



# BOSNIA FIGHTS BACK!

**BOSNIAN forces have been hammering the Serb-nationalist Chetniks who brought bloodshed, destruction and torture to the country. They have taken the offensive to break the stranglehold on Sarajevo, and widen the way through to industrial Zenica and Tuzla in the north.**

They surrounded two Serb-held suburbs of the capital, and brought Radovan Karadzic's 'government' headquarters town of Pale under fire.

Near Tuzla, where 71 people were slaughtered recently when Chetniks shelled a cafe area, Bosnia and Herzegovina troops, including Serbs opposed to the fascists, shelled Chetnik positions in the Majevica hills.

True to form, the Chetniks have replied by targeting civilian areas. On Sunday, 18 June, they scored a direct hit on a ruined school on a Sarajevo housing estate, killing seven people who were collecting water from a well, and wounding 26.

Hrasnice, a working-class suburb on the 'wrong' side of Sarajevo airport also came under fire.

Sarajevo has been under siege for three years, its citizens deprived of food, fuel, water and electricity supplies, and regularly subjected to murderous shelling and sniper-fire.

## Fiction

The United Nations Protection Force no longer maintains even the fiction of 'safe areas' and 'exclusion zones'. The UN's 'safe areas' are the most dangerous places in Bosnia. Its heavy weapon 'collection points' appear to be points from which Chetniks can collect heavy weapons —

## BY CHARLIE POTTINS

such as French armoured vehicles with 90mm howitzers — and use them to fire on Sarajevo.

The UN's food airlifts into Sarajevo have been stopped for ten weeks, and aid warehouses are empty except for hospital rations. Rather than intimidate people, as the UN might have hoped, this has spurred them to force the way through for their own convoys.

United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who earlier this year seemed convinced Serb nationalists had won, appealed to Bosnian prime minister Haris Siladzic on 15 June to hold back Bosnian troops who were massing north of Sarajevo, and give the UN and great-power 'contact group' another chance. Siladzic cut short a visit to Washington, saying the Bosnian army had to protect Sarajevo.

Earlier, vice-president Ejup Ganic had pointed to Serb tanks

and cannons gathering near the capital, and warned Bosnians would defend their supply routes. A food convoy which had been stopped heading for Zepa was handed over to Chetniks by UN forces. It was becoming clearer than ever that only the Bosnian's own forces will protect them.

## Summit

At the G7 summit of great power leaders, France's new right-wing President Chirac warned Bosnians against fighting to regain their country. This is the same Chirac who insists that France's 'Defence' requirements entitle it to poison everyone else's countries by testing nuclear weapons! Yet Britain's John Major agrees, threatening 'all sides' impartially. Bosnians were threatened with 'catastrophic' consequences.

President Alija Izetbegovic was not impressed. 'The world has been doing nothing to prevent an obvious catastrophe,' he

said in a radio broadcast on 15 June. 'Under these circumstances our army was ordered to prevent the further strangulation of the city, and preventive measures are under way.'

After French and German ambassadors urged 'restraint', Izetbegovic said the Bosnian offensive would be called off if the Chetniks withdrew heavy weapons, eased the siege, and accepted 'contact group' peace plans. But so far as most Bosnians are concerned, the fight to liberate Bosnia has just begun.

Well-supplied by the rump Yugoslav army and its allies, while the Bosnians suffered the imperialist arms embargo, the Chetniks are nevertheless increasingly demoralised.

The Bosnia and Herzegovina army, drawn from all nationalities, and defending its people, is showing an impressive fighting élan. It is this which is most worrying the great powers who wanted to carve up Bosnia. We must warn that their 'rapid reaction force' is a rabid reactionary force!

If differences among the powers, and within the US ruling class, lead to the embargo falling down, so much the better! Any people is entitled to arms to defend itself.

In a war against racist divisions and the barbarity of 'ethnic cleansing', the working class movement cannot be neutral. We take sides with the workers of Bosnia who are defending their unity.

**Their fight is ours. Their enemies are our enemies.**



A victory for these Bosnian soldiers fighting against fascism is a victory for everyone

## 'Peaceniks' rally to save warmongers

'BIG names' of the British 'peace' business have joined old Stalinists and openly right-wing supporters of Serb nationalism in a sudden flurry of concern about the war in Bosnia.

After three years watching the Bosnian people raped, butchered, and 'ethnically cleansed' by Radovan Karadzic's fascist Chetniks, these phoney — who either kept silent or supported Serb nationalism — have set up a 'Committee for Peace in the Balkans'.

They say they're against 'outside military intervention'. Maybe some people have mistakenly signed for that reason. But they favour the UN's 'humanitarian' role. They urge what they call 'the international community' — the imperialist great powers — to 'maintain the international arms embargo with respect to all sides'.

It's not hard to see why. The Bosnian people are fighting back and, despite the enemy's heavy superiority in weapons, they're winning. The Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) army, representing a multi-ethnic people and its elected government, has regained ground near Tuzla, Travnik, and Sarajevo.

Fed up of the UN's treacherous promises and 'protection' racket, the Bosnian people say they will liberate their own country. And Western military experts admit that, given the chance to obtain the arms that have been denied them, the Bosnians can do it.

What's more, in spite of lies and distortions put out by the British and French governments and their media hacks (notably the BBC), ordinary working people sympathise with the workers of Bosnia.

Not only for what they have been through, but because their

fight against racist divisions, 'ethnic cleansing' and reactionary barbarism is plainly our fight too. One of those who have signed the appeal for the 'Committee for Peace in the Balkans' is **Sir Alfred Sherman**. Some 'peacenik'!

Sherman's well-known reactionary views on 'alien' cultures and minorities make it small wonder he's anti-Bosnian.

A one-time Stalinist commissar in the Spanish Civil War (when he presumably opposed the imperialist powers' hypocrisy of 'non-intervention'), he is a right-wing Tory who achieved notoriety for inviting the French National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen to Britain. Sherman has persistently defended the Serb-nationalist Chetniks, and they have boasted that he's a political adviser!

## Complain

Another signatory is former CND leader **Bruce Kent**, whose previous contribution to peace in Bosnia was a letter in the 'Guardian', after 71 young people in Tuzla had been killed by Serb shelling, to complain that the Chetniks were being depicted as 'the only aggressors'.

Kent is joined by Elnora Ferguson, of the old-time Stalinist front National Peace Council, and Ron Huzzard of Labour Action for Peace.

If you've seen any of them leading demonstrations against aggression in Bosnia, or Russia's invasion of Chechnya, we'd welcome reported sightings.

**Richard Gott** is the former 'Guardian' literary editor who resigned after revelations that the KGB had been picking up his lunch tabs. Moscow 'Centre' was probably wasting its money; but

Gott's admiration for the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia has never been any secret.

**Avtar Joughl** is general secretary of the Indian Workers Association (GB), which ceased to be a mass organisation years ago, becoming a Maoist sect. It thinks Stalin was '70 per cent correct'.

**Jan Woolf**, an ex-Maoist in the National Union of Teachers, opposed strikes because they spoil Labour's chances of getting elected.

**Campbell Christie** of the Scottish TUC is listed, though only in a personal capacity; and **Ken Cameron** of the Fire Brigades Union. Maybe their views will change when they hear from union members who're going on the July aid convoy.

Members of Southwark Trades Council, some of whom welcomed Tuzla trade unionists this year, were in little doubt about **Jim Mortimer**. 'He's pro-Serb', they told us then.

The pro-Milosevic views of Merseyside MP **Bob Wareing** are nothing new either, nor were we surprised to see Tony Benn's name. Whether some of the other signatories, including Labour MPs, have read the small print, or know anything about Bosnia, we may wonder.

Last but not least, **Carol Turner** of Labour CND has cropped up in one campaign after another. During the Gulf War she advised the CND-run Committee for Middle East Peace, on who were the 'Trotskyists' to keep out.

These characters appeal to the 'international community'.

And what is this? To take just one leader of the 'international community', Chirac of France has just announced that he plans to restart nuclear testing!

## Tuzla Trade Union Convoy news

### UNISON conference receives appeal from Tuzla

MANY branches of the public sector union UNISON are already supporting the convoy being organised by Tuzla's trade union committee. After a long struggle at UNISON's national conference last week, a message was read out to delegates from the Tuzla trade union president, Fikreta Sijeric. It appealed for help and for delegates to take the 'side of an undivided people against those who wish to herd people into "ethnic concentration camps".'

We hope other UNISON branches and regions will get involved and respond to this appeal by Bosnian trade unionists.

### For a better class of neighbour — vote Labour!

LABOUR'S latest effort to demonstrate that it is the law and order party is to threaten 'anti-social' neighbours with up to seven year's jail.

In a consultation document, 'A Quiet Life — tough action on criminal neighbours', Labour spokesperson Jack Straw promised that a Labour government would crack down on noisy and what he calls 'hell families'.

The proposal was condemned by the Penal Affairs Consortium as a 'draconian and dangerous course' to take.

Donations can be sent to Tuzla Trade Union Convoy, c/o Leicester TUC, 22 West Avenue, Leicester LE2 1TR. Cheques should be made payable to 'Leicester TUC (TU Convoy)'.

Offers of help can be made to the Tuzla District Trade Union Committee (fax: 00 387 75 221 438) — or to the convoy organiser in Britain (tel: 0171-582 5462 or fax: 0171-627 8666).

Camden UNISON are collecting and storing aid and can be contacted on 0171-278 4444 ext. 2325.

Stuart Carter

### Brighton call for help with truck

TRADE UNIONISTS in Brighton are organising to put a truck on the Tuzla Trade Union Convoy in

July. Like Billy Pye, the ex-Lancashire miner whose appeal was printed in Workers Press (June), Brighton trade unionist met trade unionists from Tuzla at a meeting of Brighton and Hove trades council, earlier this year and heard a report of the everyday struggles of the people of war-torn Bosnia.

But the truck the Brighton trade unionists plan to use needs about £2,000 worth of repairs to bring it up to convoy standards.

They are therefore appealing to all Transport and General Workers Union and Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union members for donation to help with these essential repairs.

**Brian Ave**  
Brighton TGWU shop steward  
(Brighton 410352)  
**Jim O'Sullivan**  
Brighton AEEU shop steward

## Durham Miners Gala Saturday 8 July 1995

9am-11am: Miners banners and bands march through Durham

11.30am-1pm: Speakers address crowd at Durham Racecourse

3pm: Cathedral service



# Why killers go free

IT WAS a scene out of the middle ages, and it was enacted two years ago — in this last decade of the 20th century — in the quiet north London suburb of Crouch End.

Joy Gardner was trussed up like an animal. Her arms and legs were manacled and she was gagged with 13ft of sticky tape to stifle her cries of protest. In the end, her captors squeezed the breath of life out of her body.

If they had been arresting her on suspicion of some terrible crime, they could not have treated her more atrociously. But Joy Gardner was suspected merely of being an 'illegal immigrant'. Her crime was to have been born in Jamaica.

She was attacked in full view of her five-year-old son, who will carry that searing image in his heart for the rest of his life. And last week two of the police officers who killed this young black woman mouthed their thanks to the jury and walked out of the court without a stain on their characters. What stain, if any, their consciences bear it is impossible to say.

Our concern is less with these willing tools of the state machine than with the system they serve. Joy Gardner's mother has expressed her disgust at last week's travesty of justice. We share that disgust, as we share the anger of Britain's black community. But disgust and anger, however righteous, however passionate, are not enough. We need also understanding.

\* \* \* \* \*

IF THE murder of Joy Gardner had been an exceptional and isolated incident, it would be shocking enough. But it is nothing of the kind.

Eusif Ryan. Stephen Boyle. Cynthia Jarrett. Anthony Lemard. Ahmar Qureshi. Clinton McCurbin. Ahmed Katongole. Nenneh Jalloh. Anachu Anozie Osita. This is a far from complete list of black people who have died in the past ten years while in police custody or during police raids on their homes.

Remember also those victims who were lucky enough not to be killed, despite being brutally beaten and otherwise ill-treated by police: David and Lucille White, awarded £51,392 in damages by a judge after police persisted in a cover-up for five solid years (the judge said the 17 officers who raided their house had been guilty of 'monstrous, wicked and shameful conduct' in subjecting the elderly couple to 'a catalogue of violence and inhuman treatment'); Lorna Lucas, awarded £26,000 for assault, false imprisonment, and malicious prosecution; Derek Pascal, awarded £3,500 after being punched, racially abused, burnt on the hand with a lighted cigarette, and forced to repeat: 'I am a black bastard.'

Remember also that in 1979 'never let it be forgotten — a police officer killed a protester in full view of his Special Patrol Group colleagues and got away with it because nobody would identify him'.

That quotation is from a 'Guardian' editorial of 5 February 1986 which said also that the 'reality today . . . is that if any police officer commits an act of violence against a member of the public (particularly if they are black or left-wing) they will get away with it'. The editorial was headed: 'Police beyond the law.'

\* \* \* \* \*

WHAT has changed in this respect during the past nine years? Nothing whatever. The acquittal of Joy Gardner's killers proves that the British police, who regard black lives as worthless, are still beyond the law.

But what the 'Guardian' didn't say nine years ago was why this is so.

The police are an essential part of the capitalist state machine, and their main job is to beat back any challenge to the power and privileges of the rich. So they are assured of almost complete impunity, whether their victim is a white left-winger like Blair Peach in 1979 or a black 'illegal immigrant' like Joy Gardner in 1993.

The capitalist state is actively preparing to use the most brutal methods against all who dare to protest, black and white, young and old, trade unionists and unemployed. The Joy Gardner case is a warning of what they have in store for us. Let us resist with all our might.

# Letters

## Prisoners of injustice

TWO men, Abdul Qayyum Raja, now aged 38, and Mohammed Riaz, 33, were arrested in February 1984 for their alleged involvement in the murder of an Indian consul based in Birmingham.

During their trial, in 1985, the judge — noting that Riaz had unwittingly become involved — said that he was 'unlucky to have been involved at all'. The judge also accepted that there was *no hard, clear evidence against Raja* either. But he suggested that if Raja was prepared to lie to protect a co-accused he might also be lying about his own involvement.

Instead of being given the benefit of the doubt both students from Kashmir were convicted of murder — while those alleged to be responsible fled the country. Riaz and Qayyum were sentenced to 'life' with the recommendation that Riaz should serve ten years and Raja 15.

In 1988, the then secretary of state using his political discretion rejected both the trial judge's and the Lord Chief Justice's advice on the period of custody and set the 'tariffs' — the minimum period in custody — for Riaz and Raja to ten years more than what was recommended by these judges.

This was done on the basis of a 'case summary' prepared by officials who were not present at the trial.

It has recently come to light that this summary was based on incorrect, incomplete and conflicting pre-trial police and press

reports. This political decision was then kept secret for a further five years, denying the prisoners their right to appeal. It was only revealed in July 1993, as the result of a challenge in the High Court.

If the trial judge's recommended sentences had been accepted Riaz should have been released on parole in 1994 and Raja — who was a visitor here — would have been looking forward to being deported to his native country by now.

Unable to seek repeal of their original conviction, both these young Kashmiris find themselves being used as scapegoats by the Home Office for political reasons.

In July 1993, after a Lords ruling in another case, the current Home Secretary undertook to reconsider their 'tariffs', but subsequently refused to revoke his predecessor's decision — despite appeals from MPs, peers, councillors, civil rights' organisations and individuals. He failed to give a satisfactory explanation or reason for his decision. Prior to his decision in December 1993, both prisoners were asked to make representations to the Home Secretary, but vital information was deliberately withheld from them so they couldn't make informed and accurate pleas.

In December 1994, following a full judicial review hearing, the London High Court upheld their petition and quashed the Home Secretary's decision. Two High Court judges ruled that the Home Secretary's decision-making process was 'fatally flawed' and his reasons for the decision were 'woefully inadequate'.

The Home Secretary gave a

commitment to instigate a fresh review of their sentences without preconditions in accordance with the High Court decision.

Qayyum and Riaz have served 11 years in jail without knowing exactly how long they have to go. Having served the sentences recommended by the judge, they are now both prisoners of a political system that empowers a politician — and bureaucrats — in the Home Office to have a wholly unfettered discretion, contrary to Articles 6 and 7 of the European convention on human rights, and which has, in this case, resulted in a miscarriage of justice and has brought the criminal justice system into disrepute.

To double a period of custody or to add ten years onto a sentence without any justification by a politician who has not even seen the trial files and without even telling the prisoner, is grossly unfair and unjust. Both Riaz and Raja are victims of political and racial discrimination.

Messages of support can be sent to M. Riaz (C48423) and A.Q. Raja (C48348) at HMP Long Lartin, South Evesham, Worcs. WR11 5TZ. Further information can be obtained from the Free Riaz and Qayyum Campaign (FRAQC), PO Box 102, Bradford BD3 8YT.

Azmat A. Khan  
FRACQ Co-ordinator,  
Bradford

## Appeal for asylum

I'M WRITING to tell you about

my situation which is one of being in danger of death. I'm Algerian, 26 years old. I applied for asylum in Britain at the end of 1993 and I came to this country where I thought I would be safe, in a country of law and human rights.

I came here because I wasn't safe and was living in fear and in danger of torture in my country.

Now, I've received a letter from the Home Office giving me notice of deportation.

I was shocked and I still am. They want to send me back to Algeria where I have been condemned to 20 years' imprisonment. Am I — like the others before me who have been deported — to be tortured and killed? Asylum is an elementary political right.

Abdelkrim Gaya  
London NW11


## Blair 'empowered'

I WAS reading my trade union magazine recently ('CWU Voice', June), when I came across the following words of wisdom describing Labour leader Tony Blair's speech at the 29 April special conference that scrapped Clause Four and replaced it by 'New Labour's 'empowering' verbiage:

'And he [Blair] said it was more radical than the original clause: "I can be the first leader in our history to stand up and say I will implement Clause Four part four of our constitution."

Implement what?

Sean Hussey  
Belfast

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# CITY TOLD: BACK BLAIR!

**A leading Tory MP has told big business that it must forge closer links with the Labour Party leadership.**

Dudley Fishburn has urged business leaders to arrange meetings with senior Labour figures and gives advice on how this should be done.

Fishburn, MP for Kensington, says that this is vital since Labour set out 'to mend fences with the City and industry.'

Fishburn writes: 'Business, the City in particular, would be wise to build its contacts with Labour now when its bright sparks are eager to listen and learn, rather than later when policies have been set in stone.'

'Labour, scenting a spell in government, is quite right to take the business world more seriously,' he says.

Fishburn picks out Labour MP Peter Mandelson for special attention by the City. Mandelson, one of Blair's leading 'spin doctors' orchestrated Jack Dromey's campaign to sack Bill Morris as secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

Labour spokesman on City affairs, Alistair Darling is described as 'intelligent and undogmatic'. For 'undogmatic' read, 'willing to do whatever the ruling class dictates'.

## Inhibitions

Whatever encouragement the City may still need to get in bed with Blair, the Labour leaders seems to cast off all inhibitions. Their front-bench team takes advice directly from City institutions.

Many of the 'left' academics, patiently waiting for lucrative jobs as advisers to a Blair government

have been cruelly overlooked as Blair, Prescott and company head straight for the boardrooms of big business to be instructed in the ways of 'responsible government'.

Fishburn's remarks reflect the crisis in the Tory Party which increasingly accepts that it will soon be forced out of office by ever-deeper internal divisions.

Even more it reveals the extent to which Blair is now openly endorsed by a growing list of thorough reactionaries such as Lady Thatcher, leading business figures such as David Sainsbury (see this page) and even Tory MPs. They know their man.

Here is another warning for the working class: Blair and company will head a government that will be completely subservient to the needs of the ruling class. It will be a government in direct conflict with the working class.

# Doctor Death's backer swings behind Labour

**THE MULTI-MILLIONAIRE who financed the launch of the scab Social Democratic Party in the 1980s says he will probably vote for Tony Blair at the coming election.**

David Sainsbury, chairman of the grocery chain, says that if he votes at the next election, 'it is likely to be for the Labour Party'. It was Old Etonian Sainsbury who bankrolled the SDP in the 1980s but remained loyal to Lord Owen — known as Dr Death — after the split in that party which followed the merger with the Liberals.

In 1983 he handed £200 million worth of Sainsbury shares — part of a personal holding estimated at nearly £2 billion — to the Gatsby foundation which funds a variety of projects.

No doubt Blair is hoping that some of this sort of money will swell the funds now flowing from the City and big business to finance the activities of Labour's front-bench team.

## Admiration

'I have a great deal of admiration for Tony Blair. He has significantly transformed the political scene. He has brought Labour into a position where he can get a lot of people who deserted it when it swung very much to the left.'

His sentiments are not a million miles away from those of Ken Livingstone, Labour MP for Brent east. This former 'left' last week declared in the 'Guardian' his 'optimism' about prospects under a Blair government.

# In brief

## Ambulance crisis

LONDON's ambulance service is getting worse, with improvements promised after the collapse of the new computer system in 1992 still to come on stream.

Far from reaching the targeted 15-minute response time in eight out of ten calls, today's seven-out-of-ten response rate seriously over-estimates the real figures, says a committee of MPs.

This has led to cases such as that of 11-year-old Nasima Begum, who died after an ambulance took almost an hour to reach her.

## Privatisation 1

BRITISH COAL is about to declare a record £500 million-plus profit for the last year of its mining operations. This arises from the £1.6 billion debt write-off sweetener to the new private pit owners, a leaked Department of Trade and Industry memo has revealed.

The DTI fear is that the payment might break European Union funding rules.

National Union of Mineworkers president Arthur Scargill said the document showed 'the lengths to which the Government and British Coal are going to explain away the fact that the new private owners of the industry have been handed £1.6 billion of taxpayers' money.'

## Privatisation 2

THE government may have to pay back some £90 million in rail grants from the European Union that were obtained to fatten up the industry for privatisation.

Part of the money was used for extensive signalling works in the Doncaster area and the upgrading of the line to Holyhead in Gwynedd. The money from the EU was intended to create jobs in areas of high unemployment.

Henry McLeish, shadow transport minister said: 'The Government's rail privatisation programme is in disarray. It cannot be right that ministers are trying to sell off the industry at rock bottom prices on the back of the taxpayer.'

Fine words. But the Labour Party leaders refuse to renationalise the industry when they are elected to government.

## Part-time

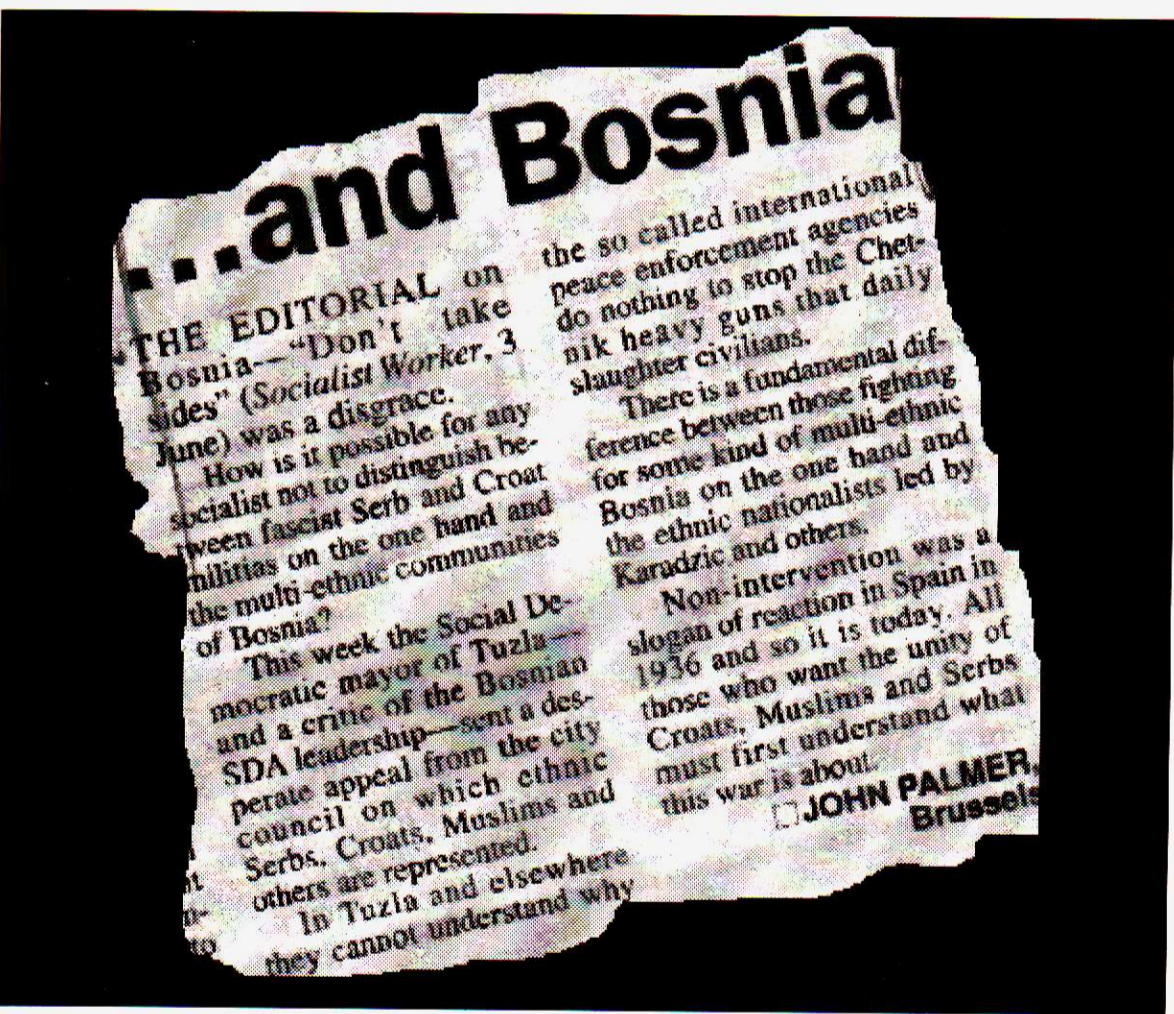
THE numbers working part-time because they cannot get a full-time job has leapt over sixty per cent in the last ten years, according to the TUC. There are now 850,000 involuntary part-timers, or about one in seven of the part-time labour force.

The TUC report also shows a strong link between part-time and temporary work. Half of all temporary jobs are part-time — up 7 per cent on last year. So more and more workers are getting the worst of two worlds — low pay and job insecurity.

Over seven out of ten forced into part-time jobs are women. In 1994 more than 600,000 were unable to find a full-time job. Ten years ago the figure was 340,000.

Forced part-time work is growing most rapidly among married men. A decade ago only 55,000 married men were working part-time. The figure today is near 350,000.

# 'DISGRACE!' — Journalist slams SWP



'Socialist Worker's' line on Bosnia, blaming 'all sides' equally for the war, has been slammed by journalist John Palmer (see left) — who used to be one of the strongest supporters of the political tendency represented by the Socialist Workers Party.

On 3 June, a week after Serb Chetnik gunners killed 71 young people in the working-class town of Tuzla, 'Socialist Worker' said: 'Don't take sides'. 'There is no "good" side in this terrible war,' the SWP paper declared, washing its hands of the matter.

'Driving Serbs from the territory they now hold will mean more massacres, more detention camps, more victims,' 'Socialist Worker' said. 'It could also bring Serbia back into the war and lead Russia to intervene on the side of the Bosnian Serbs.'

Workers Press attacked the SWP line in its editorial last week, and pointed out the similarities with what Lord Owen and Douglas Hurd have said ('Bosnia: SWP takes sides with Tories,' Workers Press, 17 June).

In a letter to 'Socialist Worker' on 17 June, John Palmer says its 'Don't take sides' editorial 'was a disgrace'.

'How is it possible for any socialist not to distinguish between fascist Serb and Croat militias on the one hand and the multi-ethnic communities of Bosnia?' he demands. After referring to the mayor of Tuzla's appeal — 'from a city council on which ethnic Serbs, Croats, Muslims and others are represented', Palmer says:

'There is a fundamental difference between those fighting for some kind of multi-ethnic Bosnia on the one hand and the ethnic nationalists led by Karadzic and others. Non-intervention was a slogan of reaction in Spain in 1936 and so it is today.'

Palmer writes from Brussels, where he is 'Guardian' European correspondent. Many Socialist Workers Party members will recognise him as a comrade who often spoke for their tendency in years gone by.

And he's not alone in his disquiet. We hear several SWP members are taking sides with the Bosnian workers, by helping the work for the July convoy.

## Psychopaths

There are suggestions (see eg. April 'Searchlight') that elements in the British state have fostered C18. An alliance between British, Russian and Chetnik fascists would mirror at gang level the more discreet contacts between governments. The lumpen thugs and psychopaths of C18 show a better grasp of political reality than the 'anti-Nazis' at 'Socialist Worker', who lamely bleat that workers should not 'take sides'.

For our part, as the Bosnian Army goes over to the offensive against the 'ethnic cleansers', we hope it will do the working class everywhere a favour by making short work of any Nazi scum it finds.

# C18 sides with Serb Chetniks

BY DAVID DORFMAN

BRITAIN'S notorious neo-Nazi thug outfit Combat 18, which boasts of its part in racist attacks and violence against left-wing opponents, has had no trouble deciding whom to support in Bosnia.

C18, as it's usually known, is supporting the Serb-nationalist Chetniks, whose concentration camps and 'ethnic cleansing' presumably come closest to what it wants everywhere. The '1' and '8' in its name represent the first and eighth letters of the alphabet, the initials of Adolf Hitler.

In the past the anti-fascist magazine 'Searchlight', has exposed neo-Nazi and right-wing mercenaries serving with the Croat militias. But in its April issue, Ray Hill, who knows the British Nazi milieu from the inside, wrote:

The hard men of Combat 18 hold an entirely different position

on the war in former Yugoslavia. They steadfastly support the Serbs and their Slavonic ultra-nationalist supporters and claim that the alliance between Croatia and the Bosnian Muslims is a blow to the future of an all-white Europe.'

Among exploits boasted by C18 were the raid on a Nottingham bookshop last year, the attempt to burn a Maidstone family home, and the brutal attack on anti-Nazi football supporters in a Chelsea pub. The Nazis wanted to assert their authority as 'hard men' at the football grounds, and were prominent instigators of the English football riot in Dublin. C18 circulates 'hit lists', names and addresses of suggested targets.

## Photographs

The current issue of 'Searchlight' features photographs of alleged C18 supporters marching with Ulster Loyalists in London on 29 April, before breaking away

to attack socialists outside the Labour Party's special conference that day. C18 sometimes works with the British National Party, but has also set up its own National Socialist Alliance, and has links to the skinhead 'Blood and Honour' cult. 'Searchlight' reports:

'The National Socialist Alliance contact list has grown international. "The Order" claims that Blood and Honour now has a section in Serbia. This is no surprise as we reported a long time ago that while most nazi mercenaries have fought for the Croats, C18's troops have been killing and torturing for the Serb ultra-nationalists.' ('Searchlight', June).

The British Nazis are not the first to align themselves with the Chetniks. Russian nationalists volunteers have been with the 'Slav Orthodox' cause from the start, when some of them made 'holiday' shooting trips to kill civilians in Sarajevo. The Russian fascist leader Zhirinovskiy visited

Karadzic, and urged Serbs and Croats to divide Bosnia between them. Italy's fascists have formed opportunist links with Chetnik leaders in the Croatian Krajina.

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# Inside left

## Arms against amnesia

THIS October the Workers Revolutionary Party will mark ten years since former general-secretary Gerry Healy and his coterie were ousted. Before that we'll see another anniversary, though: twenty years since the police raid on the Party school in Derbyshire, on 27 September 1975; the same night the 'Observer' rolled off the presses with a front-page attack on the school.

Responding to remarks by former WRP member Vanessa Redgrave, former 'Observer' journalists Robert Jessop and Colin Smith have defended their article, claiming Redgrave was unable to rebut their accusation that a young actress had been detained at the school against her will.

Referring to the 1978 libel action Redgrave and others, they wrote: 'Within the article, the jury found a verdict that they decided had not been proved by the "Observer", though that this fact was no one knows.' Vanessa's 'Still Peddling a Lie', 'Observer' letter, 11 June).

Maybe the reporters have faulty memories.

The jury found that their article contained words which were defamatory and substantially untrue (in other words, not 'facts' at all). It did not consider the reputation of the plaintiffs — leading members at the time of the WRP — had been materially damaged. The judge awarded costs to the 'Observer'.

A Leicester comrade has written reminding the 'Observer' what its former journalists appear to have forgotten. In their article on the WRP school they wrote: 'Members have been known to hint at arms caches hidden in the grounds...' ('The Red House Mystery', 'Observer', 28 September 1975). This was based on an alleged remark by Corin Redgrave to his ex-girlfriend.

The 'Observer's' then editor, Hon. David Astor, said afterwards that he did not believe there were any hidden arms caches, but thought it showed the WRP's 'hysteria'. Astor nevertheless alerted the Special Branch, setting in motion a major police operation.

Over 70 police, in 14 vehicles, descended on White Meadows (the 'Red House' name was the newspapers' invention), with metal detectors, sniffer dogs, and two portable generators to search the grounds. They were there for eight hours. Finding no hidden arms caches, they body-searched everyone instead, and rummaged through notebooks, diaries and passports of students, some from countries with right-wing dictatorships.

Derbyshire folk, whose county has had problems finding funds for municipal law-enforcement, may wonder about the cost of a Sunday newspaper hunt. 'Observer' editor Astor, since he came to the happy witch-hunting grounds, had the right contacts. Anyway, as we saw during the miners' strike, no expense is too much, when confronting the 'enemy within', i.e. the working class.

The 'Observer' story and the police raid, within a year of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, might have posed a threat to all Marxists, if it hadn't been for a vigorous campaign by the WRP and the workers' movement. During the libel action the plaintiffs (whom the judge absent-mindedly called 'the defendants') were cross-examined about their attitudes to armed struggle, the Palestinians, Irish republicanism, and the monarchy.

We don't make jokes about arms or tolerate nonsense from others. We don't expect truth from the capitalist media; nor justice from the enemy's law courts.

Charlie Pottins

## Book review

# The power of B

TOM OWEN discovers an African novel written 20 years ago whose author took on the horror of colonialism and 'triumphed in her humanity'

**A Question of Power**  
by Bessie Head  
Heinemann African Writers' Series, £5.99

I'VE only recently read this quite extraordinary novel, first published in 1974. It's a fictional testimony that closely parallels the author's life.

She was born in 1937 of 'mixed' parentage in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. After her mother's mental breakdown she was fostered until the age of 13, then attended mission school.

She qualified as a teacher but worked as a journalist on the magazine 'Drum'. She was involved briefly in political struggle and the trial of a close friend.

After the breakdown of her marriage she took a teaching post in

Botswana, staying there in purgatorial exile for 15 years until she was granted citizenship in 1979.

She died in 1986 after publishing four novels and a collection of short stories.

'A Question of Power' is the narrative of a nightmare: the recurring oppressive dream of the 'colonising' of the mind. But the nightmare is the reality of colonialism, racism, white supremacy, and the nationalist and surrogate regimes which established their own tyrannies to erase the dream of freedom.

The early narrative shadows the author's own life, her marital breakdown, her flight from South Africa and the difficult setting, in an isolated village at the edge of the desert, where she painfully attempts to build relationships with the local people and a circle of Danish project workers, an eccentric ex-leftist

Christian Englishwoman, and a utopian-socialist Afrikaans teacher and his family.

These are the tangible social networks she lives through; but they seem peripheral to the novel's central sequences.

The central relationships in the novel are with two men, Sello and Dan. They belong to the surface of the social world but are seen to invade her spiritual being, what is now referred to as her 'subjectivity'.

Her psyche becomes a territory of intolerable pain, of physical, sexual and emotional humiliation and degradation.

### Madness

The 'possession' or madness is not purely a fiction of animism and witchcraft but the internalisation of the suffering of colonised Africa.

Frantz Fanon, the Algerian, writing in the late 1950s from an experience of the struggle against French colonialism, describes the function of animistic symbolism in the imperi-

alist epoch: 'In the under-developed countries the occult is a sphere belonging to the community... entirely under magical jurisdiction...'

'Believe me, the zombies are more terrifying than the settlers; and in consequence the problem, is no longer that of keeping oneself right with the colonial world and its barbed-wire entanglements but of considering three times before urinating, spitting or going out into the night...'

The supernatural, magical powers reveal themselves as essentially personal; the settler's powers are infinitely shrunken, stamped with their alien origin... We perceive that all is settled by a permanent conflict on the phantasmic plane.'

But the phantasmic struggle that Bessie Head's character Elizabeth experiences is not one governed by local spirits and deities, by ritual fears and shamans. In her moments of lucidity she understands the 'fierce fight in Africa'.

'The politicians first jump on the

## Bosnia



Sarajevo under siege: the installation of an electricity cable under the control of the Bosnian government brings both hope and dangers

## Sarajevo divided by electricity

ON New Year's Eve, while Serbian and Muslim negotiators and United Nations representatives were wrapping up the four-month ceasefire agreement for Bosnia, electric power returned for the first time in several months to a Bosnian-held suburb.

The Bosnian engineers had cleverly taken a cable from Bosnian-controlled territory in central Bosnia, passed it through an underground station, under Mount Igman, and then continued it through a tunnel under Sarajevo's airport.

But the creation of an independent electrical network, along with plans to dig a second tunnel under the airport — for cars and lorries — and the installation of a pipeline for petrol, threatens to divide the besieged town still further.

'The town is completely divided — more surely than by the Berlin Wall', commented UN representative Kris Janowski in Sarajevo.

A member of the Bosnian government has pointed out that to secure separated sources of electricity and petrol, and to maybe create an independent network for road traffic, might create also the 'psychological conditions' favourable to acceptance of the partition of Bosnia.

'We know now that we can survive without the Serb part of the town,' he

said. 'It is at the same time wonderful and awful. Wonderful because [the Chetniks] can no longer blackmail us, but awful because we could be tempted to make peace, and cut the town in two.'

## War crimes investigations obstructed

SOME members of the UN, like France and Britain, think that investigations on war crimes could be an obstacle to peace.

The task of gathering information on war crimes has to be done while it is still possible to find proof. The UN

High Commission for Refugees estimates that Serb Chetniks have killed or imprisoned 90 per cent of the 1.7 million of non-Serbian people who were living in the Chetnik-held regions of Bosnia.

Chetniks have intensified ethnic cleansing around Banja Luka in north-west Bosnia, in Bijeljina in the north east, and in Rogatica, north of the Gorazde enclave. Nearly 800 Muslims are thrown out of their homes each month.

Britain, France and other members of the UN have tried to limit financial support to the inquiries into war crimes. Of the \$28 million that was previously decided for the tribunal's budget — on finding witnesses, discovering tombs, conducting autopsies and funding legal experts — less than 2 per cent has been spent.



# Bessie Head

...wagon of past suffering. They're African nationalists and weep the crowd away by weeping and wailing about the past. Then why do they steal and cheat people when they get in government?

They don't view the African masses as having any dignity or grandeur. They're just illiterates who don't know anything, so they think they can cheat and squander the money.

'Every time there's a coup someone's been stealing and cheating. ... They don't ever see the roots of it lie in the despising of the illiterate masses.'

The novel has however a much richer resonance.

Fanon, describing the impact of colonialism, characterises its ideological dominance as a form of 'Manichaeism', a medieval Christian heresy which saw the world as a centre for a perpetual struggle between good and evil, generating a series of conflicting opposites, light and dark, black and white, self and other, with

no guarantee of victory for either side.

In colonialism, he says, 'this Manichaeism goes to its logical conclusion and dehumanises the native, or to speak plainly turns him into an animal'.

## Choice

The presentation of non-European subject peoples in Western culture begins in the 16th century as a choice between the unregenerate beast like Caliban in Shakespeare's 'The Tempest' or Ariel, a compliant spirit who moves at his master's request.

Later the options are narrowed. Robinson Crusoe's subject people are either cannibals or servants. In the 19th century there is Bertha, the madwoman in the attic, the Creole who has corrupted the English gentleman Rochester and threatens the pure English Jane Eyre, the successful protestant matron of Charlotte Brontë's novel.

Madness and horror are the con-

stant metaphors of the discourse of imperial culture, and the danger is presented in a perverse inversion.

Colonialism's rapacity is by sleight of hand foisted on the colonised as the source of terror and 'darkness'.

In Joseph Conrad's short story 'Heart of Darkness', the charismatic and megalomaniac ivory-dealer in the Belgian Congo looks into his soul at the point of death and cries 'The horror, the horror'.

It is suggested that it is the 'darkness' of Africa that has seduced him rather than the 'whited sepulchre' of Brussels.

In an act of great imaginative courage Bessie Head has taken on the real horror, overturned the inversion of her spirit, taken Ariel and Caliban, Sello and Dan and the Medusa into her imagination, exorcised them, and triumphed in her humanity.

In her narrator's words, she has 'perfectly shared everything with all mankind'.

# Kosovo fights back against Serbia

MASSIVE popular resistance by the majority Albanian population has wrested the autonomous Kosovo region from under the heel of Serbia.

Less extreme Serb nationalists (like Cosic, Draskovic and Branslav Krestic) would prefer a partial transfer of authority over the Kosovo region to Albania, after ethnic demarcation — in other words more ethnic cleansing — and after keeping the richest part, the mines of Trepca. These nationalists can't see any possibility for Kosovo as a whole to be brought to heel under Serbian rule.

Serbia has tried to recolonise the region to counteract the effects of the numerical preponderance of ethnic

Albanians, but this policy has proved a failure. Only 7,000 new Serbian colonists have come into the region to help subjugate it, compared with the 100,000 the Greater Serbian Chetnik nationalists had hoped for.

All the same, between 300,000 and 500,000 Albanian people have left the Kosovo area in four years.

## Advantage

For Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic the great advantage of relinquishing part of Kosovo would be that the Albanian resistance would be weakened and divided.

Albanian 'realists' would accept

the division of Kosovo as a transitional step, but others in the Albanian resistance believe that the move is to the advantage of Serbia.

'Serbia is abusing the non-violent politics of [Albanian leader] Ibrahim Rugova by increasing the pressure on Kosovo, since the West does not believe that Serbia is operating an ethnic cleansing policy in the area,' said a report of lawyers and doctors from Kosovo in August 1994.

Despite Clinton's consideration of a request to open a Kosovo embassy in Washington, Milosevic counts on fears of the war spreading from a slaughter in Kosovo to a more general conflict if the West intervened.

# City Lights

## You thought you were confused?

OPENING my 'Financial Times' the other day I came across a report from what the paper described as an 'influential' committee.

Headed by a former governor of the Bank of England, it warned that unless Britain took part in a European monetary union it risked 'marginalisation', although the report admitted that this involved a 'leap into the dark'.

The committee, chaired by Lord Kingsdown, (formerly Robin Leigh Pemberton) also warned that London would lose its place as leading financial centre if Britain were not part of a single European currency.

On the very same page, right next to this article, was another on the self-same topic, this time from the Institute of Directors. Imagine my surprise on discovering that the IoD came to ... a diametrically opposite conclusion from Kingsdown.

The director of the surely not un-influential IoD, Tim Melville-Ross, says it would be difficult to exaggerate the implications for the UK of adopting a single currency.

Unemployment would rise, taxes would go up and Britain's competitiveness would be reduced, says Melville-Ross. Interest-rate policy would be taken out of London's hands and rates could be set at levels that were quite inappropriate for the UK economy.

Ironically the IoD report claims that the position of the City of London would be threatened by entry into a monetary union, largely because of the relatively relaxed regime under which the City at present operates, a regime that would be undermined by tighter European regulations.

But confusion does not end here. For on another page in the same edition we find a sombre warning from Ulrich Cartellieri, a director of Deutsche Bank, that a failure to proceed with a common European currency would have severe consequences for European currency stability.

The disappearance of the prospect of a joint currency would cause the EMS [European Monetary System] to break apart quickly and finally,' he told a conference of German bankers last week.

Cartellieri warned that Europe seemed to be suffering from currency fluctuations that had no economic foundations and feared that currency devaluations might soon be used to gain advantage in export markets. Shades of the 1930s.

Confusion was further compounded, if that is possible, by the statement from Prime Minister Major, reported prominently on the front page of the same FT, that 'arguably the circumstances might never be right' for sterling to be merged in a single European currency.

Of course what is revealed here is not simply confusion but deep divisions in the ruling class of Europe and ones that intensify as the long-awaited economic 'recovery' stubbornly fails to reveal its face.

## Insider dealing

THE demand by the Stock Exchange for a full inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the privatisation of the power industry has landed the Tory government in its latest scandal.

It has also highlighted again the need to halt immediately all further privatisations and demand that those industries already privatised be renationalised without compensation.

The demand for an investigation into the privatisation of the power industry came in the shape of a 'strictly confidential' letter from Michael Lawrence, chief executive of

the Treasury. Sir Terence Burns. The following day the contents of this strictly confidential document were splashed over the front pages of the press. These are the facts behind Lawrence's letter.

■ On 29 September the government announced its decision to sell the remaining 40 per cent it held of National Power and National Power Gen.

■ By January of this year marketing was in full swing and the following month a sales prospectus was issued.

■ Ten days after the prospectus was issued, the power industry regulator Professor Stephen Littlechild informed the government that he was considering a price review which would have limited the power of the two companies to raise their prices. This obviously reduced the potential value of shares in PowerGen and National Power.

■ Despite this, on 3 March the Treasury decided to go ahead with the sale. On 6 March trading in shares started and Littlechild informed the government of his intended announcement about price regulation.

■ The following day, after Littlechild's announcement of a price review, electricity shares dropped 17 per cent in value, with many small investors making heavy losses.

'My phone has hardly stopped ringing with enraged calls from members of this trade association. ... I am writing to let you know of my concern at the effect of dramatic falls in share prices on many thousands of new or inexperienced investors,' John Cobb, head of a body selling shares to small investors, wrote in a letter to the Treasury last week.

The charge against the government is that it colluded in making a false market for the generators' shares. If so this would constitute a serious crime under the Financial Services Act. But the Treasury has already made clear that if threatened with legal action it would claim Crown immunity.

But make no mistake. The Stock Exchange is not really concerned with the plight of the little investor. It is deeply worried that these sort of antics will frighten off foreign investors in the City of London.

Those who received the bloodiest nose from the drop in the price of shares in the generating industries were several north American institutions who had speculated heavily in the latest privatisation. It was their threat to take legal action that has undoubtedly brought Lawrence's inquiry call.

## German slowdown

GERMAN economic growth will slow down as a result of the rising D-Mark, warns the German central bank. A rising D-Mark means higher German export prices and cheaper imports into Germany. In this sense the very strength of the D-Mark is the Achilles' heel of the economy.

The bank also warns that high wage settlements are threatening already strained profit margins. Companies would probably continue to shed labour and move production abroad.

Meanwhile the Institute for Economic Research (Ifo), a leading German economics institution, in its latest report says that massive financial transfers from west to east Germany will be needed for many years.

Unless such funds are made available much of the industry in the east will remain uncompetitive in world markets. The trade deficit of eastern Germany, instead of falling, has risen sharply since 1991, when exports totalled DM46.9bn and imports stood at DM199.2bn.

'Export or die' has always been truer for Germany than any other country in Europe. In which case the outlook is more than grim.





## Fraud and falsification

OVER the past eight years this column has done its best to expose opponents of Marxism who misrepresent and distort Karl Marx's ideas.

I've just been reading a book that's crammed full of such misrepresentations and distortions: Nathaniel Weyl's 'Karl Marx: Racist' (New Rochelle, NY, Arlington House, 1979).

This nasty little volume is very hard to get hold of. Neither the British Library nor the Marx Memorial Library possesses a copy, and it's taken me well over a year to gain access to one.

It turns out to be little more than a crude compilation of gossip and surmise, and would scarcely be worth mentioning were it not for two things: it has a veneer of pseudo-scholarship that might succeed in pulling the wool over some people's eyes; and it contains just about the most breathtakingly impudent distortion of Marx that I've ever encountered.

In a section headed 'The Prostitution of Women', Weyl writes the following (pp.148-9):

[I]f Lenin never favored universal prostitution, Marx apparently did. One of the most fascinating things about these *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* is what they have to say about the status of women under communism:

"In the same way as woman is to abandon marriage for general prostitution, so the whole world of wealth, that is, the objective being of man, is to abandon the relation of exclusive marriage with the private property owner for the relation of general prostitution with the community."

This is how Weyl sums up what he claims are Marx's views on this question (p.149): 'Under the proletarian dictatorship... woman becomes the property of the entire male community for its unrestricted sexual pleasure.'

Weyl goes on to refer to Marx's 'vision of the reduction of women to the status of enforced prostitutes', adding: 'Marx's interest in a future society in which all women were relegated to compulsory prostitution was probably related to some of his neurotic and sexual hang-ups.'

And further (p.151): 'What does seem clear is that every manifestation of the incipient movement for equal rights for women went against Marx's grain, whereas the vision of a society in which all women were transformed into prostitutes held a perverse fascination for him.'

EVEN the most casual reader of the relevant section of the 1844 'Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts' will have no difficulty in detecting the bare-faced fraud that Weyl is here perpetrating.

In the passage Weyl quotes, Marx is not expressing his own 'vision' of the future society, nor is he looking forward to 'universal prostitution' of women in that society.

On the contrary, he is criticising, extremely severely, some crude notions prevalent among early utopian communists in medieval religious communities and taken over by French 'worker-egalitarian' secret societies in the 1830s and 1840s.

Marx's own point of view is made clear in passages which Weyl takes good care not to quote:

[T]his movement of opposing universal private property to private property finds expression in the brutish form of opposing to marriage (certainly a form of exclusive private property) the community of women, in which a woman becomes a piece of communal and common property.

It may be said that this idea of the community of women gives away the secret of this as yet completely crude and thoughtless communism...

In the approach to woman as the spoil and handmaid of communal lust is expressed the infinite degradation in which man

## PERSONAL COLUMN

exists for himself...

'The first positive annulment of private property — crude communism — is thus merely a manifestation of the vileness of private property' (all emphasis is Marx's own).

The idea which Weyl shamelessly attributes to Marx himself is here unambiguously characterised by Marx as 'brutish', an expression of human degradation, and a manifestation of 'vileness'.

So this author who loftily accuses Marx of 'plain fraud and outright falsification' (p. 166) himself stoops to precisely that.

It's possible — indeed it's necessary — to criticise from a Marxist standpoint many of the things that Marx wrote, in areas where he failed to apply his own method consistently. It's also possible to be an honest opponent of Marxism.

But Weyl isn't interested in reasoned criticism or honest opposition. His aim is to defame Marx, and he does so with complete lack of scruples.

His book is a hatchet-job pure and simple. And it throws more light on Nathaniel Weyl's 'neurotic... hang-ups' and 'perverse fascinations' than it does on Karl Marx.

## Class and xenophobia

A READER has challenged — rightly, I think — my interpretation of the 'Punch' joke of the last century in which one working man exhorts another to throw a brick at a foreigner ('Lollipop chauvinism', 10 June). This reader writes:

'The reaction expected — and probably got — from his readers by the cartoonist was a "superior" sneer at narrow-minded, provincial creatures by persons who thought themselves worldly in every sense.'

It was an appeal to a sort of snobbery: "We, the readers, have foreign cousins, we know foreign languages, we read foreign books, we travel abroad — how much higher in the scale of human beings are we than those fellows."

The aristocracy, as is well known, have always been "cosmopolitan", and those sections of the middle class who imitated them tried to be like them in that way.

'The question of proletarian xenophobia needs to be faced squarely. Surely it was no accident that the most spectacular favourable response that Enoch Powell received when he made his "rivers of blood" speech was in London's dockland.'

It never surprises me that working-class people are often like that — it's part of their entire situation, which underlies Trotsky's wise repudiation of the concept of "proletarian culture".

To explain working-class xenophobia as due to 'petty-bourgeois influences', is rubbish, this reader thinks; on the contrary, when workers rise above prejudice, that is due to influences from outside.'

This question, he adds, could do with some honest discussion: 'Is "internationalism" somehow natural, spontaneously-arising, in the proletariat?'

There's evidence from Sheffield in the 1790s that seems to me to have some bearing on this question, but I won't produce it until other readers have had their say.

Meanwhile it may be relevant to point out that the mystery woman companion who urged Sir Nicholas Scott, MP for Chelsea, to 'go! go!' after his car had trapped a toddler, and who then shouted 'French scum!' at the child's Swiss father, was probably not of proletarian origin.

Peter Fryer

# Massive share-option payout in 'Communist' China

BY MIKE COOKE

THE scandalous share-option bonanza for Britain's directors, particularly for privatised industries, has been spectacularly dwarfed by £16.3 million scooped up by the son of one of China's Communist Party leaders.

Larry Yung is chair of Citic Pacific and his father is China's vice-president Rong Yiren. The bumper payout of £16.3 million could be the world's biggest to the director of a listed company.

Yung is the most prominent of the so-called 'princelings' to come out of the sons and daughters of China's Stalinist bureaucracy. His father has been called a 'red capitalist' and is one of China's richest men.

## Symbols

Larry is president of the Royal Hong Kong Golf Club and steward of the Royal Hong Kong Jockey Club — major symbols of

Hong Kong high society. He once won £3 million on a horse race by 'mistake' and reportedly set up a scholarship to send students to the US on the proceeds.

## Offshoot

Citic Pacific was founded in 1987 and is an offshoot of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation started by Yung's father and now China's biggest investment company.

The riches gobbled up by men like Yung and Rong Yiren are scooped out of the backs China's poor peasants who have been forced off the land and locked up in factories to perform sweated labour in the big cities. Many workers have died in fires as a result of not being able to get out because doors have been locked and windows barred.

The brutal discipline under which these workers live is reinforced by the repressions and trampling on human rights by the ex-Stalinist-led state.



China's rich have scooped their money out of backs of poor

## Advance Notice

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The lectures are part of the preparation for a forthcoming conference, **The Future of Marxism**, sponsored by the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International, to be held in London. Details will be announced soon and will be available at the lectures.

A second series of lectures is being planned for Spring 1996. The historian Raymond Challinor, the translator and Yugoslav specialist Quintin Hoare, and Hillel Ticktin, editor of the journal Critique will be among those giving lectures. Full details of this second programme will be available in October.

**Terry Brotherstone:** Teaches history at the University of Aberdeen. Author of *Covenant, Charter and Party: Traditions of Revolt and Protest in Modern Scottish History*. Has co-edited (with Paul Dukes) *The Trotsky Reappraisal* and (with Geoff Pilling) *History, Economic History and the Future of Marxism* (forthcoming). Has also published several articles on the Scottish revolutionary Marxist, John Maclean. Current interests include the impact of 1956 on 'British communism'; the future of 'labour history'; and the Scottish origins of Marxism.

**Steve Drury:** A geologist teaching earth sciences at the Open University. Interests include use of satellite images in geological mapping and the search for physical resources and the early history of the earth. Author of *A Guide to Remote Sensing, Interpreting Images of the Earth*; currently writing a course for the Open University: *Earth and Life: the Co-evolution of the Planet and its Life*. Has visited Eritrea several times in connection with research on its geological evolution.

**Keith Gibbard:** Teaches in the economics department at Manchester Metropolitan University. Specialises in Marxist and classical political economy. Has just completed a chapter on the decline of British capitalism for a forthcoming book, *The Condition of Britain*, Pluto Press, November 1995, and a chapter on the Regulation School for a Festschrift in memory of Tom Kemp, *History, Economic History and the Future of Marxism*.

**Bill Hunter:** Prominent member of the Trotskyist movement in Britain for over 50 years. A former shop steward in the engineering industry, he has recently written a book on unofficial movements among dockers, *They Knew Why They Fought: Unofficial Struggles and Leadership on the Docks, 1945-1989*. The first volume of his autobiography, *A Lifelong Apprenticeship* is about to be published by Porcupine.

**Kofi Klu:** Leading member of the African Liberation Solidarity Campaign. Originally from Ghana he spent several years as a student in Moscow where he studied law and economics.

**John Lea:** Teaches sociology in Middlesex University. He has contributed to several books and written a number of articles on crime. Has co-edited (with Geoff Pilling) a book on Frederick Engels and is currently completing a book, *Crime and Modernity* and is working on a book on capitalism and organised crime.

**Branka Magas:** Journalist and author specialising in the ex-Yugoslavia. Author of *The Destruction of Yugoslavia, Tracking the Break-up, 1980-1992*, she is a prominent member of the Alliance to Defend Bosnia-Herzegovina.

**István Mészáros:** Internationally renowned Marxist scholar, formerly Professor of Philosophy at the University of Sussex. Author of countless books and articles which include *Marx's Theory of Alienation; The Necessity for Social Control; Philosophy, Ideology and Social Science: Essays in Negation and Affirmation*; and *The Power of Ideology*. He is completing a major work *Beyond Capital: Towards a Theory of Transition*, to be published by Merlin towards the end of 1995.

**Geoff Pilling:** Teaches political economy at Middlesex University. Has written books and articles on Marxist political economy and the history of economics, including *The Crisis of Keynesian Economics: A Marxist View*; and *Marxist Capital: Philosophy and Political Economy*. Has co-edited (with John Lea) a book to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the publication of Engels's *Condition of the Working Class in England* which will be published by Pluto in November, 1995. His *A Peculiar Capitalism, or Peculiarly Capitalist?* will appear as a chapter in a forthcoming book in memory of Tom Kemp to be published by Porcupine Press. Member of Workers Press editorial committee.

**Cliff Slaughter:** Leading member of the Trotskyist movement since breaking with the Communist Party of Great Britain after the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956. Has written numerous articles in the Trotskyist press. Formerly taught sociology in the Universities of Leeds and Bradford. Author of several books including *Marxism, Ideology and Literature: State, Power and Bureaucracy: A Marxist Critique of Sociological Theories* (with A.J. Dragstedt); and *Marxism and the Class Struggle*



TOM OWEN has been looking at Gwyn Williams's quest for Arthur on BBC2

# A legend for our times

THERE'S something immensely likeable about Gwyn Williams as a television presenter. A silver-haired terrier, a pugilist, his Rhondda rhetoric struggling with a slight stammer and an asthmatic wheeze makes him the unlikely of academics.

However, he is a professor of social and political history, an ex-member of the South Wales Communist Party, and an authority on the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci. I am not certain, but I believe his present sympathies lie with Plaid Cymru.

His previous television productions have been hugely enjoyable. A combination of wide scholarship, a fierce independence of mind, and a determination not to mystify things make him a populariser of cultural history in the best sense.

His previous work on his literary 'favourites' include Mary Shelley's 'Frankenstein', the life and work of the Russian 19th-century poet Pushkin, and the Welsh nationalist poet and dramatist Saunders Lewis, who Williams admitted that, when a national serviceman in the Young Communist League, he would have liked to have shot.

He now turns his gaze, and ours, to that set of legends which have had such a powerful influence on medieval and post-medieval European literature: the Arthurian myths.

As he points out, the myth-making lingers on, thanks to 1950s film-making and today's New Age mysticism that centres on Glastonbury and Stonehenge. The latter has prompted the Tories to revise the laws of trespass and deny historic civil liberties.

Well, who was Arthur? This is a bit like asking who was Ulysses or Jesus Christ. These figures may well have been historical but live as literary and mythological fictions put down into written language from the elaboration of scattered literary references and an oral tradition.

Williams draws on two sources: earlier Roman historians; and the literary tales and romances from the 11th century onwards. He believes the Roman sources suggest the existence of a historic Romano-Celtic chieftain who for a period was particularly successful in holding back the Anglo-Saxon invasions but fell victim to internecine Celtic feuding.

His other sources are more interesting but more problematic. The main references are to the 'Mabinogion' — a collection of Welsh myths, legends and folktales written down in the 14th century by an anonymous author, most probably a friar, in two works called 'Llyfr Gwy Rhyderch' ('The White Book of Rhyderch', 1300-1325), and 'Llyfr Coch Hergest' ('The Red Book of Hergest', 1375-1427). These were first translated into English in the 19th century by Lady Char-



While the Welsh kingdom of Gwynedd was being subdued, Arthurian legends originating in Wales were being used to legitimise the Norman ascendancy

lotte Guest. And this is what puzzles me about what Williams is up to in this series. The 'Mabinogion' consists of the most important older Celtic myths and deals with demigod figures and their exploits in this and the 'other' world.

These tales are closely related to the Irish Milesian and Ultonian tales and many submerged Indo-European myths, but only one of these branches, 'Culhwch and Olwen' has a reference to Arthur.

Other tales in which Arthur appears are generally thought to have derived from and been heavily influenced by Norman French chivalric romances. Perhaps this uncharacteristic confusion of sources makes for good television or, more pertinently, for modern nationalistic myth-making.

Where Williams is strongest

and most fascinating is when he demonstrates how promiscuous and malleable myth-making and myth-makers are.

He traces the different emphases and meaning given at different times to the Arthurian myth. For the Celtic church Arthur was little more than a bandit; for the poet Taliesin he embodied the loss of Romano-Celtic civilisation and the onset of barbarism.

## Reshaped

But what is intriguing is the way the Norman feudal culture reshaped the myth, drawing from Breton romances and the work of a German scholar, Wolfram von Eschenbach.

The major French influence is that of the poet Chrétien de Troyes, a source of the English poet Geoffrey Chaucer. De Troyes

reshapes the Arthurian myth in terms of the new chivalric tradition and those of the Provençal, a highly stylised religion of extramarital love.

Gwenhwyfar, Arthur's wife, becomes Guenevere, the lover of Lancelot — a figure who never appears in the Welsh sources. Geoffrey of Monmouth, a tireless chronicler, creates for his Norman patrons an Arthurian court which legitimises the Norman ascendancy.

So ingrained was the Arthurian style that Caernarfon castle, built as part of the Norman colonisation and military containment of Gwynedd was conceived of as a Camelot. There were splendid pageants and tournaments organised in the dramatic bay of Nefyn.

Later, in the austerer climate of the crusades and the ascend-

ancy of the Cistercians and the militant order of the Knights Templar, we have the quest romances for the Holy Grail.

It is this 'quest' narrative that played such an important part in the development of the European novel. The *coup de grâce* to this chivalric mishmash is delivered by the comic genius Cervantes, whose mad knight Don Quixote tilted at windmills in armour made from pots and pans.

In Britain, the Arthurian myths were resurrected during the Tudor ascendancy; for example the poet Edmund Spenser used them not only to legitimise the monarchy but also to justify the brutal suppression of the Irish. An anglicised Arthur reappears in the 19th century in Lord Tennyson's work, to glorify Queen and Empire.

Indeed the painted panels in

the House of Lords depict Arthur as the first great English monarch. Tennyson even wrote a poem in which the red Knight is defeated at joust by Arthur to celebrate the fall of the Paris Commune.

Gwyn Williams has tapped into a rich vein in western European culture and the mythology it draws from. But he ends on a note of bitterness and sadness.

Referring to the appeal of the Arthurian myths as that of a lost Golden Age, of heroism and virtue betrayed, he recalls his own 'golden age' — as a serviceman fighting for a new human culture only to be betrayed by Stalinism, by those without honour.

Williams ends by echoing Tennyson's oration to Arthur by Sir Bedevere. Like Sir Bedevere, he finds himself living among strangers.

## Info-Highway Patrol bans K. Marx

BY VIC CHARLES

COMPUTER cops in Colorado are pursuing a dangerous agitator on the information super-highway. They are after one Karl Marx, last seen being chased up the Tottenham Court Road by London bobbies and a night on the beer with his pal Fred Engels.

Computer administrators at the University of Colorado put out an 'all-points' bulletin banning the pair of them, or their literary work, after the alarm was raised by 'Fortune' magazine, which looks after the well-being of American Big Business.

For the past two years a public benefactor who goes by the soubriquet of 'zodiac' has, with

the assistance of some University of Colorado people, been storing writings by Marx and Engels on computer discs, making them accessible on the computer internet to anyone who was interested.

People are interested. 'Zodiac' says he has had e-mail (electronic mail) from people in North and South America, Russia, Europe, North Africa and Australia, who have found the material valuable. Students have found it a way of reaching for Marxist writings other than 'Capital'.

Having material in electronic form brings added benefits too. Scholars and working people can import these texts into word processors and do comprehensive searches of subjects or words; 'zodiac' points out.

All the work has been done by volunteers, with no expense — other than disc space and communication bandwidth — to the University of Colorado.

After a recent derogatory mention for the archive site in 'Fortune' however — not entirely unexpected — the powers-that-be in the University decided Karl and Fred ought not to be available from their computers.

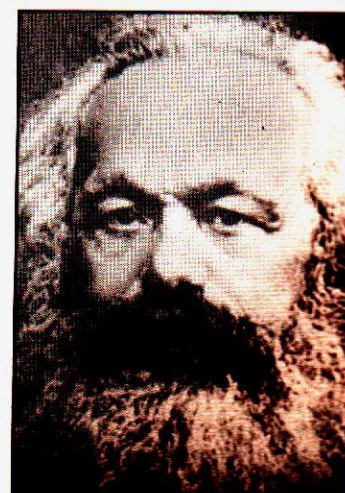
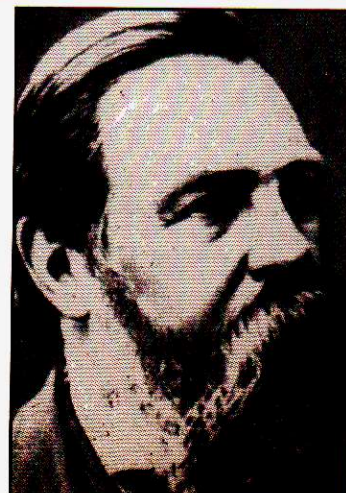
It seems like a blow to the idea that new technology automatically means free circulation of information and ideas.

Network freedom enthusiasts are concerned that the Exon amendment, passing through Congress to censor 'pornography' on the net, could create a precedent for political control. As it is,

commercial and academic bureaucracies still hold the key to resources.

Efforts are under way to find new sites for the Marx-Engels archive, in Europe, Australasia and North America. One site would be the main site at which archivists could work, with others as 'mirror sites', receiving updates or new files every fortnight. This would lighten the load on a single system, and make it harder for one authority to close. Many of the files from the Marx-Engels archive have been copied into the rev-text conference in the UK Cix network.

For more information, or if you can offer help, contact: zodiac@gold.interlog.com jplant@cix.compulink.co.uk



F. Engels and K. Marx: a pair of desperadoes on highway?



# National pay for a National Health Service

**THE health service unions are organising a national demonstration in London on Saturday 29 June under the slogan: 'National pay for a National Health Service'. The naming of a date for a national demonstration came after intense pressure from delegates on the leadership at last week's conference of the public service union UNISON.**

The demonstration will happen at the same time as UNISON health service members get ballot papers for industrial action. There are two questions on the ballot:

■ Are members willing to take strike action?, and;

■ Are members willing to take other industrial action?

UNISON is recommending a yes vote to both questions. The result is due on 30 August and action would have to be taken within 28 days.

Talks continue between unions and the government, but the Royal College of Nursing have decided to go it alone and have abandoned the defence of

**BY STUART CARTER  
Salford Mental Health  
UNISON**

national bargaining. It is unlikely that talks will produce anything.

RCN leaders did not turn up at a joint union meeting and went in for separate talks and claimed they had achieved a breakthrough.

This consists in no more than Virginia Bottomley agreeing to encourage trusts to make local offers; reminding trusts that money is available to make local offers; repeat an assurance, given three months ago, that changes in conditions, such as annual leave,

hours of work and sick pay, should not take place this year (but they will be under threat next year); and agreeing to increase London allowances by 3 per cent and 'other allowances related to basic pay'.

However, Bottomley did not rule out strings, such as pay being related to performance, financial or activity targets or sickness levels.

On this basis the RCN told local representatives to talk with employers to achieve 3 per cent offers for nurses and Bottomley has written to the RCN's general secretary thanking her for clarifying that union's position that it 'is prepared to reach local settlements on pay for 1995-96'.

UNISON has written to branches: 'This year's campaign is not about whether nurses are paid 3 per cent this year. It's about a full-blooded shift to local pay which, if it succeeds, could spell the end of Pay Review Bodies and national pay negotiations for all NHS staff.'

## Demanding

UNISON are demanding a national pay award of at least 3 per cent for all NHS staff. At the UNISON conference many delegates pointed out that 3 per cent is below the level of inflation and that a 3 per cent rise would be another pay cut — especially for those on low pay such as ancillary staff, many administrative and

clerical staff and nursing assistants.

A UNISON consultation of members resulted in a ten-to-one rejection of the government's proposals for local pay bargaining even though many trusts had already offered 3 per cent. This is because for the majority of UNISON's health workers bonus payments and enhancements for working shifts at weekends, nights and bank holidays make up a significant proportion of their pay. They know that these payments will be the first to come under attack next year if local pay negotiations are accepted this year.

In splitting ranks with the other unions, the RCN is playing

into the government's hands and dividing NHS workers. This has been the RCN's historic role.

At UNISON's conference many delegates said that refusing to do paper work (the RCN's proposed 'industrial action') would be ridiculous and clerical workers might as well strike. Working to grade would set nurse against nurse, nurse against patient. Outside the hospitals no one would know action was taking place.

National strike action, with emergency cover, starting with one-day action, would have the support of patients and the public, would have an immediate political impact, would involve and unite health workers and raise their confidence.

## Chechen war worries oil interests

BIG capitalist oil interests waiting to exploit the Caucasian oilfields are worried about Boris Yeltsin's failure to suppress the Chechen rebels.

At the G7 summit of great power leaders in Canada, Yeltsin thundered about Chechnya being the 'centre of world terrorism', and said he'd ordered troops to storm the hospital at Budyonovsk, in southern Russia, where Chechen guerrillas were holding 2,000 hostages.

After two unsuccessful attempts to regain the hospital, and the killing of more than 100 people, either by the rebels or in the fighting, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin agreed to the Chechens' demand to halt military operations in Chechnya, and start peace talks. In six months of war Russian forces destroyed the Chechen capital, Grozny, and caused 25,000 civilian casualties.

Although Chechen president Dzhokhar Dudayev disowned the desperate raiders who seized the hospital, it seems likely that Chechen fighters with their back to the wall felt justified in taking the war into Russia.

Western imperialists have wagged the occasional finger of hypocrisy over butchery in Chechnya, while continuing to back Yeltsin financially and tell-

ing him to get on with it.

On 14 June, the Russian parliament approved legislation aimed at clearing the way for big foreign oil investment. Alexei Melnikov, an MP who helped draft the production-sharing bill, said 12 big oil and gas projects with Western investors could now go ahead. The State Property Fund has also approved guidelines for the sale of more than \$300 million bonds in the big Lukoil company.

A consortium headed by British Petroleum and including US and Russian companies has been agonising over which route to use for shipping offshore oil from Azerbaijan. Russia, Iran and Turkmenistan governments have been insisting on a say in any Caspian sea oil development.

The first oil from the Azeri offshore fields is due to flow early next year, but negotiations are still going on over whether it should be shipped via Batumi, in Georgia, the Russian port of Novorosisk, or whatever. The Russian government is trying to restore economic relations with Azerbaijan.

But as both Russian and Western imperialist oil interests know, everything rests on stability in the Caucasus. Not least because Russia's oil pipelines have to go through Chechnya.



Oil barons are worried at Russian President Boris Yeltsin's failure to suppress the Chechen rebels

## Czech strike wave

CZECH railworkers staged a one-day strike last week to back pay demands, and miners have voted for strike action over jobs, in a wave of battles breaking out against government economic policy.

Teachers plan a national rally in Brno on Thursday, 29 June, and their union has warned it will call an all-out strike when the new school year starts in September.

While undervaluing the Czech crown in the hope of boosting exports, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus has announced that promised 20 per cent pay rises for public service workers will be held to only 10 per cent.

Health service workers' dissatisfaction has been exacerbated by the sacking of a ministry official for criticising nurses' conditions.

Despite the government's efforts to cheapen Czech goods, the country's trade deficit in the first four months of this year stood at 29,600 million crowns (£740 million). A couple of years ago it was in surplus by 41,000 crowns.

A thriving tourist trade does not compensate workers concerned over loss of jobs and purchasing power. Nor are they convinced that the foreign capitalists buying up Czech assets cheap will be committed to their industrial future.

## Pakistan police defend child bondage

THREE months after 12-year old Iqbal Masih was murdered for exposing the exploitation of children in Pakistan, police there have taken action — to prosecute those who helped him.

Iqbal was shot dead last April, after winning worldwide fame for exposing conditions in the hand-knotted carpet industry, where he had been employed since the age of four.

The Bonded Labour Liberation Front (BLLF), which had freed Iqbal, accused carpet manufacturers of ordering the murder. It is demanding an independent investigation.

Now Ehsan Ullah Khan, who heads the Front, has been charged with sedition. He is accused of 'mounting economic warfare' against Pakistan, and 'causing a recurring financial

loss to... Pakistani business interests abroad.' The charge could bring the death penalty.

A few weeks ago police raided the BLLF's offices in Lahore, taking away documents and arresting 17 people, including members of Iqbal Masih's family. Zafar Yab Ahmad, who works as a researcher for the BLLF, has also been charged with sedition.

There are an estimated million bonded labourers in Pakistan, working to pay off debts, whether incurred by themselves or relatives. About a million of them are children. Hand-knotted carpets produced by child labour can be highly profitable, selling for up to £1,000 in the West. Ehsan Ullah Khan says the problem lies much with shops here as with the government in Pakistan.

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