

# Break the arms embargo STOP THE RAPE OF BOSNIA

**MILLIONS** have been shocked and distressed by the latest round of genocidal war unleashed on the defenceless peoples of Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde.

These were so-called 'safe havens' that were supposedly protected by the United Nations.

The role of this body is now as clear as daylight. It is the UN that has created a situation where tens of thousands have been slaughtered.

Tens of thousands of innocent Bosnians have been killed, many more driven from their homes, with thousands of girls and women raped and tortured.

Many young boys have been mutilated.

Many, in sheer desperation, have committed suicide.

Large numbers have simply disappeared, their fate unknown.

In all these atrocities it is the Muslims of Bosnia that are facing the brunt of the onslaught.

This is the meaning of 'ethnic cleansing'.

This is fascism in action.

The Tory government is up to its neck in the mass slaughter now taking place in Bosnia. In the name of 'neu-

## BY THE EDITOR

trality' they have allowed the Chetnik forces of Radovan Karadzic to prosecute their bloody war of extermination.

The government has conspired with the other Great Powers to starve the Bosnian people of the arms they desperately need to fight against the Chetnik forces.

## Force

It has sent a so-called 'peace-keeping' force to Bosnia only to stop the Bosnia-Herzegovina army from defeating the Chetniks.

To their eternal shame the Labour Party and trade union leaders have slavishly followed the Tory government's policy.

They have refused to fight to lift the arms embargo and to halt the movement of British troops into the Balkans.

Neither the Tory government nor the opposition speak for millions of ordinary workers and people in this country.

A movement must be built up — amongst workers, trade unionists, young people, students, the Muslim community, Bosnian refugees and all others who stand for the defence of Bosnia — that will force the Labour and trade union leaders to break their bi-partisan policy with the Tories.

Every possible means must be used to develop this movement: pickets, marches, demonstrations, lobbies.

The Bosnian people have the right to arms to defend themselves. The trade union and labour leaders must fight for that right.

### But time is running out.

If Milosevic and Karadzic succeed in their ethnic cleansing operations, where will it end? Racism and fascism are like a cancer: unless cut out they will inevitably spread.

We know the consequences of the victory of Franco in Spain in the 1930s. That victory helped plunge humanity into World War II.

### The hour has now struck.

We appeal to everybody to rally to the defence of Bosnia.

### ■ Halt the rape of Bosnia!

■ Break the arms embargo!



UN 'peace-keepers' were sent to stop Bosnia-Herzegovina defeating the Chetniks

## Alliance to Defend Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslim Solidarity Committee

## Workers Aid for Bosnia

# STOP THE RAPE OF BOSNIA

**DEMONSTRATE:** Saturday, 22 July, Assemble, 1pm, Embankment (Temple Tube)

**MEETING:** Central Hall, Westminster, 4pm

**Speakers include:** Michael Foot, The Bosnian Ambassador, Ed Vulliamy (the 'Guardian'), Faruk Ibrahimovic, Branka Magas, Malcolm Wicks, MP, Adrian Hastings, Indijana Harper, Charlie Pottins

**Sponsors include:** Ken Loach, Steve Plant (editor 'New Statesman') and Melanie McDonagh.

*A convoy is leaving for the mining town of Tuzla on Tuesday 24 July. It is taking much-needed aid to the multi-ethnic community in that town. The convoy is supported by many organisations in the labour movement including the Scottish TUC, the National Union of Journalists and the general union GMB. Hundreds of trade unionists, workers and young people have raised the money for the aid. But more money is urgently needed. Rush your last-minute donations to:*

**Leicester Trades Union Council (TU Convoy), 22 West Avenue, Leicester LE2 1TR.**

## SPECIAL ISSUE OF WORKERS PRESS

WORKERS PRESS will next week produce a special issue to commemorate the demonstration and meeting in defence of Bosnia being held today (Saturday 22 July). It will contain photos, interviews with participants, and a record of the speeches made to the meeting.

Don't miss this issue!

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- We are now taking a summer break. Our next normal issue will appear on 12 August.

## The principles of Dennis Skinner MP

LABOUR MP for Bolsover Dennis Skinner says, despite his appearance on the list of those signing the statement of the newly-formed Committee for Peace in the Balkans, he does not join 'all-party' bodies.

Readers of Workers Press will be familiar with the position of this Committee, whose signatories include Tony Benn and Sir Alfred Sherman, admirer of Baroness Thatcher and adviser to the Chetnik butcher Radovan Karadzic.

It declares the war in the former Yugoslavia to be a 'civil war'; it blames 'all sides' for the atrocities that have taken place in the course of the war.

While making a correct call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Balkans, this committee at the same time insists on maintaining the arms embargo. In other words it helps perpetuate a situation where Chetnik forces armed to the teeth are confronted by the army of Bosnia-Herzegovina which has been kept desperately short of arms.

Mixed in with this line — which is almost indistinguishable from that of the British foreign office — is a good dose of foul anti-Germanism. 'The Germans are behind all the trouble in the Balkans' is the sinister message from Benn and company.

Now Skinner shares these views, as Ed Vulliamy made clear in his recent piece in the 'Guardian' of 15 July ('For whom does the bell toll now?'). The 'Beast of Bolsover' imagines that 'the German high command' is scheming in the Balkans to establish 'the new German empire'. Understandably he says nothing about what 'the British high command' is up to in that region.

But, Skinner insists that 'on principle' he never joins all-party groups on any issue, and so, presumably, has not joined the Committee for Peace in the Balkans.

But what sort of principle is this? This rather ignores the fact that on this issue of Bosnia Skinner has crossed not party lines but **class** lines.

For his chauvinism, his pathological anti-Germanism, his Little Englander outlook, are characteristics he shares with a decisive section of the ruling class.

## A servile disgusting press

AN 84-year-old man from Banstead has been accused of murdering Jews in Byelorussia in 1941.

For many of the papers last week this was front-page news. It was another opportunity to whip up anti-German feelings.

As Ian Aitken pointed out in the 'Guardian' last weekend, while a paper like the 'Daily Telegraph' could splash this story, it found room for only two front-page paragraphs on the atrocities taking place in Bosnia.

'The Times' — a paper that was notorious for its sucking up to Hitler at the time of Munich — was hardly any better. On the day the Chetniks opened up their latest round of murderous attacks on largely defenceless Bosnians, it found space for a whole seven paragraphs on Bosnia and chose to lead on the Prime Minister's plans for sport.

The Tory media prefer not to reveal that British intelligence brought ex-SS personnel and Nazi collaborators out after World War II, in preparation for World War III against the Soviet Union. The same sinister right-wing forces have made sure that Serbia has the upper hand in the Balkans.

Nothing better illustrates the servility and corruption of the British press. It is more interested in alleged crimes of 54 years ago than in the vile, fascist activities of the Chetniks taking place now — every hour, every minute of the day. Indeed, it treats top war criminals like Karadzic and their apologists with respect.

What better reason could there be for helping Workers Press expand its circulation and its coverage of the events in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

## Update on appeal against execution

THIS is a short note to update you on the status of Mumia Abu-Jamal's legal case and our projections. The Pennsylvania Court of Common Pleas has scheduled 12 July at 10am in courtroom 653 in city hall for legal argument on Jamal's motion to have Judge Sabo recused and for the stay of execution. Mumia will be in court for this hearing.

Judge Sabo has been assigned to hear Mumia's petition. The initial 'calendar date' assigned for this hearing was 24 July. The legal team's demands for a court hearing date earlier than 12 July were denied by the court.

The District Attorney's office has filed 80-plus pages in response to our motions for recusal and stay of execution. As expected the DA's position is that there is no basis for the recusal of Judge Sabo, that the petition for a new trial should be denied, and that the stay of execution should also be denied.

Among the numerous outrageous positions put in print by the DA is that the stay of execution for Mumia should not be granted on the grounds that he will not be 'irreparably injured' because 'the carrying out of a valid death sentence cannot constitute irreparable injury'.

At the conclusion of the legal argument we anticipate that Judge Sabo will rule that he is qualified to be the judge in this case and to deny a stay of execution and make numerous 'findings of fact' in opposition to Mumia's legal claims.

We will be prepared to immediately file a notice of appeal to the next court level — the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. We also plan on filing another legal action — a writ of *habeas corpus* in the US federal district court in Philadelphia with an application for a stay of execution within the next week or so.

We will be pushing in both the Pennsylvania Supreme Court and the federal court for the stay of execution. But it is our estimation that neither court will decide on the stay of execution until the last minute.

The hearing on the motion for a preliminary injunction in the federal civil rights lawsuit in Pittsburgh is now scheduled for 21 July.

Len Weinglass  
Rachel Wolkenstein  
Mumia Abu-Jamal's legal team

■ See centre pages.

## Correction on Clegg

One point needs correcting in the Workers Press article (8 July) on the release from prison of Lee Clegg, the British soldier who murdered Belfast teenager Karen Reilly.

The article states that the car in which Reilly was a passenger when she was shot in the back 'had passed the check point that Clegg was manning'.

There was, of course, no army or police check point at the time. The story that the car had been driven at speed through a check point injuring one of the soldiers was concocted by the paratroopers in an attempt to excuse their brutal slaying.

This was reported by Workers Press at the time of the incident and in subsequent articles.

At the trial, civilian witnesses testified that the soldiers were never in any danger from the car and an RUC policeman who was on patrol with the paratroopers described how, after the shooting, he saw one soldier being stamped on the leg by another to produce the injury they were to claim was inflicted by the car.

At their barracks the paratroop regiment involved glorified the butchery by openly displaying an enlarged photograph of the car in which Karen Reilly and the driver were killed alongside the slogan, 'Built by Robots, Driven by Morons, Stopped by the Paras'.

Clegg's release is a continuation of British government policy

to condone and support those who carry out imperialism's dirty work in Ireland. It is in sharp contrast to the internment, torture, frame-up and murder inflicted on the Irish people.

There are over 500 political prisoners still in jail in the north of Ireland. In Britain, where eleven people are now serving their 20th year in prison, the prisoners are used as political hostages.

The British government refuses to hold the prisoners in a prison close to their families who have to pay all expenses to visit them. The prisoners are constantly subjected to 'ghosting' — the practice of moving them suddenly and without notice which causes great hardship to visiting families.

One disturbing aspect of the campaign to release the prisoners is the Republican leadership's willingness to equate their situation with that of Lee Clegg. Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein president, was not opposed to Clegg's release as long as Republican prisoners were also released.

Adams says, 'they are all victims of the conflict'. He equates those who, with the knowledge they would be looked after by the British state, callously butchered to maintain imperialist rule, and those who, however wrong their methods, fought against imperialism.

Karen Reilly's parents were devastated by Clegg's release and have demanded justice. Her father is quoted in the 'Irish News' (12 June), 'It would be totally wrong to let him out, even as part of a deal over other prisoners'.

Adams's policy on this issue is a preparation for him taking his place in a six-county administration defended by the same armed forces as now.

John Steele  
London SW2

## Treatment of mental patients

A REPLY to the 'manic depressive' from Walton on Thames (1

July) who was critical of my article on 'State controls on mentally ill' (17 June).

Firstly, the point about Virginia Bottomley releasing patients from mental hospitals prematurely is totally valid. But this has been going on for many years.

In the past mental patients have been more or less left to their own devices, with or without medication. Hence about a third of all homeless people are said to be ex-patients from mental hospitals.

The point I was trying to make was that the centralised control of minorities — not just mental patients — and other people who are seen as enemies of the state, are being pursued with the utmost determination and are in fact being outlawed by the Tories.

The scare stories in the gutter press about 'schizos' murdering people are just that — scare stories.

Although mental patients have been known to murder people, this is a minority of sufferers from mental illness.

Mental patients, like others who are seen as somewhat abnormal, are being discriminated against.

Meanwhile, as community care is being introduced, and schemes are to be run by the social work departments of local authorities, their budget is being dramatically reduced.

Hence, the totally inadequate provision of places in the community for sufferers of mental illness.

This is like other aspects of state policy such as the inadequate provision of housing for the general population.

The only way the treatment of minorities will be resolved is to overthrow the present state system which represents the capitalist class and to replace it by a workers' government, with the state beginning at this point to die away. Only then will a more representative way of treating mental patients be found.

As for the adequate state of current mental hospitals as treatment centres, I would call being kept in pyjamas for a week in a locked ward and never seeing the light of day for about three weeks as being very backward indeed.

Ken Singer  
Dundee

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# Trade unionists for a socialist party

BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER  
Secretary  
WRP (Workers Press)

**THE working class needs a new party, a party of its own.**

The existing parties in parliament, in office, and in 'opposition', are political representatives of the interests of the ruling class, the employers.

Individual members of these parties in parliament may from time to time speak in defence of the interests of a group of workers, or of a particular union, on a particular issue.

They may take a principled stand on some issue of democratic rights, of the oppression of minorities or of other nations, or on some question of importance to workers. But the working class has no party to represent it.

**EVERYTHING written in this prior section was said in 1900, and was absolutely true. It should make us pull up sharp when we have to say that every word of it is just as alive today in 1995!**

In the period 1900 to 1906 the trade unions had to confess that, in order to beat back the attacks of the ruling class, carried out by the courts as part of the state machine, and endorsed by parliament and its parties, they must have a political party. The Labour Party was formed.

In the last 14 years with the Conservative Party in office, the right to strike has been abolished, by the threat — carried out in practice in the miners' 1984-85 strike — of seizing union funds.

Workers have been brutally attacked and some killed by police action against strikers. Picketing and solidarity strikes are virtually outlawed.

Yet the Labour Party has not fought these new laws. It did not support the miners on strike. It has made it clear that it will not repeal the anti-union laws, which means it will use these laws against workers.

In abolishing Clause Four, it has finally openly renounced all talk of socialism. Its leader, Blair, proposes to break the link with the unions through which the Party was founded, and to legislate state funding of Labour and the other parliamentary parties.

Why then should the trade unions continue to pay money from their political funds to the Labour Party which attacks them?

Is there not an equal need now — as there was in 1900-06 — for a political arm of the working class to defend and carry forward its interests, a party?



Workers have been brutally attacked and some killed by police action against strikers; picketing and solidarity strikes are virtually outlawed

**BUT changes like this turning upside down of the relations between the working class, its unions, and the Labour Party, do not happen by chance. They are not insignificant events.**

They happen because the needs of millions of people are at stake, and because weapons they had forged in struggle — unions and parties — need to be defended and advanced if their needs are to be met.

The ruling class, in its own profit-seeking interests, knows that it must beat down the standards of the working class, and take back all those gains — embodied in the welfare state, but above all in the possession of independent defence organisations, trade unions, and in past struggles.

That is why in Britain and other capitalist countries, laws against strikes and the independence of unions from the state have been passed. That is why Labour and other social democratic parties in Western Europe have over the years ceased to be

parties which helped to adapt the working class to capitalism's needs by getting reforms.

Now these parties are openly putting themselves forward as the most efficient instruments to attack the working class and its unions.

And this is why trade unionists need **urgently** to discuss the setting up of a political party to resist these attacks and prepare to deal with the system that carries them out. In Britain it will very soon mean dealing with a Labour government.

**IT IS only natural that millions of people, knowing that they must get rid of the Tories, will go into the election voting Labour, and will hope that a Labour government will do something about unemployment, about their debts and living standards, about housing and the homeless, about the appalling decline of the health service and education, about democratic rights and so on.**

And many will be reluctant to criticise or attack Blair and his team because they fear that it could do damage to Labour's election chances.

There is no doubt that these millions will be cruelly disappointed and disillusioned in a short space of time, because the Labour Party will cruelly betray their hopes.

Those of us in the working-class movement who have concluded that Blair and his Labour leadership are nothing but the agents of capitalism in the working class movement have a duty and a responsibility to these millions and not only to ourselves.

It would be criminally irresponsible to wait for the election of a Labour Government, wait for the disillusionment, wait for the attacks, without **preparing politically** for this situation.

If all we were to do was wait and then say 'I told you so' that would be worse than useless.

What we must do is **organise** the widest discussion throughout the working-class movement —

in every part of the country — on **how the working class will get for itself a workers' party.**

This is not a question only for trade unionists, but for **trade unionists who are for a socialist party.** We must take on our own responsibility.

This question of 'what kind of party' must be raised up and down the country, in every trades council/local TUC, every union branch and shop stewards' committee, every unemployed organisation, every part of the Labour Party. Labour Party members who want a socialist party must be part of this discussion.

If these Labour members think the way to get a truly socialist working class party is to follow Blair inside the Labour Party and change that party then we should discuss and work with them.

We don't agree that this is the best way forward but we will discuss and fight together against the Labour leaders.

We will bring together in every union and every town all **trade unionists for a socialist party.** We are putting together the names of all those who under this common heading will carry out the fight to all parts of the country and build up the movement for a truly working-class party — now, before the right wing completes its plan to launch

the attack under the next Labour government.

The following statement was moved and signed by a number of leading trade unionists who have been working in the International Trade Union Solidarity Campaign:

## TRADE UNIONISTS FOR A SOCIALIST PARTY!

*We call on all trade unionists to work together to defeat the anti-union laws, to denounce and defeat those who removed Clause Four, and to organise the discussion everywhere in the working class movement for the building of the working class and its movement.*

Workers Press is starting this discussion but we hope that many others will see its necessity and take part. Future issues of Workers Press will carry a series of articles on the question, and in particular, on the programme on which a **new party of the working class** should be based.

## Labour candidate hits back at press smears

THE selection of an anti-poll-tax campaigner as the prospective Labour parliamentary candidate for Leeds North East is to be inquired into by the Labour Party.

Councillor Liz Davies is currently chair of Islington council's women's committee.

'There is no valid reason to question my selection or my fitness as a Labour candidate,' says Davies.

False reports have been made that Davies has a 'criminal conviction'. Davies did refuse to pay

the poll tax but, as Davies points out, the resulting sentence was a purely civil proceeding. There was **no** conviction of any kind. Davies's debt has long since been discharged.

Further suggestions that Davies concealed her poll-tax record are squashed by her initial statement that: 'I played a key role in the local anti-poll-tax campaign, refused to pay the tax and defended people threatened with imprisonment for non-payment.'

The selection was conducted in strict accordance with Labour Party rules and was closely supervised by its regional office. Davies was selected on 1 July.

### Procedures

Yorkshire TV's 'Edit Five' documentary showed the whole procedure to be a model of Labour Party procedures.

'It was also a vindication for the policy of all-women shortlists,' says Davies.

The local press in Leeds has printed story after story distorting Davies's political record and commitments. The 'Yorkshire Evening Post' has tried to play on prejudice in citing her support — in line with Labour Party policy — for equal rights for lesbians and gay men.

Davies is taking legal advice on action against all those papers that have printed false allegations that she has concealed anything from Leeds Labour Party members.

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## Inside left

### Again on Spain

...ROWING scenes on television, of men being driven from their homes in Srebrenica, shocked millions of people. Such human feeling was evident from Socialist Workers Party hacks at their 'Marxism '95' summer school on 12 July. Duncan Blackie said what had happened at Srebrenica could be 'a disaster for the left' (my emphasis).

Claiming 'all sides' were guilty of atrocities in Bosnia, the SWP's spokesperson assured us the Bosnia and Herzegovina Army was as well-armed as the Serb forces; and said giving it more arms would only lead to more killings. The gospel according to Messrs. Rifkind and...

There is much talk on the left of "peace" and parallels made between the Bosnian war and the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s. Blackie writes in 'Socialist Review' (July-August). 'They say that the pro-continuation of Western governments is akin to the "non-intervention" of Britain and France in Spain which allowed fascist Germany and Italy to advance unhampered on the side of fascist forces.'

The SWP's 'expert' is an ignoramus and a liar. We attack the imperialists, particularly the Tories, not for 'pro-continuation', but for their arms embargo denying Bosnians the right to defend themselves against fascism, as they did to the Spanish people. But, Blackie protested, the Spanish public united communists, socialists and anarchists. Citing George Orwell on working-class life in Catalonia (ignorant, it seems, that this was destroyed by the Stalinists and bourgeois republic), he claimed by contrast, anyone travelling in a Serb nationalist-held territory would notice no difference.

While he was talking, thousands of men, children and old people from Srebrenica were struggling to reach safety in Tuzla. Perhaps Mr Blackie would have been on the road to persuade them to stay (and be slaughtered) under the Chetniks? But though he promised 'we will stand by workers of former Yugoslavia', I suppose he meant this literally. A 'Socialist Worker' preaches from afar of 'workers' unity', but it ignored the trade unionists when they visited Britain, and has not sent anyone to help workers in Bosnia.

Objecting to despise the SWP's 'ultra-pacifist position', Eddie Ford, writing in 'Weekly Worker' (22 June) says little from it. "There are no 'good' or 'bad' sides in Bosnia", says the SWP; 'Communists condemn unreservedly all sides', intones Ford. Proposing our support for Bosnia's right to arms, and our 'apocalyptic solidarity with Spain' (Is Srebrenica 'apocalyptic' enough?), he lectures us on the different origins of the wars, as though this was the issue. He adds:

Trotsky did not advocate the overthrow of the bourgeois republicanism, unlike some of his followers.' In fact, replying to American comrade who'd questioned defence of the Spanish Republic in September 1937, Trotsky explained that where revolutionary workers were not yet in a position to overthrow the bourgeoisie, 'they defend even rotten bourgeois democracy, but by their own methods'. Spanish workers defend their own rights and organisations while taking part in military struggle.

Using the example of two ships heading for Spain, Trotsky said revolutionaries should stop the one heading for the left, but not the one headed for the right. 'We are not neutral', he said.

Charlie Pottins

# URGENT CAMPAIGN TO SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

This Saturday (22 July), there is a national demonstration (12noon, Whitehall Place, London SW1) to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, currently on death row. What follows is taken from a much longer article by Jim Henle and Joseph Ryan in 'Socialist Action' (July 1995) — 3425 Cesar Chavez St. (Army St.), San Francisco, CA 94110, USA

THE DEATH warrant for Mumia Abu-Jamal was signed by Pennsylvania Governor Thomas Ridge on 1 June 1995. His execution is scheduled for 17 August.

Mumia, aged 41, has been on Pennsylvania's death row for 13 years. In 1982 he was convicted and sentenced to death for allegedly killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner on a cold December night in 1981. He has always maintained his innocence and says it was he who was the target of an assassination attempt by the Philadelphia police and that somebody else shot Faulkner.

The night of the shooting, Mumia was driving a cab when he came upon a Philadelphia police officer (Faulkner) beating his brother with a flashlight after pulling him over for a minor traffic violation. Mumia rushed to the scene to stop the beating and was then shot in the abdomen by Faulkner. What happened next remains unclear, but according to eyewitnesses someone else shot Faulkner and then fled.

When the police backup arrived, the cops proceeded to beat the wounded and profusely bleeding Mumia, delaying over 45 minutes before taking him to the hospital, where, according to staff, he was beaten again. Philadelphia police and the District Attorney's office seized on the opportunity to frame up Mumia and charge him with Faulkner's murder.

Mumia was no stranger to the local authorities. A founding member of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party, a supporter of MOVE (a Philadelphia-based black-nationalist group), and an outspoken public critic of the Philadelphia police and city administration, Mumia had been a thorn in the side of the local ruling powers for years.

### Activist

As a prominent journalist, social commentator and political activist, Mumia had used his local radio show to be 'the voice of the voiceless', documenting in his daily broadcasts the misery and anger of Philadelphia's black community.

Mumia's trial, which took place over the 4 July weekend in 1982, was a Star Chamber designed to railroad this fighter for social justice to death row:

■ The trial took place only six months after the incident. This effectively denied Mumia the time necessary to organise his defence because it took months for him to recover from his near-fatal wound.

■ Mumia was allocated a grand total of \$150 for pre-trial investigation and expert witness costs, virtually ensuring that he would not be able to match the prosecution's ability to spend limitless amounts of money to get a conviction.

■ Mumia's appointed lawyer, who was foisted on him by the court halfway through the jury selection process, had never appeared in a capital case before and begged to be taken off the case. This same lawyer has subsequently been disbarred.

### Denied

■ Mumia was denied his right to defend himself and for large portions of the trial was banished from the courtroom, rendering him unable to examine and challenge the state's evidence or cross-examine prosecution witnesses.

■ Even before the trial started, during the jury selection process, the racist and political character of the prosecution's case became obvious. The prosecution used peremptory challenges to exclude 11 of 16 potential black jurors without cause. The court then allowed the prosecution to exclude 'for cause' a black juror who questioned whether she could vote for the death penalty.

Meanwhile, Mumia's challenge to a white juror who stated he was already biased was denied. In a city where over 40 per cent of the population is black, Mumia was tried by a jury of 10 whites and two blacks.

■ The chief prosecution witnesses were two prostitutes who contradicted other prosecution witnesses. Both of these 'witnesses' had prior convictions and charges pending. One of them, Cynthia White, was told by police that she could ply her trade free of harassment if she testified for the state.

■ To buttress their case, the prosecution paraded a number of police witnesses who testified that Mumia confessed to the murder at the hospital. But the report of the arresting officer mentioned no such 'confession'. However, no testimony was heard from this officer because he

was conveniently on vacation and the judge refused Mumia's request for an adjournment until he returned.

■ No physical evidence was found linking Mumia to Faulkner's death. Ballistics tests of Mumia's gun, which he had a legal permit to carry while driving a cab at night, were inconclusive and therefore speculative. No tests were even made to see if his gun had been fired and no tests for gun-powder residue were ever made on Mumia's hands, all of which are standard procedures in a homicide case.

■ During the police investigation, four eyewitnesses, with views from different angles, stated that they saw a man 50 pounds heavier than Mumia flee immediately after the shooting. One of these eyewitnesses later changed his testimony at the trial to implicate Mumia. The judge then refused to allow into testimony the fact that this witness was on parole and susceptible to police coercion.

■ Both the police and the District Attorney withheld from the defence the addresses and statements of potential witnesses who could clear Mumia.

■ During the sentencing phase of the trial, the District Attorney was allowed to cross-examine Mumia after he made a statement to the jury, and then proceeded to use Mumia's past affiliation with the Black Panther Party to prove that he was 'just waiting to kill a cop'. This in itself was a violation of Mumia's First Amendment right to freedom of speech and association, and his Fifth Amendment right not to be forced to incriminate himself.

### Misled

■ The prosecution then deliberately misled the jury by telling them that if they returned the death penalty they were still not being 'asked to kill anyone', because Mumia would 'have appeal after appeal'. The trial was nothing more than a kan-

garoo court with gross procedural misconduct by the police, the prosecutor and the judge. On 5 June, Mumia's attorneys filed a petition for a post-conviction review of his trial in an effort to force a new trial.

Support for Mumia has poured in from around the world, particularly from trade unions.

### International

From the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in the United States, to the French Confédération General du Travail (CGT), to South Africa's Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the labour movement has rallied to his defence. Among many other international endorsers, the African National Congress (ANC) has supported his defence.

In the next weeks, this kind of support and visible protest actions will be critical to stop Mumia's execution.

## SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

Send protests to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Rm. 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. Fax: (717) 783-1398. Tel: (800) 932-0784.

Write to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.

Contributions for legal defence: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. [Cheques payable to: 'Bill of Rights Foundation "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defence"']

Copies of Mumia Abu-Jamal's 'Petition for Post-Conviction Relief' from: Equal Justice, USA, PO Box 5206, Hyattsville, MD 20782. Tel: (301) 699-0042. Fax: (301) 864-2182. E-mail: quixote@igc.apc.org.

# Live from death row!

'Live from death row — this is Mumia Abu-Jamal'

When Mumia Abu-Jamal was arrested on 9 December 1981 on charges of murdering a Philadelphia police officer, he was already a well-known Philadelphia-based journalist, commentator, and activist.

He was certainly well-known by the Philadelphia police and the Frank Rizzo mayoral administration.

Besides run-ins with the police in the late 1960s, when he was an active member of the Black Panther Party, Mumia again came to their attention while he was working as a journalist and commentator for WUHY Radio (now WHYY).

He published and broadcast a series of hard-hitting exposures of the brutal police attack against MOVE headquarters in 1978, which left one police officer dead. (An autopsy later suggested that the unfortunate cop

was accidentally shot by his own men.)

During the subsequent trial of nine MOVE leaders, who received sentences ranging from 30 to 100 years, Mumia questioned the Rizzopolice version of events and characterised the trial as a frame-up. As Mumia caught Mayor Rizzo and the cops in lies and contradictions, Rizzo became so incensed that he singled him out at a press conference, blaming him for practising 'a new breed of advocacy journalism'.

### Killed

(On 13 May 1985, Philadelphia police used plastic explosives while attacking a MOVE household. They killed 11 MOVE members, including five children, and left the surrounding black working-class neighbourhood in ashes.)

Mumia's commentaries have been aired on National Public Radio (NPR), and his articles were featured in dozens of newspapers coast to coast. In 1980, at the age of 26, he was elected to the presidency of the Philadelphia Association of Black Journalists.

By 1981, Mumia was recognized as one of the most talented journalists in the misnamed 'City of Brotherly Love'. The 'Philadelphia Inquirer' described him as 'an eloquent activist not afraid to use his voice'. The 'Philadelphia Magazine' named him one of the '81 people to watch in 1981'.

But Mumia was forced to quit his job at WUHY after he had been told to tone down his commentaries on the war being waged against black people in Philadelphia by politicians and cops.

Taking the advice of 'Philadelphia Magazine', the police were obviously

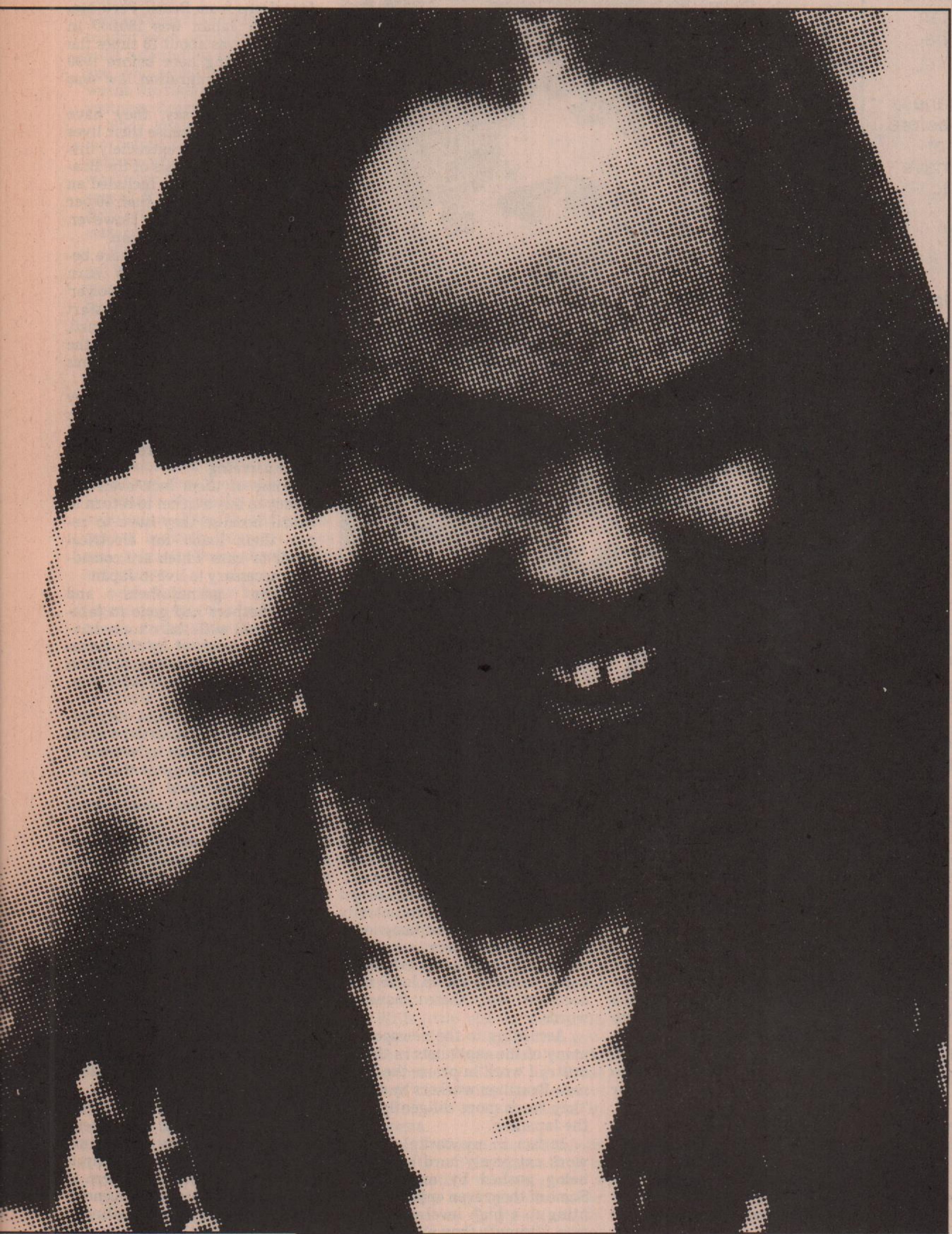
watching Mumia, too. In his book, 'Live From Death Row', Mumia describes how while he was walking to work one day a cop in an idling police car made the unmistakable gesture of pointing his finger like a gun at him and pulling the trigger.

Throughout his 13 years on death row, Mumia has never ceased to do what he says he always loved: finding a story and covering it. Last year, his scheduled commentaries for National Public Radio's 'All Things Considered' caused a national controversy.

After tremendous pressure was brought to bear on NPR by politicians and police, especially the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), the series was cancelled.

The Philadelphia police are waging a campaign of intimidation against Mumia Abu-Jamal, his right to defence and his right to expres-

# IGN NEEDED VE MUMIA MAL'S LIFE



Mumia Abu-Jamal

on. They tried to intimidate Addison-Wesley from publishing 'Live From Death Row', calling for a boycott of the book, and using such tactics as flying banners from aeroplanes on the publication date denouncing Mumia.

## Charge

Maureen Faulkner, the widow of the slain officer, is also leading the charge against Mumia's writings and has invited to the FOP national convention to share the podium with Bill Clinton. This police thought-control and intimidation campaign is a threat not only to Mumia Abu-Jamal but to the basic right of free expression for all of us.

'Live From Death Row', the book that the FOP finds so dangerous, is a collection of eloquent essays and biting vignettes.

Included are a perceptive analysis of the two-faced hypocrisy of Bill Clinton, a tribute to Malcolm X and Huey Newton, observations on the Rodney King trial, the tragedy of the massacre of the Branch Davidians in Waco — which Mumia likens to what happened to MOVE in 1985 — and the crisis of the black community, in both spirit and leadership.

But the greater part of the book is devoted to the numbing and brutalising effects of life on death row and the skewed racial composition of the condemned. 'You will find a blacker world on death row than anywhere else,' Mumia states.

He describes not only the ingrained racism of the white guards, but also the US Supreme Court's institutionalised racism, which through recent decisions has sanctioned a disproportionate use of the death penalty against black people.

Mumia Abu-Jamal knows the life of those he calls 'we the caged', the clients of America's number-one growth industry: prisons. He knows the 'mind-numbing, soul-killing savage sameness' and the brutality of prison life. He knows the battles of the law for justice, of the spirit for survival, and of the oppressed for liberation. And he knows how to tell about it in direct and powerful language. He hasn't forgotten us — the 'not yet caged', as he says — and has given us this work.

Encourage bookshops to carry the book and buy a copy! Royalties support Mumia's defence efforts. And you'll get something valuable for your money too!

J.H. (reprinted from 'Socialist Action' Vol. 13, No. 7 July 1995). 'Live From Death Row' can be obtained from Index Books, 10-12 Atlantic Road, Brixton, price £15.50.

# City Lights

## Derivatives are back, older but little wiser

THE derivatives boys are back in town. Business is booming on the Singapore International Monetary Exchange (Simex), the derivatives market from which Nick Leeson operated and whose activities bust Barings Bank in February of this year. Simex always prided itself on being one of the world's most regulated exchanges.

'Derivatives' are one of the latest things to be traded on the exchanges. They don't actually represent any wealth but are based on estimates/guesses about things like Frankfurt's interest rate in three month's time. Nobody knows the value of these activities, except that it runs into many trillions.

Trading volume in derivatives has risen so high in the last weeks that Simex has been forced to provide 50 extra trading seats at a monthly cost of £1,350. This may come as a surprise after all the bad publicity surrounding the Leeson affair. But as a prominent member of Simex said last week: 'After a post-Barings period of self-examination, the clients have decided they need derivatives products and are back in the marketplace.'

In an attempt to prevent another Barings-style crash, some firms operating in the derivatives market have consolidated their activities with one or other of the large clearing banks. Such is the case with BZW Futures, whose operations are now backed by the resources of Barclays Bank.

Far from bringing greater stability, this will only make any future crash that much bigger in depth and scope. The shock of Barings is actually leading to the emergence of a small number of derivatives super-powers and the disappearance of many small and medium-sized players.

The need for a large capital base to absorb what can often be wild market fluctuations partly explains this trend. But to try and track the movement of what are millions and millions of prices and to try and reassure nervous clients, the derivative houses are being forced to install massively expensive computer systems. Only the really big boys, most of them American, can afford such systems. Hence the trend towards concentration.

The potential instability inherent in such a situation is recognised by the financiers themselves. Writing in the 'Evening Standard's' business pages recently, Michael Neill said: 'So a Baring's style crisis was, and is not, within the bounds of possibility at Barclays' derivatives operation.'

But then, more realistically, he adds:

'This assumes, of course, that any such crisis does not become systemic and bring the whole derivatives house of cards, valued in trillions of dollars, crashing down.' Yes indeed.

## New South African labour code

AGREEMENT has been reached between South Africa's employers and the leadership of the trade unions on a new labour relations bill which has been hailed by big business as the most important piece of legislation since the inauguration of President Nelson Mandela as leader of the government.

Although full and final details are expected this week, the agreement puts limits on the right to strike, deals with the conditions under which closed shops can exist and with the rights of employers to use alternative labour during strikes. The bosses have successfully resisted union attempts to impose compulsory centralised bargaining.

David Brink, chairman of Business SA, said it was a watershed agreement. 'On all key issues of principle, business can be happy with the out-

come,' he declared. Brink added that he believed the positive attitude by business towards the new legislation would have a beneficial impact on foreign companies considering investing in South Africa.

Tito Mboweni, the minister of labour, welcoming the agreement said, 'The deal is done, there is no going back.'

The union leaders had threatened a series of 'rolling strikes' to resist some of the clauses in the agreement. Brink responded by saying that the employers would rather sit out a six month's strike rather than bow to some of the unions' demands.

## Where's the investment?

The ANC-dominated government of South Africa yearns for foreign investment, and this was no doubt one of the principal reasons for the introduction of such a labour code. The world's financial capitals have been host to a procession of South African ministers with the same message: the world has witnessed the greatest miracle in the transition to black majority rule; political harmony abounds, the prospects for economic growth are good. Please, please, invest with us.

But the investment stubbornly refuses to materialise. Hard-nosed capitalists are turning down the chance to make what seems to be the biggest of killings.

It is true that there has been some inflow of capital since Mandela came into office. But this has been almost entirely equity investment, that is money sunk into existing stocks and shares. This has created a froth of stock exchange liquidity and rich pickings for the stockbrokers.

But such investments have the volatility of mercury and could return from where they came as fast as they arrived. What has so far failed to materialise is direct investment, that is funds sunk into productive facilities.

No doubt one reason is the fear amongst big business of the deep instability that underlies class relations in South Africa. The ANC-dominated government has not been able to deliver on its promises to the millions who voted it into office. The future after 1999, when the next elections are due to be held and Nelson Mandela — the person who has managed thus far to hold things together — looks particularly uncertain.

Apart from these political considerations, one other factor inhibiting foreign investment is the stranglehold over South African businesses held by a small group of management cliques. No less than 85 per cent of the market capitalisation of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange is under the control of fewer than 10 boards of directors, many with directors in common.

These boards have usually been able to ignore hostile takeover bids because of a complex network of cross-ownership. Potential takeover targets are usually either more than 50 per cent owned by a holding company, which often has another such structure on top of it.

The upshot is that managements are able to block takeovers, even though a majority of shareholders might be in favour of a bid. A foreign investor must therefore decide whether to invest in a company, with little prospect of securing control, or of even having a say in important management decisions. In an effort to boost inward investment, the Mandela government has recently introduced legislation which prevents a company taking more than 29 per cent stake in another enterprise unless it makes a bid for the whole. But, no doubt not wishing to alienate powerful capitalist interests the government has decreed that this will only affect stakes taken after the change in the law.

Threadneedle

# Infallible apology

## PERSONAL COLUMN

FOR His Holiness the Pope to apologise to the female sex, as he did the other day, is rather like the spider apologising to the flies: it's ridiculous; it's disgusting; and it's far too little, far too late.

The suffering inflicted on women by the Roman Catholic Church over the centuries is too monstrous to be atoned for by a few pious pontifical words.

Much of this suffering has sprung from the deeply misogynistic view that the sole purpose of the union of the sexes is procreation — regardless of the woman's age or state of health, regardless of whether she already has 20 children or none, regardless of whether or not the children she conceives and bears can be adequately fed.

Hence the Church's rigid dogmatic opposition to all effective methods of birth control — though countless couples have been advised by ostensibly celibate parish priests to use the notoriously unsafe 'safe period'.

No hint of this opposition is to be found in the teachings of the founder of the Christian religion or in those of his immediate successors. Not until Christianity was 13 centuries old, in fact, did a Church dignitary stigmatise contraceptive practices as a vice against nature.

This view was first expressed by St Thomas Aquinas (1225-74), even though his teacher St Albert the Great (1193-1280) was said to have advised eating bees as a means of preventing conception.

Though Aquinas himself opposed contraception in a rather vague fashion, deep hostility towards it soon became the official doctrine of the Catholic Church, and when the modern birth-control movement arose in the 19th century this hostility was expressed with redoubled venom. Contraception was a sin, and that was that.

As early as 1868 the Roman Catholic Bishop of Liverpool, Dr Alexander Goss, accused birth-control campaigners of fostering a project for 'stifling children in their birth'.

In 1887 the British Catholic doctor Thomas Michael Dolan, an authority on hydrophobia, told the Ninth International Medical Congress in Washington: 'We are offered for the philosophy of the Scriptures and the Gospels the newer philosophy of the sponge, the tampon and the vaginal douche. . . . The choice is before you.'

During World War I the American birth-control campaigner Margaret Sanger paid in advance for the use of a St Louis theatre only to find that a high Catholic official had persuaded the manager to keep the doors locked, threatening him with a boycott by Catholics if he did not comply.

Catholic pressure elsewhere in the US led many cities to refuse permission for her meetings to be held, or to such meetings being closed by the police, as was one attended by 2,000 people at the newly opened New York town hall in 1921.

Police operations, including the arrest of Mrs Sanger, were directed from the back of the hall by Cardinal Patrick J. Hayes's secretary, Monsignor Joseph P. Dineen.

High authorities of the Church also suggested to the police their 1929 raid on Mrs Sanger's Clinical Research Bureau, a pioneering birth-control clinic, which entailed the seizure of patients' confidential records and anonymous telephone calls, threatening newspaper publicity, to those patients who were Catholics.

The Catholic Church mounted a similar campaign against the British campaigner Marie Stopes.

In 1923 the Catholic doctor Halliday Sutherland accused Stopes of instructing working women 'in a method of contraception described by Professor

[Anne] McIlroy as "the most harmful method of which I have had experience".

Stopes sued Sutherland for libel, and Professor McIlroy, after insisting that rubber check pessaries could cause occlusion of the womb, at length admitted in cross-examination that she had never actually examined a woman who had worn one of these pessaries.

By 1925 the Labour women's conference was calling for doctors employed in any medical service for which public funds were provided to be allowed to give contraceptive information to married people who wanted it.

The only delegate in opposition, an unmarried Catholic woman from Leeds, said working mothers did not want instruction in impure and unchaste matters, birth control was a device against God and humanity, and they were not going to allow such filth.

The gynaecologist Frederick J. McCann, president of the Catholic-sponsored League of National Life (formed in 1926), 'discovered' a syndrome he called 'Malthusian uterus', caused by contraception.

It could be recognised by a slight uniform enlargement of the womb, uniform softening of the cervix and body, increased loss of blood in menstruation, increased mucoid discharge between menstrual periods, backache, pelvic discomfort, and an anxious, drawn appearance in the woman's face.

BEARING in mind the vast number of unwanted children that he and his predecessors and their priesthood have caused their flocks to bring into the world, His Holiness has much to apologise for.

Whatever else it shows, his apology suggests that people are less and less willing to swallow fairy-tales, even when they come with the imprimatur and *nihil obstat* of Holy Church herself.

There was another clear sign of this only a couple of weeks ago, when an Italian scientist exposed as a fake the only weeping madonna officially accepted by the Roman Catholic Church.

This is the statue of the Virgin Mary in the Sicilian town of Siracusa, which has been weeping on and off for 42 years.

Dr Luigi Garlaschelli, a chemist at Padua University, has not only explained how it's done but has actually constructed his own weeping madonna, using a hollow statue made of thin plaster. The statue is coated with impermeable glazing and water is poured into the hollow centre through a tiny hole in the head.

The glazing prevents the liquid from pouring out. But if barely perceptible scratches are made in the glazing over the eyes, lo and behold! droplets of water appear as if by divine intervention.

There are dozens of these weeping madonnas in Italy, some of which are now shedding tears of 'blood'.

'In my opinion this is because we now have colour TV', says the cynical Dr Garlaschelli.

These weeping madonnas are the modern equivalents of those nails and splinters from the true cross, of which there were enough scattered through Europe's churches in the middle ages to build a fleet of ships (as my colleague Charlie Pottins remarked to me the other day).

They recall also those authentic foreskins of Jesus Christ, of which there were at least six kept on display in various medieval churches.

Will the Sovereign Pontiff now apologise for these deceptions? Over to you, Karol Wojtyla, alias John Paul II!

*Peter Fryer*

# Working with Japanese-Brazilian workers Plight of foreign workers in Japan

This article was written by a Japanese worker for 'Liberation' published by the JRCL-RMF (Japan Revolutionary Communist League — Revolutionary Marxist Faction). It describes the conditions of Japanese-Brazilian workers in Japan. The term 'Japanese-Brazilian' refers to descendants of Japanese emigrants to Brazil before World War II. Many of these descendants have now gone to Japan to work in industry. Translation by SHIN TANUMA

## Foreign workers in Japan under affliction caused by recession

Several companies in the car-parts industry have made redundant more than 150 foreign workers each at one time. These companies are middle-size subsidiaries of the industrial giants like Toyota and Nissan.

This is only the tip of the iceberg. Many foreign workers in Japan have not taken out employment insurance or even health insurance. [Japanese workers are expected to make their provisions for unemployment or illness, there is no Welfare State!]

They are therefore left without any means of support from the day they are dismissed. Thus, they are forced to work in worse conditions than that of the previous workplace. Otherwise, they have to go back to the countries they came from.

In fact, many of the workers of Japanese-Brazilian descent at 'J company', where I work, have also been made redundant. Those remaining have had wage cuts during both 1993 and 1994.

Further, their contracts have been reduced from a period of six months to two months. What I write here expresses what I have felt, thought and understood whilst working and talking with the Japanese-Brazilian workers.

## Management pushes the workers: 'Hurry up! Hurry up!'

LIKE many others, J company organizes its labour force in what is known as the system of 'staff and line'. The assembly line which is engaged in production consists of field overseers and field workers. Of the field workers, the majority are Japanese-Brazilian.

Robots have been introduced into the production-line such as welding and pressing. These are the objective conditions of labour of the field workers. Therefore, the Japanese-Brazilian workers are forced to work at a certain fixed speed corresponding to the



Japanese-Brazilian workers on the car-parts production line

robots' speed. They have to supply the materials to the robots and also to examine and mend the completed products that come out of the machines at a fixed rate. The labour is unvarying and monotonous. This work keeps workers in a state of extreme tension.

Moreover, the lower managerial staff keep their eyes on the Japanese-Brazilian workers to ensure that there is no 'unreasonableness, unevenness and waste' in their work and also to ensure that they do not skimp or neglect their work.

Therefore, the first Japanese word that Japanese-Brazilian workers learn is 'hayaku, hayaku' [hurry up, hurry up].

Managerial staff at J company say to us Japanese workers: 'The monotonous, dirty and heavy work should be done by the Brazilians! Japanese workers should do the work which requires a good deal of brain work!'

Thus the capitalist implants in the consciousness of Japanese workers notions of superiority such as 'Japanese workers are permanent staff'.

Using this special arrangement of the labour force — that is, with the majority of the field workers being Japanese-Brazilian — the capitalists try to get Japanese workers to voluntarily acquire the skills and knowledge involving computers in order to increase productivity. Unfortunately, some workers have been deceived by these 'honeyed' words.

According to the newspapers, many of the capitalists in the industry I work in praise the Japanese-Brazilian workers by saying 'they work more diligently than the Japanese'.

In fact, in my workplace, they work extremely hard because of being pushed by management. Some of them even enjoy contributing to a high level of production, although they are forced to do unvarying and monotonous work.

However, what is decisive here is that they are the workers who are amongst the first to be dismissed whenever the capitalist feels he does not need them. Therefore, they work hard without any complaint.

I feel outraged at what the capitalists and managerial staff are doing and saying.

## Organise the foreign workers to be class conscious

The number of Japanese-South Americans from Brazil, Peru, etc., living in Japan was 150,000 in 1993. This was about 18 times the number living here before 1990 when the immigration law was revised.

Needless to say, they have come to Japan because their lives in Brazil had been extremely difficult due to the crisis of the Brazilian economy. This included an inflation rate of more than 40 per cent a month in 1994. However, this was not the only reason.

They have also come here because they intended to earn money in the 'economic power' Japan, and to go back and start their own businesses in Brazil. However, with the collapse of the 'bubble' economy, these dreams have collapsed.

What with being attacked by dismissals, deduction of wages and shortened officially paid overtime, they are barely able to make a living.

Some of them lack even the money to buy a ticket to return to Brazil because they have to repay their loans for electrical goods or cars which are considered necessary to live in Japan.

Their grandfathers and grandmothers had gone to faraway Brazil with their hopes having been deceived by the Bonapartist imperial systems of South America of the early 20th century.

In Brazil, they could only settle on the wild land with no roads that the Brazilian government offered them. Many of them are said to have died because no medical supplies could reach them.

Their descendants are now being used as a cheap labour force in Japan by the capitalists who have decided to recruit foreign workers in order to cover the shortage of younger workers in Japan. And they are going to be treated as an expendable labour force with the collapse of the 'bubble' economy in Japan.

In order to put an end to this tragedy and to liberate themselves they have to organise themselves in a class-conscious manner.

I, the worker working together with them, have been strengthened in my determination to persevere and to continue my activities to enable them to develop their class consciousness.

Needless to say, this is linked with my activities in trying to also get Japanese workers to develop their class-consciousness, who are deceived and induced to have a 'sense of superiority' in relation to foreign workers by the capitalists and the labour aristocracy of the union and who endeavour together to raise productivity.

# Mainland car delivery drivers sacked for defending jobs

THIRTY-SEVEN Transport and General Workers' Union members — drivers at Mainland Car Deliveries depot in Didcot — went out on official strike on 22 May to defend nine workers the management had just sacked. The company responded to this by immediately sacking all 37. Some

of these have worked in the car transportation industry for more than 20 years.

The drivers held an official ballot, 35 voting for strike action and only two against. They gave the seven days' notice required by law. Management used these seven days to move all operations

to Ely in Cambridgeshire. However, 2,500 cars are still in the distribution depot.

The owner MCD is millionaire Geoffrey Fielding. He has broken every agreement he ever signed with the Didcot drivers. Managing director Alex Perkins has refused to negotiate with the driv-

ers and ignored all existing procedures.

All 37 Didcot drivers could win their jobs back but they need your support and solidarity.

Messages can be sent to TGWU, Palace Street, London SW1E 5JD. Fax: 0171-630 5861.

# The Pacific, French colonialism and nuclear tests

French plans to resume nuclear testing have caused outrage around the world, not least among the peoples affected. STEVE DRURY comments

THE peoples of the Pacific are descended from navigators with the most astounding skills and courage, who sailed in open craft towards the rising sun and into the vastness of earth's greatest ocean.

They knew nothing of what lay before them. Their first departure was from southern Asia, where the human population had spread from the rice-cultivating cultures of the Yangtze basin in eastern China.

Why they took to the sea we do not know, but it became their element more than that of any other human group. Island settlement is first known from the Philippines around 5,000 years ago, with a steady spread to the Marianas, Gilbert Isles, New Hebrides, Samoa Fiji and Tonga by 1000BC.

These seafarers reached the great ocean wastes of Polynesia and Hawaii by 300AD, with the last major settlements on Easter Island and New Zealand from 400 to 800AD. Virtually the whole population of the Pacific can be related by both linguistic roots and genes to these sturdy men and women.

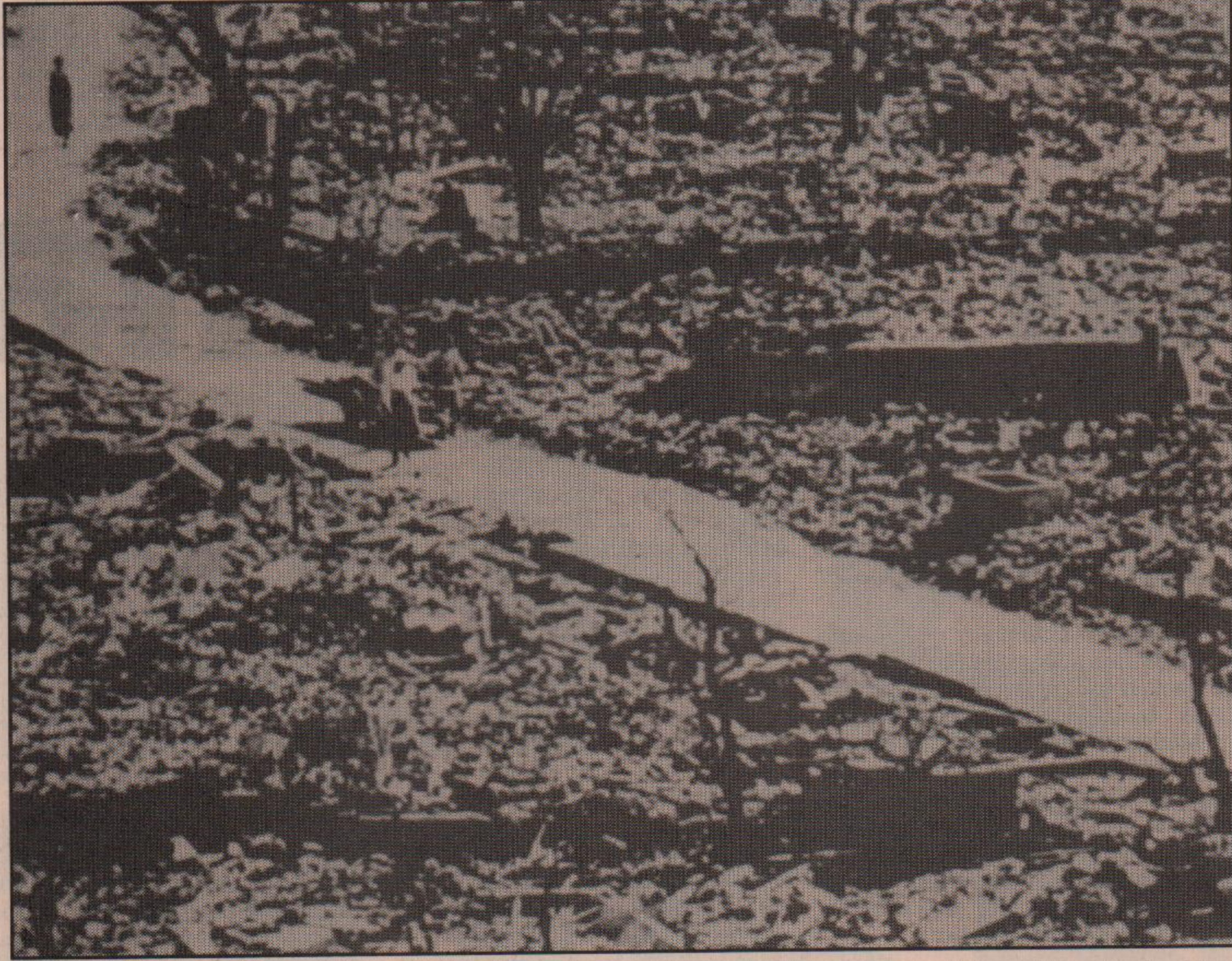
Aside from their boats, skills, ingenuity and rich culture the people of the ocean had nothing except the wealth they held in common. Not surprisingly, given their apparently idyllic homes and their own beauty, a common theme in Pacific culture is a light-hearted celebration of physical union.

Beneath that celebration, however, always lurked the threat of exhaustion of the limited resources of small-island environments. Its emergence overlay a grim veneer of bizarre castes and sects, cannibalism and a sort of millenarian aspect to religion in many communities.

This probably also drove the best elements among the youth to seek relief in new island homes, and so to discover even the tiniest coral atolls.

Long after the exploits of the great navigators and explorers, imperial Europe blundered into the Pacific seeking profit and dominion in global competition. Although they are the 'heroes' of schoolboy tales, Magellan, Raleigh, De Quiros, Cook and Tasman had it easy: they were watered, victualled and entertained!

In wave after wave, imperialism brought corruption in all its forms: prostitution and syphilis, po-faced missionaries exploiting the millenarian undertone to Pacific cultures and devastating them, profit-seekers of all kinds, war and, finally, genetic maiming through nuclear tests. And there imperialism and colonialism stay,



Nagasaki, 9 August 1945: enough TNT equivalent in nuclear weapons have been tested to wipe out every major West European and North American city

as 'protectorates' and 'trusts', mainly with US, British and French military and administrative dominion.

The Pacific is a militarised trench with hundreds of bases of all kinds, from 'hidey-holes' for nuclear submarines to R&R havens for testosterone-laden troops. Worst by far are the nuclear test sites and their radioactive legacy.

Enough TNT equivalent in nuclear weapons has been involved in Pacific 'experiments' to wipe out every major city in Western Europe and North America. Fallout and leakage have already reaped a grim harvest of deformed Pacific kids and cancer-ravaged fisherfolk. Little can be done to prevent such insidious pollution from acting for hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years into the future.

With little else to sustain it, the new right-wing Chirac government in France has leapt to recapture 'La Gloire' of Great French chauvinism with a new round of tests on Mururoa atoll in Polynesia.

What loathsome yet ridiculous pomposity and arrogance it all is — De Gaulle's squirming for a seat at the 'superpowers' table: his *force de frappe* (smack-your-legs' force in my school French!) whose use or threat in the Cold War would have rained the sun's surface on Paris and Toulouse: the testing on Mururoa for M-5 ballistic missiles deployed on 'Le Triomphant'-class submarines.

What maritime 'triumph', or any other, can French imperialism claim, except, perhaps, the confiscation of current Greenpeace president David McTaggart's yacht off Mururoa in 1972, the cowardly bombing of 'Rainbow Warrior' and the murder of Greenpeace's Photographer Fernando Pereira in 1985?

French nuclear ambitions were driven from the 'Place of Thirst and Hunger' (the Tiblisi mountains of Algeria) by Algerian independence in the 1950s. What better to restore *La Gloire* than to follow the US and Britain to the Pacific?

After all, there flew the Tricolore over cosy colons lured by Gauguinesque pleasures of the flesh. There too were the great nickel deposits of New Caledonia,

essential for the French arms industry. Fisheries abounded, global maritime influence would be assured, and there too was untold metal wealth in ore nodules carpeting the ocean floor.

Were it not for the horrors of radiation, the French Pacific testing programme would be a farce. An impatient and no doubt busy observer aboard a cruiser, De Gaulle, in 1966 ordered one test to proceed despite unfavourable winds.

Radioactivity showered on Samoa, New Zealand and Australia, thousands of miles downwind. The coral reef beneath the underground test site at Mururoa is so fractured that radiation is undoubtedly leaking out: few technicians bathe in Mururoa's tempting blue waters.

One accident resulted from a bomb, hundreds of times more powerful than that of Hiroshima, being jammed in its shaft. It was detonated, blasting holes in the atoll. Mururoa has sunk almost two metres since tests began.

## Irradiated

In 1985, as well as evacuating irradiated islanders from near a US test site, one of Rainbow Warrior's missions was to monitor possible radioactive leaks from Mururoa. This followed the French government's whitewash of a highly publicised scientific report by geologists and physicists from New Zealand, Papua New Guinea and Australia, that warned of great dangers there.

The events surrounding the bombing of Rainbow Warrior and the murder of Fernando Pereira by agents of the French secret service (DGSE Action Service) are well known, thanks to the courage of Pereira's daughter. She was determined to unmask all the culprits, and unearth the evidence.

But the culprits were never brought to court, because the two captured by New Zealand police pleaded guilty to manslaughter charges. All this blazed from our TV screens during Channel 4's documentary 'Beyond the Rainbow' (11 July).

The smug Crystal Kens and Barbies of DGSE fled whining from this tough 18-year-old. Auckland detectives opened all the Rainbow Warrior files. New Zealand ex-premier Lange de-

tailed the economic pressures placed by the French government on the New Zealand authorities to release the two convicts. Today they are minor celebrities in French right-wing circles.

Now Greenpeace have a new Rainbow Warrior, already subject to French terror methods off Mururoa, but planning to disrupt, if not thwart, the tests. There can be no doubt that the men and women crew members are brave and resourceful.

However, their individual acts of courage in single-issue causes, such as sailing under the harpoons of whalers, occupying the Brent Spar rig and 'invading' Mururoa, are no substitute for the only force capable of bringing nuclear tests, imperialism and obscene chauvinism to a final end: the international working class.

Wherever a working class springs up, it spells trouble for capitalism. The French dominion of New Caledonia hosts some of the world's richest nickel deposits. To mine these demanded workers. As in Bougainville (the site of one of the world's biggest copper and gold mines), consciousness in the new working class leapt from that of naive, almost Stone Age levels to the organised occupation of mines and demands for self-determination.

The Kanak Socialist Liberation Front of New Caledonia, led by Elios Machoro, held the mining town of Thio under arms for three weeks in 1985, against French troops and rabid colons. Machoro was hunted down and shot, and the racist backlash left one dead and 70 injured in the capital.

Workers in Bougainville have defied police harassment, scabs and provocation for years, and still the great mines are at a standstill. Now the workers of Papeete, the capital of French Polynesia, have taken to the streets in tens of thousands to demand an end to the tests and for self-determination. It is to them that socialists must turn. These workers instill by far the greatest fears in the Elysée Palace.

*Les Grands Chauvins* know nothing of humanity, which can rise from Stone Age to Internet, from animism to socialism in a mere two generations to threaten the whole obscene edifice.

# Live Aid ten years on and Bosnia now!

For many years the people of Eritrea fought against the Moscow-backed Ethiopian-nationalist forces until 1991 when the Ethiopian regime collapsed. STEVE DRURY, who made several trips to Eritrea, here draws parallels between that struggle and what is happening in Bosnia today

LAST WEEKEND was the tenth anniversary of the Live Aid benefit concert to raise money to relieve the victims of famine in the Horn of Africa, particularly in Ethiopia.

Despite the concern of millions worldwide, particularly the youth, and their unprecedented generosity, it did not remove famine from the agenda. Nor did it relieve the suffering of the million at whom the aid was aimed.

Many are still in refugee camps under terrible conditions, entirely dependent on the inadequate food aid grudgingly doled out by United Nations bureaucrats on behalf of imperialism.

That famine was prevented from recurring on the same or worse scale is down to the eventual victory of the fighters of the Eritrean and Ethiopian liberation movements in 1991, and of the less organised Somali forces a year earlier.

The agents of imperialism, the Dergue regime of Mengistu Haile Mariam in Ethiopia and the Siad Barre regime in Somalia, were destroyed.

The source of the famine that Live Aid was a response to was not some purely natural calamity. It was rooted in the conscious policy of imperialism and the betrayals of Stalinism.

In Ethiopia it took the form of 'Great Amhara' chauvinism. Mengistu's aim was to bring the multi-ethnic communities of Ethiopia and Eritrea under the rule of Addis Ababa by military force and brutalisation.

The parallels between the struggle for Eritrean independence up to 1991 and what has been happening in Bosnia from 1992 are plain for all to see.

As with the Ethiopian Dergue regime, we see the transformation from Belgrade-style Stalinism to fascism and Greater Serbian chauvinism aiming to swallow up a defiant multi-ethnic community.

It is occurring under the same economic pressures from the death rattle of world capitalism.

The same rape, murder, looting and 'ethnic cleansing', the same forced conscription, the same source of arms and the same easy manipulation of a willing UN bu-

reaucracy, were seen in Eritrea as they are seen today in Bosnia.

This is the barbarism that all workers in all communities eventually face.

Equally, we see the determination of the mixed communities to defend themselves by force of arms. The morals and the ethics of the defending fighters are poles apart from those of the leaderships of the forces opposed to them. They are our morals and our ethics — an end to barbarism and war!

Aid in the form of food to the beleaguered is of course essential. It is an expression in material form of international proletarian solidarity. But it is not enough.

The events in Srebrenica — and those impending in other so-called UN 'safe havens' — demand the arming of the Bosnian working class. Kalashnikovs are insufficient.

Bosnian forces require heavy artillery, armoured personnel carriers, tanks and anti-tank weapons, and anti-aircraft cover. And this is all needed without any political strings.

Bosnians are quite able by themselves to 'liberate' weaponry from the UN Protection Force troops ordered to stand idly by as 'observers'.

Equally, they are quite able to equip themselves by raids on the Serb-nationalist Chetnik forces, as the Eritreans did against the Dergue regime.

## Solidarity

However, unlike the Eritreans — whose calls for unconditional assistance fell on deaf ears — Bosnian workers have a world of solidarity and ingenuity from their comrades in easy contact.

Arming the Bosnian workers — by air, sea or land — will be no easy task in the face of the blockade and sophisticated air-defence systems and the sharing of intelligence between UN forces and the Chetniks.

Workers everywhere must therefore demand of their national governments the immediate and unconditional arming of the Bosnian workers to halt fascism in its tracks.

At the same time they must discuss means of circumventing the inevitable prevarication and opposition by the bourgeoisies of their various countries to ensure that what is needed does get through to the front lines.

Workers' organisations in Serbia must be barraged with the message:

**'Your enemy is in Belgrade and Pale. Down with Milosevic and Karadzic! An end to the Chetniks and their forced conscription of your sons and brothers! No more war!'**

And in Europe and the rest of the world workers must raise the demand loud and clear:

**'Lift the arms embargo!'**



Dergue soldiers taken prisoner during liberation struggle



Hiroshima, 6 August 1945

# BOSNIA: Tories aim

AS thousands of people driven from their homes in Srebrenica by Serb nationalist 'ethnic cleansing' told of murders, torture and rapes, and the blood-thirsty Serb Chetniks turned to attack Zepa, Western imperialist governments put on a cynical performance for the media last week.

Major, Rifkind, Clinton and Chirac performed a pantomime whose ending any child could foresee. Having surrendered the 'safe areas', their next aim is a deal with the major war criminal, Serbian President Milosevic. In Zepa, 150 poorly-armed Bosnian soldiers standing against the attacking Chetniks seized weapons and equipment from Ukrainian UN troops, who had no intention of fighting, and had orders to render their weapons unusable. In Gorazde, the BiH forces seized armoured vehicles from the Ukrainians, and stopped British troops from going to their UN colleagues' aid.

At Tuzla, Bosnians welcomed a column of their people who had come over the mountains from Srebrenica, moving by night and fighting their way through enemy lines. Bosnian soldiers carried toddlers, young lads marching proudly at their side. They were ragged, hungry, footsore and bleeding — but defiant.

In London's plush Lancaster House, British chief of staff Field Marshall Peter Inge, France's Admiral Lanxade and America's General Shalikashvili talked for five hours about Bosnia, before deciding nothing could be done. Meanwhile, off camera, European Union negotiator Carl Bildt was offering Milosevic, a deal rewarding aggression.

There are now over 238,000 refugees in the Tuzla region, outnumbering the 223,000 local citizens. Some 20,000 people remained unaccounted for at Srebrenica. At least 4,000 men and boys were taken away by the Chetniks and many are known to have been butchered. Women and young girls were raped. Among the Chetniks coming over the border from Serbia was the notorious criminal Arkan, accompanied by Greek mercenaries.

## Thousands

If Zepa and Gorazde fall, thousands more people face death and torture. Sarajevo would be overwhelmed by refugees, and Serbia would have a clean sweep to the Bosnian capital.

President Izetbegovic said he would try to negotiate with Serb commanders for the safe evacuation of civilians from Zepa. Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbey said on a visit to Washington that

# for deal with war criminals

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

UNPROFOR's mission in Bosnia was at an end. 'The UN mission will either withdraw voluntarily or at the latest by November we will look for it to be terminated.'

Evoking the spectre of pre-war appeasement of Hitler, France's President Chirac had asked for British and US support to reinforce the remaining UN 'safe haven' at Gorazde, and to open the aid route over Mount Igman to Sarajevo. These proposals fell well within the UN Protection Force's original mandate. But it suited both Chirac, posing as a strong-man, and British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind, opposing any action, to hype up the issue.

French forces attacked Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) defensive positions on Mount Igman last year, and withdrew from the Bihać 'safe haven' before the Chetniks attacked. It was French UNPROFOR commander General Cot in Zagreb who refused to open the northern route to Tuzla for Workers' Aid convoys. His successor, General Janvier, advised the British commander in Sarajevo against taking any action to open a road to Sarajevo (advice that Whitehall made a firm order).

French General Morillon went to Srebrenica in April 1993, promising to protect the people there, while disarming the Bosnian forces, thus initiating the UN 'safe areas' policy. But Chirac's Prime Minister Alain Juppé, when he was Foreign Minister last year, offered the Serbian government the right to take over eastern Bosnia.

Claiming both Croats and Serbs had 'the right to confederate with a neighbouring state', Juppé told 'Le Figaro' last Autumn: 'We know that the Belgrade government advised the Bosnian Serbs to give up all claims upon Sarajevo in exchange for the enclaves in eastern

Bosnia. A number of Muslim officials themselves doubt whether these enclaves are viable in the long term and would also entertain that hypothesis, though with regret.' ('Le Figaro', 17 October 1994).

Juppé's diplomacy — and that of Britain's Douglas Hurd — was backed by the weapon of hunger, as food convoys were halted. Médecins Sans Frontières said Gorazde, Zepa and Srebrenica had been turned into 'prisons without bars', and that the UN had 'played the Serbian game, by reducing the Bosnians to nothing but victims awaiting the executioner.' ('Libération', 20 October).

## Summit

Only last month at the G7 summit of Western leaders Chirac warned the Bosnian government against attempting to lift the siege of Sarajevo. Meanwhile the Serb Chetnik leaders were assured during the hostage crisis that UN air strikes and 'safe havens' like Srebrenica would be abandoned.

With scandals at home, and growing international anger over French nuclear test plans, Chirac has bid for international stature by calling loudly for 'the great democracies... to impose respect for human rights and international law' over Bosnia.

*Sotto voce*, he said that otherwise France would have to withdraw. The British government — and Belgrade — knew he wasn't serious, and Chirac knew the British government would hold him back.

British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind insisted US air support and helicopters would be needed to lift troops into Gorazde. 'American involvement would be crucial', he said. General Shalikashvili suggested French or British crews could pilot the helicopters (as though this was as easy as driving a hired van!) but said there would have to be approval from Congress for US involvement.

Rifkind knew this, and knew that the Republican-dominated Congress was unlikely to entrust US personnel to UN command,

especially with Serbian SAM missile batteries trained on them. US pilots would have to wait for NATO and UN 'dual key' permission before they could fire back! Congress was discussing raising the arms embargo on Bosnia, although President Clinton said he would veto this.

Thus Messrs. Rifkind, Clinton, and Chirac hoped to save face, and the UN, while not having the slightest intention of saving Bosnians.

Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev warned against the dangers of 'all out war'. Clearly 25,000 Chechens have neither stopped Russia receiving Western loans nor disqualified its government as a peace advocate, any more than its supply of military equipment to Serbia.

## Emissary

Meanwhile European Union emissary Carl Bildt was having talks with Milosevic in Belgrade, on the plan agreed last year by the US, British, French, German and Russian governments to carve up Bosnia between a Bosnian-Croat federation and the Chetnik 'Republika Srpska'. This would effectively end Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent multi-cultural state, and divide former Yugoslavia between US-German and French-British fields of influence.

General Mladic, who personally supervised the barbaric 'ethnic cleansing' at Srebrenica, remains on Milosevic's general staff. The trucks used to take Muslim civilians out of Srebrenica were sent from Serbia. So was the jeep captured by Bosnian fighters and driven through Medjedja, still with its Yugoslav National Army registration plates. UN officials admit Yugoslav army M-84 tanks took part in the invasion of Srebrenica. But still the imperialists, particularly the British government, regard Milosevic as someone to do business with — just as when they supplied him with arms.

## The Paris Commune and Bosnia

FROM OLIVIA MEERSON IN PARIS

ON 14 July, 1,000 people gathered in the famous cemetery of the Pere-Lachaise in Paris in front of the memorial of the victims of the Paris Commune.

Among the speakers were professor Schwarzenberg, who headed the 'L'Europe commence Sarajevo' list for the European parliament elections last year, and the writer Alain Finkelkraut. They and other speakers called for support for the Bosnian resistance and clearly condemned the policies of successive French governments.

The organisers of the Paris Collective Against Ethnic Cleansing explained the choice of the place of the demonstration. The Bosnians in their besieged country remind us of the Paris Commune. Calls from the citizens of Tuzla were read and a minute of silence was kept.

Among committee representatives were MRAP (Movement Against Racism and Antisemitism and for Peace), known to be inspired by Communist and Bosnian associations (Gorazde), and a representative Mr Jarovic, (director for Aid to the Bosnia-Herzegovina government).

Previous demonstrations in June did not gather more than a few dozen people, but in the course of 48 hours, we succeeded in mobilising a thousand people in spite of the 14 July Bastille Day celebrations and the long weekend.



There are now over 238,000 refugees in the Tuzla region

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## Children injured in Nazi attack

FOUR children were among 20 people injured in a racist arson attack on a house in Remscheid, western Germany, on Sunday night, 16 July. Most of the victims were Turkish people.

Earlier in the day a woman was taken to hospital with first-degree burns after a gang of neo-Nazis firebombed a boat on a lake near the Polish border. Police went to a nearby campsite and clashed with the neo-Nazis there, making 43 arrests.

Racists and fascists throughout Europe have been encouraged by the example of 'ethnic cleansing' and atrocities in ex-Yugoslavia.

Some joined the Croat Ustashe early in the war, but Russian fascists and the British Nazi C18 group are supporting the Serb Chetniks.

## Tamil refugees' journey to death

EIGHTEEN Tamil refugees, trying to reach a new life in Germany, were found dead in a lorry trailer in Győr, western Hungary, last week. They are thought to have died from heat — weekend temperatures had reached 100°F — and poor ventilation.

Police and an ambulance went to the lorry park after passers by reported the smell from the Bulgarian-registered lorry. Another 19 Tamils found nearby said the driver had let them out on Friday, telling them they were in Germany.

When they realised they had been tricked they returned to the car park but the driver had gone. They had each paid £500 to be smuggled to the West, and had been locked in the lorry to leave Romania the previous day.

In Sri Lanka tens of thousands of Tamils were reported to be fleeing from their homes on the Jaffna peninsula as Sri Lanka government troops, with tanks and artillery, advanced on the port of Jaffna.

Jaffna is the stronghold of the Liberation

Tigers of Tamil Elam, under Velupillai Prabhakaran. They have been fighting a guerrilla struggle for a separate state for more than a decade.

Tamil Tiger guerrillas said their losses were low compared to civilians. Thirteen children were among the 65 killed and another 150 people injured when an airforce plane bombed St Peter's Church about two miles from the front-line.

On 16 July, while Sea Tiger boats skirmished with Navy ships outside Kankasanturai harbour, frogmen staged a daring underwater attack on the Navy's radar-equipped command ship Edithburgh berthed at the Kankasanturai pier. After two underwater explosions the ship partly sank in shallow water.

A navy officer said it appeared to have been a suicide attack. In April the Sea Tigers' frogmen blew up and sank two naval gunboats in the port of Trincomalee. The government claims its latest offensive is aimed at 'liberating' Tamils from the guerrillas.