundraising on the picket Adil Tahir was virtually ever-present on the picket from day one.

Adil likened the picket to 'one big international family', a place where he had made many friends and where religious and ethnic lifferences simply did not mater. He said he had been greatly nspired by the number of Bosniins who had joined the picket, he vas proud to have campaigned

longside them. Adil felt that the picket chieved much, he pointed out for nstance that many of the people hat stopped to sign the petition id not realise that the Western owers had imposed an arms mbargo on Bosnia.

Many were horrified to learn hat the country had been awaded by fascists. The picket rovided a place where people

could pick up information on the true nature of the conflict in Bosnia, moreover because it was situated outside the Ministry of Defence and No.10 Downing Street. It also focused people's attention on the criminal policies of the British government.

Although Adil felt that it was an appropriate time for the campaign to change its location and demands, he felt very sad that the picket had ended, almost as if 'he has lost part of himself.'

He felt that only the Bosnian army could achieve a lasting peace in Bosnia.

For Dave Lawrence the main value of the picket was to demonstrate to Bosnian people that even in a country such as Britain - which is seen as a strong covert supporter of the Serbian nationalists — there were many people willing to put themselves out in order to demonstrate their solidarity with the people of Bos-

To maintain a 24-hour picket over a prolonged period of time, despite weather and personal inconvenience, required people who were willing to make sacrifices.

Dave thought that the fact that this support was expressed outside the MoD sent a message to the British Government that its own people would not accept its complicity in genocide.

He was also impressed by the number of Russians who expressed their support for the Bosnians, notwithstanding the way in which the media invariably represents the Russian people as supporters of the Serbs.

Dave also recalled the number of foreign visitors who had told him of campaigns in support of Bosnia in their own countries — Holland, USA, Mauritius, Spain.

Valuable international contacts that could be called upon to demonstrate their support not only for a multi-ethnic Bosnia, but more widely in defence of multi-ethnic societies everywhere.

Many of the people Dave spoke to on the picket were well aware of the cynicism and duplicity of the British government, and many commented that if Bosnia had oil reserves it would have

quickly attracted support. Dave thought the picket helped people realise that Western governments were far more

interested in carving out and defending their own financial and political interests (and by definition those of the IMF and World Bank) than helping victims of fascism.

Dave thought the next target had to be to take the campaign to local areas; to find new and innovative ways of drawing people's attention to the destruction and misery that rascism and nationalism would bring to our lives if these forces were not fought against and halted.

The divided and devastated cities, mass murder and rape, orphaned and crippled children, destroyed communities and mafia-style corruption at all lev-

We had to ensure that the lessons of Bosnia were learnt by as many people as possible. People had to be alerted and educated about the barbarous strategies of rascism and nationalism that capitalism would mobilise to buttress its ailing powers.

Dave thought the picket should have had much greater publicity, somehow we had to find new ways of bringing the campaign to a much wider audience, new and innovative ideas were needed.

Farid Momi, from Algeria, was another regular on the picket. Farid was certainly no stranger to the way in which Western governments manipulate the domestic politics of former colonial countries.

In the case of Algeria, this had created great bitterness that had fed the growth of fundamentalism, intolerance and State repression.

In Bosnia, manipulation by Western governments had also created a situation that had encouraged the growth of extreme nationalism and bigotry.

Farid joined the picket as an expression of his solidarity with the people of Bosnia, to fight for a peace built on multi-ethnic tolerance.

Originally from India, Saleh Kurtha had first hand knowledge of the destructive effects of partition on a country and its people.

When India was partitioned by Britain in 1947, Saleh (a Muslim) was thrown out of his home and business and onto the streets of Bombay. His story was not a

happy one. For many years he and his family were forced to spend 22 hours a day in a putrid factory making balloons in order to stay alive.

Unsurprisingly, Saleh had no hesitation in joining the picket, he knew all too well how it felt to be forced to leave one's home and country, to live as a refugee. Each time Saleh joined the picket he set himself a 'target' of

100 signatures to add to the petition, and he was also determined not to let anyone pass without pressing them to give money. Saleh felt that more than anything else the picket educated the public about the effects of the one-sided arms embargo imposed

on Bosnia — revealing the covert

support the Western Powers had

given to Serb expansionism.

When Layla Nezirokivic and her sister Duha Nezirokivic joined the picket on VJ Day they had some surprises, one of which was the support expressed to Bosnia by Serbian and Russian people who passed.

Layla recalled the day when a Russian man demanded to have his signature removed from the petition after he realised it was calling for the raising of the arms embargo.

After talking to this Russian for well over an hour, trying to explain the situation in Bosnia, Layla said the guy was finally persuaded that his judgement was mistaken and was terribly sorry.

The discussion ended with an exchange of addresses and mutual invitations to holidays in their respective countries.

The other surprise came when a large group of old people passed on their way to the VJ celebrations. Despite the fact that there were a good number of ex-soldiers who said they were proud to have fought against Hitler and defeated fascism, only two or three were willing to sign the petition.

Layla thought the value of the picket had been to bring so many people of different nationalities together, Bosnian people had been greatly heartened by this support.

Another picket stalwart, David Mosley said that it was of great importance that the picket had brought together people of different political backgrounds.

Although he initially thought that this diversity of political attitudes might prevent the building of relationships he told me he was impressed by the way in which people were willing to talk through their political differences in a non-sectarian man-

David said the picket had given him a great opportunity to vent his anger at the various members of the MoD officialdom that passed the picket daily and demand of them that they explain to him just what they thought they were doing in Bosnia, and to argue it out with them.

David thought the picket had made a significant contribution in raising the awareness of the general public to the true nature of what was happening in Bosnia. Having organised a 'Students Aid for Bosnia' stall at his University during Fresher's Week David was surprised at how many students asked if 'Students Aid' was connected with the picket.

The picket had also provided a focal point for people to get involved in the Bosnia Campaign. David feels that without that focal point it might be more difficult to keep up the campaign's impetus, and this would have to be worked at.

At a job interview last week, David was asked if their was any one thing that he felt proud of in his life? He said more than anything else, he was proud to have been a member of the 24-hour 'Stop the Rape of Bosnia Picket'.

Another picket regular, Billy, from Ireland said that he had been really impressed by the 'internationalism' of the picket, people of all nationalities had come together and identified themselves around a single issue — the defence of multi-ethnic Bosnia.

He said it was very encouraging to find that people understood the issues involved and genuinely wanted to discuss and learn from each other.

He also said that this picket had been different from those he had supported in the past, not least because of the enormity of the task it had set itself, a beacon of opposition going against so many different powers. Yet, he thought, the picket had helped people see that the actions of the British government had been

Billy also pointed out that the picket had inspired many passers by to join in the campaign. He spoke of the many Russians who wanted to know why people didn't discuss the many similarities between the situation in Chechnya and that in Bosnia.

criminal.

Australian Maoris had talked of their own struggles and their identification with the people of Bosnia.

Mexican people from Chiapas had spoken of the fight of the Zapatistas against a rapacious capitalism that is throttling the working class of Mexico with socalled 'development loans' - a taste of what would undoubtedly happen when the IMF and World Bank started their 'reconstruction loans' to the people of former Yugoslavia.

Billy had been particularly impressed by the energy and commitment of WRP members to keep the picket going, and the political line of the Workers Press, he thought that of all political parties it is only the WRP who understood the necessity of building a new workers party.

### WORKERS PRESS IS THE PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

British section of the Workers International (to Rebuild the Fourth International) Please send me information about the WRP

date ...... Name Address

Trade union (if any) ...... Age (if under 21) ..... Send to: PO Box 735, London SW8 1YB

### Inside left

### Hard Labour

INSIDER the work of a witchfinder neral in Tony Blair's New Labour rty. It used to be fairly straightforard; there was a list of banned ganisations and publications, from tists for Peace and the Anglo-Bulrian Friendship Society, etc., to the cialist Labour League, forerunner the Workers Revolutionary Party. It was periodically updated on the commendation of Labour agents, or her agents. If members stepped out line there'd be a purge. There were kward cases, like the Leeds woman t up for expulsion for associating th her husband, a member of the cialist Labour League. But on the nole it was simple. If you were in a nned outfit, or caught selling the rong paper, out you'd go. A leader whose friends are pro-

oting his infallibility should have a pal index. But having dropped it me years ago, Labour is making do th rule of thumb, public inforants, and retrospective law.

I am not now nor have I ever been Trotskyist', says Liz Davies, truthlly. But she admitted resisting the Il tax, and nursery closures, and riting in Labour Briefing.

Among those denouncing her was rmer Islington council leader Marret Hodge MP, who used to write in iefing herself. Oh, the price of a rliamentary seat these days!

We will not be silenced!', says the w, improved, and renamed, Labour ft Briefing in its October issue. it the Blairites are aiming higher, nning for New Statesman editor eve Platt, and for what they call a ard left clique' at the Guardian (it posed that memo proposing preme powers for the Leader).

Blair allegedly prefers the Sun. nsidering he flew round the world see Murdoch, and has promised to ntinue Thatcher's work, it's only

ting.

### Vell said

AVING exposed inhumanities in ngladesh, Indonesia, Cambodia and etnam, John Pilger is consistent. He pports the people of Bosnia. Writto the New Statesman (29 Octor), Pilger says he does not blindly pport the Bosnian government: hat I support is people's right to fend themselves, in Bosnia as in dochina or East Timor.'

Rejecting attempts to equate Boswith the regimes in Serbia and oatia, Pilger also firmly denies suprting Western intervention. 'I pose it: both NATO's cynical mbing and the less spectacular tervention of effectively disarm-

g one side.'

Well said!

### erbai power

DDING its voice to the pack yapng over Krajina, Workers Power's tober issue has a three-quarterge article by Paul Morris dubbing Socialist Outlook, and Branca gas 'Tudjman's Trotskyists'.

We don't support Tudjman, we pport a multi-ethnic Bosnia with mocratic rights for all, and the me applies to Croatia. Has Workers wer, itself denounced by the Commist Party Weekly Worker, cided to join the Stalinists, rather an beat them?

We stand proudly by our record,'

pris boasts. What record?

In the early days of Workers Aid Bosnia, Workers Power offered vice, but couldn't spare anyone to ce part in convoys. Its July/August ue called for heavy artillery, tanks d aircraft' to be sent to Bosnia.

That sure beats Workers Aid's peal for flour and cooking oil! ment tibe trackloads of flour and oil man multimens Workers Power's and guys were theoretical, as most four the street of worthwise that the second are reported the pub-

Chartie Puttins

A conference sponsored by Workers Press

# Crisis in the labo The need for a new

### Manchester Town Hall 24 February 11.30am - 5.30pm

NEXT February a conference will bring together all those who see the need to work towards the formation of a new, socialist party in Britain.

Millions of workers and sections of the middle class are deeply hostile to the Tories. Many of these people at with ... democracy! the moment see the election of a Labour government as their only hope.

will continue to work closely with many Labour Party members and voters — in defence of multi-ethnic Bosnia, in defence of the working class against the attacks of the Tories.

Yet we cannot stand aside and allow Blair and his cynical team to take advantage of the desperate hopes of millions of working people that after 17 years of Tory attacks things can only be better under a Labour government.

A Labour government will continue the Tory attacks. So the working class needs a party of its own. And it needs it now, to beat back the Tory government's attacks on the National Health Service and education; its attacks on jobs and benefits; its attack on young people, ethnic minorities, the poor, the homeless, the disadvantaged.

A real fight against the Tory government now will give strength and confidence to the working class to fight in the future against a Labour government and the employers who will stand behind it.

It is because Blair knows this that Labour carries out no fight against the Tories.

- That is why Blair and company support the anti-trade-union laws. They prefer to have the working class shackled by these laws.
- And that is why Blair told the TUC last month that a Labour government will not repeal the anti-union laws: they will need these laws for use against the unions!

Blair and his team work day and night to prevent any fight against the Tory attacks. They want to separate the Labour Party from the strength of the organised working class in its trade unions.

#### Fear

They removed Clause Four because they fear that the aim of 'common ownership' might become a socialist rallying-cry for a working class solution to the crisis.

In removing Clause Four, and in separating the Labour Party from so-called 'trade union power', they are making their final and complete declaration of acceptance of the capitalist order — and they are presenting their credentials to the ruling class as 'the party of government'.

When Blair declares his 'admiration' for Thatcher he is making a declaration against any opposition from

below within the Labour Party. This was made clear in the Labour Party document leaked on 11 September. It speaks of a 'centralised command structure leading directly

to the Party leader', who will have 'sole ultimate responsibility for campaigning'.

This is the leader who shouted about the need to replace 'trade union power' in the Labour Party

Already he talks like a dictator. In his speech to the TUC he refers to the 'futility of opposition,' and suggests We understand these feelings. We psychiatric treatment for those who continue to talk about socialism.

Now Liz Davies is rejected as a Labour candidate on the ground that she is a socialist.

Blair likes to justify his 'new Labour' by repeating that the collapse in the Soviet Union shows that socialism is dead.

On the contrary, it was not socialism but Stalinism that collapsed, with its nationalist 'socialism in one country', its accommodation to world capitalism, its bureaucratic dictatorship over the working class. Blair is against none of these things.

### Key

He was only against the social ownership of the means of production. And in fact the fall of Stalinism is the key to the whole new period in which we find ourselves.

Stalinism's fall weakens capitalism and it weakens socialdemocracy. It opens the way for the working class to rediscover true Marxism, real socialist objectives, and working-class internationalism — and so reconstruct the workingclass movement.

Blair is taking the Labour Party in exactly the opposite direction. When his leaked memorandum says that the Party is 'not yet a party sharing the same single and coherent political ideology', he means that socialists will be driven out, and only those will remain who share his objective of 'rebuilding the country as a great nation again'.

That is reactionary nationalism. It harks back to the bloody exploitation of Empire. It stretches out a hand to the Tory Party and to every reactionary and racist.

It is from this standpoint of 'the nation' that Blair, in his TUC speech, talked of serving the interests of the nation and not of any 'vested interest' such as the trade unions.

The same reactionary nationalism is contained in the Labour Party's support for the Tory government and its criminal failure to bring solidarity and aid to the people of Bosnia in their fight against fascism.

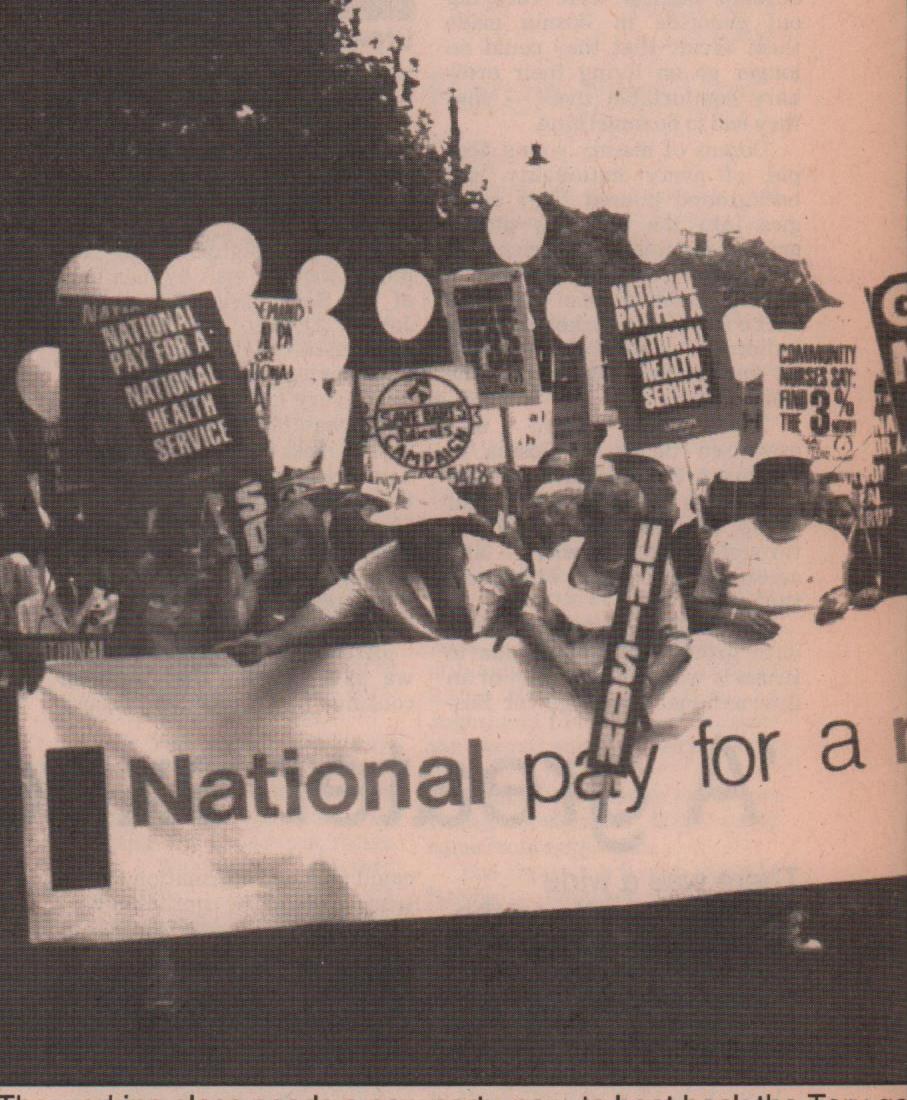
It should surprise nobody that the Labour leadership remains totally unmoved by the fact that in Bosnia there will be:

**Either** the first of a series of fascist and racist advances in Europe;

**Or** the first advance by the international working class in halting the fascists.

It is vital to understand the real content of this 'national interest' talk. This is the language of big capital preparing to use state power against the 'sectional' interests of the greedy working class.

Remember how Thatcher dealt



The working class needs a new party now, to beat back the Tory go

with the miners — and remember Blair's admiration for Thatcher.

When Blair and Straw declare that the Labour Party is the real party of law and order they mean they will use the power of the state machine to impose their 'single ideology' of conforming to capitalism, not just in the Labour Party but throughout 'the nation'.

Socialists cannot stand aside and watch these preparations against the working class. How can we answer the ruling class and its chosen instrument for the next period, the leadership of the Labour Party?

Every form of working-class resistance and organisation has to be strengthened, but above all these struggles must be politically united.

We believe that a new party has to be formed!

We cannot carry on as if it were simply a question of 'answering Blair' with words and resolutions. Behind Blair stands big business. The Labour Party leadership is the

spearhead of the ruling class and its

preparations against the working class. After two years of working for a

discussion in the Labour movement of the need for a new, socialist party of the working class, we in the WRP/Workers Press now propose a conference of all those who want to work towards the founding of such a party.

We invite every socialist and labour movement organisation, and every individual socialist to attend, to submit contributions to Workers Press or other publications on the programme, aims and constitution of such a party, and to join with us in the organisation of such a confer-

We do not exclude Labour Party voters and members from attending, even those who, while opposed to the Blair leadership, still hope that the Labour Party can be changed into a

socialist party. On the contrary, you are cordially invited to state your point of view.

We want to turn our paper, Workers Press, into an organiser of this conference.

Our position is this:

The conference must address the main issues in the crisis confronting the working class, all of which point to the necessity for a new party.

How can the working-class movement take its internationalist responsibility by uniting in solidarity with the working class of Bosnia and all former Yugoslavia, and defend the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

### **Implications**

What are the implications for defending the multi-ethnic working class of Britain against racism, the state machine, and right-wing political forces?

Can the trade unions still pay money to a Labour Party that continues to attack them and will use the anti-union laws against them when in office?

How is this new socialist party to be built in the trade unions?

How to develop policies through which the poor, the unorganised, the most oppressed, can defend themselves against attack and be organised and united with their class as a whole.

How to defeat and reverse the dismantling of services and of the nationalised industries?

How to defeat the attacks on benefits and on the welfare state as a whole.

How to take the necessary resources out of private hands for the planned use of all.

This, and not the 'partnership' proposed by Blair, is the only way forward. Those capitalist 'partners' are telling us every day that the sys-

# ir movement socialist party



vernment's attacks on the National Health Service and education

tem cannot afford to sustain the old and the sick, or to educate or employ the young.

Therefore the system must go. Socialism was never more necessary than today.

WHO will build this new socialist party and take on this fight?

1) All those trade unionists who know that the future of trade unionism now means a political step forward to reject Blair's 'partnership' and, on the contrary, change the unions into instruments for the struggle of the working class as a class.

The days of small political groupings such as the 'Broad Left', to deal with the affairs of individual unions. are over.

It is time to go over to the offen-

Trade unionists for a socialist party should organise all over the country. They will be a vital component of the coming conference.

2) All those young people who are being forced to understand that they must fight for their future against the barbarism of the capitalist order in this century, with its wars, its nuclear weapons, its destruction of nature, its racism.

Already they are coming forward - young workers, employed and unemployed, and students — in Workers Aid for Bosnia, as are more and more young trade unionists. The new party will rally these forces for a socialist youth movement.

3) All those workers from other countries, many of them from the former 'Empire', who have been forced to come to work and live in Britain.

We are for the unity of the working class of all national origins, and for it to lead the fight to organise against the fascists and racists, as well as against the state and those political parties which enforce anti-

4) All Labour Party members who have fought against Blair and the removal of Clause Four, and who know that there must be a political party through which the working class organises itself to fight for socialism.

5) Unemployed workers and their organisations.

immigration laws.

6) Community leaders and activists who defend themselves, their facilities and services, against state attacks.

7) All supporters of a united Ireland.

The new party must give a clear message for the unity of Ireland, as part of a solution for all workers in Ireland and Britain, reviving the best socialist traditions of the movement against British imperialism.

8) All those intellectuals, writers, teachers, researchers, scientists and creative artists and technicians who know that capitalism in its period of decay involves the destruction of human culture, the

future of which depends on the achievement of socialism. The January conference on the Future of Marxism is a stepping-stone to the February conference for a new party.

9) Women, on whom capitalist exploitation and the social problems now rampant because of the decay of the capitalist system bear down most heavily.

The Labour opportunists offer women nothing except a few changes of rule to allow a tiny number of women to join the same careerist ratrace as themselves. A new socialist party will have to work for the equality of women in all respects, and for the self-organisation of working women.

### **Emancipation**

The conference will have to decide what kind of party is needed. We in the WRP/Workers Press fight for a party which bases itself on Marxist theory and its conclusion that the emancipation of the working class is the task of the working class itself.

So the new party must be a working-class party. The working class is international; so the party must be

internationalist.

We shall fight for it to be part of the Workers International, as we are fighting for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, founded in 1938 against Stalinism and all labour traitors. The new party will be the party of the reconstruction of the working-class movement, which is an international task.

It will give a socialist answer to the pressing problems of all working-class people.

It will adopt methods and means, forms of organisation, which develop the independence and initiative of the working class itself, which conform to our socialist aims and advance those aims.

It will work to be represented in Parliament, but it will not be a 'parliamentary' party, tied to the capitalist state. Its aim will be a state formed of workers' councils, whose purpose will be to lay the foundations of socialism and a classless society, in which the state will no longer have any function.

If you would like more details of the Manchester conference, fill in the form below. Write to us with your ideas. Set up committees of members of Workers Aid for Bosnia who are for a new party. Form committees of trade unionists for a socialist party, and set up with us a committee for the conference.

There is no time to lose.

Please send me further details of the 'Crisis in the labour movement' conference. Name Address ...........

Photocopy and send to Workers Press, PO Box 735, London SW8 1YB.

## City Lights

### The Daiwa débâcle

TOSHIHIDE IGUCHI bids fair to join Nick Leeson in the folklore of international finance.

For although Iguchi has not brought about the collapse of the bank for which he worked in the way that Leeson's activities brought down Barings, this one-time car salesman and graduate from a minor US university has managed to wipe out a tenth of the capital of Daiwa, one of Japan's premier banks.

If early reports are to be believed, Iguchi lost £730 million not as Leeson did by trading in fancy 'derivatives' but in US Treasury bonds. Alarmed by the losses he had sustained during 1984, Iguchi began exceeding an internal limit on the volume of trading and then selling, in Daiwa's name, millions of bonds and bills that had been deposited by clients in the bank's New York branch.

Like Leeson, Iguchi was responsible for both the deals and then carried out the related paper work and authorised settlement of the deals. (In banking parlance he ran both the front and the back offices at Daiwa's New York branch.) He alone knew the bank's true trading situation.

'For 11 years we really believed him and regarded him highly. He created a system where he was in charge of everything,' lamented Daiwa's president Akira Fujita.

His words echoed the sentiment's of Barings's group treasurer about Leeson:

'We just accepted his word that the figures required ran into millions. Yes, we just about accepted what he

Alarmed by these developments, finance houses throughout the world are desperately seeking new security measures to guard against possible fraudsters. Potential employees are being psychologically profiled and subjected to handwriting and psychometric tests.

Iguchi's dealings never went through the bank's books. It was a practice he had been engaged in for over a decade, during which his losses mounted and mounted.

Daiwa is in a quite different league from Barings, being among Japan's most powerful banks. But even so, having lost a tenth of its capital it will be forced to sell at a heavy loss large numbers of the shares it holds in other companies.

It will join many other Japanese banks who over the last five years have also been forced to off-load shares to cover losses on bad loans. Before the latest débâcle Daiwa already had some £6,000bn in 'nonperforming' loans. The bank says it will also have to sell considerable real-estate assets in order to fill the gaping hole in its accounts.

The financial press have reacted in a predictable manner: this was yet another case of a 'rogue dealer' engaging in transactions beyond those sanctioned by his bosses and in Iguchi's case resorting to widespread forgery to cover up his tracks. Of course this is no explanation at all.

Why was it that both Leeson and Iguchi were allowed almost unlimited freedom of action? Because their deals were making millions for the banks that employed them. While the money rolled in few questions were asked. Indeed Daiwa never discovered what their New York representative was up to until Iguchi wrote to them in July when investigations started. Even after they suspected fraud Daiwa continued to issue shares, and it was not until September that they told the Tokyo authorities of its impending losses. Many of the bank's shareholders will certainly have lost money as a result of these delays.

Even more important, the activities that Leeson and Iguchi were engaged in are becoming increasingly mandatory for any bank wishing to survive intensifying interna tional competition.

Even the biggest banks can no longer expect to live simply by bor rowing and lending money. Such activities are of less and less significance for many banks. Investmen banking has also become a much less profitable activity. It is these pressures, brought on by the 'deregula tion' of the financial system in the 1980s and 90s, that have driven banks to take ever greater risks to restore sagging profits.

The Daiwa losses are a product of the attempts by the big Japanese banks to expand into the international securities market from the 1980s onwards. In fact most of the executives of Japanese banks were blooded by being sent to New York to spend three years or so in buying and selling securities, usually with little supervision from Tokyo and Osaka where Daiwa had its headquarters Until the 1980s, like most those of Japanese banks, Daiwa's US operations were of a strictly limited nature, confined to servicing the accounts of a small number of the bank's US-based clients.

Enter Ronald Reagan. It was his policy of running up huge federal government debts that began to change all that. For the debts needed servicing and Japan, with its considerable savings, was in the key position to carry out this role. Japanese banks such as Daiwa saw the chance of big money in the buying and selling of US government bonds.

Iguchi's troubles seemed to have started in 1984 when he lost \$200,000 in one day. His attempts to trade his way out of the loss got him into even bigger difficulties. Last year his troubles mounted as US bond prices fell following a series of unexpected rises in interest rates, and Iguchi's dealing got wilder and wilder. On some days he was trading \$100m dollars at a time.

The question is not whether Iguchi was a rogue. This weekend he will have completed his second week behind bars. If convicted he faces up to 30 more years. The real question is why such people find themselves in key roles in the international financial system. They are there because of the growing fragility of that system.

That is why we can confidently predict that Toshihide Iguchi will by no means be the last character to appear in this unfolding story.

### Back in the news

ONCE again the Public Sector Borrowing Requirement (PSBR) is back in the news as the City waits anxiously for the release of the September figure. (The PSBR measures how much the government is forced to borrow to cover its expenses beyond the money it raises in taxes.) What is worrying the banks and financial institutions is that the PSBR is not coming down as it should.

At its peak of £46bn two years ago, it was expected to fall rapidly as the economic 'recovery' got under way. But far from its falling to an anticipated level of £13bn, the government now admits that it will still be at a near-£30bn at the end of this year, with some estimating that the figure could be as high as £35bn. This means that the Bank of England has to borrow £3bn every month just to square the government's books. This is one reason why the Bank of England's governor, Eddie George, makes persistent demands for an increase in interest rates, which would make the Bank's job that much easier.

Among the main reasons for the government's rising debt is that taxes on things bought in the shops are rising far more slowly than previously predicted, another indication of the real nature of the supposed economic recovery.

Threadneedle

### A superb historical novel

T'S excellent news, at a time when even moderately good news s in short supply, that Philippa Gregory's powerful historical novel A Respectable Trade is being adapted for BBC television s a drama serial.

It's equally good news that the uthor herself is writing the cript and is therefore well placed to arrest the tide of banaliies and anachronisms that so often floods into television adapations.

A third piece of welcome news: he paperback will be coming out n March next year (Harper-Collins, £5.99; the hardback, pubished last March, costs £14.99).

Set in Africa and Bristol in the 1780s, A Respectable Trade offers ample scope to an intelligent director and a skilled camera rew, and should make compulsive viewing — though I gather hat the African scenes will be shot in South Africa and not on what was known in the 18th cenury as the Guinea coast.

The 'respectable' trade of the title is the slave trade, which in the 1780s was just beginning to come under threat from the abolitionist movement in Britain.

Any historical novel worth its salt demands both knowledge and imaginative insight, and Gregory has both.

With sharply etched detail she brings to life both the Yoruba region progressively blighted by the slave trade, and the Bristol which that trade had steadily enriched: 'with masts of sailing ships overtopping the chimneys, and the prows of the boats almost knocking on the doors'.

Against this backdrop she places two very different groups of characters.

One is a group of 13 Africans brought to Bristol to be trained as pages and servants for rich families; the slave-ship captain's list describes them as 'Two healthy men, Four healthy women, Two boys aged seven and sixteen years, Three girls aged between seven and fourteen years, Two infant boys aged two and five years.'

One of those 'healthy women' is raped by a Jamaica planter visiting Bristol; renames herself Died of Shame; eats earth in a suicide attempt; has a bridle — a metal cage and gag — strapped over her face to stop her doing so. And when she dies, as soon she does, '[f]or the first time she looked as if she were free'.

The second group of characters is English. Frances Scott, poor relation of a titled family, marries the Bristol merchant Josiah Cole and is introduced by degrees to the profitable horrors of his 'respectable' trade.

Hers is the task of teaching English to the slaves bought with her dowry. Having led a sheltered life, she starts by swallowing without question all the stereotypes ('They're like children. . . . They can remember nothing unless it is beaten into them. And

their spirits are surly and defi-

But very gradually the truth breaks through — above all, the disturbing truth that these stolen, degraded captives are human beings like herself.

With this discovery comes another: her strong attraction to Mehuru, the Yoruba envoy who had been captured while on a mission to unite the inland polities against the slave trade, and who has found friends and allies among the radicals of Bristol.

Frances dies giving birth to libeir son. In her will she frees her stances will but two of whom have was the same than sweet and applica-

### PERSONAL COLUMN

gises to them: 'It has taken me a Long Long time to realise what we did to you.... Perhaps one day, in some way, we can learn to live together in Love and Respect?"

And with those words the book ends.

HERE is a theme that, attempted by a lesser writer, might at times steer dangerously close to sentimentality. But Gregory is too sensitive and talented a novelist ever to fall into this trap.

From first page to last, the reader is drawn into two disparate worlds and sees alternately, as it were, through two pairs of eyes, two sets of cultural norms and preconceptions.

At first, there is nothing but mutual incomprehension. This reaches an apogee of poignancy when Died of Shame dies and cannot be buried properly:

'No cooking pot, no piece of chalk, no beads for her hair, no bowl, no spoon, no sharp knife, no hoeing stick, no purse with coins or cowrie shells, no comb. No little pretty women's things that a young wife should have laid in her grave beside her, none of these things could go with Died of Shame to the other world.

'And her son, her young son who should be the first to say farewell to her, who should wash her face in the funeral rites and kiss her goodbye - she had left him before he could say more than her name, before he could do more than call and call for her, and never hear an answer.'

But Gregory is too accomplished an artist to paint only in these sombre colours and not to show also the dawn of something else, in the relations between these uprooted Africans and their white fellow domestics.

It is night. In the kitchen the Africans are dancing to Mehuru's singing and his drumming on an upturned wooden washtub, and the accompanying drumming, with metal fork and bare hand on a brass saucepan, of the Manding Kbara.

The children drag Cook forward, trying to make her dance. 'You ask Brown to dance a jig for you', she says. 'She had an Irish mother!' And then:

'Mehuru... hefted the washtub under his arm. He snatched up a wooden spoon and walked towards Brown, smiling, drumming as he advanced.... Brown... stood before him and followed his movements like a thin English mirror of his potent image. He shuffled and stamped, and she followed him, he drifted to the right and she moved as he did.

'He turned and strode forward and she was behind him, then he whirled and hammered on his drum and called out to her and Brown hitched her skirts up in both hands and let her feet pound into the rhythm of an Irish jig, as wild a dance as could ever be — the deep irresistible drumming of Africa with the lightning heel-tapping toe-stamping dance of a Celt.'

And the hidden, watching Frances witnesses this 'sudden explosion of joy and sensuality and passion on the stone floor of her cold empty house'.

Here is the very dawn of the acculturation process. It may never have corresponded, in every last detail, to the scene that Gregory depicts; but her masterly word picture is an imaginative tour de force that rings absolutely true.

So does this whole superb book. Don't miss it - and don't miss the television serial when it comes to the screen.

# Death on the Rock' judgement shows state's contempt

BY JOHN STEELE

ONCE again the savagery of Britain's rule in Ireland has been exposed. Last week's decision by the European Court of Human Rights on the three IRA members murdered at Gibraltar in March 1988 confirmed how the British state throws away all pretext of democratic actions in order to try and deal with the nationalist revolt.

By finding that 'more force than absolutely necessary' was used when Daniel McCann, Mairead Farrell and Sean Savage were summarily executed by the SAS in a hail of bullets, the Court confirmed what was already widely known and revealed in such programmes as Thames Television's Death on the Rock.

Britain has been found guilty of abuses of human rights by this court more times than the combined total of all other countries. Most cases have involved Irish people.

The conflict in the north of Ireland has consistently revealed how democratic rights are thrust aside by the state in order to maintain power.

It has also shown how sections of the British armed forces and

ruling class are prepared to physically eliminate people, not only to 'strike fear' but because they have lost confidence in their own judicial system.

All three of the IRA members. who were unarmed, were under surveillance by the SAS and Spanish police and could have been arrested from the moment they landed at Malaga airport two days before the killings.

From November 1987, the British and Spanish authorities had been monitoring the actions of McCann and Savage who spent a lot of time driving up and down the coast from Malaga to Gibral-

A joint-forces committee led by MI5 was formed in Gibraltar but it was in London that a decision was taken to use the SAS and execute the IRA members.

#### **Anonymous**

At the inquest anonymous SAS and MI5 members sat behind screens and claimed that they were 100 per cent sure that a car bomb had been planted and that McCann, Savage and Farrell had remote control devices and weap-

In fact, of course, the car left by the IRA members did not con-

tain a bomb and they were unarmed. As MI5 undoubtedly knew, they were still involved in reconaissance and the car with unprimed Semtex was at another Spanish resort, Marbella, further along the coast.

After the European court's decision, the Tories rushed to defend the actions of their agents. Deputy prime minister Heseltine expressed the contempt of the ruling class for judicial decisions that it does not agree with and confirmed that the SAS killers would continue to be used not only in Britain but elsewhere in Europe.

'If we were faced with similar circumstances as those in Gibraltar, I have not the slightest doubt the same decisions would be taken again,' he announced.

Heseltine's contempt for the Court's decision was also reflected in his attack on the Labour spokesperson Jack Straw.

The mealy-mouthed Straw, scrambling around his soul for the last vestiges of liberalism, had mumbled: 'It is incumbent upon the British government, whether they like it or not, to observe both the letter and the spirit of this decision.'

When Heseltine rounded on him and accused him of giving 'encouragement to the terrorist mentality', Straw was stung to bleat that this was 'a disgraceful slur. In the absence of a sufficient withdrawal and apology.... I will feel compelled to consider legal action.'

#### **Empty**

Needless to say this was a piece of empty rhetoric and no such legal action will be forthcoming. The Labour leadership will not do anything that makes them seem more liberal than the Tories on 'law and order' including the maintenance of brutal oppression in the north of Ireland.

The Gibraltar slayings were a direct continuation of the 'shoot to kill' policy in the six counties.

Here British soldiers were primed to shoot at people under the pretext that they felt they were in danger of attack or that the car the victims were in had crashed through a check point.

This became such an integral part of British military policy at the highest level that when John Stalker, an assistant chief constable from Manchester, was sent to investigate the charges he was removed and his career destroyed when it was thought he might not support a cover-up.

### October issue of Workers' Liberty magazine out now

Features in this issue include Darcus Howe on the Black Panthers, debate on Bosnia, Bob Pitt on John Maclean and Peter Cadogan continues the discussion about the IS-SWP tradition. £1.20 from Workers' Liberty, PO Box, 823, London SE15 4NA. Cheques to 'WL Publications'.

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### Day of solidarity with McDonald's workers

12 October 1995

The High Court libel trial brought by the \$26 billion-a-year McDonald's corporation against two unwaged London Greenpeace supporters is now the longest libel trial in British history. In October, over 30 ex-McDonald's workers will be giving evidence about their experience of organising in the face of McDonald's hostility to trade unions, and exploitation of workers. 12 October is the third anniversary of the death of Mark Hopkins, a worker electrocuted at McDonald's Arndale Centre store in Manchester. We aim to leaflet workers at every McDonald's branch in the country with information about employment rights (particularly health and safety) encouraging them to get together and organise against their bosses who are exploiting them for massive profit. We are building up an independent national network of locally-based contacts involving McDonald's workers and activists. Write to us (with donation if possible) for bundles of leaflets to give out on the day.

London: McDonald's on the Strand, Charing X tube, 5-6pm. Manchester: Mark Hopkins's parents are organising a picket of the Arndale store, 12-1pm.

Support network for McDonald's workers, c/o Colin Roach

Centre, 53 Clarence Road, London E5. Tel: 0181-533 7111. Fighting McWage slavery

### Bosnia — Solidarity not Charity

An account of the August Tuzla Trade Union convoy Produced by Tony Samphier, NUJ delegate on the convoy Published by Workers Aid for Bosnia

Get your union branch, Labour Party, etc., to buy copies Available for £1 from Workers Aid for Bosnia, PO Box 9, Eccles SO, Manchester M30 7FX. Tel: 0171-582 5462.

Ecosphere

MY recent article on the environ-

mental crisis pointed to the supe-

riority of the dialectical method

in describing complex natural

phenomena such as the growing

disruption of the earth's eco-

important developments because

it looks for smooth trends that

correlate neatly with simple

tists at the University of Bremen

have identified a transformation

of 'quantity into quality' that

Mediterranean have undergone a

sudden change in configuration

with temperatures falling,

instead of rising, with increasing

depth. Salinity profiles have also

increase in the salinity of water

flowing from the Aegean which

has gradually displaced water

from the Adriatic. At a certain

point the layers of water in the

This change in salinity may

reflect climate changes, or

increases in intensive farming.

Climatologists have been worried

for some time that effects like

this could occur. This is the first

deep water currents could occur

elsewhere. Of particular concern

is the Gulf Stream which brings

relatively warm weather to

Northern Europe. One effect of

global warming may be to effect

an inversion that could reverse

Europe would dramatically dete-

riorate almost overnight. This

would have a profound effect on

all aspects of our lives, particu-

The climate of Northern

Similar sudden changes in

confirmed example.

the Gulf Stream.

larly food production.

remedies?

Herbal

Mediterranean flipped over

This is believed to be due to an

would have pleased Engels.

Recent observations by scien-

Deep water currents in the

causes. Nature is rarely like this.

Traditional science can miss

update

sphere.

reversed.

Science focus

A monthly column by Daniel Robertson,

# Crime and punishment

BY NICK LEE

THE recently issued official crime statistics show a 5 per cent fall in crimes reported to the police. Tory Home Secretary Michael Howard is emphasising the fact that this is the second year running in which crime has fallen, and by the same amount.

Howard has been careful, however, not to attribute falling crime to Tory policies such as the Criminal Justice Act. This only recently became law. In any case new laws creating more categories of illegal behaviour might be expected to lead to increases rather than decreases in crime.

Instead, Howard stresses such factors as increasing police efficiency; strategies such as the various anti-burglary operations, like 'Bumblebee' in London, now being followed up by 'Operation Eagle Eye' against street mugging; together with technological advances such as 'genetic fingerprinting' and Closed Circuit TV crime prevention schemes in shopping precincts.

He is also arguing that the fall in crime vindicates his claim that 'prison works'.

For liberals, the main criticism of Howard is that these policies are ineffective: they do not in fact reduce crime. There are two main arguments against the claim that the official statistics indicate a real fall in crime.

First, only about a third of crimes are actually reported to the police, so a fall of 5 per cent-in the number that are reported tells us little. The largest falls in recorded crime over the last year concerned property and car crime.

The statistics for these crimes used to be thought of as particularly accurate because victims have to report such offences to the police in order to qualify for insurance. But in recent years increasing numbers of people in poor, high-crime areas, have been

dropping out of insurance as premiums reach prohibitive levels.

Then there is the fact that the police control whether and how a crime is recorded.

Recently police forces in Britain have been set various performance targets by the Home Office. These focus on such things as percentages of crimes 'cleared up' (i.e. for which someone is charged) and the crime rate in an area. If police are set the target of reducing burglary then a lot can be achieved by reclassifying some burglaries under another heading — e.g. criminal damage.

Also victims can be dissuaded from reporting small burglaries, which the police are not going to spend much time trying to solve anyway.

There can be few organisations whose performance is measured on the basis of statistics over which the organisation itself has complete control.

The second issue is that any fall in some types of crime that has taken place is most likely due to factors entirely outside the actions of the police, or policies initiated by Howard.

As a letter to the Guardian (28 September) pointed out, most of the fall in crime over the last two years is probably associated with the 10 per cent decrease in the number of 10- to 20-year-old males in the population since 1987, the effect of a drop in the birth-rate during the late 1970s.

#### Reduction

Young males in this age bracket are the most crime-prone section of the population and the fall in crime — as measured by a reduction in the number of offenders sentenced by the courts - has been almost entirely in this group.

But debates about whether this or that policy is 'effective' in achieving minor reductions in the crime statistics are a diversion from the real issues.

Indeed, crime is a real and growing problem in poorer working-class communities, though among young people the most likely offenders are also the most likely victims of crime.

Crime is related to unemployment and even though the proportion of young people in the population may be declining, long-term youth unemployment

is growing. Reductions in unemployment, as is well known, are largely fictitious and based on a continual redefinition by the Tory government of what counts as 'unemployed'. It is doubtful, then, whether crime rates are actually falling.

But the most important development lies in the changes in criminal justice policy which the Tory government has instituted over the last few years. The prisons are bursting at the seams.

Encouraged by Howard, the courts are putting increasing numbers of people behind bars. The number of offenders given immediate jail sentences in 1994 was 68,500, an increase of 17 per cent on 1993 and the highest for 8 years.

The massive increase in prison numbers has combined with an abandonment of the older reformist welfare-state strategies of an earlier epoch which aimed, however ineffectively, at the rehabilitation and reintegration of the offender into society.

With a growing pool of unemployed, ex-offenders are not needed as part of the labour force. The task, as the ruling class see it, is increasingly simply one of containment and terror.

Howard's latest idea, US-style 'boot camps' for young offenders, aims to give young thugs 'something to remember'. Meanwhile, those offenders with non-custodial sentences will be subject to 'punishment in the community' supervised by a new-style probation service.

The Home Office and its Sec-

retary of State are currently locked into battle with probation officers over the attempt to eliminate 'academic' social-work training and to staff the service with ex-military types who will extend the 'boot camp' philosophy outside the prisons.

Not only probation officers but prison governors have crossed swords with Howard. On 25 September, the Prison Governors Association launched a manifesto expressing 'grave concern' that the prison population was at an all-time high of nearly 52,000 and warned that British prisons were drifting towards the 'American nightmare scenario where the imprisonment rate is five times British levels.'

The manifesto also called for a return to the traditional - and in practice hypocritical - philosophy 'that [prison] regimes should be based upon a rehabili-

It is heartening to hear all these good liberal feelings from, of all people, prison governors. But such sentiments miss the

The purpose of prisons is changing. They are becoming increasingly holding cages for all those, even the most petty offenders, who are surplus to the requirements of capitalism. A population that is steadily grow-

That is why, much to the annoyance of the Prison Governors Association, the growth of private prisons, run by companies such as Group Four, is fos-

The prison governors' manifesto complains: 'no civilised society should hire out punishment

#### Manifesto

tative approach.'

point.

for profit.

rather old-fashioned view that imprisonment has something to do with justice and with rehabili-

tered by the government.

But that presupposes the

### tation. Leicester Bosnia protest called off

SABOTAGE led to Leicester Capaign for Bosnia calling off its demonstration last Saturday (30 September).

The demonstration, which was called in support of multi-ethnic Bosnia, was abandoned following misinformation being given to potential supporters to the effect that the demonstration had been cancelled.

The campaign's steering committee had not discussed the possibility of cancellation and it therefore views the misinformation as malicious in intent.

The committee was to have held a meeting last Thursday (5 October) to organise the next steps and to set up a sub-committee to investigate and publicise the circumstances leading to the sabotage of the demonstration. The campaign will also be plann-

ing to demonstrate on 14 October. Further information on the Leicester campaign can be obtained on the temporary numbers: 0116-270 7730 and

principal scientist at a leading bio-technology company how the great promise of biotechnology is being misused to exploit poorer countries.

A recent example is attracting hostile publicity through its brazen attempt to exploit not only biological resources, but also accumulated experience and knowledge of farmers.

Indian farmers have known for centuries that a powder that kills insects on their crops can be extracted from boiled Neem tree seeds. Now a Western seed company — W.R. Grace — has decided to exploit this knowledge by means of a patent. Grace have patented a variant on the extraction method — allowed under international law as it is not identical to the original method.

However it is the centuries of farmers' experience that laid the basis for this patent, and not work by Grace. Plantations are now being bought up and the extract derived, using the improved method, and sent to the US.

Indian farmers will find that the cost of this previously cheap, locally-produced insecticide will start to soar. This is one of many struggles to protect local biological resources engaging poorer countries that are being targeted by multinationals.

Impoverishment and social chaos will be caused by the impact of market economics in India (where a quarter of the world's poorest farmers live) and will have a destabilising effect. There are predictions that this will lead to an increase in interethnic and religious conflict as farmers are thrown off the land.

Extreme nationalist Hindu fundamentalist political groups are already building for future conflicts. The recent spate of milk-sipping statues is a reflection of growing manipulation by religious fanatics.

Some environmentalists have argued these biological resources should be protected for their future commercial potential are the antics of Grace what they had in mind? I suspect much of the loud 'concern' of Western governments over declining biodiversity of the rain forests is prompted by regrets at lost opportunities for exploitation.

ANOTHER horrific possibility is

on the horizon, involving patent-

ing a vital part of the essence of

human biology itself. The Human

Genome Project aims to map the

Genome Diversity Project which

will look at genetic variations

around the world, including

demic exercise, there are fears

that the hunt to patent and con-

trol the resources of poorer

countries will extend to the

genetic sequences of their peo-

ples. These could contain rare

exploitable material. Will the

donors of the materials used gain

interacting biotechnology with

the poorer countries is being

A quite different approach to

from this? I very much doubt it.

Far from just being an aca-

among tribes facing extinction.

Allied to this is the Human

complete human gene sequence.

### . . . and

genes

READERS will have noticed a proliferation of high street shops offering traditional Chinese herbal medicine. These attract customers increasingly disillusioned with Western medicine. Eastern medicine is seen to be

more 'holistic' in that it seeks to establish the harmony of the whole organism, whereas most Western medicine only treats the symptoms of deeper problems it deals with the appearance of things rather than the essence.

Rising costs of NHS prescription drugs, some costing considerably more than their market price, is another incentive to look at alternatives. Unfortunately much of this traditional medicine is simply hype. And there have been fatalities caused by the uncontrolled use of some remedies.

Much of the alternative medicine industry is sadly dominated by profiteering and quackery taking advantage of an understandable but naive desire for more 'natural' remedies.

But some also threaten endangered species. Two Chinese herbalists in London were recently fined for selling remedies containing ground rhinoceros horn and tiger bone.

Wildlife in the former Soviet Union has been devastated by the impact of market economics as huntsmen fan out across the country slaughtering every animal whose parts can feed this disgusting trade. The rare Siberian tiger is particularly threatened.

Capitalist greed corrupts both modern Western and traditional Eastern medicine. A health system run to meet real human needs, combining the best from all traditions, is the only answer.

Of Neems . . .

demonstrated by researchers at the University of Newcastle. Cassava is a major root crop throughout Africa, South

America and Asia. However it has to be processed carefully as the cooked product can contain dangerous levels of cyanide. One method to reduce the danger is to ferment the cassava with certain bacteria, however the result can be erratic. Thousands of people are regularly poisoned. Scientists at Newcastle plan to

genetically engineer the bacteria used in the process so that they are much more effective. They plan to give the modified bacteria away for free. Good for them!

The difference between these commercial and humanitarian approaches says it all. One aims to impoverish and exploit for profit. The other will save countless

### **Tories** follow Labour on sweep the ctroote' Streets

THE Tories have followed the lead of Labour shadow home secretary Jack Straw with a demand from the Home Office that the police launch a tough campaign to clear the homeless and those forced to beg from the streets.

Those who intimidate others or who attempt fraudulently to to procure charitable contributions must expect to be prosecuted. Begging is distressing for members of the public and visitors to the capital alike,' said a statement from the Home Office. It could have been written by Straw.

The new get-tough policy of the government comes only weeks after Straw promised to crack down on the 'aggressive begging of winos, addicts and squeegee merchants.'

As the Guardian reported:

Labour's new thinking has encouraged John Major to think there will be less political fall-out than when he attacked "offensive beggars" last year.'

Here is yet another warning about the role of Blair and his friends. They are striving to outbid the Tories in their brutality towards the homeless and the most disadvantaged in society

### Gadafi punishes Palestinian workers

BY ROSS COOPER

AT least 480 Palestinian workers deported by Libya's Colonel Muammar Gadafi were reported stranded in a desert camp last week, without adequate food, water or shelter. They were victims of the Libyan regime's new policy of taking out its problems not on governments but on work-

Libyan authorities intended to deport 10,000 Palestinians in the next two weeks, according to Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) official Muhammed Sobeih. UN officials were unable to confirm the fig-

Police rounded up Palestinians at Tobruk last weekend and herded them towards the Egyptian border. The camp in no man's land near the Mediterranean where they were stranded had only 10 tents. An earlier batch of workers were deported at short notice recently, without even being given time to pick up

wages owed them. Gadafi is said to be showing his anger against the PLO's peace deal with Israel, presumably try-

Palestine authority for the right of return. But in practice the Libyan dictator is brutally punishing the workers for the misdeeds of Arab leaders, for which they were not responsible.

Egyptian and Sudanese workers, including refugees from the Sudanese dictatorship, are also being deported.

With the combined effects of recession and imperialist sanctions causing heavy unemployment, Gadafi is worried about political unrest, and recently complained of fundamentalist intrigue. Expelling foreign workers may be his way of trying to deflect social struggles.

Mohammed Sobeih, the PLO's delegate to the Arab League, said 5,000 Palestinians were due to be deported by the weekend, and 5,000 more in the following week. 'All our efforts to convince them to stop this tragedy were futile.' The Libyan action stands

somewhere between Israel's action in deporting Palestinians three years ago and 'ethnic cleansing' in Bosnia. Stranding people in no man's land also recalls Hitler's 1938 deportation of Polish Jews. Gadafi's action deserves condemnation

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Saturday 7 October 1995

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# Arkan's thugs back at their dirty work

THUGS and mercenaries organised by the Serb gangster and warlord Arkan are back at work in occupied Bosnia. Some 2,000 Bosnian Muslims were rounded up by them in a three-day operation around the town of Sanski Most, in western Bosnia, at the end of last month.

They were taken to a village called Sehovci. Their fate is unknown. The round-up came as Serb forces launched a counter-offensive

into territory which the Bosnian army had recaptured. They began with missile and artillery attacks on Bosnian towns, including a cluster-bomb rocket fired into

Bosnian refugees returning to the homes with liberating Bosnia and Herzegovina army troops have been finding mass graves of people slaughtered by the Serb nationalists. More than 11,000 Muslims and others could have been wiped out by Serb nationalists in western Bosnia.

Arkan's 'Tigers', or Serbian Volunteer Guard, were responsible for some of the worst atrocities committed in the Bosnian war, and before this, for mass killing of civilians at Vukovar in Croatia.

They came into Srebrenica after it fell to Serb forces, crossing the border behind regular Serb units, accompanied by Greek fascist mercenaries, to carry on terrorist 'ethnic cleansing' of Muslims.

Arkan himself, real name

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

Zeliko Raznjatovic, was already

wanted by Interpol as a criminal

racketeer before the war, and

suspected of working for the

Yugoslav secret service. His vol-

unteers were organised by the

Interior Ministry in Belgrade,

and financed by it, although they

have supplemented their income

by plunder and black marketeer-

Erdut, Serbian-occupied east

Croatia. The UN, just up the road,

looks the other way as this war

criminal directs his army of

thugs. He has been kept in the

field by Serbia's Milosevic regime

to do its dirty work at home as

replaced by the fascist Radical

Party leader Seselj, Arkan's job

would remain secure. Should cir-

cumstances change he is probably

wealthy enough to avoid being

brought to trial.

If tomorrow Milosevic was

well as in neighbouring lands.

Arkan has headquarters at

Ivan Zvonimir Cicak of the Croatian Helsinki Committee said at least 12 people between 60 and 85 were killed in the village of Varivode. The commitinvestigators found bloodstains and body tissue on the floors and walls of houses.

**ELDERLY** Serbs were

murdered when Croat forces

destroyed their village in the

Krajina, according to human

rights groups in Croatia.

Reports by European Union and UN monitors said civilians had been murdered around Knin after the Croatian army recaptured it, and that a 'deliberate hostile policy' of looting, killing and burning had been pursued to make sure Serbs did not return.

The Croatian opposition group Transition to Democracy warned in August that such actions made nonsense of the Tudjman government's invitation to Serb citizens to come home. Croatian authorities say they have arrested about 400 people, including soldiers and police, for looting and burning.

In Luxemburg, where EU foreign ministers were meeting, it was reported that atrocity reports would spoil Croatia's progress towards EU membership. Some of Tudjman's backers in the EU had hoped the reports would not be published.

### Tudiman insults Bosnians and confirms carve-up aim

BY JANOS BOROVI in Paris

CROATIA'S president Franjo Tudjman has told a French newspaper that he aims to 'Europeanise the Bosnian Muslims', and confirmed that he wants to carve up Bosnia, to 'put landmarks between Oriental and Western Europe' as part of imperialism's 'new world order'.

Tudjman, whose forces hold a sizeable chunk of Bosnia-Herzegovina, either seized in war with Bosnia or the more recent offensive against Serb Chetniks, was invited to Paris by President Chirac on the eve of the US-hosted peace talks in New York. The Croatian president told the conservative daily 'Le Figaro' (25 September):

'To establish a new and durable international order in the south-east of Europe, the normalisation of relationships between

Croatia and Serbia has an importance comparable to that of the Franco-German treaty for the construction of Europe.

Thanks to the efforts of the West, the creation of a Croatian-Muslim federation has been proposed. Croatia gave its agreement to this for strategic reasons. Thus we have accepted the task given us by Europe.

'That is to Europeanise the Bosnian Muslims, to act for their best possible integration into European civilisation and to avoid them becoming the instruments of fundamentalism in Europe ...'

As well as confirming suspicions about his government's war aims, the racist arrogance of Tudjman is glaring. He permitted revival of the pro-Nazi Ustashe militia, tried rewriting history to excuse its barbaric crimes, and encouraged massacres in Bosnia.

Now he offers to 'civilise' Bosnian Muslims for another 'new

order' in Europe! 'The most important problem is territorial delimitation,' Tudjman said.

'According to the Geneva peace agreement, Bosnia-Herzegovina remains a member of the United Nations.

'But the fact that the Serb Republic of Bosnia as well as the Croat-Muslim federation could be linked respectively to Serbia and Croatia proves that the question is not only to delimit the areas of influences between Serbs, Croats and Muslims but to put landmarks between Oriental and Western Europe.'

Speaking about his map, drawn on the back of a menu at the Guildhall banquet in London, which showed a carved-up Bosnia and Herzegovina, Tudjman says: 'This map expresses a historical reality,' adding: 'We have all a historical interest in realising this federation.

'For the Muslims it is almost the only way to survive on this territory.

'If, obviously, they become Europeans and not fundamental-

Tudjman is pitching to anti-Muslim racists in France, just as Serb nationalist leader Karadzic has done before.

His frank avowal of designs on Bosnia, coupled with hopes for a deal with Serbia, confirms that Bosnian leaders were right to insist on the integrity of a sovereign Bosnian state before going to peace talks. Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhammed Sacirbey has said there will be no federation with Croatia.

It must be underlined that Chirac has not protested at the Croat president's declarations. On the contrary, at the end of Tudjman's visit, both the French and Croatian sides stressed the 'friendly' atmosphere of their secret discussions.

The fight for Bosnia against racist carve-ups must be waged by workers in Bosnia, Croatia, and here in western Europe.



Bangladesh garment workers demonstrate for a day off a week, Friday 22 September. National Garment Workers' Federation fax: 00 880 2 867 485

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# Chirac may ditch PM

#### BY PIERRE DUPONT

FRENCH prime minister Alain Juppé may be sacked by President Chirac amid continuing rows over his personal finances.

The bad news is that Chirac's choice to replace him could be former Interior Minister Charles Pasqua, whose hardline reputation on race and 'law and order' appeals to National Front voters.

Juppé, who as Foreign Minister planned to offer eastern Bosnia to Serb rule, is in trouble over his generosity with Paris real es-

tate to himself and his family. He took over a large flat on the

Rue Jacob for 11,000 francs (£1,400) a month, well below its market price, after the city had spent a million francs refurbishing it.

A taxpayers' association is suing, alleging that Juppé broke the law by signing the lease himself, when he was deputy-mayor of Paris.

The Paris prosecutor's office is investigating who authorised the work on the flat.

The anti-corruption agency SCPC says Juppé could be liable to prosecution for using his influence to reduce the rent of son Laurent Juppé's apartment by 1,000 francs (£128).

If either of these cases came to court, and Juppé was convicted, he would risk jail and a £60,000 fine, and could be declared ineligible for public office for life.

Even if Chirac himself, who was mayor, escaped the scandal, Justice Minister Jacques Toubon would probably not.

He tried to suppress the SCPC report by putting pressure on judge Bernard Challe to resign. The judge refused.

At a meeting of French mayors Juppé (who is mayor of Bordeaux as well as prime minister) said the country's revenue was in a disastrous state, with nearly 40 billion francs (£5 billion) in VAT

and company taxes not paid this 'In the face of this situation of

national peril, I am forced to make savings.' He has sacked one finance minister, and had a row with the successor over taxes and plans to help the car industry.

France is facing a strike wave, starting with Air France workers, and a one-day strike by public sector workers on 10 October.

Unpopular abroad for France's nuclear tests, and steadily losing popularity at home as well, President Chirac may try to make a saving by dispensing with a prime minister seen as a liabil-