

'Tonight we're collecting parts of our children's bodies' — Mayor of Tuzla

DO NOT expect that I address you in diplomatic language,' Selim Beslagic — the mayor of Tuzla, the Bosnian city where Serb nationalist shells killed more than 70 youngsters — told the United Nations Security Council last week.

'Tonight, parents of Tuzla are collecting parts of their children's bodies on the streets. Their children had left their homes a few hours earlier, with the belief in a better future.'

Five Bosnian towns and cities were shelled by Radovan Karadzic's Serb nationalist forces on the evening of Thursday, 5 May.

In Tuzla they hit a popular cafe area where young people gathered, killing at least 71 people and injuring more than 130. Many of the dead were so badly mutilated they could not be identified. The Serbs shelled the same area the next morning, clearly hoping to kill more civilians.

'It was chaos when the shell landed and people landed on the ground all jumbled together,' said Semel Kusturica, one of the wounded. 'I thought everyone was dead, that nobody had survived. There was blood everywhere, people moaning, it was horrible.'

Tuzla's city health officer Kasim Muminhodzic said it was the worst night they'd had in three years of war.

'You should know, that at this moment when the pain is all over Tuzla, there is not any dilemma any more,' Mayor Beslagic said in his message to the Security Council.

'The UN, who should be the protector of world peace and basic human values, with its inaction participated in this crime. To tolerate the crime in Bosnia for the last three years is nothing but ignorant watching of us dying.'

'If after this terrible crime you again stay silent, if after this you do not act using force as the only means left to protect innocent people from Karadzic Serbs' crimes, then without any doubt, you were and you stay on the side of the evil, darkness and fascism.'

'You declared Tuzla and other besieged cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, safe areas. You have worn out all diplomatic means. Innocent children and people are being killed continuously. For the sake of God and humanity, use force finally.'

Impassioned

In a second impassioned message to the UN after the morning's shelling, urging them to silence the Serb guns, Tuzla's mayor told them: 'The citizens of Tuzla have nothing to say to you. The civilisation of the 20th century has nothing to say either to you. 'Because you are quietly

watching the killing of innocent people, and you do have the means to stop it. Your behaviour is nothing else but collaboration in this crime against humanity.'

Tuzla is a mining, industrial and university city, where Bosnian Muslims, Croats, Serbs, and others live (or die) together. Over a quarter of them are intermarried. For this reason, and for its working-class, democratic tradition, Tuzla is hated by Karadzic's Serb nationalists, who want to break up Bosnia.

Reproach

It is also a standing reproach to lying politicians and media hacks here who claim Bosnians have always hated each other, and their country must be divided.

'Serb fascists deliberately targeted the populated area of Tuzla yesterday,' Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Siladzic said.

'It is high time for the world to untie our hands and let us defend ourselves. Keeping the arms embargo now is not only immoral but inhuman. Those who don't lift the embargo are accomplices in genocide.'

The Tory government supplied former Yugoslavia with weapons now used by nationalist Serbs. It encouraged aggression and ethnic cleansing, with Lord Owen's partition plans.

It has steadfastly opposed lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia. On the morning that Tuzla people were picking up their children's bits, BBC Radio Four's 'Today' programme didn't interview a Tuzla citizen, nor any Bosnian representative, but a spokesman for Karadzic's fascists.

Defending the butchery, he said Serbs lived in Tuzla, and might have been among those killed!

Trade unions in Britain who hosted a visit by Tuzla trade unionists earlier this year have sent messages of sympathy to the people of Tuzla, and are working for an aid convoy to the Bosnian city in July.

A supporter of Workers Aid for Bosnia said: 'During the Spanish civil war, people said if we couldn't defend the children of Spain, our children would be next. They were right.'

'Today, if the working-class movement doesn't help the workers of Tuzla, how will future generations forgive us?'

Report by
CHARLIE POTTINS

Africans protest 'in the belly of the beast'

LIBERATION NOT CHARITY! Behind this proud slogan on the banner of the African Liberation Support Campaign (ALISC) a colourful and powerful demonstration against the imperialist plunder of Africa took place in London last Saturday to celebrate Africa Liberation Day.

More than 600 people, mainly migrants and political refugees from African states, marched from Kennington park, south London, to a rally in Trafalgar Square.

Among the countries represented were: Ghana, Nigeria, Angola, Uganda, Ivory Coast, Zaire, Sudan, South Africa and Sierra Leone.

ALISC brought onto the streets of the capital of Britain — an imperialist country — the message that the blame for famine, poverty and deprivation in Africa lay with the West. ALISC also proclaimed that an organisation was being built to challenge these Great Powers.

As an ALISC leader said, they were demonstrating in 'the belly of the beast'.

'The neocolonial tentacles of Whitehall are responsible for the Black Holocaust and the tragedies that are impoverishing, dehumanising and killing African people throughout the world,' he said from the plinth at Trafalgar Square.

Drummers from the Ivory Coast played at the front of the march while behind them the slogans on the placards had a political clarity: 'Western Powers prop up African Dictators'; 'British Arms kill African Workers'; 'International Monetary Fund and World Bank cause starvation'; 'Unity of African and British Workers'; 'Only Socialism will Liberate Africa!'; 'Mandela is a stooge of Imperialism'.

Many of them highlighted the plight of black political prisoners: 'Free Winston Silcott!', a Londoner stitched up by the racist British police; 'Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!', a journalist and fighter for social justice currently on death row in Pennsylvania; 'Free Ken SaroWiwa!', internationally proclaimed writer and leader of the movement for the survival of the Ogoni People detained in a Nigerian jail. 'We remember Joy Gardner', said many.

Among the trade union banners carried on the march were: Tower Hamlets trades council, the public service workers' Lambeth Unison, Clapton bus branch of the Transport and General Workers' Union and the International Trade Union Solidarity Campaign.



The African Liberation Day banner at the front of last Saturday's march in London

At the rally in Trafalgar Square a traditional African libation and a minute's silence was observed in honour of all those who had died in the fight for African freedom.

The speakers from many African countries included political refugees and asylum seekers who explained how the brutal dictators were maintained by the supply of weapons from the West. But the fight for basic democratic rights would continue, they all affirmed.

Labour MP Jeremy Corbyn and Peter Fryer, historian of black peoples' struggles and Workers Press columnist, also spoke (see page 3).

Culmination

The demonstration was the culmination of ALISC's African Liberation Awareness Month which had meetings on many topics, a two-day conference with a wide variety of speakers on the subject of African liberation solidarity, and the inauguration of a campaign for an arms embargo on the Nigerian dictatorship.

ALISC is an umbrella organisation for many of the groups which represent African refugees and migrants. It aims to

build a mass movement which incorporates the fight for democratic demands in the African states and opposition to racist immigration laws and state terrorism in Britain.

The memorandum presented to John Major and read to the rally by Kofi Mawuli Klu of ALISC said: 'When freedom fighters against abominations of European colonialism and neocolonialism in Africa are compelled to seek refuge and escape to Britain many are refused entry or imprisoned for no crime in Campsfield and similar concentration camps, or harassed, terrorised and brutalised to death as in the cases of Omasase Lumumba, Joy Gardner, Kwanele Siziba, Joseph Nnalue and Shiji Lapite, among numerous others. . . .

'We of the ALISC, joined by our comrades, friends, and sympathisers on this African Liberation Day March hereby declare our firm resolve to organise massive resistance to these and other horrendous crimes that Her Majesty's governments have been perpetrating against humanity in Africa.'

Undoubtedly the activities of ALISC represent a major development and a step forward in the construction of an international working-class leadership.

Bosnia and Herzegovina: This is a war against fascists!

'Those who don't lift the embargo are accomplices in genocide . . .'

— Bosnian Prime Minister Siladzic

Thursday 8 June, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. (Holborn)
6pm: Video — 'Two Hours from London'

by Michael Foot and Jill Craigie

7pm: Meeting — Faruk Ibrahimovic and Branka Magas
Organised by the Alliance to Defend Bosnia-Herzegovina (Tel/Fax 0171-240 7992) and Workers Aid for Bosnia (0161-226 0404)

New numbers at Workers Press

Another reminder that it's 'all change' in the contact numbers at Workers Press.

Most importantly our telephone and fax numbers have been changed:

- Telephone 0171-387 0564.
- Fax 0171-387 0569.

We hope this doesn't cause

too much confusion — but, of course, it will!

Our address remains as before: PO Box 735, London SW8 1YB, although in a few weeks there may be a small change in the post code.

Keep your eyes peeled! Why not send money payable to 'Workers Press'?

We need it desperately.

The smell of coalition

PADDY ASHDOWN's announcement last week withdrawing any possibility of his party propping up a future Conservative minority in government spells just one word: coalition.

Making the announcement that the Liberal Party would break its stance of 'equidistance' between Labour and the Tories, leader Ashdown said: 'Liberal Democrats are determined to change the culture of our politics — so that parties learn the habit of co-operating for the national interest when they agree, as well as competing for votes at the ballot box.'

Lord Rodgers, formerly Bill Rodgers, one of the Gang of Four who deserted Labour to set up the Social Democratic Party, interviewed last week on the World At One, welcomed Ashdown's shift and looked forward to a Labour-Liberal coalition that he hoped would be able to govern for at least two Parliaments.

The 'Independent' of 26 May called Ashdown's statement an 'extraordinary announcement'.

* * * * *

BUT is this development so extraordinary?

■ One reason for the move towards Labour is the depth of the crisis in which the Tory Party and the ruling class as a whole finds itself.

Thus the 'Independent' itself said editorially, 26 May:

'As the Tory ranks lie face down in the mud, exhausted and defeated, pigged out on port and cigars, Captain

Workers Press

Ashdown has finally given up on the Conservative Party.'

■ Even more important is the growing fear of the situation should Labour be elected, with a big or small majority. Despite its sharp swing to the right, many workers and sections of the middle class still retain some hopes in a Labour government.

They will look to it to deal with the heavy unemployment, the cuts in welfare spending the crisis brought about by falling house prices.

Despite their hopes they will look in vain. Tony Blair, Gordon Brown and company have made crystal clear to their Masters in the City that they will crack down even harder than the Tories on government spending and that the laws against the unions will be retained.

Under these conditions a government of 'national unity' with Ashdown and his friends in prominent positions, with perhaps elements drawn from the Tory Party, is a distinct prospect.

■ Blair had already anticipated Ashdown's shift, which has been common knowledge in Westminster for several weeks. Last month Blair — no doubt after a series of secret meeting with the Liberal leadership — indicated his readiness to co-operate with Ashdown while at the same time giving his blessing to a Labour group promoting enhanced dialogue with the Liberal Democrats.

A party spokesman underlined the Labour leader's position when he said 'We have always made clear that there is scope for co-operation and dialogue.'

Such a national government that

Rodgers and others now call for would be even more reactionary than that led by Ramsay MacDonald after 1931: MacDonald led a government that slashed the dole money and cut the pay of all civil servants and teachers in the name of the same 'national interest' to which Ashdown appeals.

Blair's man in T&G election

BALLOT papers in the Transport and General Workers' Union general secretary election have been dropping through the letter boxes of members this week.

While the left in the union has been fighting against the current general secretary on a number of key policies, when it comes to a vote between Bill Morris or Jack Dromey, the choice is very clear.

Jack Dromey, or Mr Harriet Harman MP as he is often referred to in some sections of the T&G, has made it very clear that he sees the union and the interests of members as a subordinate adjunct to the Labour Party.

Labour leader Tony Blair has clearly come out in support of Dromey.

In a speech in Chester he even said that the leadership, with Bill Morris as general secretary, was sectarian, and that every utterance of the union undermined the case for a Labour government. Dromey continued by saying that 'the current leadership of the T&G threatens the chances of a Labour government'.

'T&G members are desperate for a Labour government,' said Dromey. 'Our members have faced redundancy, wage cuts, worse conditions and anti-union laws. They are crying out for change. They are crying out for a Labour government led by Tony Blair.'

What Dromey says about what members have faced is completely true. But what he doesn't say is that a Labour government will do exactly **nothing** to change this.

* * * * *

BLAIR has done all he can to make clear to big business that if he has his way he will not repeal any of the anti-union laws. Redundancies, wage cuts and worse conditions will continue to be demanded by employers — and Blair in government will back them up.

Given the inadequacies of Morris — and they are many — any chance of keeping the union as an independent force for the working class requires the votes in this election to go to him for general secretary.

Those who want to keep the T&G as an independent working-class force must ensure that the executive elections in October are a victory for them.

At least 11 of the existing members will not be standing again. There is a danger that those who have allowed their subjective view of Morris override the class nature of the battle by supporting Dromey — like Militant in the North West and the left in Ireland — will leave the door open to the Dromey-Blair group to take control of the executive and the union.

Workers Press calls on all its readers and supporters in the T&G to vote for Bill Morris this week, and organise for the executive elections in October.

Appeal from the editor

Tell us what's going on in the Labour Party!

WORKERS PRESS thinks that there have been big changes in the relationship between the working class and the Labour Party, reflected in the scrapping of Clause Four on 29 April.

Two weeks ago, we criticised those 'on the left' who say that whatever the decision on Clause Four the Labour Party is still the . . .

But we can't just be satisfied with criticism or pure analysis that doesn't engage with the object. We must find out how deep those changes are.

That's where we need news, views, from around the movement, so what we're asking for is if you have any criticisms of what we've said about the Labour Party, or if you agree with us, write it down and send it to us. Further, organise others to do the same. If they're not happy writing, talk to them and help get it down. If someone says something valuable write it anyway and send it off!

Mike Cooke

WE WELCOME LETTERS SEND THEM TO: WORKERS PRESS, PO BOX 735, LONDON SW8 1YB — OR FAX 0171-378 0569

WORKERS AID FOR BOSNIA COLLECTION — JULY CONVOY

Collections are to be held at Walthamstow Sainsbury supermarket from Sunday 25 June to Friday 30 June. We are calling for anybody who could be free on those days to help to collect food and money. Contact: 0181-555 1566.

INDEX BOOKCENTRES

Central London
28 Charlotte Street
London W1 1HJ
0171-636 3532

Brixton

10-12 Atlantic Road
London SW9 8HY
0171-274 8342

Trotskyist bookshops

Fast order service

THEY KNEW WHY THEY FOUGHT

by Bill Hunter
Index Books, £7.95

'The historic struggle of the dockers' movement and the part played by workers from the Royal Docks are told in a fascinating new book' (Catherine Howard writing in the Newham 'Recorder').

Available by post from Index Books Centre, 28 Charlotte Street, London W1P 1HJ. Add 65p for mail orders

The International

Journal of the Workers International
No.15 March 1995 Price £2 + 50p postage
Reconstructing the working-class movement
The workers' state and the bureaucracy
The revolutionary party and the working class

Orders to: 'The International', PO Box 735, London SW8 1YB.



BOOKCELLAR

Secondhand basement bookstore
POLITICS FICTION ARTS MEDIA
WOMEN'S STUDIES FILM
ARCHITECTURE EDUCATION



OPEN 11AM - 6PM MON. TO SAT.
BELOW HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP
5 CALEDONIAN ROAD, KINGS CROSS
LONDON N1 9DA
• TEL. 071 837 3473 •

Yorkshire Miners Gala, Wakefield Saturday 17 June 1995

The annual Yorkshire Miners Demonstration and Gala, a major event in the trade union and labour movement calendar, will be held this year in Wakefield on Saturday 17 June.

It's traditionally a day for families and communities, in which we not only pay tribute to our union's past (and present!) struggles but mix pleasure with politics, and the National Union of Mineworkers is looking forward to the event being held this year in Wakefield, which has always shown such support for the miners and the coal industry.

Today, that support is more vital than ever, and we warmly welcome everyone's participation on the day.

It begins with the march from Wakefield town hall to Thornes park (assemble at Margaret Street, moving off to the town hall at 10.20 am; march sets off from town hall at 10.30).

The demonstration rally starts in Thornes park at 12noon, chaired by NUM Vice President Frank Cave. The speakers will be: Wakefield's mayor — and NUM member — councillor Norman Hartshorne, who will give the civic welcome, Halifax MP Alice Mahon, and NUM President Arthur Scargill.

The rally will be followed by an afternoon of traditional gala activities, with events and entertainment for all.
NUM Press Office

Advertise in Workers Press

Make sure everyone knows about the events you and your organisation have planned, or your publications, your meetings, or something you wanted to sell. Send money with two typed copies of what you want to say, by first post on Monday.

- £2 per column inch
- £5 per 3 column inches
- £25 for one-eighth page display
- £60 for half page display
- £120 for full page display

Send to Advertising Dept, Workers Press, PO Box 735, London SW8 1YB.

Political shifts from Perth

London trade unionists back Tuzla convoy

THE July Trade Union Convoy to Tuzla in north-east Bosnia received more support at the Greater London Association of Trades Councils meeting on 20 May.

The resolution from two trades councils, Lambeth and Southwark, was:

'This TUC supports the July trade union convoy to Tuzla in Bosnia, and will:

(a) Make a financial donation.

(b) Will organise, together with other London trades councils, to put a truck filled with aid on the convoy from the London trades councils.

(c) Will circulate all its affiliates with information about the convoy and an appeal for assistance.

(d) Will approach Lambeth council asking for support for the convoy (e.g. putting out information in libraries, giving special leave to council workers who want to go on the convoy, etc.).

(e) Will ask the Great London Association of Trades Councils to give every assistance to the convoy.'

Given this resolution, it only remains to make sure it's carried out!

Thatcher's nod for Blair

LABOUR leader Tony Blair has risen above the prime minister in Baroness Thatcher's affections. Blair was a man of conviction, and 'probably the most formidable' Labour leader since Hugh Gaitskell, in the opinion of the Baroness.

In an interview with the Murdoch-owned 'Sunday Times', Thatcher said: 'He says he believes in the things he is advocating and I believe he does.'

But the Baroness's eyesight seems to be deteriorating in her old age. She saw 'a lot of socialism on Labour's back benches,' Thatcher said. But Blair was fortunately exempt from this 'criticism': 'I think he genuinely has moved.'

This comes only a week after the latest installment of her memoirs accused the Tory party under John Major of having lost its 'sense of purpose'.

Thatcher's carefully-timed words indicate that a section of the billionaire press now favours a Labour government as the best way, for the time being at least, of dealing with the working class.

A living wage — 16p a day?

PEOPLE eligible for state benefits to top up their measly earnings can be left with the princely sum of 50p extra for three day's work.

Labour MP Stephen Byers was told last week by the social security department that a married person whose partner did not earn, and who worked for 16 hours at £2.50 an hour, would receive a net income, after average rent and council tax deductions, of £84.06 for the two-day week.

If this same person went on a five-day, 40-hour week, the net income would rise 47p to £84.53.

BY TERRY BROTHERSTONE

'SMALL political earthquake. Only one dead.'

So did an Edinburgh journalist sum up last week's Perth and Kinross by-election, which left Prime Minister John Major's government within a substantial car crash of losing its parliamentary majority.

The demise of five Tory MPs, and the loss of the subsequent by-elections could now force Major to the polls well before his planned date some time in the spring of 1997.

Boring

The Edinburgh journalist was recalling the Communist writer Claud Cockburn (himself proud of his Scottish ancestry), who once won a competition to write the most boring headline to get past the editor of 'The Times' with: 'Small Earthquake in Chile. Not Many Dead.'

The political death in the constituency — the point of entry to the eastern Scottish

Highlands — was that of John Godfrey, an unspeakable 'merchant banker', described by the previous Tory MP, the late Sir Nicholas Fairbairn, as a 'clone' from Tory central office.

Godfrey's loss of Perth and Kinross for the Tories would have seemed spectacular, had it not been so widely discounted in advance.

This, said Scottish Secretary Ian Lang, with relief so obviously genuine that it showed just how desperate the Scottish Tories are, is 'the least bad by-election result of this parliament'.

The Conservative Party had fallen to third place in a seat which — if they have one — should constitute their Scottish heartland.

This is the land of the grouse-moors, to which Lord Home repaired to brush up his image by finding a seat in the House of Commons, when, in 1963, he was reincarnated as 'plain Sir Alec' Douglas-Home, appointed prime minister and Tory leader, and set to sort out the scandals and corruption of the last period of prolonged Tory government

office. And the Tories' loss of Perth and Kinross was no mere protest. It is the culmination of a trend which saw the SNP with-in 2,000 votes of the absurdly eccentric Fairburn at the 1992 general election.

Tweed

Even the fact that the SNP candidate, Roseanna Cunningham, is a leftist republican (of an Australian sort: she was raised down under) could not rally the tweed skirts and deer-stalker hats to the Tory cause.

It is unlikely, however, that many voted SNP. The nationalist vote actually fell overall compared with their 1992 figure.

Their support is mainly in the lower middle class and among workers who are actively hostile to trade unionism, or who have persuaded themselves of the possibility of a Scandinavian-style social democratic state in a nominally independent Scotland. Illusions in a European Union that is supposedly benevolent towards workers' rights also feature in such thinking.

Labour's candidate, Douglas Alexander — a sharp-featured Blairite clone — seems to have been the main beneficiary of the Tory protest vote.

Somewhat superior intelligence and a commitment to Scottish devolution were the only things distinguishing him from the Tory. Apart, that is, from having the supportive presence of Blair himself on two separate occasions during the campaign.

The Perth and Kinross victory for Roseanna Cunningham might serve to dilute the political hypocrisy of the Palace of Westminster with a drop of Scottish republican rhetoric.

But it neither means that the SNP has become a republican, far less, a socialist party, nor that the Scottish 'people', far less, the Scottish working class has turned nationalist.

What it does suggest is, first, that the British party system which (with one major shift when Labour took over from the Liberals) served the British empire well from the 1860s to the 1970s is now in a major crisis. A Tory meltdown is no lon-

ger unthinkable, and not just in Scotland.

Second, Blair's hope that he could find a little bit of 'middle England' in the heart of Tory Scotland — although he was disappointed on this occasion — is a further indication that he was not just playing games with Clause Four.

A Labour Party of Douglas Alexander, peering beneath the Perthshire kilts to see what services it can offer, is not the organisation which, from 1918 to 1995, fed off, and sustained, the hopes of the British working class in reforming capitalism, into a system of social justice.

Organise

Workers and socialists — irrespective (though respectful) of their diverse cultural backgrounds — will have to get together and organise something much better.

Perth and Kinross was, indeed, only a small political earthquake. But it seems increasingly probable that it was a tremor arising from a seismic shift.

'These crimes must stop'

PETER FRYER (right) was one of those invited to speak at the Africa Liberation day rally in Trafalgar Square, last Saturday (see story, front page). We print below his speech:

HERE in Trafalgar Square we are at the very heart of what used to be called the British Empire.

In order to grab for profit as much African cotton, rubber, and palm oil as possible, Britain ruled large swathes of Africa by force of arms for many years.

Those colonies were conventionally coloured red on the map — appropriately so, since their soil was stained red with the blood of African resistance fighters.

So what better place could there be than here, within sight of the Houses of Parliament, to remember that there are two diametrically opposed traditions in the British labour movement in relation to Africa?

One tradition dates back rather more than 100 years, to the time of the 'scramble for Africa', when all the major European capitalist powers were sharing out the loot. This was a tradition of support for British imperialism in its African conquests.

When the Labour Party was formed in 1900 (as the Labour Representation Committee), there were many in it who thought the British working class would greatly benefit from British rule in Africa.

And indeed certain certain privileged sections of British workers did gobble up those crumbs that fell to them from the rich men's table.

When Labour first formed a government, in 1924, they appointed as Colonial Secretary the railway workers' leader J.H. Thomas. And the first thing he said when he walked into his office was: 'I'm here to see that there's no mucking about with the British Empire.'

This was a racist tradition. It saw Africans as savages or, at best, as child-like people who had to be led by the hand along the long road to civilisation.

But there has been another tradition, too: one of opposition to imperialism, opposition to racism, and support for liberation movements in colonial countries.

This other tradition, in whose name I am proud to speak here today, goes back 200 years, to those far-off days when the British working-class movement was in process of formation.

In the 1790s one of the members of the first radical working-class organisation here in London, the London Corresponding Society, was the Nigerian Olaudah Equiano, an Igbo, a former slave, a leader of the anti-slavery movement, and the author of an autobiography that was for years a best-seller in this country.

Hanged

A generation later, a Jamaican called William Davidson, secretary of the newly formed shoemakers' trade union, was publicly hanged and decapitated for his part in the so-called 'Cato Street conspiracy'.

In the same period another Jamaican, the seafarer Robert Wedderburn, leader of a socialist group in London, was jailed for blasphemy after calling for a simultaneous revolution by the white poor of Europe and the

black slaves of the West Indies.

A generation later still, the Chatham-born tailor William Cuffay, son of an African slave on the island of St Kitts and the leader of the London Chartists, the first mass political organisation of the British working class, was transported for life to Tasmania for 'levying war against Queen Victoria'.

So Africans and people of African descent played a prominent and worthy part in the formation and early development of the British working-class movement. All the more reason why we who honour that tradition and speak in its name should stand shoulder to shoulder with our African comrades in their struggle against the destruction and recolonisation of Africa and its peoples.

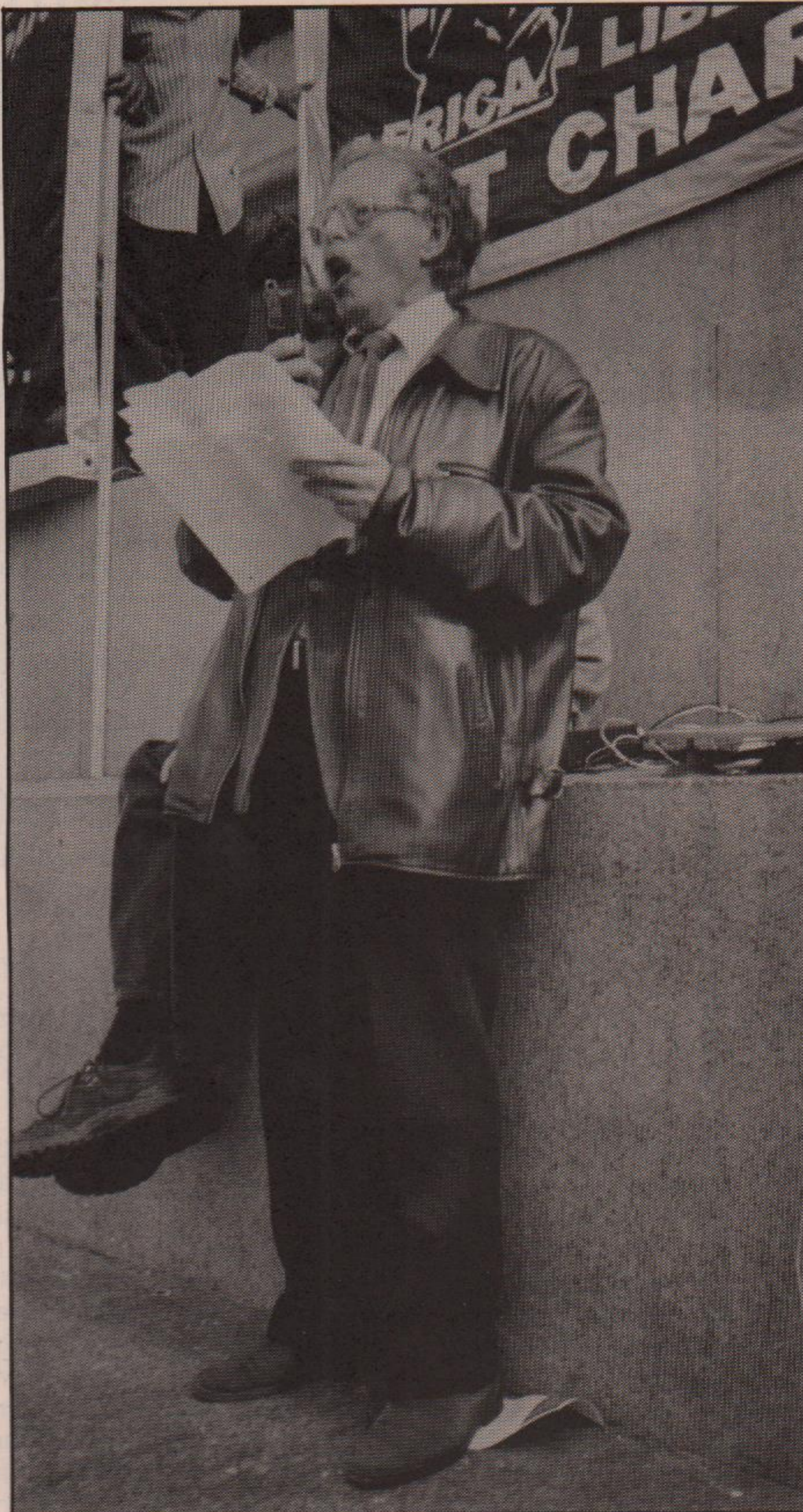
We must and we shall protest untiringly against the sale of arms to dictatorial African regimes. We must and we shall protest against British support of corrupt and tyrannical military dictators.

We must and we shall protest against the robbery and exploitation being perpetrated in Africa by British-backed multinational corporations. We must and we shall protest against British state terrorism directed towards refugees and migrants.

We must and we shall protest, with every fibre of our being, against the murder by police and fascists of Africans and people of African descent in this country.

These crimes, these atrocities, must stop. And it is the clear duty of the British labour movement to put a stop to them.

We of the British working-class movement have a duty of solidarity to our African brothers and sisters. We must, and we shall, do our duty.



Peter Fryer makes his speech at the Africa Liberation rally

United's Ince nearly stitched up

BY ROBIN BURNHAM

MANCHESTER UNITED footballer Paul Ince was found not guilty on 24 May at Croydon Magistrates' Court of punching a spectator and making threatening gestures.

Ince has always said he was innocent of the charges and the evidence presented at the court confirmed this.

The match in question, Crystal Palace v. Manchester United, was covered by the BBC, Sky TV and countless photo-

graphers from various newspapers. No photograph or film-clip was presented showing any punch.

Two policemen near the scene didn't report one either. Of 14 witnesses called, 13 didn't see the alleged punch, including a Crystal Palace fan, Mr Fisher, who was only five feet away from the alleged victim, Denis Warren. Only one witness, a Crystal Palace steward, said 'I think I saw a punch'.

The fact that there was a court case to begin with was due solely to the police — Warren didn't press charges!

When Ince was questioned by police he said there were witnesses to support his 'I'm innocent' stand. These included 'Greater London Sport' journalist Richard Turner.

Turner was in the press box on the night of the match. He rang South Norwood police station several times to offer a statement. He was told that everyone who was in the press box — some 63 people — would be interviewed. In the event, none were interviewed!

Turner — plus Lee Clayton ('Daily Star') and Rob Shepherd ('Today') — testified that Ince

hadn't hit anyone or gestured towards the crowd. No journalist that Turner had spoken to on the night had seen a punch.

The police 'record' of Turner's telephone call claimed that he had said the Ince case was 'a police fit-up'. Turner denied saying this in court, and added that what he had said was that he was concerned about the lack of interest shown by police.

But the question remains. How many less celebrated cases are there where police push through a case lacking any real basis, and which don't get the support that Ince got!

WORKERS PRESS IS THE PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Please send me information about the WRP

Name date.....

Address

Trade union (if any) Age (if under 21).....

Send to: PO Box 735, London SW8 1YB

Inside left

Pointer and powder

In 1976, an Italian magazine printed what it claimed was a page from a secret handbook used within the Lockheed aircraft corporation, ascribing code names to politicians. Various world leaders, from Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands to Japanese ex-premier Tanaka, had already been accused of taking kickbacks from the corporation.

The codebook story was reported by Reuters international press agency. 15 British Labour politicians were said to figure in Lockheed's book, named 'Pointer' and 'Powder'.

This didn't necessarily prove anything. Lockheed might have needed the code to note that 'Powder' was absolutely unbribable, or warn that 'Pointer' wouldn't tolerate corruption. Anyway, call it caution, call it scuples, but newspapers here wouldn't touch the codebook story. What helped determine me was a call that morning from a well-known lawyer's office.

Evidently Lord Goodman, who died recently, had that effect. And now his best celebrated client has gone, ex-time minister Harold Wilson, or, as Lockheed supposedly called him, 'Pointer'. Why they'd have called him that, I've no idea, though I guess ex-foreign Secretary George Brown might have been called 'Powder', as he seldom stayed dry.

Academic detachment

CLIFF SLAUGHTER's articles on Japan have reminded me that US occupation authorities and Stalinists shared the theory that this highly-industrialised country remained a feudal society. Ruth Benedict's book 'The Chrysanthemum and the Sword' (1946), begun as a project for the US Government's Office of War Information, claimed class warfare was unknown in Japan. The US anthropologist said democratic elections would at best 'peripheral to Japan's reconstruction as a peaceful nation'.

In 1947 Benedict launched the Columbia University Centre for Research in Contemporary Cultures, with money from the Office of Naval Research (ONR), which oversaw US intelligence before the CIA was established. Her colleague Margaret Mead called: 'There was to be a place for people with unusual talents... each... selected for who he or she was...'

Among them was Mark Zborowski, former agent of Stalin's GPU implicated in the murder of Trotsky's son Leon Sedov. The ONR funded Zborowski's study on Jews in eastern Europe ('Life is With People'), as well as Dr Philip Zimbardo's research on behaviour in captivity. Zborowski's research on 'Cultural Components in Responses to Pain' was published in 1953. That year the CIA launched its 'Ultra' project on brainwashing. It is full of coincidences.

Man all right back

The man who would be Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) general secretary, Tony Blair's protégé Mark Dromey, must have wondered at the fuss was about when the miners decided to send their son to the Hampton Oratory school.

Dromey and spouse Harriet Harman (Labour's shadow employment secretary) had chosen the same snob school for their sprogs. Sounds just the way to understand ordinary union members' worries about their children's education. It's said most Labour 'modernisers' wouldn't know the T&G from G&T.

Charlie Pottins

Labour and right-wing trade union leaders, along with members of the ruling class, see in Japan's 'business unionism' the secret of that country's economic 'success'. Such class collaboration is supposed to be the result of the suppression of a general strike called by Japan's industrial unions early in 1947 by the US occupying forces, commanded by General MacArthur.

Using information in a little-read book, 'Japanese Workers and the Struggle for Power', by Joe Moore, published in 1983 by the University of Wisconsin, CLIFF SLAUGHTER argues in a two-part article that a revolutionary situation in Japan in 1946 was defused by a lack of revolutionary leadership and the betrayals of the Communist Party and that understanding of this betrayal is vital for comprehending the current collapse of Stalinism.

Last week, Slaughter motivated the need for this study in the light of the fall of Stalinism and described the struggle of the Japanese workers up to the collapse of the government in April 1946. This week, he goes into the role of the Communist Party in defusing the revolutionary situation and how its conceptions and aims were almost identical with those of the US

The Japanese Communist Party's fifth congress

WHAT ROLE did the Japanese Communist Party play, faced with the revolutionary developments described last week, this great mass movement of the working class, this crisis of the ruling class?

On 26 February 1946 the JCP held its fifth congress, and carried a main resolution which speaks for itself:

'The JCP has as its present goal the completion of our country's bourgeois-democratic revolution, which is progressing at present by peaceful and democratic methods.

'Therefore, it is not the case that the party is insisting on abolishing the capitalist system in its entirety and on realising the socialist system at once. The party will try to realise the following...

'Nationalisation of the property of war criminals and the dissolution of monopoly capital. Strong control over big capital by a management council system in which workers will participate, the complete unification of financial institutions, and transfer of these to the control of the people's republic. Freeing medium- and small-scale businessmen from the unjust interference of monopoly capital and the bureaucracy, and securing of freedom of business operations for them.

'We anticipate the heightening of the general efficiency of industry by employing a system of management councils. We will check the collapse in all branches of industry by readjusting the entire system of production and giving it balance, and by assimilating the products of industry through improving the life of the popular masses....

'6. Establishment of a minimum-wage system for salaried people and workers sufficient to stabilise their livelihood. Equal pay for equal work. The 7-hour-day work system (maximum 8 hours). Protection of working women and youth. Institution of social insurance including the perfecting of the factory law, unemployment insurance, and old-age pensions.

'Control by labour unions of the rationing of foodstuffs and other essentials for living. The strengthening of the management-council system. Establishment by the constitution and labour law of workers' rights.'

Moore comments: 'The JCP decided the national organisations for the working class ought to be the unions and the parties.

'The workers' council in the form of the production-control struggle committee no longer had a place; in its stead, the party endorsed the formation of a management council system through which workers would "participate" in management but not control it.

'The distinction is vital since it revealed the JCP's genuine rejection of the revolutionary tactics of building a

soviet system capable of seizing political-economic power....

'Moreover, the party now regarded the unions and the labour-management councils more as a means to stabilise and increase industrial production and bring efficiency to the existing system than they did as arenas of class struggle.

'The workers were to shoulder the burden of a capitalist reconstruction but were not to challenge the capitalist managers for control of industry.'

Interview with CP leader

Moore records that SCAP (the US occupying authority) interviewed Nosaka (leader of the Communist Party) on 11 February about the new policy.

They reported his views on party strategy as follows: 'The old party strategy was "infantile sickness" but that period has passed'.

The report of the interview continues: 'Immediately after the surrender and especially after the release of political prisoners, communist strategy was not efficient.

'Shiga and Tokuda (the CP leaders before Nosaka's return from exile) were over-critical of the Socialist leaders and others, doubtless as a result of their long imprisonment, but they are... [now] convinced of the necessity for working with other people. [Nosaka doubts if they have changed their opinions, but says they have learned tact] — communist ideology hereafter will remain grounded on Marx.'

In the same report the SCAP officials note that 'Nosaka objects to the Social-Democratic programme as being too far in advance of Japanese conditions'.

SCAP official Harry Emerson Wildes sent a confidential study to the State Department in Washington:

'It is evident that the CP is seeking to build a reputation as a party of effective force applied in a lawful and even conventional fashion. It is also evident, however, that unless the CP holds private convictions at sharp variance from the published aims, its programme is not as revolutionary, nor even as advanced, as that of certain of its rivals.'

Another report, this time from the SCAP Labour Division, noted: 'The Japan Communist Party will discourage strikes....'

'Army of liberation'?

ALL through this period the Japan Communist Party welcomed the US army of occupation as an 'army of liberation' whose role was to help ensure the triumph of democracy over defeated Japanese fascism.

Moore explains the 'democratic' policy followed by the United States occupiers:

'From an American point of view, what could be better than furthering US international economic interests

through the democratisation of Japanese society?

'Effecting a partial transfer of economic and political power to farmers, workers and the urban middle class, and small- and medium-sized businesses promised permanently to cut the *zaibatsu* [the great Japanese business monopolies] and their government allies down to size by erecting internal barriers against the continuance of cheap labour that had been a central element in the *zaibatsu* rise to international economic power in the inter-war period.

'In fact, the US intended to attain its economic interests in Asia by forcing completion of Japan's bourgeois-democratic revolution.'

What is striking is that this 'completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Japan', by which Moore summarises the aims of US imperialism, was the declared programme of the Japan Communist Party!

The Mitsubishi Bibai miners

ONE ARTICLE cannot include all the workers' struggles which belied this programme in the decisive period of early 1946.

Their content can be appreciated from Moore's description of how one of them began, the strike and 'production control' occupation carried out by the miners of Mitsubishi Bibai.

'Almost as if purposefully contradicting the plans of the right and the left to chart the workers' course for them, the miners at Mitsubishi Bibai in Hokkaido seized their mines in February, put their employers before a "people's court" (*jimm'in saiban*) and made them answer for their past crimes.

'Far from following any party line, the miners at Mitsubishi Bibai seem to have heeded the example of successful production control of their counterparts at Mitsui Bibai [it was the Mitsui production control strike, in response to a pit closure, that initiated the revolutionary period of the movement, from 13 March to August 1946].

'The bare facts of the Mitsubishi Bibai situation were simple enough. The coal miners' union that was set up on 4 November organised the workers of the Mitsubishi Bibai mines, all told about 5,000 strong.

'On 10 November the union sent a package of largely economic demands to the company that were not completely satisfied by the company's reply on November 12.

'As a result of a successful strike in mid-November, the miners gained a very substantial increase in total pay, in the form of a basic wage plus allowances.

'When the government published its new, upwardly revised standards for total pay per worker recommended for the coal industry in mid-December, the company discovered that it had been paying the miners a rate higher than the new standard.

'Thereupon the company proceeded unilaterally to deduct the

Secret a h



Japan's post-war business success

"overpayment" from the workers' December pay and on the same grounds also abolished the special allowance for daily attendance at the mines....

'Since the company's action threatened the miners' livelihood, the union hardened its position. It submitted a list of eight demands on 7 January.'

When these demands were rejected by the company, the occupation and production strike began.

In 1945 the miners' union, like others, had started out with economic demands like those included in the above summary, but in the initial programme of the union can be found commitments to achieve greater productivity through class collaboration, and calls for 'equal' relations between labour and capital.

'Even the independent unions,' says Moore, 'exhibited a strong tendency toward labour-capital collaboration.'

Moore remarks that this 'suggested what was going to happen when it became clear that the leaders of business and government had no intention of recognising the workers' demand for an equal partnership in industry.'

What is brutally clear from the historical record is that when this did indeed happen, and the working class left this consciousness behind and moved into action with organisations and initiatives that challenged capitalist property relations, the Communist Party's 'Marxist-Leninists' (that is, Stalinists) played the role of holding back class consciousness, of tying the working class through parliamentary democracy to capital,

et of Japan's 'success': idden history — part 2



...cess came from the 1946-47 revolutionary defeat, with destruction of their unions and victory of the monopoly capitalists

all in the name of 'completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution'.

They did this in the face of a mass movement which was still growing in May 1946 (and did not actually die down until August), and which had been recently joined by the farmers, whose 'Food Council' had been treacherously corralled by the political parties earlier in the year but now re-emerged alongside the workers' control movement on a large scale.

The turn to defensive trade unionism, May 1946

EVEN the betrayal of the workers' struggles by their own parties, the capitalist class was able to overcome the fall of the government and the subsequent month-long political crisis, a crisis in which the Communist Party as well as the Socialists used the production control strikes only as pressure to get a place in government.

In these circumstances, the intervention of MacArthur and the occupying army to ban the strikes proved decisive. The reactionary forces, not only in the ruling class but in the trade union and Socialist Party bureaucracy, were thereby strength-

ened, and the workers had no alternative but to pull back.

This setback, and not the general strike of January 1947, was really the high point of the post-war struggles in Japan. Trade union defensive activity now became the main arena of working-class struggle.

A far-seeing and 'rational' ruling class would have concurred with the occupying authority and seen this change in the situation as the opportunity to change its strategy to one of collaboration through the trade union and labour bureaucracy, with economic controls and a social welfare programme.

But the big Japanese capitalists at this point stuck firmly to the line of restoring in full the basis of their pre-war power and success: monopoly (*zaibatsu*) power in an economy free of government controls and intervention, using the advantage of cheap labour as the basis of an export drive into world markets.

Thus the new Yoshida government immediately mounted an offensive against the unions, and ruthlessly stepped up the use of state resources to refinance the *zaibatsu*.

The result was that throughout the second half of 1946 the workers through their unions reacted with a wave of strikes, for trade union rights as well as for economic demands.

By October, the government was forced to reconsider its strategy, and proposed a joint recovery programme to the right-wing unions and the Socialist Party.

The latter were more than willing

to cooperate, but, while Yoshida accepted the need for controls and a measure of planning, he refused any extension of trade union rights.

In November, December and January the workers in the public sector unions led a great wave of strikes, which soon threatened to bring about a complete economic breakdown and made the ruling class fear a generalised workers' revolt.

In this situation the January call for a general strike finally put an end to the SCAP's role of pressuring the Japanese rulers to compromise with labour.

MacArthur's declaration threatening to settle the dispute through use of the occupying army was decisive, and the strike was called off.

(It should be noted that MacArthur and SCAP had as early as June 1946 denounced the 'production control' strikes, making it clear that what they favoured at that point was a US-style trade unionism strictly in the framework of capitalist democracy.)

'Enterprise unionism'

BETWEEN the banning of the general strike January and February 1947 and 1950, the existing industrial unions were smashed, and Japanese 'enterprise unionism' came to dominate.

Inside the industrial unions, from

1947, the right wing was organised in 'democratisation leagues' backed by the employers, and very soon 'second unions' emerged, with sole recognition.

In 1948, anti-union laws were imposed against the public sector unions. These laws gave the employers the power to carry out mass sackings, on the grounds that rationalisation was necessary for national 'recovery'.

And, in 1949 and 1950, a wholesale purge of trade union leaders at all levels was carried out.

Conclusion

THE FACTS of the revolutionary capacity of the working class of Japan speak for themselves in Moore's account and analysis. Because the revolutionary opportunity of May 1946 was lost (in fact, it was betrayed), the working class was forced to fall back on defensive struggles and organisations, with the eventual result, given the relationship of forces, of destruction of their unions and the victory of the monopoly capitalists. It was in this way that the basis of the Japanese post-war business success was laid.

The Japanese working class was not defeated in a revolutionary struggle carried through to the end against capitalism, but betrayed by the Stalinists and led away from the battle when victory was possible — a pattern repeated more than once in the international class struggle in the

following decades. It is the task of Marxist historians to place these struggles in the whole context of the history of capitalism's late development in the particular conditions of Japan.

What stands out — especially in the light of the necessity for the working class today to rearm itself with a definitive reckoning with and overcoming of Stalinism — is the role of the Japanese Communist Party, as part of the international orientation of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the post-war 'settlement'.

For the Stalinists, the 'liberating army' of US imperialism was facilitating the victory of democracy over fascism, the 'completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution'.

Even opposition elements in the Communist Party at no time based themselves on the revolutionary nature of the workers' councils, seeing them as no more than a source of pressure for strengthening the trade unions.

Of the challenge to capitalist private property, nothing. Of preparation for the struggle for power which the 'production strikes' inexorably implied, nothing.

All doubts and 'opposition' hesitation within the Communist Party ended with Nosaka's return from exile on 10 January 1946. On 14 January came the declaration:

'The Japanese Communist Party fears for the country, loves the country. We do not intend to plunge it into violence, but will work to improve and stabilise the people's livelihood...'

'It is essential that all democrats who have chosen the same aims form a democratic popular front.'

And on 22 January:

'The party is demanding a people's republic but this does not at all mean the formation of a soviet government.'

Henceforth the key words in the Communist Party's slogans were 'the lovable Communist Party' and 'peaceful, democratic revolution'.

This was the international Stalinist apparatus and its faithful servants in the Communist Parties at work. The same line was repeated in one country after another.

As an 18-year-old in the Young Communist League in Britain — and an avid reader of Marx, Engels and Lenin — I remember vividly the incredulity of me and some of my comrades when Communist Party secretary Harry Pollitt's 'How To Win The Peace' appeared, with its message of 'peaceful, parliamentary roads to socialism'.

We fought many wordy battles over this, but little did we know that, in the name of this cynical bureaucratic myth, the revolution in Japan was being buried for half a century.

It is time to salute the working class of Japan and to renew working-class revolutionary internationalism.

In 1996, we in the Workers International intend to do this by celebrating and commemorating the great revolutionary struggles of the Japanese workers in 1946, and we call on Marxists in Japan to collaborate with us in this task.

Stalinism has collapsed. There have been and will be no 'peaceful, parliamentary roads to socialism'. There could not be 'socialism in one country'.

Armed with the lessons of this history, the working class will reconstruct in struggle its international class movement, and at the centre of this fight will be the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

The sound of genius

PERSONAL COLUMN

known children's song that my Anglo-Brazilian grand-daughter always sings along with.

Mostly however these quartets are an original reworking, by an educated and front-rank musical intelligence, of Brazil's samba and choro, lundu and maxixe, batuque and modinha.

To many, in this sorry age of cultural watertight compartments, chamber music spells boredom, elitism, and pretentiousness. But the quartets of Villa-Lobos set the feet tapping with their infectious and often complex dance rhythms, just as they wrench the heart with the poignant beauty of their slow-movement melodies.

Those who prefer the colour and variety and drama of the full orchestra shouldn't miss six of the nine suites known collectively as 'Bachianas Brasileiras' (1930-45), one or other of which is sometimes to be heard on Radio 3, though not very often.

Four of these are scored for symphony orchestra, one for orchestra plus cellos, one for piano

NEARLY 40 years ago I used to spend every Wednesday evening working with Tony Banda in the printshop behind Clapham High Street, putting the 'Newsletter' to bed.

Tony had the job of arranging lines of lead type in columns, setting the main headline by hand, and locking all the type securely in a metal frame called a chase (whereupon that type became a forme).

Nostalgic though I feel about that archaic technology, I have to admit it was extremely time-consuming, as often as not we didn't finish until midnight.

But we passed the hours pleasantly enough in chatting about our respective cultural enthusiasms; and it was from Tony that I first heard about the music of the Brazilian composer Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1959), which he greatly enjoyed.

I regret now that I didn't soak myself in that music, as he repeatedly urged me to do.

I have two excuses, both pretty poor: first, that in those days comparatively little of Villa-Lobos's vast output was available on disc in this country; second, that I was then an ignorant and rather arrogant jazz-lover for whom 20th-century music had to be improvised, not written down, if it was going to be worth listening to.

Tony was right, and I was an idiot. Since I first went to Brazil nine years ago, I've been making up for lost time by listening to as much Villa-Lobos as I can.

The other week I finally completed, after several years, my collection of his 17 string quartets on CD, beautifully and almost flawlessly recorded by the Danubius Quartet.

And now I'm listening to the complete cycle over and over again, one each evening just before going to bed. Apart from the 7th (1942), which lasts 38 minutes, they're mostly quite short; they're extraordinarily varied, in mood and method of construction; and they range pretty well over the whole of the composer's career, from 1915 to 1957.

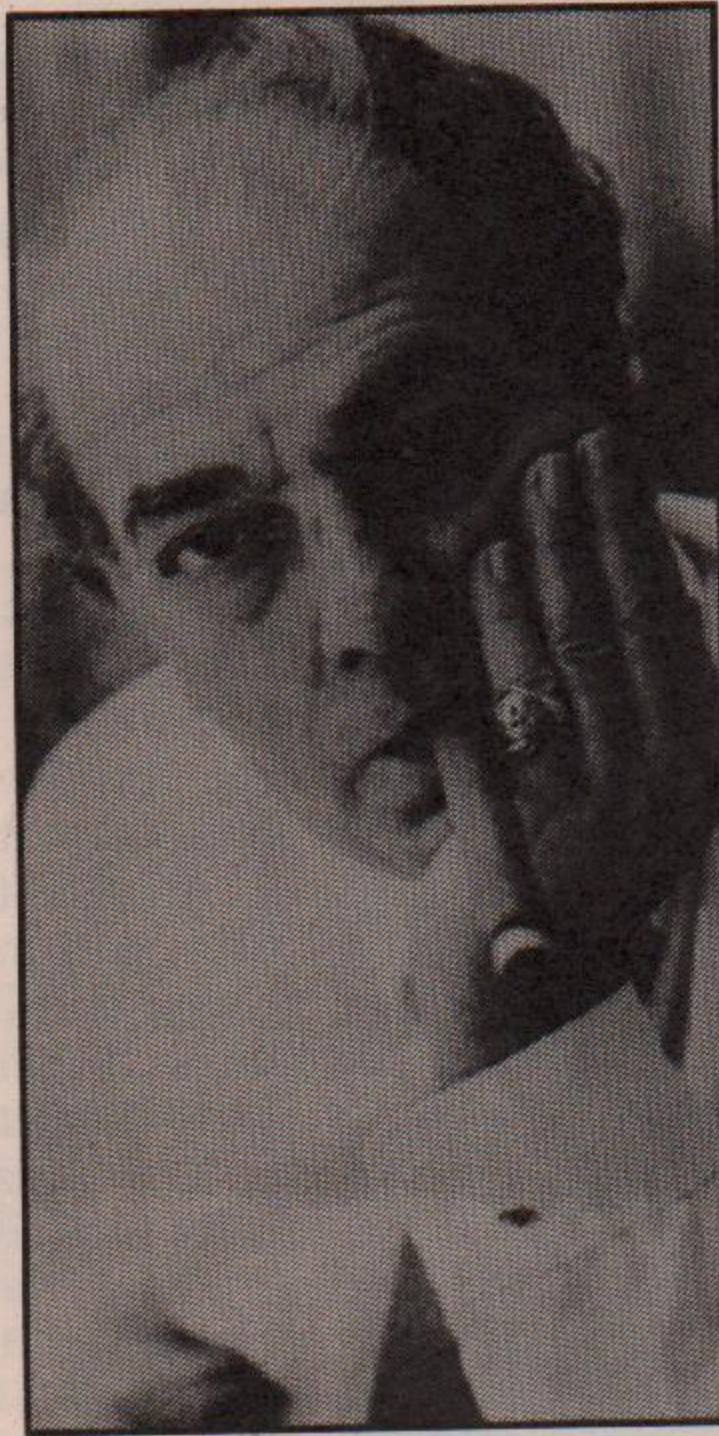
I love to write quartets. You could say it's a mania; Villa-Lobos confessed in the year before his death. And these 17 quartets show that he was a genius who towers above all other 20th-century composers with the single exception of Bela Bartok.

ANYONE who has heard any Brazilian traditional or popular music realises straight away that this is Villa-Lobos's main source. Between the ages of 18 and 25 he travelled all over Brazil with touring theatrical companies, listening to the diverse folk music to be heard in that vast country.

(He was later to claim that he had explored every single tributary of the Amazon; but no doubt that was one of his celebrated tall stories, like the one in which he claimed to have rescued a friend from a gigantic carnivorous plant by playing a saxophone he just happened to have with him, whereupon it opened up and disgorged its human prey.)

As a young man, too, he played the cello in a small group that entertained in cafés and music-halls. And this grounding in Brazil's traditional culture, with its unique blend of African, Amerindian, and Portuguese influences, can be heard in almost every note of the 17 quartets (and there's always a plum part for the cello, an instrument for which Villa-Lobos had a special fondness).

Unlike many modern composers, though, he rarely quotes 'folk tunes' directly. The only exception is the 5th quartet (1931), which is full of them, including a well-



Heitor Villa-Lobos

and orchestra, one for string orchestra, one for cellos and soprano voice, and one for flute and bassoon alone.

Here Villa-Lobos pays homage to Johann Sebastian Bach, one of his early loves, brilliantly using the techniques of 18th-century counterpoint and fugue to fashion a very 20th-century — and very passionate — musical statement of 'Brazilianism'.

ONE OF the strangest things about this larger-than-life composer is how shamefully neglected his music is today. Even, sad to say, in his own country, where most young people are simply unaware of the treasury of songs and other works that poured from his pen.

For those interested enough to visit it, however, there is a fascinating Villa-Lobos Museum in the Rio de Janeiro district of Botafogo.

In Britain, I suspect, the problem is that Villa-Lobos wasn't a European, and our musical 'establishment' has never been able to take non-European music seriously. Brazil is 'where the nuts come from', and it stands to reason that a composer born there has little to offer us save exoticism.

Listeners to 'world music', however, would surely enjoy a CD of Villa-Lobos songs arranged by the guitarist Antonio Madureira and sung by Teca Calazans. This includes 'Trenzinho do Caipira', one of the best musical imitations of a steam train ever composed.

Let's forget labels. Villa-Lobos wasn't a 'classical' composer but an original who eludes all pigeon-holes. How I wish I'd taken Tony Banda's advice and started listening to his music 40 years ago!

Peter Fryer

Bosnia

Defending Europe from fascism

The following is the text of a speech made by FARUK IBRAHIMOVIC, who is currently organising the Tuzla Trade Union Convoy that is leaving in late July, to a rally of the Fire Brigades Aid Section in Trafalgar Square on Sunday 28 May.

The firefighters are raising funds to buy an armoured truck to take goods across Sarajevo airport, which is under constant fire from the Chetnik extreme Serb nationalists.

DEAR FRIENDS,

I come from Tuzla, an industrial town in north-east Bosnia where Muslims, Croats and Serbs still live together. Many efforts have been made by Chetniks, the United Nations and the international community to divide the Bosnian people along ethnic lines.

Such a division will never bring peace to the suffering people — as they claimed in their peace plans — but hatred and never-ending war.

Alone — without weapons and under an unjust arms embargo — the Bosnian people manage to defend themselves successfully against such attempts.

Chetniks have burnt down many villages. They besiege, strangle and shell very frequently towns, killing innocent people.

They have destroyed a vast number of different industrial plants and almost all historical and cultural non-Serbian monuments on the territories under their control.

They have raped, they have been expelling Muslims and Croats. They have run many detention camps. They have committed such atrocities never seen before.

The children of Tuzla, in their New Year's message last year, appealed to the world to wake up before it was too late. Their voice was not heard.

Inactive

Europe and the international community remain silent and inactive.

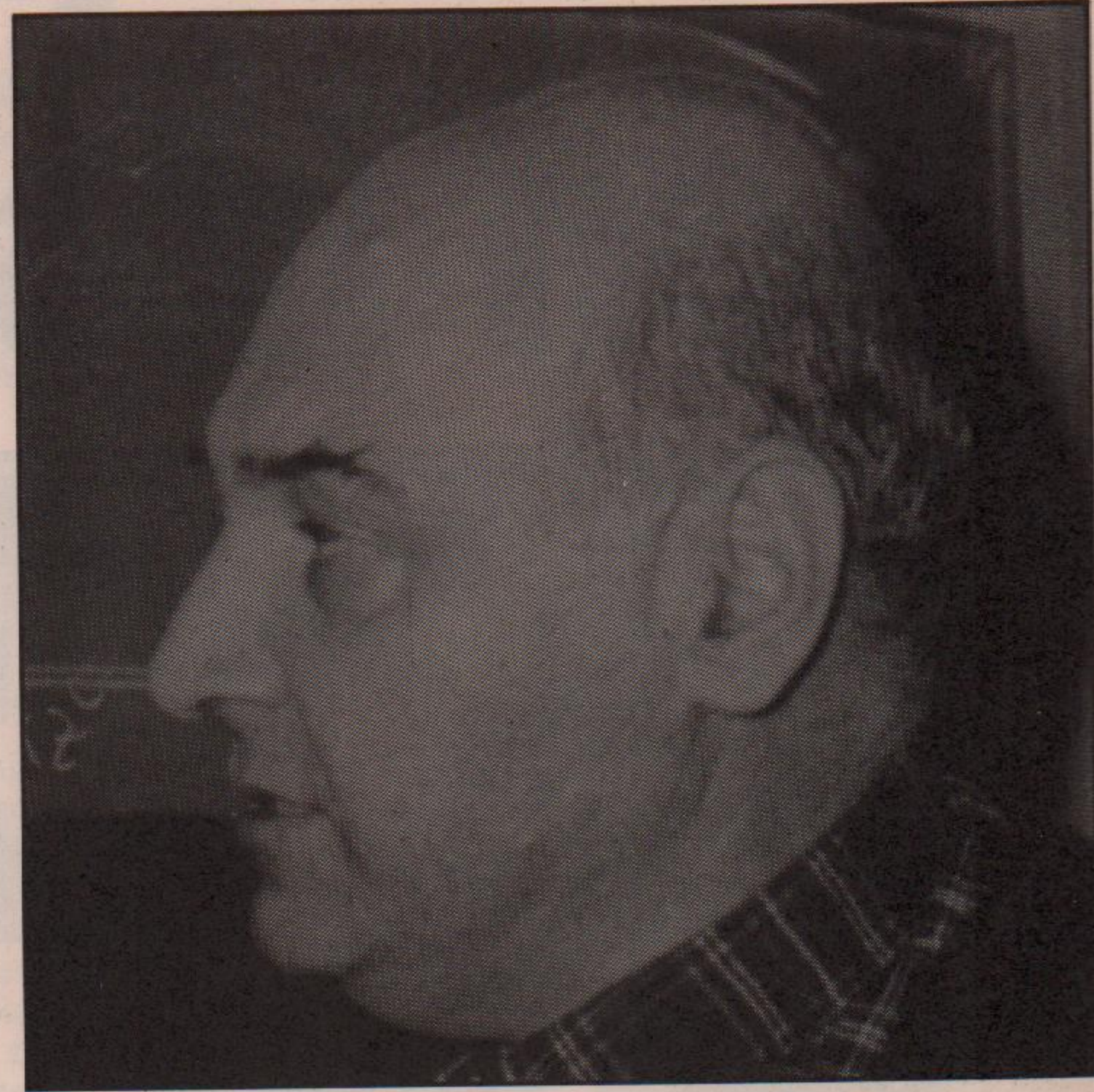
Not long ago the 50th anniversary of the defeat of fascism in Europe was marked. Not a single word was said about the growing Chetnik fascism in the Balkans. In defending ourselves we Bosnians are defending Europe as well.

If we Bosnians are defeated, that bitter victory of fascism may give encouragement to nationalists everywhere in the world.

Tuzla and Bosnia gave to the world people of international reputation as painters, musicians, sportsmen and sportswomen, writers.

Tuzlan and Bosnian miners expressed their solidarity with workers everywhere in the world and responded to their appeals.

Now they are in the situation



Faruk Ibrahimovic from Tuzla in north-east Bosnia

of having to appeal to you — raise your voice aloud and everywhere stop this Chetnik rampage.

This is not a civil war, not a religious war. It is an aggression against two other peoples, against humanity.

Tuzla lost 72 citizens in a second on Thursday 25 May. The victims were teenagers, civilians, sitting in cafés enjoying a drink or just chatting with friends.

How many innocent people have to be killed to make Europe, the international community and the Great Powers understand who is the aggressor and who is under a constant threat.

Some response was received from ordinary British people, like the firemen here today. With this kind of solidarity we can really defeat fascism — but we must act today, tomorrow could be too late.

Ex-miner calls for help for Tuzla

Tuzla District Committee of Trades Unions: Workers Aid Convoy to Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 1995.

An open letter to the National Union of Mineworkers, its members, former miners, and their supporters inside and outside the mining communities from former Lancashire miner and ex-National Union of Mineworkers executive member Billy Pye.

COMRADES and friends,

No one in Britain can now be unaware of the continuing war in the former Yugoslavia.

The British media's reporting of the war has, to say the least, been at best selective and at worst, and usually, been full of half truths and lies.

None of us who have been involved in the fight to prevent the destruction of our coal industry need any convincing of what the media in this country is capable of.

We hear 'stories' of a war centred on inter-ethnic dispute, a war which has the broad support of the Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian Muslim people.

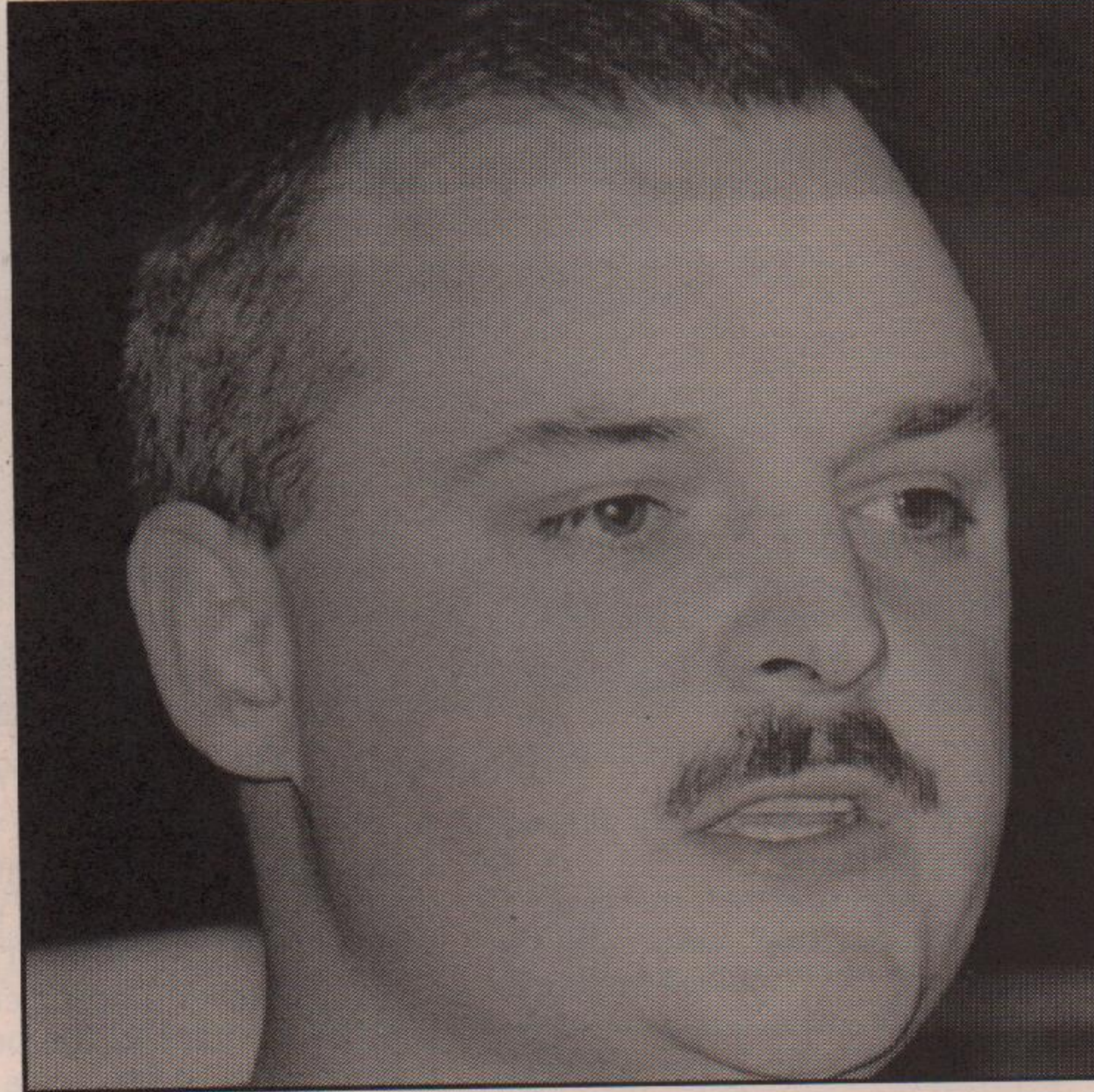
This has been the justification for a whole string of 'peace plans', some authored by former friend of the Union of Democratic Miners, Dr David Owen, based on carving up the former Yugoslavia along ethnic lines with the objective (at least the stated one) of keeping the warring factions apart.

The actual facts of the war are numerous and complex, too complex to go into here, but it is not true that the war has the support of the mass of the Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian Muslim people.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Tuzla region is a prime example of a multi-ethnic community doing its utmost to resist the war.

In Tuzla, people from all the so-called ethnic sides in the war continue to live together and are fighting to maintain their community against the war and external pressures of the worst kind; pressures aimed at forcing the people of Tuzla to accept ethnic division.

We can perhaps empathise with a community fighting to defend itself, we have our own experiences in this respect, but we can



Ex-Lancs miner and NUM executive member Billy Pye

little imagine the tremendous hardship and suffering that these people experience each and every day in their struggle.

Almost constant hunger and the constant fear of sudden death from sniper and mortar attack are ever present for them without respite.

In recent months, trade unionists from Tuzla have visited Britain for two principal reasons.

Firstly, to report to people here on the true facts about the war, the conditions of life in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and on the struggle to maintain a way of life and life itself.

Solidarity

Secondly, the trades unionists from Tuzla have visited Britain and many other countries seeking practical support and solidarity for their struggle from people in general and from the labour and trade union movement in particular.

Over the last two years Workers Aid for Bosnia have organised several convoys of material aid for the Tuzla region which have had sections of the workers movement from many countries throughout Europe, including Britain, represented on them.

These convoys have provided the material aid which the Tuzla trade unions have requested, al-

though the aid thus far provided has only scratched the surface compared to the amount of aid which is required just to feed the people of Tuzla in order to avoid starvation.

The convoys have also served another important purpose, and one which has been reiterated by every single Bosnian that I have heard address meetings and who I have talked to.

Namely, the need for people from other countries to see for themselves what life is like in Bosnia-Herzegovina, so that the truth about the situation there can be brought back, thereby defeating the media's misrepresentations of the war and the whole picture.

The next convoy to Tuzla — this time organised by the Tuzla District Committee of Trade Unions itself — will leave Britain in the latter part of July.

The Tuzla region has many industries, but the main one, and the one which is of crucial importance to the people of the region, particularly at the present time, is the mining industry.

At present the miners in Tuzla are continuing to operate their industry, albeit at much reduced capacity, working without wages in very poor conditions, so that power can be provided to local schools (all the schools are in dark

basements now) and local hospitals, as well as to provide some coal for domestic use.

The power supply in Tuzla is far from continuous, but the mining men and women recognise the crucial importance of the work they continue to do in holding their whole community together.

Neither constant hunger, thirst, and fear of death has so far dented their resolve in defending their community from ethnic division and the war.

Resist

The question remains, however, as to how long the miners of Tuzla and their families, as well as the Tuzla people as a whole, can continue to resist without ever increasing assistance from outside.

The United Nations stands by while the community is bombed and starved into submission; the Western 'peace makers' have nothing to offer the people of Tuzla other than ethnic division and thereby forcing the community into the war.

Whilst it would be foolish to suggest that the labour and trade union movement in Britain could somehow intervene in the war itself, it should not be beyond it to respond in a united way to the pleas for help brought to Britain on behalf of the people of Tuzla by the trade unionists who have been here in the recent past.

Some unions have now begun to respond by helping to organise the collection of money and food aid for the July convoy, but there is still much to be done.

I personally will be going to Tuzla in July and I hope that with the circulation of this letter that other miners and former miners will join with raising support and money for the July convoy in their own communities.

Further to this, if enough people within the mining communities respond to this call, an would consider actually accompanying the July convoy to Tuzla, lorry or two specifically from mining communities could form part of the convoy.

With this objective in mind, would like to hear from anyone an individual, or any NUM branch or area willing to help in raising support for the July convoy, and/or from anyone who would consider going with the convoy itself.

For further information, Billy Pye can be contacted on 0152 843512.

Dirty laundry

THE CHIEF investigative officer of the Customs and Excise in Britain, Richard Kelloway, last week drew attention to the latest United Nations estimates suggesting that \$300 billion is 'laundered' annually throughout the world. Laundering means the channelling of 'dirty' money through 'clean' outlets.

More than \$1 billion is now being spirited out of Russia every month into foreign bank accounts. This is part of what the police estimate to be tens of billions of dollars a year that is being laundered by gangs in Europe as a whole.

Evgeny Ivanov, head of the foreign currency control department at the Central Bank of Russia, says that much of the laundered money from Russia finds its way into banks in London and that most is invested in profitable property in the smartest areas of the city.

The trick that the mafia and other criminals play is ridiculously simple: a fake import contract is signed, the money transferred abroad, but the goods never arrive in Russia.

Many of Russia's new commercial banks are under the control of the mafia, and being a bank director is one of the most dangerous occupations in the former Soviet Union. Both dishonest and honest bank chiefs (it seems there are a few of the latter) are regularly gunned down on Moscow's streets.

Poland is also being increasingly targeted by the launderers. Andrzej Parafianowicz, a lawyer working with central bank's general inspectorate, says that the sums involved are so great that it is impossible to even guess at their size. One problem is Poland's thriving 'grey sector' — the vast sums earned without telling the tax man; this produces a lot of home-grown money which its owners wish to disguise and if possible ship abroad.

Trade wars

THE European Union has raised the stakes in the opening skirmishes of the US-Japan trade war. Last week it threatened to contest any agreement between the two countries on a 'voluntary' plan to increase Japanese purchases of foreign car parts.

Europe's trade commissioner, Sir Leon Brittan, has warned the Japanese government that any such agreement would amount to 'managed' trade and thereby breach multilateral rules. He has informed Japan that the EU would fight the matter out in the World Trade Organisation. Germany is leading the attack on US trade policy.

'There's a lot of tension in the German-US relationship at the moment. No question,' says Ulrich Hombrecher, chief economist at the Westdeutsche Landerbank in Dusseldorf. 'The government is worried about the Japan-US row, about a bilateral deal between two such powerful economies that excludes everyone else.'

German capital is particularly concerned about any deal between the US and Japan because the falling dollar and yen, the opposite of which has been the rising D-mark, is imperilling German exports, on which any recovery from the worst postwar recession depends.

'Business confidence and export expectations have collapsed,' says Hombrecher. 'Compared with last year, German competitiveness has been drastically reduced. The mark's appreciation and the wage settlements mean that all the savings made in 1993-94 have been wiped out in two weeks.'

Many big employers are threatening to move production out of Germany to lower-cost areas. Some of them increasingly blame Bonn for their ills, charging the government with pursuing monetary probity and a strong Mark to such a degree that jobs are being lost to foreign competitors at an alarming rate.

These are some of the factors behind Bonn's charge that the US administration is responsible for the present currency chaos, which it says can only be put right if Washington gets to grips with the huge US budget deficit.

The degree of opposition to US policy in the EU as a whole was reflected in Britain's renewed condemnation of the US move to impose 100 per cent punitive tariffs on Japanese luxury car imports, saying that this was contrary to international trade rules.

US Commerce Secretary Ron Brown last week declined to say whether he had obtained legal advice that the US move was contrary to WTO rules; he would only say that he had received 'mixed views' on the matter.

It was only dogged resistance from the US representatives that stopped last week's meeting of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in Paris from carrying a resolution denouncing the sort of measure that the Clinton administration is seeking to impose on Japan.

'Foreign ratholes'

THE UNITED STATES should stop pouring money down 'foreign ratholes' according to Senator Jessie Helms. Foreign aid is a luxury the United States can no longer afford, says Helms, chairman of the Senate foreign relations committee.

A bill is now nearing completion in the House of Representatives that would cut back by 20 or 30 per cent the amount of US foreign aid over the next seven years.

Attacking the move, the 'Financial Times' said that foreign aid — which US imperialism more or less invented after 1945 — had been a 'singularly effective way' of furthering long-term US economic and political interests.

Aid was used as a means of gaining markets and it also provided a profitable outlet for the export of capital. Aid also gave rich pickings for the local stooges of the European and US imperialists, with much of the aid going straight into their pockets.

But the move to slash such aid programmes, expressed particularly among the Republicans, is an indication that the imperialists no longer see any possibility of retaining their grip in the old way: direct, brutal, rule is what they are increasingly turning to.

World slowdown

THE world's 25 leading industrial countries will see slower growth and higher inflation rates than was forecast six months ago, according to the West's leading economic think-tank.

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development said that the weaknesses of the Japanese and Mexican economies had forced it to scale down its forecast.

Thanks to a host of phoney 'job creation' schemes the OECD is able to predict some slight drop in the level of unemployment, from its current 34 million mark. But OECD secretary-general Jean Claude-Paye warned that a long-term solution to joblessness still remained the key issue facing the West.

Threadneedle

Harold Wilson: defender of British ruling class.

THE sickly tributes that flowed in following the death of Baron Rieuvaux, formerly Labour prime minister Harold Wilson, were not unexpected.

Thus fellow member of the House of Lords, Baroness Thatcher, praised Wilson as 'one of the country's most skilful politicians and a superb parliamentarian.'

She added: 'I always admired his wit and often appreciated his kindness. His death is a loss to all who knew him.'

Lord Hailsham, one of the most conscious members of the ruling class, was not far behind her. The former Tory Lord Chancellor said: 'I was on good terms with him. I had no reason not to be. He was always very courteous to me.'

Former cabinet colleague of Wilson, Tony Benn, added his two

pennyworth of praise: 'When people look at the balance of his contributions, it was enormous to Britain and the recovery of our industry.'

Yet in his Diaries 'Against the Tide' this same Tony Benn could write of the 'unsavoury, disreputable' character of Wilson's 1976 Resignation Honours List that saw ennobled a group of 'inadequate, buccaneering, sharp shysters'.

Such are the principles of this doughty defender of the British 'parliamentary tradition'.

Present Labour leader Tony Blair got in on the act: 'This brings to an end a life of extraordinary service both to the country and to the Labour Party. . . . He faced many challenges and did so much to create the kind of fair and just

society to which he always aspired.'

A 'fair and just society'? In a country where a handful of parasites are making millions out of privatisation and murky share dealing while the number of homeless grows inexorably and poverty returns on a scale that many thought never possible?

Staunch

This heap of praise came for a man who throughout his life was a staunch servant of the ruling class and the 'British way of life'.

Wilson gave unstinting support to the US's brutal war against the people of Vietnam. He had the most 'special relationship' with Lyndon Johnson who became US president following the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963.

East Timor: 20 years of murder by proxy

BY ALLAN HETHERINGTON

THIS year marks the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian government's invasion and occupation of the independent state of East Timor.

In that period the Indonesian army, with weapons supplied by the British government, has murdered 350,000 men, women and children out of a total population of under 1 million people. It has laid the country waste and stolen the natural resources of East Timor.

All this has been done in defiance of at least 10 United Nations resolutions demanding Indonesian withdrawal. None has been followed up by any concrete action. The UN refuse to recognise Indonesia's sovereignty claim.

The UN allows these crimes against humanity only because the western 'democracies' have huge investments in Indonesia.

The quick absorption of East Timor into Indonesia meant one fewer country to deal with, as well as providing the groundwork for Indonesia's friends to exploit East Timor's oil reserves. At least two British companies are involved in this.

The British government is Indonesia's largest suppliers of major weapons systems — Hawk jets, naval frigates, missile systems and Scimitar and Scorpion light armoured vehicles.

Weaponry

Much of their infantry weaponry is supplied by the British-owned companies Heckler and Koch and Royal Ordnance. The rest of the arsenal is mostly supplied by Germany and the US.

Five months before the Indonesian invasion the British embassy in Jakarta advised London that it was 'in Britain's interest that Indonesia should absorb the country as soon and as unobtrusively as possible.'

The western 'democracies' are the worst kind of hypocrites. Just look how fast they rallied to Kuwait — an undemocratic government, but friendly.

The Timorese have shown incredible resilience to the constant repression they suffer.

By 1979 Indonesia thought it had wiped out the resistance movement but it was reformed, against all odds, under Xanana (Shanana) Gusmao.

In recent years the civilian resistance has strengthened its resolve, as was most bravely shown in the demonstration of 12 November 1991.

Thousands of Timorese civilians gathered at the Santa Cruz cemetery in the capital Dili to protest against the Indonesian occupation.

Killing

Indonesian troops opened fire without warning, killing at least 273 people. Like so many victims of the occupation, their graves have never been found.

The wounded were taken to the military hospital. Some were killed by having acid injected into their blood stream. This was too noisy, so the rest were killed by being forced to swallow formaldehyde capsules.

The people of Indonesia have suffered just as much. In the last 30 years some 1,000,000 so-called communists, 10,000 Muslims, 150,000 Aboriginal peoples of Irianjaya (West Papua New Guinea) and many people just suspected of committing a crime have been murdered.

There are now approximately 3,000 to 6,000 people in re-education camps in Indonesia.

In 1980 Xanana Gusmao was captured. Although a prisoner of war he was sentenced to life imprisonment by an unfair, unlawful, Indonesian trial.

The Indonesian dictator, President Suharto, tried to appease international concern in



April 1993 demonstration against British Aerospace

1993 by reducing Xanana's sentence to 20 years. The Timorese people still recognise Xanana as their leader despite his imprisonment.

Many governments profess political solidarity with East Timor but shy away from supplying the people of East Timor with the weapons and equipment needed to avert complete genocide.

The latest massacre occurred on 12 January 1995 in the small village of Gariana, 30 miles west of Dili in the Liquisa district.

A major gun battle took place between the armed resistance and Indonesian troops. The clash, one of the biggest in years, confirms that Timorese army activities are far from over.

Some 60 Timorese, including the Field Commander Konis Santana, were involved. One was wounded, and later died due to the lack of medical supplies.

The Indonesian troops sustained six dead and two wounded. Their anger at this prompted the killing of six civilians.

The six victims of the massacre were: Jose Nunes, kampung head; Abel Nunes, a relative; Augusto Pinto Nunes, his son Victoria; Americo Araujo; and Osario Soares.

The Labour government under Wilson gave the US administration full access to the experience of the British in fighting a jungle war against the people of Malaya.

Wilson would undoubtedly have committed British troops to the war had he felt he could have got away with it.

It was the same Wilson who took the first steps in introducing legislation against the trade unions.

Brought forward as a White Paper, Barbara Castle's 'In Place of Strife' was only defeated because of opposition from the trade unions and divisions in the cabinet, where the crafty James Callaghan, realising that such laws could not at that stage be passed, resisted the introduction of laws against the unions.

Wilson gave unstinting support to the US's brutal war against the people of Vietnam. He had the most 'special relationship' with Lyndon Johnson who became US president following the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963.

World-wide child labour — 200 million under-14s at work

CHILDREN in India work in carpet factories in conditions reminiscent of those in Britain at the beginning of the industrial revolution, says a report by the Indian Operations Research Group.

A child might work from the age of nine, crouched in a mud hut before a loom, from 7am till sunset. One ten-year-old said that his father had sold him to a loom owner for £12.50.

Three out of four Indians live in rural areas, on land-holdings which are shrinking in each generation, and many are in a desperate situation and cannot support

their families. The IORG says that there are 55 million child labourers in India, working outside the family, for an employer.

The situation is by no means unique to India, although the biggest concentration of child labour is in the Indian subcontinent.

Two hundred million children world-wide, aged 10 to 14, are working in dangerous and unhealthy jobs, reports the International Labour Organisation.

As in Britain in the 1830s and 1840s, loom owners prefer to employ children because their thin nimble fingers work the looms

more efficiently than those of adults.

The results are as devastating as those reported in the 1833 Factories Enquiries Commission report in Britain — badly damaged hands, weak eye-sight from long hours in dimly lit rooms, and stunted growth from years of sitting in crouched positions.

Loom owners justify employing children, as they did then — on the grounds that the alternative in prevailing conditions would be worse for the children.

Despite protests from various children's rights organisations

and other groups the situation looks to be worsening.

The Indian Operations Research Group estimates that there will be over a 15 million increase in child labour in India by the end of the century.

Many new factories are opening up to supply India's growing middle-class and the export demand.

Although they 'disapprove' of child labour, many Western firms farm out work to factories in the colonial and semi-colonial countries because production costs are lower.

South Africa strike moves

FROM SOUTH AFRICA

THERE is big movement building on the ground here. The trade union federation COSATU has called a general strike for two days given the current deadlock in negotiation on the new Labour Bill.

Mass actions have been called for 6 and 19 June. Previously such actions have taken the form of demonstrations converging on major city centres and delivering memoranda to government offices.

But this time the plan is to fax the memoranda beforehand and converge on the govern-

ment offices to demand answers!

The national COSATU campaign committee is pushing to broaden the action by working with other union federations and independent unions like NACTU.

The bosses are pushing a hard line on the Labour Bill. They want the right to dismiss if workers take unofficial action. They are also taking a hard line on redundancy payments.

They want what is called 'co-determination' or 'social partnership'. What this means in reality is the removal of workers' right to strike. The bosses want a situation where they can dismiss workers or breach con-

tracts and the workers then can't take strike action. Some 'partnership'!

The Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International (South Africa) is calling for national and regional workers' summits organised by all the unions in the various regions and sectors and with the participation of progressive workers' parties, community organisations, etc.

Workers' committees should be formed — controlled by the workers themselves and not the trade union and labour bureaucracy.

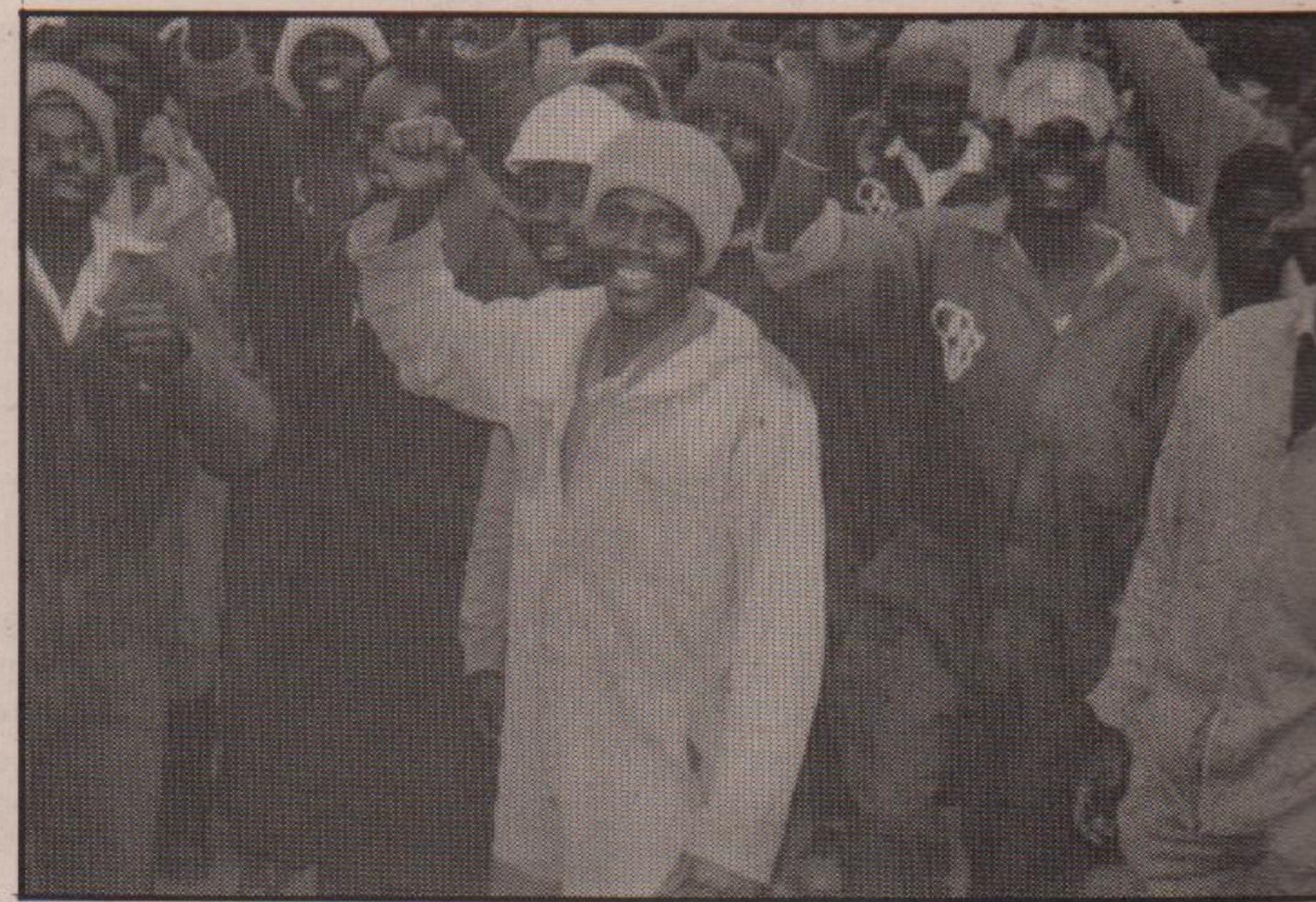
The Workers International is planning a series of leaflets on the situation in South Africa.

A chemical workers general strike has been called for 8 June although bosses have been given 'one last chance'. The chemical dispute is over wages and centralised bargaining.

Among the wages struggles underway is that by engineers who are demanding the closing of the apartheid wage gap.

After the Anglo-American Vaal Reefs gold mine disaster on 11 May, killing 104 miners, the National Union of Mineworkers conveniently forgot its demand for all unsafe mines to be nationalised.

This tragic disaster makes clearer than ever the need for nationalisation of all South African mines.



South African miners

From Iran to Serbia, via Greece

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

BRITISH and French imperialists have combined hypocritical UN sanctions, which hit ordinary Serb civilians, with an arms embargo to render the Bosnian people defenceless against their enemies. UN sanctions have not stopped Serbia receiving arms, jet aero-engines, or more recently, oil-drilling equipment.

Claiming Serbian President Milosevic wants to ditch his nationalist allies in return for easing of sanctions, the UN turned a blind eye while his government continued supplying arms and equipment to its proteges.

To supplement British weaponry provided through the Yugoslav National Army, Serb forces in Bosnia have Russian missile batteries. Serb Chetniks have been reinforced by Russian volunteers, fascist Zhirinovskiy supporters.

But the British government and its friends in the media assure us the best hope for peace in Bosnia is President Yeltsin exercising his good influence on Belgrade.

Doubtless Yeltsin will be able to point to his experience in making peace in Chechnya.

The Greek 'Socialist' government, which has pursued its own economic sanctions against Macedonia, announced in February that it was launching a diplomatic initiative with four other states to persuade the United Nations to lift sanctions against 'Yugoslavia'.

Its efforts have found support in surprising quarters. Visiting Tehran late last year to sign an agreement on combatting 'terrorism', smuggling and drug traffic, Greek Public

Order Minister Stelios Papatthemelis spoke about 'the threat of Turkish expansionism' to Greece and Iran.

An official communique said: 'The Iranian side welcomed Greece's initiative on the Bosnian crisis and stressed that Tehran shared an identity of views with Athens.'

The visit coincided with talks in Athens between the foreign ministers of Iran, Greece and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It was revealed in April that two oil rigs had been shipped from Iran to Serbia in violation of UN sanctions. The goods arrived in the Greek port of Salonika on 20 February, aboard an Iranian ship, the Ershad.

Altered

The shipping documents said it was oil-drilling equipment destined for Bulgaria, then Russia. After the equipment reached Bulgaria, the documents were altered to describe the cargo as hydrological research equipment, destined for Macedonia. Its real destination was Serbia.

There are oilfields in the north of Serbia and in Serb-held eastern Slavonia (Croatia), which the Milosevic regime could use to lessen its dependence on imports, and render UN sanctions even less effective.

Acting on CIA reports, the US government tried to stop the shipment, and the European Union was asked to intervene, but about 1,200 tons of equipment had been trucked over the border into Bulgaria before the

Greek authorities interfered.

Officials said they had allowed it through, because the documents were in order for it to go to Bulgaria. (Had the equipment been marked for Macedonia, the Greek authorities might have stopped it, as they refuse to recognise the Macedonian republic and have prevented it shipping through Salonika.)

The documents listed the shipper as Canadian Triton International, based in Calgary, Alberta. It is owned by Vladimir Katic, a Serb who emigrated to Canada in 1966.

Company spokesman George Duchesne said Triton had leased the two rigs from a Yugoslav company in 1992 and used them in Iran for a year. At the end of that time, Duchesne said, they belonged to Yugoslavia again. 'It's theirs. Is there a problem with their bringing their own stuff home?'

The Iranian government denied any knowledge of the equipment, which was more than 100 truckloads, valued at \$4.9 million, and shipped on an Iranian ship.

Perhaps if the cargo had included works by Salman Rushdie the ayatollahs might have paid more attention!

Since it was only vital equipment for a regime that was murdering Muslims, the Iranian Foreign Ministry declined to comment.

So much for the Iranian regime's claims to be a friend of Bosnia, or leader for the world's Muslims! Money talks louder than fatwas.

Fear behind Karadzic's desperate gamble

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

BEHIND its slaughter of Bosnian civilians, and upping the ante in its game with the UN by taking troops 'hostage', Radovan Karadzic's Serb nationalist regime in Pale, occupied Bosnia, is desperate to halt the collapse of morale among the people it claims to represent.

It is probably no accident that the Serb nationalists targeted Tuzla, in northern Bosnia, for one of the worst atrocities of the war, the mortar-bombing of a cafe area killing 70 young people.

Tuzla, with its multi-cultured working-class tradition, symbolises everything these reactionaries hate.

Dr Karadzic, the barbarian who destroyed Bosnia's national library and chose rape and mass slaughter as methods of war, is a psychologist by profession. He knows how to handle Western diplomats, having been well-advised by some of their associates.

Lack

But although Karadzic's forces had the advantage of starting this war, and having the big guns, which gained them two-thirds of Bosnian territory, they lack superiority in numbers.

Whereas the Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) army includes soldiers and commanders from all backgrounds, the Serb Chet-

nik army of 'ethnic cleansers' consists, naturally, of Serbs alone. And it can't rely on them.

'All Chetniks are Serbs, but not all Serbs are Chetniks!', as a young woman BiH officer reminded Workers Aid for Bosnia comrades in Tuzla last year.

As many as 200,000 Serbs have remained in Bosnian-government-held territory, and there are Serbs among the defenders of Tuzla and Sarajevo.

Many people have mixed families. They don't want their country or their children's future carved up by fascists like Karadzic.

About 500,000 Bosnian Serbs have left to get away from the war. They have been continuing to leave, not as refugees from Muslim nationalism, but quitting Serb nationalist-held territory.

There are 350,000 of them in Serbia, from where many have gone abroad.

Karadzic has sought to have young men forcibly returned for his army.

'If Serbia would only return our deserters, we would finish off the war in two months,' he declared with his usual braggadocio. His soldiers aren't so sure, especially after the BiH army gains on Mt Vlasic and elsewhere.

'I don't intend to sit in muddy trenches for the rest of my life', ... I don't want to die for any stupid nationalist goal,' says Nedjo, a soldier in the Serb nationalists' army.

'I want to live normally like my generation in the West. ...

The first chance I get, I'm off over the border.'

'I sat here with my best friend only a week ago. Now he is in Canada. ... I found it out only when he phoned me from there yesterday, revealing his secret,' said Dragan Milic, Serb soldier near Sarajevo.

It was reported in April that another 50,000 people, mostly young and educated, had applied at various embassies in Belgrade for emigration visas.

Reputation

Canada had the reputation of being the most willing to take them.

'Everyone here is secretly talking about America and Canada. ... Especially young people who see no end to this dirty war,' says Milos Spajic, in Iliđa.

'Many of our boys no longer want to fight for those thieves at the top. ... If this emigration trend continues, our leaders will be the only ones left here. ... Stupid me. They will certainly be the first to leave if it gets real hot,' says Mirjana, a nurse in Pale.

Taking British and French UN soldiers hostage could well prove a gambit, designed to open the door for the imperialists to negotiate with Karadzic while the capitalist media breathe a sigh of relief that they can forget the people of Bosnia.

But if the UN can forgive the war criminal Karadzic, Bosnians, including many Serbs, will not.

Workers Press
SUBSCRIBE
to the socialist weekly that tells the truth

Please send me
 10 issues for £5.60
 50 issues for £27.60

INTERNATIONAL RATES: Europe and Near East, £7.70 for 10 issues, 50 for £38.50; Americas and India £12.70 for 10 issues, 50 for £63.50; Australia, Japan and E Asia 10 issues for £13.70, 50 for £68.50.

Name

Address.....

I enclose £..... for my subscription, and
 an extra donation of £.....

Make cheques, POs payable to Workers Press, PO Box 735, London SW8 1YB.

Paris ID card fury: Arab and Jew unite against racist police

BY DAVID DORFMAN

ARABS and Jews joined forces against police violence and racism in Paris last week, after more than a dozen people had been injured by baton-wielding riot police at the weekend.

Demonstrators in the Belleville quarter said the riot police had shouted 'Dirty Jew' or 'Dirty Arab' as they attacked local people. Belleville, a working-class area, is home to many Arabs and Jews of North African origin, among others, and has popular cafes and restaurants.

The trouble began on Friday evening, between the Muslim and Jewish sabbaths, when police went around ticketing parked cars.

Using new laws entitling them to demand identity cards, they bundled a young man into their van, roughing him up because he could not produce his card. 'They acted like animals,' he said.

As local passers-by, mainly families out for a stroll, intervened, some 200 riot police charged wielding batons.

'I arrived when they charged, hitting out at women, old people and babies, Jews and Arabs alike,' said local council-

lor Gaston Sayada. 'They seemed motivated by hate'.

Sixteen-year-old Virginie Sultan said police had grabbed her brother Mark by the throat, forcing him up against a shop front.

Witnesses

'I shouted at them to stop and they replied: "Ta gueule, sale Juive (shut your gob, dirty Jewess)"'. Other witnesses said they heard police shout similar racist remarks at Arabs.

On Monday evening police kept a relatively low profile as crowds gathered to demonstrate in Belleville. Watched by

families from their flats, young people carried placards saying 'Arabs, blacks and Jews unite' Jewish students chanted 'Police everywhere, justice nowhere'.

Belleville people see the weekend attack as an assault on their community. They also know it is not just a one-off incident.

Paris police have a history of racism, from rounding up Jews for Hitler, to murdering Algerians in the 1960s, with many a brutal incident along the way. The identity-card laws, which have already led to a pattern of abuse, seem to be the signal to return to their old ways.